Etymological Dictionary of Greek

Robert Beekes

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Etymological Dictionary of Greek

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PREFACE

Whoever takes up the task of writing a new etymological dictionary of Greek, has to depart from the existing dictionaries. The present dictionary, too, owes a great deal to previous work in the field, especially to the excellent dictionaries of Hjalmar Frisk and Pierre Chantraine.

Apart from compiling the first comprehensive etymological dictionary of Greek in the English language and incorporating the most recent scholarly literature on Greek etymology, there were a number of other reasons why a new dictionary seemed to be a desideratum. In the preface to his dictionary, Frisk expressed doubts on three points: 1. the laryngeal theory; 2. Mycenaean; and 3. the Pelasgian theory on the Greek substrate language. Ironically, it is precisely on these three points that substantial progress has been made in the last decades, so that we can now be much more confident in these areas.

1. Frisk felt uneasy about the laryngeals. In the preface (p. vi) he wrote: "Für die griechische Etymologie fällt sowieso die Laryngaltheorie (...) nicht schwer ins Gewicht". I have been acquainted with the problems of the laryngeal theory since the start of my academic career (see my dissertation, Beekes 1969), and I vividly remember how the chaotic spectrum of theories and hypotheses discouraged many people in the beginning.

Since the 1980's, the situation has changed dramatically. When Bammesberger's *Die Laryngaltheorie* appeared (Bammesberger (ed.) 1988), there had already been general consensus on the main rules of development of the laryngeals in Greek and in other Indo-European languages. It is absolutely clear now that the development of the laryngeals is essential for understanding Greek etymology. Chantraine's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (DELG) often does not give reconstructions with laryngeals either; as a consequence, many of the etymologies still defended in his dictionary are clearly untenable within the framework of the laryngeal theory. It must be admitted, however, that many of these deficiencies have been remedied in the Supplement (DELG *Supp.*), which often contains very helpful contributions.

2. The study of Mycenaean has by now become an integral part of Greek studies. The Mycenaean material was already accepted by Chantraine and incorporated into DELG. I have tried to include all Mycenaean data with a reasonably certain interpretation, provided that these data have a bearing on the etymological interpretation of classical Greek. Personal names are generally excluded from the discussion, as their interpretation is often too uncertain to base any conclusions on.

The task of incorporating Mycenaean data was not too difficult, since we have the excellent *Diccionario Micénico* (1985-1993) by Aura Jorro at our disposal. Although

the Mycenaean material is limited, it is of great importance and should always be taken ito account. The exact attestations of the Mycenaean words are usually not cited, as they can easily be traced in Aura Jorro's dictionary.

3. It is now clear that the Pelasgian theory, which started from the assumption that there was an Indo-European substrate in Greek, has been a completely unfruitful and wrong approach. Although Frisk doubted this theory, he nevertheless consistently referred to Pelasgian throughout the dictionary. This is a pity, because the theory has yielded no positive results. Chantraine often used the vague terms 'achéen' or 'mediterranéen', without clearly identifying Greek substrate words in this way.

In the present dictionary, no reference to the Pelasgian theory is made anymore. Instead, I have extensively used Furnée's 1972 book, who meticulously studied the substrate material and concluded that we are dealing with loanwords from a single non-Indo-European language. Unfortunately, this work has been neglected or rejected by most scholars without due argumentation. In order to explain the principles of Furnée's work and to present his conclusions, as well as my own findings from recent years, I have written a special introduction to Pre-Greek (as I call the substrate language), see pp. xiii-xlii. Throughout the dictionary, much attention is paid to the Pre-Greek material, and one of my main goals was to generate a collection of substrate words which would be as complete as possible. I intend to publish a separate work, containing all certain or probable Pre-Greek etyma, in the coming years.

The dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine are different in their orientation. Whereas Chantraine is more oriented towards the philological study of Greek (as follows from the subtitle *Histoire des mots*), Frisk focuses on the Indo-European side of Greek etymology. In fact, it may be fair to say that Frisk to some extent tried to produce not an etymological dictionary of Greek only, but of Greek and Indo-European at the same time. The main focus of the present dictionary is also etymology, rather than philology.

I started working on the project in 2002. At first, the idea was to produce an updated English translation of Frisk in the framework of the *Indo-European Etymological Dictionary* project. While largely maintaining the philological part of the entries, I modernized old reconstructions, added new ones from the literature, and rejected older etymologies in the light of the substrate theory. Furthermore, many new entries have been incorporated, most of them glosses by Hesychius, which were gleaned from DELG, from Furnée's book and from the new 2005 edition of Hesychius (part III, Π-Σ).

Gradually, I have come to the conclusion that a much more rigorous approach was necessary: there is simply too much irrelevant and dated literature in Frisk's dictionary, and many of his pre-laryngealist reconstructions are now useless. Also, research interest in Indo-European studies has shifted considerably over the course of decades. It was therefore decided to completely reorganize the etymological treatment of the entries.

The rigorous editing of the etymological sections of the dictionary was done by Lucien van Beek. He integrated my own views with traditional etymologies and recent insights. In those cases where a word can now be proven to be of Pre-Greek origin, part of the old reasoning has sometimes been retained in order to illustrate the flaws in the traditional approach, according to which practically every word is bound to have an Indo-European etymology.

Structure of the entry

After the lemma, grammatical information is given between square brackets, for instance, δύρομαι [v.] 'to lament, bewail', or ἔγκατα [n.pl.] 'intestines'. If it is unknown (for instance, in a gloss), this may be indicated with a query.

The grammatical information is followed by the meaning of the word. For most of the glosses, an English translation has been provided. Although this is a major break with tradition in Classical Studies, I consider it to be convenient for specialists in other Indo-European languages than Greek. Of course, in many cases a gloss can be ambiguous, but I hope to have been sufficiently prudent in the translations.

At the end of the first paragraph, I give the origin of the word (in abbreviated form) between two arrowheads. The abbreviations must be understood as follows:

- ⩤IE⩥ There is a good Indo-European (IE) etymology. The IE root is reconstructed, and in most cases also the formation represented by the Greek etymon. If there are no cognates, but the Greek word looks Indo-European, a reconstruction has sometimes been proposed, too.
- ⩤IE?⩥ An Indo-European etymology exists for the entry concerned, but it is not entirely convincing.
- ⩤GR⩥ The word was coined in the more recent (pre)history of Greek, and consists of one or more (possibly) inherited elements; however, the formation as a whole was certainly not inherited from IE.
- ⩤PG⩥ The word certainly belongs to the Pre-Greek substrate language. The reason for this decision may be indicated with (V), which means that there are formal variants, or with (S) if the word contains a suffix characteristic for Pre-Greek.
- ⩤PG?⩥ The word may be Pre-Greek (see above on (V) and (S)).
- ⩤LW⩥ A loanword. The donor language is indicated in abbreviated form, e.g.
- ⩤LW Sem.⩥ = a loanword from Semitic.
- ⩤EUR⩥ A loanword from (one of) the European substrate language(s). Such words are not reconstructible for PIE, but share similarities with words from other European language families (Germanic, Italo-Celtic, Balto-Slavic) that must be due to substrate influence.
- ⩤ONOM⩥ An onomatopoeic word.
- ⩤?⩥ No good etymology exists, or the etymology is unknown.

The philological information is subdivided into sections in order to make the presentation more transparent:

•VAR Inflectional forms and phonological variants.
•DIAL Dialectal forms. Mycenaean is mostly given in the (approximate) phonological transcription.
•COMP Compounds (only the most common or etymologically relevant compounds are given).
•DER Derivatives.
•ETYM Etymological discussion.

The Proto-Indo-European reconstructions

The reconstructions in this book follow some conventions which deviate from common usage. Let me mention the most important ones:

a) PIE had no phoneme **a*. Whenever **a* appears in a reconstruction, the stage of language should always be understood as post-PIE.

b) In IE reconstructions, vocalization of resonants and laryngeals is as a rule not indicated, since the consonantal and vocalic allophones were not phonologized in the proto-language. Thus, for the PIE pre-form of βαίνω, I write **gʷm-ie/o-*. Whenever vocalization is indicated, i.e. **gʷm̥-i̯e/o-*, this is understood to be a post-PIE development.

c) I follow Kortlandt's theory of Balto-Slavic accentuation, and adopted his reconstruction of (pre-)glottalized consonants for PIE (see, for instance, on ἑκατόν and πεντήκοντα).

d) It should be noted that the term 'prothetic vowel' is used in this dictionary to indicate the vowel (mostly *a-*) that may or may not be present in Pre-Greek substrate words. In inherited words, a facultative prothetic vowel is not reconstructed any more since it contradicts the laryngeal theory.

Bibliographical references

Within the limited amount of time available for this project, it proved impossible to modernize all references and to check all reference works. It was necessary, therefore, to make certain strategic choices. It was decided to concentrate on the etymologically relevant publications and to adjust the philological treatment of the material only sporadically.

The second editions of reference works, such as Lejeune's *Phonétique historique* (1972) and Risch's *Wortbildung* (1974) have been systematically consulted. I have generally maintained references to Chantraine *Formation*, as this book contains a very concise and precise overview of the different suffixed nominal formations in Greek.

In contrast to Frisk's dictionary, references to works on specific morphological topics have been left out. For instance, for a derivation in -σύνη, Frisk often refers to Wyss's 1954 book. Other such works, to which the reader can refer, are: Redard 1949

(-ίτης), Boßhardt 1942 (-εύς), Fraenkel 1910 (agent nouns), Benveniste 1948 (agent and action nouns), and, more recently, Leukart 1994 (suffix -τᾱς, -ᾱς).

Furthermore, references to the dictionaries of individual languages have largely been omitted. Most references to Walde-Hoffmann (Latin), Vasmer (Russian), Fraenkel (Lithuanian), etc. are superfluous in a Greek etymological dictionary. It is understood that the reader who wants to know more about the cognates in a given branch will find his way to the relevant dictionaries. References to Mayrhofer's *KEWA* have been retained in some instances, because it often contains more details than the *EWAia*. The LIV² has proven to be a very important work of reference for all verbal roots, even if I very often disagree with details of their analysis.

References to Strömberg's *Pflanzennamen* and *Fischnamen* have been maintained, as well as to Thompson's *Glossary of Greek fishes*. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to adjust all references concerning Greek religion to recent works such as Burkert 1985.

Regarding the epigraphic material, no systematic check has been made of the *SEG*.

Acknowledgements

A new etymological dictionary of a language like Greek cannot be written in a few years by just one person, without the help of others. Many people helped me on various stages of the project.

First of all, I am greatly indebted to Lucien van Beek for editing, correcting and proofreading the whole volume containing about 7500 entries over the course of more than two years. Several others assisted him in this work, sacrificing many weeks of their spare time: Alwin Kloekhorst, Guus Kroonen, Michael Peyrot, Tijmen Pronk, and especially Michiel de Vaan. Needless to say, it is I who remain responsible for all views expressed in this dictionary, and for any mistakes in it.

I am very grateful to Alexander Lubotsky, who proofread a large part of the dictionary, and spent a lot of time and effort in formatting the manuscript. Dr. Velizar Sadovsky (Vienna) has been so kind to write many macros for generating indices and bibliography and to proofread some parts of the manuscript. I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Olander (Copenhagen) for solving various font problems.

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PRE-GREEK LOANWORDS IN GREEK

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A. Introduction

The substrate language of Greek will be called 'Pre-Greek' in this dictionary; this is a translation of the German term 'das Vorgriechische'. No written texts exist in this language, but it is known from a considerable number of loanwords in Greek.

The study of Pre-Greek has had an unfortunate history. In the past century, it was called 'Pelasgian' and considered a dialect of Indo-European. This idea fascinated scholars, and research concentrated on this proposal. But the whole idea was clearly wrong, and by now, it is generally agreed that the substrate was non-Indo-European. Therefore, the term 'Pelasgian' can no longer be used. Frisk already had strong doubts about the Pelasgian theory, but nevertheless, he often mentioned the proposals of its adherents. Since all work following this line has turned out to be useless, I decided to make no mention of the theory anymore in the dictionary.

When Frisk completed his dictionary in 1972, Furnée's book 'Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen', which was his dissertation written under the supervision of F.B.J. Kuiper, had just appeared. It was an elaboration of Kuiper's 1956 study on Greek substrate words, which opened a new chapter in the research of the field. Furnée rejected the Pelasgian theory, too (see especially op. cit. pp. 40-55).

Furnée's book met with fierce criticism and was largely neglected. In my view, this was a major mistake in Greek scholarship. True, some of his identifications are improbable, and his repeated claim that certain forms were expressive leads nowhere. What remains, however, is that he studied a great number of relevant forms and drew obvious conclusions from them. Pre-Greek words often show a type of variation which is not found in inherited words. It is self-evident that this variation must be studied, and this is what Furnée did. It has turned out (as Kuiper had already shown) that this variation shows certain recurrent patterns and can be used to recognize Pre-Greek elements.

Furnée's book is not easy to use: every form is discussed at three or four places, each time in a different context, so that it may be difficult to find out what his point really is. On the other hand, his treatment is very careful, and there hardly any obvious mistakes. I found a number of cases which he had not recognized (e.g. πτωχός), but this does not change the fact that his book was the best collection at the time. Furnée worked on it for twenty years, and even now it is the only hand-book on the subject. The short overview which follows below is based on Furnée's material and on my own research of more than thirty years.[1]

Furnée went astray in two respects. First, he considered almost all variation to be of an expressive character, which is certainly wrong: it is evident that the variation found is due to the adaptation of words (or phonemes) of a foreign language to Greek. We shall see below that many variants can be understood in this way. Secondly, Furnée was sometimes overzealous in his search for inner-Greek correspondences. Many of Furnée's discoveries are brilliant (see s.v. δορύκνιον for an example), but sometimes he went too far: not every alternation necessarily points to Pre-Greek origin. The author can hardly be blamed for his enthusiasm. He was exploring new ground, and it can only be expected that he sometimes overplayed his hand.

[1] Since Kuiper was my supervisor as well, I was acquainted with the book from the very beginning (see my review in *Lingua* 36, 1975).

Several scholars were baffled by Furnée's proposals and hence rejected the whole book altogether. His method, however, was correct and I have only filtered out the improbable suggestions. In many cases, of course, we cannot be absolutely certain, but this cannot be an objection. Except for a very small number of cases, Furnée's material does consist of Pre-Greek words. His index contains 4400 words, and taking into account that many of these words concern derivatives and variants, as well as a few Indo-European words, I estimate that Furnée's book discusses some 1000 Pre-Greek etyma.[2]

In general, I have given only a few personal names and toponyms, and no material of this kind from outside Greece and Asia Minor. The comparison with Basque or Caucasian languages has not been considered in this dictionary, as this is not my competence; it is likely that there are such connections, but this must be left to other scholars.

My suggested reconstructions are not essential. One may ignore them and just consider the variation itself. These variants are often explained as incidental phenomena (assimilation, influence of other words, etc.), and such explanations may be sometimes correct, but if we know that some variants frequently occur, we will have to consider Pre-Greek origin. Existing etymological dictionaries often seem to avoid the conclusion that a word is a substrate element. It is remarkable that Chantraine was quite aware of the problem in his *Formation*, but in his dictionary he often withdrew his earlier evaluation (which in my view was correct). It looks as if substrate elements were not welcome there.

The relationship with Anatolian languages is a separate problem. A Greek word is often called a loan from an Anatolian language, while it may just as well be borrowed from the Pre-Greek substrate. It is generally accepted, on the basis of toponyms, that there was a language which was once spoken both in Greece and in western Asia Minor.[3] In most cases, however, it is impossible to distinguish between substrate words and loans from Asia Minor (the latter are from a later date). A word may have been adopted through commerce, as often happens between two neighboring countries, or starting from the time when Greeks settled in Asia Minor, probably as early as the 15th century. From a methodological point of view, I think it is better to consider such words as Pre-Greek, and to define them as loanwords from an Anatolian language only when there is reason to do so. Still, it is clear that we may often make mistakes here. A case in point is τολύπη 'clew, ball of wool ready for spinning'. The word is clearly related to Luwian and Hitt. *taluppa/i-* 'lump, clod'. The Greek word is typical of Pre-Greek words: the structure *CaC-up-* (with *a* appearing as *o* before *u*) and the absence of an Indo-European etymology (Melchert *Orpheus* 8 (1998): 47-51 is not convincing) imply that the word is Pre-Greek or Pre-Anatolian. On the other hand, 'clew' is not a word that is easily brought from overseas; it is an everyday word that the speakers of Greek and Anatolian must have

[2] Note that Furnée often adduces new material that is not mentioned in the current etymological dictionaries, mostly glosses from Hesychius.

[3] A point for further study is to establish how far to the east such related names can be found. It is my impression that these names can be found as far south as Cilicia.

picked up not far from home. I completely agree with Furnée's interpretation (35[33]) that the word was brought to Greece by settlers from Anatolia who spoke the language, which, from another perspective, we call Pre-Greek. In other words, τολύπη *is* a loan from an Anatolian language, but this (probably non-Indo-European) language was also spoken in large parts of Greece before the Greeks (speaking an Indo-European language) arrived there.

It is essential to realize that substrate words are a frequent phenomenon. One may regret this (for instance, from the Indo-Europeanist point of view), but this is irrelevant; the existence of Pre-Greek words is simply a fact that has to be accepted. To me, it is fascinating that in this way we can learn something about the oldest language of Europe (including Anatolia), of which we otherwise have no evidence.

The 'Pelasgian' theory has done much harm, and it is time to forget it. The latest attempt was Heubeck's 'Minoisch-Mykenisch' (discussed by Furnée 55-66), where the material was reduced to some ten words; the theory has by now been tacitly abandoned.

B. Phonology

1. The phonemic system of Pre-Greek

Voiceless, voiced and aspirated stops may interchange in Pre-Greek words, without any apparent conditioning factors. This fact shows that voice and aspiration were not distinctive features in Pre-Greek.[4] On the other hand, the Linear B signs (graphemes) for *rjo*, *rja* and *tja* show that *palatalization* probably was distinctive. This is confirmed by the sign *pte* (e.g. in *ra-pte-re* /[h]rapteres/ with the agent suffix *-ter-*), which must go back to an earlier $p^{y}e$. In the Pre-Greek material, such a phoneme may underlie examples like θάπτα. One may wonder whether κροσσόφθον points to $p^{y} > pt$, which was realized with aspiration. Further, the signs *two*, *twe*, *dwo*, *dwe*, *nwa*, *swa*, *swi*, point to *labialization* as a distinctive feature, i.e. $t^{w}o$, $t^{w}e$, $d^{w}o$, $d^{w}e$, $n^{w}a$, $s^{w}a$, $s^{w}i$. Note that palatal and labial forms of graphemes are found both with resonants and stops, which is a phenomenon alien to Indo-European languages. The existence of labiovelars is confirmed by *qa-si-re-u* = βασιλεύς, etc. (see further Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995/6): 12f.). We may thus posit the following system[5]:

p	p^{y}	p^{w}
t	t^{y}	t^{w}
k	k^{y}	k^{w}
s	s^{y}	s^{w}
r	r^{y}	r^{w}
l	l^{y}	l^{w}

[4] Of course, it could be due to the fact that a different distinction was present in Pre-Greek (like fortis / lenis, found in most Anatolian languages), but no obvious distribution pointing in this direction can be discerned in the material.

[5] Note that I distinguish between palatals of Pre-Greek origin, which are indicated by a superscript *y* (e.g. k^{y}), and palatovelars of Indo-European origin.

m	m^y	m^w
n	n^y	n^w

Of course, it is possible that one or more of the posited phonemes did not occur in Pre-Greek (e.g., m^y is a rare sound in the languages of the world).

We can now use this insight in explaining the surfacing Greek forms. Thus, δάφνη / δαυχν(α)- can now be explained from a Pre-Greek form **dak^{w}n-*.[6] In the former form, the labiovelar yields a labial stop φ. In the latter, it is rendered by -υχ-, with anticipation of the labial feature, while the labiovelar turns up as a velar, possibly by dissimilation from *uk^w*. Again, note that aspiration is not phonemic in Pre-Greek. It is very important to note that we cannot predict how a Pre-Greek form will surface in Greek: sometimes a stop turns up as an aspirate, sometimes as a voiced stop (e.g. αἰπύς / ἄφαρ, see B 5.1. below). As a consequence, it may happen that there is a large number of variants, but it may also be that there are no variants at all.

As a second example, we may also understand αὐχήν / Lesb. ἄμφην from a preform **ank^{w}ēn*. The latter form is directly understandable, with φ from the labiovelar. The first form went through **an^{w}kēn* or **a^{w}nkēn*, giving αὐχήν with loss of the nasal (a development known from Armenian). Perhaps, a scenario **ak^{w}ēn* > αὐχήν is also possible, with a prenasalized form **ank^{w}ēn* (> ἄμφην) beside **ak^{w}ēn*.[7] Such interpretations may be wrong in individual cases, but this is no reason not to try. On the other hand, variation that is strange from an exclusively Indo-European point of view becomes understandable in this way, starting as we do from a limited set of assumptions.

The existence of palatalized phonemes in Pre-Greek may explain a number of other developments. Thus, I assume that a geminate λλ may continue Pre-Greek **l^y*. We know that IE **ly* gave λλ in Greek, but if a variant with single λ coexists, we are warned. For example, the name Ἀχιλλεύς has a variant Ἀχιλεύς with one λ. And although the latter only occurs in Homer, this fact points to Pre-Greek origin. The variant was *preserved* because it was metrically convenient, it was not *created* for metrical purposes. Of course, the fact that there was more variation at an earlier date is what we expect. As far as the other palatalized resonants are concerned, *an^y* may have given αιν, *ar^y* may have given αιρ (or also ειρ with coloring of the vowel, see section C2 below on the suffixes), etc. We have -αιρ-, -αιν- but no **-αιλ-* in Pre-Greek words. This is confirmed by the fact that geminate λλ is very frequent (Fur. 387), whereas geminate ρρ, νν and μμ are much less frequent, or even rare.

In a similar fashion, **as^y* may have yielded either -αισ- or -ασ-, cf. κάβαισος, which has a v.l. κάβασος. In rendering such a foreign word, the palatalization may have been represented at one time, and may have been neglected at another. This

[6] Although I assume that voice was not distinctive in Pre-Greek, I do write *d-* in this case, because only δ- surfaces in Greek. We must avoid losing information present in the Greek forms. Thus, my notation of Pre-Greek forms is heuristic to a certain degree, and not always consistent with the phonemic system I tentatively reconstruct here.

[7] On prenasalization, see B5.2. below. As an alternative, an Indo-European etymology starting with the root **h$_2$emg^h-* 'to tie, betroth', can be offered; see the dictionary (although I prefer the analysis given here).

phenomenon was the main cause of variation in Pre-Greek forms. The interpretation is further confirmed by the parallel development of labialized consonants. Thus, I suppose that *ar*^{w} resulted in -α(υ)ρ- (see the section on the suffixes). In this way, we may understand καλαῦροψ beside κολόροβον from a pre-form *kalar*^{w}*-op-*. Another form which shows the remarkable interchange α/αυ is ἁρασχάδες / αὐροσχάς. Here one might assume a pre-form **ar*^{w}*ask-at-*. Note that the labial element would at the same time explain the *o* as a variant of *a* in both cases. A similar mechanism must be at the basis of the etymon ἄλοξ, αὖλαξ, ὦλαξ, εὐλάκᾱ, which is hopeless from an Indo-European point of view. I assume that all forms go back on Pre-Greek **al*^{w}*-ak-*. It gives αὐλακ- through anticipation, ἄλοκ- through coloring. In this way, the first two forms, which are best attested, are directly clear. Further, αυ/ευ/ω interchange frequently, which explains ὦλαξ and εὐλάκα; όλοκ- is not problematic either, as both /a/'s were colored to [o] by the labialized resonant. Only the Homeric accusative ὦλκα is hopeless: it is the only form that has no vowel between λ and κ, and therefore may be due to some accident of the tradition. This is a problem that has not been solved yet.

I do not know whether a diphthong is allowed in suffixes of the structure VC, cf. the forms in -αιϝος. Structurally, one could think of *-ay*^{w}*-*, or even *-aw*^{y}*-*, but such sounds are rather rare in the languages of the world. An instance of -αι- due to a palatalized consonant is ἐξαίφνης / ἐξαπίνης / ἄφνω (a brilliant combination by Fur. 158, etc.), which must contain *-ap*^{y}*-* (the palatalization was ignored in the last form). Comparable to the development in ἐξαπίνης is κνώψ / κινώπετον, from *k*^{y}*n-* with ι representing palatalization, cf. Beekes 2008. Likewise, I assume that πινυτός beside πνυτός points to **p*^{y}*nut-*. Perhaps, we must interpret σιωπάω as **s*^{y}*ōp-* because of εὐσωπία. An interesting case is λίμινθες· ἕλμινθες, for which I assume **l*^{y}*m-* beside **al*^{y}*m-* with prothetic *a* (see B3 below on the prothetic vowel).

A palatalized consonant could color *a* to *e*. A good example is κύπαρος, κύπαιρος, but also κὐπερος, κύπειρος, where we have all possible variants due to the palatalized consonant. Compare further Κάβαρνοι next to Κάβειροι. Likewise, we have ζακελτίς next to ζεκελτίς 'κολόκυνται', where the interchange occurs after ζ from earlier palatalized *t*^{y}. διφθέρα beside διψάρα may have had *-pt*^{y}*-*; ἔλ(λ)οψ next to άλ(λ)άβης goes back to **al*^{y}*ap-*, with the common variation *a / o* before a labial. A clear example is λασιτός with, next to it, λεσιτός and λάσται, λάσταυρος. It may be interpreted as representing PG **las*^{y}*t-*.

Kuiper *Lingua* 21 (1968): 269-277 pointed out that the substrate language had labiovelars. He especially pointed to θαλυκρός next to ἐθάλυψα, θάλπω. I added a few remarks in Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995/6): 12f. From Mycenaean, we have *a-to-ro-qo* (ἄνθρωπος) and *qe-to* (πίθος), *Mo-qo-so* (Μόψος), *qi-si-pe-e* (the dual of ξίφος). Further there is *A-i-ti-jo-qo* (gen. Αἰθίοπος), ὀφθαλμός with the variants ὄκταλλος and όπτίλ(λ)ος, which cannot be explained from Indo-European. Instead of ξίφος, we would perhaps expect **ψίφος. So the developments are largely as those of Greek, but not completely.

Pre-Greek probably had a /y/ and a /w/. Initial *ya-* presumably often lost its *y-*, but it may sometimes be represented by ια- as in ἴαμβος, Ἰᾶσων. The ending -υια

may have been *-uy-a* (a Pre-Greek *y* may have had a different development from *y* in inherited words). In the same way, -αια may derive from PG **-ay-a* with a variant -εια, cf. Πηνελόπεια. Perhaps, the *y* disappeared in some cases, giving γαῖα beside γᾶ (see below on the suffix -αι- / -ε(ι)-).

Initial *w-* was often lost (ἄναξ), but *wa-* may also have been rendered by οα-, as in Ὄαξός beside Cret. ϝαξός. The same holds for Ὀϊλεύς, which has been considered to be identical with the root of Ἴλος). We find υα- (which became ὑα-) in ὑάκινθος, Cret. ϝάκινθος. Fur. 377 assumes a prothetic υ- in the latter word, but this seems improbable to me. Another example may be ὕα/ελος. The differences are probably due to the date at which the word was borrowed and depend on whether the Greek dialect concerned still had a ϝ at that time. Another treatment can be found in the word for 'truffle', for which we find οὔιτον, οἴδνον (also -τν-), ὕδνον (also -τν-), or ἴτον. These are probably all renderings of **wit-*. (Fur. 184 again assumes a prothetic vowel, ϝιτ- / ὀϝιτ-, which does not seem to be the right solution. He further assumes a variation **wit- / wut-*, which also seems improbable to me, though the variation ι / υ is attested.) Rather, υ- is a form of οι-, with the -ο- changed under influence of the -ι- (cf. Lejeune 1972: 174, and note that Greek did not allow -υι- before consonants; of course, οι became υ in Boeotian in the 3rd c. BC; variation οι / υ is found in more Pre-Greek words). This case nicely shows that variation in Pre-Greek words is due to different rendering of the sounds of a foreign language, and therefore has to be taken seriously. βράκαλον· ῥόπαλον (H.) probably attests a development **wrak-* > βρακ- (as Fur. 147 remarks on καλαῦροψ: "Die landläufige Etymologie <connecting> ῥέπω ... ist wohl ohne weiteres aufzugeben."). σορόα· παλιούρου εἶδος 'sorb-apple' (H.) continues **sorw-* (cf. Lat. *sorbus*, Fr. *sorbier*, Fur. 230).

It seems that there was no initial aspiration in Pre-Greek. Furnée has a few words with ἁ-, ἑ- (one or two with ἰ-; none with ὁ-, ἡ-, ὠ-). Several of these are doubtful; best is αἱμασιά (αἱμοί). One might conclude that the language had no *h*. This would agree with the fact that aspiration is not a distinctive feature in the stops. However, this conclusion is remarkable for ἥρως, Ἕλληνες and Ἥφαιστος, which we expect to be Pre-Greek words (but note that Myc. *a-pa-i-ti-jo* does not have a_2-). Of course, aspiration may have been added secondarily in Greek in individual cases, cf. the variation in ἄφθα / ἅφθα and ἐλεδώνη / ἑλεδώνη, which is a variant of δελεδώνη. However, Prof. Ruijgh pointed out to me that Mycenaean had toponyms (*a_2-ra-tu-wa*) and personal names (*a_2-ku-mi-jo*) with initial *h-*; it also occurs in inlaut (*pi-a_2-la*, *ko-ri-a_2-da-na*); cf. further *e-ma-a_2* (/Hermāhās/ 'Hermes').

Originally, I thought that Pre-Greek only had three vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*. The Greek words concerned often have ε and ο, but this would not be surprising, as the three vowels have a wide phonetic range, and the phoneme /a/ may have sounded like [e] or [o] in many environments. The main reason for me to assume this simple three-vowel system was the fact that the system of suffixes has *a*, *i*, *u*, but not *e*, *o*. We have -αγ-, -ιγ-, -υγ-; prenasalized -αγγ-, -ιγγ-, -υγγ-; likewise -αθ-, -ιθ-, -υθ-; and prenasalized -ανθ-, -ινθ-, -υνθ-, but no forms with -εγ(γ)-, -ογ(γ)-, etc. The only cases I noticed are Ῥήσκονθος and ὄλονθος (but as a variant of ὄλυνθος), and μηλολόνθη with a variant μηλ(ολ)άνθη.

Recently, I have become more inclined to assume a system with the usual five vowels, because there seems to be a distinction between the two variations α / ε and α / ο, on the one hand, and a stable, not interchanging α, on the other. This would point to a system with *a*, *e* and *o*. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain why the suffixes do not show the same variation that we find in the root vowels.

It is essential that the palatalized and labialized consonants colored an adjacent α to ε and ο, respectively. On the effects of palatalized consonants see Beekes 2008: 46-55. Fur. 340 has a rule α > ο before ο, ω, υ (e.g. καλυβός / κολυβός); this can now be understood as the *o*-like realization of /a/ before high rounded vowels in the following syllable (see 15.3.2).

So, *e* and *o* originally were variants of the phoneme /a/. It is difficult to establish whether they had already become full phonemes in Pre-Greek. A good illustration of the case is the name of Apollo. In Hittite, *Appaliunas* renders *Apollon-* (see Beekes *JANER* 3, 2003). We know that Greek originally had Ἀπελλ-, with -ε- arising from *-a-* before the palatalized *l'*. The *-o-* developed only later in Greek, but I assume that the Hittite form still shows the *-a-*. The Pre-Greek form was *Apal'un-*.

I have long doubted (and still doubt) whether there was phonemic vowel length in Pre-Greek. Greek substrate words quite often only have a form with a long vowel. Vacillation is sometimes found, as in θρινάκη beside θρῖναξ (see B 6.2), and note ὄβριμος beside βρῑμός, βρῑ́μη. Quite a different argument is the following: ἄχυρον and πίτῡρον both mean 'chaff'; it is therefore probable that they contain the same suffix -υρ-; but in the first word the *u* is short, while it is long in the second.

Note that η often represents ā (γᾱθυλλίς / γηθ-), and as our knowledge of the relevant dialects is rather limited, we often simply do not know whether η represents an older *a* or *e*. If we had not had Dor. σίδᾱρος, we would not have known that it contains an old *ā*. Also, Λῆμνος represents Λᾶμνος. There are well-known Pre-Greek words with η < *ē, like σπήλαιον.

I assume two diphthongs, *ai* and *au*. If there were no *e* and *o*, we do not expect other diphthongs. A diphthong ευ is rare (Fur. 353 Anm. 5; I found some 12 instances in the whole of Furnée's material); it interchanges with αυ. Fur. 339 Anm. 2) calls ει "(in mehreren Fällen) nur eine Nebenform von αι". Also, οι is rather rare, and we may find ου more often, but mostly interchanging with other vowels (see the remark on the suffix -ουρ-). See further section B6.1 on vowel variation.

Regarding the accentuation, I noted vacillation in: ἄβραμις / -μίς; αἰγώλιος / -ιός; ἄχυρος / -ός; ἄχωρ / ἀχώρ; κόρυδος / κορυδός; κορύδαλος / κορυδαλλός; μέδιμνος / μεδιμνός; σίκυος / σικυός; ὕρισχος / ὑρισσός. Note also the almost identical forms such as λυκαψός / λύκοψος. This does not imply that the language had no clear stress: the Greeks who adopted a word could simply have been uncertain about it. The phenomenon may, however, be important heuristically: such variation is very rare in inherited words.

2a. Characteristic sounds and sound groups

In Pre-Greek words, we find some sounds or clusters that are rare in PIE words. In brackets, I give the variants.

1. αυ: Of course, αυ does occur in PIE words, but only when it derives from **h₂eu* (mostly in initial position) or *eh₂u*. Examples: βλαῦδες, βραύκας, γραύκαλας, κάναυστρον, κασαύρα, τραυξάνα; Λαβραυνδός.

2. β: As is well known, **b* was rare in PIE. In Pre-Greek words, it seems to occur relatively often. Examples: ἄβλαροι, ἀβύρβηλος, ἀρβύλη, ἀτάρβακτος, βάρβιλος, θόρυβος, κίβαλος. It is frequently found word-initially. Of course, β may also go back to a Pre-Greek labiovelar (i.e. labialized velar): e.g. βασιλεύς, Myc. *qa-si-re-u*.

3. βδ: The cluster is possible in PIE words, but it is rare (see on β sub 2. above). Examples: ἄβδελλον, ἄβδηρα, ἄβδης, ἴβδης, αὐτο-κάβδαλος, κίβδηλος, κυβάβδα; Κομβδιλιπια.

4. γδ: Cf. Fur. 318[5]. There is nothing against PIE **gd*, but it is infrequent. Of course, the group is reminiscent of βδ. Examples: ἄγδυς, ἀμυγδάλη, γδουπέω (cf. κτυπέω), ἴγδη, κρίγδανον, λύγδη.

5. γν: Example: ἰγνύς (ἰκνύς). On χν, φν, see the section on the suffixes.

6. δν: The sequence is rare in IE words. Examples: ἀκιδνός, ἁλαπαδνός, ἀράχιδνα, λεπαδνός (λα-), σίπυδνος; Ἀριάδνη.

7. κτ: The group is regular in PIE, but in Pre-Greek it is found with variants; see B5.5. Examples: ἀβίυκτον, βάκται, δίκτυ.

8. κχ: The group can hardly be of IE origin, but it is not frequent. I noted βάκχαρ, λάκχα, σάκχαρ, συκχάς; Βάκχος, Βρίακχος, Βύκχις. The group -κχ- is the geminate of χ. Cf. on πφ, τθ.

9. μν: The group is certainly possible in PIE words, but it is also frequent in Pre-Greek. Examples: ἀμφι-κέλεμνον, ϝεδιμνος, ἴαμνος, βασυμνιάτης, κρημνός, λάμνα, λωρυμνόν, μέριμνα, ῥόδαμνος, σίγυμνον, σίδριμνον; Ἀτύμνιος.

10. ου: The diphthong is perfectly IE, but it is found several times in Pre-Greek. I do not think that Pre-Greek had a diphthong *-ou-*, but it may have arisen from e.g. *-ar^{w}-*, which often surfaces as -ουρ-. Examples: σενδούκη, σκίουρος, στρουθός, τάγχουρος, τοῦφος, φάνδουρος, φοῦσκος, χλούνης.

11. πφ: The group can hardly be of PIE origin, but it is rare in Pre-Greek words, too. Like in the case of κχ, it is the geminate of φ. Examples: ἀρχιζάπφης (?); Σαπφώ (Ψαπφώ).

12. ρδ: On a morpheme boundary, the group is possible in PIE. Examples from Pre-Greek: ἀγέρδα, καπαρδεῦσαι, καρδαμάλη.

13. ρκν: A rare group, perhaps there is even no reason to speak of a group. Examples: ἄβαρκνα, βερκνίς.

14. ρν (variants ρδ, νδ): Examples: κίσιρνις (-νδ-), ἀχέρδα (-να), σκαπέρδα. See the section on the suffixes.

15. A σ occurs both word-initially and between vowels, where it has disappeared in most inherited words. Initial: σάρυττα, σαγύριον, σάναπτιν, σάνδαλον, σαρρυφθεῖν, σεκούα, σιβύνη, σίγυμνον. Intervocalic: ἀγασυλλίς, ἄγχουσα (ἔγχ-), αἴθουσ(σ)α, αἱμασιά, αἴσακος, ἄλεισον, δρόσος. After resonant: ἄλσος, βάλσαμον, γελσόν, γένσιμος, μάρσιππος (-υπιος).

16. σβ: The group is hardly known from inherited words (σβέννυμι is problematic). Examples: ἄσβολος, θίσβη, Ἄσβετος. -σβ- may continue Pre-Greek *-sg^{w}-*: Myc. *ti-qa-jo* may stand for /thisg^{w}aios/ Θισβαῖος.

17. σγ: Again, this group is hardly known from IE words. It may sometimes continue *-t^{y}g-*, as in ἀμυσγέλᾱ, Ἀσγελάτας (see 5.5). Examples: ἀλισγέω, ὑσγίνη, φάσγανον, ἀσγάνδης, πισγίς.

18. σκ, στ: These groups are well known from IE, but mostly in word initial position. See section B5.5. Examples: βέσκεροι, βύσταξ, κύστεροι, λασταγεῖ.

19. στλ: Though the cluster contains nothing that could not be IE, it occurs more often in substrate words. Examples: ἄστλιγγες, στλεγγίς.

20. τθ: The group can hardly be of PIE origin. In Pre-Greek, it is a variant of ττ and σσ (see 5.5). Sometimes, it is clearly the geminate of θ: Ἀτθίς beside Ἀθήνη. Further examples: ἰτθέλα, κότθυβος, Πετθαλοί.

21. φθ: The cluster is possible in inherited words. Example: νάσκαφθον.

22. χμ, χν: Rather rare in IE; Fur. 110 assumes that the nasal caused the aspiration. Examples: δαυχμός, δαυχνα-, σαυχμόν.

23. Frisk gives some seventy lemmas with **ψ-**. Many words are clearly Pre-Greek, and there are no convincing Indo-European etymologies. That many of these words are of substrate origin is also clear from the fact that there are variants with σ-. Apparently, Pre-Greek did not have any difficulty with *ps-*, as Greek has so many words with ψ-. Originally, I thought that all words with ψ- were Pre-Greek, but this thesis cannot be maintained. Among the non-substrate words, ψύλλα originally did not have **ps-*, and ψ- for φθ- is secondary (see Lejeune 1972: 39); the verb ψήω may well be non-IE.

24. ω: Of course, ω is perfectly IE, but it also occurs in Pre-Greek words. Examples: ἀμακρῶτις, ἄνθρωπος, ἀνωνίς, ἀποφώλιος, ἀρρωδέω, ἀσκαλώπας, ϝασκώνδας, ἀσμωλεῖν, βαλλωτή, κασσωρίς, λωρυμινόν.

25. Geminates (see also B5.8 on single / geminated consonants): Indo-European had no geminates. Of course, geminates arose in Greek, but they are not very frequent. I doubt whether Pre-Greek had geminates, but several occur in Pre-Greek words (Brixhe 1976: 95 states that there were no geminates in this language). As Pre-Greek had palatalized phonemes, I wonder whether *l^{y}* was (often) represented by λλ in Greek. In a similar vein, perhaps *n^{y}* might be represented as νν, and *r^{y}* as ρρ, but this needs further investigation. For σσ and ττ see B5.5. Unclear are δδ, κκ, ππ, and μμ (a palatalized *m^{y}* is a rare sound). Some further examples:

Stops[8]: δδ: ἄδδαι, ἄδδιξ
κκ: ἀκκαλος, βέλεκκος, λάκκος(?)
ππ: ἄγριππος, λούππις
ττ: βίττακος, λάττα, κάττος, μάτταβος, μέττες, μίττος; Πιττακός.

Liquids: λλ: ἀλλάβης, ἀλλοπίης, ἀμίλλακαν, βαλλωτή, βδέλλα, βίλλιν, πάτελλα
μμ: κλεμμύς
νν: ἀγάννα, βλέννος, γίννος, λαχάννα; Δίκτυννα

[8] We also have to recall the instances of κχ, πφ, τθ (see above).

ρρ: ἀρράβακα, βίρρη, βίρροξ, καρρόν

Sibilant σσ: αἴθουσ(σ)α, ἄφρισσα, γίσσα.

2b. How to recognize words as Pre-Greek?

This appears to be relatively easy. A first indication is that a given word has no IE etymology. Often, there is variation which is impossible to explain in Indo-European terms. Therefore, the discussion of these variants is essential. Then, there are numerous suffixes that are typical for Pre-Greek (see the list below). The meaning may also provide an indication. The words concerned are often names of plants or animals, or part of viticulture. Frequently, the words are sexual terms.

If we have some of the above features, it is quite clear that we are dealing with a Pre-Greek word. The origin of the word is then indicated ⩤PG⩥ in the dictionary. In many cases, we do not have enough data and can only suspect that the word might be Pre-Greek (the origin is then indicated as ⩤PG?⩥).

3. Prothetic vowel

Pre-Greek had a prothetic vowel, e.g. ἀσκάλαφος beside κάλαφος. In most cases, the vowel is ἀ-. The numbers (Fur. 368ff.) are as follows: α ± 90, ο 10, ε 5, ι 3, υ ø, η 6, αι 2. Note that, generally speaking, α may interchange with ο, ε, and αι. Indeed, we have cases where prothetic ο interchanges with α, and the same holds for ε (e.g. εἰκλ- / αἰκλ-, ἐψία / ἀψία). Although not all other cases can be explained away, it seems that the phenomenon originally only concerned α. Examples: ἀγασυλλίς / γηθυλλίς; ἀκιρίς / κίρρις; ἀκορνοί / κόρνοψ; ἀχραδαμύλα / χραμαδοῖλαι; ἀναρίτης / νηρίτης; ἀσκάλαβος / (σ)καλαβώτης; ἀχύνωψ / κύνωψ.

4. *s*-mobile

A large number of words shows an initial σ- before a consonant, which is absent in practically identical variants. It occurs before a stop or *m* (so not before *r*, *l*, *n*); the stop is mostly voiceless, sometimes aspirated; see Fur. 390f. Examples: γέλενος / σχέλινος, (σ)κιδάφη, κίκερος / σκίγκος, (σ)κορδύλη, βάταλος / σπ-, πέλεθος / σπ-, φαττάγης / σπ-, θριγκός (τριγχός) / στρίγγχος, τοπεῖον / στυππεῖον, (σ)μήρινθος, (σ)μύραινα. A prothetic vowel may appear before an *s*-mobile (Fur. 390[8]): ἀσκάλαβος / σκαλαβώτης / καλαβάς, ἀσφάραγος / σφάραγος / φάραγξ, ἀσκάλαφος / κάλαφος.

5. Consonant variation

5.1 Voiceless / voiced / aspirated stop

Furnée's conclusion was that 'Pre-Greek' was a non-Indo-European language, with no recognizable cognates. This implies that the phonemic system may have been different from that of Indo-European. Thus, he found that the stops show variation between voiced, voiceless and aspirated, so that there presumably was no phonemic distinction between voice and aspiration in the language. As there is no reason to assume that this is a recent phenomenon, it strongly suggests that the language was non-Indo-European. For example, πτωχός belongs to a root *ptāk-* / *ptōk-* also seen in πτώξ, -κός. Since such a variation is hardly understandable in Indo-European

terms, the word must be Pre-Greek. Furnée's discussion of this variation runs from p. 115 till p. 200. Even if we allow for some mistakes, it is clear that there is abundant evidence for this phenomenon.

5.2 Prenasalization

Before a stop, a nasal may be present or not in Pre-Greek words. E.g. κάχρυς / καγχρυς, κορυφή / κόρυμβος, σαλάβη / σαλάμβη, etc. The phenomenon is extremely frequent, but its precise origin is not known (prenasalized consonants?).

5.3 Nasalization

A consonant is replaced by a homorganic nasal: κιδαφεύειν / κιναφεύειν, φληδῶντα / φλήναφος.

5.4. Labial stops / *m* / *μ̯*

There are three interchanges: labial stop / μ, labial stop / ϝ and μ / ϝ.

Labial stop / μ (Fur. 203-227). Examples: ἁρβύλη / ἅρμυλα n.pl.; βάρβιτος / βάρμιτος; κύμινδις / κύβινδις; λυκάβας / λυκάμας; μύσταξ / βύσταξ; σκόλυμος / σκόλυβος; φάρμακον / φόρβαντα; σφάραγος / σμάραγος.

Labial stop / ϝ (Fur. 228-242). Examples: τέθηπα, θάπος / θαῦμα; κόβαλος / καυαλός; κασσαβάς / κασαύρα; κράμβος / κραῦρος.

μ / ϝ (Fur. 242-247). A difficulty here is that Greek did not preserve a ϝ in most cases, so that we often just find zero, and the ϝ can only be reconstructed. This gives rise to a certain degree of uncertainty. Perhaps, we have to reckon with the possibility of a development *μ̯* > *b*. Examples: βασυμνι-άτης / βασυν-ίας; κρίμνον / κρίνον; μέδιμνος / ϝεδιμνος; σίγυμνος / σίγῦνος (also σίγυννος). The evidence comprises 8 or 9 words in -μνος. It is found six times word-initially: e.g. μῆλον / ἤλον; μονθυλεύω / ὀνθυλεύω; note μέροψ / ἀέροψ (εἴροψ), where the latter forms could continue *ά-ϝεροψ / *έ-ϝεροψ with a prothetic vowel. Note further κύαμος / κύμηχα, which perhaps continues *κυϝ-αμ-, *κυμ-ηκ-.

5.5 Stops interchanging with σ(σ), with stop + σ/τ or with σ + stop

This kind of variation is quite complicated. I distinguished no less than 10 (or even 15) different types[9]. They may be represented as follows (C = consonant):

	a. labials	b. velars
1. C / Ct	π / πτ	κ / κτ
2. C / Cs	π / ψ	
3. C / sC	(π / σπ)	κ / σκ
4. Ct / Cs	πτ / ψ	κτ / ξ
5. Ct / sC		κτ / σκ
6. Cs / sC	(ψ / σπ)	(ξ / σκ)
7. Cs / ss	ξ / σσ	
8. sC / ss		σκ / σσ

[9] Since the word ψιττάκιον / πιστάκιον 'pistachio' is probably an oriental loanword, there are no good examples for an interchange σσ / στ.

8c. C / ss		κ / σσ
	dentals	
9. t / ss		τ / σσ
10. t / st		τ / στ

The analysis of these variants is not easy, and I mainly present the data here. A question that needs to be explained is why exactly *s* or *t* are involved in the given variation.

The most complicated instance is 5b, where we find κτ/σκ. In fact, the most complicated phenomenon contains most information, and can be solved best. In this case, one expects a cluster with *k*, i.e. a consonant before or after the *k*. One of the two expected clusters must have undergone metathesis. As Greek did undergo a metathesis τκ > κτ (and no metathesis of σκ or ξ), we may assume that precisely this phenomenon was operative here. Thus, for an earlier stage we may reconstruct an interchange σκ/τκ. This interchange can be easily explained by assuming a consonant, probably unknown to Greek, which resulted either in σ or in τ. In my interpretation, this must have been a palatalized dental, i.e. /t^{y}/. For instance, ἀμυσγέλα / ἀμυγδάλη was probably **amut^{y}gala*, represented first as **amusgala* or **amudgala*, the latter yielding **amugdala*. A less clear example is Asklepios, who was called Ἀ(ι)σκλαπιός or Ἀ(ι)γλαπιός. It could be that the name was **At^{y}klap-*, giving **A(i)sklap-* or **A(i)dglap-*. In the latter form, metathesis did not operate because ***Agdlap-* was not tolerated in Greek; the dental was then simply lost. Needless to say, it often happens that only one variant is found. The strange feature or phoneme may also be dismissed altogether, as in δικεῖν next to δίσκος and δίκτυον.

One might suppose that all variants in this group are due to a palatalized dental, but this is not evident, as consonant clusters are rather rare, and as there are no suffixes beginning with a consonant (except *n*, *r*, etc.). We may be unable to determine what exactly happened in each case.

Type 4 is treated by Fur. 263[3]. Since Pre-Greek did not distinguish voice and aspiration in stops, these often vary; so if we speak of *kt* or κτ, this also includes realization as χθ, such as in μόροχθος below. If we consider the variation with labials, as in *pt*/*ps*, it is clear that we are dealing with a labial followed by a dental. The dental could also appear as *s*, so it is clear that the phoneme concerned was a palatalized dental, which I note /t^{y}/. This means that we are dealing with a group *pt^{y}*. In the same way, with a velar we have *kt^{y}*.

The example διφθέρα next to διψάρα is well-known and clear. Furnée further gives γναμπτούς· χαλινούς (H.) beside γλαμψοί· χαλινοὶ στόματος (H.) and compares πτίλον with Dor. ψίλον. His example ὀπτός 'cooked' next to ὄψον is less evident.

Among the forms with a velar, there is no problem with μόροχθος / μόροξος. The best known example is Ἐρεχθεύς (also Ἐριχθεύς) next to Ερεχσες on Attic vases. I have no opinion on Ἐριχθόνιος; it may be a Graecisized form, and in this case it is unimportant for Pre-Greek. See further the ethnonyms Δατύλε-πτοι, Διλό-πτης, Γαλη-ψοί, Λαδέ-ψοί and Τρανι-ψοί. Other forms are less clear.

There may have been series with three forms, with *kt* / *ks*, *pt* / *ps* and also *k* or *p*. I can only mention Ἄραχθος / Ἀράξης next to Ἄραγος, and perhaps, next to διφθέρα / διψάρα, the verb δέφω (together with δεψ-), for both cf. Fur. 263.

Above, we assumed that a labial or a velar could be followed by a palatalized dental /t^y/. If this is right, we can also postulate that this consonant (labial or velar) was followed by a normal dental. Of course, this yielded *pt* and *kt*. I assume that the second consonant of this group (the dental) could have been dropped, which yielded single *p* or *k*. This explains the type π(τ)ολεμος (Fur. §50) and βρόγχος (with prenasalization) beside βρόχθος (Fur. §51).

I will shortly review the 10 (15) types (I call the labials 1a, etc., the velars 1b, etc.).

1a. **πτ** may represent a single phoneme *p^y*, as we saw in B1. Examples: (Fur. 315ff.): γνυπ- / γνυπτ- (γνυπετ-); κολύμβαινα / κολύβδαινα; κίβαλος / κίβδης; λύπη / λύπτα; without variants note κρόσσοφθον, σαρρυφθεῖν.

1b. **κτ** is most probably explained like 5b, discussed above (so 1b is a part of 5b). Examples (Fur. 319ff.): ἄρακις / ἀράκτην; μογέω / μοχθέω; πελεκάν / σπέλεκτος; ἀκακία / κάκτος.

2a. **ψ** may result from **pt^y*. It is remarkable that there is no 2b. κ / ξ, as ξ is unproblematic in Greek.[10]

3a. **π / σπ, b. κ / σκ:** Both may represent **t^{y}p*, **t^{y}k*. Examples: θίσβη / θίβις (Fur. 292[2]), βέκος / βέσκεροι; ἴχλα / ἴσκλαι; μάκελλα / μάσκη (βάσκη); μῦκος / μύσκος; φάκελον / φάσκωλος (Fur. 295ff.).

4a. **πτ / ψ, b. κτ / ξ** were discussed above and may continue **pt^y*, **kt^y*; they may belong together with 2a. Examples: διφθέρα / διψάρα (Fur. 263 Anm. 3); χαλυβδικός / Χάλυψος (Fur. 318, 324); μόροχθος / μόροξος (Fur. 263 Anm. 3).

5b. **κτ / σκ** was discussed above. Examples: ἀμυσγέλα / ἀμυγδάλη (Fur. 301 Anm. 2); δίσκος / δίκτυ(ον) (Fur. 279, 319).

6a. **ψ / σπ, b. ξ / σκ.** Fur. 393 simply considered the interchange as due to metathesis, which, of course, is possible. **sp*, **sk* may represent **t^{y}p*, **t^{y}k*. Examples (Fur. 393): ἀσπίνθιον / ἀψίνθιον; ὀσφῦς / ψύαι; ἴσχίον / ἰξῦς; φοῦσκος / φοξός.

7b. **ξ / σσ.** If ξ represents **kt^y*, the *k* may have disappeared in other cases (which did not give ξ) after which **t^y* became σσ. Examples: κριξός / κρισσός (Fur. 130[59]); σίβδα / ξίμβα (Fur. 317); τραύξανα, τρώξανον / τραύσανον (Fur. 286[72]); ἰξάλη / ἰσάλη (ἰσσέλα, ἰτθέλα); Οὐλίξης / Ὀδυσσεύς.

8b. **σκ / σσ** can be explained parallel to 7b: **t^{y}k* > σκ or, with loss of the *k*, **t^y* > σσ. Example (Fur. 300): ὕρισχος / ὑρίσσος.

9a. **τ / σσ.** This is the well-known element that yielded σσ / ττ. Furnée does not discuss it under this heading, because he gives only one phoneme ('letter') and its variants; for instance, he discusses σκ / κτ under κ / κτ. The situation is also different here, as we are able to discern a distribution among the Greek dialects, and attribute the different renderings of these loanwords to dialectal developments. Still, the fact remains that a foreign element was rendered in different ways, as with all other

[10] I have some difficulty with Furnée's section XI (Fur. 323-329). My conclusion is that a variation C / Cσ cannot be proven, although some instances remain difficult to explain otherwise.

phenomena discussed here. Fur. 253 has the heading τ, δ, θ / σ(σ), ζ. I think this should be reformulated as τ (δ, θ), ττ (τθ) / σ (ζ), σσ, i.e. τ with its usual variants δ, θ; or the geminated ττ (with its expected variant τθ, which is the Greek form of geminated θθ), interchanging with σ or σσ. If the ζ was [sd], it does not fit in well. As to its interpretation, it could represent single *t^y, which was rendered ττ or σσ, or single σ, τ (the variant ζ would then fit in, but one would also expect a variant στ). Examples (Fur. 253ff.): κιττός / κισσός, κρότιον / κρόσσοφθον, μύρτίνη / μυρσίνη, τεῦτλον / σεῦτλον, τίλφη / σίλφη, γάδος / γάζας, ἀσμωλεῖν / ἀδμωλή.

I think that the phoneme rendered by σσ, Att. ττ (called the foreign phoneme or *Fremdphonem*) was a palatalized velar, which I write as k^y, cf. Beekes *JIES* 37 (2009): 191-197. This would be parallel to the development of inherited velar + yod, which gave σσ, Att. ττ, as in φυλάσσω, φυλάττω. This interpretation is confirmed by θάλασσα, θάλαττα, where we have a variant δαλάγχαν· θάλασσαν (H.). Here we see that after the nasal (prenasalization is well known in Pre-Greek), the palatal feature of the consonant was dropped. This resulted in a velar (here realized as an aspirate). The variant shows that we may be dealing with a velar in cases of σσ / ττ. We can also compare κολύμβαινα beside κολύβδαινα, which had p^y; again we see that the palatal feature was lost after the inserted nasal.

There is a third representation. We know that the name of Odysseus was Ὀλυσσευ-, Ὀλυττευ-. This means that it probably had a palatalized velar, *k^y. But we also find Οὐλιξεύς (Ibyc. *apud* Diom. Gr. p. 321 K, Hdn. Gr., Plut.), a form which was at the basis of Latin *Ulixes*. This form was taken from a Western Greek dialect, probably Doric. Therefore, a third representation of the foreign phoneme is -ξ-.

10a. τ / στ may be from *$t^y t$ giving στ or, with loss of the *t*, *t^y > σσ. Examples (Fur. 301ff.): βαλλωτή / βαλλαύστιον; μάτρυλλος / μάστρυλλος; μύτις / μύσταξ; πατίλη / παστίλη.

As we saw, it is very difficult to determine what exactly happened in each case; on the other hand, it is clear that almost all variation can be understood if we start from just a few assumptions.

5.6 Velar / labial / dental stops: labiovelars

There is limited evidence for variation between velar and labial, between velar and dental, and between labial and dental, and between all the three classes (Fur. 388ff.). We find:

κ / π, β	κ / τ, δ	π / τ	
γ / β	γ / δ	β / δ	γ / β / δ
χ / φ	φ / θ	χ / φ / θ	

It is remarkable that the variants mostly agree in voice / aspiration. Since examples of this phenomenon are not particularly numerous, this may be an indication that the words concerned are not of Pre-Greek origin, but due to borrowing from a different substrate, for instance. Examples:

κ / π: κλάνιον / πλανίς
γ / β: βράκαλον / ῥόπαλον; γλέπω / βλέπω; χάλις / φαλικρόν
κ / τ: ἀσκάνδης / ἀστάνδης

γ / δ: γάλατμον / ἀδαλτόμιον
π / τ: βαπαίνει / βαταίνει
β / δ: σάμβαλον / σάνδαλον
φ / θ: γνυφαί / γνύθος
γ / β / δ: γέφυρα / βέφυρα / δέφυρα.

It is tempting to assume labiovelars to explain these cases, but some cases may have a different origin (thus, βράκαλον / ῥόπαλον could be due to dissimilation in the first variant). On the existence of labiovelars in Pre-Greek, see above on the phonemic system.

5.7. Dentals / liquids

There are some instances of variation between dentals (including *n*) and liquids (*l*, *r*). This variation is incidental. Examples (Fur. 387f.):

a. δ / λ: ἄβλαρος / βδαροί (Fur. 330[27]), δάφνη / λάφνη, Ὀδυσσεύς / Ὀλυσσεύς. Cf. Myc. gen. *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo* /dap^{h}urint^{h}oio/ / λαβύρινθος, καλάμινθα / Myc. *ka-da-mi-ta*. The interchange δ / λ and the fact that Linear B has signs for *da*, *de*, *di*, etc. (which Lejeune explained by assuming a specific, unusual sound *đ*) might point to a dental fricative ƛ.

θ / λ: θάπτα / λάττα
ν / λ: νίτρον / λίτρον

b. δ / ρ: σίβδα / ξίμβραι
ν / ρ: βλῆχνον / βλῆχρον

c. λ / ρ: άζηρίς / άζηλίς, κρίβανος / κλίβανος, κρῶμαξ / κλῶμαξ.

5.8. Simple / geminate

Except for a few isolated cases, we find this interchange in ν / νν, but more notably in λ / λλ. On τ / ττ and σ / σσ see above sub 5.5. Cf. Fur. 386f. Examples:

ν / νν: ἄνηθον (also τ) / ἄννηθον (also τ); τημενίς / τήβεννα. In this context, note the suffix -υνν-.

λ / λλ: βαλ(λ)ήν; θυλίς / θυλλίς; σπέλεθος / σπέλληξι dat.pl.; μακέλη / μάκελλα (this probably derives from PG **-al̓a-*). Note γεῖσ(σ)ον, σάρῖσα / σάρισσα, and the case of Ἀθήνη / Ἀτθίς / Ἀττικός.

5.9. σ- / zero

We discussed σ / zero before consonant under *s*-mobile above, section B4.

An *-s-* from Pre-Greek is normally maintained. The only instances that I know of, where it may have disappeared, are (cf. Fur. 241): σύριχος, σύρισσος / ὑριχός (also -ίσκος, -ίσχος, -ίσσος); συβάλλας / ὑβάλλης; σαγήνη / Cypr. ἀγάνα; σιπύη / ἰπύα. Perhaps Ἑλλάς beside Σελλοί belongs here, too. Another instance could be ἄπιον, which is cognate with Lat. *pirum* which points to *-pis-*.

5.10. K-, T- / zero

There are instances where a velar or a dental may be absent in initial position (Fur. 391, and 131[59]). Dentals may also be absent in inlaut. Examples:

κ / zero: κάνδαρος / ἄνθραξ, καλινδέομαι / ἀλίνδω, κόγχναι / ὄγχναι, κανθήλιον / ἀνθήλιον.

γ / zero: γίννος / ἰννός, but this form may be a late development. As an explanation, one could think of a uvular *q*.

τ / zero: τάγχουρος / ἄγχουρος, τήγανον / ἤγανον, τίφυον / ἴφυον (with ῑ in LSJ);

δ / zero: δελεδώνη / ἑλεδώνη (also ἐ-).

Loss of a dental in inlaut: νέτωπον / νίωπον, ἰθουλίς / ἴουλίς, ἀσίδαρος / ἀσίαρος.

5.11. ν-, λ- / zero

ν- and λ- can also be absent (Fur. 391f): νάφθα / ἄφθα (also ἄ-). λαιψηρός / αἰψηρός, λαμπήνη / ἀπήνη, λατμιενεία / ἀτμιήν. Perhaps, it concerns palatalized n^y, l^y, which are pronounced very 'light'.

5.12. Metathesis, shift of aspiration

There are instances of metathesis. It mostly concerns ρ, sometimes λ. The consonant jumps to the other side of the vowel or the consonant: κιρσός / κρισσός, κριξός; τέρμινθος / τρέμιθος. Cf. Τερμίλαι / Τρεμίλαι; ἄρπιξ / ἁπρίξ; κέδροπα / κέρδοπα; νάθραξ / νάρθηξ. In most cases, it cannot be determined what the original configuration was. In a case like ἔρβως / εὖρως, where β may stand for (or continue) ϝ, I would think that the ϝ was anticipated. It may concern an original r^w.

The cases of σπ / ψ and σκ / ξ are discussed in 5.5 above.

Shift of aspiration is found in some cases: θριγκός / τριγχός, ἀθραγένη / ἀνδράχνη. In the case of φάτνη / πάθνη the metathesis seems to have occurred in the later history of Greek (Beekes 2003).

5.13 Secondary phonetic developments

1. We may assume secondary phonetic developments, either in Greek or perhaps already in the original language. One might consider:

βδ- > βλ-: βδαροί / ἄβλαροι. For this case, cf. 5.7b δ / λ.
βδ > βρ: βδέλλιον / βρέλλιον (Fur. 308)
γδ- > δ-: γδοῦπος / δοῦπος
δν- > γν-: δνόφος / γνόφος
κμι- > μ-: κμιέλεθρον / μέλαθρον
ψ- > σπ-: ψενδυλ- / σπονδύλη? See 5.5.6 above.
ψ- > σ-: ψέφας / σεῖφα; ψίττακος / σίττακος; cf. Ψαπφώ, Σαπφώ.

2. α > ο before υ in the following syllable. The *a* was probably pronounced a little higher before the *u*, and was realized as [å], which resulted in ο. Examples: ἀξουγγία > ὀξύγγιον, καλύβη > κόλυβος, *σκαραβ- (κάραβος) > σκορόβυλος, δορύκνιον for *δ(α)ρυκν-.

5.14 Other variation

There are a few instances of isolated and puzzling variation. I mention just one, the word for 'night', where we have ψέφας, κνέφας, δνόφος, ζόφος. I think that in some of these cases, the solution may be found in a cluster. Carian, for example, allows an initial cluster *kbd-*. Such clusters would have been simplified in Greek. In an inherited word, we have the parallel of Lat. *pecten*, Gr. κτείς, which is supposed to

continue **pkt-*. If we assume a cluster **kdn-* in our example, it may have been reduced to *kn-* or, with loss of the first consonant, to *dn-*. Thus, the process is the same as the reduction γδ- > δ-, see 5.13 above. Such variant simplifications are typical for loanwords. In this way, we could connect two of the words; but I see no way to connect the other two.

6. Vowel variation

6.1 Single vowels (timbre)

The vowels show many variants. I will discuss them in the following order: first *a*, then *e* and *o*; and within each of these groups first the short vowel, then the diphthongs, then the long vowel (and the long diphthongs, but these hardly occur). Note that a variation x / y is not repeated under y.

1. the vowel α.

1a. α / ε has 80 occurrences in Furnée's material (347). Examples: ἄγχουσα / ἔγχουσα, ἄρυσος / ἔρυσος, γάλινθοι / γέλινθοι, ζακελτίς / ζεκελτίς, καίατα / καιέτας, κάμπος / κέμπορ, κάχρυς / κέγχρος, σάνδυξ / σενδούκη.

1b. α / ο. This interchange also occurs frequently. Fur. 339 mentions that he found 80 instances. Examples: ἀξουγγία / ὀξύγγιον, ἀρρωδέω / ὀρρωδέω, γράβιον / γοβρίαι, ἠπίαλος / ἠπίολος, κάβαξ / κόβακτρα, καλύβη / κόλυβος, λυκαψός / λύκοψος.

1c. α / αι (Fur. 336ff.). Examples: ἀκραιφνής / ἀκραπνής, ἀσύφηλος / αἰσύφιος, λάγματα / λαίγματα. The ι here is due to the following palatalized consonant.

1d. α / αυ (Fur. 302[37]). Examples: καναύστρον / κάναστρον, μνάσιον / μναύσιον; ἄλοξ / αὖλαξ. In the last example, the υ is probably due to the following labialized phoneme *l*^{w}.

1e. α / ω: κλάδος / κλῶναξ.

1f. αι / ει (Fur. 352 Anm. 4, 339 Anm. 2). Examples: καιρία / κειρία, κύπαιρος / κύπειρος, λαιαί / λεῖαι. Both αι and ει are due to the following palatalized consonant.

1g. αυ / ευ (Fur. 353 Anm. 5). Examples: λαυκανίη / λευκανίη, πέταυρον / πέτευρον; αὖλαξ / εὐλάκα.

1h. αυ / ω, ο (Fur. 301[32]). Examples: κασαύρα(ς) / κασωρίς, θαῦμα / θῶμα, σαῦσαξ / σώσικες, βαύκαλον / βῶκος, καλαῦροψ / κολλώροβον / κολλόροβον.

1i. ᾱ / αι (Fur. 338). Examples: λήθαργος / λαίθαργος, ληκάω / λαικάζω, πήγανον / φαίκανον.

1j. ᾰ / ᾱ. Examples: λᾰδος (λῆδιον) / λᾶδος (λήδιον).

2. the vowel ε.

2a. ε / α: see under α.

2b. ε / ι (Fur. 355ff.). Examples: βλίτυξ / βλέτυες, ἐβίσκος / ἰβίσκος, δέπας / Myc. *dipa*, ἔντυβον / ἴντυβος, κελλόν / κίλλιξ, κιλλίβας / κελλίβας, κύτεσος / κύτισος, λέσφος / λίσπος (φ). The *e* was not phonologically distinguished from *i*, and they were phonetically close.

2c. ε / ι / υ (Fur. 354[55]). Example: κεχράμος / κίχραμος (κιγκράμας) / κύχραμος.

2d. ε / ευ (Fur. 115). Example: ἄργετος / ἄρκευθος.
2e. ει / αι: see αι.
2f. ει / η (Fur. 339 Anm. 2). Examples: κείθιον (χείτιον) / κήθιον, χειραμός / χηραμός.
2g. ευ / ε: see ε / ευ.
2h. ευ / αυ: see αυ.
2i. ε / η (Fur. 358[42]). Examples: ἔνυστρον / ἤνυστρον, μέρμιερος / μέρμηρα, ψάκελον / βάκηλον, μήδεα / μέδεα (μέζεα); Πηλαγόνες / Πελαγόνες.
2j. η / ι (Fur. 171[114]). Examples: βλῆτον / βλίτον, σκῆνος / σκίναρ, ψημύθιον / ψιμύθιον.

3. the vowel o.
3a. ο / α: see α.
3b. ο / ι (Fur. 191[37]). Examples: ἄκονος / ἄκινος, ἰβρίκαλοι / ὀβρίκαλα, Ὄνογλιν / ὄνιγλιν.
3c. ο / υ (Fur. 358ff.). Examples: ὄλονθος / ὄλυνθος, σκολοβρέω / σκολυβρός, σκύτη / -κόττα, κυδώνιον / κοδώνεα, κυρσέας / κορσίς, πρύτανις / πρότανις, τοπεῖον / στυππεῖον. ο and υ were phonetically very close, and not distinguished phonologic-ally (cf. on ε / ι).
3d. ο / ου (Fur. 359). Examples: βρόκος / βροῦκος, κολοτέα / κολούτεα (also -λυ-, -λω-).
3e. ο / ω (Fur. 279). Examples: γνοτέρα / γνωτέρα, κολλώροβον / κολλόροβον, φασίωλος / φασίολος (also -ουλος), ὤρυγγες / ὄρυξ, -γος; ὠσχοί / ὄσχη.
3f. οι / υ (Fur. 127). Example: χραμαδοῖλαι / ἀχραδαμύλα (ἀκραμύλα).
3g. οι / ου (Fur. 358). Examples: κολουτία / κολοιτία (κολοτέα), ψούδιον / ψοίθης?
3h. ου / υ (Fur. 120[29]). Examples: κτύπος / γδουπέω, κροῦναι / γρῦνός.
3i. ου / ω (Fur. 133). Examples: μωκάομαι / μουκήζει; λούπης / λώβηξ (Fur. 148).
3j. ω / η. Example: θρῶναξ / ἀνθρήνη.
3k. ω / υ (Fur. 302[35]). Examples: ζώγιος / ζύγγιος, ὔσσωπος / ἰσσύπος, λωβεύω / λυβάζειν.
3l. ο / ε. Example: γοργυρα / γεργυρα

4. ι / υ. There is some variation between ι and υ, but I do not know how to interpret it. Examples (Fur. 364ff.): αἰσυμνάω / αἰσιμνάω; ἀνθρίσκος / ἄνθρυσκον; βίδην / βυδοί; βρικός / βρυκός; ζύγαστρον / σίγιστρον; κινώπετον / κυνοῦπες; κύβεσις / κίβισις; μάρσιππος / μάρυππος.

5. υ / ε. Example: γυργαθός / γεργαθος.

The behavior of the diphthongs may be summarized as follows:

αι / ει	and (vice versa)	ει / αι
αυ / ευ, ω		ευ / αυ
οι / υ, ου		
ου / υ, οι, ω		

All this variation is understandable in terms of adaptation of a three-vowel system.

6.2. Long / short:
One may doubt whether Pre-Greek had a distinction of long and short vowels (see B1). We do find η and ω, however, but not very often, and the latter has several variants. On the other hand, the variations ω / ο and η / ε are not very frequent (although in this case also the difference in timbre may have been important, depending on the Greek dialect). Variation between long en short ι and υ is frequent, especially in suffixes: γήθυον / γάθια, κύβεσις / κίβησις, θῖβις / θίβις, κρίμνον / κρῖμνον, θρῖναξ / θρινάκη; ψημύθιον / ψιμῠ́θιον, σπον
κᾰ́ραβος / καράμβιος (cf. κηραφίς), φενᾱκίζω / πηνηκίζω 'deceive'; Ὠγην(-) / Ὤγεν(-); γνοτέρα / γνωτέρα.

There is some evidence for short vowel + CC alternating with long vowel + C: e.g. μῦκος / μύσκος; Λάρῑσα / Λάρισσα; see B 1 on -ιξ, -υξ.

6.3. Single vowel / diphthong:
There are several instances where a diphthong varies with a single vowel. They can be found above (6.1). Most frequent is α / αι, but this is due to the effect of a following palatalized consonant. We further find α / αυ, ε / ευ, and ου / υ and οι / υ. In two cases we find diphthong alternating with a long vowel: αι / ᾱ, ει / η. Examples were given above.

6.4. Rising diphthongs?
Relatively frequent in Pre-Greek words are sequences of a more closed vowel followed by a more open one, sequences that are not found in IE. They would be rising diphthongs if they formed one syllable, but in fact we may have to do with two syllables. Examples are:
-εα-: σεᾱγών (σι-, συ-)
-ια-: βατιάκη, θίασος, θρίαμβος, σίαλον, φιάλη, φιαρός. Note σιᾱγών (σε-, συ-)
-ιυ-: ἰυγή
-υα-: βρυαλίζων, γύαλον (γυε-), κύαμος, πύαλος, πύανον, συαγρίς
-υε-: γυέλιον (γύαλον), πύελος (πυα-)

Remarkable, too, is the sequence -ωυ- in πῶυ(γ)ξ, μωύς.

6.5. Secondary vowels (or elision)
Sometimes, words show a vowel that is absent in nearly identical forms. It mostly concerns vowels between a stop and a resonant. It is often not clear whether the presence or the absence of a vowel is secondary. See Fur. 378-385. Examples: βράγχια / βαράγχια; δορύκνιον for *δρυκν- in στρυχν-; σκέρβολος / σκέραφος; κνύζα / (σ)κόνυζα; σκόροδον / σκόρδον; τονθορύζω / τονθρύζω; Ἀρεπυία / Ἅρπυια; κνώψ / κινώπετον / κυνοῦπες; Κορύβαντες / Κύρβαντες.

C. Morphology

1. Reduplication

Some forms seem to have reduplication, though we often cannot demonstrate this. Most frequent is partial reduplication, where only the first consonant and a vowel are repeated. The vowel is mostly ε or ι.

Examples: βέβραξ; βέ(μ)βρος; γάγγαμον; γαγγλίον; γαγγραίνα; γίγαρτον; γίγγλυμος; κίκυβος; σέσυφος / Σίσυφος (cf. σόφος); μεμαίκυλον (also μι-); νενίηλος; σέσελι(ς); σίσυρα (also -υρνα); μεμβράς(?); perhaps κίκυμος; κίχραμος (also κε-, κυ-, κιγκ-); δενδρύω. Also the names Κέκροψ; Πεπάρηθος; Τιταρήσιος; Λέλεγες. With prenasalization we find τενθρηδών, τενθρήνη (cf. άνθρηδών, θρῶναξ). In these examples, I neglect the fact that there may (or may not) be prenasalization.

Other reduplication vowels are found in: λάλαμις (cf. λαῖλαψ), κοκρύς, perhaps also γιγγῆλιξ.

Intensive reduplication in: μόρμορος (μορμυραία), μαρμαρυγη.

More difficult to judge are γέλγις next to άγλῖς (perhaps from *γε-γλ-, ά-γλ-), κέρκα next to ἄκρις (if from *κε-κρ-, ά-κρ-). Also Μεμβλίαρος beside Βλίαρος (cf. μεμβράς), Μεμβλίς = Μέλος, also Μιμαλλίς.

A completely different type is perhaps found in άμάμαξυς (cf. άμαξίς), and perhaps also άμαμιθάδες.

2. Suffixes

2.1 Introduction

It appears that most suffixes have the same structure. They contain a consonant; if this is a stop, it can be prenasalized, i.e. -β- or -μβ-, -θ- or -νθ-, etc. The stop has its usual variants, like β / π / φ, etc., although mostly one of these is predominant. The suffix usually starts with one of the vowels of the language, mostly α, ι, υ (we find ε or ο only rarely, e.g. ὄλονθος beside ὄλυνθος). Thus, we may find e.g. αγγ – ιγγ – υγγ; ανθ – ινθ – υνθ, etc.

A different structure is present in suffixes containing -ν- (mostly followed by a vowel) directly after the root-final consonant: e.g. κύδνος, πισάκνα, μόλυχνον, φενακνίς, σαταρνίς. In this way, the groups -ρν-, -δν-, -κν-, -μν- in Pre-Greek words probably originated. In the case of -μν-, we often find a vowel again: -αμιν-, -ιμν-, -υμν-. The groups -μν- and -ρν- are especially frequent. They are very important, as they are found in Etruscan, which for the rest shows little agreement with Pre-Greek; -μν- is found as far as in Cappadocian (see Beekes *BiOr* 59 (2002): 441f.). Perhaps, the groups -ανν-, -ινν-, -υνν- arose in this way, too.

Other consonants are found in suffix-initial position, too: e.g., -ρ-, -δ-, -γ-, rarely -λ-. Examples: ψυδρός, κύριθρα, παναγρίς, φάλακρος; σκαπέρδα; λάθαργος; ὄνιγλιν.

It is often possible to determine to which series the Pre-Greek consonant belonged. Thus, -αιν- could render *-an^{y}-*, while *-al^{y}-* seems to have resulted in -αλλ- (or -ελλ- with coloring of the vowel). Likewise, -ειρ- could represent *-ar^{y}-*. This thesis would be nicely supported by the segment -αυρ-, if this represents *-ar^{w}-* (e.g. αύροσχάδες beside άρασχάδες, if this form had *-ar^{w}-*). Cf. B1 above.

Another type of suffix has σ followed by a dental: κάνασθον (-στρον), λαιστρόν or another stop ἔνθρυσκον, αὐροσχάς, κανναβίσκα; these forms may have been partly adapted to Greek suffixes (-τρον). See below on the suffix -στ-.

A form such as -ευτ- is deviating; we do not often find a diphthong before the consonant. Does it stand for *-*aut*- from -*at*^{w}? Cf. -*aiu̯*- in ἔλαιον, where we may suspect *ay*^{w} or *aw*^{y} (but it may be part of the root). See further section B1.

Not seldom do we find a long and a short vowel with a suffix (= consonant), e.g. ιθ – ῑθ, υκ – ῡκ. In the case of ῡρ, one might again think of *ur*^{y} > *uir*, although *r*^{y} is a rare phoneme (like *m*^{y}).

2.2 Survey of the suffixes

In principle, we find one of the three vowels of the language followed by a (prenasalized) consonant: a, i, u + $^{(m)}$P, $^{(n)}$T, $^{(n)}$K. The groups actually found are, in Greek letters (forms in brackets are rare or less frequent):

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
aNC		αμβ		(αντ)	ανδ	ανθ		αγγ	
iNC					ινδ	ινθ		ιγγ	
uNC		υμβ		(υντ)	υνδ	(υνθ)		υγγ	

So, we do not find: 1. VNπ and 3. VNφ, 7. VNκ, 9. VNχ (except for δαλαγχαν).

In the same way, we find vowel + C. The consonant may have the normal variation: plain, voiced, aspirated. A palatalized consonant could color a preceding and/or a following /a/ to [ε], which may also appear as ει. This phenomenon is often seen in languages with palatalized consonants, such as Russian and Irish. Thus, we find -*ar*^{y}- represented as -αιρ- (-ειρ- is also possible). A palatalized -*l*^{y}- may be rendered as a geminate -λλ-.

If a labialized consonant followed or preceded an α, this vowel may have been perceived as (an allophone of) /o/. For example, -*ar*^{w}- may be represented as -αυρ-, with anticipation of the labial element, but also as -ουρ-, in which case the α was colored.

The suffixal consonant may be geminated; as there is frequent variation between single and geminated consonants in the language, there possibly was no opposition.

Vowels could be either short or long; in suffixes, a long vowel was quite frequent. A long *ū* was sometimes represented as ω.

2.3 The material

The examples are mostly taken from Furnée, to whom I refer for details. Words can also be checked in the present dictionary. Variants are given in brackets. I added geographical names (TN) from Fick 1905, and some more material, with references.

1. -αβ-(ο-) (Fur. 107): ἀγράκαβος, ἀλ(λ)άβης, ἀσκάλαβος, ἀττέλε/αβος, κάνναβος, κόλλαβος, μέσ(σ)αβον, λατραβός, μάτταβος. TN Καττάβιος (Rhodes, Fick 47), Κάσταβος (Caria).
2. -αγ-: ἁρπαγ- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 397ff.), λάταξ, οὖραξ.
3. -αγγ-ο-: σφάραγγος.

3a. -αγχ-: δαλάγχαν.

4. -αδ-: ἀρασχάδες, μεμβράς, σπυράδ-.
5. -αθ-ο-: ἀσπάλαθος, γυργαθός, σπύραθοι. TN Ὑρνάθιον (Epidauros).
6. -αι-/-ε(ι)- before a vowel: There are words in -αια / -ε(ι)α, such as γρυμέα / γρυμεία (also γρυμεῖα) / γρυμαία (note the hesitation in the accentuation). I suggest that the suffix was *-ay-(a)*, which was pronounced as [*-æya*] or [*-eya*] (we saw that ει often varies with αι). The speakers of Greek identified the suffix with Gr. -αι- or -ει-, but the *-y-* could also be lost. In this way the three variant forms can be explained. Further examples are κολοιτέα / κολ(ο)υτέα, κορχυρέα (κορκόδρυα in H. is probably an error); κώδεια / κώδεα (note the short α), beside κώδυια / κωδία (these are not entirely clear to me, but cf. Ἀμάθυια / Ἀμάθεια).
   Furthermore, **-ay-a* is likely to be the same suffix as -ειᾰ which makes feminine names, e.g. Ἀμάλθεια, Πηνελόπεια, Ἰφιμέδεια (note that in Myc. *Ipemedeja*, the *-j-* is preserved, cf. Ruijgh 1957: 155[3]). Of course, many place names end in -εια: Καδμεία, Καλαύρεια, Κερύνεια, Μίδεια, Σκελερδεία, Λεβάδεια, etc.
   The final was often adapted to -αίᾱ after the dominant type, which is derived from the adjectives in -αῖος (see Chantraine, *Form.* 91): type ἀναγκαίη; cf. βρυκταία, διρκαία, σιβαία.
   We also find -εία used in nouns: δαυρεία, ζαλεία, κουλυβάτεια.
   Nouns with -εο- are very rare; we find: γωλεός, εἰλεός, κολεόν, νικύλεον, συφεός(?), φωλεός. It may further be found in Ὠκέανος < **-kay-an-*, note the by-forms Ὠγην, Ὠγεν-.
   Beside -αια, -εια, we may expect thematic -αι-ο-; we find it e.g. in δίρκαιον, σπήλαιον, ψιφαῖον; γραψαῖος, *σκαραβαιος (reconstructed by Fur. 169).
7. -αι(ϝ)-ο- (see Fur. 233[22], 255[32]): Partly from -αιϝο-; it is often impossible to establish whether a form had a -ϝ- or not. See also 6. above. Examples: ἀκυλαῖον, ἀραιός, βαγαῖος, βαλαιόν, δίρκαιον, ἔλαιον (Myc. *era$_3$ / rawo*), μάταιος, μεσσαῖον, σίραιον; Ἀχαιϝός. TN Ἀστυπάλαια (Fick: 58).
8. -αιβ-ο-: TN Περραιβοί (Thess.).
9. -αιθ-: TN Σύμαιθα (Thess.), Περαιθεῖς (Arc. deme), Κελαιθεῖς (Thess. deme), Κυναιθεῖς (Arc. deme).
10. -αιν- (Fur. 171[117]): ἄκαινα, -ον, βολίταινα, γάγγραινα, κολύβδαινα (also -υμβ-), κορύφαινα, μύραινα, σμύραινα, τρίαινα.
11. -αιρ-(ο-) represents *-ar^y-*: κύπαιρος (also -ειρον, -ηρις, -ερος), μάχαιρα.
12. -ακ- (Fur. 158[64]): ἀβυρτάκη, αὔλαξ, βατιάκη, δόναξ / δῶναξ / δοῦναξ, θρινάκη (θρῖναξ), θώραξ (also -ηξ, -ᾶκος), καυνάκη, θῦλάκη, πιστάκη, φάρμακον. TN Ζάρᾱξ, -ηξ (Lac.).
13. -αλ(λ)-ο- (Fur. 254[28], Beekes 2008): ἀρύβαλλος, αἰγίθαλ(λ)ος, κορύδαλ(λ)ος (also -ός), πάρδαλος. TN Κασταλία (Phoc. source), Φάρσᾱλος, Στύμφᾱλος (Arc.).
14. -αμβ-ο- (Fur. 184): δῑθύραμβος, θρίαμβος, ἴαμβος, καράμβας, σήραμβος.
15. -αμν-ο-: δίκταμνον, ῥάδαμνος, σφένδαμνος. TN Σέδαμνος (Crete).
15. -αμ-ο-: ἄρταμος. TN Κίσ(σ)αμος (Cos), Πέργαμον, Κώγαμος (Lydia), Κύαμον (Kydon.), Ὕδραμος (Kydon.).

16. -αν-ο-: TN Ἰάρδανος (HN Crete, Elis), Ἀπιδανός (HN Thess.), Ἠριδανός (HN), Ἄνδανος (Fick: 18).
17. -ᾱν-: γεντιανή.
18. -ανδ-: ἀσγάνδης.
19. -ανδρ-: γελανδρόν. TN Τήλανδρος (Fick 51), Τύμανδ(ρ)ος (Pamph.), Μυίανδ(ρ)ος (Fick: 53), Φολέγανδρος.
20. -ανθ/τ- (Fur. 191[35]; 216[71], -αντ- unless otherwise stated): ἀλίβας, ἀσκάνθης (σκάνθας), κιλλίβας (but κελλίβατ-), ὀκρίβας, φάλανθ/τος, Ἄβαντες (Fick: 69, etc.), Μέλανθ/τ-, Πείρανθ/τ-, Γίγαντες, Κορύβαντες. TN Βαβράντιον (Chios).
21. -ανν-: τύραννος.
22. -αξ- (cf. -ιξ-, -οξ-): ἄμαξα, ἀτράφαξυς, σαβάξας (also -κτ-), TN Κυρτάρπαξον (Crete).
23. -απ-ο- (Fur. 235[31]): ἄρναπος, γαυσαπός, μόναπος. TN Μεσσαπιος (Crete, Fick: 24).
24. -αρ (Fur. 134[75]), mostly neuters: ἴκταρ, κύδαρ, νέκταρ, σκίναρ, σῦφαρ; adj. μάκαρ; anim. ὄαρ, δάμιαρ (gen. -ρτος), cf. Myc. *dama* beside *duma*.
25. -αρ- (Fur. 257[36]): ἄσκαρος, βασσάρα, γάδαρος, γίγγλαρος, κίσθαρος, κύσσαρος, λεσχάρα, φάλαρα. Also σίδᾱρος? TN Ἄπταρα (Crete, Lycia), Πάταρα (Lycia), Μέγαρα (Fick: 75), Ἀλλαρία (Crete).
26. -ασ-α/ο- (Fur. 157[57]): κάρπασος, καμασός (κάβαισος), πάγασα. TN Κύρβασα (Crete), Πήδασα (Mess.), Παγασαί (Thess.).
27. -ασσ-ο-: TN Ῥυτιασσός (Crete), Κρυασσός (Crete), Μυκάλησσός, Ταφιασσός (Fick: 32).
28. -ατ-: ἀπάτη, ἡλακάτη. TN Καίρατος (Crete), Μίλατος (Crete, Fick: 27).
29. -αυρ-α/ο- (this may continue *-ar^{w}-*): (ἀ)φαῦρος, φλαῦρος, (ἀ)μαυρός, ἄγλαυρος, θησαυρός, κασαύρα (-ας), λάσταυρος, πέταυρον (ευ). TN Ἐπίδαυρος.
30. -αχ-: βότραχος, κύμβαχος, σελάχος.
30a. -αψ-: λυκαψός, σκινδαψός.
31. -γδ-: perhaps ἄπριγδα [adv.].
32. -γρ- (cf. on -ρ-): παναγρίς, συαγρίς.
33. -εδ-: TN Τένεδος, Λέβεδος, perhaps in Λακεδαίμιων.
34. -εζ-α: see below sub 73. on -ισ-.
35. -ειρ-ο- (may continue *-er^{y}-*, *-ar^{y}-*): αἴγειρος, κύπειρον, σάβειρος (σαπέρδης); Κάβειροι.
36. -ελ-α/ο- (cf. the next): ἀμυσγέλα, ἀσφόδελος, βρίκελος, δρύψελα, (ἐπι)ζάφελος, ἰτθέλα, κύβελα, perhaps δυσπεμπελος.
37. -ελλ-α/ο- (cf. 36.): ἀκρόσπελλος, βάτελλα, βδέλλα, πάτελλα, πέλλα.
38. -εμ-ο- (Fur. 151[42]): ἰάλεμος, κοᾶλεμος, π(τ)όλεμος (if not IE), θελεμών.
39. -ειν-(ο-) (Fur. 151[44]): ἀμφι-κέλειμνον, Καρτεμνίδες. TN Σέλεμνος (Fick: 95).
40. -ενν-α (I wonder whether *n^{y}* could give νν): τήβεννα. Cf. βλέννος. Cf. Lat. (from Etruscan) (*doss-*)*ennus*, *Porsenna*.
41. -ερ-α/ο-: διφθέρα, ἀσκέρα (also -ηρα), κασσίτερος. TN Ὤλερος (Crete).
42. -ετ-ο- (Fur. 115[4]): καιετός, καίπετος, μάσπετον, νέπετος, τηλύγετος? TN Ξυπέτη (Att.), Ταΰγετος.

42a. -ευ- as in nom. -εύς: βασιλεύς; several PNs like Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, Ὀδυσσεύς.
43. -ευρ-: see -αυρ-.
44. -ευτ- (Fur. 173, 181[7]): βασκευταί, κρατευταί.
45. -ηβ-α/ο-: κύρηβος. TN Κάνδηβα, Τένδηβα, Τορρηβός (all in Lydia).
46. -ηθ-(ο-): TN Πεπάρηθος, Σεσάρηθος (Fick 67), Κικύνηθος (Pagas.), Πάρνης, -ηθ- (Att.). Cf. -αθ-.
47. -ηκ-, -ηχ- (Fur. 199, 245[70]): βήρηξ, δάνδηξ, λώβηξ, πήληξ, τράφηξ, φήληξ; κύμηξ / κύμηχα.
48. -ηλ-ο- (Fur. 115[5]): ἁβρόκηλος, ἁβύρβηλος, ἀσύφηλος, βάκηλος, κάβηλος, κίβδηλος, νενίηλος, τράχηλος, φάσηλος.
49. -ήν (Fur. 172[118]): ἁτμήν, ἀτταγήν, αὐχήν (ἄμφην), βαλ(λ)ήν, δοθιήν, ἐσσήν, καμασήν (-ασός), κυφήν, σειρήν, σωλήν, ταγήν, τιβήν, perhaps ἀδήν. TN Θηρήν (Crete, Fick: 25), Τροιζήν, Ἀραδήν (Crete).
50. -ην-: γλαβρήνη.
51. -ηρ: σπίνθηρ; Αἰγλάηρ? TN Ποθηρεύς (Crete), Κύθηρα.
52. -ηρ- (Fur. 204[10]): ἄβδηρα, ἄνδηρα, αἰψηρός, ἀσκάληρον, ἀσκηρά (-έρα); ἰμβηρις, κύπηρις, λεβηρίς.
53. -ησ(σ)-α/ο- (cf. -ασσ-): TN Μάρπησσα (M Paros), Μυκαλησσός (Boeotian, Fick 80); Ἀρδηττός (Att.), Ὑμηττός (Att.).
54. -ητ-(ο-) (Fur. 172[118]): ἁλ(λ)άβης, κάνης, λέβης, μάσθλης, τάπης (Myc. *tepa*). Perhaps also ἄν(ν)ητον (also -θον, -σον)? TN Μᾶσητα (Fick 71).
55. -ητ-: see -ησσ-.
56. -ηψ-ο-: TN Αἴδηψός (Euboea), Γαληψός (Thracia).
57. -θ-ο- (see Chantraine 1933: 368, and cf. -νθος): βρένθος, κανθός, σπέλεθος, μίνθος.
58. -θρ-α/ο-: κύριθρα, μάραθρον; HN Λίβηθρα. On -αθρον see Fur. 303[39]: κάν(ν)αθρον, σπάλαθρον. Cf. on -στρ-ον.
59. -ῑβ-: ἐρυθῑβη.
60. -ῑγ-: μαστῑγ-, πεμφιγ-.
61. -ιγγ/κ/χ-: ἄστλιγγας, βρυτιγγοί, ἔλμιγγος, θρίγγος (also -ιγκ-, -ιγχ-), θῶμιγξ, -γγος, ὄλιγγος.
62. -ῑδ- (cf. -ινδ-, Fur. 324[7]): βαλβίς, γελγίς, κηλίς, κρηπίς, σφρᾱγίς.
63. -ιδ-να (probably a combination of two suffixes, cf. on -ν-): ἀράχιδνα (cf. ἄρακος, -χ-).
64. -ῑθ-, -ιθ- (cf. -ινδ-): ἄγλις, -ῑθ-, αἰγιθαλος, αἰγιθος, γάλιθοι, ἡλίθιος, κάλιθος.
65. -ικ- (cf. -ιχ-, Fur. 226[102]): κάλικον, κύρνικα, λέ(ί)κρικα, μυρίκη (later ῑ), νώρικον, σώσικες.
65a -ῑκ-: Φοίνικες.
66. -ιλ-, -ῑλ-: αἰγίλωψ, κονίλη, μέσπιλον, μαρίλη, μυστίλη, (σ)πατίλη (-ῑλ-) = παστίλη, στρόβῑλος. TN Σκανδίλη (Cos).
67. -ιλλ-α/ο-: ἄργιλλος, ἄμιλλα, ἄριλλα, ἄσιλλα, ῥόβιλλος.
68. -ιμν-α/ο- (Fur. 246[71]): μέδιμνος (also -ί-), μέριμνα, σίδριμνον.
69. -ιν-α/ο-: ἄκινος, ἀπόλινον, (βα)βάκινον, γοσσύπινον, κότινος, ὀξίνα. TN Μύρινα (Lemnos), Σίκινος (Cyclades).

70. -ῑν-(ο-): κύμινον, πυτίνη, ῥητίνη, σέλινον, φοξῖνος, φορίνη. TN Σαλαμῖν-.
71. -ινδ- (cf. -ινθ- and -ιδ-, -ιτ-): κύβινδις, ἄλινδον. TN Κραυσίνδων (R), Πύρινδος (Caria).
72. -ινθ-(ο-) (cf. -ινδ-): αἴγινθος, ἀσπίνθιον, λαβύρινθος, λίμινθες. TN Κήρινθος (Euboea), Κόρινθος (Fick 74).
72a. -ιξ-: κοτίξις, κυνίξεις, σόρνιξα.
72b. -ῑπ-ο-: TN Εὔρῑπος.
73. -ισ-α/ο-: ἅρπισα (-εζα), κύτισος. TN Λάρισα, Κεδρισός, Κηφισός (-ῑσος = -ισσος, Fick 25, 61).
73a. -ισκ-ο-: ἀλθίσκον, ἴβισκος, μαρίσκος, ὑρίσκος (and variants).
74. -ιτ-α/ο- (cf. -ιδ-, -ιθ-, Fur. 163): βάρβιτος, βόλ(β)ιτον, πόρφιτον. TN Σύβριτα (Crete).
75. -ιχ- (cf. -ικ-): ἄρσιχος.
76. -κν- (probably a combination of -ν- with a preceding consonant; see sub 78 on -ν-): ἄβαρκνα, δορύκνιον, πισάκνα, φιδάκνη.
77. -μ-: TN Λάτμος (Caria), Πάτμιος.
78. -ν- (Fur. 132[65]), where a preceding velar may become aspirated: ἀράχνη, δαυχνα-, κέρκνος, κύδνος, κυλίχνιον, πελίχνη, σαταρνίς, ὕτνον / ὕδνον, ψύδνος; Κάβαρνος. TN Κύθνος (Cyclades).
79 -οξ- (cf. -ιξ-): μοροξός (also -χθ-).
80. -οπ- (Fur. 107), often there is a variant with -αβ-: ἔλ(λ)οψ, καλαῦροψ, -πος (-όφις), κόλλοψ, σκάλοψ. TN Κορόπη (Thess.), Κασσιόπη (Corc.).
81. -ορ- (see also the section on word end): ἄχορα (-υρα), λέπορις.
82. -οσσ-α, -οττ-α: TN Ἑρμώνοσσα (Chios), Ἀζιοττηνος (Lydia).
83. -ουλ-: φασίουλος (-ωλος)?
84. -ουρ- (may contine -*ar*^{w}-): ἴνδουρος, κάβουρος, λιγγούριον (also λο-, λυ-), παλίουρος, πάνδουρα, σάγουρον, τάγχουρος. TN Λυκόσουρα (Arc., the oldest town of all; Fick: 93).
85. -ουσ(σ)- (Fur. 197[55]): ἄγχουσα (also ἔ-), αἴθουσ(σ)α (also αἴδωσσα), κάδουσα. TN Ἀκίδουσα, Κηλοῦσα (M Κήλωσσα).
86. -πν- (this may rather be a suffix -ν- after a root): θεράπνη, ὄμπνη.
87. -πτ- (this suffix probably consisted of one phoneme *p*^{y}): μαρυπτόν, πέσσυ(μ)πτον, σάναπτιν.
88. -ρ- (Fur. 124[37]; 215[62]): βάλαγρος, γήλιγρος, σίγραι; Ἴδαγρος (= Lyc. *idākre*?). See also the suffixes -ρν-, -ργ- and -γρ-.
89. -ργ-: λάθαργος (also -αι-, -η-).
90. -ρδ-: TN Κύαρδα (Caria).
91. -ρν- (Fur. 48[126], 215[62]): ἀκαρνάν (ἀκάρναξ), κυβερνάω, λιπερνέω (also λιφ-), σκέπαρνος. We also find variants without -ν-: σίσυρνα / σίσυρα, κυβερνάω / κυμερῆναι, σαταρνίδες / σαταρίδες, κίσιρνις / κίσσιρις. Therefore, the cluster probably arose by addition of the suffix -ν-. Note that -*rn*- is found in Etruscan and already in Cappadocian (Fur. 48[126]). See also the suffix -ρ-. TN Φαλάσαρνα (Crete), Λέρνα, Ἀλίκυρνα (Aet.).

92. -σα: There are several words in -σα: δέψα, δίψα, κόψα (κοψία), κάψα (κάμψα), perhaps λάψα.
93. -σκ-: ὑρίσκος (-χ-, -σσ-).
94. -σ- (Fur. 254[27], in several cases this does not seem to be a suffix, but rather the end of a root; cf. on -ασ-, -ισ-, -υσ-): ἄλσος, κάβαισος (also -ασ-), μύσος, πῖσος, φάρσος. TN Πρίανσος (Crete).
95. -σσ-: κύπασσις, κυπάρισσος, σάρισσα.
96. -στ-: ἀλάβαστος, θεμιστ- (cf. Myc. *temitija* / *timitija*), λεπαστή, πλατάνιστος. TN Κάρυστος, Φαιστός.
97. -στρ- (cf. -θρ-): ἀλάβαστρον, δέπαστρον (also λ-), ἔνυστρον (also ἦ-), ζύγαστρον, λαι(σ)τρόν, σίγιστρον.
98. -τ-: ἄσφαλτος, ἄτρακτος, ἄφλαστον.
99. -ττ- (see 5.5 on ττ / σσ): κυριττοί, προκόττα; Φέρεφαττα.
100. -υβ-: ἔντυβον, θόρυβος, ἴντυβος (also -ουβ-), σίλλυβος, σκόλυβος (also -μ-), σκολύβρα (-οβ-); cf. ὀχθοιβός.
101. -υγγ-: λάρυγξ, πῖσυγγος, σπῆλυγγ-, φάρυγξ.
102. -υδ-: ἀμύς, -δος, ἐμύς, κορυδός, πτηλαμύς, χλαμύς.
103. -υδνα: TN Καλυδνά (Cos).
104. -υθ-, -ῡθ-: ἀγνῦς, λήκυθος.
105. -υι-α: ἄγυια, κώδυια; Ἄρπυια. TN Κινδυία (Crete, also Κινδύη, Fick 18, 24).
106. -υκ-: ἄμπυξ, ἴδυξ, σκαρδάμυκτος. TN Νᾶρυξ (Locris).
107. -ῡκ-: δοῖδυξ, κῆρυξ, -υκος, καρύκ(κ)η, σάνδυξ.
108. -υλ- (Fur. 205[14]): ἀρβύλη, δάκτυλος, κανθύλη, κρωβύλη, μιμαίκυλον (also με-), σφόνδυλος (also σπ-).
109. -ῡλ-: (σ)κορδύλη, σφονδύλη (also σπ-). TN Καρδαμύλη (Mess.).
110. -υλλ-: Σίβυλλα.
111. -υμ-: γέρσυμιον, γίγγλυμος, -θέλυμνος. TN Κάρυμαι (Crete).
112. -υμβ-: ἴθυμβος, κόλυμβος.
113. -υμν- (cf. Fur. 243[66] on *-umn-* in Etruscan and Cappadocian): αἰσυμνάω, σίγυμνος. TN Ῥίτ/θυμνα (Crete), Λάρυμνα (Locr.).
114. -ῡν- (see also the suffix -υνν-): βόθυνος, σιγύνη (cf. -υνν-), λάγυνος. TN Γόρτυν (Crete).
115. -υνν-: σίγυννος, Δίκτυννα. Cf. on -ῡν-.
116. -υνδ- (cf. -υνθ / τ-): Βερεκύνδαι. TN Καμύνδιος (Rhodes).
117. -υνθ/τ-: βόλυνθον, ὄλυνθος; Βερεκύνθ/ται. TN Ζάκυνθος (+88), Τίρυνς.
118. -υξ-: TN Ὀλόφυξος (Athos).
119. -υπ-: ἴσσυπος (older ὕσσωπος), μάρσυππος, οἰσύπη, τολύπη.
120. -υρ-: ἀήσυρος, ἄχυρα (also -ορα), ζέφυρος, μαυκυρόν, λάθυρος, ὀνυρίζεται, σατύρος. TN Ἔλυρος (Crete), Τέγυρα (Boeotia), Νίσυρος (Cos).
121. -ῡρ-: ἄγκυρα, ἀνάγυρος (also ὀνό-), γέφῡρα, λάφυρον, πλημυρίς, πίτυρον.
122. -υσ- (on -υστρον see -στρον): ἄρυσος.
123. -υτ-: πινυτός, νηπύτιος. TN Λαγινάπυτον (Crete), Κολλυτός (Crete).
124. -υφ-: κέλῡφος.
125. -υχ-: βό(σ)τρυχος. TN Μόσυχλον (Lemnos).

126. -φθ-: κροσσόφθον, λάκαφθον, μόλοφθος, νά(σ)καφθον, σαρρυφθεῖν.
127. -φ- (on -αφ-ο- see Chantraine *Form.* 263): ἀργέλοφοι (also -ιλ-), μαστροφός (also -πός), σέριφος, σέσυφος.
128. -ωκ-: TN Κοθωκίδαι (Att., Fick 70).
129. -ωλ-: ἀποφώλιος (?), φάσκωλος. TN Κίμωλος (Cyclades).
130. -ωμ-: βάρωμος.
131. -ων- (Fur. 303[39]): ἀλκυών, ἠϊών, σανδών, σινδών, σχαδών.
132. -ωπ- (a variant is -ουπ-): θυμαλωψ, αἰγίλωπ-, κινώπετον (κυνοῦπες). TN Εὐρωπός / α (Crete), Κασσώπη (Epirus).
133. -ωρ- (Fur. 211[50]): ἀχώρ, ἀμάνωρ, βιάτωρ, ἰχώρ, λείτωρ. TN Πίλωρος (Chalc., Fick 22).
134. -ωσσ (see -ουσ(σ)-): TN Διρφωσσός (Euboea), Πιδωσσός (Caria, Fick 26).
135. -ωτ- (Fur. 283[83]; 384[132]): ἀσκαλαβώτης, -καυδωτόν, κῖβωτός, κράμβωτον, οἰσπώτη. TN Θεσπρωτοί.

3. Word end

Word end provides an interesting situation, as some original finals of the Pre-Greek language may have been preserved. Of course, Greek endings must be removed, notably -ος, -ον. Thus, -ιον, -υον may often continue original -ι, -υ: cf. Myc. *dunijo* next to *duni*. The words in -νθος have replaced almost all of those in -νθ- (as in Τίρυνθ-).

3.1. words ending in a vowel

a. -α. A short -α can only come from **-ya* < **-ih₂* in inherited Greek words. In all other cases, we may be dealing with a Pre-Greek ending *-a* that was originally short. It is often difficult to see whether -α is short or long; the material requires further study. Examples: ἄβαρκνα, ἀγάννα, ἀγέρδα, ἄδαλτα (?), αἴκουδα, ἄβδηρα, ἄκαρα, ἄκορ-να, ἀκόστιλα, ἀκτάρα, ἄλαρα, ἀμουχρά, ἄρδα, ἀσταγάνα, ἄφθα, βρούκα, γόδα, γόλα, δάξα, δάρδα, δαλάγχα, θάπτα, μόδα, ῥόμιξα, σάττα, σόρνιξα, σοῦα, κέδροπα (also χ-), etc. Note forms in -υα, like ἄρυα, and in -εννα. Note, further, σαλαμάνδρα, σκολόπενδρα.

For words ending in -σα, see the list of suffixes.

b. -ι. IE words (neuters) in -ι are very rare in Greek. Examples of Pre-Greek words in -ι: ζάκτι, κόρι, σίναπι, τάγυρι (ταγύριον), ἀκαρί. We may assume that many words ending in -ιον, -υον originally ended in -ι, -υ. Final -ις is frequent, too.

c. -υ. ἀβαρύ, κόνδυ, μῶλυ. For -υον, see the foregoing. Final -υς is also found several times: ἄγδυς, ἄρπυς, ἀτράφαξυς, βίθυν, βλέτυς, -μένδυς, μίμαρκυς, μωύς, πηλαμύς, ῥάπυς.

d. -ευς. Though the ending may also be inherited from IE, in many words it is clearly of Pre-Greek origin, e.g. βασιλεύς (Myc. *qa-si-re-u*), Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς. I withdraw my considerations in FS Kortlandt on this point.

e. -ω. κοθώ, κόρθω, μοτώ, τῖτώ, Γελλώ. The suffix also makes feminine names in -ώ: Λητώ, Σαπφώ. It is usually assumed that the original inflection of all words in -ώ

derives from stems in *-*oi*-; I assume that Pre-Greek words secondarily joined this inflection. Words in -ως are masculine: ἀχαρνώ(ς), ἥρως; Μίνως, Τάλως.

3.2. words ending in -ρ

a. -αρ. ἄσαρ(ον)?, ἀκχάνταρ, βάκαρ, ἐλίμαρ, κύδαρ, νέκταρ, νῶκαρ, σελίαρ.

b. -ορ. Examples: ἀδιγόρ, ἀκκόρ, κακκόρ, κέμμορ (also -μπ-), πίσορ.

c. -υρ. Examples: ψίθυρ, (Dor.) μάρτυρ.

d. -ωρ. Examples: ἄχωρ, ἰχώρ, κέλωρ, ψόθωρ.

3.3. words with a nom. in -ξ or -ψ.

a. -ξ (stem in -κ-) is found quite often:

-αξ: ἄβαξ, ἀκάρναξ, ἄμβαξ, ἀνδράφαξ, ἄνθραξ, βύσταξ, μάλβαξ, σαῦσαξ. ἄναξ has a stem in -κτ-.
-āξ: φέναξ, ῥάξ, σφήξ
-ηξ: δάνδηξ, βήρηξ
-ιξ: ἄδδιξ, ἀνθέριξ, ἀπρίξ, κόλιξ, ἄρπιξ
-οξ: βέβροξ, βίρροξ
-ουξ: βρούξ
-υξ: βλίτυξ, γόρτυξ; Πνύξ, Στύξ.

Note acc. βάλλεκα; acc. βρίγκα.

b. -ψ: λάτραψ, λαῖλαψ, ἄλιψ, κόριψ, αἰγίποψ, κόλλοψ, μέροψ, γύψ, μόνωψ. Monosyllabic: χρέμψ.

4. words in -ν: βαλλήν, καρβάν; Ωγήν. κίνδυν, μόσσυν, ῥώθυνες.

5. words ending in -ας (ā-stems): ἀβάς, ἄβλας, ἄθρας(?), ἀμφίας, ἀσκαλώπας, ἀσκωνδας, ἀτταγᾶς, βαδάς (βατᾶς), βασκᾶς, βύας, καλαβάς, κασᾶς; Ἀθάμας, Ἀσγελατας.

With a stem in -αντ-: ἀλίβας (-ντ-), λυκάβας (-ντ-) etc.; see the suffix section.
With stem in αδ-: ἀχράς, βουνιάς, πρημνάς; see the suffix section.

D. The unity of Pre-Greek

The material itself shows that we are largely dealing with one language, or a group of closely related dialects or languages. Of course, we cannot demonstrate in each and every case that the words that are non-Greek belong to this same language. The bulk of the known non-Greek words, however, seem to fit the general picture of the Pre-Greek substrate. For example, κότθυβος / κόσυμβος does not only show the element σσ / τθ, well-known from geographical names, but also the suffix -υβ- with prenasalization. The pair κρόσσιον / κρότιον also shows the element σσ / τ, but κρόσσοφθον has a suffix added that is also typical for this language. The word δαλάγχαν next to θάλασσα (-ττα) again has the suffix σσ / ττ, but also prenasalization. ἄστλιγξ / ὄστλιγξ has both the typical (prenasalized) suffix -ιγγ- and variation α / ο. In μήρινθος / σμήρινθος we have the '*s*-mobile' and the well known suffix, while μέρμις, -ιθος has the variant without prenasalization, and σμήριγγες has

a different Pre-Greek suffix. In ἄ(μ)βρυττοι / βρύττος (βρύσσος) we have a combination of a prothetic vowel and prenasalization.

Other languages may well have existed in the area. Thus, it is not certain that Hieroglyphic Minoan reproduces the same language as Linear A. Further, Eteocretan has not yet been connected with other elements and seems isolated.

Another matter is that (non-Indo-European) loanwords from old Europe may have entered Greece, cf. Beekes 2000: 21-31. Moreover, these may have already been adopted in Pre-Greek, as is suggested by ἐρέβινθος, which has a Pre-Greek suffix, but a root which is attested (with some variation) in other European languages. Sometimes, elements from other IE languages may also have been adopted at a very early date, such as πέλεκυς.

However, I think that it is methodologically more sound to start from the assumption that non-Greek words are Pre-Greek. Only when there is reason to assume that they have a different origin, should we consider this option.

E. Pre-Greek is non-Indo-European

Our knowledge of Indo-European has expanded so much, especially in the last thirty years (notably because of the laryngeal theory) that in some cases we can say almost with certainty that an Indo-European reconstruction is impossible. A good example is the word γνᾰθος. In order to explain the *-a-* of this word, we need to introduce a h_2. However, a preform **gnh₂d^h*- would have given Gr. *γνᾱθ-. One might think that assuming **h₂e* would remedy the problem, but **gnh₂ed^h*- would yield *γαναθ-. The conclusion is that no Indo-European proto-form can be reconstructed, and that the word cannot be of Indo-European origin. Another example is the word κρημνός 'overhanging bank', for which a connection with κρέμαμαι 'to hang (up)' used to be evident. However, we now know that most long vowels go back to a short vowel plus a laryngeal, and that long vowels cannot be postulated at random. In this particular case, there are simply no conceivable formations that would contain a long root vowel. This morphological objection is strengthened by the fact that there is no trace of the expected root-final -α- < **-h₂-* (as in κρεμαμαι < **kremh₂-*). Positively, one can say that landscape terms are frequently borrowed from a substrate language. The inevitable conclusion is that the word is Pre-Greek.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A. LANGUAGES

Aegin.	Aeginetan	Gm.	Germanic
Aeol.	Aeolic	Go.	Gothic
Aetol.	Aetolian	Gr.	Greek
Alb.	Albanian	H.	Hesychius
Arc.	Arcadian	Heracl.	Heraclean
Arc.-Cypr.	Arcado-Cyprian	Hitt.	Hittite
Arg.	Argive	HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Arm.	Classical Armenian	IA	Ionic-Attic
Att.	Attic	IE	Indo-European
Av.	Avestan	IIr.	Indo-Iranian
AV	Atharvavedic	Ion.	Ionic
Balt.	Baltic	Ir.	Irish
Bel.	Belorussian	It.	Italic
Boeot.	Boeotian	Khot.	Khotanese
Bret.	Breton	Lac.	Laconian
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	Lat.	Latin
Bulg.	Bulgarian	Latv.	Latvian
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	Lesb.	Lesbian
Co.	Cornish	Lith.	Lithuanian
Corcyr.	Corcyrean	LG	Low German
Cret.	Cretan	Locr.	Locrian
CS	Church Slavic	Luw.	Luwian
Cypr.	Cyprian	Lyc.	Lycian
Cyren.	Cyrenaean	Lyd.	Lydian
Cz.	Czech	MBret.	Middle Breton
Dan.	Danish	MCo.	Middle Cornish
Delph.	Delphian	MDu.	Middle Dutch
Dor.	Doric	ME	Middle English
El.	Elean	Meg.	Megarian
ep.	epic	Mess.	Messenian
Epid.	Epidaurian	MHG	Middle High German
Etr.	Etruscan	MIr.	Middle Irish
Fal.	Faliscan	MLG	Middle Low German
Gaul.	Gaulish	MoDu.	Modern Dutch
gloss.	in glosses	MoE	Modern English

MoFr.	Modern French	PAlb.	Proto-Albanian
MoHG	Modern High German	Pamph.	Pamphylian
MoIr.	Modern Irish	PAnat.	Proto-Anatolian
MoNw.	Modern Norwegian	PCl.	Proto-Celtic
MoP	Modern Persian	PGm.	Proto-Germanic
MoSw.	Modern Swedish	Phoc.	Phocian
MP	Middle Persian	Phryg.	Phrygian
MW	Middle Welsh	PIA	Proto-Ionic-Attic
Myc.	Mycenaean	PIAr.	Proto-Indo-Aryan
NPhr.	New Phrygian	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
NWGr.	North-West Greek	PIr.	Proto-Iranian
Osc.	Oscan	PIt.	Proto-Italic
OAlb.	Old Albanian	Pol.	Polish
OAv.	Old Avestan	PSl.	Proto-Slavic
OBret.	Old Breton	PTo.	Proto-Tocharian
OCo.	Old Cornish	QIE	Quasi-Indo-European
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Rhod.	Rhodian
OCz.	Old Czech	Ru.	Russian
OE	Old English	RuCS	Russian Church Slavic
OFr.	Old Frisian	RV	Rigvedic
OHG	Old High German	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
OIc.	Old Icelandic	Sicil.	Sicilian
OIr.	Old Irish	Skt.	Sanskrit
OLat.	Old Latin	Sln.	Slovene
OLFr.	Old Low Franconian	Sogd.	Sogdian
OLG	Old Low German	Sw.	Swedish
OLith.	Old Lithuanian	Swi.	Swiss German
OP	Old Persian	Thess.	Thessalian
OPhr.	Old Phrygian	ToA	Tocharian A
OPo.	Old Polish	ToAB	Tocharian A and B
OPr.	Old Prussian	ToB	Tocharian B
ORu.	Old Russian	U	Umbrian
OS	Old Saxon	Ukr.	Ukranian
Oss.	Ossetic	Ven.	Venetic
OSw.	Old Swedish	VLat.	Vulgar Latin
OW	Old Welsh	W	Welsh
Pael.	Paelignian	WGm.	West-Germanic
Pal.	Palaic	YAv.	Young Avestan

B. RECONSTRUCTION, GRAMMAR AND TEXT

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
acc. to	according to
act.	active
AD	anno domini
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
athem.	athematic
BC	before Christ
c.	century
cf.	compare
coll.	collective
compar.	comparative
conj.	1. conjecture 2. conjunction
dat.	dative
desid.	desiderative
dial.	dialectal
DN	theonym
du.	dual
e.g.	for example
EN	ethnonym
encl.	enclitic
et al.	and others
f.	feminine
fthc.	forthcoming
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
H	any PIE laryngeal
HN	hydronym
id.	idem
ind.	indicative
indecl.	indeclinable
inj.	injunctive
ins.	instrumental
inscr.	inscription(s)
interr.	interrogative
intr.	intransitive
ipf.	imperfect
ipv.	imperative
irr.	irregular
lit.	literally
litt.	literature
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
med.	middle
n.	neuter
neg.	negative
nom.	nominative
num.	numeral
obl.	oblique
opt.	optative
p.	page
p.c.	personal communication
pcl.	particle
perf.	perfect
pers.	personal
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
postpos.	postposition
ppp.	passive past particple
pres.	present
pref.	prefix
prep.	preposition
pret.	preterite
prev.	preverb
pron.	pronoun
pass.	passive
ptc.	participle
rel.	relative
subj.	subjunctive
sg.	singular
superl.	superlative
s.v.	sub voce
them.	thematic
TN	toponym
trans.	transitive
v.	verb
var.	variant
vel sim.	or similarly
viz.	namely, to wit
voc.	vocative

C. AUTHORS AND WORKS

Only the most common authors and works are mentioned here. Please refer to LSJ for a complete list.

A. = Aeschylus
AB = *Anecdota Graeca,* v. I
A.D. = Apollonius Dyscolus
A.R. = Apollonius Rhodius
Aesch. Alex. = Aeschylus Alexandrinus
Agath. = Agathias
Alc. = Alcaeus
Alcm. = Alcman
Amm. Marc. = Ammianus Marcellinus
And. = Andocides
Ant. Diog. = Antonius Diogenes
Ant. Lib. = Antoninus Liberalis
Antip. = Antipater
Antiph. = Antiphanes
Ap. Ty. = Apollonius Tyanensis
Apollon. = Apollonius
App. = Appianus
Ar. = Aristophanes
Ar. Did. = Arius Didymus
Arc. = Arcadius
Arch. = Archias
Arist. = Aristoteles
Ascl. = Asclepiodotus *or* Asclepius
Asclep. = Asclepiades
Asp. = Aspasius
Ath. = Athenaeus
Aus. = Ausonius
B. = Bacchylides
Bacch. = Bacchius
Call. = Callimachus
Call. Com. = Callias Comicus
Call. Hist. = Callias Historicus
Callin. = Callinus
Cerc. = Cercidas
Cercop. = Cercopes
Com. = Comedy, Comic
D. = Demosthenes
D. C. = Dio Cassius
D. Chr. = Dio Chrysostomus
D. H. = Dionysius Halicarnassensis
D. L. = Diogenes Laertius
D. P. = Dionysius Periegeta
D. S. = Diodorus Siculus
D. T. = Dionysius Thrax
Dam. = Damascius
Din. = Dinarchus
Diog. = Diogenes
Dioph. = Diophantus
Dsc. = Dioscorides Medicus
E. = Euripides
EM = *Etymologicum Magnum*
Ep. = in the Epic dialect
Epic. = Epicus
Epig. = Epigenes
Epin. = Epinicus
Et. Gen. = *Etymologicum Genuinum*
Et. Gud. = *Etymologicum Gudianum*
Eub. = Eubulus
Euc. = Euclides
Eup. = Eupolis
Euph. = Euphorio
Eust. = Eustathius
Eustr. = Eustratius
Foed. = Foedus
Gal. = Galenus
Gramm. = Grammarians
h. Ap., etc. = *Hymnus ad Apollinem,* etc.
h. Hom. = *hymni Homerici*
H. = Hesychius
Halic. = Halicarnassus
Hdn. = Herodianus
Hdt. = Herodotus
Heracl. = Heraclas
Herod. = Herodas
Herod. Med. = Herodotus Medicus
Hes. = Hesiodus
Hld. = Heliodorus, Scriptor Eroticus
Hom. = Homer
Hp. = Hippocrates
Hsch. = Hesychius

Hymn. = *Hymnus, Hymni*
Il. = Iliad
Is. = Isaeus
J. = Josephus
Leon. = Leonidas (two epigrammatists)
Leonid. = Leonidas Medicus
Lyc. = Lycophron
Lyr. = Lyricus, Lyric poetry
Lys. = Lysias
Lysim. = Lysimachus
Mel. = Meleager
Meliss. = Melissus
Men. = Menander
Moer. = Moeris
Mosch. = Moschus
NT = Novum Testamentum
Nic. = Nicander *or* Nicias
Nic. Dam. = Nicolaus Damascenus
Od. = Odyssey
Orac. = Oraculum
Oratt. = Oratores Attici
Orchom. = Orchomenus
Pall. = Palladius *or* Palladas
Parm. = Parmenides
Ph. = Philo
Phan. = Phanias
Phil. = Philippus Epigrammaticus
Philet. = Philetas
Philipp. Com. = Philippus Comicus
Philol. = Philolaus
Philonid. = Philonides
Phld. = Philodemus Philosophus
Phlp. = Philoponus
Phoen. = Phoenix
Pi. = Pindarus
Pl. = Plato
Plb. = Polybius
Plin. = Pliny
Poet. = Poeta, poetica
post-Hom. = post-Homeric
Prisc. = Priscus Historicus
Quint. = Quintilianus
Rhet. = Rhetorical, Rhetoric
Ruf. = Rufus
S. = Sophocles
S. E. = Sextus Empiricus
Sext. = Sextus Philosophus
Sm. = Symmachus
St. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantius
Str. = Strabo
Tab. Heracl. = *Tabulae Heracleenses*
Th. = Thucydides
Them. = Themistius
Themist. = Themistocles
Theo Sm. = Theon Smyrnaeus
Theoc. = Theocritus
Theod. = Theodorus
Thgn. = Theognis
Thphr. = Theophrastus
Ti. Locr. = Timaeus Locrus
Tim. = Timotheus Lyricus
Tim. Com. = Timotheus Comicus
Tim. Gaz. = Timotheus Gazaeus
Tim. Lex. = Timaeus Grammaticus
Trag. = Tragic, Tragedy
Tryph. = Tryphiodorus
X. = Xenophon
Xenoph. = Xenophanes
Zen. = Zenobius
Zon. = Zonas

D. SYMBOLS

>	becomes by regular phonological development
<	reflects by regular phonological development
>>	is replaced by way of analogy
<<	replaces by way of analogy
◂XX▸	the origin of the word (see preface above)
⇒	see also the entry
►	see s.v.
(?)	meaning uncertain *or* appurtenance uncertain
*X	a reconstructed item of a proto-stage
<X>	spelled with the symbol X
/X/	the phoneme X
[X]	phonetically pronounced as X

A

ἀ- 1 copulative prefix (ἀ ἀθροιστικόν). ◂IE **sm-*▸

•VAR E.g. in ἅπαξ; by Grassmann's dissimilation or by psilosis also ἀ-, which was analogically extended: ἄλοχος, ἀδελφός; ἅπεδος 'even', ἄβιος 'rich'. A form like Hom. ἄκοιτις was not aspirated because the Attic redactors of the text did not know the word, so they followed the Ionic pronunciation (cf. ἥλιος next to ἠέλιος).

•ETYM From IE **sm-* in Skt. *sa-* (*sá-nāman-* 'with the same name'), Lat. *sem-*, *sim-* (*sim-plex*), from PIE **sm̥-*, a zero grade to **sem* in Skt. *sám* 'together', ▸εἷς. Within Greek, cf. also ▸ὁμός, ▸ἅμα. From the meaning 'together, provided with', the so-called ἀ ἐπιτατικόν (intensive) developed, e.g. ἄ-εδνον· πολύφερνον 'with much dowry' (H.), cf. ▸ἔδνα. It has been supposed that in some cases a comparable ἀ- arose from **n̥-* (the zero grade of **h₁en* 'in'), e.g. ἀλέγω (Seiler *KZ* 75 (1957): 1-23), but the alleged instances are probably all wrong.

ἀ- 2 privative prefix (ἀ στερητικόν). ◂IE **n-*▸

•VAR Prevocalic ἀν-.

•ETYM The antevocalic form ἀν- arose because of a following laryngeal (Indo-European roots always started with a consonant), which led to vocalization of the nasal: **n̥-HV-* > **anV-*. In Greek, the loss of initial consonants (**u̯-*, **s-*) disturbed the original distribution: thus ἄισος (< *ἀ-ϝισος) next to the reshaped ἄνισος. Sometimes this led to analogical forms, like ἄ-οζος next to original ἄν-οζος. In the Myc. PN *a-u-po-no* /Ahupnos/, the *a-* stands before *h-*, like in classical ἄυπνος. In ἀόριστος (to ὅρος < **worwo-*), we see that the initial ϝ- was originally retained before **o* as well.

If the second member began with laryngeal + cons., this yielded Greek νη-, νᾱ-, νω- like in νήγρετος, νωδός < **n-h₁gr-*, **n-h₃d-*. These adjectives were later reshaped, e.g. into ἀνώνυμος (see Beekes 1969: 98-113) In ἀνάεδος, ἀνά-ελπτος and ἀνάπνευστος, which seem to show ἀνα- 'un-', the last two are analogical, and the first may stand for ἀν-εεδν-. On pleonastic ἀ(ν)-, cf. ▸ἀβέλτερος.

ἀ(ν)- was originally limited to verbal adjectives and bahuvrīhis, both in Greek and in other IE languages; see Frisk 1941: 4ff., 44ff., Frisk 1948: 8ff., Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 284ff., Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 282f., and Moorhouse 1959. In other languages, we have e.g. Skt. *a(n)-*, Lat. *in-*, Go. *un-*, all from PIE **n̥-*. The sentence negative was **ne*, in Lat. *ne-scio*, *ne-fas*, etc., but this use is not attested for Greek (not in ▸νέποδες).

ἀ- 3 ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM In Pre-Greek substrate words, a "prothetic vowel" occurs, e.g. ἄσταχυς next to στάχυς. In other words, the prothetic vowel may be present in the reflex of a substrate word or not.
Without a doubt, a phonetic process was at the origin of these variations. It is rather frequent, see Fur.: 368-378. The vowel was almost always ἀ- (only very few exceptions can be recorded, see *Pre-Greek*).

ἀ- 4 in Anatolian place names, e.g. Ἀπαισός / Παισός, Ἄθυμβρα / Θύμβρα. ◅LW▻
•ETYM The origin of the phenomenon is unknown, and could be different from that of the Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. It is probably due to adaptation from a non-IE language.

ἄ 5 interjection (Il.). ◅ONOM▻
•DER ἄζω [v.] 'to sigh, groan'.
•ETYM Onomatopoeic; see Schwyzer: 716.

ἀάατος Mg. unknown. In νῦν μοι ὄμοσσον ἀ. Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (Ξ 271) 'inviolable'?, ἄεθλος ἀ. (φ 91, χ 5) 'infallible'?, κάρτος ἀ. (A. R. 2, 77) 'invincible'? ◅?▻
•VAR For the varying length of the vowel, see *LfgrE* s.v.
•ETYM Comparable to ►ἄτη and ►ἀάω 'to damage'. Cf. perhaps ἀάβακτοι· ἀβλαβεῖς 'undamaged' (H.). Note that the privative prefix is ἀ-, not ἀν-.

ἄαδα · ἔνδεια. Λάκωνες 'want, lack (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•DER ἀαδεῖν· ἀπορεῖσθαι, ἀσιτεῖν 'to be in distress, abstain from food' (H.), see on ►ἄδην. We also find ἀαδεῖν· ὀχλεῖν, λυπεῖσθαι, ἀδικεῖν 'to disturb, be vexed, be wronged' (s.v. ►ἀνδάνω, ►ἡδύς).
•ETYM The forms and meanings are uncertain; see DELG for an uncertain suggestion by Frisk. Latte assumes ἄδδ = ἄζα, contrary to the alphabetical order.

ἀάζω [v.] 'to breathe with the mouth wide open' (Arist.). ◅ONOM▻
•DER ἀασμός (Arist.).
•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic. Another suggestion by Solmsen 1901: 284 relates it to ►ἄημι. Cf. perhaps ►ἄζω 2, from ►ἆ.

ἀάνθα [f.] · εἶδος ἐνωτίου παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης 'a kind of earring in Alcm., acc. to Ar.' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Schulze 1892: 38 explained it as *αὐσ-ανθα to the root of οὖς < **h₂ous-*, but since the suffix is unclear (cf. οἰνάνθη), this analysis cannot be substantiated. Cf. also Bechtel 1921, 2: 366.

ἄαπτος [adj.] In χεῖρες ἄαπτοι (Hom., Hes.), later of κῆτος (Opp.), perhaps 'invincible'. ◅?▻
•ETYM Aristophanes read *ἀέπτους, which is also unclear. Meier-Brügger's explanation of ►ἁπτοεπής does not convince me. Cf. ►ἄεπτος and ►ἐάφθη.

ἄ(α)τος ⇒ ἄητος.

ἀάσχετος ⇒ ἔχω.

ἀάω [v.] 'to damage', med. 'act in blindness' (Il.). ◂IE? *h_2euh_2-▸
•VAR Beside pres. ἀᾶται (T 91 = 129) < *ἀϝᾶεται only aor. ἄασα (contracted ἆσα) < *ἀϝᾶσα, med. -ἀμην, pass. ἀάσθην. With -σκ-: ἀάσκει· φθείρει, βλάπτει 'destroys, damages' (H.); difficult κατέβασκε· κατέβλαψεν 'damaged' (H.), for *κατ-αβασκε?
•COMP ἀεσίφρων (wrong for ἀασι-) 'damaged in mind' (Il.), cf. ἀασιφόρος· βλάβην φέρων 'bringing damage' (H.); ἀνατ(ε)ί 'without harm, with impunity' (A.).
•ETYM For PGr. **awa-je/o-*, we may mechanically reconstruct an IE root *h_2euh_2-, but there are no known cognates. A verbal noun **awá-teh$_2$-*, with which compare αὐάτα (Alc.), yields ▸ἄτη 'damage, guilt, delusion'. Not connected to ▸ὠτειλή.

ἄβα · τροχὸς ἢ βοή 'wheel or screaming' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM In the sense of 'screaming', Specht compared ἄβα with Hom. αὖε [ipf.] 'called'. See further the glosses ἀβήρει· ᾄδει 'sings' and ἀβέσσει· ἐπιποθεῖ, θορυβεῖ 'yearns for, makes noise' (both H.); lastly also ἄβωρ with the meaning βοή. See ▸αὐδή, ▸ἀείδω.

ἄβαγνα · ῥόδα Μακεδόνες 'roses (Maced.)' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM See Kalléris 1954: 66-73; Belardi *Ric. ling.* 4 (1958): 196.

ἀβακής [adj.]◂?▸
•VAR Only Aeol. ἀβάκην φρένα [acc.sg.] (Sapph.), explained as ἡσύχιον καὶ πρᾷον 'quiet and gentle' (*EM*).
•DER ἀβάκησαν (δ 249) 'ἡσύχασαν' (?) and ἀβακιζόμενος 'quiet' (Anacr.). Further ἀβακήμων· ἄλαλος, ἀσύνετος 'unspoken, not understood' (H.), and ἀβάκητος· ἀνεπίφθονος 'without reproach' (H.).
•ETYM Perhaps it belongs to ▸βάζω (βέβακται, βᾶξις) 'to speak'.

ἀβακλή ⇒ ἄμαξα.

ἀβαλῆ · ἀχρεῖον, Λάκωνες 'useless, foolish (Lacon.)'. οἱ δὲ νωθρὸν 'bastard' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Fur.: 167, 348 compares ἄβελλον· ταπεινόν 'vile, low' (H., Cyr.) and ἄβαλις· μοχθηρὰ ἐλαία 'worthless olive tree' (H.), but not ▸ἀφελής.

ἄβαλις ⇒ ἀβαλῆ.

ἀβάντασιν · ἀνάβασιν 'mounting' (H.). ◂GR?▸
•ETYM For earlier *ἀ(μ)βάντασσιν [dat.pl.]? See Schwyzer: 50.

ἄβαξ, -κος [m.] 'board for calculating or drawing' (Cratin., Arist.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•ETYM Etymology unknown. The assumption of a loan from Hebr. *'ābāq* 'sand, dust' (Lewy 1895: 173) is semantically weak (rejected by E. Masson 1967: 97). On the meaning, cf. Bruneau *REGr.* 80 (1967): 325-330; see also Kratzsch *WZHalle* 23 (1973): 126, who defends the connection with Hebrew. Borrowed as Lat. *abacus*. Kuiper compared ἀμάκιον· ἄβαξ. Λάκωνες (H.), but Fur.: 221 doubts this. Yet, if the comparison is correct, the word is Pre-Greek (variation β/μ).

ἀβαριστάν · γυναικιζομένην, καθαιρομένην καταμηνίοις. Κύπριοι 'being made to play a womanly role, being cleansed or purified during the menses (Cypr.)' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Related to ▸σαβαρίχις, with Cyprian loss of *s*-?

ἄβαρκνα [f.] · λιμός 'hunger' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Fur.: 122 connects it to μαργός 'mad, gluttonous', which is not convincing. The formation with -να after -κ- suggests Pre-Greek origin.

ἀβαρταί ⇒ ἀφαρεύς.

ἄβαρτος · ἄπληστος 'greedy', οἱ δὲ ἄμαργος 'greedy' (H.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR ἀβαρτία. ἀπληστία 'greediness' (H.).
•ETYM Fur.: 217 connects it to μάργος, which seems difficult formally; or do we have to read *ἄβαργος? If so, the word clearly shows a prothetic vowel, which points to substrate origin.

ἀβαρύ [n.] · ὀρίγανον <τό ἐν> Μακεδονίᾳ (or Μακεδονίας?) 'oregano (Maced.)' (H.). ◁LW▷
•ETYM Related to ἀμάρακον 'origanum', acc. to Fur.: 210. Cf. also βαρύ· τινὲς μέν φασι θυμίαμα εὐῶδες 'acc. to some, an odoriferous incense' (H.); see Latte. The suggestion of Kalléris 1954: 75f., who assumes connection with βαρύς as 'having a strong (heavy) odor' (with prothetic α), is untenable.

ἄβδελλον [adj.] · ταπεινόν 'low, abased' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Hesychius also has ἄβελλον with the same mg.; Latte rejects it as a corruption of the other form, which is unnecessary.
•ETYM See Fur.: 167. If the variation βδ / β is real, it is a Pre-Greek word, which is likely anyway for a form with βδ.

ἄβδηρα [f.] · καὶ ἄβδια ἡ θάλασσα (*EM* 3, 8). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Fur.: 309 connects it with the TN Ἄβδηρα.

ἄβδις [m., f.] · μάστιξ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι 'whip (Hippon.)' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Probably a foreign word in Hipponax; see O. Masson 1962: 170 (*fr.* 130). Fur.: 388 convincingly compares ἀβριστήν· μάστιγα (H.). The word is Pre-Greek because of the cluster βδ (see ibid.: 318), with -βρ- perhaps representing earlier -βδ-.

ἄβεις · ἔχεις 'vipers; you have' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Perhaps Illyrian, with β from IE *g^{wh}, as in νίβα· χιόνα. It is unlikely, however, that ἔχις should be reconstructed as *h_1eg^{wh}-*i*-. Maybe the gloss is just Lat. *habēs* (see Pisani *Paideia* 10 (1955): 279).

ἄβελλον ⇒ ἄβαλη, ἄβδελλον.

ἀβέλτερος [adj.] 'simple, stupid' (Ar.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Wackernagel *GGN* (1902): 745ff. connected it with βέλτερος, assuming that an original mg. 'morally good' developed into 'too good, simple', with an unclear prefix. This is unlikely; see Osthoff *MU* 6 (1910): 177 and Hatzidakis *Glotta* 11 (1921): 175f for different analyses.

ἀβέρβηλον [adj.] · πολύ, ἐπαχθές, μέγα, βαρύ, ἀχάιστον, μάταιον 'much, heavy or burdensome, great, empty, rash' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR ἀβύβηλον (H.) is glossed in the same way; also -ητος (*EM*).

•ETYM The variation points to a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 374 compares MoGr. βύρβηλο 'abundance'.

ἀβήρ [m./f.]? · οἴκημα στοὰς ἔχον, ταμεῖον. Λάκωνες 'house provided with storehouses, treasury (Lacon.)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. Not identical with ►ἀήρ 'air' (as in Frisk, who compares MoSw. *vind* 1. 'wind' 2. 'bottom').

ἀβίλλιον ⇒ἀμίλλακαν.

ἄβιν [acc.m./f.] · ἐλάτην, οἱ δὲ πεύκην 'silver fir; pine' (H.). ◁LW?▷

•ETYM Comparing Lat. *abiēs*, Mayer *KZ* 66 (1939): 96f. assumed that PIE **ab-* 'tree' occurs in several Illyrian and Iranian names, such as Ἄβαι, Ἄβροι, Ἀβική =Ὑλαία (St. Byz.). If this is the case, is the root from a non-IE language in Europe?

ἀβιτώριον [n.] 'latrine' (*IGR* I, 599, Istropolis, Scythia Minor). ◁LW Lat.▷

•ETYM From an unknown Lat. **abitōrium* 'latrine', in turn from *abire* (DELG *Supp.*): a case in which a Latin word is known only from Greek.

ἀβλαδέως [adv.] · ἡδέως 'sweet' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM A connection with *βλαδύς 'powerless' leaves the initial vowel unexplained (see on ►βλαδεῖς); the semantic development is also problematic. Connection with ►ἀμαλδύνω 'to make weak' would point to **h₂mld-* (with -αλ- analogically after the full grade *ἀμελδ-), but in this case one would expect *ἀμβλαδ- for our word; there is yet no etymology.

ἄβλαροι [m.] · ξύλα 'wood' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 370 compares βδαροί· δρύες, δένδρα 'trees' (H.); the word is Pre-Greek (with prothetic vowel and βδ alternating with βλ). It is less probable that ►βάρυες also belongs here.

ἀβληχρός ⇒βληχρός.

ἀβλοπές [adj.] · ἀβλαβές. Κρῆτες 'sound, undamaged (Cret.)' (H.). ⇒βλάπτω.

ἀβολεῖς [m./f.] · περιβολαὶ ὑπὸ Σικελῶν 'garments (Sicilian)' (H.).

•ETYM Probably related to ►ἀβόλλης.

ἀβολέω [v.] 'meet' (A. R., Call.), = ἀντιβολέω. ◁GR?▷

•VAR ἀβολῆσαι· ἀπαντῆσαι 'to encounter' (H.).

•DER ἀβολητύς 'meeting' (H.).

•ETYM Cf. ἤβολον ἦμαρ· καθ' ὅ ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς ταὐτόν, ἢ εὔκαιρον, ἱερόν (H.), which may have its length for metrical reasons, or alternatively have arisen by decomposition; cf. ►ἐπήβολος. The ἀ- could be copulative (see ►ἀ- 1).

ἀβόλλης [m.] 'kind of coat' (imperial period). ◁LW▷

•VAR Also ἀβολλα (Peripl. M. Rubr.).

•ETYM LW from Lat. *abolla* (Varro). Cf. ►ἀβολεῖς.

ἀβραμίς a fish, a kind of mullet (Opp.). ◁LW? Eg.▷

•VAR Also ἄβραμις, ἀβραβίς (*PLond.* ined., III^{P}).
•ETYM The fish was salted in Egypt (Ath. 7, 312b). Fur.: 220 thinks that the form with β is due to a recent assimilation. It is either Pre-Greek, or a loan from Egyptian.

ἀβριστήν ⇒ ἄβδης.

ἁβρός [adj.] 'graceful, delicate, pretty' (Hes.); mostly of young girls and women. ◅?▻
•VAR Fem. ἅβρα 'favorite slave' (not a Semitic loan, E. Masson 1967: 98).
•DER ἁβρότης 'splendor, luxury', ἁβροσύνη 'id.'; denominative ἁβρύνομαι [v.] 'to live a delicate life', act. 'to treat soft-heartedly'.
•ETYM No etymology. Not related to ἥβη 'youthful power', which has η- < *ē (< *eh_1). On the feminine substantive, see Francis *Glotta* 53 (1975): 43-66.

ἀβροτάζω [v.] 'to miss'. ◅GR▻
•VAR Only in ἀβροτάξομεν [aor.subj.] (K 65).
•DER ἀβρόταξις (H., Eust.).
•ETYM Perhaps formed on the basis of ἤμβροτον, the aorist of ▸ἁμαρτάνω. Could it be an artificial archaism of the Doloneia (DELG)? On -βρ- instead of -μβρ-, see Schwyzer: 277. Is it metrically conditioned?

ἀβρότονον [n.] 'wormwood' (Thphr.). ◅?▻
•VAR Also ἀ-.
•ETYM Unknown; probably a loanword, perhaps from the Greek substrate. Connected with ἁβρός by folk etymology. From Akk. *(a)murdennu* 'flower with thorns', acc. to Bailey *TPS* 1955: 82.

ἄβρυνα [n.pl.] 'mulberries' (Parth. *apud* Ath.). ◅?▻
•VAR Also ἀ-.
•ETYM Unknown.

ἀβρυτοί [m.] · ἐχίνων θαλασσίων εἶδος 'kind of sea urchin' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also ἄμβρυττοι· εἶδος ἐχίνων θαλασσίων 'id.', βρύττος (Ar.), βρύσσος (Arist.).
•ETYM The formal variation (prothetic vowel and prenasalization) is typical of Pre-Greek substrate words.

ἀβυδόν [adj.] · βαθύ 'deep' (H.). ◅PG?(V)▻
•ETYM von Blumenthal *IF* 49 (1931): 175 considers it to have an Illyrian origin ("bottomless", related to βυθός). If the connection with βυθός is correct, it is not necessarily Illyrian, but could also be a substrate word with prothetic ἀ-. See ▸βυθός.

ἀβύρβηλος ⇒ ἀβέρβηλος.

ἀβυρτάκη [f.] a sauce of leek, cress and pomegranate seeds (Pherecr.). ◅PG?(V)▻
•ETYM Defined as ὑπότριμμα βαρβαρικόν 'a foreign dish' (Suid.). Theopompus wrote: ἥξει δὲ Μήδων γαῖαν, ἔνθα ποιεῖται ἀβυρτάκη 'he will arrive in Media, where the ἀ. is made' (Suid. 17 Kock), so perhaps it is an Iranian loan. But the structure ἀ-βυρτ-άκ-η is reminiscent of Pre-Greek words; for the suffix, cf. βατιάκη, καυνάκη, πιστάκη. See also Fur.: 158[64].

ἄβυσσος ⇒ βυθός.

ἀγα- intensifying prefix, e.g. ἀγα-κλεής 'of great renown'. ◂IE **meǵ-h₂-* 'great'▸
•DER Verbs: ἄγαμαι [v.] 'to admire, envy', ἀγάομαι (Hes.), ἀγαίομαι (Od.), ἀγάζω 'to have too much' (A. *Supp.* 1061). Nominal derivatives: ἄγη 'admiration, envy' (Il.), ἀγάσματα (S. *Fr.* 885), ἄγα(σ)σις (H., *EM*). See also ▸ἄγᾱν.
•ETYM The same stem as μέγα-, continuing a PIE zero grade **ŋ̍ǵh₂-*. It has a counterpart in Av. *aš-*, e.g. *aš-aojah-* 'with great strength' (from a zero grade **mǵs-*); see Schindler 1987: 345. See ▸ἀγάλλομαι, ▸ἄγᾱν, ▸ἀγανακτέω, ▸ἀγαυός, ▸μέγας.

ἀγαθίς 1, -ίδος [f.] 'ball of thread, clew' (Pherecyd.). ◂?▸
•ETYM No etymology. Under ἀγαθός, Frisk connects Skt. *gadhya-* 'was festzuhalten ist'. Cf. ▸ἀγαθίς 2.

ἀγαθίς 2, -ίδος = σησαμίς H.; σησαμίς = σησαμῆ 'a mixture of sesame seeds, roasted and pounded with honey', an Athenian delicacy given to guests at a wedding. Note the expression ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθίδες 'quantities of goods'. ◂PG?(V)▸
•ETYM Belardi *Ric. ling.* 4 (1958): 196 compared γάθια. ἀλλάντια 'sausages (vel sim.)' (H.); see ▸ἀλλᾶς. If this is correct, the word is Pre-Greek, because of the prothetic vowel. Fur.: 370 also compares ▸γήθυον.

ἀγαθός [adj.] 'good, fit, noble' (Il.). ◂IE?, LW?▸
•VAR ἀκαθόν· ἀγαθόν 'good' (H.); χάσιος· χρηστός 'good, useful' (H.). Dor. χᾱ́ϊος 'noble, good' (long ᾱ).
•DIAL Cypr. ἀζαθος must probably be read ἀγαθος, see Egetmeyer *Kadmos* 32 (1993): 145-155.
•ETYM The older comparison with Gm. forms like Go. *goþs*, MoHG *gut*, MLG *gaden* 'to fit' etc., and Slavic words like OCS *godьnъ* 'pleasant', *goditi* 'be pleasant' and Ru. *gódnyj* 'useful' should be forgotten, as these require a root **g^{h}ed^{h}-* (LIV² s.v.), from which Skt. *gadh-* 'to take, seize' derives. ἀγαθός is considered to be from a European substrate by Beekes *KZ* 109 (1996). An Indo-European attempt by Pinault *MSS* 38 (1979): 165-170, who derives the word from **mǵh₂-d^{h}h₁-o-* 'made great', or 'whose deeds are great' (Ruijgh 1991b). I find this semantic development difficult. Moreover, as Pinault admits, a suffix *-d^{h}o-* is rare (see Chantraine 1933: 366). Finally, there are forms like ἀκαθόν and χάσιος; if these variants are reliable, the word could be Pre-Greek.

ἀγαιος [adj.] epithet of a sacrificial calf in the Labyadai inscr. (Schwyzer: 323). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown. Connected with ▸ἀγα-, based on comparison with ἀγαῖον· ἐπίφθονον 'liable to envy' (H.); see Buck 1955: 245.

ἀγαλλίς [f.] 'dwarf iris, Iris attica' (*h. Dem.*). ◂?▸
•VAR Also msc. (H.). On Nic. *fr.* 74, 31 see DELG.
•DER ἀγαλλίς· ὑάκινθος ἢ θρυαλλίς, ἢ ἀναγαλλίς 'hyacinth, plantain, pimpernel' (H.).
•ETYM No etymology; see DELG, André 1956 s.v. *anagallis* and Strömberg 1940: 78.

ἀγάλλομαι [v.] 'to be proud, exult in' (Il.). ◂?▸

•DER ἄγαλμα 'glory, delight, honor; statue'. In later language, ἀγάλλομαι is replaced by ἀγαλλιάομαι, -ιάω after the verbs in -ιάω; thence ἀγαλλίασις, -ίαμα. ἀγάλλιος· λοίδορος 'slandering' (H.), ἀγαλλιάζομαι· λοιδορεῖσθαι, Ταραντῖνοι 'to slander (Tarent.)' (H.); Fur.: 370 compares γαρριώμιεθα, but there is no support for this. The plant name ἀγαλλίς (*h. Cer.*, Nic.) probably does not belong to ἀγάλλομαι.
•ETYM Looks like a denominative of *ἀγαλός, but such a form is unknown.

ἀγάλοχον [n.] 'eagle-wood, Aquilaria malacensis' (Dsc.). ◅LW▻
•ETYM One suspects an Oriental loanword; cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917: 39f. On Pahlavi *'wlwg* < **agalūk*, see Henning *BSOAS* 11 (1943-1946): 728.

ἄγαμαι ⇒ ἀγα-.

Ἀγαμέμνων [m.] the Greek commander before Troy (Il.). ◅GR▻
•VAR Att. vases Ἀγαμέσμιων, also Ἀγαμέμμων, -μέν(ν)ων (Nachmanson *Glotta* 4 (1913): 246).
•ETYM Since Prellwitz *BB* 17 (1891): 171f., a pre-form *Αγα-μέδ-μιων has been assumed, with the root of μέδομαι. The development -δμ- > -νμ- > -μν- is known in various Greek dialects (other examples in Lejeune 1972: 77[5], where also on the development to -σμ-).
Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 330f. connected the second part with μένος and μένειν (which von Kamptz 1982: 181 and 209 finds improbable), explaining -σμ- as a kind of popular assimilation.

ἄγᾱν [adv.] 'much, too much' (Pi.). ◅IE **mg̑-eh₂-m*▻
•DIAL Aeolic or Doric in origin, which explains the long α.
•ETYM The old accusative of the adjective ►μέγας. The form is important, as it points to the type nom. **CeC-C*, acc. **CC-eC-m*, which I assume is the original hysterodynamic inflection in Indo-European (see Beekes 1985: 103f.). Cf. also ►ἀγα-.

ἀγανακτέω [v.] 'be indignant or irritated' (Hp.). ◅GR?▻
•ETYM Expressive formation in -ακτέω like ὑλακτέω (to ὑλάω), so from original **ἀγανάω*? Cf. ἀγάνημαι· ἀσχάλλω, ἀγανακτῶ (H.). Pinault *RPh.* 65 (1991 [1993]): 196-198 derives it from **ἀγα-νακτος* 'pressed too much', from ►νάσσω. Uncertain.

ἀγάννα ⇒ ἀχάνη.

ἀγανός [adj.] 'mild, gentle' (Il.). ◅?▻
•ETYM No etymology. The connection with ἄγαμαι or γάνος [n.] 'splendor' (Bechtel 1914) is semantically unconvincing.

ἀγαπάω [v.] 'to receive with friendship; to like, love' (Il.). ◅IE?▻
•VAR Also ἀγαπάζω (Il.). Retrograde ἀγάπη '(Christian) love' (late, especially LXX and NT).
•ETYM Pinault *RPh.* 65 (1991 [1993]): 199-216 assumes it derives from **ἀγα-πᾱ-* 'to protect greatly', referring to similar expressions in Sanskrit; cf. ►ἐμπάζομαι. The Christian use may have been influenced by Hebr. *'āhābā* 'love'; see Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 306.

ἀγαρικόν [n.] name of several mushrooms (Dsc.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Perhaps from the TN Ἀγαρία (Sarmatia)? See André 1956 s.v. *agaricum* and Strömberg 1940: 122.

ἀγασυλλίς [f.] plant that produces ἀμμωνιακόν, Fecula marmarica (Dsc.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Fur.: 254 connects it with ▶γηθυλλίς (Dor. γᾱ-), which is Pre-Greek. Comparing the latter with ἀγασυλλίς, we note the prothetic vowel and the interchange θ/σ. See André 1956 s.v. *agasyllis*.

ἀγαυός [adj.] 'admirable, noble' (Il.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Acc. to Schwyzer *IF* 30 (1912): 430ff., Aeolic = ἀγα-ϝός; perhaps related to ▶ἄγαμαι. An expressive gemination of the ϝ has been proposed (e.g. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970)). But since a suffix *-u̯o-* is doubtful in Greek (cf. Chantraine 1933: 124: "le suffixe était mort en grec"), the word may rather be Pre-Greek.

ἀγαυρός [adj.] not quite certain, perhaps 'proud' (Hes., Hdt.; rare). ◁?▷
•ETYM Was ▶γαῦρος reshaped after ἀγαυός? A pre-Greek origin should also be considered.

ἄγγαρος [m.] 'Persian mounted courier' (X.). ◁LW▷
•VAR Rarely as an adjective, e.g. ἄγγαρον πῦρ 'signal fire' (A. *Ag.* 282).
•DER ἀγγαρήϊος = ἄγγαρος (Hdt.), substantivized ἀγγαρήϊον 'institution of the ἄγγαροι' (Hdt. 8, 98, with a description of it). Denominative ἀγγαρεύω [v.] 'press into service' (*Ev. Matt.*, pap., inscr.); thence ἀγγαρευτής 'impressed laborer' (pap. VI^{p}) and ἀγγαρεία 'service' (pap., inscr.), plur. ἀγγαρεῖαι 'cursus publicus' (inscr. III^{p}); ἀγγαρικός (pap.). Hell. and late by-forms are ἐγγαρεύω, -έω, -ία, by folk-etymology after the preverb ἐν-.
•ETYM The exact source is unknown. Not from Akk. *agru* 'hired man'; see Eilers *IIJ* 5 (1962): 225; Happ *Glotta* 40 (1962): 201. On the *realia* see Rostowzew *Klio* 6 (1906): 249ff. and R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 97-100 (who defends an Iranian origin). Mancini *Glotta* 73 (1995): 210-222 reconstructs a form OP **angarā-* > *ἀγγαρη- as the basis of ἀγγαρήιον (Hdt. 8, 98), which must be the oldest Greek form. Extensively on this word Brust 2005: 17ff.

ἄγγελος [m.] 'messenger' (Il.). ◁LW▷
•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *a-ke-ro*.
•DER Denominative ἀγγέλλω [v.] 'to convey a message'. Did ἀγγελίης [m.] 'messenger' (Hom.) arise from a false interpretation of the genitive (τῆς) ἀγγελίης? See Leumann 1950: 168ff. Thence ἡ ἀγγελίη 'female messenger' (Hes. *Th.* 781). From ἀγγελία: ἀγγελιώτης, -ῶτις '(female) messenger' (*h. Merc.* 296); from ἄγγελος: ἀγγελικός 'of a messenger' (late); from ἀγγέλλω: ἄγγελμα 'announcement' (E., Th.), ἀγγελτικός 'premonitory' (late), ἀγγέλτειρα 'female messenger' (Orph. *H.* 78, 3; not certain).
•ETYM The connection with Skt. *áṅgiras-*, name of mythical beings, has now been abandoned. Perhaps an Oriental loan, like ▶ἄγγαρος.

ἀγγερᾰκομον ⇒ ἀγερρᾰκαβος.

ἄγγοπηνία [n.pl.] · τὰ τῶν μελισσῶν κηρία 'honeycombs' (H.). ◁LW▷

•ETYM From Iranian *angupēn*, see Bailey *BSOAS* 20 (1957): 51 (does not belong to ►ἄγγος).

ἄγγος [n.] 'vessel' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DIAL Probably Myc. *a-ke-ha* [pl.].

•ETYM Possibly a Mediterranean loanword (cf. Chantraine 1933: 418), as kitchen utensils are often borrowed. Fur.: 275, 307² compares ἄγδυς· ἄγγος Κρητικόν, which is quite tempting.

ἄγγουρα [f.] · ῥάξ, σταφυλή 'grape, bunch of grapes' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Cf. MoGr. ἄγωρος, ἄγουρος 'unripe, green, young man' and ἀγουρίδα 'unripe grape', from ἄ-ωρος 'unripe, green', with the spirant as a transitional sound; secondary nasalization as in MoGr. Cret. ἄγγουρος 'young, youngster' and ἀγγούρι 'gherkin'. The MGr. and MoGr. word was borrowed as MP *angūr* 'grape' and Eg.-Arab. *aǧǧūr* 'gherkin'. See Kretschmer *Glotta* 20 (1932): 239f.; also Cocco *Arch. glott. ital.* 54 (1969): 98.

ἄγγουρος 'cake'. ⇒γοῦρος.

ἀγείρω [v.] 'to gather' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2ger- 'gather'▷

•DIAL Myc. *a-ke-re*, *a-ko-ra* /agorā/, *a-ma-ko-to me-no* /^{h}am-agortō mēnos/ 'in the month of the Assembly'? See Taillardat *REGr.* 97 (1984): 365-373.

•COMP ὁμηγερής 'gathered together' (Il.), νεφεληγερέτα 'cloud-gatherer' (Il.).

•DER ►ἀγορά s.v.; ἄγορος 'gathering' (E.). Often ἀγυρ- (cf. Schwyzer: 351): ἄγυρις 'gathering, mass' (Il.), with πανήγυρις 'gathering of all' (Arc. πανάγορσις, παναγορία); ἀγύρτης 'beggar', denominative ἀγυρτάζω 'to beg', ἀγυρτεύω (Str.), whence ἀγυρτεία, adjective ἀγυρτικός (Str., Plu.). Also ἀγυρτήρ 'beggar', ἀγύρτρια 'beggar-woman' (A. *Ag.* 1273). Also ἀγυρμός 'gathering' and ἄγυρμα 'anything collected'. The formations in ἀγερ- kept the connection with the verb: ἄγερσις 'gathering, inspection of the army' (Hdt.), ἀγερμός 'gathering of funds, troops, etc.' (inscr., Arist.), ἀγερμοσύνη (Opp.), ἀγέρτας 'collector' (*IG* 14, 423: I 35 [Taurom.]). ἀγαρ- is found in ἄγαρρις 'meeting' (*IG* 14, 759: 12 [Naples]); also ἄγορρις· ἀγορά, ἄθροισις 'gathering' (H.) which may be Aeolic, see Chantraine 1933: 280.

•ETYM No direct cognates, but the reconstruction *h_2ger- is unproblematic. See further ►γέργερα · πολλά 'lots, often' (H.) and τὰ ►γάργαρα 'heaps, lots'. ἠγερέθονται and -το have a present suffix -θ- (cf. Schwyzer: 703); ἠγερέθονται (Γ 231) and ἠγερέθεσθαι (K 127, Aristarchus) have an unexpected long vowel; the forms were built on frequent ἠγερέθοντο.

ἀγέλη [f.] 'herd, troop' (Il.). ◁IE *$h_2eǵ$- 'drive'▷

•ETYM From ►ἄγω, with a suffix *-*l*-. Comparison with Lat. *agilis*, Skt. *ajirá*- 'mobile, quick' and Lat. *agolum* 'staff of a shepherd' makes little sense; the formations are probably independent.

ἀγέρδα ⇒ἄχερδος.

ἀγερρακάβος [m.] · σταφυλή 'bunch of grapes' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR ἀγγεράκομον· σταφυλήν 'id.'; ἀγράκαβος· σταφυλή 'id.' (both H.).
•ETYM Latte rejects two of these forms (how to decide which?), followed by Fur.: 221. I think this is indefensible. The word is Pre-Greek in any case, like so many words concerning wine (e.g. ἀρασχάδες). Note the element -αβ-. The -ε- is a prop vowel (see Fur.: 378ff.); variation α/ο and β/μ are also well-known in Pre-Greek (which means all the glosses are real); the γγ may represent a prenasalized consonant, one of the clearest characteristics of Pre-Greek words.

ἀγέρωχος [adj.] 'magnanimous, proud' (Il.). ◂?▸
•DER ἀγερωχία 'magnanimity' (LXX, Plb.). Uncertain is Dor. γερωχία (Ar. *Lys.* 980).
•ETYM No etymology.

ἀγέτρια [f.] · μαῖα. Ταραντῖνοι 'midwife (Tarent.)' (H.); ἀναγέτρια· ἡ ταῖς τικτούσαις ὑπηρετοῦσα γυνὴ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις 'woman who watches over the midwives in Tarent.' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM McKenzie *Class. Quart.* 15 (1921): 48 assumes that it stands for earlier *ἀγρέτρια, from ▸ἀγρέω with a suffix -τρία and subsequent dissimilation. This seems quite improbable semantically.

ἄγη ⇒ ἀγα-.

ἀγήνωρ [adj.] epithet of θυμός of uncertain mg.; perhaps 'proud' (Il.). ◂IE *h_2eg- 'drive'▸
•VAR PN Ἀγήνωρ.
•DER ἀγηνορίη (Hom.), whence ἀγηνορέω (Nonnos).
•ETYM First part probably related to ἄγω (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 39f), rather than to ἀγα- (Sommer 1948: 169f.); cf. also Kuiper *MKNAW* 14: 5 (1951): 5 : 207. On the evolution of the meaning, see DELG.

ἀγήρατον [n.] a plant, 'Origanum onites' (Dsc.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Assuming an original meaning 'unaging', it can be connected to γηράσκω, γῆρας. Semantic parallels are given by Strömberg 1940: 103; these are uncompelling.

ἀγήρατος [m.] stone used to polish women's shoes (Gal.). ◂?▸
•ETYM A connection with the word for 'age' does not seem appropriate. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 641-75 proposes ἀγ-ήρατος 'very lovely', which is not much better.

ἀγήτωρ ⇒ ἡγέομαι.

ἅγιος [adj.] 'holy' (Hdt.). ◂IE *$Hieh_2g$-▸
•DER Yod-present ἄζομαι [v.] 'to honor' (Il.), from *ἄγ̯ομαι. Late nouns ἁγιότης and ἁγιωσύνη (LXX), verbs ἁγίζω 'to consecrate, dedicate' (Pi., S.) and ἁγιάζω 'id.' (LXX), whence ἁγισμός 'offering to the dead' (D. S.), ἁγιασμός 'consecration' (LXX, NT), ἁγίασμα 'id., sanctuary' (LXX); ἁγιστήριον 'holy vessel' (*Inscr. Perg.* 255, 9), ἁγιαστήριον 'sanctuary' (LXX) and ἁγιστύς 'ceremony' (Call.). ἁγιστεύω [v.] 'be holy, be pure; consecrate' (Pl., E.) also presupposes a nominal form in -στ- (ἁγιστός

only in *Et. Gud.* s.v. ἀγιστεία); thence ἁγίστευμα 'sanctuary' (Procop.) and ἁγιστεία 'ritual, service' (Isoc.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *yájati* 'honor with sacrifice and prayer' is semantically unobjectionable and formally explained by Lubotsky's rule (Lubotsky *MSS* (1981): 133-8), i.e. in **Hieh₂ǵ-*, the glottal element of the pre-glottalized **ǵ* was lost before a consonant. This means that it is unnecessary to assume *a*-vocalism for this root in PIE, as is done by many scholars (e.g. LIV² s.v. **Hi̯aǵ-*). The primary noun ἅγιος seems to have a suffix **-iHo-*. A different formation is found in ►ἀγνός.

ἀγκύλος [adj.] 'curved, bent' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂enk-* 'bend'▻

•COMP ἀγκυλομήτης 'who thinks crooked thoughts' (Il.), from an old verb **μη-μι (cf. Skt. *mā́ti*), see Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 306.

•DER Denominatives ἀγκύλλω [v.] 'to bend backwards' (Aret.) and ἀγκυλόω [v.] 'to bend' (Ar.); from the latter ἀγκύλωμα 'loop' (Gal.), -ωσις medical term, name of various lame or stiff conditions (Gal.); ἀγκύλη 'strap, loop, hook, hinge of a door, etc.' (B., Hp., S., E.). Thence ἀγκυλητός 'provided with ἀγκύλαι' (A.), ἀγκυλίς [f.] 'hook' (Opp.), to which ἀγκυλιδωτός 'provided with a loop' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), ἀγκύλιον 'loop, etc.' (medic.).

Many derivatives built on the root **h₂enk-* with a different suffix:

a) With **-l-*: ἀγκάλη [f.] 'curved arm, armful' (Archil.), mostly plur.; diminutive ἀγκαλίς, mostly plur. -ίδες (Il.), which is more frequent in the epic for metrical reasons. ἄγκαλον [acc.sg.] 'armful, sheaf' (*h. Merc.* 82) is not entirely certain. Denominative ἀγκαλίζομαι [v.] 'to embrace' (Semon.), action nouns ἀγκάλισμα (Tim. *Pers.*), ἀγκαλισμός (pap.). A derivation in **-l-* without suffixal vowel is found in ἀγκλόν· σκολιόν 'curved, bent, crooked' (H.), provided that the gloss is correct.

b) With **-n-*: ἀγκών, -ῶνος [m.] 'elbow' (Il.), dat.pl. ἀγκάσι (Opp.), said of many protruding objects; cf. ἀγκάς below. Late diminutives ἀγκώνιον, -ίσκος, -ίσκιον; denominative ἀγκωνίζω [v.] 'to lean on the elbows' (*Com. Adesp.*, gloss.), whence ἀγκωνισμός (Eust.). Further ἄγκοιναι [f.pl.] 'arms' (Il.), enlargement with *-i̯α*. An old *e*-grade may be found in ἐπ-ηγκενίδες 'long planks on a ship' (see Bechtel 1914).

c) With **-s-*: ἄγκος [n.] 'mountain glen' (Il.), formally comparable with Skt. *áṅkas-* [n.] 'curve'.

d) With **-tro-*: ἄγκιστρον 'hook' (Od.; from **ἀγκίζω*), the formation of which is unclear (see Chantraine 1933: 333f.); thence ἀγκίστριον, ἀγκιστρεύω, ἀγκιστρευτικός and ἀγκιστρεία (only marginal attestations).

Unclear is the formation of ἀγκάς· ἀγκάλας 'armful, sheaf' (H., see Bechtel 1914). Adverbs ἄγκαθεν [adv.] 'in(to) the arms, on the elbows' (A.), ἀγκάς 'into the arms' (Il., only antevocalic except in Ψ 711), probably the elided dat.pl. with a zero grade suffix belonging to ἀγκών; thence ἀγκάζομαι [v.] 'to lift up in the arms' (Il.).

•ETYM All forms derive from a widespread IE root **h₂enk-*, found in e.g. Skt. *áñcati* 'to bend, curve' and *ácati* 'id.'. Not connected with this group of words is Hitt. *ḫai(n)k-*^{tta} 'to bestow', med. 'to bow' (see Kloekhorst 2008). In Greek, we also find ►ὄγκος 'barb' continuing **h₂onk-o-*. For the stem in *-u-*, cf. Skt. *aṅku-rá-* 'hook' (note the operation of Wheeler's Law in Greek). The *l*-suffix is found in OHG *angul* 'fishhook', ON *ǫ́l* [f.] 'belt' (perhaps an old formation; cf. ἀγκύλη), *ǫ́ll* 'germ' etc.

One generally connects it with ►ἄγκῡρα 'anchor' (Alc.), but I suggest that this is a substrate word.

ἀγκάλη •VAR ἀγκών, ἄγκος, etc. ⇒ἀγκύλος.

ἄγκῡρα [f.] 'anchor' (Alc.).
•DER Dervatives are scarce: ἀγκυρωτός 'anchor-shaped' (Ph. *Bel.*), ἀγκύριον (Ph. *Bel.*), ἀγκυρίζω [v.] 'to make sbd. stumble' (old com.).
•ETYM The suffix -ῡρα is typically Pre-Greek, as in γέφῡρα, γόργῡρα; it therefore does not continue an inherited formation *-*ur-i̯a-*. Borrowed as Lat. *ancora.*

ἀγλαός [adj.] 'splendid, beautiful, famous' (Il.); formulary epithet, e.g. of υἱός. ◅?▻
•VAR The Cretan and Cyprian gloss ἀγλαόν· γλαφυρόν 'hollow(ed), polished' are due to misunderstanding of the Homeric usage, acc. to Leumann 1950: 272[18].
•DER ἀγλαΐα 'splendor, beauty' (Il.), also PN; ἀγλαίζω [v.] 'to embellish, glorify', med. 'to take delight in'.
•ETYM Probably from *ἀγλαϝός. Connected with γαλήνη, ἀγάλλομαι (cf. Szemerényi 1964: 155), or to ►ἀγανός, ►ἀγαυός. The connection with ἀγάλλομαι enjoys a certain popularity.

***ἀγλίς** ⇒*αἰγλίς.

ἄγλῑς, -ιθος [f.] 'clove of garlic' (Ar.). ◅PG(V)▻
•DER ἀγλίδιον in: ἀγλίδια· σκόροδα 'garlic' (H.), with interchange θ/ δ (Fur.: 194).
•ETYM Fur.: 127, 282 connects it with ►γέλγις, -ιθος, -ιδος as γελ-γ-: ἀ-γλ-, for which cf. κέρ-κ-α: ἀ-κρ-ίς. This seems quite possible.

ἀγλύεσθαι [v.] · βλάπτεσθαι 'to be hindered, damaged' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM von Blumenthal *IF* 49 (1931): 176 thinks it is Hyllaean or rather Messapian, connecting it with Go. *agls.* Quite uncertain.

ἁγνός [adj.] '(ritually) pure, holy' (Od., mostly poet.). ◅IE *(*H*)*ih₂ǵ-no-* 'holy'▻
•DER ἁγνότης 'purity' (NT, etc.). Verbal derivations: 1. ἁγνεύω [v.] 'to consider holy, be pure, purify' (IA), whence ἁγνεία 'purification', ἄγνευμα, ἁγνευτήριος, ἁγνευτικός; 2. ἁγνίζω [v.] 'to purify, consecrate' (poetic), whence ἄγνισμα, -ισμός, -ιστικός, etc., ἁγνίτης 'purifier' (Lyc.) after nouns in -ίτης, cf. Redard 1949: 11.
•ETYM Related to ►ἅγιος; it may be the same formation as Skt. *yajñá-* 'sacrifice'.

ἄγνος [f., m.] tree name: 'withy', 'Vitex agnus castus' (*h. Merc.*), = λύγος. The name probably also denotes a fish and a bird, see DELG s.v. ◅EUR?, PG?▻
•VAR Also ἄγονος; cf. ἄγονον = μυρσίνη ἀγρία 'wild myrtle' (Fur.: 381).
•ETYM Comparable with OCS *jagnędъ* 'black poplar' (Lidén *IF* 18 (1905-1906): 506); if this is correct, it is perhaps a European substrate word (on which phenomenon, see Beekes 2000). On the folk-etymological connection with the notion of chastity (ἁγνότης), see Strömberg 1940: 154.

ἄγνυμι [v.] 'to break' (Il.). ◅IE *ueh₂ǵ- 'break'▻
•VAR Fut. ἄξω, aor. ἔαξα or ἦξᾰ, perf. ἔᾱγα, pass. aor. ἄγην or ἐᾰ́γην (on verse-final ἐᾰ́γη Λ 559 see Wackernagel 1916: 141, Chantraine 1942: 18).

•COMP Mostly in κατᾱ́γνυμι, with ᾱ from -α-ϝαγ- (Björck 1950: 42, 147).
•DER ἀγή 'fragment' (A., E.), long ᾱ- certainly in A. R. 1, 554; 4, 941; further ἰωγή < *ϝι-ϝωγ-ή 'shelter', if originally 'breaking of the wind' (ξ 533), also in composition ἐπιωγαί, -ή 'place of shelter' (ε 404), perhaps dissimilated from *ἐπι-ϝιϝωγαί (but see Bechtel 1914). Further ἀγμός 'fracture, cleft' (Hp., E.), ἄγμα 'fragment' (late); ἄξος = ἀγμός (Crete), but hardly from the σ-aor.; appurtenance of the TN Ὀᾰ́ξος (Hdt. 4, 154) as ϝᾰ́ξος is uncertain. Cf. also γακτός (= ϝ-)· κλάσμα 'fragment' (H.). On ϝαγανο- (Thespiae), see *CEG* 6, and Taillardat *RPh.* sér. 3: 40 (1966): 76. Also ἄγανος [adj.] 'broken' (S. *fr.* 231).
•ETYM From *ϝᾰ́γνυμι (the ϝ is clearly visible in Homer) < *$uh_2ǵ$-*n*(*eu*)-, belonging to ToB *wāk-* 'to go apart', caus. 'to split' and perhaps also to Hitt. *u̯āk-^{i}* / *u̯akk-* 'to bite' (cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). A palatovelar is best reconstructed based on Skt. *vájra-* 'thunderbolt' and its Indo-Iranian cognates. Greek -ϝωγ- is from *$uoh_2ǵ$-. Perhaps Lat. *vāgīna* is also related; cf. MoHG *Scheide* 'id.' related to *scheiden* 'to separate'.

ἀγνύς [f.] 'weaving stones' (Plu.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR -ῦθες [pl.].
•ETYM See Chantraine 1933: 366. Probably a substrate word; suffixes of the type -ῡθ- are typical of Pre-Greek.

ἀγορά [f.] 'gathering, assembly, market, trade, traffic' (Hom.).
•DER ἀγορητής 'speaker' (epic), which perhaps rather derives from ἀγοράομαι (Fraenkel 1910: 25f.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἀγοράομαι 'to speak (in public, in the assembly)' (epic Ion., poet.), only in isolated forms; ἀγορητύς 'eloquence' (epic), ἀγορατρός 'speaker' (inscr. Delphi, cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 151); 2. ἀγορεύω 'id.' (Hom.), as a simplex rare in Attic (Wackernagel 1916: 220ff., Fournier 1946: 41ff.), whence ἀγορευτής 'speaker', -τήριον 'podium', -σις 'speech' (all rare and late); 3. ἀγοράζω 'to be on the market, do shoppings' (IA); thence ἀγόρασις 'purchase' (Pl.), Boeot. ἀγόρασσις (Holt 1941: 49f.), ἀγορασία 'id.', ἀγορασμός 'id.' (LXX), -ασμα, usually plur. ἀγοράσματα 'purchased wares' (D.); agent noun ἀγοραστής 'purchaser' (X.), fem. ἀγοράστρια (pap.), ἀγοραστικός 'pertaining to trade' (Pl.).
•ETYM Verbal noun related to ▸ἀγείρω.

ἄγος [n.] 'pollution, guilt; expiation' (Hdt., A., Th.); the word denotes the notion of 'sacredness' in ἄγεα· τεμένη 'consecrated piece of land' (H.), for which Bechtel 1921, 1: 115 suggests Lesbian origin, and also in S. *Ant.* 775, A. *Ch.* 155, etc. ◁IE? *$(H)ieh_2ǵ$- 'sacred'▷
•COMP ἐν-αγής 'under a curse or pollution' (Hdt., S.), whence ἐναγίζω [v.] 'to sacrifice to the dead', ἐναγισμός, -ισμα. Rare and late ἐνάγιος [adj.] (after ἅγιος), ἐναγικός. The opposite εὐ-αγής 'immaculate' (Parm., S.) is found as Εὐήαγης (*IG* 12(9), 56 [Styra V^{a}]); the simplex ἀγής (of the sun, Emp. 47) is clearly secondary.
•ETYM Formerly connected with Skt. *ā́gas-* [n.] 'fault, sin', but the long vowel of Sanskrit cannot be accounted for. DELG s.v. explains it as a psilotic form of *ᾰ́γος belonging with ▸ᾰ́γιος (cf. Chantraine and Masson 1954: 85-107), which certainly fits the attested meaning 'sacredness' well. As Chantraine remarks, all forms can easily be derived from the root *hag- 'sacred', except for ᾰ́γος, the psilosis of which has not

received a convincing explanation. At any rate, it did not serve to distinguish the word from ἄγιος (per DELG).

ἀγοστός [m.] in Homer only in the formula ἕλε γαῖαν ἀγοστῷ, which is usually taken to mean 'with the hand (bent like a claw)' (Λ 425). Taken by Hell. imitative poets (A. R., Theoc.) as 'arm, elbow'. ◁?▷

•ETYM Solmsen 1909: 1ff. proposed an original *ἀγορ-στος "collector", derived from ►ἀγείρω 'to gather' with a suffix *-*st*- found in semantically close παλαστή 'flat hand, breadth of four fingers', Skt. *hásta*- 'hand', MoHG *Faust* 'fist', OCS *grъstъ* 'handful' etc. Not really convincing.

ἄγρα [f.] 'hunting, way of catching; prey' (Od.). ◁?, PG?(V)▷

•COMP Instruments: πυράγρα 'fire tongs' (Il.), κρεάγρα 'meat tongs' (Ar.); as medical terms ὀδοντάγρα 'tooth tongs'; diseases: ποδάγρα 'podagra', χειράγρα 'gout in the hand'. Compounds in -ἀγρετος: παλινάγρετος 'to be taken back' (epic since Il.), αὐτάγρετος 'self-chosen' (Od.). βοάγρια 'what was taken from a cow (= shield)', ἀνδράγριον 'spoils of a slain enemy'. The interpretation of these compounds is debated, see DELG.

•DER ἀγρεύς 'hunter' (Pi., A., etc.), more common is ἀγρεύω [v.] 'to hunt' (Hdt., S., E., X.), whence ἀγρευτής 'hunter' (Sol., S. [lyr.]), ἀγρευτήρ 'id.' (Theoc., Call.), ἄγρευμα 'catch, hunting net' (Sol., A., E., X.,); on the mg. of ἀγρέτης see Redard 1949: 236[58]. Further ἀγρώσσω [v.] 'to catch' (Od.), cf. Schwyzer: 733; ἀγρέω [v.] 'to take, seize' (Il., Sapph., Archil.), in Hom. only ipv. ἄγρει, -τε (see Wackernagel 1916: 166f.), Aeol. κατάγρεντον [ipv.]; aor. ptc. ἀγρέθεντα, -τες, verbal adj. ἀγρεταί (Cos). Agent noun ἀγρέμων (also -μών) 'hunting spear, hunter', etc. (A., H., *EM*), whence ἀγρέμιον 'catch' (*AP*).

•ETYM The relation between ἄγρα and ἀγρέω is unclear. Schwyzer: 727[1] pleads against ἀγρέω as a denominative from ἄγρα. McKenzie *Class. Quart.* 15 (1921): 46f. and 125 separated the two words: ἄγρα and ἀγρεύς would belong to ἀγρός 'field', whereas ἀγρέω would derive from the compounds in -ἀγρετος, which themselves belong to ►ἀγείρω 'to gather'.

The existence of compounds like αὐτάγρετος beside αὐθαίρετος could indicate that αἱρέω and ἀγρέω were associated, and this may explain formal variants like -αίγρετος. Connection with Indo-Iranian (Skt. *ghāsé-ajra*-, Av. *vəhrkąm azrōdaiδīm*, both hapaxes of which the mg. is uncertain) and Celtic words (OW *hair*, MW *aer* 'battle' < **agrā*, OIr. *ár* [n.] 'defeat' < **agro*-, Gaul. EN *Veragri*) is rejected by DELG, where it is remarked that none of these words bear the concrete meaning of 'catching' that is attested in Greek.

Fur.: (see index) thinks that ἀγρέω is a substrate word because of the prenasalized forms (Thess. αγγρε-), the form with αι for α (PN Ἐξαίγρετος on coins from Asia Minor, on which see Vendryes 1938: 331-334; this form can hardly be reliable), the variant ἐγρέω, and the metathesized form αργειτε. See ►ζωγρέω.

ἀγράκαβος ⇒ ἀγερράκαβος.

ἀγρεῖφνα [f.] 'harrow' (*AP* 6, 297). ◁PG?(V)▷

•DER ἀγρίφη [f.] 'harrow' (Hdn., H.).
•ETYM One compares γριφᾶσθαι· γράφειν. Λάκωνες. οἱ δὲ ξύειν καὶ ἀμύσσειν 'to write (Lacon.), others: to plane and scratch' (H.). The ἀ- would remain unexplained. But note that the attestations are very late. Pre-Greek origin with a prothetic vowel is possible. The form in -να also suggests Pre-Greek, cf. Fur. 132[65].

ἀγρηνόν [n.] · <ἔνδυμα> δικτυοειδὲς ὃ περιτίθενται οἱ βακχεύοντες Διονύσῳ. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ αὐτὸ καλεῖ [γρῆνυν] ἢ γῆνον 'garment like a net which those possessed by Dionysus put on. Eratosthenes calls it a γ.' (H.). ◅?▻
•VAR ἀγρηνα· δίκτυα καὶ ἔνδυμα 'nets and clothing' (H.); cf. ἀγρηνὸν ποικίλον ἐρεοῦν δικτυοειδὲς καὶ ἔνδυμα δὲ ποιόν (EM 14, 2).
•ETYM Does the word have a prothetic vowel? Cf. also γρήνη· ἄνθη συμμικτά 'mixed flowers' (H.), cf. Strömberg 1944: 15. A derivation from ἄγρα (DELG) is quite uncertain. Nilsson 1941(1): 204 says that the net on the Omphalos was called ἀγρηνόν; this statement is ascribed to Hesychius and Pollux (4, 116), but neither author says so: it was only a guess by *PW* s.v. ("wohl auch"). In fact, Hesychius states that it was called ▻γάγγαμον.

ἀγρήσκεται · πικραίνεται 'is made bitter, tastes bitter' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Latte suggested that it stands for ἀγρίσκεται and derives from ἄγριος, comparing ἀλθίσκω / ἀλθήσκω to ▻ἀλθαίνω. Semantically not convincing.

ἄγριππος [m.] Laconian name for the wild olive (Zen.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR ἄγριφος· γένος τι ἀγρίας ἐλείας 'species of wild olive' (H.).
•ETYM Fur.: 158 notes that these words have the variation π/φ, characteristic of Pre-Greek words.

ἀγρός [m.] 'field' (Il.). ◅IE *$h_2eǵ$-ro-* 'field'▻
•VAR Myc. *a-ko-ro* /agros/; PN *a-ko-ro-qo-ro* /Agrokʷolos/.
•COMP ἄγροικος 'who lives in the country' (ἀγρο-ϝοικ-), ▻ἄγρωστις; also ἄγρυπνος "who sleeps outside", which developed into 'sleepless, awake' (IA); cf. ἄγρ-αυλος (Il.) 'who has his bed/lair in the field'.
•DER Thence ἄγριος 'wild', with derivations: ἀγριότης [f.] 'wildness' (Pl., D., X.), ἀγριόομαι, ἀγριόω, ἀγριαίνω [v.] 'to become (make) wild'. ἀγρότης [m.] 'countryman, rustic' (π 218, E.), ἀγροτήρ [m.] (E.) 'id.', also ἀγρώτης (E.) and ἀγρώστης (S., E.), of unclear formation (see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἄγρωστις, but also Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990) above).
ἀγροιώτης (Il.) for ἀγρώτης would have arisen at verse end (Risch 1937: 32). On ἀγρέτης see ▻ἄγρα. Comp. ἀγρότερος 'wild', cf. ὀρέστερος. 'living in the mountains (as opposed to the fields)'.
•ETYM Old IE word, originally designating the uncultivated field: cf. Skt. *ájra-*, Lat. *ager*, Go. *akrs* and Arm. *art*. Derivation from *h_2eg- 'drive' is probable.

ἄγρυπνος ⇒ ἄγρος.

ἄγρωστις, -ιδος, -εως [f.] 'dog's-tooth grass' (Od.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Formerly supposed to be the fem. of ἀγρώστης 'countryman', from ►ἀγρός (Bechtel 1914 s.v., Strömberg 1940: 117). However, Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990): 33f. convincingly explained the word as **h₂ég̑ro-h₁d-ti-* 'Feld-Futter', comparing ►νῆστις for the formation.

ἄγυια [f.] 'street, road' (Il.). ◄PG(S)►

•VAR Plur. ἀγυιαί.

•DER Ἀγυιεύς [m.] 'guardian of the streets', epithet of Apollo (com., E.), whence the month name Ἀγυίηος (Argos); Ἀγυιάτης [m.] 'id.' (A.), also 'inhabitant of an ἄ.' (Pharsalos), cf. ἀγυιῆται· κωμῆται 'village dwellers' (H.); fem. ἀγυιᾶτις (Pi., E. [lyr.]).

•ETYM Mainly a poetic word. Generally considered to be a perf. ptc. of ►ἄγω 'to drive' without reduplication, but this makes little sense as the formation is without a parallel (save archaic ἰδυῖα); more probably a substrate word in -υια, for which cf. ►κώδυια, see Szemerényi 1964: 203ff. and Beekes 1998: 25f.

ἄγχι [adv., prep.] 'near' (Il.). ◄IE **h₂emǵʰ-* 'tie, betroth'►

•COMP ἀγχέ-μαχος (Il.) probably after τηλέ-μαχος (only as a PN), see Trümpy 1950: 113f.

•DER Further adverbial forms ἀγχό-θι, -θεν; ἀγχοῦ. Comp. ἄσσον, ἀσσοτέρω, superl. ἄγχιστα, -ον, also ἄσσιστα, Elean ασιστα (see Peters 1980a: 288). From the superl. ἀγχιστῖνος 'near each other' (Il.), see Chantraine 1933: 204. On Locr. ἀγχιστεδᾶν = ἀγχιστήδᾶν see Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 84f. More forms in DELG.

•ETYM Considered to be the locative of a root noun related to ►ἄγχω (Schwyzer: 622), or a direct derivation from ►ἄγχω after πέρι, ἄντι. West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 118f. suggests reconsidering the reading ἀγχηστῖνοι, -αι for ἀγχιστῖνοι, -αι, which is a v.l. at all Homeric places, and which he interprets as ἄγχι + ἑδ-τι- 'a sitting close together'. More probable is the suggestion by Watkins (*apud* West l.c.) that the compound contains the root ἡσ- 'to sit'.

ἀγχίλωψ [f.] 'swelling which obstructs the lacrymal duct' (Gal. 19, 438). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Synonym αἰγίλωψ (Cels.).

•ETYM Galen analyzes it as ►ἄγχι and ►ὤψ. Strömberg 1944: 95f. follows this, and explains the -λ- from the synonym αἰγίλωψ. Frisk suggests that the first member is from ►ἄγχω instead. Not very convincing. The synonym points to a Pre-Greek origin, due to variation α/αι and γ/χ and prenasalization. Influence of ἄγχι/ ἄγχω on αἰγίλωψ is improbable. Note that αι before *NC* is not tolerated in Greek; perhaps the first *i* derives from a palatalized /g'/. The analysis in terms of Pre-Greek is **a(n)g'-il-ōp-*.

ἀγχόνη [f.] = μανδραγόρα 'mandrake' (Ps.-Dsc.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

ἄγχουρος 1 [m.] 'gold' (*AP*, Plu.), presumably the name of the son of Midas (Plu. 2, 306f.). ◄?►

•ETYM Fur.: 391 compares τάγχουρος γὰρ ὁ χρυσός, ἡ λέξις Περσική 'τ. means gold in Persian' (sch. Theoc., p. 351 W.) and τάγχαρας 'gold' (Cosmas ad *OGI* 199). If the

word is Pre-Greek, I propose a sequence *-ar^{w}-* giving either -αρ- or -ουρ-; see ►ἀγχοῦρος 2 and, most notably, ►ἀρασχάδες.

ἀγχοῦρος 2 [m.] 'dawn' (Call.). ◄?►
•VAR ἀγχοῦρος· ὀρθρός. Κύπριοι. ἢ φωσφόρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ 'dawn (Cypr.); bringer of light, and what comes with him' (H.). Variant ἄγχαυρος 'near the morning' (*AP* 4, 111); 'time near dawn' (Call.), see LSJ Supp.
•ETYM Unknown. The interchange ου/αυ is reliable, as both occur in Callimachus (so if αυ is explained from αὔριον, we cannot understand -ουρ-). Perhaps PG *-ar^{w}-* yielded variants in -αυρ- (with anticipation of the labial element) and ουρ- (with additional coloring of the vowel); cf. ►ἀρασχάδες.

ἄγχουσα [f.] a plant, 'Anchusa tinctoria' (Thphr., Dsc.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also ἔγχουσα (Ar.).
•COMP Also κατάγχουσα (Ps.-Dsc.); cf. ψευδάγχουσα (Plin.).
•ETYM The variant ἔγχουσα excludes derivation from ►ἄγχω (which is defended by Strömberg 1940: 64). A typical substrate word; see Fur.: 346 and 197[55] on the suffix -ουσα. Not related to ►ἀγχύνωψ.

ἄγχραν [adj.] · μύωπα. Λοκροί 'short-sighted (Locrian)' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•ETYM Bechtel 1921 compares ἄκαρον· τυφλόν 'blind' (H.). These forms show typical variations of Pre-Greek: κ/χ and prenasalization (see Fur.: 127).

ἄγχω [v.] 'to squeeze, strangle' (Il.). ◄IE **h₂emǵʰ-* 'narrow, strangle'►
•DER ἀγχόνη 'hanging, strangling', for the suffix cf. ►περόνη, etc.; Lat. LW *angina* (Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 205, but see E-M s.v.). Thence ἀγχόνιος 'fit for hanging' (E., Nonn.), ἀγχονάω 'to strangle' (Man.). ἀγκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'tool for sewing up wounds' (Cels. Med., Plu.).
•ETYM An exact correspondence for the thematic present is found in Lat. *angō* 'to bind together, strangle'. Hitt. *ḫamank-^{i}*, *ḫame/ink-* has a nasal present **h₂m-(e)n-ǵʰ-*. The widespread *u*-stem adjective **h₂emǵʰ-u-* in Skt. *aṃhú-* 'narrow', Go. *aggwus*, Arm. *anju-k*, OCS *ǫzъ-kъ* is not found in Greek. See ►ἄγχι.

ἄγω [v.] 'to drive, lead, bring, carry; to draw, etc.' (Il.). ◄IE **h₂eǵ-* 'drive, lead'►
•VAR Aor. ἤγαγον, perf. ἦχα (Att.); Dor. ἀγήγοχα, whence ἀγήοχα, ἀγέωχα.
•DIAL Myc. *a-ke* /agei/.
•COMP With ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.; στρατηγός 'leader (of the army), commander'. On -αγέτης in compounds (ἀρχηγέτης, etc.) see Fraenkel 1910: 59ff., Sommer 1950: 11f.
•DER ἀγός 'leader' (poet. since Il.), which is formally identical with Skt. *ajá-* 'driver', but perhaps a parallel formation; ἀγή 'transport' (Chios), 'winding' (Arat.); ἀγών, -ῶνος [m.] 'gathering, rally (to see games)' (Il.), whence ἀγώνιος, ἀγωνία, ἀγωνιάω, ἀγωνιάτης; verb ἀγωνίζομαι 'to contend for a prize, etc.', whence ἀγώνισις, ἀγώνισμα, ἀγωνιστής, ἀγωνιστικός, etc. Further ἄκτωρ, -ορος 'leader' (A.), also a PN (Il.), but Lat. *actor* may be an independent formation; ἄγμα· κλέμμα 'theft' (H.).
Reduplicated nouns: ἀγωγός [m.] 'leader' (IA), ἀγωγή 'carrying away' (IA), formation unclear, whence ἀγωγεύς, ἀγώγιμος, ἀγώγιον, ἀγωγαῖος, ἀγωγικά.

ὤγανον 'spoke' seems unrelated (in spite of Frisk 1938: 17f.). Unclear is the formation of ἀγῑνέμεναι, ἀγινέω 'to lead, carry' (Il.), and the relation with Dor. Aetol. ἀγνέω 'id.'.

Cf. further on ►ἀγέλη, ►ἄξιος, ►ἄξων, ►ὄγμος; also ►ἀγρός. Not here ►ἄγυια.

•ETYM Old thematic present, also found in Skt. *ájati*, Av. *azaiti*, Arm. *acem*, Lat. *agō*, OIr. *-aig*, ON *aka* and ToAB *āk-*, all 'to drive, lead' vel sim. Originally the verb was present (see LIV² s.v. **h₂eǵ-*). ►ὄγμος 'furrow, etc.' derives from **h₂oǵ-mo-*, neatly corresponding to Skt. *ájma-* 'trajectory', and proves that the regular reflex of **h₂o* in Greek was o, not α (as was contended by Ruijgh).

ἀδαγμός [m.] · κνησμός 'itch' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also in S. *Tr.* 770 acc. to Phot. (codd. ὀδαγμός).

•DER Cf. ἀδακτῶ· κνήθομαι 'to itch', ἀδαξῆσαι· κνῆσαι 'to scrape, scratch', ἀδαχᾷ· κνᾷ, κνήθει κεφαλήν. ψηλαφᾷ 'scratches the head, gropes' (H.).

•ETYM The old explanation of ἀδαγμός as assimilated from ὀδα- is due to the desire to reduce everything to Indo-European roots; see Van Beek fthc.b. There is no compelling reason to connect a word for 'scratch' with 'tooth'; the vocalic variation points to PG origin. See ►ὀδάξ.

ἀδαής, -ές ⇒ δαῆναι.

ἀδαλός [m.] · ἄσβολος 'soot' (H.). ◅LW Maced.▻

•ETYM Macedonian for αἴθαλος; see von Blumenthal 1930: 5. See ►ἀδῆ, ►ἄδραια.

ἀδάμας, -αντος [m.] a strong metal, 'steel' (Hes.); 'diamond' (Thphr.). ◅?▻

•VAR PN Ἀδάμας (Hom.).

•DER ἀδαμάντινος (Pi., A.).

•ETYM Both the appellative and the PN are often derived from ►δάμνημι as 'indomitable'; for the formation, cf. ►ἀκάμας and Chantraine 1933: 269. But semantically, the etymology is rather strange. It is rather a loanword that was adapted by folk etymology. Acc. to Troxler 1964: 19-21 and Barb 1969: 66-82, it is a loan from Semitic, comparing Akk. *adamu*. Lubotsky 1998: 414[3] refers to NPhr. (α)τεαμα 'stone'.

ἀδάρεξα · εἰρήνη 'peace' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 24 compares ἀταραξία and thinks the word is of Illyrian origin. Very uncertain.

ἀδάρκη [f.] 'salt deposit on the herbage of marshes' (Dsc., Gal.). ◅LW Celt.▻

•VAR Also -ης [m.], ἄδαρκος [m.].

•ETYM Like Lat. *adarca* (Plin.), a loanword from Gaulish: cf. Ir. *adarc* 'horn', which is from Basque *adar* 'horn', with a Celt. suffix *-k-* (Pokorny *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* 14 (1923): 273; Pokorny *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.* 16 (1927): 112).

ἄδδαυον ⇒ ἄζω 1.

ἄδδιξ, -ιχος [f.] a measure of four choinikes (Ar. *fr.* 709). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. The suffix is also found in χοῖνιξ (which has -ικ-). Geminated δδ is rare in IA, and names for measures are often borrowed. Cf. κἀδδιχος s.v. ►κάδος, which is combined by Fur.: 130[59], who assumes a substrate word with the alternation κ/zero. Cf. also Szemerényi 1969b: 248.

ἀδεαλτωhαιε [3sg.opt.aor.] unknown (inscr. Elis [approx. 350[a]]). ◄?►

•ETYM DELG (see s.v. for more details) thinks of δέλτος 'writing tablet', referring to Buck 1955: 263.

ἀδελφεός [m.] 'brother' (Il.). ◄GR►

•VAR Att. ἀδελφός (shortened form); ἀδελφεή 'sister' (Pi. -εά, Att. -φή). Cret. αδευπιος.

•DER ἀδελφιδέος, -δέη (Att. -δοῦς, -δῆ) 'nephew', 'niece'. ἀδελιφήρ· ἀδελφεός, Λάκωνες 'brother (Lacon.)' (H.) is due to contamination with φρᾰ́τηρ. Diminutive ἀδελφίδιον (Ar.), ἀδελφικός 'brotherly, etc.' (Arist.), ἀδελφότης 'brotherhood' (LXX), ἀδελφίζω [v.] 'to accept as a brother' (Hecat.), ἀδέλφιξις (Hp.).

•ETYM Derived from a word for 'womb' with copulative α < *sm̥-, meaning 'from the same womb'; cf. ἀδελφοί· οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς δελφύος γεγονότες. δελφὺς γὰρ ἡ μήτρα (H.). However, the -ε- cannot be from -εϝ- because of Cret. -ιος; acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 52f., it must derive from *-*eio*-, which forms material adjectives. We may also assume a ntr. *δελφός as a base noun, thus **ha-gʷelpʰeh-o*-. Att. ἀδελφός is from contracted forms like ἀδελφοῦ < -εοῦ. The inherited word for 'brother', φρᾰ́τηρ, was primarily used in a religious or political sense (e.g. φρᾰ́τρα, φρατρία), and could perhaps also be used for other members of the extended family, like nephews. Greek probably introduced the expression *φρᾰ́τηρ ἀδελφεός 'brother proper', cf. Skt. *sagarbhya*- and, within Greek, ὁμογαστριος. It has been suggested that the word derived from pre-Greek matrilinear societies (Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 201ff.), but the word may instead point to a society with concubines (παλλακαί); see Gonda *Mnem.* 15 (1962): 390-2. See ►δελφύς.

ἀδευκής, -ές [adj.] unknown, said of ὄλεθρος, πότμος, φῆμις (Od.). ◄IE? **deuk*- 'care'?►

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *de-u-ka-ri-jo* /Deukaliōn/.

•ETYM Like Ποlυ-δεύκης, it presupposes a noun *δεῦκος [n.], for which no cognates can be suggested. Not to Lat. *dūco* 'to lead', etc., as per Lagercrantz *KZ* 35 (1899): 276. Cf. δεύκει· φροντίζει 'consider, ponder' (H.), ἐνδυκέως 'careful'; ἀδευκής would then mean 'careless, thoughtless', which fits the meaning very well. In a sch. on A. R. 1, 1027, δεῦκος is glossed as γλεῦκος, which seems most improbable. Is it a mistake for ΓΔΕΥΚΟΣ? The name Δευκαλίων may derive from *Λευκαλίων; see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ►ἀδευκής.

ἀδῆ · οὐρανός. Μακεδόνες 'heaven (Maced.)' (H.). ◄LW Mac.►

•ETYM Identical with ►αἰθήρ, which features the typical Macedonian *Lautverschiebung* (δ for Gr. θ, etc.).

ἀδηκότες [perf.ptc.nom.pl.] in καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ (K 98), mg. uncertain. ◄?►

•ETYM Connected with ►ἄδην or ►ἡδύς, and ἀαδεῖν (cf. ►ἄαδα). For discussion, see DELG.

ἀδημονέω [v.] 'to be restless, scared' (Hp., Pl., X.). ◅?▻
•VAR With short ἀ- (Nic. *fr.* 16).
•DER ἀδημονία (Epicur., Plu.), ἀδημοσύνη (Democr., X.).
•ETYM An Ionic word. Allen *Class. Rev.* 20 (1906): 5 connected it with δαῆναι; Debrunner 1937: 266 assumed a contraction from *ἀδαημονέω; semantically not compelling. Not related to ἡδύς, nor to ἀηδής (Leumann 1950: 309[82]).

ἀδήν, -ένος [f.] 'gland' (Hp.). ◅IE?, PG?▻
•VAR Later [m.].
•ETYM One compares Lat. *inguen, -inis* [n.] 'groin, swelling on the groin' and MoIc. *økkr* [m.] 'growth, tumor' < PGm. **enkwa-* < **engʷo-*. However, since PIE had no words beginning with a vowel, this would be reconstructed as **h₁engʷ-*, but a zero grade **h₁ngʷ-e-* would give Gr. *ἐνδε- acc. to Rix' Law (**HRC-* > Gr. α/ε/o*RC*). This implies that the Greek word cannot be cognate with the Germanic one (the latter can be cognate with the Latin word, of course, as **h₁engʷ-*, see Schrijver 1991: 58). Greek ἀδήν thus remains isolated. Fur.: 172[118] suggests a substrate origin (words in -ην). For a recent challenge of the validity of Rix's Law, see Nikolaev 2005, and on the present word, p. 50[54].

ἄδην [adv.] 'to one's fill' (Il.). ◅IE **seh₂-* 'satiate'▻
•VAR In epic with psilosis. The α- may undergo metrical lengthening.
•DER ἄδος [m., n.] 'satiety' (Il.), ἀδινός 'crowded, thronging, vehement, etc' (mainly epic), ►ἀδρός. From *ἀδη-: ἀδαῖος 'leading to satiety, unpleasant' (Sophr., H.). Cf. further the glosses ►ἄαδα and ἀαδεῖν (H.), and ►ἀδμωλή and ►ἄση.
•ETYM Old accusative of a noun supposed in the first member of ἀδη-φάγος 'glutton' (but what kind of compound is it?). Often connected with the root **seh₂-* 'to satisfy', which is found in several Greek verbal forms: ἄμεναι (Il.), aor. ►ἄσαι, ἄσασθαι (epic) 'to become satiated' and ►ἄατος. ἀδην was analyzed by Frisk as containing a stem ἀδ- and connected with Arm. *at-ok'* 'full, ripe' (cf. ►ἀδρός); but, as Clackson 1994: 170f. remarks, ἀδην itself may simply contain a suffix -δην. Still, this does not explain the other derivations with -δ-. Other languages have an enlargement in *-t(i)-*: Lat. *satis* 'enough', Go. *saþs* 'satiated', *ga-sobjan*, Lith. *sótis* 'satiaty' etc. (see ►ἄσαι).

ἀδίαντον [n.] name of a plant, 'Adiantum' (Thphr.). ◅IE?, GR▻
•VAR ἀδίαντος [m.].
•ETYM Explained as 'what cannot be irrigated' (►διαίνω); see Strömberg 1940: 74f.

ἀδίκη [f.] 'nettle', = ἀκαλήφη (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 93). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Cf. ►ἑλίκη 'willow'. The connection with OHG *nazza, nezzila* etc. as **n̥d-ikā* (cf. Frisk) is most improbable; it is rather a substrate word.

ἀδινός ⇒ ἄδην, ἀδρός.

ἄδις [?] · ὡς Ἀπίων, ἀθρόοι, ἢ ἐσχάρα 'in masses, hearth' (H.). ◅LW Mac.▻

•ETYM In the meaning ἀθρόοι, probably a mistake for ἅλις; in the sense ἐσχάρα, Macedonian (= Lat. *aedēs*), acc. to von Blumenthal *IF* 49 (1931): 179.

ἀδμωλή [f.] · ἀπορία, ὀλιγωρία, ἄγνοια, ἡσυχία 'difficulty, contempt or negligence, ignorance, rest or quiet' (H.); cf. Hdn. Gr.1, 324, etc. ◅?▻
•VAR ἀδμωλία· ἡ ἄγνοια 'ignorance' (Suid., Call. *fr.* 717 Pf.), ἀδμολίη (*EM*). Further ἀσμωλεῖν = ἀγνοεῖν (H., *EM* 155, 33).
•DER ἀδμωλῶ· ἀκηδιῶ 'am careless' (Suid.), ἀδμωλεῖν· ἀγνοεῖν ἢ ἀγνωμονεῖν ἢ ἀκηδιᾶν 'to be ignorant, act or treat unfairly, be careless' (*EM*). ἀδμωλεί· χωρίς δόλου 'without resource' (Suid.).
•ETYM Frisk derived it from ἄδ- (in ►ἄδην) with "suffixal" -μωλ- (Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 52), which is highly improbable. Acc. to Fur.: 263[8], the word can hardly be inherited. On the interchange δμ/ σμ, see Schwyzer: 208 (unclear).

ἄδμωνες [pl.] a sea-fish (Opp. *Hal.* 3, 371). ◅?▻
•VAR Also ἄδμιωες.
•ETYM Unknown; see Thompson 1947.

ἀδνόν [adj.] · ἁγνόν. Κρῆτες 'holy (Cret.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Is it a hypercorrect form, caused by the development δν > γν? Or just a form invented to explain Ἀριάδνη ? See Bechtel 1921(2): 777.

ἀδολέσχης [m.] 'idle talker' (Ar.). ◅?▻
•VAR On ᾰ̃ see Björck 1950: 142, 41.
•DER Later ἀδόλεσχος; thence ἀδολεσχία, -έω, -ικός.
•ETYM Perhaps from *ἀαδο-λέσχης to ἀαδεῖν· ὀχλεῖν (H.), with λέσχη as a second member in the sense of 'conversation', and a first member *ἀ-σϝαδ- (see ►ἀνδάνω, ►ἡδύς); cf. Schulze 1892: 452f. Quite uncertain. See DELG for more details.

ἀδραία · αἰθρία 'clear weather' (H.). ◅LW Mac.▻
•ETYM Probably Macedonian; see von Blumenthal 1930: 5.

ἀδράφαξυς ⇒ ἀτράφαξυς.

ἀδουσιάσασθαι [v.aor.] 'to accept the membership of', φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας (*IG* 2², 553: 15, LSJ *Supp.*). ◅GR▻
•DER ἀδούσιον· ἀρεστόν, σύμφωνον 'pleased, harmonious, agreed' (H.), ἀδουσιασάμενοι· ὁμολογησάμενοι 'who agreed' (H.).
•ETYM Probably connected with ἄδος 'decree' < 'decision'.

ἀδρός [adj.] 'thick, strong, full-grown, ripe' (Hdt.). ◅IE **seh₂*- 'satiate'▻
•DER ἀδρότης 'strength' (Hell.); on Hom. ἀ(ν)δροτῆτα [acc.] see ►ἀνήρ. ἀδρύνω [v.] 'to make ripe', med. 'to ripen', whence ἄδρυνσις; sometimes also ἀδρέω, ἀδρόομαι. Plant name ἀδρώδης (Strömberg 1940: 82).
•ETYM From root ἀδ- in ►ἄδην, with a suffix -ρο-.

ἄδρυα · πλοῖα μονόξυλα, Κύπριοι 'ships made out of one piece of wood (Cypr.)'. Λέγονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀρότρῳ στῦλοι 'the poles in the plough'. Σικελοὶ δὲ ἄδρυα λέγουσι τὰ μῆλα 'apples (Sicilian)', παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς ἀκρόδρυα 'fruits grown on

upper branches of trees (Att.)' (H.). Also ἄδρυα· οἱ στῦλοι ἀρότρου, δι' ὧν ὁ ἱστοβοεὺς ἁρμόζεται 'by which the plough beam is fixed' (H.). ◂IE **dru-* 'tree', PG▸

•ETYM In the first gloss, it seems to continue *ἄ-δρυα '(consisting) of one single tree', a compound from ἀ- < **sm̥-* and ►δρῦς. This can also be assumed for the second, agricultiral meaning. For the meaning 'one single' of ἀ-, cf. μώνυχες s.v. ►ὄνυξ. But in the third meaning, 'apples', it is probably folk-etymological, as it is a variant of ►μάδρυα, which is non-IE. Compounds with a second member -δρυ- are rare and doubtful; see DELG s.v. δρῦς.

Ἄδωνις, -ιδος [m.] theonym. ◂LW?▸

•VAR Also Ἄδων, -ος.

•ETYM Supposed to be a loan from Semitic (Hebr. *ādōn* 'Lord'). But no cult connected with this name is known in the Semitic world, nor a myth parallel to that in Greece. See Burkert 1985: 176f., arguing against Kretschmer, e.g. Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 29ff. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 235f. Fur.: 328[21] points to the proper name Ἄδων, an Armenian general and a Phrygian flute-player.

ἄεθλος [m.] 'burden, contest, prize of a contest' (Il.). On the mg. Trümpy 1950: 150f. ◂IE? **h₂ued*ʰ- 'contest'?▸

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (Il.).

•DIAL Arc. [ἄ]ϝεθλα (*IG* 5(2), 75), Att. contr. ἆθλος, -ον.

•DER ἀέθλιον 'id.' (epic), ἀέθλιος 'of the contest' (Thgn., Call.), ἄθλιος 'unhappy' (Att.), ἀθλιότης; ἀ(ε)θλέω, -εύω [v.] 'to contend for', ἀ(ε)θλητήρ, -τής, ἀ(έ)θλημα, -σις, -τικός.

•ETYM The original meaning probably was 'contest for a prize'. Not related to Skt. *vāyati* 'be tired' (as per Trümpy 1950: 150-151), which is from **h₁ueh₂-*. The word looks Indo-European; the form suggests a root reconstruction **h₂ued*ʰ-.

ἀείδω [v.] 'to sing (the praises of)' (Il.). ◂IE? **h₂ueid-* 'sing'▸

•DIAL Att. ᾄδω.

•DER ἀοιδή, ᾠδή 'song', whence ἀοίδιμος, ᾠδικός. Agent noun ἀοιδός, ᾠδός 'singer'. Thence, or from ἀοιδή, the verb ἀοιδιάω (epic) = ἀείδω; derived from ᾠδή: Ὠιδεῖον a building in Athens for musical contests. Further ἄεισμα, ᾆσμα [n.] 'song' (IA), ᾀσμάτιον (Pl. Com.); ᾀσμός [m.] 'id.' (Pl. Com.).

•ETYM The ablaut suggests PIE **h₂ueid-*, but no cognate outside Greek is known. Older speculations, now dated, are found in Frisk and DELG. Harðarson 1993b: 163 assumed the reconstruction **h₂ue-(h₂)ud-*, with loss of the laryngeal (which seems difficult) and dissimilation as in ἔειπον < **h₁e-ue-ukʷ-*. See ►αὐδή, ►ἀηδών.

ἀείρω 1 [v.] 'to raise' (Il.). ◂IE? **h₂uer-* 'raise'?▸

•VAR ἄωρτο 'hung' (Il.), which Tichy 1983: 364f. explains as an injunctive *ἄορτο < PIE **h₂u̯r̥-tó*.

•DIAL Att. αἴρω, for which Frisk suggested a recent formation to the Att. fut. ἀρῶ < *ἀερῶ. Improbable is a root **sr̥-*, as per Heubeck *Orbis* 13 (1964): 264-7. Taillardat *RPh.* 57 (1983): 21-25 convincingly assumes a zero grade verb **awr̥-je/o-* > αἴρω.

•COMP ἀερσί-ποδες 'lifting their feet' (Il.); μετήορος '(sth.) in the air', Att. μετέωρος, Aeol. πεδάορος (these are not from ►ἀήρ).
•DER ἄρσις [f.] 'raising' (Arist.); ►ἀρτήρ.
•ETYM Not from ἀήρ 'air' (which has long **ā-*). No cognates are known, but the form requires the reconstruction **h₂uer-*. See also ►ἀείρω 2; an important question is whether these are originally the same verb. See ►ἀρτήρ, ►αἰώρα; cf. also ►ἄρμα 2, ►ἠερέθονται.

ἀείρω 2 [v.] 'to bind together, join' (Il.); mostly with συν-. Cf. ξυναίρεται· συνάπτεται 'is attached' (H.). ◄IE? **h₂uer-*? 'bind'►
•VAR Note ἄωρτο 'was hanging'; παρηέρθη 'was made to hang beside' Π 341.
•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *o-pa-wo-ta* /op-āworta/ 'pieces of armor'?
•COMP Nominal stem -αορ- 'band, link' in *τετρ(α)-άορος, τετρᾱ́ορος, contracted τέτρωρος 'which yokes four together' (Od.), whence τετρᾱορία 'four-horse chariot' (Pi.); from συναείρω also συνᾱ́ορος, συνήορος 'coupled together, spouse', Att. συνωρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'two-horse team', to which belongs συνωρικεύεται 'drives with a team of horses' (Ar. *Nub.* 15), but *συνωρικός is unattested; from συνωρίς also συνωριαστής 'driver of a συνωρίς' (Luc.), which presupposes a verb *συνωριάζειν. Contrasted with συνήορος is παρήορος, παράορος (Il.) '(horse) joined beside', also 'outstretched' and 'reckless' (see Leumann 1950: 222ff.); a verb παραείρω seems to have existed beside συναείρω, but it is attested only in a special use παρηέρθη δὲ κάρη (Π 341) 'the head hung on one side', cf. Leumann loc. cit. Isolated ἀπήορος 'far away'. ἐπήορος 'suspended over', κατήορος 'hanging down', and κατωρίς 'band hanging down' rather belong with μετήορος, μετέωρος, see ►ἀείρω 1.
•DER Action noun ἀορτή *'attaching', 'sth. attached, bag for tying' (Men.), medic. term referring to the bronchi and the hose-like aorta (Hp., Arist.). Agent or instrument noun ἀορτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] *'attacher', 'sword-belt' (Od.), with unclear *o*-vocalism; also ἀόρτης (pap., H.) and ἀορτεύς (H.). Denominative or deverbative ptc. ἀορτηθείς 'hanged' (*AP*). ἄορτρα [n.pl.] 'pulmonary lobe' (Hp.), after nouns in -τρον (Chantraine 1933: 331f.). See further ►ἄορ, -ορος [n.] 'sword' (probably unrelated); related is ►ἀρτάω 'to hang'.
•ETYM Solmsen 1901: 289ff. separated it from ►ἀείρω 1 'to raise', but DELG tends to consider the second as a specialization of the first (see extensive discussion in DELG). The present entry is mostly connected with a root **uerH-* 'to bind, hang on, strick' in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *virvẽ* 'string', OCS *obora* < **ob-vora* 'string, twine', Lith. *vérti* 'to pierce, string', etc., but the exact demarcation from the root **Huer-* 'to open' is unclear; perhaps it was originally one root. For Greek, the closest connection is with Alb. *vjerr* 'to hang, suspend'. See ►ἀρτήρ, ►ἀρτάω, ►ἄορ.

ἀεκήλιος [adj.] 'unbearable' (only Σ 77, ἔργα). ◄GR►
•ETYM The form was based on the root **ueḱ-* 'to wish' in ►ἑκών, ►ἔκηλος; see Philipp in *LfgrE* s.v.

ἀέλιοι [m.pl.] · οἱ ἀδελφὰς γυναῖκας ἐσχηκότες 'who have sisters as wives', i.e. 'brothers-in-law' (H.). ◄IE **sue-lo-*►

•VAR αἴλιοι· σύγγαμβροι 'the husbands of two sisters' (H.); εἰλίονες in Pollux 3, 32 (οἱ δὲ ἀδελφὰς γήμαντες ὁμόγαμβροι ἢ σύγγαμβροι ἢ μᾶλλον συγκηδεσταὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰλίονες), with metrical lengthening of *ἐλίονες or *ἑλίονες.
•ETYM αἴλιοι may be an itacistic notation for *ἔλιοι (*ἕλιοι). The ἀ- in ἀέλιοι is taken as a 'copulative' α-. Cognate with ON *svilar* [m.pl.] 'brothers-in-law, whose wives are sisters', PIE **sue-lo-*, a derivative in *-l-* of the reflexive pronoun **sue*.

ἄελλα [f.] 'storm wind' (Il.). ◂IE? **h₂uel-*▸
•VAR ἀέλλη (Π 374).
•DIAL Aeol. αὔελλα.
•DER Ἀελλώ, -οῦς [f.] name of a Harpy (Hes.); ἀελλαῖος, also ἀελλὰς 'fast like a storm' (S.), ἀελλήεις (Nonn.), ἀελλώδης (sch. Il.). Bird name ἀελλός (H.) and ἄελλον· ταχύ 'quick' (*EM*). Note ἀελλής (of κονίσαλος Γ 13), perhaps from ►ἀολλής, but rather not after ἄελλα. Verb ἀέλλεται· πνεῖ (*EM*).
•ETYM Cf. θύελλα. Direct derivation fron the root of ►ἄημι, **h₂ueh₁-*, is impossible because of related W *awel* [f.] 'wind', which requires the reconstruction **h₂eu-el-*. The Greek form can also be derived from *ἀϝελ-ι̯α. The gloss ἀείλη· πνοή 'breath, etc.' (H.) does not fit in. See ►ἀέτμον.

ἄεμμα [n.] 'bow' (Call.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Assuming an original meaning 'bowstring' (cf. ►νευρά), explained as an artificial form for ἄμμα 'knot, cord' (to ►ἅπτω); this is doubtful.

ἀετμόν ⇒ ἀτμός.

ἀέξω ⇒ αὔξω, αὐξάνω.

ἄεπτος [adj.] of uncertain mg., cf. ἄεπτον· ἰσχυρόν, ἀοίκητον (ἄθικτον) 'strong, uninhabited' (H.). ◂?▸
•VAR Sometimes we find ►ἄαπτος or ἄελπτος (A. *Supp.* 908, *Ag.* 141, etc.).
•ETYM Unknown. See Wackernagel *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 5 (1897): 27ff.

ἀέροψ [m.] Boeotian name for the bird μέροψ (sch. Ar. *Av.* 1354). ◂PG? (S, V)▸
•VAR Also Ἀέροπες· ἔθνος, Τροιζῆνα κατοικοῦντες. καί ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ γένος τι. καί ὄρνεά τινα 'people inhabiting Troezen; lineage in Macedonia; kind of bird' (H.); the gloss ἀεροπός· κοχλίας 'snail' (H.) is corrupted acc. to DELG following Latte. Variants εἴροψ = μέροψ, also Boeotian (Arist.); PN Ἤροπος.
•ETYM See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12-34; it is clearly a substrate element. Chantraine thinks that the α- is long because of Ant. Lib. 18, 3 ἤέροπος. Fur.: 243, 246, 352 assumes the interchange μ/ ϝ and prothesis ἀ-/ ἐ-/ ἡ-: μέροπ- / ἀϝέροπ- / εἴροπ- < *ἐϝεροπ- / ἠϝέροπ- (but this remains uncertain; perhaps εἰ-, ἡ- are secondary lengthenings). Pre-Greek origin of the bird name and the proper name is probable (cf. the suffix -οπ-). See ►μέροψ, ►πηνέλοψ.

ἄεσα [v.aor.] 'to spend (the night)' (Od.), always with νύκτα(ς). ◂IE **h₂ues-* 'live, dwell, spend the night'▸
•VAR Secondary pres. ἀέσκω (Hdn., H.).

•ETYM Related to Skt. *vásati* 'to dwell, live, spend the night', Hitt. *ḫuiš-^{zi}* 'to live', ToB *wäs-* [verb] 'to stay, to wait', Go. *wisan* 'to be', Arm. *gom* 'I am' (but rejected by Kortlandt *AAL* 19 (1998): 19f.) etc. There is also an old present ἰαύω < *h_2i-h_2eus-. Not related to ἄστυ, ἑστία.

ἀεσίφρων ⇒ ἀάω.

ἄέσκω ⇒ ἄεσα.

ἄζετον · ἄπιστον. Σικελοί 'not trustworthy (Sicilian)' (H.). ◅?▻

•DER ἀζετόω in ἀζετωθεωντι (Delphi, *SGDI* 2034, 17), but the mg. 'if they are persuaded' poses difficulties, as it is the opposite of the gloss; see DELG.

•ETYM Unexplained.

ἄζηχής [adj.] 'ἄπαυστος, συνεχής, incessant', of noise, pain (Il.). ◅GR▻

•DER In H. also ἀζαχές and ἀζεχές· ἀδιάλειπτον 'incessant'; ἀζηχές· ἀδιεχές 'unceasing' (Suid.).

•ETYM Probably for *ἀζαεχής, which can be read in all places in Homer, from *ἀ-δια-εχής (cf. συνεχής 'continuous') (Schulze 1892: 471, Bechtel 1914 s.v.). But the contraction *αε > η is irregular in Ionic. DELG therefore suggests the influence of ἠχή and compounds like δυσηχής, but also remarks that *αε > η may be found in Thessalian, Lesbian and Arcado-Cyprian. For the meaning, Bechtel assumes 'der ohne Einhalt etwas tut', but it simply means 'without interrruption'; διέχω means 'to stand apart, be separate'.

ἄζον [adj.] · μέλαν, ὑψηλόν 'black or dark, high' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 33 corrects μέλαν to μέγαν. However, his explanation from *ag-$i̯on$ (to ἄγαν and μέγας) is quite uncertain.

ἄζομαι ⇒ ἅγιος.

ἄζω 1 [v.] 'to dry' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2ed- 'dry'▻

•VAR Mostly intr. ἄζομαι 'to parch'.

•COMP ἄδδαυον· ξηρόν. Λάκωνες 'dry (Lacon.)' (H.) would be a compound of ἄζα (see below) and αὖος 'dry' (Fraenkel *Gnomon* 21 (1949): 39, Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 22); improbable; Latte corrects the gloss to *ἄδδανον. Cf. ἀζαυτός· παλαιότης καὶ κόνις 'antiquity, dust' (H.), which remains unclear.

•DER Hell. ἄζα 'dryness, heat', in σάκος ... πεπαλαγμένον ἄζῃ (χ 184) often interpreted as 'shield defiled with mold', which seems unnecessary, cf. ἄζα· ἄσβολος κόνις 'soot, dust or ashes', παλαιότης· κόπρος ἐν ἀγγείῳ ὑπομείνασα 'filth having remained behind in a receptacle' (H.).

Adjective ἀζαλέος 'barren, arid' (Il.), cf. ἰσχαλέος, αὐσταλέος. Verbs ἀζάνομαι (*h. Ven.*), ἀζαίνω (Nic.) 'to parch', both deverbative.

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, the nearest cognates are found in Slavic: OPol. *ozd* 'dried malt', Cz., Sln. *ozdíti* 'to dry malt' < *h_2esd-. Germanic has a group of words with velars in place of dentals: Go. *azgo*, OHG *asca* 'ashes'. However, it is more probable that Gr. ἄζω is comparable to Hitt. *ḫāt-^{i}* 'to dry up' < *h_2od-*ei*, and should be reconstructed as *h_2ed-*ie/o*- (cf. Kloekhorst 2008). What is perhaps originally an extension of the

same root, if *h_2eh_1s- < pre-PIE *h_2eds-, is found in Lat. *āreō* 'to be dry', *āra* 'altar' (OLat. *āsa*), Hitt. *ḫašša-* 'hearth' < *h_2eh_1s-h_2. Skt. *ā́sa-* [m.] 'ashes, dust' probably continues *h_2eh_1s-*o*-. Cf. ►αὖος, ►ἀυσταλέος.

ἄζω 2 [v.] 'to cry, groan'. ➡ἆ 5.

ἀηδών, -όνος [f.] 'nightingale' (Od.). ◅PG?(S)▻

•VAR Also ἀηδώ, -οῦς [f.] (S.). Also [m.], but rare.

•ETYM From *ἀϝηδών; cf. ἀβηδόνα· ἀηδόνα (H.). Connection with ►ἀείδω and ►αὐδή (which is almost universally accepted) is difficult, since a lengthened grade *$h_2uēd$- is improbable. The word could therefore well be Pre-Greek; for the suffix, cf. bird and animals names like ►χελιδών 'swallow', ►τενθρηδών 'wasp'.

ἄημι [v.] 'to blow' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2ueh_1- 'blow'▻

•VAR Forms in Schwyzer: 680.

•DER ἀήτη [f.], ἀήτης [m.] 'wind'; rare are the verbal nouns ἄημα, ἄησις. A zero grade ἀε- << *h_2uh_1- in ἀετμόν· τὸ πνεῦμα (H.), whence ►ἀτμός. Cf. further ►ἄελλα; ἄος· πνεῦμα ἢ ἄημα (cod. ἴαμα) 'breath, wind' (H.) is an innovation. Unrelated is ►ἀήρ, which has long ᾱ-.

•ETYM An old verbal root *h_2ueh_1- is also reflected in Skt. *vā́ti*, Go. *waian*, OHG *wāen* and OCS 1sg. *vě-jǫ*, all 'to blow'. The word for 'wind' is (a thematization of) the participle of this root: *h_2ueh_1-*nt*-*o*- > Skt. *vā́ta-* [m.], Av. *vāta-*, both of which must often be read with three syllables, representing Proto-Indo-Iranian **vaHata-*. The same word is found in Lat. *ventus*, Go. *winds*, ToA *want*, ToB *yente*; Hitt. *ḫuu̯ant-* is from unthematicized *h_2uh_1-*ent*-. A form with suffix *-*t*- has been assumed in in ►ἀήσυρος 'airy, quick (as wind?)' (poet.), for which cf. Skt. *vātula-* 'windy', but this gives formal problems (**tu* > συ is not regular). See ►ἄελλα, ►αὔρα, ►ἀήσυρος, ►ἀτμός.

ἠήρ [f.] 'mist, haze, clouds' (Il.), later 'air, atmosphere'. ◅IE *h_2eus-*er*-▻

•VAR Gen. ἠέρος. The nom. ἠήρ (also Att.; thence gen. ἀέρος) arose by dissimilation; is it an Atticism in Homer? Later Ion. ἠήρ.

•DIAL Aeol. αὔηρ, Dor. ἀβήρ (= αὐήρ) (H.).

•DER Derivatives: ἠερόεις, ἠεροειδής 'dim, cloudy', also ►αὔρα.

•ETYM ἀήρ is not cognate with ἄημι. Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 7ff. assumed an original meaning 'suspension' and derived the word from ἀείρω 'raise'. However, this leaves the length of the initial vowel unexplained. Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 619, 626 derives the word from **ausēr*, arguing that related ►αὔρα < *h_2eus-*r*-h_2 still means 'morning mist' in ε 469. See ►ἠέριος, ►ἦρι.

ἀήσυλος [adj.] in the hapax ἀήσυλα ἔργα (E 876) 'criminal acts'. ◅?, PG?(V)▻

•VAR αἰήσυλον· ἄνομον, κακοποιόν 'lawless, doing ill' (H.).

•ETYM It has been proposed that the word is a modification of αἴσυλος 'unseemly, evil' (αἴσυλα ῥέζειν, E 403, etc.) after ἄημι or ἀήσυρος. Different explanations are found in Bechtel 1914 and Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 53 (1901): 94. Fraenkel *Glotta* 34 (1955): 307ff proposed *α(ϝ)ισσυλα, connecting it with ἴσος (highly doubtful). Fur.:

253 points to the variant αἰ- in the gloss, which may imply a substrate origin (comparing ἄητος, which may have a variant αἴητος).

ἀήσυρος [adj.] probably 'light, agile', said of ants (A.). ◁PG?(S)▷
•VAR Cf. ἀήσυρον· τὸ λέπτον, τὸ μετέωρον καὶ κοῦφον παρὰ τὸ ἀέρι σύρεσθαι ἐπὶ ὀρνέων 'delicate, elevated, light, after being dragged through the air by birds' (Suda).
•ETYM Connection with ►ἄημι is improbable; rather a substrate word (where the suffix -υρ- is not infrequent).

ἄητος [adj.] in θάρσος ἄητον (Φ 395), mg. uncertain. ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR Cf. also θάρσος ἄᾱτον (Q. S. 1, 217). Also ἄητοι· ἀκόρεστοι, ἄπληστοι 'insatiable, greedy'; ἀήτους· μεγάλας. Αἰσχύλος Ἀθάμαντι 'great (Aesch.)' (H.), ἄητος· ὁ ἀκατάπαυστος 'incessant' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 220).
•ETYM The first explanation connects the word with ἄμεναι, ►ἆσαι 'to satiate', but this would mean that it differs from ἄατος, ἄτος by its long vowel, which is improbable. Perhaps it is the same word as ►αἴητος (in πέλωρ αἴητον Σ 410, said of Hephaistos). If so, the variation α/ αι might point to a substrate word; metrical lengthening is improbable, and α < αι impossible. See Fur.: 253, though his connection with ►ἀήσυλος remains uncertain. Palmer 1963: 339 connects the epithet of Hephaistos with Myc. *a-ja-me-no* as 'artist'; this is improbable. Not related to ἄημι. See Sabbadini *Riv. studi class.* 15 (1967): 78-84.

ἀθᾰ́ρη [f.] 'gruel, porridge' (Ar.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also ἀθήρη, -α [f.] (Hell.); influence of ►ἀθήρ?
•DER ἀθαρώδης (Ruf. Med.) and ἀθήρωμα 'kind of ulcer' (Gal.).
•ETYM Unexplained; an Egyptian word according to Pliny (*N. H.* 22, 121). The final -η in Attic, which is confirmed by Moeris, would lead us to suppose a pre-form *ἀθαρϝᾱ. Connection with ἀθήρ is neither formally nor semantically plausible. Not related to Lat. *ador* (Hamp *TPS* (1968): 106), as this belongs to Go. *atisk* and Iran. *ādu* 'grain' (Szemerényi 1969a: 968f.).

ἀθελβ- ⇒ ἀθέλγειν.

ἀθέλγειν [v.] · ἀμέλγειν 'to milk' (H., *EM*), (ἐξ)αθέλγεται (Hp.), explained as παρίεται, διεκλύεται 'lets go, releases' by Galen. Also ἀθέλγηται· θηλάζεται ἢ θλίβηται 'is suckled, compressed' (H.), cf. ἀθέλγηται· Βακχεῖός φησι θηλάζεται ἢ ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἐκθλίβηται ὡς καὶ Νίκανδρος 'is suckled, drawn after one; is squeezed (out), crowded' (Erotian. 20, 1; see Hp. *De med. off.* 11). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Cf. ἀθέλβεται· διηθεῖται 'is strained through' (*AB*); ἀθελβεῖ· ἕλκει 'draws' (H.) and ἀθελβάζειν· διηθεῖν 'to strain through' (H.); further ἀθέλδεται· διηθεῖται 'id.' (Diocl. Com. *fr.* 7 Kock, An. Bekk. 350).
•ETYM These verbs, meaning 'to press, draw away, filter', have no etymology. The variation β/ δ/ γ should not be explained from an IE labiovelar (as per Solmsen 1909: 9[1]), as contamination leading to three different forms is improbable. Since Pre-Greek also had labiovelars (cf. βασιλεύς, Myc. *qa-si-re-u*), substrate origin is most probably the source of the alternations. See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12f., and cf. γέφυρα beside δέφυρα, see Fur.: 388, 390.

ἀθελδ- ⇒ ἀθέλγειν.

ἀθερίζω [v.] 'to disparage, neglect' (Il.). Originally always with negation. ◁?▷

•DER ἀθέριστος· ἀφρόντιστος (Zonar., A. *Fr.* 128), cod. -ιτον.

•ETYM Unknown. The glosses ἀθερές· ἀνόητον, ἀνόσιον, ἀκριβές 'stupid, not in order, precise' (H.) and ἀθερής· ὁ σίδηρος ἀτειρὴς ὅταν θερίζῃ, etc. 'indestructible iron when it is heated' (H.) seem unrelated in view of their meaning. An older proposal derives it from *ἄθερος, connecting it with Skt. *ádhara-* '(be)low' (see Bechtel 1914). Another proposal (DELG) derives it from ►ἀθήρ, as *flocci facio.* Neither is convincing.

Ἀθήνη [f.] the goddess (Il.), a common Greek goddess dating from Minoan times, protecting the palace, and depicted with a snake. ◁PG▷

•DIAL Myc. *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* [dat.sg.]? (see Aura Jorro 1985-1993: 112). Dor. (etc.) Ἀθάνα.

•DER The town Ἀθῆναι (Dor. Ἀθᾶναι) contains the same onomastic element; for the suffix cf. Μυκῆναι. Thence Ἀθηναῖος 'Athenian' (Il.), whence fem. Ἀθηναία, -η, which is also used as the name of the goddess (88 times im Hom.). This form gave *Ἀθηνάα (Aeol. Ἀθαναα with short να), which was contracted to Att. Ἀθηνᾶ.

•ETYM Like the goddess itself, the name is pre-Greek. Note the suffix *-*ān-*. See ►Ἀττικός.

ἀθήρ, -έρος [m.] 'awn', plur. 'chaff, barb of a weapon, spine or prickle of a fish', also 'edge of a weapon' (Hes.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR With a nasal ἀνθέριξ, -ικος, etc.; with suffix -εών: ἀνθερεών, -ῶνος (see below).

•COMP ἀθηρηλοιγός 'winnowing-fan', from 'consumer of chaff' (Od. λ 128 = δ 275), but the two η's are surprising.

•DER ἀθερίνη f., -ῖνος m. 'kind of smelt, Atherina hepsetus' (Arist.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 204, Thompson 1947 s.v. Also ἀθερηΐς, -ίδος [f.] 'prickly' (Nic.), ἀθερώδης (Thphr.).

Variants with nasal: ἀνθέριξ, -ικος [m.] = ἀθήρ, also 'ear' (Il.), ἀνθέρικος [m.] 'stalk of an asphodel, asphodel plant' (Hp.), ἀνθερικώδης (Thphr.). With the suffix of place -εών: ἀνθερεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'chin' (Il.).

•ETYM No etymology. IE ablaut *h_2end^h- : *h_2nd^h- is impossible, as both forms would give Gr. ἀνθ- acc. to Rix's Law. The nasalized forms could be due to folk etymology, but rather point to Pre-Greek prenasalization. Fur.: 296 further adduces ἀνθερίσκος = ἀνθερικ- with the interchange σκ/ κ; perhaps also ►ἄνθρυσκον / ἐ- 'chervil'. Not related to Lat. *ador*, both because of the meaning, and because this is kindred with Iran. *ādu*, Go. *atisk*; see Szemerényi 1969a: 958f. The word has nothing to do with names of the wasp or forest bee (►ἀνθρήνη, ►ἀνθρηδών), nor with ►ἄνθρωπος.

ἀθραγένη [f.] a plant, 'Clematis vitalba' (Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Frisk compares ►ἄθρας 'chariot', which he thinks would fit a climbing plant well, but I don't see what a car has to do with a plant. See Strömberg 1940: 108. Fur.: 288 compares ἀνδράχνη and concludes to a substrate origin (prenasalization), which is probable anyhow.

ἄθρας [m., f.] · ἅρμα. 'Ρόδιοι 'chariot (Rhodian)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unexplained. Formerly compared with Skt. *vandhŭra-* [m.] 'wagon-seat', taken as a wicker basket tied upon the wagon, and connected with MoHG *winden*, etc. (Pok.: 1148) as IE **uend^h-* : *und^h-* >(>) Gr. **ϝαθ-*. As the formation of the Sanskrit word is unclear, and the root is hardly attested outside Germanic, the connection must be false. Bănăţeanu *REIE* 3 (1943): 149 calls the word Anatolian. Connection with κάνναθρον is improbable.

ἀθρέω [v.] 'to gaze at, observe' (Il.). ◅?▻

•DER ἀθρήματα· δῶρα πεμπόμενα παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ταῖς γαμουμέναις παρθέναις παρὰ Λεσβίοις 'gifts having been sent by kinsfolk to maidens being given in marriage (Lesbian)' (H.) (Snell *Glotta* 37 (1959): 282-287, cf. Renehan *Glotta* 49 (1971): 66).

•ETYM No etymology. One compares ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν 'to guard' (H.) and θρήσκω· νοῶ 'to perceive' (H.), θρησκεύω 'to observe' etc., but this leaves the ἀ- unexplained. It cannot be the zero grade of ἐν-, since a zero grade **h$_1$n-* would still yield ἐν-. The derivation by Hoffmann 1921: 78f. from a noun **ἄθρος* 'directed at a goal', from IE **d^{h}er-* 'to hold' and copulative α- (cf. ►ἀθρόος), is most improbable. On the use of ἀθρέω, see Prévot *RPh.* 61 (1935): 246f.

ἀθρόος [adj.] 'in crowds, gathered together' (Il.). ◅?▻

•DIAL Att. ἀθρόος (spiritus asper perhaps restored after ἅπας, ἅμα).

•DER ἀθροίζω (ἀ-) 'to gather together' (Archil.).

•ETYM Compared with Skt. *sadhry-añc-* 'united' (Brugmann 1894: 14ff.), which was formerly analyzed as containing the root **d^{h}er-* 'to hold', but this is no longer maintained by EWAia. It does not belong to ►ἀθρέω, nor to ►θρόνος. It is probable that ἀ- is from **sm̥-*, but the further analysis is uncertain. Risch 1937: 179 compares ἀλλό-θροος 'speaking a foreign language', in which case it would mean 'calling together'(?).

ἀθύρω [v.] 'to play, sport' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Only present.

•DER ἄθυρμα 'plaything, toy' (Il.), plur. also 'adornments', diminutive ἀθυρμάτιον. Deverbative ἀθυρεύεσθαι· παίζειν, μιγνύειν, σκιρτᾶν 'to play, intermingle, leap' (H.).

•ETYM From **ἀθυρ-γω*. Compared with Lith. *padŭrmai* 'impetuous', Ru. *dur'* 'foolishness', from PIE **d^{h}uer(H)-* 'to whirl, rush'. However, ἀ- cannot be the zero grade of **h$_1$en-* 'in' (which would not really make sense semantically anyway), and an initial laryngeal gives the improbable root structure **h$_2$d^{h}uerH-*.

αἲ exclamation of surprise, pain, or sorrow. ◅ONOM▻

•VAR Also αἰαῖ.

•ETYM Elementary formation, found in many languages.

αἰ 'if'. ➞εἰ.

αἶα 1 [f.] 'earth' (Il.). ◅?▻

•ETYM By some considered identical with ►αἶα 2 (Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 94ff., Brugmann *IF* 29 (1911-1912): 206ff.), in which case it would originally mean 'mother'.

The relation with γαῖα and μαῖα is uncertain; cf. Güntert 1914: 126f., Brandenstein 1954b: 80. Van Windekens assumed **as-ya* from **h₂s-* 'dry' (but this root perhaps did not exist; see ►ἄζω). Woodhouse *KZ* 107 (1994): 99f.) assumes **sausi̯a*, but cf. ►αὖος.

αἶα 2 [f.] 'mother, grandmother'? (Il., poet.). ◄?►

•VAR Cf. αἶα· ὑπὸ Κυρηναίων τηθίς καὶ μαῖα καὶ ἀδελφὴ Κρῆτης. καὶ φυτόν τι. ἔτι δὲ ὁ κάρπος αὐτῳ ὁμώνυμος (*EM* 27, 24).

•ETYM Compared with Lat. *avia* 'grandmother'; uncertain. Elementary word? See ►αἶα 1.

αἰᾱνής [adj.] 'horrible' (Archil.); the mg. 'eternal' (A.) through association with ►αἰεί. ◄?►

•VAR Ion. αἰηνής.

•ETYM There is a speculative hypothesis by Wackernagel 1897: 7, who assumed the reconstruction **σαιϝ-ᾱνής* 'with terrifying face' (whence Lat. *saevus*, the word for 'face' seen in ►ἀπηνής, etc.). See Degani *Helikon* 2 (1962): 37-56.

αἰβοῖ exclamation of disgust (Ar.). ◄ONOM►

•VAR Also αἰβοιβοῖ, of laughter.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic, elementary formation. See Schwyzer: 600.

αἰγανέη [f.] 'hunting spear, javelin' (Il.). ◄?►

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. the names of trees and animal skins in -έη, -έα: μηλέη, πτελέη, κυνέη etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 91f.). If named after the material, one compares the word for 'oak' in PGm. **aik-*, which is also supposed in ►αἰγίλωψ and Lat. *aesculus*. Trümpy 1950: 52, 57 explains that the αἰγανέη was thrown by a strap. Laser *Gymnasium* 60 (1953): 115-121 connected it with PIE **h₂eig-* 'to stir, set in movement', in Skt. *éjati*, to which αἴγες· κύματα (see ►αἴξ) is compared. This is semantically improbable, and if Skt. *ej-* belongs to *iṅg-* (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 264), then the root contained a labiovelar, which would make the connection impossible. To ►αἰχμή, acc. to Bechtel 1914.

αἴγειρος [f.] 'black poplar' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR αἴγερος (*Com. Adesp.* 1276, Kock).

•DER αἰγειρών 'poplar grove', αἰγείρινος, αἰγειρίτης 'of the poplar' (all Hell. and late).

•ETYM The connection with ►αἰγίλωψ, ►αἰγανέη is uncertain. Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 260 pointed to numerous non-IE words like αἴγιθος and names in Αἰγ- (Αἴγινα, Αἰγαί, etc.), suggesting a Pre-Greek origin. This would be confirmed by the form with -ε-.

αἰγιαλός [adj.] 'sea-shore, beach'; also TN, e.g. the coast of Achaea (Il.). ◄?►

•DIAL Myc. *a₃-ki-a₂-ri-jo* probably /aigihalio-/, see Aura Jorro 1985-1993: 134.

•DER αἰγιάλειος, αἰγιαλεύς, αἰγιαλικός, -λίτης, -λώδης all are late derivations. Also Αἰγιαλεῖς name of the inhabitants of the coast of Achaea Hdt.).

•ETYM The Myc. form seems to confirm that the second element is derived from ►ἅλς. For the first member, cf. αἴγες· τὰ κύματα. Δωριεῖς 'waves (Dor.)' (H.) and Artem. 2, 12 καὶ γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα κύματα αἴγας ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγομεν 'we usually call

large waves αἴγας'. This in turn is comparable with Skt. *ej-* 'to storm', but see ►αἰγανέη. It is highly improbable that αἴγες in the sense of κύματα is a metaphorical use of αἴξ 'goat' (as per Heubeck *IF* 68 (1963): 13-21). The word is Pre-Greek acc. to Chantraine 1933: 248, which cannot be excluded, though Chantraine now calls it 'all too easy' in DELG s.v.

αἴγιθος [m.] 'titmouse (Parus)' (Ar.). ◅PG(S,V)▻
•VAR αἴγινθος (Dionys. *Av.* 1, 12); αἴγινθος μικρός 'parra modica' (gloss.), not mentioned by Frisk or DELG; αἰγίοθος (Arist. v.l.), for *αἴγισθος?
•DER αἰγίθαλλος, -θᾶλος (Ar.).
•ETYM A typical substrate word, discernible from its prenasalization and the suffix -αλ(λ)- with variation λ/ λλ. See Fur.: 267, 288, 254[8], 304, 387, with further literature.

αἰγίλιψ [adj.] 'sheer, steep' (Il.), also as a TN. ◅?▻
•VAR αἰγίλιψ· ὑψηλὴ πέτρα καὶ πόλις καὶ ἰτέα ὑπὸ Θούριων 'high rock, citadel, willow (Thourian)' (H.).
•ETYM The Ancients explained it as 'abandoned even by goats', which is clearly a folk etymology. In modern times, it is connected with Lith. *lìpti* 'to clamber' (see Solmsen 1901: 73[1]) as 'what can be climbed only by goats', which is also highly doubtful. The meaning 'clamber' for the root **leip-* is secondary to 'stick, cleave', and it is far from certain that Greek underwent the same development as Lithuanian. The formation in αἰγι- is unexplained as well (see ►αἴξ). Cf. also ►ἄλιψ · πέτρα 'rock' (H.), the explanation of which from 'what cannot be climbed' is doubtful too; the gloss λίψ· πέτρα ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ στάζει 'rock from which water drips' may be due to later interpretation (Solmsen, cf. Persson 1912(1): 152[1]); Marzullo 1969: 101f thinks it is a mistake for α[ιγί]λιψ.

αἰγίλωψ, -ωπος [m.] 'kind of oak' (Thphr.), also 'oat-grass' (Thphr.); 'ulcer in the eye, lacrymal fistula', for which see ►ἀγχίλωψ. On the mg. see Strömberg 1940: 87. ◅?▻
•ETYM As the name of a kind of oak, αἰγίλωψ has been connected with the Gm. word for 'oak', PGm. **aik-* (Pok.: 13). Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 335 connected -λωψ with λώπη 'cork' (cf. λώψ· χλαμύς 'cloak, mantle' H.), adduced from Pliny (*H. N.* 16, 6, 13): *aegilops fert pannos arentes ... non in cortice modo, verum et e ramis dependentes.* Within Greek, it is doubtful whether one can connect it with ►αἰγανέη and ►αἴγειρος. Strömberg 1940: 137 derives αἰγίλωψ in the second meaning from αἴγιλος 'havergrass' (Theoc.), which is certainly correct.

αἰγίς [f.] 'goatskin' (E. *Cyc.*, Hdt. 4, 189), a mantle protecting Zeus and Athena (Il.); later also 'storm wind' (A.); further 'heart-wood of the Corsican pine or the silver fir in Arcadia' (Thphr). Also 'speck in the eye' (Hp.), on which see ►ἀγλίη. ◅GR▻
•DER αἰγίοχος epithet of Zeus (Il.), cf. γαιάϝοχος. With the last mg. ἐπ-αιγίζω 'rush upon' (from a storm wind) (Hom).
•ETYM Probably a goatskin in origin (thus Hdt. 4, 189); formation like νεβρίς 'fawn-skin' (see ►νεβρός), etc. In Homer, gods and men are frightened when it is shaken. For the meaning 'storm wind', see Heubeck *IF* 68 (1963): 13-21. Kretschmer *Glotta* 27

(1939): 28, connected it with αἴγλη and αἶγες· τὰ κύματα 'waves' (H.); one might think of Skt. *éjati* 'to move, set in motion'.

***αἰγλίς, -ίδος** 'speck in the eye' (Gall.). ◁?▷

•ETYM The form is reconstructed in order to account for αἰγίς and ἀγλίη(ς); cf. also αἰγιαλίδες (H.). See RPh. 73 (1999) 81f. s.v. αἰγίς (derived from αἴγλη). Or should we reconstruct *ἀγλις?

αἴγλη 1 [f.] 'light (of sun or moon), gleam, radiance' (Il.). ◁?▷

•DER αἰγλήεις 'gleaming' (Il.), αἰγλάτας, -ήτης epithet of Apollo (inscr. Anaphe, Thera; A. R.); αἰγλάζω 'to shine, gleam' (Man.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *éjati* 'to move, tremble' (cf. ▶αἰγανέη) is rightly rejected by DELG. The epithets Ἀπόλλων ▶Ἀσγελάτας (Anaphe) and Ἀπόλλων Αἰγλάτας (Anaphe, Thera) are often compared. In view of the variation αἰγλ- / ἀσγ(ε)λ-, the epithets must be Pre-Greek. The noun may be of Pre-Greek origin too (it has no etymology), but it does not necessarily have the same origin as the epithets; it is methodically incorrect to clarify the formation of the appellative by that of a name.

αἴγλη 2 [f.] 'ring' (deduced from glosses). ◁?▷

•ETYM Lewy *KZ* 59 (1932) derived it from αἴγλας· ἀμφιδέας καὶ ψέλια 'iron rings, anklets'. τὰ περὶ τὴν ὕνιν τοῦ ἀρότρου 'things around the plowshare' (H.), from αἰγ<ί>λια· δακτυλίδια 'small rings' (H.), and other words attested in lexicons. He explained it as a loan from Hebr. *'āgīl* '(ear-)ring', which remains hypothetical. As Frisk remarks, metonymic use of ▶αἴγλη 1 'gleam, splendor' is well possible.

αἰγυπιός [m.] 'vulture' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR αἰγίποψ· ἀετός ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων 'eagle (Maced.)' (*EM* 28, 19).

•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *ṛji-pyá-*, epithet of the bird *śyená-* 'eagle, falcon', Av. *ərəzi-fiia-* is formally difficult, since we expect *αρC-; influence by αἴξ and γύψ 'vulture' has been assumed, but this seems unlikely. Fur.: 364 compares the gloss αἰγίποψ, which is evidently a variant of the same word. Variation between *i* and *u* is well-attested in substrate words (cf. ▶μάρσιππος/ μάρσυππος), and -οπ-is a Pre-Greek suffix. ▶γύψ itself is no doubt a substrate word as well; it may be a variant of **(a)g'up-*, which also gives αἰγυπ-, with prothetic vowel and palatalized /g'/. No conclusion is reached by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 108 (1995): 50-55.

αἰγωλιός [m.] a kind of owl, 'Stix flammea' (Arist.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also αἰγώλιος.

•ETYM The reading αἰτώλιος (Arist. *HA* 563[a] 31) is wrong, as evidenced by forms from modern southern Italy (*agoléo* etc.); see Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 55. Etymology unknown.

ἀΐδηλος [adj.] mg. not quite clear: 'hated; annihilating, destructive; invisible, unseen' (Il.). See the discussion in DELG. ◁GR▷

•ETYM It is difficult to decide what the primary meaning is, but it is rather clear that the word contains a privative α with a form of ἰδεῖν. Ivanov 1999: 283-292 compares

Ru. *nevidal'* for the semantics and assumes the development 'invisible' > 'strange, dangerous'.

Ἀΐδης, -αο [m.] Hades (Il.). ◂IE **n̥-uid-* 'unseen, invisible'▸

•VAR With metathesis of quantity gen. -εω; also gen. Ἄιδός, dat. -ί. Att. Ἀΐδης, -ου; Ἀΐδης is found in later Ionic poetry (Semon., Herodas), the Doric form Ἀΐδας, gen. -α in tragedy. An inscription from Thessaly (*SEG* 16, 380) gives Αϝιδαν.

•DER Ἀϊδωνεύς (Il.), see Risch 1937: 158.

•ETYM Thieme proposed (Thieme 1952: 35-55) that the word derives from **sm̥ uid-* (Skt. *sám vid-*) as 'das Sichzusammenfinden [gathering of the family in the underworld]'. To my mind, this is not correct, as then Ἀιδ- should denote the Underworld, not the God of the Underworld. In Homer, it rather seems to denote the God, e.g. in formulaic δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω. The aspiration in Attic is secondary and arose by contraction from ὁ Ἀΐδης (Kamerbeek *apud* Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 307).

The other explanation, as **n̥-uid-*, 'the Unseen', seems the correct one. In Beekes 1998: 17-19, I pointed out that the replacement of a root noun, first in the nominative (here as the final element of a compound), is parallel to the case of φυγή : φύγαδε. The initial A- is sometimes lengthened for metrical reasons: it is not lengthened when it is not necessary or impossible, like in Ἀιδόσδε.

αἴδομαι [v.] 'to hold back, be ashamed; to honor, respect' (Il.). ◂IE? **h₂eis-d-* 'honor'▸

•VAR αἴδεο, αἰδόμενος, αἴδετο, see Chantraine 1942: 310f.; more frequent is denominative αἰδέομαι (from **aides-je/o-*).

•DER αἰδώς [f.] 'shame, reverence' (Il.), whence 1. αἰδοῖος < **-os-jo-* 'inspiring αἰδώς' (Il., epic poet.) substantivized ntr. τὸ αἰδοῖον, usually plur. τὰ αἰδοῖα 'private parts' (Il.), whence αἰδοιώδης and αἰδοϊκός; 2. compound ἀν-αιδής 'shameless' (Il.), ἀναίδεια, etc.; 3. αἰδέομαι < **aides-je/o-* 'to hold back, revere', as a legal term also 'to be reconciled' (Hom., IA), fut. αἰδέσομαι. Thence αἴδεσις 'mercy, pardon' (D., Arist.), αἰδεστός 'honorable' (Plu.), αἰδεστικός (sch.); αἰδήμων 'modest' (X., Arist.), αἰδημονικός and -μοσύνη (late and rare). αἰδέσιμος (post-class. prose) 'object of αἰδώς', also αἰδήσιμος (Orph.), whence αἰδεσιμότης (pap.). 4. αἰδοσύνη = αἰδημοσύνη (*AB*, Phot.).

•ETYM It is formally uncertain that a PIE root **h₂eisd-*, from which Go. *aistan* 'to hold back, respect' and Skt. *īḍé* < PIIr. **Hizd-* 'to praise, honor' derive, would give Gr. αἰδ-: we would expect **h₂eisd-* to appear as Gr. αἰζ- (cf. ἴζω < **si-sd-*). Of course, the connection is semantically very tempting. Without final **-d*, the root **h₂eis-* is found in MoHG *Ehre* 'honor', ON *eir*, etc., and in Osc. *aisusis* [abl.pl.] 'sacrificiis', and perhaps originally in the verb **h₂is-ske/o-* 'to demand' > Skt. *icchāti* 'search for', OCS *iskati* 'to search', etc.

ἀΐδυλος [adj.] · θρασύς 'bold, rash' (H., *EM*). ◂?▸

•ETYM A mistake for ἀΐδηλος (E 897)? Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 218⁴ differs. Fur.: 262f. compares αἴσυλος.

αἴδωσσα [f.] (cod. αἰδῶσσα)· τῆς αὐλῆς τὰ τειχία 'the walls of the court or hall' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 5f. suggested that the word is Illyrian for αἴθουσα. Latte thinks it is a corruption (but on three points?). Fur.: 197 considers it a a substrate word, taking ►αἴθουσα as a variant form, and comparing Κήλωσσα / Κηλοῦσα, a mountain in Sicyon.

αἰεί [adv.] 'always' (Il.) ◁IE *h_2ei-*u*- 'time of living, well-being'▷

•VAR αἰῶ (A. *Ch.* 350, *AB* 363), see below.

•DIAL αἰϝεί (Cypr., Locr., Phoc.), ἀεί (Att.), αἰες (Dor.); αἰη (Tarent.).

•DER ἀΐδιος 'eternal' (Hes., IA), whence ἀϊδιότης 'eternity' (Arist., Hell.).

•ETYM From **aiwes-i*, the old locative of an *s*-stem, which is found without ending in Dor. αἰές, and also in the accus. αἰῶ < **aiwos-ṇ*. Beside the *s*-stem, Greek had an *n*-stem in ►αἰών, from which αἰέν derives. The Tarentine form would be an old instrumental **$h_2$eiu-eh$_1$*, but this is unclear. On the accentuation of the Greek forms see Hamp *Glotta* 67 (1989): 41.

The *s*- and *n*-stems derive from the old PIE *u*-stem **$h_2$oi-u-* > Av. *āiiu-* 'life, time of life', gen. **h_2i-eu-s* > OAv. *yaoš*, thematicized **$h_2$ei-u-o-* > Lat. *aevum*, which in Greek may be found in Aeol. αἴϝ(ν), ἄϊ(ν) < **aiw-i(n)*. As Weiss *MSS* 55 (1994): 151f. suggested, the zero grade **$h_2$iu-* is perhaps found as the first member of Cypr. *u-wa-i-se* 'forever' < **$h_2$iu(u̯)-$h_2$ei-s-* (but see ►ὑ) and of ►ὑγιής. Both the *s*-stem and the *n*-stem extensions seem to be found in Sanskrit: *āyu-n-i* [loc.], and *āyu-ṣ-* [n.].

αἰέλουρος [m., f.] probably '(wild) cat' (Hdt., Ar.); domestic cats were not found in the Greek world. ◁?▷

•VAR Also αἴλουρος (Arist.).

•ETYM The explanation as a compound of αἰόλος (< **αἰελος*) and οὐρά 'with moving tail' (cf. *EM* 34, 8: αἴλουρος παρὰ τὸ αἰόλλειν καὶ ἀνάγειν τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ κινεῖν) still seems possible, although the -ε- is problematic. The connection with Lat. *vīverra* 'ferret' and Lith. *vaīveris* 'male of the polecat / pitchew', starting from **ϝαιϝέρουρος* (Ehrlich 1912: 128ff.), should be abandoned. Note that the word may well have been adapted by folk etymology, and that from αἰε- we expect an Attic development to ᾱε-, not the loss of -ε-.

αἰέν [adv.] 'always' (epic poet.). ⇒αἰών.

αἰές ⇒αἰεί.

αἰετός [m.] 'eagle' (Il.), also metaph. 'tympanum, pediment'. ◁IE *$h_2$eu-i- 'bird'▷

•VAR Att. ἀετός; αἰβετός· ἀετός, Περγαῖοι (H.), with β = ϝ; αἰητός (Arat. 522), which is artificial (DELG).

•DER ἀετιδεύς [m.] 'young eagle' (Ael., Aesop.), ἀετίτης (λίθος) (Ael.), ἀετώδης (Philostr.), αἰετόειις (Opp.); αἰετιαῖος 'ptng. to the tympanum' (inscr.); ἀέτωμα 'tympanum' (Hp., Att. inscr.), ἀέτωσις 'arched roof of a χελώνη' (Ath. Mech.).

•ETYM From **αἰϝετος* < **awjetó-*, cf. Lat. *avis*. For the suffix -ετο-, cf. νιφετός, πυρετός. The artificial form αἰητός does not allow us to conclude that it is a substrate word, as per Fur.: 115[4]. Not a Semitic word (Astour *JAOS* 86 (1966): 278B).

αἰζηός [adj.] unknown; 'strong'? (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also αἰζήϊος; αἰζήεις (Theopomp. Col.), αἰζᾶεν· εὐτραφὲς βλάστημα 'well-fed offspring' (H.).

•ETYM Danielsson 1892 gives no definitive answer. The gloss suggested a connection with ἀεί and ζῆν, which may be folk-etymological (DELG). Fur.: 234, who connects it with Αἴσηπος, is incorrect.

αἴητος ⇒ ἄητος.

αἰθάλη [f.] 'soot' (Hp.).

•VAR αἴθαλος [m.] (Hp., E.), also as an adj. = αἰθαλόεις (Nic. *Th.* 659).

•DER αἰθαλόεις (Il., poet.) 'smoky, dark brown', also of the sheet of lightning (E. *Ph.* 183 [lyr.]), perhaps 'fiery, burning'; αἰθαλέος 'id.' (A. R., Nic.); αἰθαλίων, -ίωνος (Theoc. 7, 138), epithet of the τέττιγες, probably a color term with verse-final metrical lengthening); αἰθαλώδης 'id.' (Arist., Gal.). Unclear αἰθαλίδας· τά ἐν τῷ σίτῳ γινόμενα, ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι σταλαγμοὺς τοῦ ἐλαίου 'what is in the food, or drops of olive oil in the water' (H.). Denominative verb αἰθαλόω 'to make sooty', med. -όομαι 'to soot up' (E., Lyc.); αἰθαλώσεις 'clouds of sooty smoke' (Max. Tyr. 41, 4), perhaps directly from αἴθαλος.

•ETYM See ▸αἴθω.

αἰθήρ, -έρος [f., m.] 'clear sky, heaven' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2eid^h- 'kindle, ignite'▻

•COMP On αἰθήρ and αἴθρη as a second member (e.g. in ὑπαίθριος, ὕπαιθρος) see Sommer 1948: 151f.

•DER αἴθρη, -ᾱ 'id.' (Il.); αἰθρίη, -ία 'clear sky, nice weather'; αἴθριος, -ον [adj.] 'of the sky, bright' (IA); the ntr. αἴθριον, diminutive αἰθρίδιον was used in imperial times as a folk-etymological adaptation of Lat. *ātrium*.

αἶθρος 'fresh, cold air' (ξ 318 αἴθρῳ καὶ καμάτῳ δεδμημένον). Cf. αἰθρεῖ· χειμάζει 'to expose to or pass the winter' (H.), αἰθρινόν· πρωϊνόν 'early' (H.); improbable Bouquiaus-Simon *Ant. class.* 31 (1962): 25ff.

With full-grade of the suffix αἰθέριος 'in the air, heavenly' (trag.), beside which rare and late αἰθερώδης, αἰθεριώδης, αἰθερίτης, αἰθερόομαι.

ἰθαρός 'cheerful, bright' (Alc.) may contain an old ablauting form of the root. The verb ἰθαίνειν (A. D., H.) could point to an *r/n*-stem.

•ETYM Generally derived from ▸αἴθω; perhaps the formation was influenced by ἀήρ.

Αἰθίοπες [m.pl.] ethnonym, 'Ethiopians'(?). ◅PG(S)▻

•DIAL Myc. PN *a-i-ti-jo-qo* /Ait^{h}iok^{w}s/ (or /-ō-/); for the *u*-stem in *Me-to-qe-u, Wo-no-qe-we* (/Woinok^{w}ēwei/) cf. Αἰθιοπῆες (Hom.).

•ETYM Since antiquity explained as '(people) with burnt faces'. In Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12-34, I objected that αἰθ- always means 'burning' in the sense of 'brilliant, emitting light' (cf. αἴθοψ), and never 'burnt'. Also, the -ι- is unexplained, and -οπ- is a typical substrate suffix (as opposed to 'face' = -ωπ-). Therefore, the word must be compared with ethnonyms like Δρύοπες, Δόλοπες and is of Pre-Greek origin.

αἴθουσα [f.] 'portico' (Il.); also a plant, cf. ▸αἴθω. ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR αΐθουσσα (Hdn. Gr. 2, 919).

•ETYM Generally explained as a ptc. of ►αΐθω meaning 'glowing, place where the sun burns' or 'place where fire can be kindled', which is hardly convincing. A better explanation is that of Fur.: 197[54], who deems it a substrate word, as a technical term of building, because of the form with -σσ-. The form ►αἰδῶσσα confirms this; it can hardly be a mistake for αΐθουσα (which would imply three mistakes), and it has -σσ-. Of course, a folk-etymological connection with ►αΐθω is likely.

αΐθω [v.] 'to kindle', intr. med. 'burn (with light)' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2eid^h- 'kindle'▻

•VAR Only present.

•COMP Cf. ►Αἰθίοπες. On κακ-ιθής see on κέγκει s.v. ►κάγκανος.

•DER αΐθος [m.] 'burning heat' (E.) = Skt. *édha-* [m.] 'firewood', OHG *eit* [m.], OE *ād* 'blaze, pyre'; αἰθός 'sparkling, glowing', also 'dark-colored'; also αἴθων, -ωνος (Il.) and αἰθοψ (on the mgs. see Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 15-17).

αΐθος [n.] 'fire' (A. R.); αἰθήεις 'sooty' (Nic.), also αἰθής 'burning' (Cratin. 88), if this does not stand for αἰθῆς from αἰθήεις; αΐθινος (H., *EM*).

Perhaps related is αἰθόλικες 'pustule, pimple' (Hp., Gal.), cf. πομφόλυξ 'bubble' for the formation.

αἰθύσσω 'to stir violently' (Sapph., Pi.), also prefixed with ἀν-, δι-, κατ-, παρ-, is usually considered cognate, but the development of meaning is strange. The verbal noun αΐθυγμα 'spark, glow' (Plb.) did not undergo the metaphorical development of αἰθύσσω, as opposed to αἰθυκτήρ 'stirring violently' (Opp.). But note that these are late derivations. Also καταΐθυξ ὄμβρος· ὁ καταιθύσσων 'which is floating down' (H.); diff. Pisani *Paideia* 15 (1960): 245f.

αΐθυια [f.] name of a bird (see Thompson 1895 s.v.), also epithet of Athena, see Kock *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 18 (1915): 127ff. but also Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 229f., mostly explained as a color term, but rather a substrate word (Szemerényi 1964: 207, Beekes 1998: 25 on the suffix -υια.). On αΐθουσα 'hemlock, Conium maculatum' (Ps.-Dsc.) see *CEG* 4 (from 'black'). Cf. also ►αἰθήρ, ►αἰθάλη, ►αΐθουσα.

•ETYM Old PIE verbal root, of which the zero grade *h_2id^h- probably appears in ἰθαρός, ἰθαίνω. Sanskrit has the root form *idh-*, with a nasal present *i-n-ddhé* 'to kindle'. Thematic αἶθος can be of PIE date, cf. Skt. *édha-* [m.] 'firewood', OHG *eit* [m.], OE *ād* 'glow, funeral pyre'. αἴθος [n.] 'fire' (A. R.) and Skt. *édhas-* [n.] 'firewood' are independent formations, since the Greek word is late. Remarkable forms in other languages include Av. *aēsma-* [m.] 'firewood', Lith. *íesmė* 'id.', Lat. *aedēs* 'dwelling place, temple', *aestās* 'summer', *aestus* 'heat', and several Germanic forms, e.g. OHG *eit* (see above) and ON *eisa* [f.] 'burning coals'.

αἰκάζει [v.] · καλεῖ 'calls' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Pisani *IF* 58 (1942): 243 compared it to Osc. *aíkdafed*, which he interpreted as 'proclamavit'; this is highly dubious. The connection with Latv. *aîcinât* 'to call' is doubted by Pok.: 15. Is it a mistake for ►αἰκάλλω?

αἰκάλλω [v.] 'to flatter, fondle' (trag.), especially said of animals. ◅?▻

•VAR Only present.

•DER αἴκαλος· κόλαξ 'flatterer' (H.); αἰκάλη· ἀπάτη 'deceit' (Zonar.).
•ETYM Looks like a denominative of the forms given in the glosses (unless these are based on the verb). Etymology unknown.

ἄϊκής [adj.] 'improper, unseemly'. ◁GR▷
•VAR Att. αἰκής < *ά-ϝικ-ής, next to ἀεικής (Ion. poet.).
•DER ἀεικείη, αἰκεία, αἰκία 'unseemly treatment, disrespect'; ἀεικίζω, αἰκίζω, -ομαι 'to maltreat', whence αἴκισμα (trag., Lys.), αἰκισμός (D., LXX). ἀεικέλιος, αἰκέλιος (Hom., poet.) contain an enlargement of synonymous ἀεικής, αἰκής.
•ETYM Privative verbal adjective to ἔοικα, du. ἴκτον < *we-w(o)ik-. In ἀεικής, -ει- is probably secondary after εἰκάζω, εἰκών, etc. See ►εἰκάζω, ►ἔοικα.

αἶκλοι · αἱ γωνίαι τοῦ βέλους 'the angles of the missile' (H.). ⇒αἰχμή.

αἶκλον [n.] 'evening meal at Sparta' (Epich.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR ἄϊκλον; <συν>αιγλία = συναικλία; λυκαιχλίας· ὁ λυκόβρωτος 'eaten by wolves' (-βροτος codd.).
•DER ἀναίκλεια· ἄδειπνα 'supperless' (H.). Also αἶκνον· δεῖπνον 'meal' (H., Suid.); ἐπάϊκλα (Pl.).
•ETYM Fur.: 139 points to εἶκλον· δεῖπνον and εἰκλεῖ· δειπνεῖ (H.), and compares ἰκνείαν· τροφεῖα 'nourishment' and ἰκνεῖος· τροφεύς. 'Ρόδιοι 'feeder (Rhod.)' (H.); he correctly concludes that it is a substrate word. This may be reconstructed as *(*a*)*wikl/n*-: for the prothetic vowel, cf. ἀέροπ- / μέροπ-; the interchange between λ and ν may be secondary. A comparison with αἰκάζει· καλεῖ 'calls' (H.) or ►αἰκάλλω is completely uncertain.

αἴλινος [m.] 'song of mourning' (trag.), sometimes as an adj. 'plaintive' (E. *Hel.* 171). ◁?▷
•VAR αἴλινα [adv.] (Call.).
•ETYM Etymology unknown. Boisacq's postulation of a Phrygian origin lacks support (cf. ►ἔλεγος). It appears to be derived from the interjection ►αἴ and ►λίνος.

αἴλιοι ⇒ἀέλιοι.

αἷμα [n.] 'blood' (Il.). ◁?▷
•COMP αἱμακουρίαι 'offerings of blood' to the dead (Pi.); αἱμάλωψ 'mass of blood' (Hp.), see CEG 6.
•DER αἱμάς 'flow of blood' (S.); diminutive αἱμάτιον, also name of a dish (Arr., M. Ant., inscr. Cos, Miletus, etc.), αἱματία 'Spartan blood soup' (Poll.). Derived adjectives: αἱματόεις 'bloody' (epic, poet.); αἱματηρός (poet.), αἱμηρός (Man.); αἱματώδης (Hp., Th., Arist., Hell.), αἱμώδης (Luc.), see on ►αἱμωδέω; αἱματικός (Arist.), αἱμάτινος (Arist.); αἱμαλέος (*AP*, Nonnos); αἵμων (E.), αἱμώνιος 'red as blood' (Ath.); αἱματίτης 'like blood' (Hp., Thphr.); αἱματωπός (E.), αἱμωπός (Ph.). In a similar meaning compounds like ἔναιμος, ὕφαιμος. Denominative verbs: 1. αἱμάσσω, -άττω 'to make or be bloody' (A.), whence late nouns αἱμαγμός, αἵμαξις, and adjectives αἱμακτός, αἱμακτικός; 2. αἱματόω (IA), αἱμάτωσις (Gal.); 3. αἱματίζω (A., Arist.).

•ETYM αἷμα replaces the old IE word for blood ἔαρ < *h_1esh_2-*r*. It has no established etymology. The connection with OHG *seim* 'virgin honey', W *hufen* from the uncertain PIE root **sei-* 'to drip' (Pok. 889) is accepted by Weiss *HSPh.* 98 (1998): 31-61, but cannot explain the Greek vocalism. Acc. to Sommer 1905: 29ff., it is related to Skt. *iṣ-* 'refreshment'. See Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 651; cf. also ►αἰονάω, ►ἰχώρ.

αἰμασιά [f.] 'wall around a terrain', of stone (thus Hdt. 2, 138) or thorns (Od.). ◅?▻
•VAR Cf. αἰμοί· δρυμοί. Αἰσχύλος Αἰτναίαις 'copses, thickets (A. *Aitnaiai*)' (H.).
•ETYM Comparable with Lat. *saepēs* 'hedge, fence', which has *p* for *m*. Fur.: 223 finds the variation in other non-IE loans, e.g. Πενέσται / Μενέσται (Schwyzer: 333), γέφυρα / Arm. *kamurǰ*. On the accentuation, see Scheller 1951: 87f.; on the meaning, Picard *Rev. arch.* (1946): 68f.

αἱμύλος [adj.] conventionally translated as 'flattering', mostly said of words (Hes.); acc. to Güntert 1921: 103, it means 'wily'; Weiss *HSPh.* 98 (1998): 31-61 points to the semantics of spellbinding, e.g. in αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισι // θέλγει. ◅?▻
•VAR Also αἰμύλιος (Od.).
•ETYM The suffix is also found in στωμύλος 'talkative'. A direct connection with OHG *seim* 'virgin honey' is impossible (see on ►αἷμα), as this etymon originally denoted a 'thick liquid'. Acc. to Güntert (ibid.), αἱμύλος derives from ►αἵμων in the same way as ἀγκών relates to ἀγκύλος. This idea is integrated by Weiss *HSPh.* 98 (1998): 31-61 in his account of ►ἵμερος and ►αἵμων.

αἱμωδέω [v.] 'to be set on edge', of the teeth, as caused by sour stuff (Hp.). ◅?▻
•DER αἱμωδία (Hp., Arist., Dsc.); whence αἱμωδιάω 'to have αἱμωδία' (Hp., Arist.), whence αἱμωδιασμός (H.). αἱμώδης is a back-formation in the sense of 'having αἱμωδία' (Gal.). Further αἱμώδης 'bloody', to ►αἷμα.
•ETYM The second element can hardly be separated from ὀδών 'tooth' (Szemerényi 1964: 81). It is difficult to assume that the first part is from ►αἷμα, as we would expect to see a trace of the suffix -ατ-. Solmsen 1909: 25ff. connected the first member with Gm. **sai-ra-* in Go. *sair*, OHG *sēr* 'pain', ON *sár* 'wound', positing *αἱ-μος for Greek.

αἵμων, -ονος [adj.] only in Σκαμάνδριον αἵμονα θήρης (E 49), mg. sometimes glossed as 'skillful', but rather 'eager' (see below). ◅IE **seh$_2$i-mon-* 'bond'▻
•ETYM The word is found in the Thessalian names Ἱππαίμων, Αἵμονος (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 203). Weiss *HSPh.* 98 (1998): 31-61 assumes a pre-form **seh$_2$i-mon-*, from the root **sh$_2$i-* 'to bind' which he also assumes to be present in ►ἵμερος 'longing, love' and in ►αἱμύλος. The fact that the meaning 'eager' fits so well in this passage confirms Weiss's proposal.

αἶνος [m.] 'meaningful words, praise' (Il.), also 'decision' (inscr.). ◅?▻
•VAR αἴνη (Hdt.). Cf. the primary formation in ἀναίνομαι 'to deny, refuse' (Il.), from *ἀνα-αίνομαι (cf. ἀνα-νεύω), acc. to Bechtel 1914.
•DER αἰνέω [v.] 'to approve, praise', also 'to decide' (Il., mainly epic Ion. poet.), fut. -ήσω, secondarily -έσω, etc. (see Wackernagel 1916: 180f.); Att. has ἐπαινέω, Aeol. (Hes.) αἴνημι. From αἰνέω: αἴνεσις 'praise' (LXX, NT), αἴνησις (Ph.). Rare is

αἰνίζομαι [v.] 'to praise' (Hom.); usually αἰνίσσομαι (-ττ-) (IA) 'to speak in riddles', from 'to speak words full of content, i.e. difficult to understand'; thence with αἴνιγμα 'dark saying, riddle' (Pi.); thence αἰνιγματώδης, αἰνιγματιστής, αἰνιγματίας, αἰνιγματικός; also αἰνιγμός 'id.' (Att.); αἴνιξις 'id.' (Plot.). αἰνικτήρ 'who speaks in riddles' (S.), αἰνικτής (Timo), αἰνικτηρίως (A.).
•ETYM Etymology unknown. Compared by Pok. 11 with Germanic words for 'oath' (Go. *aiþs*, OHG *eid*), which is mostly rejected.

αἰνός [adj.] 'terrible' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR On ἐπαινή see Leumann 1950: 258f.
•COMP Common as the first member of poetic compounds, but no derivatives.
•ETYM No etymology. Connected with Skt. *énas* 'crime' by Pok. 10. On the expression αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς, see Leumann l.c. See also *LfgrE*.

αἴνυμαι [v.] 'to take, seize' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂ei-* 'give'▻
•VAR Only present.
•DIAL Myc. PN *a₃-nu-me-no* /Ainumenos/.
•COMP Often with ἐξ-, also in the verbal noun ἔξ-αιτος 'selected' (Il.).
•ETYM The verbal noun *αἶτος is at the base of ▻αἰτέω. The same root is found in ToB *ai-*, ToA *e-* 'to give (act.), take (med.)', and it was previously thought to be reflected in Hitt. *pai-*^{i} 'to give', which was analyzed as **pe-ai-*. Recently, however, Kloekhorst 2008 has given a convincing alternative: an *i*-present to the root **h₁p-* 'to seize'. Thus, the present root is eliminated as an example for PIE **a*. In nominal form the root is found in Oscan *aeteis* [gen.sg.] 'part (of a possession)'. YAv. *aētahmāiiuš* does not contain a noun *aēta-* 'punishment', but rather the pronoun *aēta-* 'that'; cf. Fischer and Ritter *MSS* 52 (1991): 9-13. See ▻αἶσα, ▻αἰτία, ▻δίαιτα.

αἴνω [v.] 'winnow' (Pherecr., Hp.), but see the glosses. ◅?▻
•VAR Aor. ἦναι; pres. also ἀνέω (Ar. *Fr.* 694 (uncertain), Ath.), ἀφᾱνέω (Ar. *Eq.* 394 v.l.), ἄφηνα· ἔκοψα 'struck', ἀφῆναι· τὸ τὰς ἐπτισμένας κριθὰς χερσὶ τρῖψαι 'rubbing by hand of the winnowed barley-corns' (H.); further αἴνων· πτίσσων 'winnowing', ἥνας· κόψας 'having struck' and γάναι (= ϝᾱναι)· περιπτίσαι 'strip off the husk or skin' (cod. -πτύσαι); see Solmsen 1901: 280.
•DER Bechtel *KZ* 46 (1914): 374 compares the name of a phratry ϝανίδαι (Argos).
•ETYM Comparable with Lat. *vannus* 'winnowing-basket', OHG *wintōn* 'to fan', Go. *dis-winþjan* 'λικμᾶν, to winnow'. The Germanic words seem to derive from the word for 'wind' (cf. Lat. *ventilare* 'to fan'), but αἴνω has no trace of the *-t-*. Derivation of the Greek word from **h₂ueh₁-* seems to be excluded by γάναι, which has no vowel before the ϝ. ἀνέω has been explained from *ἀ-ϝαν-έω (Solmsen 1901: 272), which beside γάναι would imply a non-IE word. Note that the exact meaning of the word is unclear.

αἴξ, αἰγός [f.] 'goat', rarely msc. (Il.). Also a water bird (Janzén 1937: 17, a meteor (Arist.) and a star (Aratos). ◅IE? **h₂eiǵ-* 'goat'▻
•DIAL Myc. *a₃-ki-pa-ta* /aigi-pa(s)tās/ (?) 'goatherd'; *a₃-ki-po-de*, interpretation uncertain.

•COMP αἰπόλος 'goatherd' < *αἰγ-πολος, see ►πέλω and ►βουκόλος (cf. Meier-Brügger 1992a: 92); thence αἰπολέω [v.] 'to herd goats' (A., Lys., Theoc.), only present; αἰπόλια [n.pl.] 'herds of goats' (Il.), also -ιον [sg.]; αἰπολικός (Theoc.).
Further αἰγί-βοτος 'browsed by goats' (Od.); unclear the gloss αἰπόλος· κάπηλος παρὰ Κυπρίοις 'peddlar (Cypr.)' (H.), see Leumann 1950: 271ff.; to be rejected is Latte's correction ἀί- = ἀεί.
•DER See ►αἰγίς 'goatskin'. Diminutive of αἴξ: αἰγίδιον (Pherecr., Antiph.). On αἴγες· τὰ κύματα 'waves'. Δωριεῖς (H.), see on ►αἰγιαλός. Connection with toponyms like Αἰγαί, Αἰγαῖος, Αἴγινα, etc., is at best folk-etymological.
•ETYM The compounds in -ι- are unexplained (Heubeck *IF* 69 (1964): 13-21 is unclear); the type αἰπόλος is old in any case. αἴξ is cognate with Arm. *ayc* 'goat' (*i*-stem), which is reconstructed as *$h_2eiǵ$-ih_2 (Clackson 1994: 88-90 after Meillet). The zero grade is often supposed in Av. *īzaēna-* 'of leather', but we do not know if the word referred to the skin of a goat. If the connection is correct, the word could be IE. However, Skt. *ajá-* 'goat' looks similar, but is formally deviant. This could suggest that Avestan, Greek and Armenian borrowed the word from a common source, perhaps Anatolian. On the distribution, see Mallory & Adams 1997 s.v. Connection with *h_2eig- as 'jumper' (Thieme 1953: 571) is rejected by Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 264, since Skt. *éjati* did not have a palatovelar, nor does it mean 'to jump'. Cf. ►αἴγιλος, ►αἰγίλωψ, ►δίζα.

αἰόλος [adj.] 'agile, glittering, variegated' (Il.). ◅?▻
•DIAL Myc. *a_3-wo-ro* /Aiwolos/ name of a cow.
•COMP As a second member, e.g. κορυθαίολος 'with glittering (colorful) helmet'.
•DER Denominaitve αἰόλλω [v.] 'to move quickly to and fro' (υ 27), (med.) 'to change color' (Hes. *Sc.* 399), 'to make colorful' (Nic. *Th.* 155); αἰολέω = ποικίλλω (Pl. *Cra.* 409a), αἰόλησις 'rapid movement' (sch. Pi. *P.* 4, 412); αἰολίζω 'to trick with words' (S. *fr.* 912), αἰόλισμα 'varied tones' (S. *Ichn.* 319); αἰολάομαι 'to be restless' (Hp. *Mul.* 2, 174b, uncertain). αἰολίας [m.] fish name (cf. Strömberg 1943: 23, Thompson 1947 s.v.), αἰόλειος (*EM*), αἰολίδας· ποικίλους, ταχεῖς 'variegated, quick' (H.). PN Αἴολος, EN Αἰολεῖς.
•ETYM Etymology unknown. Benveniste *BSL* 38 (1937): 107 connected αἰών, Skt. *āyu-* 'vital force' (formally improbable); Risch *Mus. Helv.* 29 (1972): 97 argued that the original meaning was a color. On ►αἰέλουρος, see s.v. For the type *Cai-CoR-*, cf. ►αἰώρα, ►αἰονάω.

αἰονάω [v.] 'to moisten, bathe (a wound)' (Hp.). ◅?▻
•DER Verbal nouns αἰόνησις and αἰόνημα.
•ETYM Etymology unknown.

αἰπόλος ⇒ αἴξ.

αἰπύς [adj.] 'steep, sheer' (Il., mostly epic and poet.) ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR A different stem in αἰπά (αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα Θ 369) and αἰπήν (πόλιν ... αἰπήν γ 130, etc.), maybe a metrical device.

•DER αἰπήεις (Hom.), is an enlargement of αἰπύς, see Schwyzer: 527. Further αἶπος [n.] 'steepness, precipice' (E.), whence αἰπεινός < *αἰπεσ-νός 'steep'.
•ETYM ►αἶψα probably belongs here, too. Furthermore, Fur.: 158 connects it with ἐξαίφνης and ►ἐξαπίνης, as well as ►ἄφνω and ►ἄφαρ, which is highly convincing. Variations shown here include π/φ, labial / ψ (cf. ►δέφω / δέψω and βίττακος / ψιττακός), and anticipation of a palatalized consonant *ap'- as αἰ-.

αἶρα 1 [f.] 'sledgehammer' (Call. *fr.* 115, 12), = σφῦρα, ἀξίνη 'hammer, axe-head' (H.), σφῦρα (*Et. Gen.*). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown. Acc. to Schwyzer: 474, it is from ►αἴρω (improbable).

αἶρα 2 [f.] 'rye-grass, darnel, Lolium temulentum' (Thphr.). ◅?▻
•VAR Often plur. αἶραι.
•DER αἴρινος 'of rye-grass' (Dsc.), αἰρώδης 'mixed with rye-grass' (Thphr.). Denominative ἐξ-αιρόομαι [v.] 'to change into rye-grass' (Thphr.).
•ETYM Specht *KZ* 66 (1939): 12 connected it with Skt. *erakā-* [f.] a kind of grass, assuming that both languages borrowed the word from an Oriental language; this is rejected by Thieme 1953: 586. Berger *WZKSS* 3 (1959): 48 thinks that the Sanskrit word is of Austro-Asiatic origin. On *erakā-*, see now Klaus *MSS* 57 (1997): 49-64; see ►αἰρόπινον.

αἱρέω [v.] 'to take, grasp, seize', med. 'to take for oneself, choose' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Except for late forms like ἀν-ήρησα (Q. S.), ►ἑλεῖν is used as a suppletive aorist.
•DIAL Cret. αἱλέω is a contamination of αἱρέω and ἑλεῖν; Pamphyl. ἀγλέσθω from ἀγρέω and ἑλεῖν; for other such forms see Vendryes 1938: 331ff.
•DER αἵρεσις 'capture, choice, party, philosophical school (whence *heresy*)' (IA), αἱρέσιμος 'pregnable' (X.); αἱρετός 'what can be taken or chosen' (IA), αἱρετικός 'to be chosen, causing schisms' (late); αἱρετής 'who chooses' (Vett. Val.), καθαιρέτης 'destroyer' (Th.), αἱρετίς [f.] 'who chooses' (LXX), back-formation to αἱρετίζω [v.] 'to elect' (Hell.), which is a denominative to αἱρετός. From αἱρετίζω also αἱρετιστής 'adherent' (Plb., D. L.).
•ETYM No etymology.

αἰρόπινον [n.] 'sieve' (Ar. *fr.* 480). ◅GR?▻
•VAR Cf. αἰρόπινον· σκοτεινόν, καὶ κόσκινον ἐν ᾧ πυροὶ σήθονται 'dark, also a sieve through which wheat is sieved'; An. Bk. 359, 24 continues with ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς αἶρας διελθεῖν 'because it passes through the rye-grass'; also αἰρόπινον· τὸ ἀραιὸν κόσκινον· παρὰ τὸ τὰς αἶρας ποιεῖν ἀπεῖναι καὶ χωρίζειν ἢ διὰ τὸ αἴρειν τὸν πίνον ὅ ἐστι τὸν ῥύπον 'a porous sieve, after its making the rye-grass go apart; or after its removing the πίνον, i.e. the dirt' (*EM* 38, 42), the first part of which is clearly folk-etymological.
•ETYM DELG thinks that it consists of αἴρω 'to remove' and πίνος 'filth', like the latter part of the final gloss; for the type of compound, see Schwyzer: 442. Alternatively, it may be a Pre-Greek word reshaped by folk etymology.

αἴρω ⇒ ἀείρω 1.

αἶσα [f.] 'share, destiny, decree' (Il., epic and lyr.). ◁IE *h_2ei- 'give, take'▷
•DIAL Myc. a_3-*sa* /aisa/; also found in Arc.-Cypr.
•DER αἴσιος 'auspicious, opportune'; also with ἐν-, ἐξ-, κατ-, παρ-, whence αἰσιόομαι [v.] 'to take as a good omen' (Plu., App.); αἴσιμος 'destined, fitting' (Hom.), ἐναίσιμος, ἀναίσιμος (Emp.).
Thence prefixed denominative ἀν-αισιμόω [v.] 'to consume (the apportioned share)' (Ion.), whence ἀναισιμώματα 'expenses' (Hdt.); καταισιμόω [v.] 'to consume entirely' (com.). Adjectival abstract αἰσιμίαι πλούτου 'the due apportionment of wealth' (A. *Eu.* 996). See on ▶αἰσιμνάω, ▶αἰσυμνάω, ▶αἰσυμνήτης.
Some PNs: Αἴσων, Αἰσίας, etc.
•ETYM αἶσα is from the root seen in αἶνυμαι, derived with -i̯α from a form in *-t-* found in Osc. *aeteis* [gen.sg.] 'part', Gr. *αἶτος (see ▶αἰτέω), αἴτιος. An ablauting root shape could be found in ▶ἴσσασθαι · κληροῦσθαι. Λέσβιοι (H.).

αἴσακος [?] · ὁ τῆς δάφνης κλάδος, ὃν κατέχοντες ὕμνουν τοὺς θεούς 'the branch of the sweet bay; while grasping these, the gods were praised' (H.). Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 615b. Acc. to *EM* 38, 49 it indicates the bird ἐρίθακος. ◁PG(S,O)▷
•ETYM Etymology unknown. The word is Pre-Greek (or Anatolian), acc. to Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 183 and Krause *KZ* 67 (1942): 214[4]. Note the initial αι-, intervocalic -σ-, and the suffix -ακ-. See ▶αἰσάλων.

αἰσάλων [m.] kind of falcon (Arist.); see Thompson 1895. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Cf. αἰσάρων· εἶδος ἱέρακος 'id.' (H.).
•ETYM Fur.: 387 gives it as Pre-Greek form with the variation ρ/ λ, of which he has more than 30 examples.

Αἴσηπος [m.] HN in Mysia (Il.); also PN (Il.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM Fur.: 234 compares αἰζηός. No doubt a Pre-Greek name.

αἰσθάνομαι [v.] 'to perceive, apprehend, note' (IA). ◁IE *h_2eu-*is*- 'perceive'▷
•VAR Incidentally pres. αἴσθομαι (Th.); aor. αἰσθέσθαι, fut. αἰσθήσεσθαι (IA).
•DER αἴσθησις 'perception, knowledge' (Hp., Pl., etc.), both the act and the object of perception (cf. E. *IA* 1243, Arist.); αἰσθησίη (Aret.) = αἴσθησις; αἰσθητός 'perceptible' and αἰσθητικός 'able to perceive', both mainly philosophical terms; αἰσθητήριον 'one of the senses' (Arist.), αἰσθητής [m.] 'who perceives' (Pl.).
•ETYM Interpreted as PGr. **awis-t^h-*, and connected with ▶ἄΐω 'to perceive, hear' < **awis-je/o-*. A similar pre-form is found in Lat. *audiō* 'to hear' < **$h_2$eui-d^hh_1-ie/o-* (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), *oboediō* 'to obey'. It is probable that the Greek suffix -θ-, which builds resultative verbal forms, is from **d^hh_1-* 'to do, etc.' as well. Further related to Skt. *āvís-*, Av. *āuuiš* 'manifestly', OCS *(j)avě* 'evidently', which are adverbial forms in *-is*.

ἀΐσθων [ptc.] 'to breathe out, exhale' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Or rather *ἄϊσθών (Π 468), ἄϊσθε (Υ 403), of θυμόν.
•ETYM We can connect it with ἄϊον (= τὸ ἀπέπνεον Eust.) in ἐπεὶ φίλον ἄϊον ἦτορ (O 252), but much remains uncertain. See Bechtel 1914 and DELG.

ἀΐσσω [v.] 'to move quickly, dart, rush (upon)' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Pres. ἄσσω (Pi.), ἄττω (Att.), fut. ἀΐξω. The ἀ- is always long in Hom., except in ὑπαΐξει (Φ 126), see Chantraine 1942: 110, and in ἀΐξῃ (A. R. 3, 1302); elsewhere it is mostly short.
•COMP As a second member in πολυ-άϊξ, κορυθ-άϊξ; also in ▸τριχάϊκες?
•DER ἀϊκή 'rush' (O 709); root noun ἄϊξ in ἀνέμων ἄικας (A. R. 4, 820), or ἀϊκας? Both α and ι are long.
•ETYM Unexplained. Comparison with Skt. *vevijyáte* 'to raise, flee, move quickly' is formally impossible (no trace of a ϝ in Homer, and the long ī remains unexplained). Danielsson *IF* 14 (1903): 386ff. reconstructs *αἰϝ-ῑκ- and compares ▸αἰόλος.

αἴσυλος [adj.] 'unseemly, evil' (Hom.), in αἴσυλα ῥέζειν, εἰδέναι, μυθήσασθαι (opposed to αἴσιμα). ◅PG?▻
•COMP αἰσυλο-εργός (Max. Astrol.) after αἴσυλα ῥέζειν (Hom.).
•ETYM The overall appearance is Pre-Greek: initial αἰ-, intervocalic -σ-, suffix -υλ-. Cf. ▸ἀήσυλος.

αἰσυμνάω [v.] 'to be ruler' (Hom.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR αἰσυμνήτηρ (Ω 347) has a variant αἰσυ(ι)ήτηρ, now preferred by West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 119f. Also PNs Αἴσυμνος, Αἰσυήτης (Hom.).
•DIAL Meg. αἰσιμνάω.
•DER αἰσυμνητήρ (Ω 347 v.l.), αἰσυμνήτης (αἰσιμνάτας) title of a high magistrate in several towns (inscr., Arist.), in Homer θ 258 a referee of games; fem. αἰσυμνῆτις (Suid.); αἰσυμνητεία 'office of αἰσυμνήτης' (Arist.), Verbal noun αἰσυμνητύς (Miletus). Further αἰσύμνιον = βουλευτήριον in Megara (Paus.), from the verb or from *αἴσυμνος.
•ETYM Previously derived from ▸αἶσα, αἴσιμος, *αἴσιμνος by Solmsen 1909: 36ff. and Fraenkel 1910: 172f. However, Chantraine 1933: 216 and von Blumenthal 1930: 33 assume a Pre-Greek origin, which must be correct: it explains the interchanges μ/ ϝ (cf. Fur.: 244) and υ/ ι. The word and its derivations are reminiscent of ▸κυβερνάω. Further details are in the *LfgrE*.
Deroy *Ant. class.* 26 (1958): 404-410 compares Lat. *aerumna* 'task, distress'.

αἰσύφιος ⇒ἀσύφηλος.

αἶσχος [n.] 'shame, ugliness', plur. 'disgraceful deeds' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Comp. αἰσχίων, superl. αἴσχιστος.
•DER αἰσχρός 'dishonoring, ugly', denominative αἰσχύνω 'to dishonor', med. 'to be ashamed' (Il.), back-formation αἰσχύνη 'shame' (IA). PN Αἰσχύλος, perhaps an enlargement of an old *u*-stem. Further derivatives: 1. from αἰσχρός: αἰσχρότης 'ugliness' (Pl. *Gorg.* 525a, *Ep. Eph.* 5, 4), αἰσχροσύνη (Tz.). 2. from αἰσχύνω: αἰσχυντήρ 'violator' (A. *Ch.* 998), αἰσχυντηλός 'timid, shy', also 'disgraceful' (Pl., Arist.), αἰσχυντηλία (Plu.); it has -τ- from the opposite ἀν-αἰσχυντος (Alc., Att.), whence ἀναισχυντία, -τέω, -τημα; secondary αἰσχυντός (Ps. Phoc.). Rare αἰσχυντηρός and αἰσχυντικός.

•ETYM The older comparison with Go. *aiwiski* [n.] 'αἰσχύνη' is generally abandoned in view of obvious formal difficulties. De Lamberterie 1990: 835-840 plausibly compares ►αἴδομαι, positing **aid-sk-* for Greek next to **aid-st-* in Go. *aistan.*

ἀΐτᾱς [m.] 'eromenos' (Ar.), also a fish (pap. *Tebt.* 701, 44). ◄?►
•VAR Fem. ἀΐτις (Hdn. Gr., Alcm. 34 Page). Also ἀείταν· τὸν ἑταῖρον 'companion'. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τὸν ἐρώμενον 'eromenos' (Ar. *fr.* 738; also Theocr. 12, 14, where it is called Thessalian).
•DIAL A Doric or Thessalian word.
•ETYM Uncertain. From ►ἀΐω 'to hear' acc. to Diels *Herm.* 31 (1896): 372 and Bechtel 1921, 1: 201; see also Arena *Riv. fil. class.* 96 (1968): 257f.

αἰτέω [v.] 'to ask, request, beg' (Il.). ◄GR►
•COMP Often prefixed with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, παρ-, etc.
•DER 1. αἴτησις 'demand, request' (IA), αἰτήσιμος; 2. αἴτημα 'demand, claim' (Pl., Arist.), αἰτηματικός and αἰτηματώδης; 3. αἰτητής 'requestor' (pap., D. C.); αἰτητικός (Arist., D. L.), 4. αἰτίζω = αἰτέω (epic since Od.).
•ETYM A denominative of **αἶτος*; see ►ἄνυμαι, ►αἶσα and ►αἴτιος.

αἴτιος [adj.] 'guilty, responsible' (Il.). ◄GR►
•DER Thence (or directly from **αἶτος*): αἰτία [f.] 'responsibility, guilt, cause; accusation', also 'disease'; thence denominative αἰτιάομαι 'to accuse, charge with', secondary αἰτιάζομαι (X., D. C.).
To αἰτιάομαι: αἰτίασις (Antipho, Arist.) and αἴτίαμα (A., Th.) 'accusation, charge'; αἰτιατός (Arist., Plot.) 'having a cause' (τὸ αἰτιατόν 'effect' as opposed to τὸ αἴτιον 'cause') is rather directly from αἰτία because of the meaning; from τὸ αἰτιατόν, the grammarians created ἡ αἰτιατικὴ πτῶσις 'accusative case', so properly 'case of what is effectuated' (Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 19).
From αἰτία (or τὸ αἴτιον): αἰτιώδης 'causal', philosophical term (Hell. and late), likewise αἰτίωμα (pap., *Act. Ap.*) = αἰτίαμα, and with the same vocalism αἰτίωσις (Eust.) = αἰτίασις.
•ETYM αἴτιος, αἰτία and αἰτέω were derived from **αἶτος* 'share' (see ►αἴνυμαι, ►αἰτέω), which is semantically understandable. The suffix -ιος may have been added to αἰτ- after the change of **ti* > σι.

αἴφνης [adv.] 'suddenly' (E. *IA* 1581, Hp. *Int.* 39). ◄PG(V)►
•DER More common as well as more archaic is ἐξαίφνης (Hom., Pi., trag., etc.). The adjective αἰφνίδιος (A., Th., Arist.), on the other hand, is more common and more archaic than ἐξαιφνίδιος (Pl., Gal.). Adverbial forms αἰφνηδίς, -δόν (Hdn.).
•ETYM Related to ►αἴψα, s.v., and also to ►ἄφνω, ►ἄφαρ, ►ἐξαπίνης, etc.

αἰχμή [f.] 'point of a spear, spear' (Il.). On its use in Homer, see Trümpy 1950: 52ff. ◄IE **h₂eiḱ-(s)m-* 'spear'►
•DIAL Myc. *a_3-ka-sa-ma* /aiksmans/.
•COMP αἰχμ-άλωτος 'prisoner of war' (Pi.), whence fem. αἰχμαλωτίς, adj. αἰχμαλωτικός, abstract αἰχμαλώσία. Thence denominative verbs αἰχμαλωτίζω and

αἰχμαλωτεύω (Hell. and late); from αἰχμαλωτίζω: αἰχμαλωτιστής and αἰχμαλωτισμός.

•DER αἰχμήεις 'armed with a spear' (A., Opp.); αἰχμητής 'spearman, warrior' (Il.), αἰχμητᾶ (E 197), fem. αἴχμητις (*EM*); with secondary suffix αἰχμητήρ (Opp., Q. S., Nonn.); αἰχμητήριος 'armed with a spear, war-like' (Lyc. 454 verse-final). Denominative αἰχμάζω [v.] 'to throw the spear, to arm with a spear' (Il.).

•ETYM The Mycenaean form proves PGr. **aiksmā*. The word is connected with αἴκλοι· αἱ γωνίαι τοῦ βέλους 'points of the arrow' (H.) and with Lith. *iẽšmas*, OPr. *aysmis* 'spit' which may derive from **h₂eiḱ-(s)m-*. The original meaning must have been 'point'. Within Greek, we further find Cypr. ἰκμαμένος 'wounded' (Ruijgh 1957: 136), ἰκτέα· ἀκόντιον 'javelin' (H.), and perhaps ►ἴκταρ 'near'. Uncertain is the appurtenance of ἴγδις [f.] (Sol.), ἴγδη (Hp.) 'mortar', but cf. Fur.: 321.

αἶψα [adv.] 'quickly, suddenly' (Il., poet.) ◅PG▻

•DER αἰψηρός 'quick' (Il., Pi.).

•ETYM Sommer *IF* 11 (1900): 243 connected the word with ►αἰπύς 'steep' as **αἰπ-σ-α*; the forms can also be understood in substrate terms (with Fur.: 158) as alternation of a labial with ψ. Furnée further connects it with ἐξαίφνης, ►ἐξαπίνης, ►ἅφαρ, ►ἄφνω, etc.

ἀΐω [v.] 'perceive, hear' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂euis-* 'perceive'▻

•VAR Ipf. ἄϊον (see below); verbal adj. ἐπ-άϊστος 'perceived, detected' (Hdt.) to ἐπαΐω, ἐπᾴω (Att. prose), whence aor. ἐπῆσα (ἐπήϊσα).

•DIAL Cypr. fut. *awiyēsomai*.

•ETYM The ipf. ἄϊον was considered by Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 251ff. to be an original aorist, from which a present ἀΐω was formed secondarily. Schulze found traces of an original pres. **ἀείω* in ἄει· ἀκούει, ἄετε· ἀκούσατε (H.), and in ἐπ-ᾴειν (E. *HF* 773), but this is difficult to fit in with the etymology prevailing today: ἄϊον < **awis-e/o-* is generally connected with Skt. *āvíṣ* [adv.] 'evidently, manifestly' and OCS *(j)avě* 'id.', so the Greek verb is probably a denominative from this adverb. As Kloekhorst recently showed, the Hitt. verb *au-^{i} / u-* 'to see' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.) can also be connected with it, since in *o*-grade forms **h₂ou-*, the laryngeal would regularly be lost. Noteworthy, though improbable, is the connection by Szemerényi *Glotta* 38 (1960): 243 with the word for 'ear'. Within Greek, compare aor. ἠσθόμην, pres. ►αἰσθάνομαι, with -θ- indicating the completion of a process.

αἰῶ ⇒ αἰεί.

αἰών, -ῶνος [m., f.] '(life)time, long period of time, eternity' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂ei-u-* 'time of living, well-being'▻

•VAR αἰέν [adv.] 'always'.

•DER αἰώνιος 'enduring, eternal' (Pl., Hell., NT), αἰωνιότης 'perpetuitas' (gloss.); αἰωνίζειν 'to make or be eternal' (Dam., Phot., Suid.), αἰώνισμα 'perpetuation, monument' (Ostr.).

•ETYM From **αἰϝών*, an *n*-stem also found in the old locative ►αἰέν 'always', which coexisted with the *s*-stem in αἰῶ, αἰές, ►αἰεί 'id.'. See also ►οὐ. On the meaning, see

Stadtmüller *Saeculum* 2 (1951): 315ff. A neuter *u*-stem is found in Skt. *āyu-*, Av. *āiiu* '(life)time', OAv. gen. *yaoš*, dat. *yauuōi* < **h₂oi-u, *h₂i-eu-s, *h₂i-eu-ei*. Latin has thematicized *aevus* < **h₂ei-u-o-;* Gothic has an *i*-stem *aiwins* [acc.pl.]. An old derivation is Lat. *iuvenis*, Skt. *yúvan-* 'young man' from **h₂iu-Hen-* with the Hoffmann suffix ('having vital strength'). Derived from this are Lith. *jáunas*, OCS *junъ* 'young' and Go. *jund* 'youth' < **h₂iu-Hn-ti-*.

αἰώρα [f.] 'swing, hammock, noose, halter' (Pl.). ◁?▷

•DER αἰωρέω 'to raise, hang' (Pi., IA), also -έομαι 'to hand, hover', also prefixed with συν-, ὑπερ-. Thence αἰώρησις (mainly medic.), συν- (Pl.), ὑπερ- (Hp.); αἰώρημα (E. [lyr.], Lyc.).

•ETYM Previously, an intensive (iterative) verb **ϝαι-ϝωρ-έω* was reconstructed, from which **ϝαιϝώρα* > αἰώρα was a derivation. This type is not accepted anymore. Taillardat *RPh.* 57 (1983): 21-25 assumes **h₂uōr-e̯i̯e-* > **ἀϝωρέω* (formation as in πωλέω, etc. to the root of ἀείρω 'to hang'); reduplication would then have resulted in **ἀϝαϝωρ-*, which would have given **αϝαιωρ-* > αἰωρ- (like **αϝαιρω* > αἴρω). The reduplication with ἀϝ-αϝ- seems uncertain to me, just like the development to **ἀϝαj-* and its continuation as (ἀϝ)-αι- before a vowel.

Ἀκάδημος [m.] name of a hero. ◁?▷

•DER Ἀκαδήμεια the gymnasium in Athens where Plato taught, the Platonic school (Ar.), ηεκαδημειας (Att. inscr., see LSJ Supp.).

•ETYM Generally identified with the first element of ἐκάεργος (which derives from **uek̑-m*); and with the PN Boeot. ϝηεκαδαμος, Thess. ϝεκε-; in Attic this form may have been Ἑκάδημος (D. L., St. Byz.); but see Lejeune 1972: §254³, who objects that the aspiration was lost.

Fur.: 309 separates it from these words and connects the Lydian TN Ἀκαδαμίς and the Carian PN Ἀκταδημος. Cf. also Ταρκονδημος (Cilicia)? However, the names in Greece seem to have (had) a ϝ-, of which there is no trace in the Anatolian names. The meaning of -δαμ- is unknown. If the word was Pre-Greek, the varying vocalism can be better understood (assimilations are rare in Greek).

ἄκαινα [f.] 'spike, prick, goad' (A. R.), Also 'ten-foot rod' in Thessaly (Bechtel 1921, 1: 116, 204), cf. ἄκαινα δὲ ἐστι μέτρον δεκάπουν Θεσσάλων εὕρεμα (sch. A. R. 3, 1323; Call. *fr.* 24, 6). In Egypt a measure of 100 square ft. (Hero, pap.). ◁GR?, PG?▷

•ETYM Traditionally derived from the *n*-stem ▶ἄκων with the suffix -ια. However, it may also contain the Pre-Greek suffix -αινα (see Fur.: 171[117]) added directly to the stem ἀκ-. The measure is in origin the same word; for the semantics, DELG compares κάλαμος, Lat. *pertica*, MoFr. *perche*.

ἀκακαλίς, -ίδος [f.] name of several plants (Dsc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Cf. ἀκακαλλίς· ἄνθος ναρκίσσου. Κρῆτες 'flower of narcissus (Cret.)' (H.). κακαλίς· νάρκισσος (H.), κακκαλία = στρύχνον ὑπνωτικόν 'sleepy nightshade, Withania somnifera' (Dsc. 4, 72 and 122). Further κάγκανον = κακ(κ)αλία 'Mercurialis tomentosa' (Gal., Paul. Aeg.).

•ETYM Frisk assumes an Oriental origin, possibly Egyptian, but why? Fur.: 371, 277 (see also 138) compares κακαλίς and κάγκανον, variants which prove a Pre-Greek origin. Cf. also ►ἀκακία.

ἀκάκητα [adj.] epithet of Hermes (Il., Hes.) and Prometheus (Hes.), of unknown mg. ◄?►

•DER ἀκακήσιος (Call.).

•ETYM If the glosses ἀκακίεις· συνίεις and ἀκακιεῖ· συνιεῖ are reliable, the word could mean 'συνετός' (Hoffmann *BB* 17 (1891): 328). DELG rejects the glosses without reason and assumes a meaning 'benevolent'. Risch 1954: 395f. thinks it was built on ἄκακος, ἀκάκᾱς after μητίετα (which is not easy). See also Fraenkel 1956b: 168, and *LfgrE*.

ἀκακία [f.] name of a tree or plant, 'acacia' or 'Genista acanthoclada' (Dsc.). ◄PG(V)►

•ETYM Probably a substrate word; cf. ►ἀκακαλίς. Fur.: 321 compares κάκτος. There is no reason for an Oriental origin, as DELG assumes. Kramer *ZPE* 97 (1993): 146 compares Coptic κακε, κεκε, κεκει 'dark', the color of the wood of the acacia; the ἀ- would have been taken from ἄκανθος. This is unconvincing.

ἀκαλανθίς •VAR = ἀκανθίς. ⇒ἄκανθα.

ἀκαλαρρείτης [adj.] only in ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταο βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο (Η 422, τ 434). ◄GR►

•COMP Similar ἀκαλάρροος (Orph.).

•DER The adverbial first member is only sparsely attested (Hes., Sapph.), and in glosses like ἀκαλόν· ἥσυχον, πρᾶον, μαλακόν 'quiet, mild, soft' (H.), ἀκαλῶς [adv.] (Eust.).

•ETYM From ἀκαλα-ρρεϝέ-της, a compound of ἀκαλά and ►ῥέω with suffixal -της. Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 73 (1995): 9-11, derives the first member from the root **kelh₂-*, seen in κέλαδος as 'rauschend dahineilen', and interprets ἀ-καλαρρείτης as 'kein rauschendes Fliessen habend, still fliessend'. See ►ἀκή 2.

ἀκαλήφη [f.] 'stinging nettle, sea anemone' (Eup.). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR Thphr. (*HP* 7, 7, 2) has ἀκαλύφη.

•ETYM Unknown; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. There is no reason to suppose the influence of ἄκανθα, etc. (Frisk). Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 50. Suffixal *-b^{h}-* is quite common in names of trees and plants. The variation υ/ η could point to a Pre-Greek word, although there are no clear parallels to it.

ἄκανθα [f.] 'thorn, thistle', name of different thorny plants (Strömberg 1940: 17), also 'backbone, spine' of fish, snake, or man (Od.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Note ἄκανθος [m.] 'acanthus' (Acanthus mollis).

•DER Many derived adjektives: ἀκάνθινος, ἀκανθώδης, ἀκανθικός, ἀκανθηρός, ἀκανθήεις 'provided with thorns, etc.'. Further diminutive ἀκάνθιον; ἀκανθίας kind of shark or grasshopper (cf. Strömberg 1943: 47, Strömberg 1944: 17); ἀκανθίς name of a bird ('goldfinch' or 'linnet', cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.), also a plant name; ἀκανθυλλίς bird name (Thompson s.v.), ἀκανθίων 'hedgehog', ἀκανθέα a plant,

ἀκανθεών and -θών 'thorny break, spinetum' ἀκανθηλή mg. unknown. Denominative verb ἀκανθόομαι 'to be thorny' (Thphr.).

•ETYM The basic meaning is 'thorn', whence 'backbone, spine'. Usually, ἄκανος 'pine-thistle' is considered basic, but a connection with ἄνθος (as **akan-ant^{h}o-*; see Frisk) is improbable. Analysis as a compound *ἄκ-ανθα 'sharp flower' (Kretschmer 1896: 403 A. 1) is a type of etymology of the past. Belardi *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 10 (1955): 309-331 assumes an Indo-Mediterranean substrate word, connecting Skt. *kaṇṭ(h)a-*, but such combinations with Sanskrit are mostly incorrect, and the Indo-Mediterranean hypothesis is quite doubtful. Most probable is a Pre-Greek substrate element, though in this case there is no positive indication except for the ending in short -α (see *Pre-Greek*); in this respect, there is no reason to assume a secondary Greek formation (as per DELG). Niedermann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 8ff. connected it with ἀκαλανθίς = ἀκανθίς (Ar.), by metathesis of *ἀκανθαλίς.

ἄκανος [m.] a thistle, 'Atractylis gummifera', 'dorniger Fruchtkopf' (Thphr.). ◁PG?(S)▷

•VAR Also ἄκαν, -νος (LXX).

•DER ἀκανικός, ἀκανώδης, ἀκανίζω (all Thphr.), ἀκάνιον (H.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. πλάτανος, ῥάφανος, πύανος, etc.; the word is mostly derived from the root ἀκ- 'sharp', but the suffix -ανος rather points to a non-IE word (words like ἄκων, ἀκόνη confirm that the -α- is foreign).

ἀκαρής, -ές [adj.] 'small, tiny' (Ar.). ◁?▷

•VAR Mostly in fixed expressions, e.g. ἐν ἀκαρεῖ (χρόνου), ἀκαρῆ 'a moment', of time (Ar.); also κατὲπεσον ἀκαρὴς τῷ δέει 'it was a hair-breadth escape'; οὐκ ἀκαρῆ 'not at all'. A form ἄκαρ is attributed to Antiphon (Taillardat 1962: §248).

•DER ἀκαριαῖος id. (D.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 49.

•ETYM Traditionally derived from κείρω, ἐκάρην 'to cut' as 'too short to cut': τὸ βραχύ, ὅ οὐδὲ κεῖραι οἷόν τε (H.); this is doubtful. Perhaps '(not even a) louse'? See ►ἀκαρί.

ἀκαρί [n.] 'mite' (Arist.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Fur.: 371 connects it with κάρνος = φθείρ 'louse' (H.), which is quite attractive. It is usually connected with ►ἀκαρής, s.v. DELG suggests a contamination of ἀκαρής with κόρις 'bug'. I would rather think that κόρις is cognate, as a substrate word, with prothetic vowel and α/o interchange.

ἄκαρνα [f.] · δάφνη 'sweet bay' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM The word has been connected with ►ἄκαστος 'maple' (and further with OHG *ahorn*), but this must be explained differently. ἄκαρνα is most probably a substrate word (note the sequence -ρν-).

ἀκάρναν ⇒ ἀχαρνώς.

ἄκαρον ⇒ ἄγχραν.

ἀκαρός [m.]? · σημαίνει τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἢ τὴν κεφαλήν 'brain, head' (*EM* 45, 13). ◁?▷

•ETYM Cf. ἔγκαρος and ἴγκρος, with the same mg., which point to ἐν and κάρη 'head'. It would be the only relatively certain instance of *h_1nC- yielding ἀ-, but Nussbaum 1986: 72f. remains sceptical, as one would expect *ἄκρος instead of ἀκαρός if the form is old.

ἄκασκα ⇒ ἀκή 2.

ἄκαστος [m.] · ἡ σφένδαμνος 'maple' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM We may posit *ἄκαρ-στος and assume that the word is cognate with Lat. *acer*, *-ris* 'maple', OHG *ahorn* (which is sometimes connected with ▸ἄκαρνα · δάφνη H., s.v.), and Gallo-Rom. **akar(n)os* 'id.' (Hubschmied *Rev. celt.* 50 (1933): 263f.); see Pok. 20. For the formation, we may compare πλατάνιστος, but the derivation from *-*id-to-* (cf. Chantraine 1933: 302) may well be wrong. Since plant names are often borrowed, and the formation is unclear, we may envisage a substrate origin. Fur.: 371 compares κάστον· ξύλον. Ἀθαμᾶνες 'wood' (H.), and for the meaning σφένδαμνον· ξύλον (H.), o.c. 164. A further comparison with κόστον 'wooden parts of a wagon' (o.c. 343) is less certain.

ἄκατος [f., m.] 'light vessel' (Thgn.), 'boat-shaped cup' (com.). ◁?▷
•DER Diminutives ἀκάτιον, which also denotes a kind of women's shoe (Ar.), and ἀκατηνάριον (Olsson *AfP* 11 (1935): 219); further ἀκάτειος, τὰ ἀκάτεια (sc. ἱστία) 'small sails' (X.); ἀκατίς [f.] 'millipede' (Steph. Med.), see Strömberg 1944: 11.
•ETYM Probably a technical loanword. Often connected with ἀκ- 'sharp' (see ▸ἀκή), but without any obvious reason. Winter 1950: 12 connected it with κητήνη· πλοῖον μέγα ὡς κῆτος (H.), which could perhaps belong with ▸κῆτος instead.

ἀκαχίζω ⇒ ἄχομαι.

ἀκαχμένος [perf.ptc.] 'sharpened' (Il.). ◁IE? *$h_2eḱ$- 'sharp'▷
•ETYM From the root *$h_2eḱ$- 'sharp'; a reduplicated formation *ἀκ-ακ-σ-μένος has been suggested, which remains speculative.

ἀκέᾱνος [m.] a kind of leguminous vegetable (Pherecr.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unexplained. For the overall structure, cf. Ὠκεανός.

ἀκεύει ⇒ ἀκούω.

ἀκέων •VAR Also -έουσα, -έοντε. ⇒ ἀκή 2.

ἀκή 1 [f.] · ἀκμὴ σιδήρου 'point of an iron tool' (Suid., H.), cod. αἰχμή. ◁IE *$h_2eḱ$- 'point, sharp'▷
•VAR A parallel formation is ἀκίς, -ίδος [f.] 'needle, arrow, barb' (Hp.).
•COMP On -ήκης see ▸ήκή.
•DER From ἀκίς: ἀκίδιον 'small barb' (*BCH* 29, 572), ἀκιδώδης 'pointed' (Thphr.), ἀκιδωτός 'id.' (Paul. Aeg.), also plant names like ἀκιδωτόν (Dsc.), passive verbal adj. ἠκιδωμένος (*IG* 2, 807), also compounded in ἀκιδοειδής (Procl.). ἀκίσκλων [gen.pl.] (*BGU* 1028, 12; 16 [II^p]), mg. uncertain, was borrowed from Lat. *acisculum* 'small pointed hammer of a stonemason', cf. Schubart's comment ad loc. Reduplicated form in ▸ἀκωκή 'point (of a lance, sword, etc.)' (Hom., Theoc., Opp.), cf. ἀγωγή.

•ETYM Probably from a root noun; see Schwyzer: 465. Derived from a root ἀκ- 'sharp', seen in several other etyma. Not related to ►ἄκαινα, ►ἄκανος. See ►ἄκων, ►ἀκμή, ►ἀκόνη, ►ἄκρος, ►ἀκών.

ἀκή 2 [f.] 'silence, quiet' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Beside the instr. ἀκᾶ, ἀκᾷ (Pi.) only acc. ἀκήν; in Hom. adverbial in ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιώπῃ, which shows that the original mg. was 'quiet, calm'; cf. ἀκὴν ἦγες· ἡσυχίαν ἦγες 'were bringing quiet or calm' (H.).

•DER ἀκέων, -έοντε, -έουσα is a ptc.; the form in -ων became indeclinable (Δ 422). The optative ἀκέοις (A. R. 1, 765) is a late creation.

ἀκήνιον· ἥσυχον 'quiet' (*EM* 48, 1); ἄκασκα = ἡσυχῶς 'quietly' (H., Crat. 126), ἀκασκᾷ (Pi. *fr.* 28), formation unexplained; ἀκαλά [n.pl., adv.] (Hes. *fr.* 218, Sappho 43 LP); ἀκαλαν (Sappho 68, 86 LP); ἀκαλόν· ἥσυχον, πρᾷον, μαλακόν 'quiet, mild, soft' (H.); this adverb also in ἀκαλαρρείταο < ἀκαλα-ρεϝε- (Il.).

•ETYM It may be connected with ►ἦκα, assuming ablaut.

ἀκήρατος [adj.] 'undamaged, intact' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR ἀκέραιος 'id.' (Hdt.).

•DER ἀκηράσιος 'pure' (Od.), 'untouched' (*h. Merc.*, *AP*). Similar formations are ἀκήριος 'undamaged (by the κῆρες)' (Od., epic), ἀκέραιος 'unharmed, undamaged' (IA). From ἀκέραιος: ἀκεραιότης (Plb.), ἀκεραιοσύνη (Suid.), ἀκεραιόομαι (Eust.).

•ETYM An epic and poetic word. It is unnecessary to assume a second, independent word meaning 'pure' (Od.), as Frisk does. DELG pleads for a unified meaning 'intact, pure'. Perhaps, ἀκήρατος (not from κηραίνω, A. *Supp.* 999) was metrically lengthened from *ἀκέρατος, from the stem of κερα-ίζω 'to destroy', but influence of κήρ is improbable. In some cases, the meaning may have been influenced by ►κεράννυμι 'to mix'. Lee *Glotta* 39 (1961): 191-205 connects it with ►κείρω, but this leaves the formation unexplained.

ἀκιδνός [adj.] 'weak, small' (Od.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR ἀκιδρός (Cyr.).

•DER ἀκιδρωπάζω· ἀμβλυωπῶ 'to be dim-sighted' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The element -δν- may point to a substrate word. In view of the variant with -ρ-, Fur.: 388 assumes a substrate word with ν/ ρ, though the interchange is rare (cf. πρόκνις). At 360, he compares σκιδαρόν· ἀραιόν 'thin, slender' (H.), which cannot be considered certain. Frisk also compares ἀκιρός 'weak' (Theoc.); cf. ἀκιρῆ· ἀσθενῆ, οὐκ ἐπιτεταμένα 'weak, not stretched' (H.) and ἀκιρῶς· εὐλαβῶς, ἀτρέμας 'discreet, quiet' (H.); but ἀκιρός· βορρᾶς 'the north wind' (H.) cannot belong here. For the interchange δ/ ρ, Fur.: 388 gives only σίβδα, where it is probably conditioned by the preceding β.

ἀκῑνάκης [m.] 'short sword of Persians and Scythians' (Hdt.). ◅LW Pers.?, PG?▻

•VAR κινάκης (S. *fr.* 1061); the ι was long in Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 5.

•ETYM Perhaps an Iranian loan: Benveniste 1940b: 202 compares *kyn'k*; see further Bailey *TPS* 1955: 69. However, κινάκης in Sophocles (Belardi 1969: 202) could suggest that the word is Pre-Greek rather than Iranian. It is supposed that ἀκίναγμα =

τίναγμα (*Lyr. Adesp.* 30 B) and ἀκιναγμός· τιναγμός, κίνησις 'stirring, movement' (H.) arose under influence of ἀκινάκης (Mansion 1904: 64).

ἀκιρίς [?] · λύχνος 'lamp' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Cf. κίρρις (Lacon.) for λύχνος (*EM* 515, 17), also κίρις (H.).
•ETYM Unknown, but it may well be Pre-Greek in view of the variations.

ἄκινος [m.] 'wild basil, Calamintha graveolens' (Dsc. 3, 43). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ἄκονος (ibid.).
•ETYM The vowel interchange, though rare, may point to a substrate word. See Fur.: 191.

ἀκιρός ⇒ ἀκιδνός.

ἀκκώ, -οῦς [f.] 'bogey' (Plu. 2, 1040b), acc. to others (Zen. 1, 53) 'vain woman'. ◁PG, ONOM▷
•DER Also as a PN (Plu.); ἀκκίζομαι [v.] 'to adorn oneself' (Pl.).
•ETYM A 'Lallwort' or nursery word; cf. Lat. *Acca* (*Larentia*) and Skt. *akkā* (gramm.). Cf. also ἀκκώ· γυνή ἐπὶ μωρίᾳ διαβαλλομένη, ἥ φασιν ἐνοπτριζομένην τῇ ἰδίᾳ εἰκόνι ὡς ἑτέρᾳ διαλέγεσθαι 'woman slandered to be crazy, etc.' (Suda 1, 87).

ἀκμή [f.] 'point, edge; culminating point, prime, zenith' (Il.). ◁IE *$h_2eḱ$- 'point, sharp'▷
•VAR The acc. ἀκμήν is used adverbially in the sense 'as yet, still'.
•DER ἀκμαῖος 'in full bloom, timely' (A.), ἀκμηνός 'full-grown' (ψ 191). Denominative verb ἀκμάζω [v.] 'to be in one's prime' (IA); thence: 1. ἀκμαστής = ἀκμαῖος (Hdn.), οἱ ἀκμασταί name of a gymnastic club in Thyatira (inscr.); 2. ἀκμαστικός = ἀκμαῖος (Hp., Gal.).
•ETYM Derivative in -μή of the root in ▶ἀκή, ▶ἄκρος, etc.

ἄκμηνος [adj.] 'fasting (from food)' (Il., only in T). ◁IE *$ḱemh_2$- 'get tired'▷
•ETYM A scholion on T 163 derives it from Aeol. ἄκμα, which Hesychius explains as νηστεία, ἔνδεια 'fasting, need'. Bechtel 1914 compares κομῶσα· γέμουσα 'filling' (H.), which would point to privative ἀ- and a zero grade -κμη- 'to fill'; this is highly uncertain. Fur.: 369 compares Old Georg. *si-ġmili* 'hunger', etc., which is very uncertain too. Blanc 1999: 317-338 proposes a derivation from *$ḱemh_2$- (κάμνω) in the sense 'to care (for)', which yields 'not properly cared for, neglected' (see also DELG *Supp.*). This seems attractive (cf. πολύκμητος).

ἄκμων, -ονος [m.] 'anvil' (Il.), also 'meteoric stone' (Hes. *Th.* 722), = οὐρανός ἢ σίδηρον 'heaven, iron' (H.), = ἀλετρίβανος, Κύπριοι 'pestle (Cypr.)' (H.). ◁IE *$h_2eḱ$-*mon*- 'stone, heaven'▷
•COMP ἀκμό-θετον [n.] (Hom.) 'base of an anvil', with the root of ▶τίθημι.
•DER Diminutive ἀκμόνιον (Aisop.).
•ETYM Old word for 'stone', found in several languages: Skt. *áśman*- [m.] 'stone, heaven', cf. the glosses meaning of ἄκμων as 'heaven'; Av. *asman*- 'stone, heaven', OP *asman*- 'heaven'; Lith. *akmuō*, *-eñs* 'stone' (with regular depalatalization before *m*; *āšmens* 'sharp side, edge' with *aš*- from other positions). The relation of these words to OCS *kamy*, *-ene* 'stone' and the Germanic group ON *hamarr* 'hammer'

(originally made of stone) is much discussed. One supposes the root *aḱ-* 'sharp' in ►ἀκή, etc. On these questions see the litt. in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 137, e.g. Maher *JIES* 1 (1973): 441ff. and Mallory & Adams 1997: 547.

ἄκνηστις [f.] 'backbone' (A. R. 4, 1403: ἐπ' ἄκνηστιν); name of a plant (Nic. *Th.* 52). ◅GR►

•ETYM It is supposed that κατ' ἄκνηστιν stands for older κατὰ κνῆστιν 'rasp' (κ 161), (Wackernagel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 1, Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 42, Leumann 1950: 49); on κνῆστις see ►-κναίω.

ἄκοιτης, -ου [m.] 'bedfellow, husband' (Il.). ◅IE **ḱei-* 'lie, be situated'►

•COMP παράκοιτις (Il.).

•ETYM Secondarily built on ἄκοιτις [f.], on which see Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 225f.: the idea that the woman is the one sharing the bed of the man is more natural than the other way around; also, the feminine is more frequent. With copulative ἀ- and κοίτη or κοῖτος 'bed' (Chantraine 1933: 26ff. and 113f.). The psilosis may be analogical after ἄλοχος or dialectal (Lesbian, Ionic). See ►κεῖμαι.

ἄκολος [m.] 'bit, morsel' (ρ 222.). ◅PG?►

•VAR Boeot. acc. to Stratt. 47, 7.

•ETYM Possibly of foreign origin; cf. Phrygian βεκος ακκαλος (Haas 1966: 84). A connection with Skt. *aśnā́ti* 'to eat' does not explain the formation. A suggestion by Fur.: 371 is to connect it to κόλον, a type of food preserved in pots (pap. III^{a}); Ath. 6, 262a and Eust. explain it as ἡ τροφή. Nothing suggests an identity with ἄκυλος 'acorn'.

ἀκόλουθος [adj.] 'following; corresponding' (Att., com.).

•VAR Often substantivized [m., f.] 'follower, companion'.

•DER Diminutive ἀκολουθίσκος (Ptol. Euerg.), abstract ἀκολουθία 'retinue, attendants; sequence, succession, consequence' (S., Pl.), mostly as a philosophical term. Denominative ἀκολουθέω [v.] 'to follow' (Ar.), whence ἀκολούθησις (Arist.) and ἀκολουθητικός [adj.] (Arist.).

•ETYM Derived from ►κέλευθος 'path' with copulative ἀ-. The double ablaut seems surprising, but there are parallels (see Van Beek fthc.b); it does not point to vowel assimilation.

ἀκόνη [f.] 'whetstone' (Pi.). ◅IE **h$_2$eḱ-* 'sharp, point'►

•DER ἀκονάω [v.] 'to whet' (IA), nominal derivations ἀκόνησις (H., Suid.), ἀκονητής (*Ed. Diocl.*, Hdn.); further ἀκόνιον name of a medicine for the eye (Dsc.), ἀκονίας fish name (Numen. *apud* Ath. 17, 326a).

•ETYM Formation in -όνη like περόνη, βελόνη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 207), with ἀκ- as in ►ἀκή, ►ἀκμή, etc. For the suffix *-n-*, cf. ►ἄκων.

ἀκόνῑτον [n.] the poisonous plant 'Aconitum' (Thphr.), but also other plants, see André 1956. ◅PG?►

•DER ἀκονιτικός (X.).

•ETYM Derived by the ancients from ἀκονιτί 'without dust', i.e. without struggle / fight (ἀκόνιτος Q. S.), therefore 'invincible', because of its deadly effect. Semantically, this is hardly possible. Cf. Jüthner *Glotta* 29 (1942): 73ff., Strömberg 1940: 150 A. 1. Fur.: 121 connects it with κονή, κῶνος. A substrate word is in any case probable.

ἄκορνα [f.] 'fish thistle, Cnicus Acarna' (Thphr.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR (σ)όρνος, see below.

•ETYM On the final short -α, see Chantraine 1933: 100ff. Strömberg 1944: 17 compares κόρνος· κεντρομυρσίνη, Σικελοί 'butcher's broom (plant name)' (H.) and σκόρνος· κόρνος, μυρσίνη τὸ φυτόν 'myrtle'. It seems possible that ἀκορνός (ὀκορνός) 'grasshopper' derives from ἄκορνα (Strömberg), cf. ἀκανθίας 'grasshopper' beside ἄκανθα 'thorn, thistle'. The ἀ- is a Pre-Greek prothetic vowel, and did not arise by connection with ἀκ- 'sharp'. The variation ἀ-/ σ-/ zero, the cluster -ρν- and the short -α all point to a Pre-Greek word.

ἄκορον [n.] 'yellow flag, Iris Pseudacorus' (Dsc., Gal.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The ancients derived the word from κόρη 'pupil of the eye'; it would be used to care for the pupil. See Strömberg 1940: 98. Fur.: 359 compares κύρα, which would be the Libyan form (Ps.-Dsc. 2, 169).

ἄκος [n.] 'cure, medicine' (Il.). ◅?▻

•DIAL Myc. *a_2-ke-te-re* /^{h}akestēres/, *ja-ke-te-re* /jakestēres/.

•COMP ἀφ-, ἐφ-ακέομαι (Delph.).

•DER Denominative verb ἀκέομαι 'to cure; repair' (Il.). Thence 1. ἀκέσματα 'remedy' (Il., Pi., A., inscr.); ἀκεσμός 'healing' (Call.), ἀκέσμιον· ἰάσιμον 'healing' (H.); 2. ἄκεσις 'healing' (Hdt., inscr.); ἀκέσιμος 'id.' (Plu.) and ἀκέσιος epithet of Apollo (Paus.), ἀκεσίας· ἰατρός 'healer' (Phot.). 3. ἀκέστωρ epithet of Apollo (E. *Andr.* 900), fem. ἀκεστορίς (Hp.), abstract ἀκεστορία 'art of healing' (A. R.). 4. ἀκεστήρ 'tranquilizing' (χαλινός, S. *OC* 714 [lyr.]), ἀκεστήριος 'healing' (App.) and ἀκεστήριον 'tailor's shop' (Lib.); Ἀκεστηρίδης PN (Styra). Feminines ἀκεστρίς 'midwife' (Hp.) and ἀκέστρια 'tailor woman' (Antiph., Luc.). 5. ἀκεστής [m.] 'patcher, tailor' (X., Lyc.), fem. ἀκεστίδες 'bars in furnaces' (Dsc. 5, 74). Instrument nouns: 6. ἀκέστρα [f.] 'darning needle' (Luc., pap.), 7. ἄκεστρον [n.] 'medicine' (S.). Adjectives: ἀκεστός 'curable' (N 115, Hp., Antipho), originally from ἄκος, but interpreted as derived from ἀκέομαι; ἀκεστικὴ τέχνη 'tailor's trade' (Democr., Pl.).
Also ἀκή 'healing' (Hp.), probably from ἀκέομαι. From ἀκή perhaps *ἄκιμος (Cic. *Att.* 10, 12a, 4), see Arbenz 1933: 93, Thomas 1912: 125ff. Also νήκεστος (Hes.), which (beside ἀνάκεστος, ἀνήκεστος) seems to be from **n-h_2k-*, but could be analogical in view of the Myc. form with *j-*. PN Ἐξηκίας (Attica; Pailler *Lettre de Pallas* 4 (1996): 8).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The compounds with ἀφ- and ἐφ-, as well as the Myc. form with *j-*, seem to point to original *yod*. DELG's reconstruction **iēk-/iək-* is impossible, as **eh_1/ h_1* would have resulted in *ἑκ-*. An original root **Hieh$_2$ḱ-* seems possible. It is quite thinkable that the psilotic forms are epicisms or Ionic forms. A

connection with OIr. *hícc* 'healing' has been suggested, but its relation to MW *iach* 'healthy' is uncertain (Schrijver 1995: 103).

ἀκοστή [f.] 'barley' (Nic. *Al.* 106). ◂?▸

•VAR ἀγοσταί, -έω (*AB* 213 [gramm.]).

•DER Denominative verb in the ptc. ἀκοστήσας (Z 506, O 263) 'well-fed', of ἵππος. Unclear is ἀκόστιλα· ἐλάχιστα 'slightest, not at all' (H.). κοσταί = ἀκοστή (H.) may have lost its vowel, see Kuiper 1956: 221.

•ETYM Hesychius calls the word Cyprian; the scholion on Z 506, Thessalian, as a word for food in general (cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 204). It is compared with Lat. *acus -eris* [n.] 'chaff', Go. *ahs* and OHG *ahir* [n.] 'ear (of corn)' (see Frisk), but the analysis, in which a suffix -τή with substantivizing function is added to **akos-* (comparing Lat. *onus-tus*, *venus-tus* and perhaps *locus-ta*), is rather weak; an *e*-grade **akes-* would be expected. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1961): 652 proposes **ako(n)stā* < **akont-tā* 'barbed', from the word for 'javelin', ▸ἄκων. However, the forms with -γ- and κοσταί, if these are old, rather point to foreign origin. See ▸ἄχνη.

ἀκούω [v.] 'to hear', also 'to obey, be called' (Il.). ◂IE **h₂keus-* 'hear'▸

•VAR Perf. ἀκήκοα. ἀκεύει· τηρεῖ, Κύπριοι 'watches (over), observes (Cypr.)' (H.).

•COMP νηκουστέω < **n̥-h₂k-*. Often prefixed: ὑπακούω 'to be obedient', ὑπήκοος, ἐπακούω, ἐπήκοος, κατακούω, κατήκοος, etc.

•DER ἀκουή (Il.), ἀκοή 'hearing, tiding; ear' (with shortening in hiatus) < **akō̆ā* < *akō̆hā* < **akowhā* < **akowsā*. Diminutive ἀκοΐδιον (gloss.), denominative verb ἀκοάζῃ· ἀκούεις (H.), cf. the discussion on ἀκουάζομαι below, whence ἀκοαστῆρες· ἀρχή τις παρὰ Μεταποντίοις 'kind of magistrature (Metap.)' (H.). 2. ἄκουσις 'hearing', plur. 'sounds' (Arist.), ἀκούσιμος 'fit for hearing' (S.). 3. ἄκουσμα 'sound, rumor, (oral) teachings' (S. *OC* 518 [lyr.], X., Arist.). Diminutive ἀκουσμάτιον (Ps.-Luc. *Philopatr.*), ἀκουσματικός (Iamb.). 4. ἀκουστής 'listener, pupil' (Men., D. H., Phld.), ἀκουστήριον 'lecture hall, audience' (Gal., Them., Porph.). 5. ἀκουστός 'audible' (*h. Merc.*, IA), ἀκουστίζω 'to make hear' (LXX); ἀκουστικός 'ptng. to hearing' (Arist., Epic.). Deverbative ἀκουάζομαι [v.] 'to hear, listen' (Hom., Hp.), rarely act. -άζω; formally, this could also derive from ἀκουή. Desiderative ἀκουσείω (S., H.).

•ETYM Related to Go. *hausjan* 'to hear' as **h₂kous-ie/o-*. ἀκούω is from **ἀκουσ-γω*; cf. ἀκουστός, ἤκουσμαι. The primary verb may be found in the gloss ἀκεύει. The word has often been explained as a compound from ἀκ- 'sharp' and οὖς, but this is not certain. In support of such a compound, ὠτ-ακουστέω 'to eavesdrop' may be compared within Greek. See ▸κοέω.

ἀκρᾱής, -ές ⇒ ἄκρος.

ἀκραιφνής, -ές [adj.] 'unmixed, pure, sheer; untouched, inviolate' (E.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Fur.: 159 compares ἀκραπνής (mss. Lysipp. *fr.* 9 *apud EM* 531, 56 = *Et. Gud.* 338, 15). If this is reliable, it is a substrate word (π/ φ, α/ αι).

ἀκραμύλα ⇒ ἀχραδαμύλα.

ἀκρατίζομαι ⇒ κεράννυμι.

ἀκρᾰ́χολος [adj.] 'raging passionately' (Ar.). ◁IE **ḱerh₂-* 'mix'▷
•DER Abstract ἀκρᾰχολία, Ion. ἀκρηχολίη (Hp.); denominative ἀκρᾰχολέω [v.] (Pl.).
•ETYM Literally "with unmixed bile", from *ἀκρᾰ́τ-χολος, with *ἀκρᾰ́ς = ἄκρᾰτος, cf. ἀκρητό-χολος (Hp.) and εὐκρᾰ́ς = εὔκρᾰτος 'well-mixed'. Later, it was changed to ἀκρόχολος (Arist.). Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 174ff. assumes the same first member occurs in ἀκρήπεδος· ἡ ἀγαθή (scil. γῆ) (H.). See ▶κεράννυμι.

ἀκρεμών, -όνος [m.] 'bough, branch' (Simon.); on the mg. see Strömberg 1937: 141f., 54f. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Accentuation after Hdn. Gr. 1, 33; the mss. mostly have -έμιων.
•ETYM The old etymology with ἄκρος is improbable, as the formation is unclear (see Chantraine 1933: 172f.). It is most improbable that κρεμών (Eratosth.) is due to ▶κρεμάννυμι. Like the etymology, it is a desperate attempt to reduce the word to known elements. Fur.: 115 adduces ἀγρεμιών· κάμαξ, λαμπάς, δόρυ 'pole, torch, shaft' (H.), which shows that it is a substrate word.

ἀκρῑβής, -ές [adj.] 'exact, precise' (Hp.). ◁GR?▷
•COMP ἀκριβο-λογία (Arist.).
•DER ἀκρίβεια 'precision' (IA); denominatives: 1. ἀκριβόω [v.] 'to investigate accurately, etc.' (Att.), also intr. 'to be exact' (Arist.). Thence ἀκρίβωσις 'exact observance' (J.) and ἀκρίβωμα 'precise account, exact knowledge' (Phld., Epicur.). 2. ἀκριβεύω [v.] 'to use accurately, give precise instructions' (S. E., Did., pap.). 3. ἀκριβάζω [v.] 'to investigate accurately, etc.', also pass. 'to be proud' (LXX, Aq., Thd.), whence ἀκριβασμός, -ασμα 'precise investigation', also 'law, legislation', -αστής 'investigator', also 'legislator'.
•ETYM The explanation by Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 12ff., that the word is from ἄκρος and εἶβω with early itacism, is hardly acceptable. Tichy *MSS* 36 (1977): 151-172 explains the word from ἄκρις 'mountain top', in the dative-locative in *-ī*, and βῆναι 'to go'.

ἀκρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'grasshopper' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Hardly related to κρίζω 'creak' (Strömberg 1944: 15ff), which leaves the ἀ- unexplained. Winter 1950: 15 connects it to κέρκα· ἀκρίς (H.); Fur.: 127 accepts this, comparing γέλγις next to ἄγλις for the variation. Of course, a substrate word for a grasshopper is not unexpected. However, Furnée's further comparison with ἄχηρον· ἀκρίδα (H.) (< *ἀχερδον [Bechtel 1921, 2: 671]) is less convincing.

ἄκριστιν · κλέπτριαν, ἀλετρίδα, Φρύγιοι 'female thief, female slave who grinds corn (Phrygian)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 205f. suggested that the suffix *-(i)stis* is Phrygian; a suffix *-st-* could be Pre-Greek.

ἀκροάομαι [v.] 'to hearken, obey' (X.), ὁ ἀκροώμενος may secondarily mean 'reader' (Philostr.). ◁GR▷

•DER ἀκρόασις 'hearing, obeying', also 'lecture (hall)' (IA). ἀκρόαμα 'what is heard', e.g. 'rumor, lecture, song' (X., Arist., Plb.), plur. also personified as 'lecturer, singer' (Plb.); thence ἀκροαματικός 'fit (only) for hearing' (Plu.); ἀκροατής 'listener, pupil', also 'reader' (Att., Hell.), whence ἀκροατικός; ἀκροατήριον 'lecture hall, audience' (*Act. Ap.*, Ph., Plu.); ἀκροάζομαι (Epich.).

•ETYM Commonly derived from a univerbation of ►ἄκρος and ►οὖς that denoted the top of the ear, whence 'to prick the ears, be keen to hear' (Frisk *GHÅ* 56 : 3 (1950): 21); however, cf. Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967): 69ff. The derivation is straightforward semantically, but some formal difficulties remain.

ἀκροβυστία ⇒ πόσθη.

ἄκρος, -α, -ον [adj.] 'at the farthest point, topmost, outermost' (Il.). ◅IE *$h_2e\acute{k}$- 'sharp, point'▻

•VAR Old substantivized forms ἄκρα [f.], ἄκρον [n.] 'highest or farthest point, headland, cape', Hom. κατ' ἄκρης (πόλιος) 'from the highest point down', hence 'completely, utterly', also κατ' ἄκρηθεν (which became κατὰ κρῆθεν by association with κάρα); see Leumann 1950: 56ff.

•COMP ἀκρόπολις (Od.), the Iliad still has ἄκρη πόλις, see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 20; ἀκραής epithet of the wind (β 421, ξ 253, Hes. *Op.* 594) is often interpreted as 'blowing vehemently', but probably originally 'blowing on/ from the heights'; also adverbial ἀκραὶ πλεῖν (Arr.).

•DER ἄκρις, -ιος [f.] 'hill-top, mountain peak' (Od.), always plur., see on ►ὄκρις; sing. only *Epigr. Gr.* 1035, 8. ἀκραῖος 'dwelling on heights', epithet of several gods, also = ἄκρος (Opp.). ἀκρία· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Ἄργει (H.), also name of other goddesses, ἀκρίαι· τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρέων 'mountain-tops' (H.). Substantives: ἀκρότης 'highest point, completion, perfection' (Hp., Arist., Phld.). ἄκρων, -ωνος [m.] 'extremity' (*Hippiatr.* 7), diminutive ἀκρωνάριον (ibid.), abstract ἀκρωνία (A. *Eu.* 188), probably 'mutilation' (cf. the discussion on ἀκρωτηριασμός below). ἀκρωτήριον 'projecting part, e.g. promontory, sternpost of a ship, etc.', plur. also 'extremities of the body' (IA), probably directly from ἄκρος, cf. δεσμός: δεσμιωτήριον. From ἀκρωτήριον: ἀκρωτηριάζω 'to remove the stern, mutilate, amputate' (IA), cf. ἀκρωτερῆσαι· κόψαι ἢ ἀχρειῶσαι 'to beat, render useless' (H.), also 'to jut out like a promontory' (Plb., Str.). Verbal nouns ἀκρωτηριασμός (Dsc.), ἀκρωτηρίασις (gloss.). Denominative verbs to ἄκρος: ἀκρίζω 'to go on tiptoe' (E.), 'τἄ ἄκρα ἐσθίειν' (sch. Φ 12); on ἀκρώσσει· ἀκροᾶται, ἑκὼν οὐχ ὑπακούει, προσποιεῖται (H.) see Frisk *GHÅ* 56 : 3 (1950): 22.

•ETYM The root *$h_2e\acute{k}$- is widespread in IE, and several *r*-derivatives from it are found: Skt. *áśri-* [f.] 'corner, sharp side', *catur-aśra-* 'quadrangular', Lat. *ācer*, *-ris*, *-re* (with unexplained length), Gaul. *Axrotalus* PN 'with high forehead', OIr. *ér* 'high', OLith. *aštras*, OCS *ostrъ* 'sharp'. Hitt. *ḫekur* 'rock sanctuary' is unrelated; cf. Puhvel *HED* s.v. See further ►ἀκή, ►ἀκμή, and ►ὄκρις. A connection with the root *$h_2e\acute{k}$- has been assumed unjustly for many words, e.g. ►ἀκαλήφη, ►ἀκόστη, and ►ἄκορνα.

ἀκταίνω [v.] 'to erect' (A.), of στάσιν, βάσιν. ◅?▻

•VAR Aor. ἀκταινῶσαι (Anacr.), see Immisch *PhW* 48 (1928): 908. Unclear are ἀκταίζων· ἀκτᾳζων, προθυμούμενος, ἢ ὁρμῆς πληρῶν, ἢ μετεωρίζων 'willing, full of impulse, or lifting (the spirit)' (H.), ἀκταίνειν· μετεωρίζειν 'to lift (the spirit)' (H.); ὑποακταίνοντο· ἔτρεμιον 'were trembling' (H.), as a v.l. for ὑπερικταίνοντο (ψ 3), of πόδες. Also ἀπακταίνων· ὁ κινεῖσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος 'unable to move' (H.).

•ETYM The only suggestion is that it derives from ἄγω through *ἀκτάω or *ἄκτω (cf. Schwyzer: 705f., Schwyzer 1937: 70), but this is doubted by DELG. Cf. Bechtel 1914.

ἀκτέα [f.] 'elder-tree, Sambucus nigra' (Emp.). ◁?▷

•VAR Contracted ἀκτῆ; also ἀκτέος [m.].

•DER ἄκτινος (Thphr.).

•ETYM On the suffix -έα, which forms tree names, see Chantraine 1933: 92 (ἰτέα, πτελέα). Witczak *Linguistica Baltica* 1 (1992): 201-211) connects it with Arm. *hac'i* 'ash', which he disassociates from ►ὀξύα. Borrowed from Greek are Lat. *acte* (Plin.) and OHG *atuh, at(t)ah.*

ἀκτή 1 [f.] 'promontory, rocky coast, rough shore, edge' (Il.). ◁PG?, IE?▷

•DER ἀκταῖος, -α, -ον 'located at or belonging to the coast' (Th., Hp., Call.); the fem. ἀκταία is also the name of a plant (Plin.); see Strömberg 1940: 115 (also on ἄκτιον and ἀκτίνη). ἄκτιος epithet of Pan (Theoc.) and Apollo (A. R.), ἄκτιον = ἀκτή (Ael.). ἀκτίτης [m.] 'who lives on the coast' (A. P.), ἀκτίτης λίθος 'stone from Piraeus or Argolis' (*IG*, S.). ἀκτάζω [v.] 'to banquet' (which would derive from *'to banquet on the shore', Plu. 2, 668b) is rather from ►ἀκτή 2.

•ETYM Derivation from ἀκ- 'sharp' is possible acc. to Frisk and DELG, but if Fur.: 127 is right in comparing ὄχθη, -ος 'shore, bank' (which seems quite convincing), it could be a substrate word (variations α/ ο, κτ/ χθ). Cf. ►ἀκτή 2.

ἀκτή 2 [f.] 'corn' (Il.), often Δημήτερος or ἀλφίτου ἀκτή, for which reason it cannot mean 'flour', as DELG rightly points out. Cf. ἀκτή· τροφή 'nourishment' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM There is no trace of initial digamma. Fur.: 127 compares *ὀχθη in ►εὔοχθος; see also ibid. 320 on ὀχή. This evidence cannot be ignored, and ἀκτή 'corn' is a substrate word. Skoda 1993: 275-283 thinks that the word means 'ear (of corn)' and therefore belongs to ἀκ- 'sharp'.

ἀκτηρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'staff' (Achae. 21), 'bar of wood supporting a chariot-pole' (Poll. 10, 157). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. The explanation as a univerbation of ἀκταίνω (*ἀκτάω) and ἐρείδω (Frisk) seems most improbable.

ἀκτίς, -ῖνος [f.] 'ray, beam of light' (Il.), also 'spoke of a wheel' (*AP*). ◁?▷

•COMP Frequent as a first member.

•DER ἀκτινωτός 'provided with ἀκτῖνες' (inscr. Delos IV[a] *Michel* 815, Ph.), ἀκτινώδης [adj.] 'like beams' (Philostr.), ἀκτινηδόν [adv.] 'id.' (Luc.).

•ETYM ἀκτίς is built like δελφίς, γλωχίς, and ὠδίς, and probably derived from a noun. It resembles Skt. *aktú-*, but the meaning of the latter is very difficult (see Renou 1937: 6; Kuiper *Vāk* 2 (1953): 81f., 89f.); one meaning seems to be 'night', another has been

derived from *añj-* 'to smear', but Kuiper thinks it means 'ray, light'. This has been connected with **no/ekʷt-* 'night', the zero grade of which is also found in Go. *uhtwo* [f.] < PGm. **uŋχtwōn-* < **ŋkʷt-u-n-*) 'dawn' (Lith. *ankstì* 'early' requires an initial laryngeal, which excludes derivation from 'night', as Gr. νύξ shows that there was no laryngeal.) Relation of ἀκτίς to the word for 'night' is excluded, however, as it shows no trace of a labiovelar. Thus it remains without an etymology.

ἄκυλος [m., f.] the edible acorn of the *Quercus Ilex* (κ 242). ◂PG(S)▸
•ETYM Connection with Skt. *aśnā́ti* 'eat' or with ►ἄκολος is improbable. It is rather a substrate word (Fur.: 255[32]) because of ἀκυλαῖον, since -υλ- is a frequent Pre-Greek suffix.

ἀκωκή [f.] 'point of a lance or sword, etc.' (Il., Theoc., Opp.). ◂IE **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp, point'▸
•ETYM Reduplicated formation of unknown structure: **h₂(e)ḱ-h₂ōḱ-* or (hardly feasible) **h₂ḱ-o-h₂ḱ-*, from the root **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp' (see ►ἀκή).

ἄκων, -οντος [m.] 'javelin, dart' (Il.). ◂IE? **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp, point'▸
•DER Diminutive ἀκόντιον (*h. Merc.* 460, Hdt., Pl.), ἀκοντίας [m.] 'kind of snake', also 'meteor', because of its speed (Nic.), ἀκοντίλος [m.] = ἀκοντίας 'id.' (H.). Verb ἀκοντίζω [v.] 'to throw a javelin' (Il.), verbal nouns 1. ἀκοντιστύς 'game of the dart' (Il.); 2. ἀκόντισις 'throwing the javelin' (X.); 3. ἀκοντισμός 'id., shooting (of stars)' (X., Str., Arr.); 4. ἀκόντισμα 'distance of a dart's throw' (X.), 'javelin' (Str., Plu.); 5. ἀκοντισία = ἀκόντισις (*SIG* 1060, 1062), cf. Chantraine 1933: 86. Agent nouns: ἀκοντιστής [m.] (Il.), cf. Schwyzer: 500α; more recent ἀκοντιστήρ 'id.' (E.); also used as an adjective in Opp. and Nonn.; ἀκοντιστήρ also as 'spring, fountain', see Zingerle *Glotta* 19 (1931): 72f. Further ἀκοντιστήριον 'ballista' (Agath.); ἀκοντιστικός 'ptng. to throwing the dart' (Pl., X.).
•ETYM ἄκων is considered to be a derivative *-n-* of the root in ►ἀκή, etc. But there is no proof for this, as ►ἄκαινα need not be a derivation of the stem of ἄκων, so perhaps the -ντ-suffix is original. From other languages, we can compare Skt. *aśáni-* 'point of an arrow', Lat. *agna* 'ear (of corn)' (which could be a substrate word, cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.), Gm., e.g. Go. *ahana* 'chaff', and ON *ǫgn*, pl. *agnar* 'id.'.

ἀλάβα · μέλαν ᾧ γράφομεν 'black [stuff] with which we write' (H.); ἀλάβη· λιγνύς, σποδός, καρκίνος 'soot, embers, crab', ὑπὸ δὲ Κυπρίων μαρίλη 'coal-dust (Cypr.)' (H.); ἀλάβη· ἄνθρακες 'coals' (H.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM See Petersson *IF* 34 (1914/1915): 241. Because of its structure, it is probably a Pre-Greek word (note -αβ-).

ἀλάβαστος [m.] 'vase without handles for storing perfumes', often made of alabaster (Hdt.). ◂LW▸
•VAR Later ἀλαβάστρος [m.], -τρον [n.].
•DER Diminutive ἀλαβάστιον (Eub.); further ἀλαβάστριον [n.] and ἀλαβαστρίνη (scil. λιθοτομία) 'alabaster quarry' (pap.); ἀλαβαστρίτης (λίθος) [m.] 'alabaster', ἀλαβαστῖτις πέτρα (Callix.); ἀλαβάστρινος (pap.); ἀλαβαστρών [m.] 'alabaster quarry', ἀλαβαστρωνίτης 'worker in an alabaster quarry' (pap.).

•ETYM Sethe *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1933: 888f. explained the form as Egyptian: *'*a-la-baste* 'vase of the goddess Ebáste' (= Bubastis); this is doubtful. Fur.: 329[26] uses the -ρ- as evidence for a substrate word, but it could be analogical. The sequence *-st-* could be Pre-Greek.

ἀλάβης ⇒ ἀλλάβης.

ἀλαζών, -όνος [m., f.] 'charlatan, quack, braggart, boaster' (Arist.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also as a adjective.
•DER ἀλαζονικός 'boastful' (Hp., X., Arist.), ἀλαζονίας = ἀλαζών (Hdn.), ἀλαζοσύνη 'bragging' (Aq.).
•ETYM ἀλαζών is identical with the Thracian EN Ἀλαζών. Perhaps it simply became an appellative, just like *vandal* (though with a different meaning). See Burkert *RhM* 105 (1962): 5of. Of course, this interpretation remains uncertain. Implausible is the connection with Hitt. *ḫalzai-*^{i} 'to cry, invoke' by Van Windekens *KZ* 100 (1987): 307f., which Kloekhorst 2008: 276f. analyses as *$*h_2lt$-(o)i-*.

ἀλαιθερές [adj.] · χλιαρόν, ἡλιοθερές 'warm, warmed in the sun' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

ἀλαλά interjection (Pi.), also personified Ἀλαλά. ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Also ἀλαλαί (Ar.), also as a plur. substantive 'war cry, exultation' (Pi.).
•DER ἀλαλητός [m.] 'cry of war, of fear, of victory' (Il.); improbable Leumann 1950: 211 (connecting ἀλάλημαι 'to wander'). Denominative verb ἀλαλάζω 'to call ἀλαλά' (mainly poetic), whence ἀλαλαγμός (Hdt., E., Arr.), ἀλάλαγμα (Call., Plu.), ἀλαλαγή (S.).
•ETYM An elementary cry, like Skt. *alalā-bhávant-* (RV, 'making cheerful', of water). See Theander *Eranos* 15 (1915): 98ff. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 228ff. Cf. ▶ἐλελεῦ, ▶ὀλολύζω.

ἀλάλυγξ, -υγγος [f.] 'gulping, choking' (Nic. *Al.* 18). ◁ONOM▷
•ETYM One suggests contamination of λύγξ 'hiccup' and another word, like ▶ἀλύω or ▶ἀλάομαι; this is not very convincing. Does it contain ἀλαλά? It is rather a primary onomatopoeic formation (with the Pre-Greek element -υ[γ]γ-).

ἀλάομαι [v.] 'to wander, roam; to be banished' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2elh_2- 'wander, roam about'▷
•VAR Aor. ἀλήθην (Hom.), perf. ἀλάλησθαι, ἀλαλήμενος (Hom.) with present mg. (cf. the accent, see Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 117f., Chantraine 1942: 190). Late ἀλαίνω (see Schwyzer: 733).
•DER Deverbal ἄλη (Od., Hp., trag.), whence ἀλεία (*AB*, H.); ἀλήτης [m.], also [adj.] 'wanderer, rover; vagrant' (Od.), Dor. ἀλάτας, also a PN; ἀλῆτις, -ιδος [f.] 'beggar, refugee; roaming about' (Od., Hdt., trag.), ἀλητικός (D. Chr.). To ἀλήτης denominative ἀλητεύω [v.] 'to roam about (as a beggar or refugee)', thence ἀλητεία, ἀλατεία (A., E. [lyr.]). Rare ἀλητήρ name of a dance (Aristox.), ἀλήτωρ· ἱερεύς 'priest' (H.), perhaps originally "beggar priest", on which see Masson *RPh.* 89 (1963): 214-218.

Further ἀλήμων 'roving' (Od.), ἀλημοσύνη (Man.). Action nouns: ἀλητύς 'roving' (Call., Man.), ἄλημα· ὁδοιπορία 'journey' (H.). ἀλάλαγξ· ἡ πλάνη 'wandering' (H.) has a strange formation; acc. to Leumann 1950: 211 also ἀλαλητῷ (Π 78), but cf. on ►ἀλαλά.

•ETYM ἀλάομαι is an old intensive verb in -άομαι, which can be compared with Latv. *aluôt* 'id.' and PIt. **ala-* in Lat. *ambulō* 'to walk', U *amb-oltu* 'must go around'. LIV² reconstructs a root **h₂elh₂-* for PIE. See ►ἀλέομαι, ►ἄλιος, ►ἀλύω, ►ἠλάσκω.

ἀλαός [adj.] 'blind' (Il., trag. [lyr.], A. R.). ◄?►

•VAR Cf. κ 493 = μ 267 μάντιος (-ηος?) ἀλαοῦ, which provides a metrical problem.

•DER Denominative verb ἀλαόω (Od., *AP*), cf. Wackernagel 1916: 127. Thence ἀλαωτύς (ι 503) 'blinding, blindness'.

•ETYM No etymology. The explanation from ►λάω 'see' is problematic, as a privative formation should have barytone accentuation. A. B. 1095 says that the word was Cypriot, which may mean that it belongs to the Achaean layer in Homer (Ruijgh 1957: 160). The usual word for 'blind' is ►τυφλός.

ἀλαπάζω [v.] 'to drain, plunder, destroy' (Hom.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Aor. ἀλάπαξα, fut. ἀλαπάξω. The future λαπάξειν is found twice in A. (*Th.* 47, 531; doubtful in *Ag.* 130); pres. λαπάσσω 'to empty' is used as a medical term. A. *Eu.* 562 probably has λαπαδνόν (cod. λέπ-) = ἀλαπαδνόν. Cf. further λαπάζειν· ἐκκενοῦν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα 'to empty out, whence also digging' (H.).

•DER ἀλαπαδνός 'exhausted, feeble' (Hom.), often with negation, and with analogical -δ- (Schwyzer: 489); ἀλαπαδνοσύνη (Q. S.).

•ETYM A connection with Skt. *álpa-* 'small' and Lith. *alpstù* 'to faint' is formally impossible. The interchange of the prothetic vowel points to a substrate word. Fur.: 371 compares λαπαρός (like ἀκιδνός : ἀκιρός), which is not evident semantically. The original meaning seems to have been 'to empty'; cf. the compounds with ἐξ-. The word has been compared (but hardly correctly) with λάπαθος, λαπάρη by DELG and Fur.: 371.

ἄλαρα · τὸ τοῦ δόρατος εἰς τὸν αὐλὸν τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος ἐμπῖπτον. ἢ κάρυα Ποντικά. <καὶ δένδρα ἀλαρίαι> ἀφ' ὧν γίνεται τὰ δόρατα (H.), cf. *EM* 57, 53. ◄PG(V)►

•VAR ἐλάραι· τὰ ἐν τῷ αὐλῷ τῶν δοράτων ἁρμοζόμενα (H.).

•ETYM The interchange α/ ε clearly points to a substrate word. See Fur.: 347.

ἄλαστος [adj.] uncertain mg. (also of related words), see DELG. Perhaps 'insufferable', as an epithet of πένθος and ἄχος? Perhaps 'accursed' as a vocative (ἄλαστε, e.g. X 261)? ◄?►

•DER Original noun ἀλάστωρ 'avenging spirit' or 'he who does deeds which merit vengeance', either from ἀλαστέω or directly from ἄλαστος; attributively of gods, but also of men; a PN in Hom. Also ἀλάστορος (A., S.); derivative ἀλαστορία (J.). Denominative verb ἀλαστέω (Hom., Call.), ἐπαλαστήσας (α 252), denoting an emotion, perhaps 'full of wrath', or 'distraught'? Also ἀλασταίνω· δυσπαθέω 'to suffer a hard fate' (H.).

•ETYM Uncertain. One connects ►λανθάνω, assuming an original meaning 'one who cannot forget or be forgotten'. Frisk correctly considers it formally impeccable, but hypothetical with regard to the meaning. DELG accepts it. Muller's explanation (Muller in Teeuwen 1929: 649ff., Muller *Mnem.* 57 (1929): 116ff.), that it is from ►λάω 'to see' with ἀ- from *ϝη-, zero grade of ἐν ("invisus, invisor, qui invidendo nocet"), is artificial and formally problematic (**h₁n-* giving ἐν-).

ἄλγος [n.] 'pain, grief' (Il.). ◅?▻

•DER ἀλγεινός 'painful, grievous' (A.) < *ἀλγεσ-νός, ἀλεγεινός (epic), see ►ἀλέγω; ἀλγινόεις 'id.' (poet.), metrical device, see Chantraine 1933: 271; ἀλγηρός 'id.' (LXX) belongs to ἀλγέω (see below); ἀργαλέος 'id.' (Hom.), dissimilated from *ἀλγαλέος; thence ἀργαλεότης (Ph., Eust.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἀλγέω 'to suffer, be worried' (IA), fut. -ήσω. Thence ἄλγησις 'suffering' (S., Ar.) and ἄλγημα 'pain' (Hp., S., E., Men.), further ἀλγηδών 'pain' (Ion. poet., Pl.); on ἀλγηρός see above. 2. ἀλγύνω 'to cause pain', , -ομαι 'to suffer pain' (trag.). Thence ἄλγυνσις (Phlp., Olymp.) and ἀλγυντήρ (Zos.). Primary grades of comparison ἀλγίων and ἄλγιστος (Hom., trag.).

•ETYM The words is often connected with ►ἀλέγω. Although this has a different meaning 'to take care, mind, heed', a development to 'worry, grief' is conceivable (cf. MoDu. *zorgen* 'to take care' beside MoE *sorrow*). Cf. Seiler 1950: 85, Seiler *Word* 11 (1955): 288, and Szemerényi 1964: 148ff, who defends the identity.

ἀλδαίνω [v.] 'to make grow, strengthen' (A.). ◅IE **h₂el-* 'feed, rear'▻

•VAR ἤλδανε (σ 70 = ω 368), rather impf. of ἀλδάνω.

•COMP As a second member -αλδής, in ἀναλδής 'infertile' (Hp., Ar., Arat.), νεαλδής (Opp.) and νεοαλδής (H.) 'newly grown', all direct derivations from the verb.

•DER ἀλδήσκω intr. 'grow' (Ψ 599), also trans. (Theoc.), ἀλδισκάνω (Hdn. Gr. 2, 716). Iterative preterite ἀλδήσασκε (Orph. *L.* 370). Deverbal ἄλδη 'growth' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 311); ἀλδήεις 'growing' (Max.), ἀλδήμιος 'causing growth' (Method. *apud EM*).

•ETYM ἀλδαίνω, ἤλδανε, and ἀλδήσκω replace an unattested root verb, an extension in -δ- from the root of ►ἄναλτος and ►νεᾱλής; cf. ►ἀλθαίνω. The root **h₂el-* is found in Lat. *alō* 'to feed' and Go. *alan* 'to grow up'.

ἀλέα 1 [f.] 'warmth', specifically of the sun (Hom.). ◅IE **suelH-* 'singe, burn'▻

•VAR Ion. ἀλέη. Perhaps also ἀλέα, cf. on ἀλεαίνειν below.

•COMP See ►ἐπᾱλής.

•DER ἀλεεινός 'exposed to the sun, hot' (Ion., X., Arist.), after φαεινός etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196); ἀλυκρός 'lukewarm' (Nic.), after θαλυκρός or from false split of θ' ἀλυκρός? Cf. ἀλυκτρόν· εὔδινον 'splendid (of weather)' (H.); ἀλεόν· θερμὸν ἢ χλιαρόν 'hot, warm' (H.); ἀλεής (S. *Ph.* 859), not ἀδεής as per Reiske. Denominative verb: ἀλεαίνω 'to warm (oneself)' (Hp., Archil., Ar., etc.), aspirated ἁλ- in Attic acc. to Eust. 1636. Thence ἀλεαντικός 'fit for warming' (S. E.). 2. ἀλεάζω 'to be warm, warm up' (Arist., Gal., H.).

•ETYM Derived from the verb seen in Germanic and Baltic (OE *swelan* 'to burn slowly', MoHG *schwelen*, Lith. *svìlti* intr. 'to singe'), with a suffix -έα (Chantraine 1933: 91). For *hϝαλ-, this implies a reconstruction **su̯lH-e-*, see ►εἴλη. The etymology was rejected by Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 653, who connects it with

MIr. *allas* 'sweat', Hitt. *allaniya-^{zi}* 'to sweat, perspire', as well as Lat. *adoleō* 'to burn (as an offering)'.

ἀλέα 2 ⇒ ἀλέομαι.

ἀλέγω [v.] 'to care for, mind, heed' (Il.), mostly with negation. ◁IE *$h_2$leg- 'care, mind'▷

•VAR Only pres.

•COMP δυσ-ηλεγής originally 'who does not care, pitiless', secondarily associated with ἄλγος (Hom.); ἀν-ηλεγής 'id.' (Q. S.), to be read for Hom. ταν-ηλεγής (Bechtel *Herm.* 39 (1904): 155f., Leumann 1950: 45; cf. ἀνηλεγές· ἀφρόντιστον 'unmindful', probably for older *νηλεγης < *n-$h_2$leg-.

•DER Enlargements ἀλεγίζω and ἀλεγύνω, both only pres. and impf.

•ETYM Although there is no etymology, the structure of the word suggests an IE origin. An identity with ἄλγος is semantically improbable. De Lamberterie *RPh. 71* (1997): 150 defends the connection with λέγω, which is unacceptable from the perspective of laryngeal theory.

ἄλεισον [n.] 'drinking cup with two handles' (Il.), also 'hip socket' (Marsyas *apud* Ath. 479c). ◁?▷

•VAR ἄλεισος [m.] (Ar.).

•ETYM No etymology; probably a loan.

ἀλείτης [m.] 'offender, criminal' (Il.). ◁IE *$h_2$leit- 'offense' (?)▷

•COMP From the stem of the aorist ἀλιτό-ξενος 'offending against a friend' (Pi.), with metrical lengthening, e.g. ἠλιτό-μηνος 'missing the right month', i.e. 'born untimely' (Il.). νηλείτιδες (Od.) to be read *νηλείτεες (Beekes 1969: 108f., 289), cf. νηλείτης Antim. 177W; νηλείτης· ἀναμάρτητος 'blameless' LSJ Supp.; νηλιτέες· ἀναμάρτητοι, ἀναίτιοι, [ἄχρηστοι] 'blameless, guiltless, [useless]' (H.) with νη- < *n-$h_2$leit-.

•DER ἀλειτεία· ἡ ἁμαρτία 'fault' (Suid.); ablauting ἀλοίτης 'avenger' (Emp.), Ἀλοῖτις epithet of Athena (Lyc. 936); ἀλοιτός 'criminal' (Lyk. 136); ἀλοιταί· κοιναί, ἁμαρτωλαί, ποιναί 'common, faults, requitals' (H.); ἀλοιτήεσσαν· κοινήν, ἄνανδρον 'common, husbandless' (*EM*).

Zero grade aor. ἤλιτον, secondary pres. ἀλιταίνω 'to offend against, transgress' (Hom.). From ἀλιτεῖν: ἀλιτήμων 'criminal' but also 'cursed' (Il.), ἀλιτημοσύνη 'crime' (Opp.), ἀλίτημα 'id.' (*AP*). Also ἀλιτήριος 'breaking the law' (Att.); *ἀλιτήρ is unattested, but is also suggested by ἀλίτρια· ἡ ἁμαρτωλός 'transgressing woman' (*Et. Gud.* 2) and ἀλιτρός (below); ἀλιτηρός 'id.' (S. *OC* 371), if not a mistake for -ήριος in ἀλιτηριώδης 'cursed' (Pl., D. C.). From ἀλιταίνω further ἀλιτρός [m.] 'criminal, rogue', also [adj.] (Hom.). Thence ἀλιτραίνω = ἀλιταίνω (epic poet.), also ἀλιτρέω (A. *Eu.* 316: ἁλιτρῶν codd., but ἀλιτών Dorat). Abstracts ἀλιτρία (S., Ar.), ἀλιτροσύνη (A. R., *AP*).

•ETYM On the relation of the Greek forms, see Tichy *Glotta* 55 (1977): 160ff. The ablaut suggests an old IE form. The only cognate proposed is PGm. *laiþa- in OHG *leid* 'harm' and ON *leiðr* 'offensive'. On ἀλιτήμων, Keany *Glotta* 59 (1981): 76-69 is of doubtful value.

ἀλείφω [v.] 'to anoint with oil' (Il.). ◁IE? *h_2leib^h- 'ointment', PG?▷

•DIAL Myc. *e-na-ri-po-to* /en-aliptos/; *a-re-pa-te* /aleip^{h}atei/; *a-re-pa-zo-o* /aleip^{h}a-zohos/ 'boiler (ζέω) of unguent'.

•DER 1. ἄλειφαρ, -ατος [n.] 'unguent, anointing oil' (Il.) and ἄλειφα [n.] (> Lat. *adeps*), with -α perhaps from *-*n̥t*, Szemerényi *SMEA* 2 (1967): 23[64]. Thence ἀλειφατίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked with oil' (Epich.). 2. ἀλοιφή 'anointing, ointment, grease' (IA), ἀλοιφαῖος [adj.] (Lyc. 579), also ἀλοιφεῖον 'Salbungszimmer' (Eust.), see Chantraine 1933: 60f., and ἀλοιφάω [v.] 'to smear with pitch' (Aq.). 3. ἄλειψις 'anointing' (Ion. Hell.). 4. ἄλειμμα 'ointment, unguent' (IA), ἀλειμμάτιον (Diog. *apud* D. L.) and ἀλειμματώδης (Hp.); Aeol. ἄλιππα (*EM* 64, 40). 5. ἀλειφάς [f.] 'spreading [of ointment], shaving' (pap.). 6. ἀλείφιον· ᾧ χρῶνται οἱ ἀλεῖπται 'which is used by anointers' (H.). Agent nouns: ἀλείπτης 'anointer, trainer of athletes' (Arist., Hell.), ἀλειπτικός (Plu.); ἀλειπτήρ 'id.' (Man.), fem. ἀλείπτρια (Lys., com.). Thence, or directly from ἀλείφω, ἀλειπτήριον (Alex. Com.). ἀλειφεύς (inscr. Priene).

•ETYM Generally connected with ▸λίπος 'fat', but this is impossible because of the *-*p*- and the "prothetic" ἀ-. A connection with ▸ἀλίνω is formally (*$h_2lei(b^h)$-) and semantically easier. The suggestions by Szemerényi *Gnomon* 42 (1971): 653 are improbable. Semantically close is Skt. *limpáti* 'smear, stick, adhere' (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *rep*-), but Gr. -φ- makes the comparison impossible (see ▸λίπος); perhaps it is rather related to Go. *bileiban* 'to stick', etc.? Cf. Pok. 670 (**leip*-). In principle, the interchanges observed could also point to substrate origin.

ἀλεκτρυών, -όνος [m., f.] 'cock' (Thgn.). ◁GR?▷

•DIAL Myc. PN *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* /Alektruōn/.

•ETYM The word seems to be built on ἀλέκτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'cock' (Pi.), with the suffix -υων, as in ▸ἀλκυών 'kingfisher'; however, note that the suffix is rare. ἀλέκτωρ itself is an agent noun from ▸ἀλέξω 'to ward off'.

ἀλέξω [v.] 'to ward off, defend' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2elk-, *h_2lek-*s*- 'ward off'▷

•VAR ἀλεξήσω, -ησα (Hom.); without -η- med. aor. ἀλέξασθαι (Hom.), fut. ἀλέξομαι (S.).

•DIAL Myc. *A-re-ke-se-u* /Alekseus/; *a-re-ko-to-re* /Alektorei/.

•COMP As a first member ἀλεξ(ι-), e.g. in ἀλεξί-κακος (Hom.); also Ἀλέξανδρος, from which comes the Hittite rendering *Alakšanduš*. Sommer's view that it is Anatolian in origin (Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 187ff., Sommer 1948: 186ff.) is now abandoned.

•DER ἀλέξιον 'medicine' (Nik.), ἄλεξις 'Hilfe, Abwehr' (Aristid., *EM*). On ἀλέκτωρ, from which ▸ἀλεκτρυών is derived.

From the stem with -η- (cf. ἀλεξήσω): ἀλέξησις 'defense, help' (Ion.), ἀλέξημα 'defense, medicine' (Ion. poet.); ἀλεξητήρ 'defender' (Hom.), fem. ἀλεξήτειρα (*AP*, Nonn.), derivations ἀλεξητήριος 'helping out', ἀλεξητήριον 'medicine' (Hp., Thphr.); ἀλεξήτωρ (S.); ἀλεξητικός (Alex. Aphr.).

•ETYM ἀλέξ- corresponds exactly with Skt. *rákṣati* 'to protect'. Besides ἀλεξ-, a stem ἀλκ- exists in Greek; see ▸ἀλκή. These continue *$h_2(e)lk$-: *h_2lek-*s*-, with a different

full-grade slot as in **h₂eug-*: **h₂ueg-s-*. A connection with Lat. *ulcīscor* 'to avenge' presupposes **h₂l-* > **ol-* (LIV² s.v. **h₂elk-*), and is not likely from the semantic side.

ἀλέομαι [v.] 'to avoid, shun, flee' (Il.). ◁IE? **h₂leu-* 'escape, ward off' (?)▷

•VAR Also ἀλεύεται (Hom.); aor. ἠλεύατο (Hom.); act. ἀλεύω (trag. [lyr.]).

•COMP νηλεής (Hom.) 'inescapable' < **n̥-h₂leu-*.

•DER Verbal noun ἀλέα 'avoiding, escape, shelter'; - ἀλεωρή 'escape, shelter' (Il.), dissimilated from **ἀλεϝ-ωλη* (Chantraine 1933: 243). Denominative verb ἀλεείνω = ἀλέομαι, from a noun **ἀλεϝ-εν-*, perhaps an *r/n*-stem (cf. ἄλεαρ· ἀλεωρίαν ἢ πολυωρίαν 'ἀ. or consideration' H.), for which one expects **h₂leu-r̥*, gen. **h₂lu-en-s.* ἀλεᾴζειν· κρύπτειν ἢ προβάλλειν, καὶ εἴργειν, ἀφανίζειν 'hide, ward off, make invisible' (H.) either denominative to ἀλέα or deverbative to ἀλέομαι. A zero grade of the root in ἀλύσκω (epic, trag.) 'to avoid, flee', fut. ἀλύξω with analogical ξ. Enlargements to this are ἀλυσκάζω and ἀλυσκάνω (epic).

•ETYM A connection with ▸ἀλύω is very doubtful because of its deviant mg. 'to be distraught, beside oneself'. LIV² s.v. **h₂leu̯-* 'fernhalten' follows Hackstein 1995: 214-216, who connects it with ToB *ālyinträ* [subj.] 'they shall keep away'.

ἀλέω [v.] 'to grind' (Od., with κατ-). ◁IE **h₂elh₁-* 'grind'▷

•VAR Aor. ἤλεσα (IA), epic ἄλεσσα, perf. ἀλήλεκα, -ε(σ)μαι.

•DER 1. ἀλέατα 'wheat-groats' (inscr. Milete [VI^{a}]) < **ἀλέϝατα*, also ἀλείατα (Hom.) with metrical lengthening, cf. Schulze 1892: 226 and Hdn. 2, 472, 12, who explains ἄλειαρ from ἄλεαρ. Thematicized in ἄλευρ-ον, mostly plur. ἄλευρα 'flour' (Hdt.). Thence ἀλεύρινος and ἀλευρώδης (medic.), ἀλευρίτης (ἄρτος). 2. ἄλητον, -τα 'flour' (Hp., Sophr.) with η after ἄμητος or as the result of contraction of ἀλεατ-. Thence ἀλήσιον· πᾶν τὸ ἀληλεσμένον 'anything ground' (H.), Lacon. ἀληιον (with h < **s* < **t* before *i*). 3. ἀλετός [m.] (Plu.) and ἀλητός (Babr.) 'mealing'. 4. ἄλεσις and ἄλησις 'id.' (Gp.). 5. ἀλεσμός 'id.' (J.) and ἄλεσμα (*EM*), with secondary -σ-. 6. ἄλημα [n.] 'flour' (S.).

Agent nouns: ὄνος ἀλέτης 'grinder (upper millstone)' (Gortyn, X.), also ὄνος ἀλετών (Alexis). 2. ἀλετρίς 'woman who grinds corn' (Hom.), ἀλετρεύω 'to mill' (ep.). Instrument noun: ἄλεστρον 'fee for milling' (pap.); adj. ἀλετικός 'of milling' (pap.). On ἀλετρίβανος [m.] 'pestle' (Ar.) cf. Schwyzer: 263, 438.

Lengthened verbal stem ἀλήθω (Hp., Thphr.). Unclear ἀλίνω = λεπτύνω 'to crush, pound' (Phot. ex S.); cf. ἀλιν[ν]όν· ἁμυδρόν 'dim' (H.), see Güntert *IF* 45 (1927): 345.

•ETYM ἀλέω is probably an athematic present **ἀλε-* < **h₂elh₁-* The formation of **ἄλε-ϝαρ* may be compared with Arm. *aliwr* 'flour' < **h₂leh₁-u̯r̥*. The verb is Arm. *ałam*. Further cognates are found in Indo-Iranian, e.g. MInd. *āṭā* 'flour' (+ Hindi, Bengali), MoP *ārd* 'id.', Av. *aša-* 'ground' < **arta-*. Cf. the PIE root **melH-*, with the same meaning, and ▸μάλευρον.

ἀληθής [adj.] 'true, real' (Il.). ◁IE **leh₂d^{h}-* 'be hidden'▷

•DIAL Dor. ἀλᾱθής.

•DER ἀληθείη, -είᾱ 'truth, reality'; younger is ἀλήθειᾰ, Schwyzer: 469. Denominative verb ἀληθεύω 'to speak the truth' (S.), ἀληθίζομαι 'id.' (Hdt.); ἀληθίζω (*PHolm.*) in the technical meaning 'to dye with genuine purple'. Late derivatives: ἀλήθευσις

'Wahrhaftigkeit' (S. E.) and ἀληθευτής 'who always speaks the truth' (Max. Tyr.); adj. ἀληθευτικός 'truthful, who loves the truth' (Arist.). Enlarged ἀληθινός (IA) and ἀληθικός (Ps.-Callisth.).

•ETYM ἀληθής is a compound with privative ἀ-; the second member is either from *λᾱθος (Dor. λᾶθος) or λήθη (Hom.), or from the verb λήθω, λαθ- 'to be hidden, be unknown'. Cf. Luther 1935.

ἅλής [adj.] 'thronged, crowded' (Hdt.). ◅IE **uel-* 'press'▻

•VAR Or ἁλής: the spiritus asper is uncertain. It is regular in ἀλής, but not for Dor. ἀλία.

•DER ἀλίζω 'to gather' (Ion. poet.); abstract ἀλίη '(public) assembly' (Dor. ἀλία). From it Dor. ἀλιαία 'id.', Att. ἡλιαία 'tribunal', where the ἡ- must be a false Ionicism of a Doric LW, see Meyer *Phil.* 48 (1889): 187. Thence ἡλιάζομαι [v.] 'to be seated in the ἡλιαία' (Ar.) with ἡλιαστής (Dor. ἀλ-) 'member of the ἡ.', which may also be derived directly from the noun after δικαστής: δίκη, etc.; adj. ἡλιαστικός. Action nouns: ἡλίασις 'being a member of the ἡ.' (Att.), ἀλίασσις (Tegea) 'meeting'; ἀλίασμα unclear mg. (Gela). ἀλιακτήρ· τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἀθροίζονται οἱ Σικελοί 'place where Sicilians convene' (H.). Cf. the month name Ἀλιαῖος (Dreros), to ἀλία.

•ETYM Aeol. ▶ἀολλής has the same meaning as ἅλής. If the formations are identical, both may go back to *ἀ-ϝαλνής or *ἀ-ϝολνής, with copulative ἀ-, ἀ- < **sm̥-* and **wa/oln-* < QIE **-u̯l̥-n-*. We may suppose a noun *ϝέλ-νος 'crowd, throng', suffixed like ἔθνος, σμῆνος (Chantraine 1933: 420), which would belong to ▶εἴλω. The expected full grade may be found in the hapax ἀελλής (Γ 13). Finally, ἀλανέως· ὁλοσχερῶς, Ταραντῖνοι 'completely (Tarant.)' (H.) and αϝλανεως (meaning uncertain, Elis) might also be the same word. Cf. ▶ἅλις, ▶ἀολλής.

ἀλθαίνω, -ομαι [v.] 'to cure', med. 'to become whole and sound' (Hp.). ◅IE? **h₂el-* 'grow'▻

•VAR ἄλθετο (Il.). Fut. ἀλθήσομαι, -σω (Il.). The fut. ἀλθέξομαι (Aret.) was perhaps formed after its opposite πυρέξομαι of πυρέσσω (but DELG comments: "l'hypothèse reste en l'air"); cf. also ἄλθεξις 'healing' (Hp.). On these forms see van Brock 1961: 198-207 ("capricieuses formations", all late).

Note ἀλθεῖν· ὑγιάζειν 'to make sound' (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 76); further presents ἀλθήσκω and ἀλθίσκω (Hp.).

•DER Glosses: ἄλθα· θερμασία ἢ θεραπεία 'warmth or heat, service' (H.); ἄλθος· φάρμακον 'drug' (*EM*); ἀλθεύς· ἰατρός 'physician' (H.); ἀλθαίνει· αὔξει, θεραπεύει, ὑγιαίνει· φάρμακον γὰρ ἄλθος 'increases, attends to, for ἄλθος means "drug"' (H.).

ἀλθήεις 'curing' (Nic.) was formed directly to the verb. Probably the mythical name Ἀλθαία, also a plant name, a kind of mallow (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 81 (partly incorrect); ἀλθίσκος (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. synonymous ἰβίσκος. ἀλθεστήρια 'medicine' (Nic.), cf. χαριστήρια, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 63f.).

On the PN Ἄλθηπος, also Ἄλθηφος, see Bechtel *Herm.* 56 (1921): 228 and the mythical name Ἀλθαία, see below.

•ETYM Ἀλθαίνω has often been connected to the root of ►ἄναλτος (Schwyzer: 703 β), *h_2el-, seen in Lat. *alō* 'to rear', Go. *alands* 'growing up', etc. (see LIV² s.v. and also on ►ἀλδαίνω).
However, DELG remarks that the word was originally used for the growth of scar tissue, translating ἄλθετο χείρ with "le bras se guérit". The meaning 'to heal' is not evidently connected with ἀλ- 'grow, feed'; the glosses systematically give the meaning 'to heal' etc. θεραπεία may mean 'medical or surgical treatment'; θερμασία is less clear (is it a false reading?), and αὔξει also deviates semantically (is it for ►ἀλδαίνω?).
The name Ἄλθηπ/φος is clearly Pre-Greek (cf. the river Αἴσηπος), and perhaps the mythical name Ἀλθαία as well (the suffix -αια, -εια is also known in Pre-Greek words); at any rate, we cannot be sure that the names belong to the verb.
An alternative etymology connects it with Skt. *ṛdhnóti* 'to succeed, accomplish, thrive' (Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 88 and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 118 [taken up in LIV² as *h_2eld^h-]).

ἀλίβας, -αντος [m.] 'corpse, dead person' (Pl. *Resp.* 387c, H.), also of the Styx (S. *Fr.* 790) and metaph. of wine-vinegar (Hippon.). ◄PG►
•VAR ἀλίβας· νεκρός ἢ βροῦχος ἢ ποταμός ἢ ὄξος 'corpse, βροῦχος, river, vinegar' (H.); for other glosses see Peiffer ad Call. *fr.* 216 (v.l. ἀ-; perhaps the vowel is long).
•ETYM The ancient explanation as 'sapless', with privative ἀ- and λιβάς, is based on popular etymology. The conjecture of Immisch *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 14 (1911): 449f.) is incorrect. Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 269 connected it with Etr. *lupu* 'he died' and Lat. *Libitina*, which is possible but uncertain. The deviant shape of the word, as well as forms like ὀκρίβας, κιλλίβας, λυκάβας and Κορύβαντες (which does not belong to ►βαίνω), clearly point to a substrate origin.

ἀλιβδύω [v.] 'to sink, submerge into the sea; to hide' (Lyc.). ◄PG►
•VAR Tzetzes ad Lyc. 351 gives ἀλυβδῆσαι.
•ETYM The ancients connected the word with ἅλς and *βδύω, which is allegedly Aeolic for δύω, but this must be a popular etymology. The strange structure of the word and the group -βδ- make substrate origin almost certain. The elements ἀλι- and -δύω may have been influenced by the Greek words.

ἀλίγκιος [adj.] 'like, resembling' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR More frequent is ἐναλίγκιος.
•ETYM Unexplained. The comparison with OCS *lice* 'face, cheek' etc. is uncertain. The ἀ- has been interpreted as the zero grade of ἐν-, but this is not likely. See Beekes 1969: 25ff. *contra* Seiler *KZ* 75 (1957): 11-16. Note that an IE root cannot have the structure *$lein(k)$-.

ἄλιζα [f.] · ἡ λεύκη τὸ δένδρον (τῶν -ῶν ms.), Μακεδόνες 'Populus alba, abele (Maced.)' (H.). ◄EUR?►
•ETYM Kretschmer (Kretschmer *Glotta* 15 (1927): 305f., Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 104f.) compared OHG *elira*, Go. **alisa* in Span. *alisa* and Ru. *ol'xa* 'alder', as well as old Germanic TNs and HNs, e.g. *Alisa* (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 3 (1951-1952):

165ff.); we may also compare the Thessalian place name Ὀλιζών. Hatzidakis *Glotta* 23 (1935): 268ff. assumes a loan in Macedonian from a northern language, supposing that the suffix is the same as in ῥίζα, φύζα, κόνυζα. The word seems non-Indo-European. For European substrate words in Greek, see Beekes 2000: 21ff.

ἀλίη · κάπρος, Μακεδόνες 'boar (Maced.)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unexplained. E. Maaß's suggestion (Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 472) that it originally means ἀσθενής, ἀδύνατος 'weak', and belongs to ►ἄλιν (= ἠλίθιον, μάταιον, κενόν, ἐλαφρόν [H.], s.v.) makes no sense.

ἀλικάκκαβος [?] plant name, 'Physalis Alkekengi' (Dsc., *BGU* 1 120, 37). ◁GR▷

•VAR Also -κάκαβος, -κάκαβον? Cf. ἁλικάκκαβα· ὁ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός. καὶ πόας εἶδος 'fruit of various plants; kind of grass' (H.).

•ETYM Plant of which the fruit resembles a κάκκαβος; ἁλι- would mean 'salt', thus 'salt-cellar'? See Amigues *Journal des Savants* 1984: 151-154.

ἀλικύρκης · φύλλα μήκωνος μετὰ ὄξους λειανθέντα. ἢ ὑπότριμμα ἐκ πλειόνων κρεῶν 'leaves of the poppy pounded with vinegar, dish consisting of various kinds of meat' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM There is no support for Latte's proposal to read -κύκην, which would resemble κυκεών. DELG suggests a connection with κυρκανᾶν 'to mix', which is quite probable.

ἄλιν [adj.] · ἠλίθιον. μάταιον. κενόν. ἐλαφρόν 'vain, empty, idle, light' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Or is it an adverb?

•ETYM Fur.: 391 compares forms with δ-: δαλός = μωρός (Cyr.), as well as δαλής (H., Cyr. acc. to Wendel and Latte), δαλίς (codd.); cf. δαλεῖς = οἱ ἀμαθεῖς (sch. Theocr. 9, 33e). See ►ἁλίη.

ἁλινδέω [v.] 'to roll', med. 'to roll in the dust; roam' (Ar.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also ἁλίνδω; aor. ἤλῖσα.

•DER ἄλινδον· δρόμον ἁρμάτων 'race of chariots' (*EM*, H.), ἁλίνδησις 'rolling' (in the dust, of athletes; Hp.), ἁλινδήθρα 'place for rolling' (Ar., Phryn.).

•ETYM Formation like ►κυλίνδω, κυλινδέω, which are close in meaning, but the nature of their relationship with ἁλινδέω is uncertain. One connects the latter with ►εἰλέω, ►ἴλλω, etc., comparing ϝάλη (cod. ὑάλη)· σκώληξ 'worm, larva' (H.). DELG assumes the root **uel-* which, lengthened with *-d-*, is seen in OS *wealtan*, OHG *walzan* (Pok. 1140). Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 191[3] reconstructs a present **ul-n-ed-mi* with anaptyictic *-i-*. The *i*-epenthesis is without parallel, and an old nasal present is improbable. The suffix *-ind-* is rather non-Indo-European; even in this case, however, the root could still be Indo-European. Yet Fur.: 130[59] compares καλινδέομαι 'id.' as a variant with initial *k-*; several words with variation *k*/ zero exist among the substrate words.

ἁλίνειν [v.] (cod. -νεῖν)· ἀλείφειν 'to anoint the skin with oil' (H.). ἁλῖναι· ἐπαλεῖψαι 'to smear over' (H.). ἰν-αλαλισμένα 'engraved' (Cyprus). καταλῖναι· καταλεῖψαι 'to

pour down' (H.) is now confirmed by an inscr. from Selinous, see *RPh.* 69 (1995) 128, l. 16. ◁IE *$h_2lei(H)$- 'smear'▷

•DER Verbal noun ἄλινσις τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου (Epid.).

•ETYM ἀλίνω, which probably derives from < *ἀλιν-ι̯ω, is cognate with Lat. *linō* 'to smear, rub', which is originally an *n*-present; the root is *h_2li- > ἀλι-. One would like to reconstruct *h_2li-*n*-*H*-, but Lat. *litus* has short *i* (cf. the discussion in De Vaan 2008, as well as LIV² s.v. *h_2leiH-, with more forms). Probably the same root as in ▶ἀλείφω.

ἄλινον [adj.] · ἁμυδρόν, Κρῆτες 'weak, faint' (Cret.)' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Cf. ἀλινεῖν = λεπτύνω 'to crush' (S. *fr.* 995).

•ETYM See Güntert *IF* 45 (1927): 345. DELG mentions the word s.v. ▶ἀλέω.

ἅλιξ, -κος [m.] 'groats of rice-wheat' (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath.), also a fish sauce, called *hallēc* in Latin (Dsc 4, 148). ◁LW?▷

•ETYM Walde 1910: 25 derived the word from ▶ἀλέω; this is unconvincing. The formation is like ἔλιξ, χόλιξ (Chantraine 1933: 382f.). The nature of the connection with Lat. *alica* is unknown. A loanword from an unknown language.

ἄλιος, -α, -ον [adj.] 'fruitless, idle' (Hom.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also [adv.] 'in vain'.

•DER ἀλιόω 'to prevent' (epic, S.).

•ETYM An old term, which was gradually replaced by μάταιος. The connection with ▶ἠλίθιος, ▶ἠλάσκω, and further to ▶ἀλάομαι is correctly rejected by DELG; it does not explain the spiritus asper. There are no traces of ϝ-; cf. Sommer 1905: 98. Schwyzer: 461 points to the expression εἰς ὕδωρ γράφειν, suggesting the word belongs to ἅλς 'sea'. DELG supports this by remarking that the word is often used of βέλος, indicating an arrow that misses its target and falls into the sea – but why would it fall into the sea?

ἅλις [adv.] 'in crowds, enough' (Il.). ◁IE *uel- 'turn, wind'▷

•VAR The form γάλι· ἱκανόν 'sufficient' (H.) shows initial ϝ-.

•ETYM Connected with ▶εἴλω 'to press', ▶ἅλής, ▶ἀολλής. It could be an old nominative, but the form γάλι rather suggests that the *-s* is an adverbial marker like in ἄνις, χωρίς (cf. Skt. *bahíḥ*).

ἀλίσβη [f.] · ἀπάτη 'deceit' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. The sequence -σβ- is hardly Indo-European.

ἀλισγέω [v.] 'to pollute' (LXX). ◁?▷

•ETYM Ritual term of unknown origin. Fur.: 298 compares λιγνύς 'smoke, soot', which supposes a prothetic vowel and interchange σ/zero before velar (highly uncertain). Still, the group -σγ- often occurs in substrate words, see *Pre-Greek* 2a, 17.

ἁλίσκομαι [v.] 'to be caught' (Il.). ◁IE *$uelh_3$- 'seize, catch'▷

•VAR Homer only has the aor. ἁλῶναι; further fut. ἁλώσομαι, aor. ἑᾶλων < *ἡ-ϝαλω- (IA).

•DIAL Thess. ϝαλισσκῆται and Arc. ϝαλόντοις prove the initial ϝ-.

•DER ἅλωσις 'capture' (Pi.), ἁλώσιμος 'seizable, etc.'; ἅλωμα = ἀνάλωμα 'expenses' (Boeot. inscr.), cf. ἀναλίσκω. The gloss ἀλωνάκη· ἀνάλωμα. Χαλκιδεῖς (H.) is probably corrupt.

•ETYM The initial aspiration may have been taken from αἱρεῖν, ἑλεῖν. The aor. ἑᾰλων is from *ἡ-ϝᾰλων. ἁλίσκομαι has the suffix -ισκ-. A root *$uelh_3$- explains all the forms: the zero grade *ulh_3- gives *ϝλω- before a consonant (e.g. 1/2pl. aor.) and *ϝαλ- before a vowel (e.g. 3pl. aor.); contamination then gives *ϝαλω-. Perhaps it is better to assume a passive aorist with -η-: *ulh_3-eh_1- > *ϝαλω- like *g^wih_3-eh_1- > βιω- (defended by Normier *KZ* 92 (1978): 132ff.; cf. Harðarson 1993a: 208); an objection could be that this form must be terribly old. Cognates are Lat. *vellō* 'to pluck, tear out', Hitt. *u̯alḫ-*^{zi} 'to strike', ToA *wälläṣtär* [3sg.pres.] 'to die' (see LIV^2 s.v. *$u̯elh_3$-), and perhaps also Go. *wilwan* 'to rob, plunder', Arm. *gołanam* 'to steal'. Cf. ►ἀναλίσκω and ►εἴλωτες.

ἅλισμα [n.] 'water-plantain, Alisma Plantago' (Dsc. 3, 152). ◅?▻

•ETYM The word does not contain ►ἅλς. See Strömberg 1940: 115.

ἀλίφαλος [?] · γένος δρυός 'species of tree' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Cf. ►ἀλίφλοιος. However, it seems less probable that ἀλίφαλος would be just a corruption of that word (Latte); rather, the word in -φλοιος is a secondary formation.

ἀλίφλοιος [m., f.] 'sea-bark oak, Quercus pseudosuber' (Thphr. *HP* 3, 8, 2). ◅?▻

•ETYM Belongs with φλοιός 'bark', but hardly with ἅλις, as suggested by DELG. A different name for ►εὐθύφλοιος. See ►ἀλίφαλος.

ἄλιψ [adj.] · πέτρα 'rock' (H.). ◅PG?(V)▻

•ETYM Beside λίψ· πέτρα (H.), Fur.: 372, 378 also compares ἠλίβατος, which in Homer is always said of πέτρη. Quite possible, but not certain. If ►αἰγίλιψ also belongs here, its second element is certainly non-Indo-European, whereas its first part probably is.

ἀλκή 1 [f.] 'defense, help' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2elk-, *h_2lek-*s*- 'ward off, defend'▻

•VAR Aor. ἀλαλκεῖν (Hom.), late epic forms: fut. ἀλαλκήσω (A. R.), present ἀλάλκω (Q. S.).

•COMP As a second member, after the *s*-stems, in ἑτερ-αλκής 'helping one side' (epic poet.), etc. Old *i*-stem in ἄν-αλκις (epic), with ἀναλκείη (epic) after other nouns in -είη.

•DER TN Ἀλαλκομεναί (Boeotia), or is the resemblance fortuitous? Thence Ἀλαλκομενηίς epithet of Athena 'from Ἀ.' (Il.; the interpretation 'protectress' is probably secondary).

A root noun only in ἄλκ-ι [dat.sg.] (Hom.).

Thence ἀλκήεις 'brave' (*h. Hom.*, Pi.), Dor. ἀλκᾶς, enlarged ἀλκηστής (Opp.) after ἀλφηστής, ὠμηστής; ἀλκαῖος (E. *Hel.* 1152 [lyr.]).

The basis of ἄλκιμος (poet. since Hom.) is unclear (see Arbenz 1933: 13 and 31. The gloss ἀλκμαῖος· νεανίσκος 'boy' (H.) is probably a mistake for or a contamination with ἀκμαῖος 'in one's prime'.

ἄλκαρ [n.] 'defense' (epic, lyr.).
Agent noun: ἀλκτήρ, -ῆρος 'warden, protector' (Hom., Pi.), ἀλκτήριος 'curing' (Nonn.) and ἀλκτήριον [n.] 'medicine' (Nic.).
Also from ἀλκ-: ἀλκάθω [v.] 'to assist' (A., S. [acc. to gramm.]), cf. ἀμυνάθω; further ἀλκάζω [v.] 'to show strength' (*EM*), ἠλκάζοντο· ἠμύνοντο 'they warded off' (H.); thence ἀλκάσματα (S.).
PNs: Ἀλκμάν, -μέων (-μαίων, cf. Björck 1950: 111), -μήνη, etc.
•ETYM From the same root as ►ἀλέξω, with *$h_2(e)lk$- beside *h_2lek-*s*-.

ἄλκη 2 [f.] 'elk' (Paus.). ◄IE? *h_1el- 'red, brown'►
•ETYM Like Lat. *alcēs, alcē* (Caesar), ἄλκη is a loan from Germanic: ON *elgr* < PGm. **alʒí*-, besides which a form PGm. **álχ*- with initial stress is supposed, from which *alcēs* and ἄλκη could be traced. West Germanic forms like OHG *elahho*, OE *eolh* presuppose the stem PGm. **élχa(n)*-, which arose secondarily. Slavic forms like Ru. *los'* 'elk' presuppose PIE **olḱi*-, and are compared with ON *elgr*. The root is connected with a great number of words for animals, e.g. ►ἔλαφος (s.v.; see Pok. 302), and it is assumed that the root indicated a color. I think that an IE word or root must be doubted; it may well be a loan from a non-Indo-European language.

ἀλκυών, -όνος [f.] 'kingfisher, Alcedo ispida' (Il.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Also ἀλκυών (after ἅλς).
•DER Thence ἀλκυονίς 'id.' (A. R.), ἀλκυονίδες (ἡμέραι) 'period of the wintersolstice, when the kingfisher nests' (Ar.), also called ἀλκυόνειοι (Arist.). ἀλκυδών (Hdn. Gr. 2, 285) is after other bird names in -δων (thence Lat. *alcēdo*).
•ETYM See Thompson 1895 s.v. Origin unknown; probably a loan from a non-IE language (cf. Fur.: 303[39] on substrate words in -ων.) For the suffix, cf. ►ἀλεκτρυών (Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 152f.).

ἀλλά [adv.] 'but, however' (Il.). ◄IE *h_2el-*io*- 'other'►
•DIAL Cypr. αἶλα.
•ETYM The acc.pl. of ἄλλος, used as an adverb. Cf. MoHG *übrigens*, Lat. *ceterum*, etc.

ἀλλάβης [f.] 'Nile fish, Labeo Niloticus' (Str.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Also ἀλάβης.
•ETYM From Eg. *repi* or *lepi* (Thompson 1947 s.v.). Fur.: 145 etc. connects ►ἔλλοψ (with **a* realized as *e* before **ṗ*) and ἀλλοπίης, and concludes that it is a substrate word. The ἀλλάβης must not be an Egyptian fish.

ἀλλᾶς, -ᾶντος [m.] 'sausage, black pudding' (Hippon.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 323 compared ἄλλην· λάχανον. Ἰταλοί, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρτυνθέντος περικόμματος, ἐξ οὗ ἀλλαντοπώλης (H.), and assumes **ἀλλᾶ-ϝεντ-*. This would contain an Oscan word; cf. Lat. *ālium* 'garlic'. But Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 653 notes that origin in southern Italy is implausible for a word from Hipponax.

ἀλλάσσω, -άττω [v.] 'to change, alter' (Hom.). ◄GR►
•VAR Aor. ἀλλάξαι.

•DER ἀλλαγή (cf. ἀλλαγῆναι) '(ex)change' (Att.); ἄλλαγμα 'exchange, price' (Hp., LXX), ἀλλαγμός 'id.' (Man.). ἄλλαξις 'exchange, trade' (Arist.), ἀλλάξιμα (pap., gloss.), scil. ἱμάτια, 'changes of raiment'. ἀλλακτικός 'pertaining to exchange' (Pl., Arist.), ἀλλάγδην 'alternating' (Hdn.). Note ἀλλάξ· ἐνηλλαγμένως 'exchanged' (H.), ἐπ-, παρ-, ἀμφ-αλλάξ (Hp., Th., S., X.).

•ETYM ἀλλάσσω is derived from ἄλλος, either through a stem in a velar (for which, compare ἀλλάξ and ἀλλαχοῦ, -χῆ [though direct connection is improbable]) or with a suffix -άσσω.

ἄλλήλους, -ων, -οις [adj.] 'each other' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2*el-io-* 'other'▷

•ETYM From repeated ἄλλος, i.e. *αλλο-αλλο-, in which the color of the second initial vowel was restored. Cf. Lat. *alius alium*, Skt. *anyo'nyam*. On the single second -λ- see Schwyzer: 260.

ἄλλιξ, -ῐκος [f.] 'men's upper garment' (Euph.), = χλαμύς 'a short mantle', also = ἐμπόρπημα 'garment secured by a brooch' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM For the glosses (*EM*, Suid.), see DELG. Origin unknown. The word is supposed to be Thessalian. Lat. *alicula* also belongs here.

ἀλλοδαπός [adj.] 'from another land, foreign' (Il.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Derived from ἄλλος; for the formation, see τηλεδαπός, παντοδαπός, ποδαπός, ἡμεδαπός. It has been explained as ἀλλοδ-απός, preserving the old neuter pronominal marker *-*d* (Lat. *aliud*); the latter part would be the same as Lat. *-inquus* < PIE *-*nk^{w}o-* in *longinquus*, etc. Meillet *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 42ff. expresses doubt: -δαπός is an unknown suffix. Moreover, suffixes are not added to case forms like the neutral *-d*.

ἄλλομαι [v.] 'to jump, leap' (Il.). ◁IE *sel- 'jump'▷

•VAR Hom. has an aor. ἄλτο, of unknown quantity, which could be an unaugmented Aeolic form (Schwyzer: 751[1]).

•COMP προαλής (Hom.) 'sloping, rushing forward'

•DER ἅλμα 'jump' (Hom.), ἅλσις 'jumping' (Hp., Arist.); ἀλτήρ (Crates Com.), in sports, 'weights kept in the hands while jumping'.

•ETYM From *hal-je/o-. A yod-present is probably also found in Lat. *saliō*, which could perhaps derive from *$sl̥$-$i̯e/o$- (LIV[2], who reconstruct a root *sel-). A root *sal- is impossible, as PIE had no phoneme *a*, but De Vaan suggests a root *sh_2l- in order to account for the Italo-Celtic reflexes like OIr. *saltraid* 'to trample' < *sal-tro-. Also related to Skt. *ásarat* [3sg.aor.] 'to run, rush' (Narten *MSS* 26 (1969): 77ff.), ToB *salāte* [med.pret.] 'jumped'; further forms in LIV[2] s.v. 1. *sel-. See ▸πάλλομαι.

ἄλλος [adj.] 'other' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2*el-io-* 'other'▷

•DIAL Cypr. αἶλος.

•COMP ἀλλοπρόσαλλος 'unreliable, fickle' from ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλον λέγων, Bechtel 1914; ἀλλοφρονέω 'to give no heed, be senseless' with a special development of ἄλλο- (improbable Aeol. ἄλλος = ἠλεός, Bechtel 1914); ἀλλοφάσσω 'to be delirious' (Hp.) with an unclear second element. Cf. s.v. ▸ἠλάσκω.

•DER Abstract ἀλλότης [f.] (comm. Arist.); ἀλλοῖος 'of another kind, different' (Hom., IA), an adjectival formation in -οῖος after τοῖος, ποῖος, οἷος; thence ἀλλοιότης 'being different' (Hp., Pl.) and ἀλλοιώδης 'of strange appearance' (Aret., Vett. Val.). Denominative verb ἀλλοιόω 'to change' (IA), ἀλλοίωσις 'change, difference' (Pl., Arist.), ἀλλοίωμα 'id.' (Damox.) and ἀλλοιωτικός (Arist., Gal.). On ►ἀλλάσσω, see s.v.

Several adverbs: ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλαχῆ, etc. On ►ἀλλοδαπός and ►ἀλλήλους, see s.v. From an adverb with -τρ- (cf. Skt. *anyá-tra* 'elsewhere') comes ἀλλότριος 'alien, strange, belonging to someone else' (Il.). Thence ἀλλοτριότης (Pl., Arist.), ἀλλοτριόω [v.] (IA), whence ἀλλοτρίωσις (Th., Hell.).

•ETYM ἄλλος < **h₂el-io-* 'other', like in Lat. *alius*, Go. *aljis*, OIr. *aile*, ToB *alyek*, ToA *ālak* (depalatalized) < **h₂el-io-k-*, Arm. *ayl*. Beside **h₂el-io-*, a similar adjective is reconstructed for IIr. **Hania-* > Skt. *anyá-* 'other', etc., but this form is most probably due to contamination of **h₂elio-* with the comparative **h₂entero-*.

ἄλμα [n.] '(sacred) grove' (Lyc. 319). ◅?▻

•ETYM The word has the same meaning as ►ἄλσος. Is it from the root ἀλ- 'to feed' in ►ἀλδαίνω, etc.?

ἀλοάω 'to thresh'. ⇒ἀλωή.

ἀλόη [f.] 'bitter aloe, Aloe vera' (Dsc.). ◅LW Or.▻

•ETYM As for ►ἀγάλοχον, an Oriental loanword is suspected (Lewy 1895: 36).

ἄλοξ, -κος [f.] 'furrow' (trag., com.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Also αὖλαξ (Hes.), ὦλκα [acc.sg.], -ας [acc.pl.] (Hom.), Dor. ὦλαξ (*EM* 625, 37), also in ὁμ-ώλακες (A. R. 2, 396). Further εὐλάκᾱ 'plough', with Lacon. εὐλαξεῖν [inf.fut.] (Orac. *apud* Th. 5, 16); αὐλάχα· ἡ ὕννις 'plowshare' (H.) and *ὄλοκες (cod. ὁλοκεύς)· αὔλακες 'furrows' (H.).

•DER ἀλοκίζω [v.] 'to draw furrows, plough' (Ar., Lyc.); αὐλακίζω 'id.' (pap.), verbal noun αὐλακισμός (pap.). Rare and late αὐλακόεις (Max.), αὐλακώδης (Eust.), diminutive αὐλάκιον (schol.).

•ETYM The exact relation between this cluster of forms has always been unclear. Solmsen 1901: 258ff. explained ὦλκα as from *ἄϝολκα (κατὰ ὦλκα N 707 for original *κατ' ἄϝολκα), but it is strange that there are no further traces of this form. The zero grade of *ἀϝολκ- would then give *ἀϝλακ-, seen in αὖλαξ. In laryngealistic terms, a root **h₂uelk-* has been supposed in Lith. *velkù*, OCS *vlěkǫ*, Av. *varək-* 'to draw'. This is tempting, but cannot be correct. If the Balto-Slavic words are isolated (there is further only Av. *vərəc-*), the verb may be non-IE. Moreover, for Balto-Slavic and Iranian we would rather reconstruct **uelkʷ-* with a labiovelar, which is impossible for Greek. Furthermore, there is no trace of the verbal root in Greek, which has ἕλκω 'to draw' < **selk-*.

Pisani *IF* 53 (1935): 29 derived αὖλαξ from αὐλός and separated it from ἄλοξ, etc., which is improbable. The variants are strongly reminiscent of substrate words, as Beekes 1969: 40 maintained (withdrawn ibid. 275-7). Variation of prothetic ε/ α/ ο/ αυ/ ευ, and also that of κ and χ (αὐλάχα), are what one often finds in substrate

words, so Pre-Greek origin is most probable. The Homeric form is the only one without a vowel between λ and κ, and therefore it is suspect. If we assume labialized phonemes like /l^w/ for Pre-Greek, a reconstruction *al^wak- can explain all the different variants: αὗλαξ (by anticipation of the labial feature), which gives ὦλαξ by contraction; ἄλοξ (coloring of the second vowel by the labialized liquid), ὀλοκ- (influence on both vowels; I see no reason not to take the gloss seriously). Cf. ►ἀρασχάδες, etc. The interchange of initial α/ ε (which gave εὐλακ-) is difficult to understand phonetically, but it may be related to plain α/ ε.

ἁλοσύδνη [adj.] epithet of Thetis (Υ 207), of the Nereids (A. R. 4, 1599), name of a sea goddess (δ 404). Mg. unknown. ◄IE? *seh_2-l- 'salt', *ud-n- 'water', PG?►

•DIAL Myc. a_2-$ṛọ[$ ju-do-pi has been interpreted as /halos hudo(t)p^hi/.

•ETYM Connected with ►ἅλς and ►ὕδωρ as "wave of the sea". The glosses ὔδναι· ἔγγονοι, σύντροφοι 'born inside, raised together with (?)' and ὔδνης· εἰδώς, ἔμπειρος 'knowing, experienced' (H.) may have been extracted from ἁλοσύδνη. The relevance of the Myc. words is unclear; cf. DELG. Since the meaning is not very clear, and the structure *aCVC-udn-* is typically Pre-Greek, we may doubt the traditional interpretation. Chantraine's Καλυδών, -ύδνα (which is typically Pre-Greek) is an example; cf. Καλυκαδνος. Schwyzer: 475, 5 wonders if the nom. was -υδνα, in which case Pre-Greek origin would be even more probable.

ἄλοχος ⇒ λέχεται.

ἄλπνιστος [adj.] see below (Pi. *I.* 5 (4), 12). ◄?►

•VAR ἔπαλπνος 'amiable' (Pi. *P.* 8, 84) = ἡδύς, προσηνής 'sweet, gentle' (sch.); ἀλπαλέον· ἀγαπητόν 'amiable' (H.), from which perhaps ἁρπαλέος, by influence of ἁρπάζω; the gloss ἁπάλιμα· ἁρπακτά, προσφιλῆ 'robbed, beloved' shows the double mg.; cf. also ἁρπαλίζομαι· ἀσμένως δέχομαι 'to accept gladly' (H.). Here also the PN Ἀλπονίδης (inscr. Karthaia), see Bechtel 1917a: 5f., from Ἄλπων.

•DIAL Uncertain ἄλπαρ (inscr. Crete).

•ETYM Wackernagel *KZ* 43 (1910): 377 reads *ἄλπιστος for ἄλπνιστος: a primary superlative formation, which could be attested as a PN in A. *Pers.* 982 (but the text is uncertain). The assumption of an old *r*/*n*-stem, to which the Cretan form would point, is unnecessary. It is doubtful to interpret ἀλπ- as *ϝαλπ-, a zero grade of *ϝελπ- in ►ἔλπομαι, ►ἐλπίς (for wouldn't one expect *ϝλαπ-?).

ἅλς, ἁλός [m.] 'salt' (Il.), very often plur. ◄IE *seh_2-l- 'salt'►

•VAR As fem. (only sg.) a poetical word for the sea (after θάλασσα, or as a collective?). Since Arist. also ἅλας, -ατος [n.] from the acc.pl., see Leumann 1950: 160f.

•DIAL Myc. *o*-*pi*-a_2-*ra* /opi-hala/ 'coastal regions' cf. ►ἔφαλος; *a*-*pi*-a_2-*ro* /Amp^{h}ihalos/, a_2-*ri*-*e* perhaps /haliēn/, see Perpillou 1973: 61², 161.

•COMP ἁλί-πλοος, -πόρφυρος (for ἁλ- after the *i*-stems, not locatival with Schwyzer: 476 : 5, 1. On ἁλι-μυρήεις see μύρομαι. On ἁλουργός 'who exploits a salt mine' see DELG *Supp.*

•DER 1. ἅλμη 'seawater, brine' (Od.), whence ἁλμαία 'id.' (Ar., Nic.), ἁλμάς (ἐλαία) 'pickled olive' (com.), ἁλμυρός 'salty, bitter' (Od.), which would stand for *ἁλυρός (Schwyzer: 482: 6); thence ἁλμυρώδης, ἁλμυρότης and verbs ἁλμυρίζω, ἁλμυρόω, further ἁλμυρίς [f.] 'brackish soil, salty liquid', cf. πλημυρίς and ἁλιμυρήεις (see ►μύρομαι); from ἅλμη also ἁλμήεις (A.) and ἁλμεύω 'to pickle' (Dsc.), whence ἅλμευσις, ἁλμευτής.
2. ἅλιος, (-α), -ον 'of the sea' (epic poet.), ἁλιάς [f.] 'fishing boat' (Arist., D. S.). 3. ἁλία [f.] 'salt tub' (com., Hell.). 4. ἅλινος 'consisting of salt' (Hdt., Str.). 5. ἅλιμος 'of the sea' (*Trag. Adesp.*, LXX), ἅλιμον plant name, cf. Strömberg 1940: 97, 114. 6. ἁλίτης 'salty, of the sea'. 7. ἁλίζω 'to salt' (Arist.), ἁλισμός (Sor.), but not ἅλισμα 'Alisma plantago' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 115, which is unexplained. 8. After ἅλιος, ἅλινος and ἁλι- as a first member for ἁλ-: ἁλιεύς 'fisherman' (Od.), ἁλιεύω [v.] 'to fish' (LXX, NT, Plu.), -εύομαι (also com.), ἁλιευτικός 'belonging to fish(ermen)' (Pl., X., Hell.); from ἁλιεύω: ἁλιευτής 'fisherman' (Cerc.), from ἁλιεύς or ἁλιεύω: ἁλιεία 'fishery' (Arist., Str.), from ἁλιεύω: ἁλίευμα 'id.' (Str.). 9. ἁλι-άδης 'sailor' (S. [lyr.]). 10. ἁλιαρός 'salty' (Eust.). 11. ἁλυκός 'salty' (Hp., Arist.), ἁλυκότης (Arist.), ἁλυκίς [f.] 'salt mine' (Str.), ἁλυκώδης (Hp.; also in Thphr. *HP* 9, 11, 2 instead of codd. ἁλικώδης), ἁλυκεία 'pickling' (Ptol.). 12. From the neuter τὸ ἅλας, late formations like ἁλάτιον (diminutive), ἁλάτινος, ἁλατίζω and ἁλατικόν 'salarium' (gloss.) are derived.
•ETYM Old word found in most IE languages: Lat. *sāl*, OIr. *salann*, Arm. *ał*, Latv. *sâls*, OCS *solъ* 'salt', as well as OCS *slanъ* 'salted' < **solnъ*), ToB *salyiye*, ToA *sāle*. An enlargement in *-d* is found in Germanic (Go. *salt*), Arm. *ałt*, and Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *sald-ùs* 'sweet', OCS *sladъ-kъ* 'id.'. Lith. *sólymas* is an important form, since it points to **seh₂l-*, while other languages require **sh₂-el*. This points to an original paradigm of nom. **seh₂-(ō)l*, acc. *sh₂-el-m*, gen. **sh₂-l-os*. On possible Sanskrit cognates, see Thieme *ZDMG* 111 (1961): 94ff. ►ἁλοσύδνη.

ἅλσος [n.] 'sacred grove' (Il.). ◄PG?(V)►
•DER ἁλσώδης 'belonging to the grove' (E. [lyr.], Thphr.), ἁλσηΐδες νύμφαι (A. R.), after Νηρηΐδες, etc.; ἅλσωμα and ἁλσών = ἅλσος (Aq.). Further ἁλσίνη a plant (Dsc.), see André 1985, and cf. *CEG* 6.
•ETYM Ἄλτις [f.], the name of the temple domain in Olympia, would be identical with ἅλσος (see Paus. 5, 10, 1); on this basis one reconstructs ἅλσος as **altio̯s*. Fur.: 249, 253 accepts the equation, but interprets it in the context of other instances of an interchange of dental and sibilant in substrate words (ἄννηθον/ ἄνησον). Van Windekens *KZ* 100 (1987): 308f. connects it with Hitt. *alš-* 'owe fealty, give allegiance', which is hardly convincing. See ►ἅλμα.

ἅλυζα [f.] · ἅλυπον 'herb terrible, Globularia alypum' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM The hypothesis of von Blumenthal 1930: 34 (from *ἁ-λυγ-ι̯α to λυγρός, λευγαλέος) is doubtful.

ἁλυκ(ρ)όν ⇒θαλυκρός.

ἁλυκτοπέδη [f.] 'bond' (Hes., A. R., etc.). ◄?►

•ETYM Designation of a shackle. For the formation, we may compare ἱστοπέδη (Od.); see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 26. Schulze *KZ* 28 (1887): 280 connects the first element with Skt. *ruj-* 'to break', which Risch doubts. The latter assumes the contamination of ἄλυτος and ἄρρηκτος (πέδας … ἀρρήκτους ἀλύτους N 36f.) under the influence of ἀλύσκω (see on ►ἀλύω). All of this remains highly uncertain.

ἄλυσις [f.] 'chain', also as a woman's ornament (Hdt.). ◅IE **uel-* 'wind'▻
•DER Thence Hell. diminutives ἀλύσιον and ἀλυσίδιον, further ἀλυσιδωτός 'consisting of chains' (Plb., D. S.), ἀλυσηδόν 'in chains' (Man.).
•ETYM Originally 'winding', derived from *ϝάλυ-τις, belonging to *ϝέλυτρον, ►εἰλύω, etc.; see Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 225ff. However, the α-vocalism remains unexplained, as the root contained no final laryngeal. For the aspiration, cf. ►ἕλιξ.

ἄλυσσον [n.] name of a plant (Dsc.). ◅GR?▻
•ETYM With privative α from λύσσα 'rage', because of the curing effect of the seeds (Dsc. 3, 91). Cf. Strömberg 1940: 91.

ἄλύτας [m.] = ῥαβδοφόρος ἢ μαστιγοφόρος (*EM* 72, 15), policemen in Elis (inscr.). ◅EUR▻
•COMP ἀλυτάρχης 'commander of the ἀλύται' (inscr., Luc.).
•DER Denominative ἀλυτᾶται (cod. ἀλύταται)· παρατηρεῖ 'observes' (H.).
•ETYM Explained as *ϝαλυ-τᾶς 'staff-bearer' with Go. *walus* 'staff', ON *vǫlr* 'id.'; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 863. The Greek word is hardly inherited, in which case it would have to be from **ulHu-*. A direct loan from Germanic is improbable, so there may have been a third intermediary source. Krahe *Glotta* 22 (1954): 123f. supposed an Illyrian origin, but the word may also be non-IE (words with this meaning are very frequently borrowed).

ἄλύω [v.] 'to be distraught, be beside oneself', from pain, anguish, etc. (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR only present, except ἀλαλύσθαι· φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλύειν 'put to flight, scare; be excited' (H.).
•DER Medical terms ἀλυσμός, whence ἀλυσμώδης, ἄλυσις, ἀλύκη 'fear, agitation', see ►ἀλάλυγξ. Backformation ἄλυς 'id.' (Hp.); with -κ-: ἀλύκη 'distress, anguish'; see also ►ἀλάλυγξ.
Verbs: ἀλύσκω (on ἀλυσκάζω and ἀλυσκάνω see ►ἀλέα 2), ἀλύσσω, fut. ἀλύξω = ἀλύω (Hom.), perhaps all from an enlarged stem ἀλυκ-, which is also found in ἀλυκτέω, perf. ἀλαλύκτημαι 'to be afraid' (Hom.), ἀλυκτάζω 'to be afraid, wander' (B., Hdt.), cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀλύω. Further ἀλυστάζω, ἀλυσταίνω (H., *EM*), cf. perhaps ἀλυσθένεια· ἀσθένεια (*EM* 70, 45); also ἀλυσθμαίνω 'to be weak' (Call.), ἀλυδμαίνειν· ἀλύειν, ἀπορεῖν 'to be beside oneself' (H.).
•ETYM ἀλύω is considered to be a derivation in *-u-* from the root ἀλ- in ►ἀλάομαι, and / or from ἀλέομαι. This remains just a guess. Puhvel's connection with Hitt. *alu̯anz-* 'bewitched' is doubtful (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

ἄλφα [n.] name of the first letter of the alphabet (Pl.). ◅LW Sem.▻
•COMP Collocation ἀλφάβητος [m., f.]; also [n.pl.]? (Irenaeus of Lyon), see Schwyzer *KZ* 58 (1931): 199ff.

•ETYM From Hebr. *'aleph* (see Schwyzer: 140 γ and Schwyzer *KZ* 58 (1931): 177-183). For the final vowel, cf. βῆτα, from Hebr. *bêth*. See Einarson *Class. Phil.*62 (1967): 1-24 and 262f.

ἀλφάνω [v.] 'to earn, gain' (E.). ◁IE *h_2elg^{wh}- 'earn'▷

•VAR ἀλφαίνω (H., *EM*); Aor. ἀλφεῖν (Hom.).

•COMP ἀλφεσίβοιος of girls, 'bringing in (many) oxen'; type τερψίμβροτος, with shortening for *ἀλφησι- as in ἑλκεσίπεπλος.

•DER ἀλφή 'produce, gain' (Lyc.).

•ETYM A counterpart to the thematic aorist ἀλφεῖν is found in the Indo-Iranian present Skt. *árhati* 'to earn', YAv. *arəjaiti* 'is worth' < *h_2elg^{wh}-. Further, ἀλφή formally corresponds with Lith. *algà* 'wages', but they are probably independent formations. From Hittite, one adduces *ḫalkuēššar* 'supplies for a festival'. The Greek aor. is from the zero grade *h_2lg^{wh}- with Rix's Law. On ἀλφαίνω = ἀμείβω in Aetius, see Benveniste *L'année sociologique* 5 (1951): 19-20.

ἀλφηστής, -ου [m.] 'grain-eating', in the epic expression ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί (Od.). ◁GR▷

•DIAL Also a fish name in Dor. ἀλφηστᾶς 'Labrus cinaedus' (Epich.); also called κίναιδος, cf. Strömberg 1943: 56; also Thompson 1947.

•ETYM Clearly from ἄλφι, in opposition to ὠμηστής, plus *h_1ed- 'eat', in the expression ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί. In antiquity, the word was strangely enough not understood; cf. the strange gloss ἀλφηστῆσι· τοῖς εὑρετικοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς 'intelligent' (H.). The -ι- was lost for metrical reasons; see Fraenkel 1910: 38.

ἄλφι [n.] 'barley-groats' (*h. Cer.* 208). ◁IE? *h_2elb^hi 'barley'▷

•VAR Plur. ἄλφιτα (Il.), from which the sing. ἄλφιτον, in Hom. only in ἀλφίτου ἀκτή.

•DER ἀλφιτηρός (Antiph., Herod.), ἀλφιτεύς 'miller' (Hyp.), ἀλφιτεύω 'to grind barley' (Hippon.), ἀλφιτεία (Hyp., Poll.) and ἀλφιτεῖον (Poll., *AB*). Further ἀλφιτισμός 'mixing with barley groats' (inscr. Delos) as if from *ἀλφιτίζειν; ἀλφιτηδόν (Dsc.).

•ETYM One previously assumed an *i/n*-stem ἄλφι, plur. *ἄλφατα, as in Skt. *ásthi*, gen. *asthnás* 'bone', on the basis of ἀλίφατα· ἄλφιτα ἢ ἄλευρα (H.). But *i/n*-stems are doubtful, and ἀλίφατα has been read as *ἀληφατα (Latte); cf. DELG, which compares ἀλήφατον ἄνθος ἐλαίης (Peek 1897); the form would have been derived from ἀλέω 'to grind'.

ἄλφι may be identical with Alb. *elb*, *-i* 'barley' from *alb^hi; see Demiraj 1997. Further origin is uncertain; perhaps the word is from PIE *$h_2(e)lb^h$-*i*. Also related is Turc. *arpa* 'barley', which is perhaps from an Iranian form *$arbi$; see Vasmer 1921: 16ff. See Mallory & Adams 1997: 51 for Iranian forms.

On the meaning, see Moritz *Class. Quart.* 43 (1949): 113ff., who connected ἄλφι with ἀλφάνω, but this is judged improbable by DELG. Connection with ▸ἀλφός 'leprosy' and Lat. *albus* 'white' (cf. λεύκ' ἄλφιτα Σ 560) is rejected by Demiraj 1997.

ἀλφός [m.] 'dull-white leprosy' (Hes.). ◁IE *h_2elb^ho- 'white'▷

•DER ἀλφώδης 'leprous' (Gal.). As an adjective ἀλφούς· λευκούς 'white' (H.), ἀλωφούς· λευκούς 'id.' (see below). Thence ἀλφινία· ἡ λεύκη. Περραιβοί (H.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *albus* and U *alfu* 'alba'. Extended forms with PIE **d* may be found in the word for 'swan', e.g. OHG *albiz*, OCS *lebedъ*, but this could also be a European substrate word. The main comparanda are geographical names, especially river-names like Ἀλφειός, Lat. *Albula*; Lat. *Albis* = MoHG *Elbe*; also ON *elfr* 'river'. On the river names, see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 4 (1953): 4off. Most of these names, however, are probably of non-IE origin.

The word plays a role in discussions about the existence of PIE **a*, since Hittite has *alpa-* 'cloud'. However, if this is related, it could easily represent thematic **h₂olbʰo-*. IE **bʰ* is frequent in color terms (e.g. ἄργυφος).

The form ἀλωφός (H.) was compared with Arm. *aławni* 'pigeon' < IE **alH-bʰ-n-*, but now there is a different explanation of the word: **pl̥h₂-bʰ-ni-* (see Klingenschmitt 1982: 68[11]). The relation between ἀλφός and ἀλωφός cannot be explained in Indo-European terms; perhaps ἀλωφός is a simple mistake due to misreading of φ as ω?

ἀλωή [f.] 'threshing floor, garden' (Il.), also 'halo' (around sun and moon) (Arat.); also 'disk' of the sun or moon, or of a shield. ◁?▷

•VAR Also ἄλως, gen. -ω, -ως or -ωνος; recent ἄλων.

•DIAL Cypr. ἄλουα· κῆποι 'gardens' (H.), probably ntr. plur.; Cypr. gen. *alawo*, = ἀλϝω? Dor. αλος in Sicily is probably from **alwo-*.

•COMP μητρ-αλοίᾱς 'matricide' (A.); Schwyzer 451 : 4.

•DER ἀλωεύς 'farmer' (A. R., Arat.), also PN in Hom.; ἀλωεινός (*AP*) and ἀλώϊος (Nic.) 'of the threshing floor', Ἀλωιάς epithet of Δηώ (Nonn.). ἀλωνία '(grain on the) threshing floor' (pap., Ath.), diminutive ἀλώνιον (Gp., Hdn.); ἀλωνικός (pap., *Ed. Diocl.*). Denominative verbs ἀλωνεύομαι (App.), ἀλωνίζω (H.) 'to work at the threshing floor'; further ἀλοάω, ἀλοιάω (Il.) 'to thresh, crush', epic -οι- stands for original length; as a second member in πατρ-αλοίας etc. (Att. and late), see Schwyzer: 451 : 4. Thence ἀλοησμός 'threshing', ἀλοητής 'thresher', ἀλόητρα [pl.] 'wages for threshing', all known from papyri. Auch ἀλοιητήρ 'thresher' (Nonnos, *AP*), ἀλο(ί)ησις (*EM*, gloss.).

•ETYM Perhaps from earlier **ἀλωϝη*. ἄλως and the Cypr. forms might derive from a hysterodynamic noun of the type πάτρως, with nom. **-ōu-s*, acc. *-ou-n̥*, gen. *-u-os*; see Beekes *Mnem.* 24 (1972): 350-2. If MoSw. *lō* 'threshing floor' is cognate, we might also reconstruct a root **h₂(e)l-*. The explanation by Schwyzer: 479: 7 (from PIE *u̯el(u)-* 'to wind', original meaning 'round') must be rejected, as it does not explain the Cyprian forms without initial *w-*, nor the meaning 'garden'. Semantically, we probably have to think of a small piece of land near the farm, used for growing fruits and vegetables (garden) and for threshing. From threshing-floor, we can understand the development to 'disk' and then to 'halo'; see Ure *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 225-230. The conjecture of Van Windekens *KZ* 100 (1987): 309f. is to be rejected.

ἀλώπηξ, -εκος [f.] 'fox' (Archil.). ◁IE **h₂lop-* 'fox'▷

•VAR On the gender see DELG. A shortened form is ἀλωπᾰ́ (Alc.), ἀλωπός (Hdn.); on its origin see Sommer 1948: 5. Denominative ἀλωπεύει· ἀνιχνεύει 'tracks' (H.).

•DER Diminutive ἀλωπέκιον (Ar.); ἀλωπεκέη, -ῆ 'fox-skin' (Hdt.); ἀλωπεκία a disease of the skin (Arist.); also ἀλωπεκίασις (Gal.) in the same meaning; ἀλωπεκίας [m.] 'branded with a fox' (Luc.); ἀλωπεκίς f. = κυναλώπηξ (X.), also 'head-gear of fox-skin' (X.) and 'kind of vine' (Plin.), see details in Strömberg 1940: 139; ἀλωπεκιδεύς [m.] 'young fox' (Ar.); ἀλωπέκειος [adj.] (Gal.), ἀλωπεκώδης (H., *EM*). Denominative ἀλωπεκίζω [v.] 'to behave like a fox', i.e. 'to be cunning'.

•ETYM ἀλώπηξ may correspond to Arm. *ałuēs*, gen. *-esu* 'fox'. Cf. further Lith. *lāpė* and Latv. *lapsa*. Schrijver *JIES* 26 (1998): 421-434 connects it with the Celtic words like W *llywarn*, etc., which he derives from **lop-erno-*, and reconstructs **h₂lop-*. The Greek long *ō* is explained from an old nom. **h₂lōp-s*. (Skt. *lopāśá-* 'jackal' and MP *rōpās* 'fox' have an original diphthong in the root and cannot be connected; Lat. *volpes* 'fox', Lith. *vilpišỹs* 'wild cat' should also be kept apart; Schrijver starts from a root **ulp-*).

The inflection ἀλώπηξ, -εκος is unique in Greek. There is no support for the paradigm *-ōk-s, -ek-os* assumed by Rix 1976: 143. In the Armenian form, the *ē* presents difficulties and is probably secondary, the word rather showing old short *e*; see Clackson 1994: 95.

De Vaan *IIJ* 43 (2000): 279-293, disassociates the suffix from the Indo-Ir. one (as above the *words* were disassociated) and doubts that Skt. *-āśa-* etc. are of IE origin. He follows Chantraine 1933: 376 in assuming that the Greek (and Armenian) suffix *-ek-* was taken from a non-IE language; Greek would have lengthened the vowel in the nominative. But this does not explain the Greek ablaut: one would expect that the long vowel had been introduced everywhere. Rather, the suffixes are IE, and the long vowel of Sanskrit and the short one of Armenian confirm the Greek ablaut as archaic. See also Blažek *Linguistica Baltica* 7 (1998): 25-31.

ἅμα [prep., adv.] 'at the same time (with), together (with)' (Il.). ◁IE **sem-* 'one'▷

•DIAL Dor. ἀμᾶ, originally instrumental, see Schwyzer: 550. ἀμεῖ [loc.] (Delphi). ἀμάκις· ἅπαξ, Κρῆτες 'once (Cret.)' (H.); Tarent. ἀμάτις 'together' (H.).

•COMP ἀμαμηλίς plant growing at the same time as the apple tree, 'medlar', = ἐπιμηλίς.

•DER ἄμυδις (Aeol.) 'together'.

•ETYM Probably the zero grade of the root **sem-*, **som-* in ▶εἷς, ▶ὁμός; perhaps from **sm̥ih₂-* (see ▶ὁμός). For the adverbial ending -α, see Schwyzer: 622 : 8; on κάρτα, Ruijgh 1980: 189ff. See ▶ἀμάομαι 2, ▶ἅμαξα.

ἀμάδρυα ⇒μάδρυα.

ἄμαθος [f.] 'sand' (Il.). ◁EUR▷

•DER ἀμαθῖτις [f.] 'living in the sand' (Epich.), of κόγχος; also TN (J.); ἀμαθώδης 'sandy' (Str.); TNs Ἡμαθίη (Il.), Ἀμαθοῦς (Cyprus) < **-oϝεντ-*, cf. ἠμαθόεις 'sandy' (Od.). Denominative verb ἀμαθύνω 'to turn into dust, etc.' (epic poet.).

•ETYM It is mostly assumed that ψάμαθος was created from ἄμαθος on the model of ψάμμος, and that ἄμμος was secondarily created to ψάμμος. Beekes 2000: 26 finds these assumptions far from convincing, as they depend on the etymology of ψάμμος. ἄμαθος has been connected with MHG *sampt*, and a pre-form PIE **samədʰo-* was

reconstructed. But DELG already warned that the connection does not guarantee IE origin. Kuiper *NOWELE* 25 (1995): 67 favors European substrate origin because of the *a*-vocalism and the varying consonantism. On possible Albanian connections, see Çabej 1969: 174f. See ►ἄμμιος, ►ψάμαθος, ►ψάμμος.

ἀμαιμάκετος, (-η), -ον [adj.] Homeric epithet of unknown mg. (Il.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. Connections with μακρός, μαιμάω, μάχομαι should probably all be rejected; see discussion in Tichy 1983: 314ff. One might conceive of a Pre-Greek word, **a-mai-mak-eto-* (with prothetic vowel and reduplication).

ἀμακρῶτις ⇒ μόκρων.

ἀμαλδύνω [v.] 'to destroy, weaken' (Il.). ◅?▻

•ETYM One assumes that the verb is a denominative from an otherwise unknown pre-form *ἀμαλδύς. The first question is whether the word has the same root as ►βλαδεῖς. The ἀ- must then have been added after the privative formations (which always express some lack), but this is not very probable; influence of ἀμαλός is not very likely either. Connection with μέλδομαι 'to smelt' is not compelling because of the meaning. However, it has a variant ἀμέλδειν, which shows the same problem as in ἀμαλδύνω / βλαδύς, and in this case we are certain of cognate forms with *s-*, viz. OHG *smelzan*. Does this point to an old interchange of **h₂m-*/ *sm-*? The question has not yet been solved. μαλθακός, μαλακός, ἀμαλός and ἀμβλύς differ too much to be useful. βλέννα and μύλη do not belong here.

ἄμαλλα [f.] 'sheaf' (Soph.). ◅ PG?▻

•COMP ἀμαλλοδετήρ 'binder of sheaves' (Il.).

•DER ἀμαλλεύω 'to bind sheaves' (*EM*) and ἀμαλλεῖον (ἀμάλλιον) (Call. Com., H., Eust.).

•ETYM Considered to be a derivation in -ι̯α from an older *l*-stem, eventually from the verb ►ἀμάομαι 'to gather'. However, if ἀμάομαι is used primarily for drawing liquids, it can hardly be connected with ἄμαλλα. One might also think of ►ἀμάω 1 'to reap corn'. Words in -λλα may well be Pre-Greek. See ►ἄμη.

ἀμαλογία [f.] see below (v.l. for ὁμο- Alciphr. 4, 18, 10). ◅?▻

•VAR = ἀβδηριτισμός 'foolery', *garrulitas* (gloss.); ἀμαλόγος· φλύαρος 'id.', *garrulus* (gloss.).

•ETYM According to Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 37f., it is haplological for *ἀμαλλολογία, which properly meant 'collecting sheaves', then 'the accompanying song' > 'bragging'. This is rightly called "sehr hypothetisch" by Frisk. Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 40 assumed *ἀμαλο-λογία.

ἀμαλός [adj.] 'weak, soft' (epic poet.), said of young animals and men (Il.). ◅ PG?▻

•DER Perhaps here ἀμαλ[λ]οῖ· ἀφανίζει 'makes invisible' (H.) and ἀμαλάπτω (S.), which would equal ἀμαλδύνω 'to soften' (H.), after ►βλάπτω, ►δάπτω, see Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 212.

•ETYM Uncertain. Mostly connected with ►ἀμαλδύνω, but this is just a guess. One further connects ἀμβλύς < *ἀμλύς, but this, too, is doubtful. Fur.: 224 connects it

with ►ἁπαλός, with the Pre-Greek interchange labial / μ. This is possible, but remains uncertain.

ἀμάμαξυς, -υος [f.] 'vine trained on two poles' (Epich., Sapph.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also gen. -υδος (Sapph.). Acc. to H. = ἄμπελος ἢ γένος σταφυλῆς 'grape-vine or kind of grape-bunch'; σταφυλῆς γένος, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀναδενδράδα οὕτω καλεῖσθαι 'kind of grape-bunch, thus a vine that grows up trees' (Suid.).
•ETYM Fur.: 212 compares ἀμαξίς· γένος σταφυλῆς ἀπὸ ἀναδενδράδος (H.), which must be correct. It is a typical substrate word, showing reduplication. Furnée's further connection with βῆκα· ἀναδενδράς (H.) is very doubtful; better, though still doubtful, is the comparison with Hitt. *māḫla-* 'grape-vine' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Cf. also Kuiper 1956: 215[15].

ἀμαμηλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'a tree or bush with edible fruits', probably 'medlar, Mespilus germanica' (Hp.). ◄GR►
•ETYM Description in Ath. 14, 650 c-e; the speakers are uncertain about the plant, and also about the name: we also find ὁμομηλίς 'which resembles the μ.', and ἐπιμηλίς. It should probably be analyzed as 'which blossoms at the same time as the apple tree'. See Strömberg 1944: 32.

ἀμάναν [f.] · ἅμαξαν 'chassis, wagon' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 34 assumes a loan from an unknown IE language, from **sn̥i-aks-nā* (cf. ►ἅμαξα); this is highly uncertain. We may compare ►ἀπήνη 'id.' (s.v., cf. also ►καπάνα), with Kuiper 1956: 213 and Fur.: 224. A variation π/ μ is well-known in substrate words. Latte's suggestion of a corruption is therefore gratuitous.

ἀμάνδαλον [adj.] = ἀφανές παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ 'unseen (Alcaeus)' (Hdn.; *Et. Gen. A* p. 20 Reitzenstein; *EM* 76, 52). ◄?►
•DER ἀμανδαλοῖ· ἀφανίζει, βλάπτει 'makes unseen, damages' (H.).
•ETYM Acc. to Hdn. it belongs to ἀμαλδύνω; is it then dissimilated from *ἀμάλδαλος (Schwyzer: 258)? This is doubtful.

ἀμᾶνῖται [m.pl.] 'kind of mushroom' (Nic.). ◄?►
•ETYM Perhaps derived from a place name, e.g. the mountain Ἄμανος in Asia Minor, but it occurs frequently (Koukoules *Ep. Et. Byz.* 17 (1948): 75; Chantraine *RPh.* 91 (1965): 201-3). For the suffix, cf. ἀκονῖτον, βωλίτης. The gloss ἀμάνορες· δοθιῆνες 'small abscess, boil' (H.) may be unrelated.

ἀμάνορες ⇒ ἀμανῖται.

ἅμαξα [f.] 'framework, chassis of a four-wheeled wagon; wagon' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►
•COMP ἁμαξιτός 'practicable for a wagon' (ὁδός, Pi.), mostly substantivized [f.] 'carriage-road' (Il.), from ἰέναι 'to go' and a suffix -το-.
•ETYM Usually derived from ἅμα and ἀξ- (in ►ἄξων) with a suffix -ι̯α, e.g. Adrados *Emerita* 17: 146f. However, the interpretation as 'one-axler' (Meringer *KZ* 40 (1907): 217ff.) does not fit the ἅμαξα; one would rather expect 'two-axler' (cf. ►δίφρος). It hardly belongs to ToB *amäkṣpänta* 'wagon-master' (for which, Adams 1999: 19 reconstructs unclear IE **h₂em-*), unless as a loan from Greek. Also improbable is

Adams *KZ* 97 (1984): 230-232 ('containing axles'). Finally, Forssman 1966: 8-11 argues that the aspiration is late, which suggests that the word does not contain ἅμα.
Fur.: 221 compares ἀβακλή· ἅμαξα (Cyr.), i.e. the interchange ἀμακ-/ ἀβακ-, from which we must conclude that the etymon is Pre-Greek. Note that Bănăţeanu *REIE* 3 (1943): 136f. already assumed an Anatolian origin.

ἁμάομαι [v.] 'to draw (milk), gather' (Od.). ◁?▷
•VAR The act. ἀμάω occurs late only.
•COMP In compounds with ἐπ-, κατ-, etc.
•DER ἄμη 'shovel' (Ar.), 'hod' (inscr.), 'water-bucket, pail' (Plu.; Lat. *hama*, Cato), 'spade' (Gp.); probably derived from the verb, not the other way around; from here ἀμίς f. 'chamber-pot' (Hp.).
•ETYM Mostly connected with ἄμη, but even this seems not quite certain (Schulze 1892: 365[3] and Solmsen 1909: 195 separate them). As the basic meaning of the verb and of ἄμη are unclear, the etymology is uncertain. It has further been connected with ►ἀμνίον and ►ἄντλος; a relationship with ►ἄμαλλα has also been suggested; all are uncertain. Cf. Bechtel 1914 and Solmsen 1909: 180ff. Originally, the meaning was no doubt quite specific, so the verb should not be connected with ►ἅμα. Connection with Skt. *ámatra-* [n.] 'vase' is also quite uncertain (the treatment of Mayrhofer *EWAia* is unsatisfactory; words for vases mostly have no etymology). One has connected it with Lith. *sémti*, 1sg. *semiù* 'to scoop, ladle', *sámtis* 'ladle' < **semH-*, to which perhaps belongs Lat. *sentīna* 'bilge-water' (see ►ἄντλος). See ►ἀμάω.

ἀμάρα [f.] 'trench, channel' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR ἀμ-? (Frisk); Ion. ἀμάρη. Cf. ἀμάρευμα· ἀθροίσματα βορβόρου 'collection of filth' (H.) and ἡ ἐν τοῖς κήποις ὑδρορόη, παρὰ τό ἅμια καί ἴσως καί ὁμαλῶς ῥεῖν, ἢ οἷον ἀμαρόη τις οὖσα 'irrigation in gardens (...)' (H.).
•ETYM The second gloss from Hesychius is a typical example of folk etymology. Formerly connected with δι-, ἐξ-αμᾶν in the meaning 'to dig out', and with ἄμη 'shovel' (Schulze 1892: 365f., Solmsen 1909: 194ff.), which is improbable. Others considered a relationship with Hitt. *amiia̯r(a)-* 'canal': see Puhvel *HED* s.v. But note that the words only have initial *am-* in common. The word could belong to the Greek-Anatolian substrate. A third option is a connection with Alb. *amë* 'river-bed, source' and river names like *Amantia*, *Amana*, *Amara*, etc.; see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 4 (1953): 52f. and Kuiper *NOWELE* 25 (1995): 73-5. This comparison is formally better than that with Hittite. See ►ἀμαρία.

ἀμάρᾰκον [n.] 'Origanum Majorana, marjoram' (Pherecr.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also -ᾱρ-, -ος [m.].
•ETYM The long ᾱ in Ionic-Attic points to recent origin; cf. ἀβαρύ· ὀρίγανον <τὸ ἐν> Μακεδονίᾳ (H.). If this is accepted, the variation β/μ points to a Pre-Greek substrate word, which is probable anyhow. Connection with Skt. *maruva(ka)-* 'id.' must be wrong. See Fur.: 210f., who further compares βᾱρος/ν 'a kind of spice'. From Greek comes Lat. *amaracum*, *-us*, MLat. *maioracus*, *maiorana*, whence the modern forms.

ἀμαρεῖν [v.] · ἀκολουθεῖν, πείθεσθαι, ἁμαρτάνειν 'to follow, believe, miss the mark' (H.). ◁GR, IE **sm-* 'one' and **h₂er-* 'join'▷

•ETYM The last explanation of the gloss can hardly be reconciled with the first, so they should be separated. One may compare Ἀμάριος, epithet of Zeus and Athena in Achaia (Aymard 1938: 455-470); the word might mean 'who brings together' (cf. Ὁμαγύριος). Further comparison with ►ἁμαρτῆ, ►ὁμαρτέω and ►ὅμηρος.

ἀμαρία [?] · ὁμοῦ, παραγώγως 'together, by a slight change' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Not understandable. One would think that the meaning belongs to another gloss, as ἁμαρία can hardly be an adverb.

ἁμαρτάνω [v.] 'to miss the mark, fail' (Il.). ◁IE **h₂mert-* 'miss, fail'▷

•VAR Aor. ἁμαρτεῖν.

•DIAL Aeol. ἤμβροτον (Hom.).

•COMP νημερτής, νᾱμ- (Hom.) 'infallible, unmistakable', Dor. νᾱμέρτεια (S.). Younger ἀναμάρτητος 'without fault'.

•DER ἁμαρτία 'fault' (Att.); ἁμάρτιον (A.), ἁμαρτάς (Ion. and late), ἁμάρτημα (Att., Hell.), ἁμαρτωλή (Thgn.), ἁμαρτωλία (Hp., com.); secondary ἁμαρτωλός 'sinner' (Arist., Hell.), whence ἁμαρτωλός 'erroneous, erring' (Arist.).

•ETYM νημερτής presupposes **n̥-h₂mert-*, and seems old because of the full grade root (cf. ἀναμάρτητος). Probably, the -αρ- in ἁμαρτάνω replaces -ρα- after the full grade (note that Aeolic has ἀμ[β]ροτ-). The aspiration must be analogical. The word has no known cognates, but the reconstructed root looks perfectly IE. Cf. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 308f.

ἁμαρτῆ [adv.] 'at the same time, together' (Il.). ◁IE **sm-h₂er-t-*, GR▷

•VAR -ἡ in Aristarchus; elsewhere -ῆ, -ῇ, but probably wrongly.

•DER ἁμαρτήδην (sch. Φ 162, H.), which is also a probable reading of N 584 ὁμαρτήδην (Wackernagel 1916: 70).

•ETYM Old instrumental (in **-eh₁* > -ἡ, which also explains the accent) of a verbal adjective **ἄμαρτος* 'joined together, meeting' (ἅμα and ἀραρίσκω). Also from here probably comes ἁμαρτέω 'to meet, get together', which is mostly written ►ὁμαρτέω (Il.). See also ►ὅμηρος.

ἀμαρύσσω [v.] 'to sparkle, twinkle' (of the eye) (*h. Merc.*, Hes.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Only present.

•DER ἀμαρυγή 'twinkling' (*h. Merc.*), ἀμάρυγμα 'id.' (Hes., Sappho), with ῡ by metrical lengthening, while Aeolic has -χμα; ἀμάρυγξ 'id.' (Hdn.). Perhaps a nasalized form in Ἀμαρυγκεύς (Ψ 630) and in ἀμαρυγκυσία· βοστρυχία 'curly things' (H.) (rather unclear; mistake?). ἀμαρύττα· τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς 'eyes' (H.); taken as a Cret. dual = ἀμαρύκτα 'the twinkling ones'.

•ETYM Compare with ►μαρμαίρω (s.v.; cf. μαρμαρυγή). As -ύσσω is typically Greek (Schwyzer: 733), a comparison with Lith. *mérkti* 'to close the eyes, twinkle', etc. is not admissible. The word may well be of Pre-Greek origin, with ἀ- interchanging with reduplication and the suffix -υξ/-υγξ, which is typical of the substrate language and shows prenasalization. See Kuiper 1956: 221.

ἀματα [n.pl.]? disputed; hapax in *SIG* 421 A 5 and 26 (III^a). ◂IE *$h_2eh_1(s)$-$m\bar{o}r$ 'day'▸
•ETYM Leumann 1950: 276 reinstated the view that this form is simply ἥματα 'days', which is no doubt correct.

ἀμαυρός [adj.] 'hardly seen, dim, faint' (Od.); on the mg. see McKinley *Ant. class.* 26 (1957): 12-39, Neugebauer *Ant. class.* 27 (1968): 373f. ◂PG?▸
•VAR Rarely μαῦρος or μαυρός (Hdn., Gal., H.), probably from μαυρόομαι, -όω (Hes.).
•DER ἀμαυρότης (Gal.), ἀμαυρία = *caligo* (gloss.). Denominative verb ἀμαυρόομαι 'to become dim', rarely ἀμαυρόω 'to make dim' (Ion., poet., Hell.). Thence ἀμαύρωσις 'obfuscation' (Hp., Arist.), ἀμαύρωμα 'id.' (Plu.).
•ETYM It is assumed that μαυρόομαι arose through loss of the initial vowel (see the material in Strömberg 1944: 44f.). However, it could also be a case of a prothetic vowel vs. its absence, and therefore a substrate phenomenon. Substrate origin is probable anyhow, as the word has no etymology. It is a Scythian loan acc. to Puhvel 1957: 237: from *maurva-*.

ἀμάω 1 [v.] 'to reap corn, cut, mow down' (Il.). ◂IE? *h_2meh_1- 'mow'▸
•VAR Homer often has long ἀ-, no doubt metrical (Chantraine 1942: 111).
•COMP Especially in ἀπ-, διαμάω 'to cut off, mow, harvest' (Od.).
•DER ἄμητος [m.] '(time of) harvest' (Hom.), on the accent see LSJ; ἀμητύς [f.] (*Hymn. Is.*); ἀμητήρ 'reaper' (Il.), ἀμήτειρα [f.] (*EM*), ἀμητρίς [f.] (Poll. 1, 222). Daneben ἀμητής (Porph.). Instrument noun ἀμητήριον 'sickle' (Max. Tyr.), ἀμητικός [adj.] 'made for cutting'.
•ETYM Connected with OHG *māen*, OE *māwan* 'to mow', which means we have a root *h_2meh_1-; ἄμητος could then be identical with MHG *māt*, OE *mæd* 'reaping'. The Anatolian form Hitt. *ḫamešḫa(nt)*- 'spring, time of harvest' is important, as it shows that the *h_1 belonged to the root. ἀμάω probably derives from ἄμη < *h_2mh_1-eh_2-, acc. to Schrijver 1991: 20 (no vowel assimilation from *$am\bar{e}$-, as per Peters 1980a: 91[41]). For ἄμη, Morgenstierne *Acta orientalia* 7 (1929): 200 connects Pashto *yūm* 'spade' (cf. Pok. 502, but it is doubtful whether a PIE root *ieh_2m- is permissible). The verb δι-αμάω is separated from ἀμάω 'to mow' by Irigoin in the *LfgrE*. On ▸ἄμαλλα 'sheaf' and ▸ἀμάρα 'canal', see s.vv.

ἀμάω 2 ⇒ ἀμάομαι.

ἄμβη ⇒ ἄμβων.

ἄμβιξ, -ῑκος [m.] 'spouted vessel' (Ath. 11, 480d), also 'alembic' (Zos. Alch.). ◂?▸
•VAR Also ἄμβῑκος m. (Posid.).
•ETYM Explained as 'φοξίχειλος κύλιξ' and εἰς ὀξὺ ἀνηγμένη (Ath. 11, 480d); see Diehl on Semon. *fr.* 24. Statements about these words in the handbooks are unclear. The suffix is no doubt a substrate element, as it is in κύλιξ. It is often connected with ▸ἄμβη, ▸ἄμβων, but correctly so? Chantraine 1933: 376 calls these words Semitic, but without references. Derivation from ἀναβαίνω seems most improbable.

ἀμβλακίσκω ⇒ ἀμπλακίσκω and ἀμβλίσκω.

ἀμβλίσκω [v.] 'to cause to miscarry' (S.). ◁IE? *h_2mlh_3-▷

•VAR Pres. also (ἐξ-)αμβλόομαι, -όω (IA), -ώω (Max.), -ώσκειν· τὸ ἀτελὲς γεννῆσαι, τὸ φθεῖραι βρέφος 'uneffected birth, miscarriage of a foetus' (Suid.), -ώσσειν· ὠμοτοκεῖν 'to miscarry' (H.); aor. (ἐξ-)αμβλῶσαι.

•DER From ἀμβλόομαι: ἄμβλωσις 'miscarriage' (Lys., Arist.), ἀμβλώσιμος (Max.), ἄμβλωμα (Antipho Soph., Aret.), ἀμβλωσμός (Aret.); instrument noun ἀμβλωτήριον (Orib.), adjective ἀμβλωτικός (Gal.). The formation of ἀμβλωθρίδιον 'abortive child' (Ph.), 'drug causing abortion' (Poll.), also -ίδιος [adj.] (Aret.), looks strange. A secondary suffix -ίδιον was added to -θρο- (Chantraine 1933: 373 and 68ff.).

•ETYM The connection with μύλη as 'miscarriage' (Hp.), *recte* 'hard formation in a woman's womb', should be given up; Chantraine thinks it may be the same word as 'mill', and Frisk, who gives the suggestion under ἀμβλίσκω, does not mention it s.v. μύλη. Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 105[41] considers the root *h_2mlh_3- and a connection with ▶ἀμβλύς (but see there).

ἀμβλύς, -εῖα, -ύ [adj.] 'blunt; dim, faint (of sight)' (IA). ◁?▷

•DER ἀμβλύτης 'bluntness, weakness' (Arist., Plu.); denominative verbs: 1. ἀμβλύνω [v.] 'to make blunt, weaken' (IA); ἄμβλυνσις (comm. Arist.), ἀμβλυντήρ (Poeta *de herb.*), ἀμβλυντικός 'causing weakness' (Dsc.). 2. ἀμβλυώσσω (-ώττω) [v.] 'to be short-sighted' (Hp., Pl.), from *ἀμβλυ-ωψ, cf. ἀμβλυ-ωπός, also ἀμβλωπός, ἀμβλῶψ; Schwyzer: 733 ζ, Sommer 1948: 3ff.

•ETYM ἀμβλύς can be from *ἀμιλ-ύς. It cannot be from *h_2mlh_3u-, as per Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 90, as this would give *ἀμαλυς. The connection with ἀμαλός is a mere guess and it explains nothing. Perhaps related to ἀμβλ(ακ)ίσκω; there have also been attempts to compare it to ἀμαλδύνω, lastly Nikolaev 2005.

ἀμβρόσιος ⇒ βροτός.

ἄμβων, -ωνος [m.] 'rim or edge of a cup (especially one that curves inwards)' (A.). ◁?▷

•VAR Attic for Ion. ἄμβη 'raised edge, protuberance' (Gal. 18a 340); ἄμβη· ἡ τῆς ἴτυος ὀφρῦς τῶν κυλλῶν ἀσπίδων 'rim of a shield (...)' (H.), 'rim of a wheel' (Democr.). One compares also ἀνάβωνες· βαθμοῦ εἶδος 'kind of step or threshold' (H.).

•ETYM On the formation, see Chantraine 1933: 162 and Schwyzer: 487; on the meaning, Ross *Glotta* 49 (1971): 244-258. Probably a loanword. Connection with Lat. *umbō* is quite uncertain; Chantraine (and, tentatively, Frisk) connect it with ▶ἄμβιξ.

ἀμέθυστος, -ον [adj.] 'not drunken, not intoxicating' (Plu., Dsc.); substantivized 'remedy against drunkenness' (Plu.), also as the name of a plant, see Strömberg 1940: 91; 'amethyst' (LXX). ◁IE *med^hu 'sweet; honey, wine'▷

•ETYM Compound of privative ἀ- and μέθυ. The stone 'amethyst' was named after its color: the red of wine diluted with water such that it is no longer intoxicating (Clausing *Glotta* 20 (1932): 292).

ἀμείβω, -ομαι [v.] 'to change, exchange', med. also 'to answer, repay' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2meig^w- 'change'▷

•VAR ἀμείβοντες 'rafters that meet and cross each other' (Ψ 712).

•DER ἀμοιβή 'change, exchange, requital, recompense, answer, etc.', ἀμοιβαῖος 'abwechselnd' (Pi., Emp., Hdt.), ἀμοιβάδιος 'id.' (Opp.); ἀμοιβιμαῖον 'payment, reward' (*IGRom.*, Lydia). ἀμοιβεύς name of Poseidon in Lyc. 617. Adverbs: ἀμοιβηδίς, (ἐπ)αμοιβαδίς (Hom.), cf. Schwyzer 631. Late denominative ἀμοιβάζω [v.] 'to swap' (Men. Prot.). ἄμειψις (Plb., LXX) '(ex)change, etc.', ἀμειπτικός. ἀμοιβός 'one who exchanges' (Il.), also adjective 'in requital' (S.), frequent as a second member.

•ETYM No exact correspondence. It has been compared to Lat. *migrare* 'to wander' as if from **migros* 'changing (place)'. The -β- probably goes back to **g^{w}*, as **b* is rare in PIE. Therefore, the root was **h$_2$meig^{w}-*, which may be an extension of **h$_2$mei-* 'to change' (as in Skt. *máyate* and Lat. *com-mūnis*), but an enlargement *-g^{w}-* is rare.

ἀμείνων [adj.] 'better, stronger, more advantageous' (Il.). ◁?▷

•ETYM No etymology. Attic proper names with Ἀμειν- are supposed to show that the -ει- is a real diphthong, so it does not derive from **ἀμενῐων*. DELG therefore remarks that the word could be an old positive. Seiler 1950: 120 assumed **ἀ-μεινῐων*, from **μινύς* with privative ἀ-; this is improbable. Note that a root **h$_2$mein-* would violate the IE root structure constraints, so it would have to be from **h$_2$mei-n-*.

ἀμείρω [v.] 'to bereave' (Pi.). ◁?▷

•COMP ἀπαμείρω (ρ 322 v. l., Hes.).

•ETYM Solmsen *KZ* 29 (1888): 354 took the verb as an innovation for ἀμέρδω to ἀμέρσαι, ἀμερθῆναι. Perhaps related to ▶ἀμέρδω. A reconstruction **h$_2$mer-ie/o-* is perfectly possible.

ἀμέλγω [v.] 'milk' (Il.). ◁IE **h$_2$melǵ-* 'milk'▷

•COMP ἱππ-ημολγοί 'Mare Milker', name of Scythians and other nomads (N 5, Hes.).

•DER ἄμελξις 'milking' (Pi., LXX); plant name ἀμελξίνη (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 160 (who compares ἀμερσίνη and ἐλξίνη). ἀμελκτῆρα (H.) explaining ἀρακτῆρα.

ἀμολγός, ἀμολγή (Hdn.); ἀμολγεύς and ἀμόλγιον 'milking pail' (Theoc.), ἀμολγάδες βόες 'dairy cows' (S. *Ichn.* 5). On ἀμολγαῖος, ἀμολγάζει see ▶ἀμολγός.

•ETYM An old verb, also found with full grade root in OHG *melchan*, OE *melcan*, Alb. *mjel*, ToA *mālkant* [ptc.], Lith. *mélžu*, with the acute due to the following **ǵ* (Winter's Law). The zero grade root appears in OCS *mlьzǫ*, MIr. *bligim*, Lat. *mulgeō*. This points to an old ablauting athematic root present sing. **h$_2$mélǵ-ti*, plur. **h$_2$mlǵ-énti*. Not connected with Skt. *mā́rjmi*, *mṛjánti* 'to wipe off' (see ▶ὁμόργνυμι).

ἄμεναι [v.] 'to satiate, take one's fill'. ⇒ἄσαι.

ἀμενηνός [adj.] 'without power' (Il.). ◁GR, IE **men-s-*▷

•DER ἀμενήνωσεν (N 562).

•ETYM Built on ἀμενής (E.), from μένος, perhaps modelled after ἀκμηνός (Od.).

ἀμέργω [v.] 'to pluck', of flowers (Sapph.), also of olives = 'squeeze out'? (*Com. Adesp.* 437); ἀμέργω· τὸ ἐκπιέζω 'to press out' (Hdn.). ◁IE?, PG?▷

•DER ἀμόργη 'watery part which runs out when olives are pressed' (Hp.), borrowed as Lat. *amurca*, *amurga*; also ἀμόργης, ἄμοργος, ἄμοργις. Agent noun ἀμοργοί· πόλεως ὄλεθροι 'destructions of a city' (Cratin.). ἀμοργεύς 'squeezer of olive oil' (Poll.), ἄμοργμα· σύλλεγμα, ἄρτυμα 'collection, condiment' (H.). Unclear ἀμοργίς, -ίδος [f.] 'stalks of mallow, Malva silvestris' (Ar.); perhaps named after the island Amorgos (Taillardat *RPh.* 33 (1959): 66; cf. also Taillardat *REGr.* 64 (1951): 11ff.). Adjective ἀμόργινος epithet of χιτών and other garments (com., Aeschin.), cf. ἀμόργεια· χρώματος εἶδος, ἀπὸ νήσου Ἀμοργοῦντος 'kind of color, from the island of Amorgos' (Suid.).

•ETYM Lat. *mergae* 'pitchfork' could be related. It seems that the Greek root is related to Skt. *marj-* (see ►ὁμόργνυμι), but it is unclear how the initial vocalism could be explained. Although a PIE root **h₂merg-* is perfectly possible, the word may also be a technical term borrowed from the substrate language.

ἀμέρδω [v.] 'to deprive of' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂merd-* 'cause injury'▻

•VAR μέρδει· κωλύει, βλάπτει 'hinders, disables' (H.); μερθεῖσα· στερηθεῖσα 'deprived' (H.).

•ETYM If the form without the initial vowel is secondary, the root may have been **h₂merd-*, which is cognate with Skt. *mṛdnāti*, *mardati* 'zerreiben, zerdrücken' (cf. ►μαραίνω), OAv. *mōrəndaṯ* 'destroys', Lat. *mordeō* 'to bite', OE *smeortan* 'to cause pain' (with initial *s-* of Germanic origin). Perhaps related to ►ἀμείρω.

ἀμέσω · ὠμοπλάται 'shoulder blades' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Compare with ►ὦμος; if this represents **Hom(e)s-*, we could assume **h₂mes-*, but then the language can hardly be Greek, given the preserved intervocalic -σ-. Is it then Macedonian? It can hardly be Phrygian, which does not preserve intervocalic *-s-* either. The word may have quite a different origin (see Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 127).

ἀμεύσασθαι [v.] 'to surpass, go beyond' (Pi., Euph.), also 'to trade, exchange' in Cret., cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 778. ◅IE? **h₂meu(H)-* 'move, push'▻

•VAR διαμευστάς· ἀλαζόνας 'vagrants' (H.); διαμευτής· ψεύστης, ἀπατεών 'liar, cheat' (H.).

•DER ἀμεύσιμος = πορεύσιμος (A. R. 4, 297 after *EM* 82, 11), cf. ἀμευσίπορος, -επής (Pi.).

•ETYM The meaning 'trade' could derive from 'to go to the other side'. The comparison with ἀμύνω 'to push back', further with Lat. *moveō*, Lith. *máuti*, 1sg. *máuju* 'to tear off', Skt. *mī́vati* 'move, push' < **miH-(e)u-* (the European forms continuing **mieu-*), is rather uncertain. If it is Indo-European, the root may be **h₂meu-*, cf. Heubeck *Glotta* 65 (1987): 37-44 and s.v. ►ἀμύμων.

ἄμη ⇒ ἀμάομαι.

ἀμήκωα [adj.] · δεινά. Ταραντῖνοι 'fearful (Tarantian)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 14, the word is Messapian. A mere guess.

ἄμης, -ητος [m.] 'cake' (Ar.). ◅?▻

•DER Diminutive ἀμητίσκος 'kind of cake' (com.).
•ETYM Unknown. It has been compared to ►ἄμιθα. The latter word has a reduplicated variant ἀμαμιθάδες, typical of substrate words, but it need not be cognate with ἄμης.

ἀμία [f.] 'kind of tunny which swims up rivers', perhaps 'bonito' (Sotad. Com.). ◄?►
•VAR Also -ίας [m.].
•ETYM Unknown. Thompson 1947 s.v. supposes an Egyptian origin (*mehi*, *mḥit* name of a fish). Cf. Strömberg 1943: 128 and De Saint Denis 1947 s.v.

ἄμιθα [f.] · ἔδεσμα ποιόν, καὶ ἄρτυμα ὡς Ἀνακρέων 'kind of meat, condiment' (H.); for Anacr. see 467 Page. ◄PG(V)►
•VAR *P. Hamb.* 90, 18 has an acc. pl. ἄμιθας. Cf. ἀμαμιθάδες· ἥδυσμά τι σκευαστόν διὰ κρεῶν εἰς μικρὰ κεκομμένων δι' ἀρτυμάτων (Photius 86 R.).
•ETYM The variant with reduplication is typical of substrate words. The word has been connected with ἄμης, but this is quite uncertain.

ἄμιλλα [f.] 'contest' (Pi.). ◄PG(S)►
•DER Denominative verb ἀμιλλάομαι 'to compete' (IA); ἀμιλλητήρ 'competing' (S.), ἀμιλλητήριος 'of the competition' (Philostr., Aristid.); ἀμιλλητικός 'id.' (Pl.); ἀμίλλημα 'competition' (S. [lyr.], inscr. Cyr.).
•ETYM Derived from *ἄμ-ιλ-ᾰ by Frisk (comparing θύελλα, ἄμαλλα), but this is problematic. All words in -ιλλ(α) look non-IE (i.e. Pre-Greek), so an IE suffix of this shape is very doubtful (cf. Benveniste 1935: 41). For the form, cf. ἀμίλλακαν· οἶνον 'wine' (H.).

ἀμίλλακαν [f.]? · οἶνον. Θηβαῖοι 'wine (Theban)' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. See Fur.: 221 (also on ►ἀβίλλιον). Cf. ►βῆκα.

ἀμιχθαλόεσσα [adj.] 'rich in almonds', epithet of Lemnos (Ω 753). ◄PG►
•ETYM Call. *fr.* 18, 8 has ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν … ἠέρα, so he connects ὀμίχλη. This must be a folk etymology, since ὀ- comes from *h_3-. Scholion BT on Ω 753 gives = εὐδαίμων, which is no more than a noncommittal guess (*ἀμικτο-θαλοεσσα [Lagercrantz *IF* 50 (1932): 277-80] is a construct that would hardly have been syncopated to our form). The ancient interpretation as ἀπρόσμικτος 'inhospitable' does not explain the form of the word. The connection with Go. *maihstus* 'mist' has the objection that the latter word is not known in Greek. Leumann 1950: 214 and 273), accepts the solution of Doederlein, who identified the form with ἀμύγδαλον 'almond'. This explanation fits well and gives no difficulties for the formation. The variation may be confirmed by ἄμυκτο· γλυκύ· οἱ δὲ ἄμικτον (H.) and ἀμυκλίς· γλυκύς, ἡδύς (H.); for κτ/ κλ, cf. ἀράκτη / ἄροκλον etc. See Fur.: 140, 388.

ἀμμιά [f.] 'mamma, mother; nurse', τροφός καὶ μήτηρ καθ' ὑποκορισμόν 'rearer and mother (hypocoristic)' (*EM* 84, 22). ◄ONOM►
•VAR ἀμμία (Hdt.).
•ETYM Nursery word. Cf. Lat. *amma*, and Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-7): 242ff.

***ἄμμιξ** · συγκομιστὸς ἄρτος, Ταραντῖνοι 'bread of unbolted meal (Tarantian)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Gloss 3662 has ἀμικονιστος, 3702 ἀμμισκομιστον; thus *ἀμι(ς)?

ἄμμος [f.] 'sand' (Pl.). ◁LW▷

•DER ἀμμώδης (Hp., Arist.), ἄμμινος (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), ἀμμίτης [m.] (sc. λίθος), also ἀμμῖτις [f.] 'sandstone' (Plin.).

•ETYM Considered to be a contamination of ►ἄμαθος and ►ψάμμος, but this assumed starting point fails to appreciate that the word is non-Indo-European and, as such, may not have followed the sound laws of IE words. On Ἀμμίτης as a river name, see Redard 1949: 130 etc.

ἄμνᾱμος [m., f.] 'grandchild' (Call.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Also ἄμναμμος; plur. ἀμνάμονες (Poll. 3, 19). Cf. the gloss cited by DELG.

•DIAL Oros in Reitzenstein 1897: 5: ἄμναμοι· οἱ ἀπόγονοι· κυρίως παρὰ τὴν τῶν Κυρηναίων διάλεκτον οἱ τῶν ἀμνῶν ἀμνοί ἄμναμοι λέγονται· τουτέστιν τῶν ἀρνῶν ἄρνες· (...).

•ETYM Probably a reduplicated form of ἀμνός; cf. παιδόπαις (DELG). See Dobias-Lalou *REGr.* 111 (1998): 403-417.

ἀμνίον [n.] 'patera, vase to receive the blood of a sacrifice' (γ 444); see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 357 and 364. ◁?▷

•ETYM Connection with ἀμάομαι is no more than a guess.

ἀμνός [m., f.] 'lamb' (S.). ◁IE **h₂egʷ-n-*, **h₂ogʷ-n-* 'lamb'▷

•VAR ἀμνόα· πρόβατον, οἱ δὲ ἀμνός 'cattle, lamb' (H.), unreliable.

•COMP ἀμνοκῶν 'stupid like a sheep' (from κοέω, Taillardat 1962: § 453) ἀμνοκόμος (Latte for -κόπος). ποιμήν 'herdsman' (H.).

•DER Special feminine forms: ἀμνή, -ά (Cos, Gortyn, etc.), ἀμνάς (LXX), ἀμνίς (Theoc.). Adjectives: ἀμνεῖος (Theoc.), ἀμναῖος (pap.) 'made of lambskin'; thence ἀμνεῖον, ἀμνίον, also ἀμνειός, ἄμνιος 'inner membrane surrounding the foetus' (Emp.), also -ός.

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *agnus* < **h₂egʷ-no-*, OIr. *úan* < **h₂ogʷ-no-*, OCS *agnę* < **h₂egʷ-n-ent-* (with long vowel and acute from Winter's Law). OE *ēanian*, E *yean*, Du. *oonen* < PGm. **awnōn* seem to presuppose *-gʷʰ-*, but see Schrijver 1991: 39, 438.

ἀμο- 'some, someone, somebody', indefinite pronominal stem in οὐδαμός, etc. ◁IE **smH-o-* 'some'▷

•VAR Also in ἀμοῦ, ἀμῆ, ἀμοῖ, ἀμωσ-γέ-πως; also μηδαμό-.

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *sama-* 'someone' and Go. *sums* 'id'. The Greek and Germanic forms require **sm̥H-o-*, and the Skt. form may also go back to this. A similar form is at the basis of OIr. *samail* and Lat. *similis* 'like' < **semh₂-l-*, see on ►ὁμαλός. The forms seem to be an enlargement of **sem-* 'one' (see ►εἷς), but the exact relation is unclear.

ἄμοινα [?] unknown (only *IG* 5(2), 4: 22). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

ἄμοιος [adj.] · κακός. Σικελοί 'bad (Sicilian)' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR μοῖος· σκυθρωπός 'sullen, sad' (H.), see on ▶σμοιός = σκυθρωπός (Hdn. Gr. 1, 109), σμοῖος (Theognost.), σμυός (H.).

•ETYM Given the plausible connection with ▶σμοιός (see above and s.v.), the initial displays a number of variations, which are typical for Pre-Greek (Fur.: 368). Not related to ▶μοῖτος (s.v.; pace von Blumenthal 1930: 15f.).

ἀμολγός [m.] 'darkness'. Only (ἐν) νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ (Λ 173, O 324, X 28 and 317, δ 841). ◁?▷

•VAR ὁμολγῷ· ζόφῳ 'in darkness' (H.), where the ms. has ὁμολογῶ. As an adjective (which is probably a secondary, learned development) in E. *fr.* 104: ἀμολγὸν νύκτα· Εὐριπίδης Ἀλκμήνῃ ζοφερὰν καὶ σκοτεινήν 'dark'. οἱ δὲ μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς καθ' ὃ ἀμέλγουσιν 'part of the night during which they milk' (H.).

•DER ἀμολγαῖος in μάζα ἀμολγαίη 'barley-cake made with milk' (Hes. *Op.* 590), see below; ἀμολγαῖον μαστὸν ἀνασχόμενος 'who held up a breast full of milk' (*AP* 7, 657, Leon.). ἀμολγάζει· μεσημβρίζει 'passes the noon' (H.).

•ETYM The meaning had already been lost in antiquity. If a verbal noun of ἀμέλγω, ἀμολγός, it means 'the milking' (and the oxytonesis has to be secondary). The expression μάζα ἀμολγαίη in Hesiod is interpreted by Proclus and in *EM* s.v. μάζα as ἀκμαία 'at its height, in full bloom': τὸ γὰρ ἀμολγὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκμαίου τίθεται. Thus also Eustathius on O 324: Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς γλωσσογράφους ἀμολγὸν τὴν ἀκμήν φασι. However, this meaning may have been derived from the text (see Leumann 1950: 274). Nilsson 1920: 35f. took it as the time of milking at the beginning of the night. DELG judges this interpretation to be more probable than that of 'fullness'. Older literature is mentioned in DELG and Frisk; see also Bolling *AmJPh.* 78 (1958): 165-172; Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 654. Parvulescu *Glotta* 63 (1985): 152-158 argues that νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ indicates the evening twilight, and adduces parallels from other languages for an original meaning 'night milking'. Still, if ὁμολογῶ points to *ὁμολγός, the alternation ἀ-/ὀ- could point to a substrate word.

ἀμόρα [f.] 'sweet cake' (Philet.). ◁?▷

•VAR ἀμόρα· σεμίδαλις ἐφθὴ σὺν μέλιτι 'fine wheat flour boiled with honey' (H.).

•DER ἀμορίτης ἄρτος (LXX), also written ἀμορβίτης (Ath.) and ἀμοργίτας· πλακοῦντας 'flat cakes' (H.), both = ἀμορῖτης, with a suffix -ῑτης.

•ETYM From original *ἀμόρϝα. Etymology unknown; perhaps Pre-Greek **(a)mar^{w}-a*?

ἀμορβός [m., f.] 'follower, shepherd' (Call.). ◁?▷

•DER Adjective ἀμορβαῖος, said of χαράδραι 'gravel' (Nic. *Th.* 28, 489), mg. unclear; scholiasts render it with ποιμενικαί 'of herdsmen' or σκοτεινώδεις 'dark' (which may be mere guesses); cf. *EM* 85, 20: ἀμορβὴς καὶ ἀμορβές· σημαίνει τὸ μεσονύκτιον παρὰ τὴν ὄρφνην ... σημαίνει καὶ τὸν ἀκόλουθον 'the time of midnight; companion'. Denominative verbs ἀμορβέω (Antim.) and ἀμορβεύω (Nic.) 'to accompany'. ἀμορβίτης belongs to ▶ἀμόρα.

•ETYM Unknown. Improbable analysis by Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 541.

ἀμόργη ⇒ἀμέργω.

ἄμοργίς [f.] kind of dress (Cratin. *fr.* 96). ◁PG▷
•VAR λαμπτῆρες ἀμοργούς (Emp. fr. 84), perhaps lanterns clothed in muslin (cf. Lat. *lintea lanterna*, Pl. *Bacch.* 446).
•DER Unclear ἀμοργίς, -ίδος [f.] 'stalks of mallow, Malva silvestris' (Ar.); perhaps named after the island Amorgos (Taillardat *RPh.* 33 (1959): 66; cf. also Taillardat *REGr.* 64 (1951): 11ff.). Adjective ἀμόργινος epithet of χιτών and other garments (com., Aeschin.), cf. ἀμόργεια· χρώματος εἶδος, ἀπὸ νήσου Ἀμοργοῦντος 'kind of color, after the island of Amorgos' (Suid.).
•ETYM The name of the island may have been used to designate clothes, cf. MoE *jersey, jeans*, etc. Cf. Taillardat 1962: section 262.

ἄμοτον [adv.] 'incessantly, without pause' (Il.), especially in the phrase ἄμοτον μεμαώς. ◁IE **meh*$_3$- 'get tired'▷
•VAR Thence the adj. ἄμοτος (Theoc.).
•ETYM Uncertain, as the exact meaning is unknown. Seiler *KZ* 75 (1957): 17-20 assumes zero grade of ἐν + zero grade of μεν-, like in ἐμμεμαώς; yet a zero grade of ἐν is uncertain. Forssman 1986: 329-339 explains it as **n̥-mn̥-tom memn̥u̯ōs* as 'Unerstrebtes/-bares erstrebend', with Greek and Sanskrit parallels. This is tempting, but for the oldest formula with Eris (twice at verse end), the proposed meaning does not fit. There, it clearly means 'incessantly, indefatigable', which rather suggests a connection with **meh*$_3$-, as seen in ►μῶλος, OHG *muojan* 'to tire', *muodi* 'tired', Go. *af-mauiþs* 'id.' < **mō-etos*), Ru. *májat'*, 1sg. *máju* 'to wear out' (LIV^2 s.v. **meh*$_3$-).

ἄμπελος [f.] 'grape-vine, Vitis vinifera' (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•DER Diminutives: ἀμπέλιον (Ar., Hp.), ἀμπελίς (Ar.), also a bird name = ἀμπελίων, see below.
Adjectives: ἀμπελόεις 'rich in vines' (Il.); ἀμπέλινος 'of the vine' (Hdt., Arist., Plb.), ἀμπελικός 'id.' (Hell.), ἀμπέλιος 'id.' (Ph., Ach. Tat.), ἀμπελώδης 'rich in vines' (Poll., H.). ἀμπελῖτις (γῆ, χέρσος) 'viniculture' (pap.), ἀμπελιτικός (pap.).
ἀμπελών [m.] 'vineyard' (Aeschin. 2, 156 [v.l.], Hell.); ἀμπελεών (Theoc., *AP*), diminutive ἀμπελωνίδιον (pap.); ἀμπελεία 'id.' (inscr. Cherson.), after φυτεία. ἀμπελίων [m.] name of an unknown bird (Dionys. *Av.*), see Thompson 1895 s.v.
•ETYM Cannot be explained in IE terms, and generally considered to be a substrate word (although there are no further indications for this).

ἁμπλακίσκω [v.] 'to miss, fail; to be bereft of; to transgress' (Archil.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ἀμβλακίσκω; late and rare present to the aor. ἤμπλακον (also ἤμβ-), pass. perf. ἠμπλάκημαι. Note ἀπλακών (E. *Alc.* 242, *IA* 124) and ἀναπλάκητος (S. *OT* 472).
•DIAL Does not occur in Attic.
•DER ἀμπλακία 'fault' (Hp.) with ἀμπλακιῶτις f. = ἱερὰ νόσος (Poet. *de herb.*). Further ἀμπλάκιον (Pi. *P.* 11, 26) and ἀμπλάκημα (poet., late prose).
•ETYM Compared with ►ἀμβλίσκω, which DELG rejects for both formal and semantic reasons. are typical for substrate words (see Fur.: 281f.). Blanc 1994: 79-85 connects it with ►πλάζομαι. As Van Beek suggests to me (p.c.), this is quite attractive, provided that πλάζομαι (which has no convincing etymology) is a substrate word. The group would then display a prothetic vowel (which is otherwise

rare in verbal forms!), prenasalization, and interchange β/ π (if we include ἀμβλίσκω), and we could reconstruct a Pre-Greek verbal root *(*a*)^{m}*pla*^{n}*k*-.

ἄμπρόν [n.] 'rope for drawing loads' (inscr. V-IV^{a}). ◁?▷
•VAR Accentuation after *Et. Gen.*, H.
•DER ἀμπρεύω [v.] 'to draw along, drag' (E. *apud* Phot., Call.); ἐξ-αμπρεύω (Ar. *Lys.* 289), whence a retrograde derivative ἔξαμπρον 'team of oxen' (gloss.); συν-αμπρεύω (Arist.). ἀμπρευτὴς ὄνος (S. *apud* Phot.).
•ETYM Technical term of unknown origin.

ἄμπυξ, -υκος [f., m.] 'women's diadem; horse's bit; rim of a wheel' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•DIAL Myc. *a-pu-ke* /ampukei/ in a context of horses' harnesses, *a-na-pu-ke* /an-ampukes/ of ἡνίαι, *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* /ampuk(o)-worgos/.
•COMP χρυσ-άμπυξ 'with a golden bit' (Il.).
•DER ἀμπυκτῆρες (A.), ἀμπυκτήρια and ἀμπυκώματα (S.) are poetic enlargements. Denominative ἀμπυκάζω [v.] 'to tie up with a headband' (*AP*, *EM*).
•ETYM Formerly considered to be a root noun πυξ prefixed with ἀμ- = ἀνα-, belonging to πύκα 'solidly', πυκνός, etc., and cognate with Av. *pusā* 'diadem' < IE *$puḱeh_2$- (Lidén 1932: 148ff.); this is seconded by Benveniste *BSL* 34 (1933): 41, who adduced further forms and borrowings from Iranian. However, Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 655 points out that ἀνα- would not fit the meaning, as *ἀμφι-πυκ- would be expected. As this form could hardly give ἀμπυκ-, the etymology is doubtful. The notion 'thick, solid' does not seem to fit the objects in question. Szemerényi also doubts the connection with Iranian.
A word for such objects is easily borrowed. If we analyze the word as **amp-uk*-, it contains a typical substrate suffix (Beekes 2003: 12-15).

ἄμπωτις [f.] 'ebb' (Hp.). ◁GR▷
•DER ἀμπωτίζω 'to ebb' (Ph., Eust.).
•ETYM Variant of ἀνάπωτις (Pi.), a fem. agent noun of ἀναπίνω; ἄμπωτις (θάλασσα) = *resorbens unda* (Hor.). See Schulze *KZ* 56 (1929): 287, Schulze *KZ* 57 (1930): 275, as well as Fraenkel 1910: 116; but see also the critical notes in DELG.

ἀμυγδάλη [f.] 'almond' (Hp.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR ἀμύγδαλον [n.], ἀμύγδαλος [f.] (Luc.). Also ἀμυσγέλα, -υλα (Cyrene).
•DER ἀμυγδαλίς [f.] = ἀμυγδάλη (Philox., Plu.), diminutive ἀμυγδάλιον (Hp.). Adjectives: ἀμυγδάλινος 'made of almond' (X., Thphr.), ἀμυγδάλιος 'almond-shaped' (pap.), ἀμυγδαλόεις 'id.' (Nic.), ἀμυγδαλώδης 'id.' (Thphr.). ἀμυγδαλέα, -ῆ 'almond tree' (Eup., Hp., Arist., Thphr.), ἀμυγδαλίτης 'spurge' (Dsc., Plin.).
•ETYM A typical substrate word (note -γδ-, which interchanges with -σγ-), which is confirmed by the identification with ▸ἀμιχθαλόεσσα; on the variation see *Pre-Greek*. Fur.: 140 further compares ▸μύκηρος and Hitt. *mitgaimi-* 'sweet bread', Luw. *mitgaimi-* 'sweet(ened)'. Borrowed into Lat. as *amygdala*; also *amiddula*, *amyndala*, *amandula*, whence OHG *mandala*.

ἀμυδρός [adj.] 'dim, faint, obscure' (Archil.). ◁?▷
•VAR ἀμυδᾶναι· κρύψαι 'hide, cover' (H.).

•DER ἀμυδρήεις 'id.' (Nic.); ἀμυδρότης 'darkness, weakness, etc.' (Ph., Gal., Plot.). Denominative ἀμυδρόομαι 'become dark', -όω 'to make dark' (Ph., comm. Arist.); thence ἀμύδρωσις (comm. Arist.).
•ETYM Unknown. ἀμαυρός is close in meaning and form, but the two cannot be combined in Indo-European terms. Influence of φαιδρός has been proposed, but such contaminations are often rather gratuitous. In principle, ἀμυδ- may continue a root *h_2mud-. The Slavic root *$mъd$- 'weakness etc.' cannot continue *mud- in view of Winter's Law (so it is from *mud^h-).

ἀμύκαρις ⇒ μύκη.

ἄμυλος [m.] 'cake of fine meal' (Ar.). ◁GR?▷
•VAR ἄμυλον [n.] 'starch' (Dsc.).
•DER Diminutive ἀμύλιον 1 [n.] 'cake' (Plu.), whence ἀμυλᾶτον 'id.' (sch. Ar. *Pax* 1195); ἀμύλιον 2 'starch' (Hp., Arist.), whence ἀμυλιδωτόν 'kind of (starched) chiton' (Hermipp.). For the formation cf. ἁλυσιδωτός, χειριδωτός (Chantraine 1933: 305).
•ETYM Starch is made from unground grain, which suggests that ἄμυλος derives from μύλη (cf. ἄμυλον· στερρόν, ἄκλαστον 'firm, unbroken' *EM*) with privative ἀ-. However, given the form, we expect a basic meaning 'having no mill', not 'unground', which casts some doubts on the etymology. Lat. LW *amulum* > MoFr. *amidon*.

ἀμῦμων [adj.] 'noble, excellent' (Il.), never of gods. ◁IE *h_2meu-▷
•VAR ἄμυμος. ἀγαθός, ἀμώμητος, ἄμεμπτος καὶ ἀμύμων 'good, blameless' (H.).
•ETYM Traditionally connected with μῦμαρ· αἶσχος, φόβος, ψόγος 'shame, fear, blame' (H.) and μυμαρίζει· γελοιάζει 'jests', which is taken to be Aeolic for μῶμαρ, ▶μῶμος 'blame'. ἀμύμων would then originally mean 'without blame', and relate to μῦμαρ as ἀπείρων to πεῖραρ. However, Heubeck *Glotta* 65 (1987): 37-44 proposed a derivation from ἀμυ- < *h_2mu- in ἀμεύσασθαι 'to surpass', i.e. 'who surpasses others' (with metrically lengthened υ in the sequence of three shorts). This seems to be an improvement. The root (Pok. 743) would mean 'to bend the motion, (re)move', found in Lat. *moveō* and in ἀμύνω 'to ward off', but this is not entirely convincing.

ἀμῦνω [v.] 'to ward off, defend, help' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Pret. ἠμύναθον (impf. or aor.? See Schwyzer: 703).
•DER ἀμύντωρ 'warden, defender' (Il.), also as a PN; ἀμυντῆρες 'brow tines of a stag's antlers' (Arist.); ἀμυντήριος 'fit for warding off' (Pl., Hell.), ἀμυντήριον (Pl., Hell.); ἀμυντικός 'id.' (Pl., Arist.). ἀμυντρόν (A. *apud* Phot.), not glossed. ἀμύντης 'defender' (Phot., Hdn.), also PN, cf. κηρ-αμύντης (Lyc.); ἀμυνίας 'id.' (Ar. *Eq.* 570). ἄμυνα 'defense, revenge', etc. (Theopomp. Com.); retrograde formation, see Schwyzer: 475, Chantraine 1933: 101. χειμ-άμυνα = χλαῖνα παχεῖα (A. *fr.* and S. *fr.*).
•ETYM If the nasal is originally a present marker, as in κλίνω, πλύνω, we have a root ἀμυ-, which may be found in ▶ἀμεύσασθαι 'to excel, transcend', but the semantics are not quite clear. So a thematicized nasal present *ἀμυ-νϝ-ω?

ἀμύς, -ύδος [f.] 'freshwater turtle', χελώνη λιμναία (Archig. *apud* Gal.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ἐμύς (Arist. *HA* 588a 8, H.).

•ETYM Considered to be a contamination of ἐμύς 'id.' and ἀμία 'tunny' by Strömberg 1943: 81, but this is improbable. The form with ἐ- rather shows a substrate origin; see Fur.: 347. Perhaps found in ►πήλαμυς?

ἀμύσσω [v.] 'to scratch, tear, lacerate' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR ἀμύσχεσθαι. τό ξέειν τὰς σάρκας τοῖς ὄνυξιν 'the laceration of the flesh with claws' (H.).; ἀμυχή 'rent, wound'.
•DER 1. ἀμυχή 'rent, wound' (Hp.), ἀμυχιαῖος mg. uncertain (Pl. *Ax.* 366a) and ἀμυχώδης 'cracked' (Hp., Thphr.), ἀμυχηδόν 'superficially, lightly' (*EM*); 2. ἀμυχμός 'id.' (Theoc.), ἀμυγμός (conj. in A. *Ch.* 24); 3. ἄμυγμα 'rending' (S., E.); 4. ἄμυξις 'scratching' (Orph., Ach. Tat.). Adverb ἀμύξ (ἐμφῦσα Nic.) = μόλις (Euph.); adjective ἀμυκτικός 'scratching, irritating' (Plu., medic.). Also ἀμυκάλαι· αἱ ἀκίδες τῶν βελῶν 'the barbs of arrows' (H., *EM*), cf. Chantraine 1933: 245ff., Schwyzer: 483. Cf. ἀμύσχεσθαι. τό ξέειν τὰς σάρκας τοῖς ὄνυξιν 'laceration of flesh with claws' (H.).
•ETYM A root *ἀμυκ/χ- is assumed, which would continue IE *h_2muk/g^h-; this is then compared with Lat. *mūcrō* 'sharp point, sword' (cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Further comparanda include Lith. *mùšti* 'to beat' and OE *gemyscan* 'to afflict, tease' (Holthausen *IF* 48 (1930): 266). This seems a rather small basis for reconstructing an IE root. Fur.: 347 accepts the comparison with Latin, but as a substrate word (though his assimilation rule α- > ε- before υ/ ι [346[33]] seems doubtful to me). The form ἀμυσχ- shows a typical Pre-Greek variation (insertion of -σ- before stop).

ἀμυστί ⇒μύω.

ἀμυσχρός [adj.] 'immaculate, pure' (Parth.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also ἀμυχρός (S. *apud* Phot., Suid.) and ἀμυχνός, ἀμυγνός, ἀμύσκαρος (Suid.); ἄμουχα· καθαρεύουσα. Λάκωνες 'clean or pure (Lacon.)' (H.). ἀμυσχῆναι· καθᾶραι, ἁγνίσαι 'to cleanse' (H.).
•ETYM The variations κ/ γ/ χ and σ/ zero suggest a Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 299); perhaps also σκ/ ξ, if Furnée is right in connecting ἀμύξανος· ἀνόσιος 'impure' (H.), with privative α- (cf. Fur.: 393). Also related is μύσκος· μίασμα, κῆδος 'defilement, care' (H.). Not related to ἀπομύσσω (see ►μύσσομαι and μύξα). See ►μύσος.

ἀμύω ⇒ἠμύω.

ἀμφασίη [f.] 'speechlessness' (P 695 = δ 704), of ἐπέων. ◄GR►
•ETYM Equivalent of ἀφασίη (E.) from ἄφατος (►φημί), with ἀμ- indicating a long syllable, acc. to Chantraine 1942: 99. Perhaps modelled after ἀμβροσίη.

ἄμφην, -ενος ⇒αὐχήν.

ἀμφί [adv., prep.] 'around, on both sides' (Il.). ◄IE *h_2nt-b^hi 'on both sides, around'►
•VAR Also ἀμφίς [adv.] 'id., apart', more rare as a prep. 'around, outside of' (epic).
•DIAL Myc. *a-pi*, e.g. in *a-pi-qo-ro-i* /amp^{h}i-k^{w}oloi^{h}i/ 'servants' [dat.pl.]. Also in PNs, e.g. *a-pi-a$_2$-ro* /Amp^{h}ihalos/.
•ETYM This old adverb is originally a case form of the word for 'face', as is clearly shown by the cognate ToB *āntpi*, *antapi* 'both' < *h_2ent-$b^ho(i)$-; cf. Jasanoff *BSL* 71 (1976): 123-131 (see ►ἄμφω). Greek ἀμφί and Lat. *amb(i)*-, *am*-, *an*-, continue the

instrumental *h_2nt-b^hi. Further forms: Alb. *mbi* 'at', W *ambi-*, OIr. *imb-*, OHG *umbi* 'around', Skt. *abhí*, OAv. *aibī* 'towards'. Grassmann's dissimilation law gave ἀμπ- in ἀμπ-έχω etc. The word is important in historical phonology, because it shows that a zero grade *h_2n- (cf. the OHG and IIr. forms) gives ἀν- in Greek (so-called Lex Rix).

ἀμφιάζω [v.] 'to clothe, put on' (Alciphr.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Hellenistic innovation for ἀμφιέννυμι beside ἀμφιέζω, which was built on the aor. ἀμφι-έσαι.

ἀμφιᾶς, -ου [m.] name of a mediocre Sicilian wine (com.); cf. Ath. 31e, Suid. ◁GR▷

•VAR Cf. ἀμφής· οἴνου ἄνθος· οἱ δὲ μέλανα οἶνον 'the flower of the vine; red wine' (H.).

•ETYM -ιας is a suffix used in names of wines. See Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 356; is there a connection with ἀμφί, -ω? Fur.: 341 connects the gloss with ἀμφιάς, and also ►ὄμφαξ 'unripe grape', which is quite possible.

ἀμφίγυος ⇒γύης.

ἀμφιέζω ⇒ἀμφιάζω.

ἀμφικέλεμνον [m., n.] · ἀμφιβαρές· οἱ δὲ τὸν βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ δύο ἀνθρώπων δίφρον, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀμφίκοιλον ξύλον 'chariot-board borne by two men; wood hollowed on both sides' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR ἀμφικελεμνίς· κατ' ὀβελῶν περικρέμασις ἰσορρόπως 'hanging down from a bar in equipoise' (H.).

•DIAL Myc. *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi* /opi-kelemniāp^{h}i/ [ins.pl.] part of a chair (connection with κρεμάννυμι, supposing /-krēmn-/, is impossible; see ►κρημνός).

•ETYM Connected with ►κελέοντες by Fur.: 245. This seems quite possible, but he assumes a variation μ/ ϝ, which is unlikely. One might rather assume a suffix -μν- beside another formation.

ἀμφιλαφής ⇒λἀφυρα.

ἀμφίον [n.] 'garment' (S.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Or ἄμφιον (sch. D. T. 196).

•ETYM Shortened form of ἀμφίεσμα. See Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 396ff.

ἀμφίπολος [f., m.] 'servant, handmaid' (Il.), also 'priest(ess)' (Pi.), i.e. 'one who takes care of the gods'. ◁IE *h_2mb^hi-$k^wol(h_1)$-*o*- 'servant'▷

•DIAL Myc. *a-pi-qo-ro* /amp^{h}i-k^{w}olos/.

•DER ἀμφιπολεῖον 'servant dwelling' (*IG* 4, 39 [Aigina V^a]), ἀμφιπολία 'servanthood' (D. S.). Denominatives ἀμφιπολεύω [v.] 'to work as a servant, ply, take care of' (epic, Hdt.), ἀμφιπολέω 'id.' (Pi., B.).

•ETYM From *h_2mbi-$k^wol(h_1)$-*o*-, identical in origin with Lat. *anculus* 'servant' and Skt. *abhicārá-* 'witchcraft' (AV+); cf. Lat. *anc(u)lāre* 'to serve the gods' and Ved. *pari-cará-* 'servant'. See ►πέλομαι and ►βουκόλος.

ἀμφισβητέω [v.] 'to go asunder, disagree, dispute' (Att., Hdt.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Also -βᾰτέω (Ion., perhaps also Lesb., Rhod.?).

•DER ἀμφισβήτησις 'dispute, controversy, claim', juridical term (Att.), ἀμφισβητήσιμος 'controversial'; ἀμφισβητητικός 'belonging to the dispute' (Pl.). ἀμφισβήτημα 'dispute' (Pl., Arist.), ἀμφισβητηματικός (Aps.). From ἀμφισβατέω: ἀμφισβασίη (Hdt.).
•ETYM Compounded from ἀμφίς and βαίνειν (βῆναι) 'to go apart', as if from *ἀμφισβήτης or *ἀμφισβάτης 'who goes apart' (cf. ἐμπυριβήτης, παραι-βάτης).

Ἀμφιτρύων [m.] name of a king of Tiryns, later Thebes (Il.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Neumann 1983: 334 rejects the connection with τρύω, and starts from **Amphi-tōr*, with a suffix *-uōn* like in ►ἀλεκτρύων.

ἀμφορεύς [m.] 'jar with two handles', also a measure (Ar., Hdt.). ◅GR▻
•VAR Also ἀμφιφορεύς (Il.).
•DIAL Myc. (KN) *a-pi-po-re-we* /amp^{h}i-p^{h}orēwes/, *a-po-re-we* /amp^{h}orēwe/ [du.].
•DER ἀμφορίδιον (Ar.), or -είδιον, see Schwyzer 471; ἀμφορίσκος [m.] (D., inscr.); ἀμφόριον (gloss.); unclear ἀμφορείῳ· φορτίῳ 'load' (H.). ἀμφορίτης as an adjective, of ἀγών, 'contest with an ἀ. as a prize', Call. *fr.* 80); as a substantive of uncertain mg. (*PSI* 5, 535, 31, see Redard 1949: 106f.; ἀμφορικός (sch.); ἀμφορίξ [adv.] (Eust.), whence a verb ἀμφορίζω was derived (Eust.).
•ETYM From ἀμφι-φορεύς, i.e. 'born on two sides', but with -ευς from the instrument nouns. Borrowed as Lat. *amphora*, diminutive *ampulla*.

ἀμφουδίς [adv.] hapax of uncertain mg. (ρ 237): ἀμφουδὶς ἀείρας. ◅?▻
•ETYM Interpreted as if ἀμφωδίς, from *ἀμφωϝαδίς 'by both ears'. Cf. ἐξωβάδια· ἐνώτια. Λάκωνες 'earrings (Lacon.)' (H.). See Bechtel 1914 s.v. and DELG.

ἄμφω [pron.] 'both' (Il.). ◅IE *$h_2(e)nt$-$b^{h}oh_1$▻
•VAR Later replaced by ἀμφότερος.
•ETYM Identical with Lat. *ambō*. The original form of the anlaut is found in ToA *āmpi* (ToB *antapi*, *āntpi*; see ►ἀμφί). Other languages have forms without the nasal: Skt. *ubháu*, Av. *uua*; OCS *oba*, Lith. *abù*. Germanic has no initial vowel, e.g. Go. *bai*. There is no overall explanation for the forms, but connection with ἀμφί seems clear.

ἄμωμον [n.] an Indian spice-plant, 'Amomum subulatum' (Hp.). ◅LW India▻
•DER ἀμωμίς [f.] 'false Amomum' (Dsc.), from Armenia; ἀμωμίτης λίβανος (Dsc.).
•ETYM An Oriental loanword; cf. ►κιννάμωμον. See André 1956 s.v. *amōmum* and E. Masson 1967: 50[3].

ἀμώσας [v.] · κρεμάσας, Ταραντῖνοι 'hung up (Tarantian)' (H.). ◅GR?▻
•ETYM Immisch *Leipz. Stud.* 8 (1885): 276 thinks this is an allegro-form of ἀνεμώσας. Latte suggests ἄμμωσας from *ἀμμόω, which would be a denominative from ἄμμα 'something tied'. Possible, but hypothetical.

ἀμωσγέπως 'in some way'.
•ETYM From ἄμως γέ πως. See ►ἀμό-.

ἄμωτον = καστάνειον. ⇒μότα.

ἄν [pcl.] modal particle (IA, Arc.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The identification with the questioning particle Lat. *an*, Go. *an* (see Lee *AmJPh.* 88 (1967): 45ff.) becomes superfluous because of the ingenious connection with κε(ν), which derives from **ken*. We have to assume that *οὐ καν < **Hoi̯u kn̥* was analyzed as οὐκ αν; see Forbes *Glotta* 37 (1958): 179-182.

ἀνά [prep.] 'up along' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂en-* 'up, on high'▻

•VAR With elision and apocope ἄν, ἀν; adverbial ἄνα.

•DIAL Myc. *a-na-ke-e* /an-age^{h}en/ [inf.]; perhaps /anō-/, in *a-no-qa-si-a* /anō-g^{w}asiā/ 'expedition (?)', etc. Lesb., Thess., Arc. and Cypr. have ὀν, giving ὐν- in Arc. and Cypr., cf. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 309.

•DER Adverb ἄνω, whence ἄνωθεν, ἀνωτέρω, ἀνωτάτω; on -ω see Schwyzer: 550.

•ETYM On the use of ἀνά, see DELG. It is an old adverb, also found in Iranian and Germanic: Av. *ana*, OP *anā* 'upwards, along'; Go. *ana*, OHG *an(a)*, OE *on* 'on, at'. Perhaps also in Lat. *an-hēlāre*, *an-testārī* , Arm. *am-baṙnam* 'to raise', etc. It is doubtful that Skt. *ánu* 'along' derives from **h₁enu*.

ἀναγαλλίς, -ίδος ⇒ἀγαλλίς.

ἀνάγκη [f.] 'force, necessity' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR ἀναγκαίη (Il.) cf. Schwyzer: 469

•DER ἀναγκαῖος 'constrained, forced', also 'related by kinship' (since Il.), whence ἀναγκαιότης [f.] 'kinship' (Att., Hell.), also 'necessity' (S. E.); ἀναγκαιώδης 'indispensable' (ἀναγκαιωδέστερα sch.). Denominative verb: ἀναγκάζω [v.] 'to force, compel' (IA, not in Hom.), whence ἀνάγκασμα 'means of coercion' (J.); ἀναγκαστήρ 'coercer' (Amorgos), ἀναγκαστήριος 'compelling' (D. H.); ἀναγκαστικός 'id.' (Pl., Arist.). κατανάγκη kind of vetch, 'Ornithopus compressus', used in making philtres.

•ETYM The word has been compared with Celtic words for 'necessity, fate' (OIr. *écen*, W *angen*), which may go back to **ank-* < **h₂enk-*, and also the Germanic group of OHG *āhta*, MoHG *Acht* 'outlawry'. However, Matasović 2008 s.v. **anku-* reconstructs the Celtic group as belonging to **neḱu-* 'violent death'. NPhr. ανανκαι has an uncertain meaning and possibly a Greek loanword. Oettinger 1979: 175f. argued for the connection with Hitt. *ḫenkan-* 'death' (with *ḫe-* < **h₂ē-* by Eichner's Law), but acc. to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ḫai(n)k-*$^{tta(ri)}$, the *-e-* must go back to a diphthong.

It is not excluded that ἀνάγκη is a substrate word; for the field of meaning, cf. ►ὕβρις, which has no good etymology either.

ἀνάγυρος [m.] 'stinking bean-trefoil, Anagyris foetida' (Ar.) ◅?▻

•VAR -ις [m.], also ὀνόγυρος (Nic.), where folk etymology after ὄνος (Strömberg 1940: 155) is improbable, as ἀνα- is very common in Greek.

•DER Thence the Attic deme Ἀναγυροῦς (Ar., Pl.).

•ETYM Unknown. The form with ὀνο- might point to a substrate word, as α/ ο is frequent in such words. Amigues *RPh.* 73 (1999): 147-154 starts from MLat. *faba inversa* 'inverted bean' and connects it with γυρός (*CEG* 6).

ἀναίνομαι ⇒αἶνος.

ἀναισιμόω ⇒αἶσα.

ἀνακάρδιον ⇒κάρδαμον.

ἀνακῶς [adv.] 'attentively, heedfully' (Hdt.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Only in ἀνακῶς ἔχειν τινός 'to pay attention to sth.'.
•ETYM From *ἀνακόως, adverb of *ἀνα-κόος, which is a verbal adjective from *ἀνα-κοέω 'to look after'; see ►κοέω. Cf. ἀμνο-κῶν 'simpleton', literally 'sheep-minded' (Ar.) < *ἀμνο-κόων.

ἀνακωχή ⇒ἀνοκωχή.

ἀναλεῖ [v.] · σχολάζει, Ταραντῖνοι 'is at leisure (Tarantian)' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown. Latte corrects it to ἀναλεαίνει 'to brush, crush' (highly uncertain, see DELG).

ἀνᾱλίσκω [v.] 'to use up, spend, consume' (A.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Fut. ἀνᾱλώσω, aor. ἀνήλωσα, new present ἀνᾱλόω.
•DER ἀνᾶλωσις 'expenditure, consumption' (Thgn.), ἀνᾶλωμα 'id.' (Att.), ἀνήλωμα (pap., inscr.); secondary simplex ἄλωμα (Boeot.), see Fraenkel 1910: 119; diminutive ἀναλωμάτιον (Ph., pap.). ἀναλωτής 'squanderer' (Pl.), whence ἀναλωτικός (Pl., Ph.).
•ETYM From *ἀνα-ϝαλίσκω, originally 'to tear up'; cf. HG *verzehren* 'to consume'. See ►ἁλίσκομαι.

ἄναλτος [adj.] 'insatiable' (Od.). ◂IE **h₂el-* 'grow; make grow, feed'▸
•VAR Cf. ἄλτρον· μισθός 'reward' (H.); from 'what guarantees food' (DELG)?
•ETYM Negative verbal adjective of the root seen in Lat. *alō*, OIr. *alim*, ON *ala* 'to feed' and Go. *alands* 'τρεφόμενος, nourished', which in Greek only exists as a verbal root in enlarged form: ►ἀλδαίνω, perhaps ►ἀλθαίνω. Perhaps ►νεᾱλής 'fresh, not tired' is from the same root as well.

ἄναξ, -κτος [m.] 'lord, ruler' (Il.). ◂PG▸
•VAR Voc. ἄνα (Il.); plur. (ϝ)ἀνακες name of the Dioskouroi (Hom.); fem. (ϝ)ἀνασσα < *_wanak(t)-ia_ 'mistress' (Il.).
•DIAL Myc. *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/; *wa-na-ka-te* /wanaktei/; *wa-na-ka-te-ro* = ϝανάκτερος, -ον, with -τερος indicating opposition like in ἀγρότερος, ὁρέστερος. *wa-na-so-i* /wanassoiin/ [dat.du.], also *wa-na-se-wi-jo* /wanass-ēwios/, *-e-wi-ja* /-ēwia/, of vases.
•COMP Ἀναξαγόρας, etc., Ἱππῶναξ, etc.
•DER ἀναξία 'command, rule' (Pi., A.), which may also derive from ἀνάσσω; adjective ἀνάξιος 'royal' (sch.). From (ϝ)ἀνακες derives (ϝ)ανάκειον 'temple of the Dioskouroi' (Att., NWGr.), Ἀνάκεια [pl.] festival for the Dioskouroi (Lys.), ἀνακώσιος [adj.] (Rhegion). Denominative ἀνάσσω [v.] 'to be lord, rule' (Il.).
•ETYM No IE etymology, and probably a substrate word. Are OPhr. *vanaktei*, NPhr. ουανακταν loans from Greek? The word is important for the interpretation of the Myc. signs of the *z-* and *s*-series: is *wa-na-s*^{o} derived from the stem in *-kt-*, or from the stem in *-k-*? See Crespo *Minos* 19 (1985): 91-104, and Viredaz 1993. It is probable

that the forms without *-t-* are younger, but see e.g. Ruijgh 1957: 112 and Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 309ff.

ἀναξυρίδες [f.] 'long, wide trousers', worn by the Persians and other eastern peoples (Hdt.). ◁LW Iran.▷
•ETYM Persian loanword. Cf. R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 96.

ἀναξυρίς = ὀξαλὶς 'sour wine' (Dsc.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

ἀναρίτης ⇒νηρίτης.

ἀναρριχάομαι [v.] 'to climb with hands and feet' (Ar.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also ἀρριχάομαι (Hippon.); called obsolete by Lucian; perhaps shortened from ἀναρρ-.
•ETYM Unknown. See Solmsen *IF* 13 (1902/03): 132ff. and Ehrlich 1912: 53.

ἀνάρσιος [adj., m.] 'incongruous', hence 'strange, hostile' (Il.); equivalent of δυσμενής. ◁GR▷
•DER Cf. ἄρσιον· δίκαιον 'just, lawful' (H.), which is explained as a back-formation to ἀνάρσιος (see Frisk 1941: 7).
•ETYM Generally assumed to be a derivative of ►ἀραρίσκω 'not fitting'.

ἀνασταλύζω [v.] 'to burst into tears' (Anacr. 43, 4). ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR ἀστυλάζει· λυπεῖ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ 'grieves with weeping' (H.) probably stands for *ἀσταλύζει.
•ETYM Cf. ἀσταλύχειν (read -ύζειν?)· ἀνα[β]λύζειν, κλαίειν 'weep' (H.), νεόσταλυξ· νεοδάκρυτος 'who just cried' (H.); cf. also στάλυξ, to be read for στάληξ in Zonar., = σταλαγμός 'drop'. Cf. ►σταλάσσω, -άζω 'to drip, drop'. The suffix is also in other words for 'crying etc.': γρύζω, ἰύζω, ὀλολύζω, ὀτοτύζω. The prothetic ἀ- of ἀσταλυγ- beside στάλυξ could be a prothetic vowel; if so, this points to substrate origin.

ἀναστίδωνος [adj.] · ἀνατεταμένος 'lifted up' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

ἀνασυρτόλις ⇒σύρω.

ἄνατεί ⇒ἀάω.

ἄναυρος [m.] 'torrent' (Mosch.); also a river name in Thessaly (Hes. *Sc.* 477) and Acarnania. ◁PG▷
•ETYM Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 51ff. interpreted the word as "waterless", from the dried up river-bed in summer, comparing ἄναυρος: ὁ ἐξ ὑετῶν συνιστάμενος ποταμός 'river arising out of heavy showers' (*EM*); see discussion on χαράδρα s.v. ►χέραδος. It was therefore analyzed as a privative ἀν- and a word for 'water', which is not attested but supposed in ►Α"γλαυρος (but see there), and further in θησαυρός and Κένταυρος (Kretschmer l.c.). The source name Αὔρα (Nonnos) was also compared, and Krahe *IF* 48 (1930): 216 connected it with Italic (Illyrian?) HNs like *Metaurus*, *Pisaurus*, as well as HNs like *Avara*, *Avantia* (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.*

4 (1953): 49 and 115). Having thus been etymologized, the second element was further compared with Skt. *vā́r(i)* and the Gm. group of ON *aurr* [m.] 'whet, water' (Pok. 80f.), but since that root contains no initial laryngeal, it could never yield Gr. αὐ-. No doubt, the word is non-Greek, and probably non-IE (if the connection with Krahe's river names is correct). The assumption of a privative ἀν- is highly improbable; such assumptions are due to the desire to interpret everything as Greek and as Indo-European as possible, even when all facts point in a different direction. The further comparison with HNs without *-r-* in Fur.: 230 is doubtful.

ἀνδάνω [v.] 'to please' (Il.); used in a political context as 'it pleased the people (to decide)', hence 'to decide'. ◁IE **sueh₂d-*▷

•VAR Aor. ἀδεῖν (Aeol. εὔαδον in Hom.), perf. ἔᾱδα. Present also Att. ▶ἥδομαι.

•DIAL Dor. ἀδάνω should perhaps be assumed on the basis of ἀδάνοντα· ἀρέσκοντα 'pleasing' (H.); Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 353; cf. ληθάνω.

•COMP αὐθάδης (see s.v.).

•DER ἄδος 'decision, resolution' (Halic., Thasos), ἄδημα· ψήφισμα 'decree, law' (H.); also ϝάδιξις in γάδιξις· ὁμολογία and ἄδιξις· ὁμολογία παρὰ Ταραντίνοις 'agreement (Tarantian)' (H.) (to *ϝαδίζομαι).

•ETYM The initial ϝ- is seen in Aeol. εὔαδε, Cret. ἔϝαδε < PGr. **e-swad-e* and in Locr. ϝεϝαδηϙότα. The root is that of ▶ἥδομαι, ▶ἡδύς; see also ▶αὐθάδης. Sanskrit has *svádati* 'to make savory', which derives from **suh₂-n̥-d-* acc. to LIV, but is rather from **sueh₂d-e-* with loss of laryngeal per Lubotsky's Law (Lubotsky *MSS* 40 (1981): 133). The factitive in Lat. *suādeō* 'to advise, recommend' is reminiscent of the Greek meaning 'to decide'.

ἄνδηρα [n.pl.] 'raised bank of a river or ditch; dike, border of the sea, seed-bed' (Hyp.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Rarely sing. ἄνδηρον.

•DER ἀνδηρευτής 'workman employed on dikes' (pap.).

•ETYM Neumann 1961: 91 points to the fact that many words connected with irrigation look non-Indo-European: beside ἄνδηρα, he mentions ἄρδω 'to irrigate' and γοργύρα 'underground drain'. Fur.: 204[10] thinks that -ηρον is a non-IE suffix. Ibid. 347, he compares the Thracian place name Ἔνδηρον, but there is little support for this.

ἄνδινος [m.]? · περίπατος (cod. περὶ παντός) 'walking about' (H.); acc. to Hemsterhuis, <παρὰ Ταραντίνοις> from the following line belongs in this gloss too. ◁?▷

•DER ἀνδινίω (cod. ἀναδινίω)· περιπατῶ 'to walk up and down' (H.) is Doric.

•ETYM Uncertain. On Illyrian and Messapian hypotheses, see Frisk s.v. Alternatively, is it from δινέω (s.v. ▶δῖνη)? See Forssman 1966: 61f.

ἀνδράποδον [n.] 'prisoner of war sold as a slave, slave' (Il.); on the spread of the word see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 76. ◁GR▷

•DER Diminutive ἀνδραπόδιον (Hyp., Diph., pap.). Adjective ἀνδραποδώδης 'slave-like' (Pl., Arist.), whence ἀνδραποδωδία 'servile attitude' (Arist., Plu.). Denominative

verb ἀνδραποδίζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to enslave, sell as slaves' (IA); thence ἀνδράπόδισις 'enslavement' (Xen.), -ισμός 'id.' (Att.). ἀνδραποδιστής 'slave trader' (Att.); ἀνδραποδιστικός 'ptng. to slave trade' (Pl., Eup.); ἀνδραποδιστήριος 'id.' (Tz.).
•ETYM The plural ἀνδράποδα 'of whom only the feet are human' is original; this form was modelled after τετράποδα 'quadruped' and is originally a consonant stem (cf. [dat.pl.] ἀνδραπόδεσσι [H 475]). From ἀνδράποδα, the thematic sing. ἀνδράποδον was derived. See Wackernagel *KZ* 30 (1890): 298 and Leumann 1950: 157f. On the -α-, see Bader *RPh.* 43 (1969): 31.

ἀνδράχνη [f.] plant name 'Portulaca oleracea', also 'Sedum stellatum' (Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR With dissimilation ἀνδράχλη (Thphr.); also ἄνδραχνος [f.] (Paus.).
•ETYM Fur.: 288 compares ἀθραγένη, which is formally quite acceptable, i.e. **(a)"trak(V)n/l-*, with metathesis of aspiration (197², 393), variation *n/ l* (388), the common phenomenon of prenasalization, and anaptyxis of ε. Substrate origin is probable anyhow.

ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ [adj.] in'Ενυαλίῳ ἀ. (Β 651). ◁IE **h₂nr-gʷʰon-teh₂-* 'man-slayer'▷
•ETYM The epithet was changed after ►ἀργεϊφόντης: it should be read as ἀνr̥φοντ- 'slaying men', with an extremely old zero grade of **h₂nr̥-*. Cf. ►ἀνδροτής, and see R. Schmitt 1967: 124f.

ἀνδριάς ⇒ἀνήρ.

Ἀνδρομάχη [f.] the wife of Hektor (Il.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Called this way because her husband is a famous warrior. Likewise, Hektor's son has the name Ἀστυάναξ ('ruler, protector of the city'), after his father's deeds. See Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 103.

ἀνδρόμητον · συσπαστόν ἐγχειρίδιον τραγικόν 'stage-dagger (in tragedy)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM A Tarentine gloss; see Latte. DELG derives the word from ἀνά and δρόμος, which seems doubtful; the structure remains unclear.

ἀνδροτής [m.] 'manhood, strength' (Π 857, etc.). ◁IE **h₂ner-* 'man'▷
•ETYM ἀνδροτήτα only fits the hexameter if it is read **anr̥tāta*, with old vocalic **-r̥-*. Arguments in favor of the antiquity of this epithet are found in Ruijgh 1995: 85-91. Arguments against this interpretation were developed by Berg following Tichy *Glotta* 59 (1981): 55.

ἄνεμος [m.] 'wind' (Il.). ◁IE **h₂enh₁-mo-* 'wind'▷
•DIAL Myc. (KN) *a-ne-mo* (*i-je-re-ja*) /anemōn (ʰiereiā)/.
•COMP νηνεμίη 'calm' < **n̥-h₂n-*, see on ►νήνεμος.
•DER ἠνεμόεις 'windy' (epic poet.), metrically lengthened; ἀνεμώλιος 'idle, useless' (Il.), after ἀποφώλιος (Bechtel 1914, Chantraine 1933: 43; Risch 1937: 122 reminds of ἀπατήλιος); see on μεταμώνιος. Further ἀνεμώδης 'windy' (Hp., Arist., Hell.); ἀνεμιαῖος 'windy, vain' (Pl., com., Alciphr.), after adjectives of measure in -ιαῖος? ἀνεμώτας· ὄνος ἄφετος, ἱερός, τοῖς ἀνέμοις θυόμενος ἐν Ταραντίνοις 'a donkey let loose, sacred, being offered to the winds (Tarent.)' (H.); ἀνεμῶτις epithet of Athena

(who calms the wind; Paus.). ἀνεμία 'flatulence' (Hp.); on ►ἀνεμώνη s.v. Denominative verbs: ἀνεμόομαι 'to be(come) inflated' (Hp., Pl.); ἀνεμίζομαι 'to be driven with the wind' (*Ep. Jak.*).

•ETYM Gr. ἄνεμος agrees with Lat. *animus* < **anamo-*; Skt. *ánila-* [m.] 'wind, air' has *-lo-*. Further, Arm. *hołm* 'wind' arose by dissimilation of *n--m* and has *o*-vocalism. This may point to an original *m*-stem nom. **h₂onh₁-m*, obl. **h₂nh₁-em-*. The verbal root **h₂enh₁-* is present in Skt. *ániti* 'breathes', OIr. *anaid*, *-ana* 'to wait, remain' and in Go. *us-anan* 'to exhale'; a different present formation is in PTo. **anask-* < QIE **h₂enh₁-ske/o-*. See ►ἄσθμα, ►ἄνται.

ἀνεμώνη [f.] the plant 'anemone' (Cratin.). ◅LW?▻

•DER ἀνεμωνίς [f.] = ἀνεμώνη ἥμερος (Nic.).

•ETYM Derivation from ἄνεμος is supported by Strömberg 1940: 77. An improbable Semitic etymology was proposed by Lewy 1895: 49. It is more likely a loanword, perhaps from the substrate.

ἀνενετεῖ [v.] · ἀρνεῖται 'denies' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 34, we should read **ἀναινετεῖ* (cf. ἀναίνομαι); or is it rather misspelled for ἀναίνεται?

ἄνευ [adv.] 'far from, without' (Il.). ◅IE **sn(H)-* 'without'▻

•DIAL ἄνευν (Epidauros), ἄνευς (Olympia), ἄνις (Megara *apud* Ar.); cf. χωρίς.

•DER ἄνευθε(ν) (Il.) and ἀπάνευθεν.

•ETYM No exact correspondence exists. ἄνευ looks like the old locative of a *u*-stem. The comparison with Germanic forms like Go. *inu* 'without' < **enu* and OHG *ānu* 'id.' < **ēnu* cannot explain the Greek ἀ- (the suggestion that the Germanic forms contain a lengthened grade **h₂ēn(e)u-* (Nikolaev 2007: 165) is morphologically unwarranted, and Eichner's Law that long vowels are not colored by an adjacent laryngeal is unacceptable).

A better comparison is with Skt. *sanutár* 'away, off, aside' < **sen(H)u-ter* (or **snHu-*?), Lat. *sine* 'without' < **seni* < **snH-i*, and ToA *sne*, ToB *snai* < **snH-i*. Thus, the Greek form could be from **snh₁-eu* > **saneu*. In this case, ἄνευ must be a psilotic form. Within Greek, ►ἄτερ may be cognate, but it would exclude a root-final laryngeal. I have no solution for this problem.

ἀνεψιός [m.] 'cousin' (Il.). ◅IE **(h₂)nepot-* 'grandson'▻

•DER Secondary fem. ἀνεψιά 'id.' (Isoc., X.). Further ἀνεψιαδοῦς [m.] 'cousin's son' (com., D.), cf. ἀδελφιδοῦς; also ἀνεψιάδης (Pachnemunis, Iamb.), to which ἀνεψιαδῆ 'cousin's daughter' (Ar.). ἀνεψιότης, -ητος [f.] 'cousinhood' (Pl.).

•ETYM Corresponds with Av. *naptiia-* 'descendant' and OCS *netii* 'nephew', derived from the word for 'grandson, nephew' seen in Skt. *nápāt*, Lat. *nepōs*, etc. The ἀ- can be **h₂-*, but possibly represents **sm̥-*, expressing the reciprocity of the relation (Benveniste 1969(1): 234). Not related to ►νέποδες.

ἄνεῳ, ἄνεω [adv.] 'silent(ly)' (Il.), a predicate of plural subjects except in ψ 93 ἄνεω ἦστο. ◅GR?▻

•VAR Recent ἄνεως· ἄφωνος 'mute' (Gal. *Lex. Hp.*).

•COMP ἀνεοστασίη· θάμβος 'amazement' (H.).
•ETYM Eust. ad Ψ 93 takes the form as an adverb (perhaps Aristarchus as well, see Buttmann 1825(2): 2); the notation with -ι was supposed to be due to the interpretation as an adjective with plural subjects. Acc. to traditional interpretation (see Chantraine 1942: 249), it is an old instrumental in -ω. However, Peters 1993b: 85ff. asserts that it is an occidental Ionic form continuing **an-āwo-* 'without voice' (with quantitative metathesis), for which he compares the gloss ἄβα· βοή. The form ἄνεῳ is the original nom.pl., while ἄνεω arose by reanalysis as an adverb.

ἄνηθον [n.] 'dill, Anethum Graveolens' (Aeol., Att.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ἄννηθον (Ar.); ἄνητον (Alc.), ἄννητον (Thphr.).
•DER ἀνήθινος 'made of dill' (Theoc., Dsc.), ἀνηθίτης οἶνος (Gp.).
•ETYM Cf. λάπαθον and other plant names in -θον (-θος) (Chantraine 1933: 368). The word is Egyptian, acc. to Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 240. Fur.: 254 compares ►ἄννησον; for the equation, cf. the gloss s.v. ►ἄνθρυσκον. On the gemination, see ibid. 387; for variation θ/σ, see ibid. 253ff.

ἀνήνοθεν [v.] 'gushed forth, mounted up' (Λ 266, ρ 270). ◁?▷
•ETYM The relation of this form to ἐπ-εν-ήνοθε and παρ-εν-ήνοθε is unclear, and therefore the etymology uncertain. See ►ἐνθεῖν; not related to ►ἄνθος. Nikolaev 2007: 165[15] assumes a root **h₂ned^{h}-* 'to move/stick out' [not in LIV²], but the Schwebeablaut makes connection with ἄνθος improbable.

ἀνηπελίη ⇒νηπελέω.

ἀνήρ [m.] 'man' (Il.). ◁IE **h₂ner-* 'man'▷
•VAR Gen. ἀνδρός, acc. ἄνδρα (analogical; Hom. has the old form ἀνέρα < **h₂ner-m*, whence gen. ἀνέρος, etc.).
•DIAL Myc. *a-di-ri-ja-te* /andriantei/, *a-di-ri-ja-pi* /andrian(t)p^{h}i/, *A-ta-no* (see below on compounds).
•COMP As a first member ἀνδρο-: -κμητος, -κτασία; on ►ἀνδράποδον s.v. As a second member -ήνωρ, e.g. ῥηξ-, φθεισ- (Hom.); in PNs Ἀγ-ήνωρ, Myc. *A-ta-no* /Antānōr/; fem. ἀντι-άνειρα, κυδι-άνειρα; as a second member -άνδρος in ἄν-ανδρος, ἔλ-ανδρος; PNs especially in Asia Minor and Cyprus: Ἡγήσ-ανδρος, Τέρπ-; Hom. Ἀλέξ-.
•DER Diminutive ἀνδρίον (com.), whence (with an unclear suffix *-nt-*) ἀνδριάς, -άντος 'statue' (Pi., IA). ἀνδρίς [f.] 'woman' (Sm.); ἀνδρ(ε)ών [m.] 'men's room' (Hdt.), ἀνδρώνιον (Delos) and ἀνδρωνῖτις 'id.' (Lys., X.).
Abstracts: ἀνδρεία (-ηίη, -ία) 'manliness, courage' (A.); ἀνδροτής, -τῆτος 'id.' (Π 857, Ω 6), on which see Ruijgh 1995: 88ff.; ἠνορέη 'id.' (Hom.) for Aeolic ἀνορέα < *-ρία, perhaps from a compound, cf. εὐανορία (Pi.). Thence ἀνόρεος (S.).
Adjectives: ἀνδρεῖος (Ion. ἀνδρήϊος, cf. Chantraine 1933: 52, Schwyzer: 468 : 3) 'manly, courageous', whence ἀνδρειόω [v.] 'to make courageous' (LXX); ἀνδρικός 'of the man, manly' (Att.), ἀνδρόμεος 'human' (Il.), with -μεος = Skt. *-maya-* (?); ἀνδρώδης 'manly' (Emp.).

Denominative verbs: ἀνδρόομαι [v.] 'to become a man' (Hdt., Hp., E.), -όω 'to turn into a man (trans.)' (Lyc.); ἀνδρύνομαι [v.] 'to become a man' (Ps. Callisth.); ἀνδρίζομαι [v.] 'to become a man, represent a man' (Att.), -ίζω 'to turn into a man (trans.)' (X.).

•ETYM ἀνήρ is identical with Arm. *ayr*, gen. *arn* 'man', Skt. *nā́*, obl. *nár-*, NPhr. αναρ, Italic *ner-* in Osc. *nerum* 'virorum', Lat. *Nerō* (Sabellic), W *ner* 'chief', and Alb. *njerí* 'human being, person'. The gloss ►νωρεῖ does not belong here.

ἄνθεμον ⇒ἄνθος.

ἀνθερεών •VAR ἀνθέριξ. ⇒ἀθήρ.

ἀνθίας, -ου [m.] a fish, 'Labrus anthias' (Anan.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Connected with ἄνθος 'flower' by Strömberg 1943: 26 because of its color; Thompson 1947 s.v. differs on this.

ἄνθος [n.] 'flower' (Il.). ◅IE? **h₂end*ʰ- 'sprout'▻

•DER 1. Substantives. Diminutives ἀνθύλλιον (M. Ant., Dsc.), also a plant, like ἀνθυλλίς (Dsc.) and ἄνθυλλον (Ps.-Dsc.); ἀνθήλιον v.l. for ἀνθύλλιον (Dsc. 3, 156; 4, 121), also = κανθήλιον (Charax); ἀνθάλιον a plant, cf. Chantraine 1933: 74; ἀνθάριον· ἐρύθημα 'redness, blush' (H.).

Further ἀνθήλη 'a crown of flowers' (Thphr.), or from ἀνθέω? Thence ἀνθηλᾶς [m.] 'flower trader' vel sim.; ἀνθεών [m.] 'flowerbed' (Amasia), ἀνθών (gloss.).

ἀνθηδών [f.] 'bee' (cf. ἀνθρηδών and Chantraine 1933: 361), also a plant. ἀνθοσύνη 'Blüte' (*AP*). On ►ἀνθίας see there. Ἀνθεστήρια [n.pl.] 'spring festival' (IA), see Chantraine 1933: 63, Schwyzer: 470), month name Ἀνθεστηριών.

Independent formation ἄνθεμον [n.] 'flower, rosette' (Sappho); acc. to Frisk, it cannot be a recent back-formation (as per Leumann 1950: 249ff.), as there are many derivatives; for the formation cf. ἄργεμον and Chantraine 1933: 132, Ruijgh 1957: 102f. Thence ἀνθεμώδης 'rich in flowers' (poet. since Sappho), ἀνθεμωτός 'id.' (Attica), ἀνθεμίς plant name, also 'little flower' (Nic.), ἀνθεμίσιον plant name (Alex. Trall.), ἀνθέμιον 'blossom' (X., Thphr.); Hom. PNs Ἀνθεμίων and Ἀνθεμίδης (acc. to Leumann l.c.), TN Ἀνθεμοῦς (Macedonia). Derived poetic verbs ἀνθεμίζομαι and ἐπανθεμίζω (A., S. [lyr.]).

2. Adjectives: ἄνθινος 'made of flowers, variegated' (ι 84, Hp., Arist.); ἀνθηρός 'rich in flowers', metaph. 'fresh, lush' (S., E., Ar., etc.) is rather from ἀνθέω (Chantraine 1933: 232). Other adjectives are isolated and late (see Frisk).

3. Verb ἀνθέω 'to bloom, blossom' (Od., IA), often metaph.; thence ἄνθησις 'blossom' (Thphr., Plu.), ἐξ-ανθέω, ἐξάνθησις (Hp., Th.) and ἐξάνθημα (Hp., Arist.). Backformation ἄνθη 'flowering' (Pl., Nic., Ael.); verbal adj. ἀνθητικός = ἀνθικός (Thphr.). ἀνθίζω 'to cover with flowers, decorate', with several preverbs (Hdt., S., E., Arist.).

•ETYM ἄνθος has been equated with Skt. *ándhas-* [n.] 'sprout of the soma plant', but see the objections by Burrow *Archiv. Linguist.* 6 (1954): 61 and Chantraine. Uncertain is the appurtenance of Alb. *endë* 'flour'; see Meyer 1891: 5. The word is perhaps also related to Arm. *and* 'field'. The comparison with EFris. *åndul* 'marsh grass' and its

Germanic cognates does not inspire confidence. A connection with ►ἀνήνοθεν (Schwebeablaut *h_2end^h- : h_2nod^h-) is improbable.

ἄνθραξ, -ᾰκος [m.] 'charcoal' (Ar.), metaph. 'carbuncle' (Arist.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Mostly plur. ἄνθρακες.

•DER Many derivatives: diminutive ἀνθράκιον (Thphr.), ἀνθρακιά 'heap of coals' (I 213); ἀνθρακίας "coal-man" (Luc.); ἀνθρακίτης [m.] name of a gem (Plin.), -ῖτις [f.] 'kind of coal' (Plin.); ἀνθρακών [m.] 'heap of coals' (Hdn.), ἀνθράκωμα 'id.' (Dsc.); ἀνθρακάριος· carbonarius (gloss.). Adjectives: ἀνθρακώδης 'like charcoal' (Hp., Arist.), ἀνθρακηρός 'of charcoal' (Alex., Delos), ἀνθράκινος 'of carbuncle' (LXX, pap.).

Denominative verbs: 1. ἀνθρακόομαι 'to be burnt to coals' (A., E., Thphr.), 'to develop an ulcer' (Aët.); thence ἀνθράκωσις 'carbonization' (Dsc.), also 'ulcer' (Paul. Aeg., Gal.). 2. ἀνθρακεύω 'to burn charcoal, carbonize' (Ar., Thphr.); deverbal ἀνθρακεύς 'charcoal burner' (App., Aesop., Them.; φιλανθρακεύς already in Ar.); ἀνθρακευτής 'id.' (And., Ael.), ἀνθρακεία 'carbonization' (Thphr.). 3. ἀνθρακίζω 'to roast on charcoal' (Ar., pap.); back-formation ἀνθρακίδες 'small fish for roasting' (Philyll.); cf. ἐπανθρακίδες 'id.' (Ar.) to ἐπανθρακίζω.

•ETYM One compares Arm. *ant'el* 'charcoal', and further Georg. **nt'* in *v-a-nt'-ab* 'to kindle' (Vogt *NTS* 9 (1962/63): 333), but the formations are different. Fur.: 197, 393 compares ἀνδράχλη 'warming-pan, brazier' (Eust.) (cf. ἀνθράκιον 'brazier'), and furter (391) κάνδαρος· ἄνθραξ (H.), with the interchange κ/ zero. Also note the suffix -ακ- (see *Pre-Greek*). Therefore, a substrate origin is clear; a comparison with Hitt. *āant-* 'warm' is useless, as it does not explain the formation of the Greek word.

ἀνθρηδών, -όνος [f.] 'hornet' (D. S.). ◄PG(V)►

•DER ἀνθρήνη [f.] 'bee, wasp' (Ar., Arist.); thence ἀνθρήνιον [n.] 'wasps' nest' (Ar.), ἀνθρηνιώδης 'built like a wasps' nest' (Plu.).

ἀνθηδών [f.] 'bee' (Damocr. *apud* Gal.).

Further ►τενθρηδών [f.] (Arist., Dsc.), ►πεμφρηδών [f.] 'kind of wasp' (Nic.).

•ETYM No doubt a substrate word. Beside ἀνθρηδών, ἀνθρήνη, we find τενθρηδών (Arist.), τενθρήνη (Nic.); τενθρήνιον (Arist.). There are several forms which lack the first nasal: τεθρηνιώδης (Hp.), ἀθρήνη (Suidas, etc.), and forms without reduplication or initial ἀ-, e.g. θρήνη (Eust.) and θρηνώδης (Democr. *apud* Ael.). Cf. further θρῶναξ· κηφήν. Λάκωνες 'drone (Lacon.)' (H.), though I know of no other cases with the interchange η/ ω. Further note πεμφρηδών [f.] a wasp (Nic.).

In sum, we have a root θρη/ων- with a prothetic vowel or reduplication (cf. κεκρύφαλος, Σίσυφος) and prenasalization; see Kuiper 1956: 221f. We may reconstruct PG **(a)Ntrān-*, **ta-Ntrān-*. For the interchange ν/ δ, we may perhaps compare φληναφάω : φληδῶντα. Πεμφρηδών could show that the word had a labiovelar (see Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12f.). There is no ground to assume that τενθρήνη, τενθρηδών are dissimilated from *τερθρ-; relation to ἀθήρ, ἀνθέριξ is improbable. Needless to say, the connection with ►θρέομαι, ►θόρυβος (Frisk) makes no sense. τεθρηδών· πρωρεύς 'officer in command at the bow' (H.) is a joking

formation from the language of sailors, modelled after animal names in -ηδών (see Chantraine 1933: 360f.).
A difficult problem is the relation to Germanic and Balto-Slavic words for 'drone': OS *dren, drāno*, MoHG *Drohne*, Lith. *trānas*; on this, see Kuiper 1956: 222.

ἄνθρυσκον [n.] 'chervil, Scandix australis' (Sapph.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ἔνθρυσκον (Pherecr.).
•DER ἀνθρίσκος [m.] (Pollux 6, 106); ἀνθρίσκιον· λάχανον ἔχον ἄνθος, ὡς ἄνηθον, ἢ τὸ ἄννησον 'garden herbs, such as dill' (H.).
•ETYM No etymology. Connected with ἀθήρ, ἀνθέριξ because of the prickly fruits (Frisk). Fur.: 364 points to the interchange ι/ υ; for ε/ α, he considers the assimilation α > ε before ι/ υ, which is doubtful. He rejects θρύσκα· ἄγρια λάχανα 'wild herbs' (H.) as a mistake for ἄνθρυσκα. Because of the variations, a substrate origin seems certain.

ἄνθρωπος [m.] 'man' (Il.). ◁PG(S)▷
•DIAL Myc. *a-to-ro-qo* /ant^{h}rōk^{w}os/.
•DER Diminutives, usually depreciatory: ἀνθρώπιον (E., com.), ἀνθρωπίσκος (E., Ar., Pl.), ἀνθρωπάριον (com.).
Further derivatives: ἀνθρωπώ· ἡ γυνὴ παρὰ Λάκωσιν 'woman (Lacon.)' (H.); ἀνθρωπέη, -πῆ [f.] 'human skin' (Hdt., Poll.); ἀνθρωπότης [f.] 'humanity' (Ph., S. E.). Adjectives: ἀνθρώπειος 'human' (Ion. etc. -ήϊος), ἀνθρώπινος 'id.' (IA), ἀνθρωπικός 'id.' (Pl., Arist.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἀνθρωπίζομαι 'to behave like a man' (Ar., Luc.); thence ἀνθρωπισμός 'humankind' (Aristipp.); 2. ἀνθρωπεύομαι [v.] 'to behave like a man' (Arist.); 3. ἀνθρωπόομαι 'to be human' (Plu.).
•ETYM ἄνθρωπος resembles Hitt. *antuu̯aḫḫaš- / antuḫš-* 'man', but it has nothing to do with it, as the latter derives from a compound **h$_1$en-d^{h}u(e)h$_2$-s-* 'having breath/spirit inside' (cf. θυμός < **d^{h}uh$_2$-mó-*). As no IE explanation has been found, the word is probably of substrate origin. The occurrence of *-oq-* in Mycenaean does not prove Indo-European origin, as the substrate language also had labiovelars (e.g. βασιλεύς, Myc. *qa-si-re-u*). Kuiper had already given a substrate interpretation on the basis of δρώψ (Kuiper 1956: 211f and Kuiper *Lingua* 21 (1968): 275f., defended by Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 13-15). Rosén *KZ* 99 (1986): 243f., incorrectly assumes that the laryngeals had an aspirating effect. Improbable suggestions are offered by Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 312 and Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 655f.

ἀνία [f.] 'grief, distress' (Od.). ◁?▷
•VAR Att. either ī or ĭ; Hom. always -ῐ̄η. ἄνια [n.pl.] 'id.' (A. *Pers.* [lyr.]) is taken to be a back-formation after e.g. φιλία: φίλιος.
•DIAL Aeol. ὀνία (Sappho 1, 3).
•DER ἀνιαρός, -ηρός (Od., IA) 'uncomfortable, grievous'. Denominative verbs: ἀνιάω 'to grieve, distress' (Od., IA); also ἀνιάζω (epic since Il.).
•ETYM The connection with Skt. *ámīvā* [f.] 'disease, pain' requires an unwarranted dissimilation *m – u̯ > n – u̯*, and should be rejected. Kuiper *AION* 1 (1959): 157ff. assumes a pre-from **an-is-yā < *n̥-is-io-*, from the root of Skt. *iṣ-* 'to desire', comparing Skt. *an-iṣṭa-* 'unwished for'.

As remarked by Nikolaev 2006, derivation from *h_2eis- 'to search' is semantically not very convincing. He proposes instead to connect the root *$h_1eis(h_2)$- 'to refresh, etc.', reconstructing *$n̥$-$(h_1)is(h_2)$-$i̯o$- (sic!). The suffix -$i̯o$- is assumed to explain the length of ῑ, but a collective *n-His-ih_2 > PGr. *$anihja$ would do better both formally and semantically (the transition to a feminine is trivial).
The reflex of the vocalized nasal in Aeolic is debated: see the discussion by Nikolaev (ibid.: fn. 21), who adduces a suggestion by Bechtel that the PNs Παυσανίας and Λυσανίας contain the genuine Aeolic variant.

ἀνιγρός [adj.] 'unpleasant' (Nic.). ◅?▻
•VAR ἀνιγρόν· ἀκάθαρτον, φαῦλον, κακόν, δυσῶδες, ἀσεβές 'foul, mean, bad, malodorous, impure' (H.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with ▻νίζω is improbable, as this had a labiovelar *-g^w-.

ἄννησον [n.] 'anise, Pimpinella Anisum' (Hp.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR ἄνησον (v.l. in codd.); ἄνησσον (Dsc.); ἄννησσον (inscr. Delos II^a).
•ETYM Probably the same word as ▻ἄνηθον. The variation ν/νν (perhaps also σ/σσ) and the intervocalic -σ- demonstrate substrate origin.

ἀννίς [f.] · μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς μήτηρ 'mother of one's mother or father' (H.; also *IG* 7, 3380 [Boeotia]). ◅IE *h_2en- 'grandmother'▻
•VAR ἀνώ in acc. ἀνών (*IG* 9(2), 877 [Larisa]).
•ETYM Perhaps an elementary formation, like Hitt. *anna-* 'mother'. However, Hitt. *ḫanna-* and Lyc. *χ̃ñna-* 'grandmother' have an initial laryngeal, like Arm. *han* 'grandmother', Lat. *anna* 'foster-mother' and OHG *ana* 'grandmother, ancestor'.

ἀνόκαιον · ὑπερῷον 'upper part of a house'. γράφεται καὶ ἀνώγειον (H.). ⇒ἀνώγαιον.

ἀνοκωχή [f.] 'cessation', especially 'cessation of arms, truce' (Th.). ◅GR▻
•VAR Also ἀνακωχή.
•DER Denominative ἀνοκωχεύω [v.] 'to hold back, hinder' (Hdt., S., etc.), also ἀνακ-; ἀνακωχέω (Hp.).
•ETYM Reduplicated derivative of ἀνέχω, like διοκωχή from διέχω; cf. ▻ἀκώκη. The form with ἀνα- was introduced after the formation had become opaque. The formation is clearly recent, as there is no trace of the initial aspiration (root *hek^h-). See ▻ἔχω.

ἀνόπαια [adv.]? hapax of uncertain mg. (α 320); also the mountain (in the Oeta) and the pass through which the Persians circumvented the pass of Thermopylae (Hdt. 7, 216). ◅GR?▻
•VAR ἀνοπαῖα Hdn. 2, 133; ἀνόπαιος epithet of fire (Emp. 51), perhaps 'up by the hole in the roof'(?).
•ETYM Already unclear in antiquity (see DELG). Bechtel 1914 thinks that it is a hypostasis of ἀνὰ τῇ ὀπῇ 'on high through the hole of the roof'; Chantraine thinks it must be an adverb (ntr.plur.) because of the short -α.

ἄντα [adv.] 'over against, face to face' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2ent- 'face'▻

•VAR Also ἄντην.
•DER ἀντᾶεις 'hostile' (Pi.). Denominative verb ἀντάω 'to come towards, meet with' (Il.); ἀπ-αντάω 'to meet' (IA), ἀπάντησις 'encounter' (S., Arist.) and ἀπάντημα 'id.' (E., LXX).
•ETYM The root noun *ἀντ- gave rise to a derivative ἄντομαι 'to meet, implore' (Il.). ἄντα is the accusative of this noun; the locative is ►ἀντί, and the old instrumental *$h_2$nt-b^hi is continued in ►ἀμφί; see there for further etymology. ἄντην was perhaps formed after δήν, πλήν, etc.; the case form is still apparent in ἔναντα = ἐν ἄντα, etc. For the meaning, we may compare especially Go. *and(a)*- 'against', Lith. *añt* and OLith. *antà* 'towards'.

ἄνται [f.pl.] · ἄνεμοι 'winds' (H.). ◅IE? *$h_2$ueh$_1$- 'blow'▻
•VAR ἀντάς· πνοάς 'breezes, breaths' (H.).
•ETYM To be corrected to ἀῆται, ἀήτας? Derivation from *$h_2$enh$_1$- 'breathe' (see ►ἄνεμος) is impossible, as this would give *ἀνεται < *$h_2$enh$_1$-t- or *ἄται < *h_2n̥h$_1$-t-). See discussion on ἀήτης s.v. ►ἄημι.

ἀντακαῖος [m.] a kind of sturgeon (Hdt.). ◅LW▻
•VAR Also adjectival (Antiph.).
•ETYM Unknown. Probably an adapted foreign word; cf. Hdt. 4, 53: κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι (the fish is found in the Borysthenes = Dniepr).

ἄνταρ [n.] · ἀετὸς ὑπο Τυρρηνῶν 'eagle (Etruscan)'. Εὐφορίων δὲ δίασμια 'warp' (H.) ◅Etr., GR?▻
•ETYM These are clearly two glosses. The first is Etruscan; for the second, cf. ἀντίον '(part of the) loom', so it probably derives from ἀντ- in ἀντί etc., with the inanimate suffix -αρ (or from ►ἀραρίσκω?).

ἀντάτας m. 'surety, guarantor (Cretan)'. ◅GR▻
•ETYM Lit. "who pays (gets the damage, ἄτη) for another"; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 91.

ἀντήρης [adj.] 'set over against, opposite' (S.). ◅GR▻
•ETYM From ἀνταείρω 'to raise against', thus *ἀντ(ι)-ᾱϝέρ-ης (cf. *ἠϝελιος > ἥλιος), acc. to Blanc *RPh.* 66 (1992): 247-254.

ἀντηρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'prop, support' (E.). ◅GR▻
•VAR ἀντήριος· στήμων, καὶ κανὼν ὁ προσκείμενος τῇ θύρᾳ 'warp; bar placed on a door' (H.).
•ETYM Backformation from ἀντερείδω 'to lean against', with lengthening of the initial root vowel, and reshaping of -ρειδ- after the suffix -ιδ- (as in ἐγκρίς); cf. ἐγκλίς to ἐγκλίνω, ἐμπίς to ἐμπίνω. For the formation in -ιος, cf. παγίς : πάγιος, βωμίς : βώμιος.

ἄντηστις [?] 'confronting', only in κατ' ἄντηστιν θεμένη περικαλλέα δίφρον (υ 387). ◅GR▻
•ETYM From ἄντην ἵστασθαι, with ἀντη- as a first member. The second member is the zero grade -στ- with suffixal -ι-, cf. ἕξαστις < *ἑξ-αν-στ-ις. See Bechtel 1914 s.v.

ἀντί [prep.] 'opposite, over against; instead of' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2ent- 'front, face'▷

•DIAL Myc. *a-ti-pa-mo* /Antip^{h}āmos/, etc.

•COMP ἔναντι, ἀπέναντι, κατέναντι (Dor., Hell.); ἀνάντης 'uphill, steep' (Hdt.); see also ▶ἀντιάνειρα.

•DER ἀντίος 'opposite, opposed to' (Il.; Att. prose has ἐναντίος), thence ἀντιάδες [f.pl.] 'tonsils' (medic.). Denominative ἀντιόομαι [v.] 'to oppose' (Hdt.). ἀντιάω 'to come towards, participate, etc.' (epic Ion. poet.) was derived from the ntr.plur. ἀντία [adv.] 'opposite'; post-Homeric is ἀντιάζω.

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *ánti* 'facing', Lat. *ante* 'before', and Hitt. *ḫanti* 'opposite, separate'. It is the old locative of a root noun preserved in Hitt. *ḫant-* 'front, forehead'. Another case form of the same noun is ▶ἄντα.

ἀντιάνειρα [f.] epithet of the Amazons (Il.); further only in Pi. *Ol.* 12, 16, στάσις ἀντιάνειρα '(faction) in which man is set against man'. ◁GR▷

•ETYM Cf. κυδι-άνειρα and βωτι-άνειρα. The words is a compound from ἀντί and ἀνήρ, with the original meaning 'a match for men' (cf. ἀντίθεος 'godlike'), but often taken as 'hostile to men'.

ἀντικρύ [adv.] 'right opposite' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Att. ἄντικρυς, καταντικρύ (with stress after ἰθύ?).

•DIAL Att. κατ-, ἀπ-αντροκυ (*IG* 2^2, 1672: 25 and 1668: 88) perhaps from *ἀντα-κρυ (see Beekes and Cuypers below).

•ETYM Assuming a compound with ἀντι- does not help much (the connection with ἀντικρούω 'to come into collision' by Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 356 is improbable, as are other attempts). Beekes and Cuypers *Mnem.* 56 (2003) argue that the -υ is short, but metrically lengthened in Homer.

The Attic form may have developed from ἀντα-κρυ with anticipation of the ρ and assimilation α > ο.

ἄντλος [m.] 'bilge-water' (Od.). ◁?▷

•DIAL Myc. *a-ta-ra*, a vase, has been interpreted as /antla/, but this may be doubted.

•DER ἀντλία 'bilge-water, hold of a ship' (S., Ar.), 'container' (pap.), ἀντλίον 'id.' (Ar.). Denominative verb ἀντλέω 'to bale out bilge-water, pump' (Hdt.); late verbal nouns ἄντλησις, ἀντλησμός; ἄντλημα 'bucket'.

•ETYM Connection with Lat. *sentīna* 'bilge-water' (Solmsen 1909: 189; Chantraine 1933: 375), for which preforms *ἄντλος (psilosis) < *ἄμ-θλο- are assumed, is impossible in Indo-European terms, as *$sm̥$- would give ἀ-, not ἀν-. If reliable, the Myc. form would exclude an original *s-. Quite convincing is the proposal by Benveniste *BSL* 50 (1954): 39 to compare Hitt. *ḫān-^{i}* 'to draw water', although it requires an unusual suffix -τλος (cf. DELG). This is accepted by both Puhvel *HED* and Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. The comparsion with Lat. *sentīna* remains tempting, but in this case the word cannot be Indo-European, which seems quite well possible for a technical term.

ἄντομαι ⇒ἄντα.

ἄντομος [m.] 'country road' (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 12), probably not 'palisade'. ◁?▷

•VAR ἀντόμους· σκόλοπας. Σικελοί 'anything pointed (Sicilian)' (H.).
•ETYM Explained as *ἀνάτομος to ἀνατέμνω 'to cut open', but the semantics are not very convincing. Hardly related to Lat. *antemna* 'yard' (as per von Blumenthal 1930: 16).

ἄντρον [n.] 'cave' (Od.). ◂PG?▸
•DER ἀντρώδης 'with many caves' (X., Arist.), ἀντραῖος 'living in caves' (E.), ἀντριάδες [f.pl.] 'cave nymphs' (*AP*, Phryn.), cf. κρηνιάδες, ὀρεστιάδες; ἀντρῆΐς [f.] 'living in caves' (Antip. Sid.).
•ETYM Derivation of ἄντρον and Arm. *ayr* 'grotto' from a pre-form **antēr* (De Lamberterie *BSL* 73 (1978): 243f.) is impossible, as was shown by Clackson 1994: 98. Connection with ἄνεμος (Schwyzer: 532) is formally impossible since the root is dissyllabic *h_2enh_1-. Giannakis *Glotta* 76 (2000): 192-198 incorrectly explains the form as from **anti-trh$_2$-om*, with the root **terh$_2$-* 'to cross'. The disappearance of **-ti-* and the loss of the laryngeal are both improbable. Lat. *antrum* is a loan from Greek. It is best to return to Chantraine 1933: 331 and assume a substrate word.

ἄντυξ, -γος [f.] 'edge, rim of anything round; rail of a chariot' (Il.), cf. Delebecque 1951: 177f. ◂?▸
•ETYM Previously explained as ἀνά plus a root noun -τυξ as belonging to τεύχω, τετυκεῖν. However, since these have -χ- or -κ-, the etymology is highly questionable. The word resembles ▸ἄμπυξ (gen. -κος), which has no etymology either; see also on ▸καταΐτυξ, which is unclear as well.

ἄνυμι [v.] 'to effect, accomplish' (Il.). ◂IE **senH-* 'win, accomplish'▸
•VAR Thematic ἀνύω, ἀνύω; *ἄνϝω > ἄνω; enlarged with dental ἀνύτω, Att. ἀνύτω (see Schwyzer: 704: 1), aor. ἤνυσα (secondary, see below), ἤνεσα (Strunk, below). Glosses κασάνεις· ἀνύεις, Λάκωνες (H.) < *καθανεις; ἀανές· οὐ τελεσθησόμενον 'not about to be fulfilled' (H.).
•DIAL Myc. *a-nu-to* /Anutos/; *a$_2$-nu-me-no* /^{h}anumenos/.
•DER ἄνυσις 'success, accomplishment' (epic poet., late prose), whence ἀνύσιμος 'successful' (X., Pl.); ἄνυσμα 'id.' (sch.). ἀν-ήνυ(σ)τος 'unfeasible, without end' (Od.); from this ἀνυστός (ἀν-) 'feasible' (E., X.), ἀνυ(σ)τικός 'effective' (X., Arist.). ἀνυτής = Lat. *exactor* (Just.).
•ETYM ἄνυμι is related to Skt. *sanóti* 'to win, obtain' < **sn̥-n-eu-*. Acc. to Strunk 1967: 116, the aorist ἤνεσα < **senh$_1$-s-* is old and corresponds to Skt. *asāniṣam*. If this is correct, Hitt. *ša(n)ḫ-^{zi}* 'to search, try, mean' < **senh$_2$-* cannot be related. Cf. also the group of OHG *sinnan* 'to strive for'. See ▸αὐθέντης.

ἄνωγα [v.] 'to command, order' (Il.), perf. with present mg. ◂IE **h$_1$eǵ-* 'say', or **h$_2$eǵ-*▸
•VAR Plpf. ἠνώγεα; secondary pres. ἀνώγω, aor. -ξα (Schwyzer: 767).
•DIAL An Achaean word, see Ruijgh 1957: 128ff.
•ETYM Originally, a compound ἄν-ωγα 'to proclaim loudly' < **-h$_1$e-h$_1$oǵ-*, ablauting with ἦ 'he said' < **h$_1$e-h$_1$eǵ-t*. Related to Lat. *aiō* < **ăǵ-i̯o-H* (probably from **h$_1$ǵ-*, but the development remains difficult; see Schrijver 1991: 485; *adagiō* 'proverb' is probably unrelated; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *aiō*). Also related to Arm. *arar*

'proverbium', pres. *asem* 'say' (*s* < **ǵ*); Arm. *a-* < **h₁-* before consonant would be regular. Hackstein 1995: 332-4 assumes initial **h₂-* because of ToB *ākṣäṃ*, but his connection with Gr. ►ἄζω is improbable; this is followed by LIV² s.v. **h₂eǵ-* 'sagen'. Cf. ►ἠμί.

ἀνώγαιον [n.] 'anything raised from the ground' (X.), 'prison'. ◅GR▻
•VAR Also ἀνάγαιον and ►ἀνόκαιον.
•ETYM Clearly a compound of γῆ with ἄνω. See ►γῆ.

ἀξῖνη [f.] 'axe' (Il.), δίστομος πέλεκυς 'two-edged axe' (H.). ◅LW▻
•ETYM Compared with Lat. *ascia* 'axe' and Germanic words for 'axe', Go. *aqizi*, etc., but this does not lead to an IE reconstruction. Ruijgh *BiOrbis* 54 (1997): 540[11] notes that *-īn-* is a typical substrate suffix, and that the sign for *a* in Linear B is a double axe. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 656 remarks that Akk. *haṣṣinu* and Aram. *ḥaṣṣīnā* are so close that they must be the same word. I propose that the Semitic and Greek words are loans from an Anatolian language.

ἄξιος [adj.] 'worth' (Il.). ◅IE? **h₂eǵ-* 'carry'▻
•DER Abstract ἀξία 'value, wages' (IA). Denominative ἀξιόω, -όομαι [v.] 'to deem worthy, esteem; require' (S., IA); thence ἀξίωμα 'estimation, requirement, decree, etc.' (Att., Hell.), diminutive ἀξιωμάτιον (Arr.), adjective ἀξιωματικός 'high in rank' (Hell.); ἀξίωσις 'valuation, assessment, opinion' (Hdt., Th., E.).
•ETYM Generally assumed to be derived from ἄγω in the sense of 'to weigh' (cf. Lat. *agīna*), perhaps first from **ἄξις* 'weight'. Some doubts remain, as no such derivative in *-ti-* is known from ἄγω, and the semantics are not really strong.

ἀξουγγία ⇒ὀξύγγιον.

ἄξων, -ονος [m.] 'axle, axis' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂eḱs-*▻
•DIAL Myc. *a-ko-so-ne* /aksones/.
•ETYM Old noun, also found in Skt. *ákṣa-* [m.], Lat. *axis*, Lith. *ašìs*, OCS *osь*; OHG *ahsa* [f.], all 'axle, axis'. Derivatives in *-l-* are found in ON *ǫxull* [m.], W *echel* [f.], Lat. *āla* 'arm-pit, wing' < **aks-lā* (cf. *axilla*). The word has been connected with ἄγω (Benveniste 1935: 7, 24, 121), but this is uncertain. It is improbable that ἄξων is contained in ►ἅμαξα.

ἄοζος [m.] 'servant (of a god)' (A. *Ag.* 231 [lyr.], Call. *fr.* 353, *IG* 9(1), 976 [Corcyra, metr. inscr.]). ◅PG?(V)▻
•VAR ἄοζοι· ὑπηρέται, θεράποντες, ἀκόλουθοι 'servants, attendants, followers' (H.); ἄζος = θεράπων or θεράπαινα (Seleucus, gloss. *apud* Ath. 6, 267c = Eust. 1024, 44 and 1090, 56).
•DIAL Myc. *a-o-ze-jo* probably does not belong here.
•DER ἀοζία 'service of a god' (epigr.); denominative ἀοζέω [v.] 'to serve' (A. *fr.* 54, H.).
•ETYM In the same sense as ὄζος in epic ὄζος Ἄρηος, if this means θεράπων; cf. ὀζεία (cod. ὀζειέα)· θεραπεία (H.). This ὄζος has been considered identical with ►ὄζος 'branch' from antiquity onwards: ὁ κλάδος τοῦ πολέμου 'the branch of war' (H.).

Modern scholars have taken it as 'sprout', but DELG notes that ὄζος does not have this meaning. Although DELG accepts the connection with ὄζος < *o-sd-o- (prefix o- and zero grade of *sed-* 'sit down'), but it is not very convincing semantically. Brugmann *IF* 19 (1906): 379 argues against Schulze 1892: 498, who explained ἄοζος from *ἀ-σοδ-ι̯ο-ς (to ὁδός), but Frisk and DELG do not reject this.
Fur.: 341 cites the form ἄζος, and concludes from the interchange α/ ο that the word is Pre-Greek. He assumes (374, following Frisk) that ἄοζος has a secondary copulative α- under influence of ►ἀοσσέω 'to accompany', but this must remain uncertain, as it could also be a real Pre-Greek prothetic vowel.

ἀολλής, -ες [adj.] 'all together, in throngs' (Il.). ◄IE **uel-* 'press'►
•DER ἀολλίζω [v.] 'to press together, assemble' (epic poet.) and ἀολλεῖ· συνάγει 'brings together' (H.), whence ἀόλλησις (*EM*). Adverb ἀολλήδην 'together' (Mosch., Opp.).
•ETYM ἀολλής < *ἀ-ϝολνής is probably the Aeol. form of *ἀ-ϝαλνής; see ►ἅλής.

ἄορ, -ορος [n.] 'sword' (Il.). ◄IE? **n̥s-* 'sword'►
•VAR For ἄορας [acc.pl.] ρ 222 read ἄορα γ'. See Trümpy 1950: 60ff.
•DIAL Note the tribe of the Ἀορεῖς in Corinth and the Ἄϝοροι on Corcyra.
•COMP χρυσάορος, also χρυσάορ-α, -ι (Il.), epithet of gods and godesses, also of Orpheus, 'with golden sword', but others take it as 'with golden pendant' (below); also PN Χρυσάωρ (Hes.).
•ETYM ἄορ was taken as a root noun related to ἀείρω with the original meaning 'what hangs'; this would fit χρυσάορος well. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 312f. rejected this, assuming **n̥s-r̥*, with the *o*-grade from an Aeolic (or Achaean) zero grade. This would be cognate with Lat. *ēnsis* 'sword' and Skt. *asi-* (both from **n̥s-i-*), though the Skt. word means 'butcher's knife'. Scholars have also pointed to Pal. *hašira-* 'dagger', but **h₂ns-* would have given Gr. **ἀν-*. All in all, the etymology remains a bit uncertain.

ἄορον [m.] · μοχλόν, πυλῶνα, θυρωρόν. Κύπριοι 'bar or bolt, gateway, porter (Cypr.)' (H.). ◄IE? **h₂uer-* 'shut, cover'►
•ETYM Comparable forms are OCS *za-vorъ* 'μοχλός', Ru. *za-vór* 'passage blocked with bars', related to OCS *za-vrěti* 'to shut' < earlier **ver-ti*, and Lith. *su-vérti* 'id.', Skt. *api-vr̥ṇoti* 'to lock', and Lat. *operiō* 'id.'. Previously, an action noun **sm̥-u̯oro-* 'locking' was assumed for the Greek word, but the meaning of **sm̥-* would be unclear. Therefore, a root **h₂uer-* is preferable, which nicely confirms Lubotsky's analysis of Skt. *vr̥ṇóti* 'to shut' as **Huer-* in view of forms like *ā́var, ápāvr̥ta-, ápīvr̥ta-*, see Lubotsky 2000a: 315-325. The acute in the Balto-Slavic forms is probably secondary.

ἀορτή •VAR ἀορτήρ. ⇒ἀείρω 2.

ἀοσσέω [v.] 'to help, support'. ◄IE **sekʷ-* 'follow'►
•VAR Only aor. ἀοσσῆσαι (Mosch. 4, 110).

•DER ἀοσσητήρ [m.] 'helper, protector' (Il.); cf. ὁσσητῆρα· βοηθόν 'assistant' and ἐοσσητήρ· ἐπίκουρος, τιμωρός, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀοσσητήρ 'ally, avenger (instead of ἀ.)' (H.), but the forms are unexplained.
•ETYM ἀοσσέω is an iterative deverbative or denominative from *ἄοσσος < **sm-sok^{w}-io-* (an old formation, cf. Lat. *socius*) from the root of ▶ἕπομαι, Lat. *sequor*. On account of the aspiration in Skt. *sákhi-* 'ally, associate', one often finds the reconstruction **sok$^{w}h_{2}$-i-*. Pinault therefore adduced this word as an example for his rule that a laryngeal was lost between consonant and *yod* in PIE (Pinault 1982: 265-272), but the so-called Lex Pinault is still under debate. See on ▶ἕπομαι, ▶ὀπάων, and Myc. *e-qe-ta*.

ἁπαλός [adj.] 'tender, weak' (Il.). ◁?▷
•DER ἁπαλία 'tenderness' (Gp.) and ἁπαλίας 'sucking-pig' (D. L. 8, 20; uncertain); ἁπάλιον· θῦμα, δελφάκιον 'victim; sucking-pig' (H.) (but the text is doubtful). Denominative verb ἁπαλύνω 'to soften' (X., Hp. usw.), ἁπαλυσμός (Hp.), ἁπαλυντής (Zonar.).
•ETYM Unknown. The formation may be compared with ὁμαλός, ἀταλός, see Chantraine 1933: 245. Fur.: 224 compares ἀμαλός, assuming variation π/ μ; this is possible, but uncertain.

ἁπαντάω ⇒ἄντα.

ἅπαξ [adv.] 'once' (Od.). ◁IE **peh$_{2}$ǵ-* 'firm, solid'▷
•ETYM From ἀ- < **sm̥-* 'one' (cf. ▶εἷς) and -παξ, related to ▶πήγνυμι 'to fix, coagulate', with adverbial -ς.

ἁπαργία [f.] a plant which has its leaves on the ground (Thphr. *HP* 7, 8, 3). ◁?▷
•ETYM Strömberg 1944: 30f. thinks it comes from ἀργός 'brilliant, white' (cf. ▶ἄργεμον, ▶ἀργεμώνη) because of the color; unfortunately, we know nothing about the latter.

ἁπαρῖνη [f.] the plant 'cleavers, Gallium aparine' (Thphr.). ◁PG?(S)▷
•ETYM André *Latomus* 15 (1956): 295 connects it with ἀρήν (?). However, note the suffix -ῑν-, which is typical of the substrate language.

ἅπας [adj.] 'all, whole' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM From ἀ- (cf. εἷς) and ▶πᾶς, s.v.

ἀπάτη [f.] 'fraud, deceit' (Il.); on the mg. see Luther 1935: 97ff. ◁PG(S,V)▷
•DER ἀπατηλός 'fraudulent, deceitful' (Il., IA), perhaps from ἀπατάω (Chantraine 1933: 241f.), with the metrical variant ἀπατήλιος (Od.); ἀπατεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'deceiver' (Hp., Democr., Pl.); ἀπάτυλλα (Cerc., *POxy.* 1082 *fr.* 39) is found in ἐξαπατύλλω (Ar.), cf. Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 219.
Denominative ἀπατάω [v.] 'to deceive' (Il.). Thence ἀπάτησις 'deception' (LXX, Phld.), ἀπάτημα 'deceit' (Gorg.), ἀπατήμων 'deceitful' (Orac. *apud* Zos.), ἀπατητικός 'id.' (Pl., Arist.), ἀπατητής 'fraud' (gloss.); ἀπατεύω = ἀπατάω (Xenoph. 11).
•ETYM Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 283 connected ἠπεροπεύς, explaining ἀπάτη as **ἀπϝ-τᾱ* from an *r/n*-stem **ἄπαρ, *ἀπνός*. This is morphologically unconvincing.

Connection with πόντος, πάτος and Go. *finþan* as per Pedersen 1926: 65 is improbable.
Fur.: 234f. connected ἄτη < *ἀϝα-τη, with the substrate variation π/ ϝ, which is possible but not compelling either. His comparison with ἀπαφεῖν is attractive (for which the variant ἀποφεῖν shows substrate origin, see ►ἀπαφίσκω), as this has the same meaning. If ἥπερ-οπ-εύω is cognate, note the suffix -οπ-, which is also a substrate element (Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 18-25).

Ἀπατούρια [n.pl.] the festival 'Apatouria'. ◄GR, IE **sm-ph₂tor-uo-*►
•DER As a name of Aphrodite Ἀπατουρία, Ἀπατουριάς, also the back-formation Ἀπατούρη (Troezen, Pantikapaion, Phanagoria); further Ἀπάτουρον 'τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν' (Str. 11, 2, 10). Month name Ἀπατουριών, -εών, also Ἀπατοριών (Amorgos).
•ETYM Old celebration of the Ionians, on the occasion of which new members were accepted to the phratries. It derives from an intermediary adjective *ἀπάτουρος (e.g. Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 336) < *ἀπατορϝος, which consists of copulative α- and the *o*-grade of πατήρ, so **sm-ph₂tor-u-* 'of the same father'. The -ϝ- is compared with Skt. *pítṛvya-* 'father's brother', Lat. *patruus* 'id.', etc. (see on ►μητρυιά). Differently Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 656.

ἀπαφίνιον [n.] · Λάκωνες κάρδοπον λιθίνην (...) 'stone kneading-trough (Lacon.)' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. DELG compares ἀφινιάζει, of which the explanation is lost.

ἀπαφίσκω [v.] 'to deceive' (Od.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Aor. ἀπαφεῖν, also ἀπαφῆσαι (*h. Ap.*); ἀποφεῖν· ἀπατῆσαι 'to deceive' (H.).
•ETYM The present was probably built on the aorist. Van Windekens connects it with μέμφομαι, but reduplication of ἀφ- < *ηmb^h- is highly improbable. The form ἀποφεῖν, if it was not influenced by ἀπό, suggests substrate origin, as assumed by Fur.: 341; he also connects it with ἀπάτη (234). Perhaps here ►ἀποφώλιος.

ἄπαφος [m.] · ἔποψ τὸ ὄρνεον 'hoopoe, Upupa epops' (H.). ◄PG►
•ETYM Onomatopoeic, with the suffix -αφος frequent in animal names (see Chantraine 1933: 263). The variation with ἔποψ, -πος suggests a substrate word. Cf. Lat. *upupa*.

ἀπαφουλίστωρ [?] · σταφυλῖνος Λάκωνες 'carrot (Lacon.)' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Latte comments: "ἀφ-υλίστωρ cum u.l. ἀπ-"; but the meaning of ἀφυλίζειν 'to strain, filter' does not fit semantically. Could it stand for *σταφουλ-?

ἀπειλή [f.] 'threat', also 'promise' (Il.). ◄IE? **h₂pelH-* (?) 'speak publicly'►
•DER ἀπειλέω [v.] 'to promise, threaten' (Il., IA). ἀπειλητήρ [m.] 'threatener, boaster' (Il., poet.), fem. ἀπειλήτειρα (Nonn.); ἀπειλητής 'id.' (D. S., J.). Adjectives: ἀπειλητήριος 'threatening' (Hdt.) and ἀπειλητικός 'id.' (Pl., X.); agent nouns: ἀπειλήματα 'threats' (S.), ἀπείλησις 'threat' (Phld.).
•ETYM If related to Latv. *peĩt* 'to revile', the root would be **h₂pel(H)*-. Assuming *s*-mobile, ἀπειλή has further been compared with the Germanic group of Go. *spill* [n.]

'fable', and also with Arm. *aṙa-spel* 'legend, proverb', in which case the *s-* would pose difficulties as Armenian also vocalizes the initial laryngeal. LIV² assumes a nasal present **(s)pelnH-* with secondary full grade and copulative α-, and compares ToA *pällāntär*, ToB *pällātär* 'to praise'. In view of the many additional hypotheses required, this seems rather far-fetched.

ἀπειρέσιος [adv.] 'endless, immense' (Il.). ◅GR▻

•VAR ἀπερείσιος; also ἀπείριτος (Od.).

•ETYM For *ἀπερέσιος, a derivation in -ιο- from *ἀ-περ-ετος, a privative verbal adjective to ▻πείρω, with metrical lengthening (Chantraine 1942: 101). ἀπείριτος (κ 195, Hes. *Th.* 109, etc.), with unclear -ι-, has the same meaning. As Vine 1998: 26ff. remarks, the *e*-grade root is remarkable in a formation in **-etó-*.

ἀπέλλαι [f.pl.] '(people's) assembly' (*IG* 5(1), 1144: 21, 1146: 41 [Gytheion I[a]]). ◅?▻

•VAR = σηκοί, ἐκκλησίαι, ἀρχαιρεσίαι 'precincts, assemblies, elections of magistrates' (H.).

•DIAL Doric.

•DER Ἀπελλαῖος, -αιών Doric month name (Delphi, Epidauros; Tenos); τὰ ἀπελλαῖα 'sacrifice at the apellai' (Delphi); ἀπελλακάς· ἱερῶν κοινωνούς (H.). Denominative ἀπελλάζω, Laconian for ἐκκλησιάζω (Plu., H.).

•ETYM Formally, a connection with IE **h₂pel-* would be the most easy solution, but there are no obvious cognates for such a root. In Greek, we find a gloss ἀπέλλειν· ἀποκλείειν, and this may well provide us with the original meaning of ἀπέλλαι, enclosed space, meeting place'. Note that σηκοί in the gloss cited above means 'pen, fold', and compare σάκωσε· ἀπέκλεισεν.

I have argued that the name of Apollo (see on ▻Ἀπόλλων) has nothing to do with the ἀπέλλαι (Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003): 1-21).

ἀπελλόν [n.] · αἴγειρος 'black poplar' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The word has been connected with Lat. *pōpulus*. Although IE origin is improbable, a reconstruction **h₂pel-* > ἀπελ- is possible in principle, with *po-h₂pel-o-* > **pōpelo-* > Lat. *pōpulus*. Does HG *Vielbaum* also belong here (Kluge and Seebold 1989 s.v. *Pappel*)?

ἄπελος [n.] 'wound' (Call. *fr.* 343). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. A derivation from πέλας 'skin' with privative ἀ-, or from the root of Lat. *pellō* 'to push', is improbable. Van Windekens *Orbis* 15 (1966): 256 compared ToB *pīle*, ToA *päl* 'wound', on which see Adams 1999; highly uncertain.

ἀπεράω [v.] 'to pour out' (A.). ◅GR?▻

•DER ἀπέρασις (Thphr.). Beside it ἐξ-εράω 'pour out, vomit' (Hp.), ἐξέραμα 'spittle, vomit' (NT), ἐξέρασις 'dye extract' (*PHolm.* 15, 39). Also δι-, κατ-, κατεξ-, μετ-, συν-εράω (Hell.).

•ETYM Acc. to Debrunner *IF* 48 (1930): 282, the word is a denominative of ἔρα 'earth' (cf. ▻ἔραζε), cf. the scholion to Ar. *Vesp.* 993: ἐξεράσω· εἰς τὴν γῆν μεταβαλῶ· ἔρα γὰρ ἡ γῆ. In this case, ἐξερᾶν originally meant 'to pour out on the earth', which is possible. On MoGr. ξερνῶ, ἐξέρασα, see Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 399f.

ἀπερείσιος ⇒ἀπειρέσιος.

ἀπήνη [f.] 'four-wheeled wagon' (Il.), synonymous with ἅμαξα, see Delebecque 1951: 174f. ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR πήνα· ἀπήνη 'four-wheeled wagon' (H.). Myc. *a-pe-ne-wo* /apēnēwōn/ [gen.pl.] would be an attribute of drawing animals, but ἀπήνη probably had -āvā (see below).

•ETYM The gloss πήνα· ἀπήνη (H.) suggests that the ἀ- is a real prothetic vowel and that the word is Pre-Greek. This excludes a morphological analysis ἀπ-ηνη. Further, there is the synonym καπᾶνᾱ (Xenarch. 11, Thess.), with interchange κ-/ zero. Fur.: 224[96] compares γάπος· ὄχημα. Τυρρηνοί 'wagon (Etr.)' (H.), also adducing (285) λαμπήνη 'id.', which has a variant λαπίνη without prenasalization; on variation λ/ zero see Fur.: 392. Further, one has compared ἀμανάν· ἅμαξαν (H.).

Bănăţeanu *REIE* 3 (1943): 141 thought the word is Anatolian (which amounts to saying that it is a substrate word); Szemerényi *JHS* 94 (1947): 149f. thought it could be Semitic.

The comparison with καπάνα is the most convincing and shows foreign (substrate) origin, because of the variation κ-/ zero, see Fur.: 391f. This means that some of the other variants adduced by Furnée must be left aside.

ἀπηνής, -ές [adj.] 'unfriendly, harsh' (Il.). ◅IE? **h₂en-os-* 'face'▻

•DER ἀπήνεια [f.] 'harshness' (Thphr., A. R.).

•ETYM Formation like πρᾱνής (πρηνής) and προσηνής (προσᾱνής), from ἀπό (πρό, πρός) with a second element for which *ἦνος [n.] 'face' is traditionally assumed. A problem with this analysis is that Skt. **ānas-* does not exist, and that *ānana-* [n.] 'mouth' is of uncertain interpretation. Blanc *CEG* 1 connects ►ἀναίνομαι, which is doubtful. So there is no clear etymology.

ἀπηύρων ⇒ἀπούρας.

ἀπινυόσσω ⇒πέπνυμαι.

ἄπιον [n.] 'pear' (Pl.). ◅?▻

•VAR ἄπιος [f.] 'pear tree' (Thphr.), but these are not always distinguished, cf. Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 17.

•ETYM Related to Lat. *pirum, pirus*. Generally considered to be a Mediterranian LW. See Hubschmid 1963: 121. Berger *MSS* 9 (1956): 15ff compares Burushaski *pheṣo*, which is improbable. Steinbauer 1989: 68 argues that the word could be from IE **h₂pis-o-*, which seems even less likely.

ἄπιος [adj.] 'distant, far away' (Il.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM From ἀπό; for the formation, cf. ἀντίος. The word appears in the formula (τηλόθεν) ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης. In S. *OC* 1685 it has a long ἀ-, probably under influence of Ἀπία 'Peloponnese'; see ►Ἄπις. See ►ἀπό.

ἄπλετος [adj.] 'boundless, immense' (Emp., S., IA prose), said of the sky, height, time, gold. ◅?▻

•ETYM Privative ἀ- plus an unknown second member; not related to ►πλέθρον, as per DELG.

ἁπλόος [adj.] 'single, simple' (A.). ◁?▷
•VAR Contracted ἁπλοῦς; hapax ἁπλός (*An. Ox.* 2, 231).
•COMP διπλόος, διπλοῦς 'twofold, double, twice' (since Il.), also διπλός (Opp.).
•DER ἁπλοΐς [f.] (Il.), of χλαῖνα. Diminutive ἁπλοΐδιον (pap.); ἁπλοϊκός 'simple, plain' (Hell.). ἁπλότης [f.] 'simplicity, plainness' (X., Arist.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἁπλόω [v.] 'to develop, unfold', whence ἅπλωσις and ἅπλωμα, ἁπλωτικός (all late); 2. ἁπλοΐζομαι 'to act modestly' (X., D. C.).
•ETYM ἁπλόος is the opposite of διπλόος, διπλοῦς 'twofold, double' (Il.) and late διπλός (Opp.). Direct connection of ἁπλός with Lat. *simplus*, *duplus*, and Gm. forms like Go. *tweifl* [acc.] 'doubt' (assuming a root **pel-* 'to fold') is problematic, as Gr. -πλος is late and rare compared to -πλόος. Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 218 considered secondary influence of -πλόϝος 'sailing', related to ▶πλέω. Cf. ▶διπλάσιος.

ἀπό [prep.] 'far away, away from' (Il.) ◁IE **h₂epo* 'from'▷
•VAR ἄπο [adv.].
•DIAL Arc.-Cypr., Aeol. ἀπύ. Note Myc. *a-pu-do-ke*, *a-pe-do-ke* /apu-dōke/, /ap-edōke/.
•DER Beside ἄπο-θεν also ἄπωθεν 'from afar, far from' (Schwyzer: 628, Lejeune 1939: 332).
•ETYM Old adverb and preverb, identical with Skt. *ápa* 'away from', Lat. *ab*, and Go. *af* 'down'; probably also to Hitt. *āppa* 'after' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). From PIE *h₂épo*, which has a variant **h₂pó-* > OCS *po*, >> PGm. *fana* that would also have given ἀπό. See ▶ἄπιος.

ἀποδιδρᾰ́σκω ⇒διδρᾰ́σκω.

ἀπόερσε [v.] 'swept away' (Il.). ◁IE? **uer-* 'tear'▷
•VAR Only this form occurs.
•ETYM Formerly interpreted as the *s*-aorist from a root **uer-* or **uers-* (Gil *Emerita* 32 (1964): 181), which was also supposed in ▶ἀπούρας, but this probably has a root **ur-eh₂-*. Forssman 1980: 192 more convincingly reconstructs ἀπόερσε as **uert-s-* from the root for 'turn', also seen in ▶ἔρρω < **uert-ie/o-*.

ἀπόθεστος [adj.] 'despised, uncared for', said of Odysseus's dog (ρ 296). ◁GR▷
•ETYM The opposite πολύ-θεστος 'much desired' (Call.) and PNs such as Ἑρμιό-θεστος, Boeot. Θιό-φειστος, and ἄ-θεστος (of Ἐρινύς, H.) show that the word belongs to ▶θέσσασθαι, root **g^{wh}ed^{h}-*. Incorrect hypothesis (ἀ-πόθεστος) by Leumann 1950: 64f.

ἄποινα [n.pl.] 'ransom, fine' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Sing. ἄποινον (*IG* 14, 1389: 1; 10).
•ETYM Formerly analyzed as **ἀπόποινος* with haplology, so derived from ἀποτίνω 'to pay, atone', modelled after ποινή : τίνω. Rather, it is simply from **sm̥-* in the sense of 'equalizing payment, atonement', see West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 121.

ἀπόκυνον [n.] plant name 'Cynanchum erectum' or 'Marsdenia erecta' (Dsc.). ◁GR▷

•VAR = μάζα μεμιγμένη φαρμάκῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν κυνῶν 'cake mixed with a drug against the killing of dogs' (H.).
•ETYM Substantivized from an adjective *ἀπόκυνος 'hostile to dogs', acc. to Strömberg 1944: 26.

ἀπολάντιον [n.] probably a herb, in σπάρτα ἀπολαντίου (*PMag. Lond.* 1, 121, 209 [III^{P}]). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR παλλάντιον (*Hippiatr.* 66).
•ETYM The proposal of Strömberg 1944: 27 to connect λέντιον 'linen cloth' is improbable. Fur.: 344 compares παλλάντιον, a kind of grass, which suggests that the words are Pre-Greek.

ἀπολαύω [v.] 'to enjoy' (Ar.), "von Haus aus kein feines Wort" (Wackernagel 1916: 229). ◂IE? **leh₂u-* 'seize, capture'▸
•DER Verbal nouns ἀπόλαυσις (Att.), ἀπόλαυσμα (late) 'enjoyment', adjective ἀπολαυστικός 'producing enjoyment' (Arist., Plb.).
•ETYM Mostly connected with λεία 'booty', Dor. λᾱΐᾱ (< *λᾱϝ-ίᾱ) 'booty', for which an IE root **leh₂u-* could be assumed. This root is also assumed in Lat. *lucrum* 'gain', which could be from **luklo-* < **lh₂u-tló-* (Schrijver 1991: 240), and in Go. *laun* [n.] 'reward' < **leh₂u-no-*. However, the appurtenance of OCS *lovъ* 'catch, chase', *loviti* 'to catch, chase' would require **lh₂eu-*, which is an improbable formation. Unrelated is Skt. *lotra-*, *lota-* 'booty' (lex.), which is from MInd. *loptra-*, see Wackernagel 1896: 91. The appurtenance of ►λᾱρός 'delicious' is uncertain.
It is best to assume that anteconsonantal **leh₂u-C-* (e.g. in the *s*-aorist) yielded *λαυC-, which was generalized to the other tense forms.
See ►λεία.

ἀπολεῖν[α] [?] · ἀποστρέφειν. Λάκωνες 'turn away (Lacon.)' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM From ἀπο-πολεῖν (Thurneysen *Glotta* 12 (1922): 145). Cf. ►ἀπυλιῶναι.

Ἀπόλλων, -ωνος [m.] theonym (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Voc. Ἄπολλον.
•DIAL Ἀπέλλων (Dor.), Ἀπείλων (Cypr.), Ἄπλουν (Thess.). Perhaps in Myc.]*pe-rjo*[/A]peljo[n-/, see Ruijgh 1967a: 56.
•ETYM Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 327ff. assumed that the vocative Ἄπολλον was assimilated from Ἄπελλον with unaccented ε, and that the other cases (with accented ε) introduced the *o* analogically. However, such vowel assimilations cannot be assumed so easily in Greek (cf. Van Beek fthc.b). The *e*-vocalism is found in the PNs Ἀπελλίων, Ἀπελλῆς, etc. Moreover, Cypr. Ἀπείλων points to a pre-form *Ἀπέλ̯ιων for Dor. Ἀπέλλων; Thess. Ἄπλουν perhaps derives from Pre-Greek **Apel^{y}ōn* with syncope and -ουν from **-ōn* (Ruijgh *apud* Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003), see below).
In spite of repeated attempts, there is no IE etymology. As Apollo was assumed to come from Asia Minor, one looked there for a connection. But Lyd. *Pldans Artimuk* (see on ►Ἄρτεμις) had initial *q-*. Burkert's idea that the name was derived from ἀπέλλαι is impossible (see detailed argumentation in Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003)). The name is probably Pre-Greek, and Hitt. ^{DINGIR}*Appaliunaš*, mentioned in a treaty

between Alaksandus of Wilusa and the Hittite king, may well be the Pre-Greek proto-form *Apal^{y}un*. The Hittite rendering shows that the oldest Pre-Greek form had **a*. This became *e* before the palatal **l^{y}*. The *e* was then assimilated (in Pre-Greek) to *o* by the following *-ōn*.

ἀπόμελι [n.] kind of mead, made from the water used to wash honeycombs (Dsc.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Derived from μέλι; the prefix has a pejorative meaning (Strömberg 1944: 29f.).

ἀπομύσσω ⇒μύσσομαι.

ἀπούρᾱς [aor.ptc.] 'taking away, depriving' (Il.). ◁IE? **ureh$_2$-* 'draw, tear' (?)▷

•VAR Ind. root aorist 2sg. ἀπηυρᾱς, 3sg. -ᾱ̆, 1sg. -ων (after the type ἐτίμα : ἐτίμων); fut. ἀπουρήσουσι or -ρισσουσι (X 489); see Strunk *Glotta* 37 (1958): 118-127. Ptc. med. ἀπουρᾰ́μενος (Hes. *Sc.* 173), which is analogical since a zero grade *-urh$_2$-* would have yielded -ϝρᾱ-.

•ETYM For *ἀπο-ϝρᾱς (see Lejeune 1972: 181 and 228), as if from a root **ureh$_2$-*, which is not known from other languages. The 3sg. ἀπ-ηύρᾱ is supposed to stand for *ἀπ-η-ϝρᾱ with long augment. The barytonesis is Aeolic (Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 119). See further on ►ἀπόερσε, which is unrelated.

ἀποφρᾰ́ς, -ᾰ́δος [adj.] 'unlucky, wicked' (Pl.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Mostly fem. (of ἡμέρα), but also msc. (Eup. 309).

•ETYM From φρᾰ́ζω, φραδή, φρᾰ́δμων, with -φρᾰ́ς after the nouns in -ᾰ́ς (Chantraine 1933: 351, Schwyzer: 507).

ἀποφρᾶση [f.] term for δούλη (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 6, 267e). ◁?▷

•VAR -φρᾰ́τη in Eust. 1090, 57.

•ETYM Unknown.

ἀποφώλιος [adj.] 'worthless (?)' (Od.). ◁GR?▷

•ETYM Glossed as ἀνεμιώλιος, μάταιος 'futile, idle'. Not related to ὄφελος 'use'. Probably connected to ἀποφεῖν· ἀπατῆσαι 'to deceive' (H.), in which case the word originally meant 'deceiving'. For the formation cf. ἁμαρτωλός, see Chantraine 1933: 43. Derivation from *ἀπο-φαϝο-λιος (as per Neitzel *Glotta* 57 (1979): 1-20), like in παυο-φόροι· Αἰολεῖς ἱέρειαι 'priestesses' (H.), is doubtful. See ►ἀπαφίσκω.

ἀποχειροβίοτος [adj.] 'living from his hands' < 'who obtains his livelihood by his hands' (Hdt.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Also ἀποχειρόβιος (Poll.), not -βίωτος; see Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 55.

•ETYM Compounded of βίοτος and ἀπὸ χειρῶν.

ἄππα [m.] 'father' (Call.). ◁ONOM▷

•DER ἄππας title of a priest (Magnesia, Lydia); Christian priest; also = τροφεύς 'foster father' (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to *EM* 167, 32, the word is Macedonian, but this is doubtful. An elementary word, cf. πάππα, ἄττα, ἄπφα, and ToB *appa-kke* 'father'.

ἄπριγδα [adv.] 'fast, tight; continously' (A. *Pers.* [lyr.]). ◁?▷

•VAR ἀπρίξ 'id.' (S., Pl.).
•DIAL *EM* 132, 53 also γένος τι ἀκάνθης (Κύπριοι); see ἄρπιξ.
•DER ἀπριγδόπληκτος (also -τό-) 'struck unceasingly' (A.).
•ETYM For adverbs in -(γ)δα, -ξ, see Schwyzer: 620, 626. Frisk analyzed it as containing intensive α- and ►πρίω 'to saw', assuming an original mg. 'as tight as the teeth of a saw'; this is rather dubious, both formally (πριγ- is attested only late, cf. DELG) and semantically.

ἀπροξίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a shrub, 'Dictamnus albus' (Pythag. *apud* Plin. *HN* 24, 158). ◄?►
•ETYM Unexplained.

ἀπτερέως [adv.] 'promptly, as quick as lightning' (Hes., Parm.). ◄GR►
•DER ἀπτερύσσομαι [v.] 'to flap the wings' (Archil.), cf. πτερύσσομαι το πτέρυξ; ἀπτερύομαι (Arat.) after ἀφύω : ἀφύσσω, etc.
•ETYM From ἄπτερος 'winged, quick' (*Trag. Adesp.*, H.), which is built on copulative ἀ- and πτερόν. The ending -έως is metrically conditioned. Cf. ►πτερόν.

ἀπτοεπής [adj.] said of Hera (Θ 209), exact mg. unknown. ◄IE? **seng^{wh}-* 'sing'►
•ETYM Analyzed by Wackernagel *BB* 4 (1878): 283f. as *ἀ-επτο-επής 'who speaks words that should not be spoken' (**n̥-uek^{w}to-uek^{w}-es-*), which is not really convincing. Meier-Brügger *MSS* 50 (1989): 91-96 suggests that it contains **n̥-sng^{wh}-to-* 'what cannot be sung', from the root **seng^{wh}-* in E *sing*; **n̥-sng^{wh}-to-* would also occur in ►ἄαπτος. Neither hypothesis is really evident.

ἅπτω [v.] 'to join, attach, grasp; kindle' (Il.). ◄IE **h$_2$ep-* 'join, fit'►
•VAR Mostly med.
•DER ἁφή 'kindling, touching, grip, etc.' (Hdt., Pl., etc.); thence ἁφάω 'to handle, treat' (Il.), only pres.; further ἁφάσσω 'id.' (Ion., Hell.) and ἁφάζει· ἀναδέχεται 'undertake, give security, etc.' (H.).
ἅψις 'handling' (Hp., Pl., Arist.); ἄψος [n.] 'connection', plur. 'joints' (Od.), see Chantraine 1933: 421; ἅμμα 'noose, cord' (Hp., Hdt., et al), whence late ἁμματίζω, ἁμματισμός, diminutive ἁμμάτιον (Gal.). ἀψίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'mesh, rim, etc.', lengthened from ἄψις 'connection'.
Perhaps ►αὐαψή and χορδαψός (s.v. ►χορδή) contain a derivative of ἅπτω, but this may be doubted.
•ETYM Fur.: 324, 353 took ἁφάω as evidence for Pre-Greek origin, but it is rather a denominative to ἁφή, which has analogical aspiration. As will be argued in Van Beek fthc.a, ἅπτω derives from the root **h$_2$ep-* seen in Hitt. *ḫapp-^{zi}* 'to join' and Lat. *aptus* 'fit, apt'. The initial aspiration is secondary after verbs like ἕπω 'to take care of' < **sep-*, and the root-final aspirate -φ- can be explained by analogy with ταφ-, σκαφ-, etc. The same proposal was done already by Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 352, but it was neglected e.g. by Frisk.
On the relation between ἄψος 'joint' and other Indo-European forms, see Clackson 1994: 98ff. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 656 separated two meanings: he connected 'to fasten' with Lat. *apiō* and 'to kindle' with Gm. *sengen* 'to singe', OCS *prě-sǫčiti* 'to

dry' < **senk^{w}-*. This is now abandoned, as its root is reconstructed as **sek-* 'to dry up', with a pure velar (see LIV^{2} s.v.).

ἀπυλιῶναι [v.] uncertain (*IG* 5(2) p. xxxvi *D* 1, 20 [Tegea IV^{a}]). ◁GR?▷

•ETYM Thurneysen *Glotta* 12 (1922): 145 supposed haplology from *ἀπυ-πολιῶναι 'to give back'; cf. ►ἀπολεῖν[α]. A better hypothesis is that of Buck 1955: §162, 10, who understands it as 'to regulate, cancel' and connects it with ἀπο-λειόω 'to erase' (see ►λεῖος), with iotacism and the ending -ωναι of the infinitive.

ἄπφα [m.] endearing address between brothers and sisters or beloved ones (Eust.). ◁ONOM▷

•DER ἀπφίον (Eust.), ἀπφάριον (Xenarch., Smyrna), ἀπφίδιον (sch.); ἀπφία (Poll., H.), ἀπφῦς [m.] 'papa' (Theoc.), expressive but unexplained.

•ETYM An elementary form of address; cf. unaspirated ἄππα, etc. See Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 245 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 184.

ἄρα [adv.] 'of course, then, so' (Il.). ◁IE **h$_{2}$(e)r* 'thus, so'▷

•VAR Also ἄρ, enclitic ῥα, with elision ῥ'.

•DIAL Cypr. ἔρ(α) (H.), against Latte; see Ruijgh 1971: 433^{76}.

•ETYM On final -α, see Schwyzer: 622f. Related to Lith. *ir̃*, Latv. *ir* 'and, also; even' and (with full grade) the question particle Lith. *ar̃*, Latv. *ar*. Connection with the root of ►ἀραρίσκω, ►ἄρτι is possible, assuming an original sense 'accordingly' vel sim., and would require **h$_{2}$r*. However, Cypr. ἔρ(α) (if trustworthy) would point to **h$_{1}$er*, but this is impossible since **h$_{1}$r* would have given *ἐρα, not ἀρα.

ἀρᾱ́ [f.] 'prayer, curse' (Il.). ◁IE? **h$_{2}$eru-* 'prostrate'▷

•DIAL Ion. ἀρή, Arc. καταρϝος 'cursed'; the interpretation of Myc. *ka-ta-wo* is doubtful.

•COMP πολυαᾱ́ριτος (Od.) 'much prayed for'.

•DER ἀραῖος 'belonging to ἀ.' (trag.); ἀρᾱτός (-η-) 'prayed for, accursed' (Il., poet.). Denominative ἀράομαι [v.] 'id.' (Il.), which often occurs with preverbs, e.g. ἐπ-, κατ-αράομαι (IA). Thence ἀρητήρ [m.] 'who prays, priest' (Il.), fem. ἀρήτειρα (Call., A. R.), ἀρητήριον 'place for praying, etc.' (Plu.).

•ETYM Arcadian shows a pre-form **ἀρϝά*, which neatly explains the difference in quantity of ἀ- in Ionic and Attic. The final -α in Attic ἀρά poses problems, however, since we expect -η after **ϝ*. Perhaps it is from (-)ἀράομαι or from the frequent plural ἀραί (cf. Schwyzer: 188^{2}).

Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 19f. compared ἀρύει 'cry'. Not connected to Arm. *uranam* 'to deny' < **ōr-* (see Clackson 1994: 102f.). The connection with Hitt. *aruu̯ae-^{zi}* 'to prostrate, bow', is revived by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. who proposed that the Hittite verb derives from thematic **h$_{2}$oruó-*. If related, Greek would presuppose a noun **h$_{2}$(e)ru-eh$_{2}$-*.

ἄραβος [m.] 'rattle, ring', of armor or teeth (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Denominative verb ἀραβέω 'to rattle, ring' (Il.).

•ETYM The same suffix is found in θόρυβος, κόναβος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 260). For the stem cf. ►ἄραδος, ►ἀράζω. Perhaps the word is onomatopoeic, see Güntert

1914: 145f. Fur.: 142 compares ἀροπῆσαι· πατῆσαι 'to tread' (H.), which points to substrate origin (with interchange α/ ο). As Furnée remarks, a word can be both onomatopoeic and a substrate word.

ἀράγδην •VAR ἄραγμα, ἀραγμός. ⇒ ἀράσσω.

ἄραδος [m.] 'disturbance, palpitation' (Hp.). ◁ONOM▷
•DER ἀραδ<ήσ>ει· θορυβήσει, ταράξει 'make noise, agitate' and ἀράδηται· κεκόνηται (?), συγκέχυται 'has caused to hasten, is confounded' (H.); also ἀράζουσιν· ἐρεθίζουσιν 'provoke' (H.).
•ETYM Cf. κέλαδος, ὅμαδος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 359). Perhaps onomatopoeic (but is it primarily used of sounds?). Cf. ▶ ἄραβος.

ἀράζω [v.] 'to snarl, growl', of dogs (D. H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also ἀρράζω; ῥάζω (Cratin.); also ῥύζω (Hermipp.).
•DER ἀρρίζω (*AB*), reduplicated ἀραρίζω (Ammon.).
•ETYM On the anlaut, see Schwyzer: 310. Is it onomatopoeic and/or Pre-Greek? Cf. ▶ ἄραβος and ▶ ἄραδος.

ἀραιός [adj.] 'thin, slender, with open spaces' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR ἀρ- (Hdn. Gr., also in mss.).
•DER ἀραιότης 'looseness' (Hp., Arist.), opposed to πυκνότης; ἀραιώδης 'porous' (Gal.). ἀραιόω [v.] 'to rarify' (Hp., Arist.), whence ἀραίωμα, ἀραίωσις.
•ETYM The word probably had ϝ- (Sommer 1905: 114), but there is no further explanation. Fur.: 339 etc. compares ἀρβός· διεστός, ἀραιός, ἐλαφρός (H.) if this gloss stands for (or derives from) *ἀραβος, but this is highly uncertain.

ἄρακις [f.] 'bowl, pan' (Ath. 11, 502b: Αἰολεῖς τὴν φιάλην ἄρακιν καλοῦσιν). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR ἄρακις (cod. ἀρά<κ>η<ν>)· φιάλην καὶ ἀράκτην 'bowl or pan' (H.); ἐξ ἀρ(α)κίδων (cod. ἄρκιαων)· ἐκ φιαλῶν 'of bowls' (H.).
•DER ἀρακτῆρα· ἀμιελκτῆρα 'milking-pail' (H.), derived from ἀράκτην.
•ETYM The form with -κτ- proves substrate origin (see Fur.: index). Given this, it is unnecessary to assume -α- in ἀρκίδων. Fur.: 308, 319 further compares ἄροκλον = φιάλη (Nic. *fr.* 129) with κτ > κλ, for which he gives parallels. The interchange α/ ο is well-known in substrate words.

ἄρακος [m.] wild chickling, 'Lathyrus annuus' (Ar.). Cf. ἄρακοι· ὄσπριόν τι, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ λάθυρον 'a pulse, the same as λ.' (H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also [n.]; also a consonant stem ἄραξ [m.] (pap.). Variant ἄραχος (Gal.).
•DIAL Myc. PN *a-ra-ko*?
•DER Diminutive ἀρακίς, ἀρακίσκος (Gal.). Further ἀράχιδνα (Thphr.); ἀραχνοῦς. εἶδος ὀσπρίου 'kind of pulse' (H.); ἀράχνη a plant, 'Heracleum sphondylium' (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 76).
•ETYM The interchange κ/ χ and the suffix -ιδνα- clearly prove substrate origin (Fur.: 127f.). Unrelated is Lat. *arinca* 'kind of spelt'.

ἄραξα [?] mythical plant growing near the Araxes (Ps. Plu., *Fluv.* 23,2). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

ἁραρίσκω [v.] 'to fit together, construct, equip, etc.' (Il.+). ◂IE *h_2er- 'fit'▸

•VAR Them. aor. ἀραρεῖν, *s*-aor. ἄρσαι, perf. ἄρᾱρα (intr.); pass. aor. ἤρθην; ἄρμενος 'fitting, equipped' is an isolated med. root ptc. (Il.), with substantivized ntr.plur. ▸ἄρμενα.

•DIAL Myc. *a-ra-ro-wo-a* /ararwo^{h}a/ [n.pl.]; *a-ra-ru-ja* /araruia(i)/; *ka-ka-re-a* /k^{h}alkāreha/ 'equipped with bronze'.

•DER Many etyma derive from the same root, e.g. ▸ἅρμα, ἁρμός, ▸ἁρμονία, ▸ἁρμόζω, ▸ἀρτύς, ▸ἄρθρον. From the perfect ἄραρα derives ἀραρότως 'well-fitted' (A., E., Pl.). Further ἁρθμός 'tie, friendship' (*h. Merc.* 524), ἄρθμιος 'allied' (epic Ion.) and ἁρθμέω [v.] 'to unite' (Il., A. R.). ἁρμή 'junction' (Hp.), ἅρμᾱ f. 'union, intercourse' (Delph., Plu., H.). ἄρσιον· δίκαιον 'just' (H.) probably arose from ἀν-άρσιος by decomposition. See also ▸ἀριθμός, ▸ἀρείων, ▸ἀρέσκω, ▸ἀρετή, ▸ἄρτι, ▸ὅαρ.

•ETYM The present is based on the aor. ἀραρεῖν; there is also an old perfect ἄρᾱρα. The nearest cognate is the Arm. *arari* 'I made', pres. *arnem*, which also has a reduplicated aorist. The root is found in other languages too, e.g. Av. *arəm* 'fitting' and Skt. *ṛtá-* 'order' (see LIV^{2} s.v.).

Hitt. *āra-* 'proper', Hitt. *arā-* 'friend' and Lyc. *ara-* 'rite', Lyc. *erawazije* 'monument' are connected by Kloekhorst 2008 under the assumption of an *o*-grade *h_2or-*o*- (etc.), with neutralization of the laryngeals before **o*.

ἁράσσω [v.] 'to beat, strike', of rattling, clashing (Il.). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. ἀράξαι.

•DER ἀραγμός 'clashing, rattling' (A.).

•ETYM Unknown. Is the word onomatopoeic? Cf. ▸ἄραβος. On possible connection with ▸ῥάσσω, ῥήσσω 'to beat' see there.

ἀρασχάδες [m./f.pl.] · τὰ περυσινὰ κλήματα 'last year's vinetwigs' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Cf. ἀρέσχαι· κλήματα, βότρυες 'vinetwigs, bunches of grapes' (H.) and ὀρεσχάς· τὸ σὺν τοῖς βότρυσιν ἀφαιρεθὲν κλῆμια 'twig with bunches of grapes taken off' (H.). Clearly related αὐροσχάς = τὸ κατὰ βότρυν κλῆμια (Eratosth. 37), also name of a wine (Parth.). DELG s.v. ὄσχη gives ὀρεσχάδα, 'dit de branches d'ormaux', from Harp. (as in Nic. *Al.* 109 [not in LSJ]), and further to ὄλοσχος 'pedicle of the pomegranate' (Nic. *Th.* 870).

•ETYM ὄλοσχος may have λ for ρ. I am convinced that the four forms of the word (αρα-, αρε-, ορε-, αυρο-) are not old compounds (certainly not if we connect ὄλοσχος). It is rather a vocalic variation in an evident substrate word (Fur.: 302, 342, 348). In *Pre-Greek*, I reconstruct *ar^{w}-ask-at-*, which explains interchange α-/αυ-/ο- and -ρα-/-ρο-.

ἀράχιδνα ⇒ἄρακος.

ἀράχνη [f.] 'spider's web, spider' (Hp.). ◂LW Medit.▸

•VAR ἀράχνης [m.] 'spider' (Hes.), ἄραχνος [m.] (A.).

•DER ἀράχνιον 'spider's web' (Od., com., Arist.), also diminutive (Arist.), ἀραχνιώδης 'like a spider's web' (Hp., Arist., Dsc.) denominative ἀραχνιόομαι [v.] 'to

be covered with spider's webs' (Arist., Nonn.). Adjectives ἀραχνώδης (Arist., Ael.), ἀραχνήεις (Nic.) and ἀραχναῖος (*AP*), denominative ἀραχνάομαι 'to weave a web' (Eust.). ἀράχνηκες· ἀράχναι (H.) is reshaped after σφῆκες, μύρμηκες, σκώληκες, etc.
•ETYM ἀράχνη can be from **araksnā-*, like Lat. *arāneus* [m.] 'spider', *arānea* [f.] 'spider's web'. As the word looks non-IE and since it is limited to these two languages, it is probably a borrowing. Connection with ἄρκυς is impossible in IE terms, and for a substrate element it is difficult, too. See Gil Fernández 1959: 24f.

ἄραχος ⇒ἄρακος.

ἀρβάλη [f.] · τήγανον ὀστράκινον. Ταραντῖνοι 'earthenware frying-pan (Tarent.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

ἄρβηλος [m.] 'semicircular knife', used by cobblers (Nic. *Th.* 423). Also metaph. of a geometrical figure (Papp.), see Mugler 1958-1959 s.v. ◅PG▻
•VAR Cf. also ἀνάρβηλα· τὰ μὴ ἐξεσμένα, ἀρβήλοις γὰρ τὰ δέρματα <ξέουσι> (H.).
•ETYM A substrate word, see Fur.: 115[5] on the suffix.

ἀρβίννη [f.] · κρέας. Σικελοί 'flesh, meat (Sicilian)' (H.). ◅LW▻
•ETYM Connected to Lat. *arvīna* 'fat, especially around the intestines', from which it is a loan (Campanile 1969: 318f). Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 16, the word is Messapian and cognate with *arvīna*.

ἀρβύλη [f.] 'shoe that covers the whole foot up to the ankle' (Hp.). ◅PG(S,V)▻
•VAR ἀρβύκη (read ἀρβύλης)· τοῦ ὑποδήματος 'sandal' (H.). Also ἀράβυλας· ὑποδήματος εἴδη φορτικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά 'kinds of coarse, non-Greek sandals' (H.). And ἄρμυλα· ὑποδήματα. Κύπριοι 'sandals (Cypr.)' (H.).
•DER κατάρβυλος 'reaching down to the shoes' (S.); cf. καθάρβυλος χλανίς.
•ETYM Clearly a substrate word, as evidenced by the suffix -υλ- (Fur.: 201[14]) and variations β/μ, αρ/αρα, and κατ-/καθ-ἀρβυλος (Bănăţeanu *REIE* 3 (1943): 145, Knauer *Glotta* 33 (1954): 114[1]).

ἀργαλέος ⇒ἄλγος.

Ἀργεϊφόντης epithet of Hermes (Il.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Since Kretschmer, assumed to be a metrical reshaping of *Ἀργοφόντης (Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 45ff., Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 236f., Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 33): "killer of Argos", the many-eyed primordial Giant. Ruijgh 1995: 87[306] takes the form at face value (i.e. **argehi-k^{wh}on-tā-*) and assumes that it originally means 'who kills by his flash', from the *s*-stem *ἄργος seen in ἐναργής and ἀργεννός. The connection of the second member with εὐθέναρα by Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1954): 19ff., assuming a sense "shining in splendour", is unconvincing. Chantraine 1935: 69ff., thinks of a Pre-Greek word, which seems quite possible.
Further literature: Chittenden *AJA* 52 (1948): 24-33 ("dog-killer"); West 1978: 368f.; Koller *Glotta* 54 (1976): 211-215 (unconvincing).

ἄργελλα [f.]? · οἴκημα Μακεδονικόν, ὅπερ θερμαίνοντες λούονται 'Macedonian dwelling-place, where [men] bathe while warming up' (Suid.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR ἀργιλλα, ἄργῖλα [f.] 'subterranean house' (Magna Graecia, Strabo V 244 = Ephor. [*fr.* 45], cf. Eust. ad D. P. 1166).
•ETYM From this word comes Alb. *ragál'* 'cottage' (Jokl *IF* 44 (1927): 13ff.). See also Pagliaro *Ric. ling.* 1 (1950): 145f. and Hubschmid 1963: 81. The interchanges ε/ι and λ/λλ clearly point to a substrate word. Related to ἄργιλλος 'white clay'? See Kalléris 1954: 104.

ἀργέλοφοι [m.pl.] 'legs and feet of a sheepskin, offal' (Ar. *V.* 672 only). ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR Cf. ἀργίλοφοι· λαπάραι κωδίων [read: κῳδίων] 'the flanks of sheepskins' · οἱ δὲ πρωκτόν. καὶ μηλωταί 'anus; sheepskin' (H.).
•DIAL Acc. to the sch. and *AB* 8, the word is Attic for ποδεῶνες 'ragged ends of the skins of animals'.
•ETYM Derivation from ἀργός (in which case the -ε- is unexplicable) or from λόφος "kann jedenfalls unmöglich richtig sein" (Frisk). One is inclined to consider it as a momentary creation of Aristophanes, but how could his audience have understood him? It is rather a word that we simply do not know. Fur.: 358 adduces the gloss with -ι-, which probably demonstrates substrate origin, e.g. **arg-al'-ap-*. The word clearly denotes the useless parts of a sheep(skin), cf. the meanings 'anus' or 'membrum virile' (attested for ποδεών).

ἄργεμον [n.] 'white spot in the eye, albugo' (Hp.), also plant name (Plin.). ◁IE? **h₂erǵ-* 'brilliant, white'▷
•VAR Also -ος [m.].
•DER ἀργεμώνη 'Papaver Argemone' (Crateuas), a remedy against ἄργεμος, cf. Chantraine 1933: 208. Not from Hebr. *'argāmān* 'red purple' (Lagarde *Gött. Abh.* 35 (1888): 205, cf. Lewy 1895: 49f.), because of the mg.
•ETYM Connected to *ἄργος in ἀργεστής, ἀργεννός, like ἄνθεμον to ►ἄνθος, yet the latter derivation is difficult; cf. Chantraine 1933: 132. Further connected to ►ἀργός 1.

ἀργεννός •VAR ἀργεστής. ⇒ἀργός.

ἀργής, -ῆτος [adj.] 'brilliant white, gleaming' (Il.). ◁IE **h₂erǵ-* 'brilliant, white'▷
•VAR Also -έτι, -έτα (Il.).
•DER Poetical enlargement ἀργησ-τής 'id.' (B.), after ὠμηστής? (Schwyzer: 500¹). ἄργῆεις (Dor. -άεις, contr. ἀργᾶς) (Pi.).
•ETYM Formation like γυμνής, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 267) from ►ἀργός. The ablaut -ητ-/-ετ- is of IE origin.

ἀργιλιπής [adj.] context and mg. unclear (Archil. 160). ◁?▷
•VAR ἀργίλιπες [pl.] (Nic. *Th.* 213), of ἔχιδναι, acc. to the scholia = ἔκλευκοι 'very white', but see Frisk III s.v. on the mg.
•ETYM Connected with ἀργι- in ἀργι-κέραυνος, etc. (see ►ἀργός). DELG relates the second member to λιπ- 'fat', comparing it with ἀργέτι δημῷ 'with a white greasy shine'.

ἄργιλλα =ἄργελλα.

ἄργιλλος [f.] 'white clay' (Arist.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR ἄργιλλα [f.] 'id.' (Gal.).
•DIAL ἄργῑλος (inscr. Acarnan.).
•ETYM Generally derived from ►ἀργός 1, but the suffix (Chantraine 1933: 249, Schwyzer: 483) could be non-IE (cf. ►ἄμιλλα); note the interchanges λ/λλ and -ος/-ᾰ. Given the meaning, a substrate word is quite possible, and connection with ἀργός, which means 'brilliant white', is semantically not evident. Lat. *argilla* is a loan from Greek.

ἀργός 1 [adj.] 'shining white, brilliant', also 'quick, agile' (Il.). ◁IE *$h_2rǵ$- 'white'▷
•DIAL Myc. *po-da-ko* /podargos/ name of a cow; *to-ma-ko* /stomargos/ (?, see ►στόμα); *tu-ma-ko* /t^{h}umargos/?
•COMP As a first member ἀργι- in ἀργί-πους, ἀργι-κέραυνος, ἀργι-όδων, etc. It is also found in epic ἀργι-όεις (B 647, 656), with a v.l. ἀργινόεις, for which cf. Ἀργινοῦσσαι. See also ►ἀργιλίπης. For ἀργιόπους· ἀετός, Μακεδόνες read ἀργίπους. As a second member in πόδαργος 'with quick feet'.
•DER Denominative ἀργαίνω [v.] 'to be white' (E., Opp., Nonn.), ἀργῖτις (Verg., Plin.), of ἄμπελος.
ἀργᾶς, -ᾱ [m.] (Achae.), ἀργόλας [m.] (Suid.), types of snake (named after their agility). As a PN, with regular shift of accent, Ἄργος [m.] (Od.), 'the nimble one', of the dog of Odysseus, and Ἀργώ [f.], name of a mythical ship (Od.).
A neuter *s*-stem in ἐν-αργής and in: 1. ἀργεσ-τής [m.] 'clear', epithet of the south wind νότος (Il.) and the west wind Ζέφυρος (Hes.), also substantivized Ἀργέστης (Arist.) the wind itself, with regular shift of accent; in Nic. *Th.* 592 it is an enlargement of ἀργής; 2. ἀργεννός < *ἀργεσ-νός 'shining white' (Il.), an Aeolic form. ἀργήεις (Dor. ἀργάεις, contracted ἀργᾶς -ᾶντος) 'shining white' (A. [lyr.], Pi., Orph.) is just an enlargement of the *t*-stem ►ἀργής.
•ETYM Wackernagel already pointed to the similarity of Gr. ἀργός, ἀργι- with Skt. *ṛjrá-*, in compounds *ṛji-*, which suggests that *$h_2rǵ$-ró- > *ἀργρός dissimilated to ἀργός. The root *$h_2(e)rǵ$- is found in several formations in various languages: Lat. *argentum* 'silver' (further cognates see ►ἄργυρος), Skt. *árjuna-* 'white, light', ToA *ārki*, ToB *ārkwi* 'white', Hitt. *ḫarki-* 'white, bright'. The meanings 'white' and 'quick, nimble' are both found in Skt. as well, and must have developed via 'brilliant, sparkling'. See ►ἄργεμον.

ἀργός 2 [adj.] 'idle, lazy' (Hdt.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Contracted from ἀ-(ϝ)εργός (Il.), with privative ἀ- and (ϝ)έργον.

ἄργυρος [m.] 'silver' (Il.). ◁IE *$h_2erǵ$- 'brilliant white'▷
•DIAL Myc. *a-ku-ro* /arguros/.
•COMP Frequent as a first member e.g. ἀργυρό-πεζα (Il.) 'with a foot of silver', epithet of Thetis.
•DER ἀργύρεος > ἀργυροῦς 'of silver' (Il.+), ἀργύρειος 'id.' (Att.), ἀργυρώδης 'rich in silver' (X.). ἀργύριον 'silver coin, money' (IA), ἀργυρικός 'concerning money'

(Hell.); diminutive ἀργυρίδιον (com , Isoc.). ἀργυρίς 'silver vessel' (Pi., Pherecr.), ἀργυρίτης, fem. -ῖτις 'containing silver', also as a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 26), also 'concerning money' (X., Plb.), ἀργύριος [m.] plant name (H.), = ἀργύρεος (Alcm.), ἀργυρωταί [pl.] name of a government authority in Sillyon (Fraenkel 1910-1912(1): 170. Denominative verbs: 1. ἀργυρόομαι [v.] 'to be covered with silver', -όω 'to cover with silver' (Pi., *Dialex.*), verbal noun ἀργύρωμα 'silver plate' (Lys., Antiph.), diminutive ἀργυρωμάτιον (Arr.), adjective ἀργυρωματικός (Ephesus). 2. ἀργυρίζομαι [v.] 'to squeeze money from' (Din., J.), ἀργυρισμός (Str., Ph.). 3. ἀργυρεύω [v.] 'to dig for silver' (D. S., Str.); independent of this is ἀργυρευτική [f.] (scil. τέχνη) 'art of the silversmith' (Eustr.).

•ETYM ἄργυρος derives from a *u*-stem also seen in ►ἄργυφος and in Skt. *árju-na-* 'white, bright', ToB *ārkwi* 'white', Lat. *arguō* 'to make clear', Hitt. *arkuuae-*^{zi} 'to make a plea', etc. Other languages have a thematicized *nt*-stem in the word for 'silver': Lat. *argentum*, OIr. *argat*, Av. *ərəzata-*, Skt. *rajatá-* [n.], all < *h_2rǵ-nt-o-*. On the realia see Mallory & Adams 1997 s.v. Silver.

ἄργυφος [adj.] 'gleaming white' (Il.). ◅IE *$h_2$erǵ-* 'white'▻

•VAR Also ἀργύφεος.

•ETYM From the *u*-stem also continued in ►ἄργυρος, with the suffix -φο- (on which see Chantraine 1933: 263).

ἄρδα [f.] 'dirt' (Pherecr. 53). ◅PG?▻

•DER ἄρδαλος 'id.' (Erot.), acc. to Erot. also 'ἄνθρωπος ὁ μὴ καθαρῶς ζῶν'; cf. αἴθαλος, πτύαλον for the suffix (Chantraine 1933: 245). Denominative verb ἀρδαλόω [v.] 'to defile' (Hp., LXX).

•ETYM Connection with ἄρδω 'to irrigate' is impossible because ἄρδα has short ἀ-. Fur.: 391f compares δάρδα· μόλυσμα 'filth' and δαρδαίνει· μολύνει 'defiles' (H.). These glosses cannot be ignored. Is it simply loss of δ- through dissimilation, or does the interchange δ/zero point to a substrate word? The ending has been explained from *-*rdi̯ă* > *-*rzdă* > -ρδᾰ, but the short -ᾰ may also point to substrate origin.

ἄρδις, -ιος [f.] 'point of an arrow' (Hdt., A. *Pr.* 880 [lyr.]). ◅IE? *$h_2$erd-* 'point'▻

•DER ἀρδικός· φαρέτρα 'quiver' (H.).

•ETYM Probably related to OIr. *aird* < **ardi-* 'point, direction'; ON *erta* < **artjan-* 'to spur, incite' (but its connection with Skt. *árdati* 'to be scattered' is semantically unconvincing).

ἄρδω [v.] 'to irrigate, water' (Pi.). ◅? PG?▻

•VAR Long ᾱ- acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 109.

•COMP νεο-αρδής 'recently watered' (Φ 346).

•DER ἀρδμός 'watering place' (Il.), enlarged ἀρδηθμός (Lyc., Nic.); ἀρδάλια· τοὺς πυθμένας τῶν κεραμίδων, οὕς ἔνιοι γοργύρας καλοῦσιν 'the bottoms of tiles, which some call γ.' (H.). Purely formal enlargement in ἀρδεύω (A. *Pr.* 852, Arist.), whence ἀρδεία 'irrigation' (Str., Plu.), ἄρδευσις 'id.' (Plb.), ἀρδεύσιμος (H.); ἀρδευτής [m.] 'irrigator' (Man.).

•ETYM The connection with ἐρράδαται < *ϝεϝράδαται is most probably wrong, because the δ in ἐρράδαται (which belongs to ►ῥαίνω) is secondary (thus already Frisk).
Fur.: 241 compares παρδακός 'humid' (highly doubtful) and ἄρσεα· λειμῶνες 'humid meadows' (H.) (254). The latter proposal is attractive, as -σος is a pre-Greek suffix. Furnée also follows the proposal by Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 294f. that ἀ- is due to a pre-form *ἀϝάρδω (comparing νεοαρδής), the prothetic vowel of which he explains as a substrate element. Neumann 1961: 91 noted that several technical terms for irrigation are pre-Greek (►γοργύρα, ►ἄνδιρα).

ἀρειή [f.] 'threat(s)' (Il.). ◅?▻
•COMP See ►ἐπήρεια.
•DER Denominative ἀρειάω [v.] 'to threaten' (Hippon.).
•ETYM Formerly connected with Skt. *irasyā́* 'malevolence', *irasyáti* 'to be angry, be envious', under the assumption of *$*h_2rh_1$-es-* (see Peters *Sprache* 32 (1986): 371f.). However, the meaning is different, cf. ►ἀρή. Relationship with ἐπήρεια depends on the question if this contains PGr. *ē. A further comparison is with ἄρος ... καί βλάβος ἀκούσιον (H.); yet, damage is not the same as menace, notes DELG.

ἀρείων [adj.] 'better, stronger, nobler' (Il.). ◅?▻
•DIAL Myc. *a-rjo-a_2* /arjoha/.
•ETYM A primary comparative, beside which stands a superlative ►ἄριστος. Acc. to Güntert *IF* 27 (1910): 67, ἀρείων (like λωΐων) was not a primary comparative, but rather formed from an old positive. Seiler 1950: 116ff. finds this positive in ἄρειος, seen in τεῖχος ἄρειον (Il.), and connects it with ἄρος· ὄφελος 'benefit' (H.). The Myc. comparative is formed differently and suggests derivation from the root *$*h_2er$-*, if it does not stand for *$*h_2erh_1$-ios-* (with the Lex Pinault, loss of laryngeal before *yod*).

ἀρέσκω [v.] 'to please, satisfy' (Il.). ◅IE? *$*h_2erh_1$-* 'please, satisfy' (?)▻
•VAR Aor. ἀρέσαι.
•DER ἄρεσις 'grace' (Priene II^a). ἀρεστός 'pleasing' (Hdt.), ἀρεστήρ [m.] "reconciliator", name of a sacrificial cake for appeasing a deity (inscr., Ael. Dion.), whence ἀρεστήριος 'expiatory' (D. H.), ἀρεστηρία (θυσία) and ἀρεστήριον (inscr.); Ἀρέστωρ PN (Hes., etc.) and ἀρέσμιον 'fee' (Stiris).
From the present ἄρεσκος 'pleasant, flattering' (Arist., Thphr.), ἀρεσκεία 'flattering person' (Arist., Hell.). Backformation from ἀρεσκεία: ἀρεσκεύομαι [v.] 'to flatter' (Clearch., Plu.), ἀρέσκευμα (Plu., Epicur.) and ἀρεσκευτικός (M. Ant.).
•ETYM The word seems to have a disyllabic root *$*h_2erh_1$-*, but connection with ἀρείων, ἀρετή is semantically not compelling. The connection with *$*h_2er$-* in ►ἀραρίσκω is formally unclear (origin of the -ε-?).

ἀρετή [f.] 'excellence' (Il.). ◅IE? *$*h_2erh_1$-*▻
•COMP αἰναρέτη [voc.] 'terribly brave' (Il.).
•DER Denominative ἀρετάω [v.] 'to prosper, thrive' (Od.).
•ETYM Not directly related to ►ἀρέσκω for semantic reasons. Connection with ►ἀρείων is semantically attractive, but formally not clear. Vine 1998: 61f. suggests an

analysis *$h_2(e)r$-$etéh_2$- to the root of ►ἀραρίσκω, which would be formally excellent and for which he adduces semantic arguments. Nikolaev 2005 wants to reconstruct *h_2nr-$eteh_2$- from the word for 'man, hero', and tries to reformulate Rix's Law.

ἀρή [f.] 'bane, ruin' (Il.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Probably related to the ptc. ἀρημένος 'βεβλαμμένος, damaged' (Il.), but the long ᾱ- poses difficulties. Further connected with ἄρος· (...) βλάβος ἀκούσιον 'involuntary damage' (H., see ►ἄρος), and ἀπαρές· ὑγιές 'healthy' (H.); perhaps also with ►ἀρειή. Finally, one may consider a connection with ►Ἄρης. For Ion. ἀρή 'prayer', see ►ἀρά.

ἀρήγω [v.] 'to help, support (against)' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2reh_1g- 'help, support'▷

•DER ἀρηγών, -όνος m. f. 'helper' (Il.). With old ablaut ἀρωγή 'help, support' and ἀρωγός, -όν 'helper' (Il.).

•ETYM The forms require *h_2re/oh_1g-, unless *$h_2rēg$-, *$h_2rōg$- were root nouns, for which there is no indication. Possibly comparable with Germanic forms such as OHG *geruohhen*, OS *rōkjan*, ON *rókja*, etc. 'to care for' and MoDu. *roekeloos* 'without care' (with old *ō*); if so, not related to Lat. *regō*, Gr. ὀρέγω, with which Skt. *rājā* 'king' seems to be connected (on which, see Gonda *KZ* 73 (1956): 151ff.).

ἀρήν, ἀρνός [m., f.] 'sheep, lamb' (Il.). ◁IE *urh_1-*en*- 'lamb'▷

•VAR Nom. ῥήν (A. R. 4, 1497), taken from compounded forms.

•DIAL Myc. *we-re-ne-ja* /wrēneja/ in a list of leather goods; *wa-ni-ko* /warniskos/, found as a PN in the class. language; *wo-ro-ne-ja* /wroneja/ may perhaps also represent /wolneja/ 'woollen'; The ϝ- is found in ϝαρήν (Gortyn) and βάννεια· τὰ ἄρνεια, καὶ τὰ βάννιμα τὸ αὐτὸ (H.); ῥᾶνα· ἄρνα 'sheep, lamb' is probably Elean, with η > ᾱ.

•COMP πολύ-ρρην < *πολύ-ϝριην < *urh_1-*n*-.

•DER ἄρνειος 'of a sheep or lamb' (Hdt.), like αἴγειος, βόειος (Chantraine 1933: 50f.); ἀρνέα [f.] 'sheepskin' (Hdn.), also 'sheep-breeding' (*POxy.* 2, 297, 8) like αἰγέα etc. (Chantraine 91); ἀρνακίς 'sheepskin' (Ar.), haplological fem. from *ἀρνό-νακος? Uncertain is the appurtenance of ►ἀρνειός and ►ἀρνευτήρ. Also ἀρνεῖον 'butcher's shop' (Didym.); diminutive ἀρνίον 'little lamb', also 'sheepskin' (Lys.).

Popular ἄριχα (acc.)· ἄρρεν πρόβατον 'male cattle' (H.), βάριχοι (= ϝ-)· ἄρνες 'sheep' (H.) (Chantraine 1933: 403), but the absence of the nasal is unexplained. It is confirmed by the PN ϝαριχος (Tarente).

•ETYM ἀρήν < ϝαρήν < *urh_1-*ēn* matches Arm. *garn*, *-in* 'lamb'. Skt. *úraṇa*- [m.] 'id.' is a thematization of *urh_1-*en*-, cf. MP *varak* 'ram'. The original inflection was nom. *urh_1-*ēn*, acc. *urh_1-*en-m*, gen. *urh_1-*n-os* > *ϝαριην, *ϝαρενα, *ϝρηνος. This means that the oblique stem ϝαρ-ν- is due to a reshaping. Unrelated is ►εἶρος 'wool', which derives from *ϝέρϝος. Cf. Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990): 26-29.

Ἄρης, Ἄρεως [m.] the god of war; also god of vengeance and oaths (Arcadia, Athens, etc., see Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 195ff.); metonym. for 'war' (Trümpy 1950: 152f.). ◁PG▷

•VAR On the inflexion see Schwyzer: 576.

•DIAL Myc. dat. *a-re*, adj. *a-re-(i-)jo*; PN *a-re-(i-)me-ne*. Boeot. Lesb. Ἄρευς.
•DER Fem. Ἄρεια in Arc. τὰν Ἀθάναν τὰν Ἄρειαν; adj. Ἄρειος, Ion. Ἀρήϊος, Lesb. Ἀρεΰϊος (Ζεὺς Ἄρειος Epirus, Ἄρειος πάγος Athens, whence Ἀρεοπαγίτης). PN Ἀρητάδης (Bechtel 1917a: 11).
•ETYM The ancient grammarians and lexicographers (e.g. *EM* 140) connected ἀρή 'Schaden, Unheil, Verderben', cf. ἄρος· βλάβος ἀκούσιον (H.). The connection is improbable: IE origin of such a name is not to be expected. On the flection Schulze 1892: 454ff., Bechtel (above) and Kretschmer *Glotta* 15 (1927): 197.

ἀρθμιός ⇒ἀραρίσκω.

ἄρθρον [n.] 'joint, articulation' (Hdt., Hp., S., E.), also 'article' as a grammatical term (Arist.). ◁IE *$h_2$er-d^hro- 'fitting'▷
•DER ἀρθρῖτις (νόσος) 'gout' (Hp.), ἀρθριτικός (Hp., Gal.); ἀρθρικός 'of the joint or article' (Gal., gramm.); ἀρθρώδης 'provided with joints' (X., Arist., Gal.), ἀρθρωδία (Gal.). Denominative verb ἀρθρόομαι 'to be articulated', -όω 'to articulate' (Hp., Hermipp., X.), ἄρθρωσις 'articulation' (Phld., Str.).
•ETYM From *$h_2$er-d^hro-, derived from *$h_2$er- 'to fit' with the instrument suffix. See ►ἀραρίσκω.

ἀρι- 'good, very' (Il.), as a first member in compounds. ◁IE *$h_2$er-▷
•COMP In ἀρί-γνωτος, -δείκετος, -πρεπής, etc.
•ETYM Willi *KZ* 112 (1999): 86-100 convincingly disassociates ἀρι- from ἐρι- and maintains the widely accepted connection with ἄριστος. He concludes that the forms with ἐρι- are mainly bahuvrīhis (possessive compounds), while those with ἀρι- are verbal governing compounds. Willi accepts Heubeck's connection of ἐρι- as **ser-i*, related to Hitt. *šēr* 'above, up', with psilosis (95ff.), see ►ἐρι-. This is better than the analysis by Fur.: 348, who thinks the element is Pre-Greek because of the variation ἐ- / ἀ-.

ἀρία [f.] Doric for φελλόδρυς 'holm-oak' (Thphr.). ◁?▷
•DER ἀρείνος 'of oak' (*IG* 11(2), 161: A 70, Delos).
•ETYM Unknown.

Ἀριάδνη [f.] daughter of Minos, abducted by Theseus (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Ἀριάγνη on a vase; Ἀριήδη acc. to Zenodotos at Σ 592, Call. cf. 67.13 The form is confirmed by Ἀριήδαν· τὴν Ἀριάδνην. Κρῆτες (H.).
•ETYM The gloss ἀδνόν· ἀγνόν. Κρῆτες 'pure (Cret.)' (H.) is artificial, as γν > δν is not a Cretan development (Brown 1985: 25). This means that the word probably does not contain ἀγνός. An IE etymology is improbable for a Cretan goddess, and the group -δν- is found in other Pre-Greek words.

ἀριδείκετος [adj.] 'most famous' (Il.). ◁IE *deiḱ- 'show'▷
•ETYM A compound from ►ἀρι- and a second member which was formerly connected with ►δηδέχαται, under the assumption of metrical lengthening for *ἀριδέκετος (Schulze 1892: 242). Nowadays, the form is read δειδέχαται and is

considered to be related to ►δείκνυμι, which means that ἀρι-δείκετος also derives from this root (which seemed obvious anyhow).

ἀρίζηλος [adj.] 'clear, easily recognizable' (Il.), equivalent of ἀρίδηλος. ◄IE **h₂eri-dieh₂-lo-*►

•ETYM Explained as **-di̯eh₂-lo-* to ►δέατο by Schulze 1892: 244 (in pre-laryngealist terms: *-δι̯ηλος). Others want to read -ζ- as -δδ-, cf. Shipp 1967: 50ff.; Chantraine 1942: 169.

ἀριθμός [m.] 'number; payment' (Od.). ◄IE **h₂rei-* 'count'►

•VAR Through metathesis ἀμιθρός (Schwyzer: 268).

•DER Denominative verb ἀριθμέω 'count' (Il.), whence ἀρίθμημα (A., Secund.), ἀρίθμησις (Ion., Hell.) 'count, payment', with ἀριθμητικός 'of counting', 'arithmetical' (Pl., etc.); agent noun ἀριθμητής ([Pl.] *Just.* 373b).

Perhaps in the PNs Ἐπήριτος, Arc. Πεδάριτος and the Arc. appellative Ἐπάριτοι 'the chosen ones', see Wackernagel 1916: 250 and Wackernagel *Phil.* 86 (1931): 133ff.

•ETYM A derivation in -θμο- from the root of ►νήριτος 'countless'. Outside Greek, there are comparable words in Germanic: ON *rím* [n.] 'account', OHG *rīm* [m.] 'row, number', and in Celtic: OIr. *rím* 'number'. Probably, Lat. *rītus* 'religious observance, rite' is related too (< **h₂rei-ti-*).

ἄριλλα [f.] unknown (only *IG Rom.* 4, 1349). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

ἀρίς 1, -ίδος [f.] 'bow-drill' (Hp.). ◄?►

•ETYM Technical term of unknown origin. For the formation, cf. ἀκίς, δοκίς, σανίς (Chantraine 1933: 337). Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 41 connects ἐριώλη.

ἀρίς 2, -ίδος [f.] plant name, 'Arisarum vulgare', also 'δρακοντία μικρά' (Ps.-Dsc.). ◄?►

•ETYM Diminutive of ἄρον? Cf. also ►ἀρίσαρον.

ἀρίσαρον [n.] a plant, 'Arisarum vulgare' (Dsc.). ◄?►

•ETYM See ►ἄρον and ►ἄσαρον (Strömberg 1940: 157f.).

ἀριστερός [adj.] 'left' (Il.). ◄GR►

•DER the plant name ἀριστερεών (Plin.) = περιστερεών 'dovecoat' was perhaps reshaped after the latter form; see Strömberg 1940: 153,251f. Or is it unrelated to 'left'?

•ETYM Formed with the contrast-marking suffix -τερο-; connection with ἄρισ-τος is mostly assumed. A problem is that omens coming from the left side were considered unfavorable in Greece. It is thought that the left side was considered favorable in earlier times, judging by parallels like Lat. *sinister* (but see the doubts in De Vaan 2008 s.v.), OHG *winister*, Av. *vairiia.stāra-* 'left, more favorable' (or are these old euphemisms?).

ἄριστον [n.] 'breakfast' (Il.), taken in the afternoon in classical times (see Athen. 11b ff.). ◄IE **h₂eier-* 'day, morning', **h₁ed-* 'eat'►

•DER Denominative ἀριστάω [v.] 'to have breakfast' (IA), ἀριστητής 'who eats twice a day' (Hp.). ἀριστητικός 'who loves breakfast' (Eup.), ἀριστητήριον 'refectory' (*BCH* 15, 184). 2. ἀριστίζω 'to give breakfast' (Ar.), -ίζομαι 'to have breakfast' (Hp.).
•ETYM An old compound meaning "eaten in the morning", a contraction of a locative ἆρι (< *αἴερ-ι) and the zero grade of ἐδ- 'eat' (see ►ἐσθίω) + το-suffix: **h₂eieri-h₁d-to-*; see Bechtel 1914. Note, however, that ►ἦρι 'early' is now derived from **h₂eus-er-i*.

ἄριστος [adj.] 'the best, first, noblest' (Il.). ◅?▻
•DER ἀριστίνδην [adv.] 'according to birth or merit' (Att.), whence substantivized ἀριστίνδᾱς [m.] (Sparta).
ἀριστεύς (mostly plur. ἀριστῆες) 'they who excel, chiefs' (Il.); ἀριστεύω [v.] 'to be the best, excel' (Il.), ἀριστεία [f.] 'deed of valor' (Gorg., S.). ἀριστεύς could be a back-formation from ἀριστεύω, if the latter was derived directly from ἄριστος. Also ἀριστεῖα, Ion. ἀριστήϊα [n.pl.] 'meed of valor' (Hdt., S.), but ἀριστεῖος 'belonging to the ἄριστοι' (D. H., Plu.) directly from ἄριστος. Further numerous PNs, like Ἀρίστων, Ἀριστίων, etc.
•ETYM A primary superlative to the comparative ►ἀρείων. It is sometimes considered to contain the prefix ἀρι-, but this seems improbable to me. Perhaps it is related to ►ἀραρίσκω, as 'the fittest'.

ἄριχα ⇒ἀρήν.

ἀριχάομαι ⇒ἀναρριχάομαι.

ἀρκάνη [f.] · τὸ ῥάμμια ᾧ τὸν στήμονα ἐγκαταπλέκουσι διαζόμεναι 'thread with which the warp is intertwined, when they are setting it up in the loom' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM The connection with ►ἄρκυς is doubtful. The suffix is also seen in δρεπάνη, καπάνη, θηγάνη, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 198f. Probably a loanword, perhaps Pre-Greek.

ἄρκευθος [f.] 'juniper, Juniperus macrocarpa' (Hp.). ◅PG?, EUR?▻
•VAR ἄργετος· ἡ ἄρκευθος. Κρῆτες (H.).
•DER ἀρκευθίς, -ίδος [f.] 'juniper-berry' (Hp.), ἀρκευθιδίτης (οἶνος) 'wine from or perfumed with juniper-berries' (Dsc. 5, 46 ed. Sprengel).
•ETYM Within Greek, the gloss ἄργετος is certainly cognate, cf. Brown 1985: 25. In view of this, ἄρκευθος is clearly a substrate word. On the suffix see Fur.: 115³, on the material cf. Beekes 2000: 27. The word has always been connected with the Slavic group of Ru. *rakíta* 'willow, Salix fragilis' < **arkūtā*; these can be combined if we assume a loan from the European substrate. The comparison with ἄρκυς 'net' is improbable.

ἀρκέω [v.] 'to ward off, defend; suffice' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂erḱ-* 'hold, contain'▻
•COMP Often -αρκης: e.g. αὐτάρκης 'self-sufficient'; γυιάρκης 'strengthening the limbs' (Pi.), etc. Perhaps ►ποδάρκης.
•DER Verbal noun ἄρκεσις 'help' (S., inscr. Thera); also ἄρκος [n.] 'defense' (Alc.), which is rather deverbative to ἀρκέω because of its limited distribution. Further

ἄρκιος (Il., epic) 'to be relied on, sure, certain, sufficient' (the development of the mg. is difficult). Perhaps here ἄρκιον 'burdock, Arctium Lappa' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Related to Lat. *arceō* 'to hold off, contain, etc.' and Hitt. *ḫark-zi* 'to hold, have', and perhaps also to the noun Arm. *argel* 'hindrance'.

ἄρκηλος [m.] 'young panther, kind of panther' (Callix.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Perhaps ἀρκηλα· … Κρῆτες τὴν ὕστριχα = 'hedgehog, porcupine (Cret.)' (H.), if it is itacistic for ἀρκύλᾱ 'bear'.
•ETYM Unknown. On the suffix (as a substrate element) see Fur.: 115[5]. It is not clear whether the gloss belongs here.

ἄρκτος [f., m.?] 'bear' (Il.); also name of a constellation: 'Ursa Major' (Scherer 1953: 131ff.), 'the north'; also a crustacean, 'Arctos Ursus' = τέττιξ (Arist.), see Thompson 1947: 17. ◁IE **h₂rtḱo-* 'bear'▷
•VAR Younger form ἄρκος [m., f.] (LXX); the form appears at an early date in names, see Dobias-Lalou 2000: 6. Late ἄρξ (*OGI* 201, 15).
•COMP Ἀρκτοῦρος (Hes.), with -ορος 'surveyor'; see ▶φρουρός.
•DER Diminutives ἀρκτύλος (Poll.), ἄρκυλλος (sch. Opp.), ἄρκιλος (Eust.).
ἀρκτικός 'northern' (Arist.), ἀρκτῷος 'id.' (Luc.), after ἑῷος 'eastern' from ἕως; ἄρκ(τ)ειος 'belonging to a bear' (Dsc.), after αἴγειος, βόειος, etc.; ἀρκτῆ < -έη [f.] 'skin of a bear' (Anaxandr.). ἄρκτιος [adj.] 'northern' (Nonn.), ἄρκτιον [n.] plant name, 'Inula candida' (Dsc.), Strömberg 1940: 118. Denominative verb ἀρκτεύω, -εύομαι 'to serve Artemis as a female bear' (Lys., sch. Ar. *Lys.* 645).
It is uncertain whether the ethonym Ἀρκάδες belongs here; see Sommer 1934: 63f.
•ETYM Old name of the bear found in Skt. *ṛ́kṣa-*, Av. *arša-*, Arm. *arǰ*, Lat. *ursus*, Celtic forms like MIr. *art*, and Hitt. *ḫartagga-* 'some wild animal'. These (especially the latter) lead to a reconstruction **h₂rtḱo-*. The late Greek form with single -κ- is confirmed by the derivations. It is probably just a simplification of the cluster; or is it from before the metathesis?
The old etymology as 'destroyer' (Skt. *rákṣas-*, Av. *raš-* 'damage') has become untenable with the laryngeal theory.

ἄρκυς, -υος [f.] 'net' (A.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Mostly plur.
•DER ἄρκυον 'id.' (*EM*), after δίκτυον; also ἄρκυλον· δίκτυον 'net' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown. Acc. to Lidén *IF* 18 (1905-1906): 507f., in the sense of 'twined, woven', related to ἄρκευθος and ἀρκάνη and the Slavic words for 'willow'. This is improbable, as one expects a derivative suffix. A technical term which may well be a substrate word; for the *u*-stem, cf. μίμαρκυς, ῥάπυς / ῥάφυς, etc.

ἅρμα 1 [n.] 'wagon, car', especially 'war chariot' (Il.); on the use in Homer see Delebecque 1951: 170f. ◁IE **h₂er-* 'join'▷
•VAR Often plur.
•DIAL Myc. *a-mo* /arm$^{(h)}$o/, dat. *a-mo-te-i*, plur. *a-mo-ta*, but it means 'wheel'. Further *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* /armoteiöna-de/ 'to the wheel-maker's shop'. On traces of the mg. 'wheel' in Homer, see Panagl 1992: 137-44.

•COMP ἁρματο-πηγός (Il.) 'wheel-maker', etc. ἁρμάμαξα contains ἅμαξα (Ar.), unless it is an adapted Persian word. On ►βητάρμων, see s.v.
•DER ἁρμάτειος 'of the chariot' (E., X.), ἁρματόεις 'id.' (Critias), ἁρματίτης 'using chariots' (Philostr., pap.), diminutive ἁρμάτιον (gloss.). Denominative ἁρματεύω [v.] 'to drive a wagon' (E. *Or.* 994).
•ETYM Derived from the root ἀρ- 'to fit' in ►ἀραρίσκω. It is assumed that the rough breathing (also in ►ἁρμόζω, ►ἁρμονία, etc.) is due to an original suffix *-sm-*. This presupposes that thematic ►ἁρμός is the older form, since only a thematic suffix *-smo-* is known. However, note that the Mycenaean form has no initial aspiration. Outside Greek, several forms have a suffix *-m-*, e.g. Lat. *arma* [pl.] 'weapons', Arm. *y-armar* 'fitting'. Unrelated is the word for 'arm' in Lat. *arma* [m.] 'arm', Go. *arms* 'id.', because of Skt.*īrmá-* 'id.' < *h_2rH-mo-* with root-final laryngeal.

ἅρμα 2 [n.] 'food' (Hp. acc. to Hellad. *apud* Phot. [p. 533 B]; also v.l. for ἅρμενα Hes. *Th.* 639). ◅?▻
•ETYM Connection with αἴρομαι 'to take for oneself', or with ►ἀραρίσκω has been suggested (cf. ►ἅρμενα in the meaning 'food'). Furthermore, it is mentioned in the gloss νωγαλεύματα ἢ νωγαλίσματα· τὰ κατὰ λεπτὸν ἐδέσματα. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὴ εἰς χορτασίαν, ἀλλὰ τρυφερὰ ἅρματα (H.).

ἁρμαλᾶ [?] a plant, 'rue' = πήγανον ἄγριον (Dsc.). ◅LW Sem.?▻
•VAR Syrian for πήγανον κηπαῖον (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 45). Also ἁρμιαρά (pap.).
•ETYM Cf. Arab. *harmal* 'rue'. Is ἁρμαλά from Semitic, or the other way round?

ἁρμαλιά [f.] 'ration, food' (Hes.). ◅?▻
•VAR Also αρμολια, -εα (pap.) and ἅρμωλα· ἀρτύματα. Ἀρκάδες 'condiments (Arc.)' (H.). Other glosses may contain mistakes: ἁρμόγαλα· τὰ ἀρτύματα. Ταραντῖνοι 'condiments (Tarantine)' (alphabetically wrong) and ἁρμώμιαλα (read -ματα?). Cf. further ἡρμαλώσατο· συνέλαβεν 'collected' (H.).
•ETYM On the suffix, see Chantraine 1933: 82. The variation -αλ-, -ολ-, -ωλ- suggests a loanword; connection with ►ἅρμενα 'food' or ►ἅρμα 2 'id.' is hardly feasible.

ἅρμενα [n.pl.] 'sail, tackle; instruments; food' (Hes., epic Ion.). ◅IE *h_2er- 'fit'▻
•VAR Rarely sing.
•DER ἁρμενίζω 'to sail' (gloss.), MoGr. also 'to deliver, lead' (see Browning *Class. Rev.* N.S. 19 (1969): 68.).
•ETYM Literally 'what has been fitted out', 'equipment', a substantivization of ἅρμενος from ►ἀραρίσκω.

ἁρμόζω [v.] 'to join, fit together, connect' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2er- 'fit'▻
•VAR Aor. ἁρμόσαι.
•DIAL Att. -όττω; Dor. aor. ἁμόξαι.
•DER ἁρμοστής (Dor. -τήρ) [m.] title of an official, especially of the Spartan governor in dependent cities (inscr., Th.), ἁρμόστωρ (A.) 'commander', action nouns ἅρμοσμα 'joined work' (E. *Hel.* 411), ἅρμοσις 'tuning of an instrument' (Phryn., *Theol. Ar.*), ἁρμοστικός (*Theol. Ar.*). With -γ-: ἁρμογή 'fitting together' (Eup.), cf. Dor. ἅρμιξα, ἅρμοκται.

•ETYM Denominative verb from ἁρμότᾱς acc. to Ruijgh 1967a: 48[17], which itself derives from ►ἁρμός 'joint' (S.).

ἁρμονία [f.] 'means of joining; frame; covenant, agreement, etc.' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂er-* 'fit'▻

•ETYM Derived from an adjective only known as a PN: Ἄρμων, for which cf. Ἁρμονίδης (Il.). Also found in ►βητάρμων. Like ►ἄρμα 1, this adjective derives from ἀρ- 'to fit' with a suffix *-men-*. See ►ἀραρίσκω.

ἁρμός [m.] 'joint' (S., E., inscr.). ◅IE **h₂(e)r-smo-* 'joint'▻

•DER Hence the old locative ἁρμοῖ [adv.] 'just, lately' (A.). ἁρμόδιος 'fitting, etc.' (Thgn.) seems to be a back-formation to ►ἁρμόζω.

•ETYM See ►ἁρμόζω.

ἄρμυλα ⇒ἀρβύλη.

ἄρμωλα ⇒ἁρμαλιά.

ἀρνακίς ⇒ἀρήν.

ἀρνειός [m.] 'ram' (Il.). ◅IE? **h₂ers-n-i-* 'ram'▻

•VAR Cf. ἀρνειός· ὁ τριετὴς κριός 'three-year-old ram' (H.). Also in Pausanias 159 Erbse, who cites Istros ἄρνα, εἶτα ἀμνόν, εἶτα ἀρνειόν, εἶτα λιπογνώμιονα. For ἀρνηός, see below.

•DIAL Att. ἀρνεώς [m.].

•DER ἀρνηάδες, -άδων [fem.pl.] (Aeol., *Del.*³ 644, 15).

•ETYM As the glosses indicate, the word was a designation for a ram of a certain age (Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 103). Att. ἀρνεώς shows that the original form was *ἀρνηός, which is confirmed by Aeol. ἀρνηάδες. The form with ει in Homer may have arisen by reinterpretation of spelled E. We thus have to reconstruct **ar(s)nēi̯os* or **ar(s)nēu̯os*. The old connection with (ϝ)ἀρήν was rightfully rejected by Meillet *IF* 5 (1895): 328f., both because of the meaning and because the word had no digamma. *ἀρνηός therefore appears to belong to ►ἄρσην 'male animal' (see there on the absence of an initial digamma). The same formation, but from a different root, is found in Skt. *vṛṣṇí-*, Av. *varšni-*, also meaning 'ram'. An alternative, but less convincing etymology derives the word from the verb ἀρνευω (s.v. ►ἀρνευτήρ); see Bechtel 1914.

ἀρνέομαι [v.] 'to deny, refuse, decline' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂res-* 'refuse, deny'▻

•VAR Aor. ἀρνήσασθαι.

•DER ἄρνησις 'denial' (trag., Pl., D.), ἀρνήσιμος (S.), perhaps after ἀμφισβητήσιμος; ἀρνητικός 'negative' (Chrysipp., Numen.). Probably deverbal: ἄπ-αρνος and ἔξ-αρνος (IA).

•ETYM Mayrhofer *KZ* 71 (1953): 75ff. connected the word with Av. *rah-* 'to be disloyal, unfaithful' (3pl. intens. *rārəšiieiṇtī*, caus. *råŋhaiiəṇ*), assuming a nasal present **h₂r-n-es-* for Greek. This etymology fits both form and meaning very well, cf. also Beekes *MSS* 38 (1979): 10-11. Unrelated is Arm. *uranam* 'to deny', see Clackson 1994: 102f.

ἀρνευτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'jumper, acrobat', also a bird (Il., Hdt., Arat.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Acc. to sch. AT on M 385, the ἀρνευτὴρ is ὁ κυβιστήρ, παρὰ τοὺς ἄρνας. οὗτοι γὰρ κυβιστῶσιν ὥσπερ τὸν ἀέρα κυρίττοντες 'tumbler; ram (for they tumble while butting with the horns)', but this may be a folk-etymological interpretation after ἀρνειός 'ram'. Also ἀρνευτής [m.] epithet of a fish (Numen. *apud* Ath.); cf. Strömberg 1943: 50.
•DER ἀρνευτήρια [n.pl.] 'diving tricks' (Arat.), ἀρνέυω [v.] 'to dive' (Lyc.).
•ETYM The connection with ►ἀρνειός 'ram' is uncertain. See Fur.: 235 on ἄρναπον· τὸν ἄρνα (H.) (Latte reads ἀρνάριον); he prefers a separate root for 'jump'.

ἄρνυμαι [v.] 'to win, gain, acquire' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2er- 'take, acquire'▻
•VAR Aor. ἀρέσθαι.
•COMP Starting from the expression μισθὸν ἄρνυσθαι, the verb μισθαρνέω 'to work, serve for hire' (Hp.) was formed.
•DER ἄρος [n.] 'benefit' (A. *Supp.* 885 [uncertain reading], H., Eust.).
•ETYM An old nasal present ἄρνυμαι < *h_2r-*nu*-, seen in Arm. *arnum* 'to take', aor. *arri*, and in Av. *ərənuuaiṇti* 'they grant'. Hitt. *arnu-*^{zi} 'to transport, deport' is related to ►ὄρνυμι.

ἄροκλον ⇒ἄρακιν.

ἄρον [n.] a plant, 'Arum italicum' etc., cuckoo-pint (Thphr.); see LSJ. ◅LW? Eg.▻
•ETYM Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 244 and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 54 derived it from Eg. *r* 'reed, cane'; cf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 19, 5, 30, 95: *est inter genera et quod in Aegypto* aron *vocant*. Perhaps, it is also contained in ►ἀρίς and ►ἀρίσαρον. Comparison with Lat. (*h*)*arundo* 'cane' is less probable.

ἄρος [n.] = ὄφελος 'advantage' (H.). ◅?▻
•VAR ἄρος· ὄφελος καὶ <πέτρας> κοιλάς, ἐν αἷς ὕδωρ ἀθροίζεται ὄμβριον, καὶ βλάβος ἀκούσιον 'advantage; hollows of rocks in which rain water is collected; also involuntary damage' (H.).
•ETYM In the first sense, usually compared with ►ἄρνυμαι. For the second, Defner 1923: 47 compares Laconian ἀρέ· λάκκος 'cistern'. For the third, see on ►ἀρή.

ἀρόω [v.] 'to plow, plant' (Il.). ◅IE *h_2erh_3- 'plow'▻
•VAR Aor. ἀρόσαι.
•DIAL Myc. *a-ro-u-ra* /aroura/.
•DER ἀροτήρ [m.] 'plowman' (Il.), secondarily ἀρότης [m.] (IA, poet.); ἄροτος [m.] 'plowing, (plowed) land, etc.' (Il.); thence ἀροτήσιος ὥρη (Arat. 1053), after adjectives of time in -ήσιος; ἀροτικός 'fit for plowing' (Gal.), perhaps directly from ἀρόω; 2. ἄροσις 'plowing, etc.' (Arist., Arat., Ael.), 'farmland' (Hom.), whence ἀρόσιμος 'arable' (Thphr., Str.); sometimes with secondary length ἄρωσις (pap.) and ἀρώσιμος (S. *Ant.* 569), metrically conditioned (Arbenz 1933: 48); 3. ἄρωμα 'farmland' (S., com.); 4. ἀροσμός 'plowing' (pap.); 5. Doric *ἀρατύς (on -α- see below) is perhaps contained in the month name Ἀράτυος.
ἄροτρον 'plow' (Il.); thence denominative verbs: 1. ἀροτρεύω [v.] 'to plow' (Pherecyd., Lyc., Nic., Babr.), ἀροτρεύς 'plowman' (Theoc., Bion, Arat.), ἀροτρευτήρ 'id.' (*AP*), ἀρότρευμα 'plowing' (Poet. *apud* Stob.); 2. ἀροτριάω = ἀρόω (Call.,

Thphr.), ἀροτρίασις (LXX) and ἀροτρίαμα 'plowed land' (sch. Ar.); 3. ἀροτριόω = -ιάω (LXX); 4. ἀροτριάζω 'to plow' (pap.), ἀροτριαστής (*EM*) and ἀροτριασμός (sch. Opp.).

ἄρουρα 'arable land' (Il.), already Myc. *a-ro-u-ra*. Thence ἀρουραῖος 'rural' (IA), ἀρουρίτης 'id.' (Babr.), diminutives ἀρούριον (*AP*) and ἀρουρίδιον (pap.); from Egyptian papyri: ἀρουρηδόν [n.] 'surface measured by ἄρουραι' (substantivized adverb), ἀρουρισμός 'measuring in ἄρουραι'.

•ETYM An old *yod*-present derived from the dissyllabic root $*h_2erh_3$-. The reflex of $-h_3$- is seen in the aorist, and perhaps also in the present if this directly continues $*h_2erh_3$-*ie/o*- (this is one of the very few counterexamples against Pinault's Law in Greek). The -α- in the Doric forms (ἄρατρον, Ἀράτυος, fut. ἀράσαντι (*Tab. Heracl.*); Ther. Rhod. ἐνάρατον) is probably due to influence of the verb ἀράω, which must be analogical (though it is hard to indicate a precise model). Cognate *yod*-presents are Lat. *arāre*, MIr. *airim*, Go. *arjan*, Lith. *árti*, 1sg. *ariù*, OCS *orati*, 1sg. *orjǫ*.

The formation of ἄροτρον is matched by Arm. *arawr*, Lat. *arātrum* (with secondary length), MIr. *arathar*, and ON *arðr*; all from an instrument noun $*h_2erh_3$-*tro*- 'plow'; the same formation is continued by Lith. *árti*, OCS *ralo* < PBSl. **arH-tlo*- or $-d^hlo$-. It is possible that Hitt. *ḫarra-*^{i} 'to grind, crush' is cognate, in which case 'to plow' was originally called 'to break the soil'.

ἄρουρα is a derivation in -i̯α from a verbal noun *ἄρο-ϝαρ 'plowing'; on the details see Peters 1980a: 143ff. This old *r/n*-stem $*h_2erh_3$-*u̯r*, gen. $*h_2rh_3$-*uen-s* is continued in MIr. *arbor* < **aru̯r*, gen. OIr. *arbe* < **aru̯ens* 'corn', Skt. *urvárā*- 'arable land'; a similar formation is found in Lat. *arvum* < $*h_2erh_3$-*uo*-.

ἁρπάζω [v.] 'to snatch away' (Il.). ◂PG?(S), IE? **serp*- 'prune'▸

•VAR Aor. ἁρπάξαι (Il.), ἁρπάσαι (Hom.).

•DER From ἁρπαγ-: ἅρπαξ [f.] 'plundering' (Hes.), [m.] 'robber' (Ar.); ἁρπαγή 'robbery' (Sol.), ἁρπάγη 'hook, rake' (E.); ἅρπαγος [m.] 'hook' (A., S.); ἁρπαγεύς 'robber' (Them.) was probably taken from ἁρπαγή; *ἁρπαγών is found in the Latin borrowing *harpagō* 'grappling-hook' (Plaut.).

Deverbal from ἁρπάζω: ἁρπακτήρ [m.] 'robber' (Il.), ἁρπακτής (Call.); action nouns ἁρπαγμός 'robbery, booty' (Plu., Vett. Val.), ἅρπαγμα 'id.' (Lyc., LXX), ἁρπακτύς [f.] 'robbery' (Call.); ἁρπάγιον 'vessel like the κλεψύδρα' (Alex. Aphr.).

Adjectives: ἁρπάγιμος 'robbed, stolen' (Call., *AP*), lengthened ἁρπαγιμαῖος 'id.' (Orph.); ἁρπακτικός 'rapacious' (Luc.), ἁρπακτήριος 'id.' (Lyc.). Adverb ἁρπάγδην 'snatching' (A. R., Opp., Aret.).

Forms deriving from the aorist ἁρπάσαι are less frequent: ἅρπασμα (Pl., Men.), ἁρπασμός (Plu.), ἅρπασις (Phryn.), ἁρπαστικός (Arist., Phld.), ἅρπασος name of a predatory bird (Ant. Lib.).

•ETYM ἁρπάζω seems to be a denominative verb from a stem ἁρπαγ-. This may be related within Greek to ἅρπ- (from which ἁρπάζω may have been derived directly), as found in ἅρπη 'sickle', also a bird of prey. Less probable is connection with ▸ἅρπυς and ▸ἅρπυια; as DELG remarks, this may be based on folk etymology.

The word for 'sickle' is derived from a root **serp*-. If ἁρπάζω is derived from this, too, it would originally mean 'to snatch'. However, the etymology is far from certain,

as a suffix -αγ- cannot be explained in IE terms, and forms which contain it seem to be substrate words (Chantraine 1933: 397). Nor can ἁρπ- be easily explained as an IE form, since the zero grade **sr̥p-* would be expected to yield ῥαπ-.

ἁρπαλέος [adj.] 'devouring, greedy, consuming'; thence 'with pleasure, attractive, alluring' (Od.). ◁GR▷

•DER Denominative ἁρπαλίζω [v.] 'to be eager to receive; to exact greedily' (A.), ἁρπαλίζομαι· ἀσμένως δέχομαι 'to receive gladly' (H.).

•ETYM Dissimilated from ἁλπαλέος, which belongs to ►ἄλπνιστος. The original form is recorded by Hesychius: ἁλπαλαῖον (leg. -έον)· ἀγαπητόν 'amiable'. The secondary connection with ἁρπάζω explains the spiritus asper and the development of the meaning.

ἁρπεδής [adj.] 'flat' (Nic. *Th.* 420). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR Sometimes with rough breathing ἁρ-. Cf. ἑρπεδόεσσα (-δοσσα ms.)· ἐπίπεδος 'level, flat' (H.).

•DER ἁρπεδόεις (Antim. Col.). Denominative verb ἁρπεδίσαι· ὁμαλίσαι, ἐδαφίσαι 'to make even or level, beat level and firm' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with πέδον (for which one compares ἄπεδος 'flat') leads nowhere. Since antiquity, the word has been derived from ἁρι-πεδής (Did., Hdn.), but this is rightly rejected by Frisk. If the gloss with ἑ- is reliable, it is a substrate word (Frisk refers to ἔρθυρις = ἐρίθυρις for ἑρ- from ἑρι-).

ἁρπεδόνη [f.] 'cord, yarn', used to ensnare game, etc. (Hdt.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also -εδών [f.] (*AP*).

•DER ἁρπεδονίζειν· λωποδυτεῖν. καὶ διὰ σπάρτου θηρᾶν 'to steal clothes; hunt by rope' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown; cf. the names of instruments in -δών, -δόνη (Schwyzer: 529f., 490, Chantraine 1933: 361f., 207). Connection with ►ἁρπάζω is improbable for a word for 'cord'. Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 225f. connects the word with Lith. *veřpti* 'to spin', but then the -αρ- must be analogical after -ερ-.

ἄρπεζα [f.] 'hedge' (Nic.), cf. ἁρπέζας· τοὺς αἱμασιώδεις τόπους. οἱ δὲ τείχη καὶ περιβόλους. οἱ δὲ τὰ κλιμακώδη χωρία 'places that are hedged in; walls and enclosures; terraced places' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also ἄρπεζος [f.] 'id.' (Mylasa). Cf. further ἄρπισαι· αἱμασιαί. ἢ τάφρους 'walls; ditches' and ἄρπιξ· εἶδος ἀκάνθης, Κύπριοι 'kind of thorny plant (Cypr.)' (H.). Also ἁρπάναι· μάνδραι βοσκήματων 'cattle folds'.

•ETYM Connection with ἄρπη, ἁρπεδόνη, ἁρπάζω is not convincing. Chantraine's suggestion that the basic meaning is 'limit of a terrain', and so perhaps connected with ἁρπεδόνη 'cord', is improbable: the ἄρπεζα is clearly something in the terrain, functioning as a boundary (αἱμασιά). The variation -εζα/-ισα (in ἄρπισαι) is typical for substrate words.

ἄρπη [f.] 'sickle' (Il.), also a bird of prey (after its claws, see Bechtel 1914 and Thompson 1895). ◁IE?, ? **ser(p)-* 'sickle'▷

•VAR ἅρπης· εἶδος ὀρνέου 'kind of bird' (H.) and ἁρπετόν· ἀκόμιστον ἢ ἰκτῖνος. Κρῆτες 'untended; a kite (Cretan)' (H.).
•DER Acc. to Leumann 1950: 294, the bird comes from the interpretation of Homer; not convincing.
•ETYM ἅρπη agrees with OCS *srъpъ*, Latv. *sirpe* 'sickle'. Furthermore, one compares Lat. *sarpiō* and *sarpō*, *sarpere* 'trim, prune (vine)', but the vocalism is difficult to accout for (see Schrijver 1991: 493: from *sarriō*). If we suppose an IE origin, "ἅρπη a un vocalisme ambigu", say E-M, by which they must mean that it is difficult to explain. I agree with E-M and am inclined to assume a non-IE word (for the concept of European substrate words, see Beekes 2000). The appurtenance of OIr. *serr* is also doubtful; see Vendryes. For a hypothesis of an Oriental origin, see Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 17. It is improbable to take ἅρπη as the basis of ἅρπαξ, ἁρπάγη, ἁρπάζω, as Szemerényi 1964: 205, 213 does.

ἄρπιξ [f.]? · εἶδος ἀκάνθης 'kind of thorny plant' (H.). ◅PG▻
•VAR Also ἄπριξ; and ἄπριγδα· εἶδος ἀκανθης 'id.' (Cypr. *EM* 132, 53).
•ETYM Unknown. The variation with -γδα and the form itself suggest substrate origin.

ἁρπίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'kind of shoe' (Call.), = κρηπίς 'man's high boot' (*EM* 148, 36). ◅?▻
•VAR ἁρπίδες· μαλακαὶ κρηπῖδες ἢ ὑποδήματα 'soft boots or sandals' (H.). ῥαπίς = κρηπίς (H., *EM*).
•ETYM The word is Laconian, acc. to Hesychius. A formal variant is ►ῥαπίς, so the word must be Pre-Greek.

Ἅρπυια [f.] usually plur. 'the Harpies', demons (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Old dual Ἀρεπυίᾱ (Aigina); the same form (but with -υῖαι) is also found in *EM* 138, 21.
•ETYM The expression Ἅρπυιαι ἀνηρέψαντο (ξ 371 = α 241) was once suggestive of etymological connection with ►ἐρέπτομαι 'to feed on', but this is impossible in view of the ἐ-. Moreover, apart from οἶδα, perfect forms without reduplication do not exist. The suffix -υια is typical for substrate words, cf. ἄγυια, αἴθυια, etc., and the variation ε/ zero is also a substrate characteristic. It must be concluded that the name is a substrate element, like e.g. Εἰλείθυια. See Szemerényi 1964: 203-213 and Beekes 1998: 24f. The aspiration may have been taken from ἁρπάζω by folk etymology.

ἅρπυς [f.] 'love' (Parth.). ◅?▻
•VAR ἅρπυν· ἔρωτα. Αἰολεῖς 'love (Aeol.)' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown. Fur.: 327f. connects the word with Ἅρπυια.

ἁρράβη [f.] · θύρα. οἷον γέρ<ρ>ον 'door, such as of wickerwork' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown. Not related to Hebr. *'ārab* 'twist', as per Lewy 1895: 130, though Hesychius's gloss may indicate that the door was twisted or twined.

ἁρραβών 1, -ῶνος [m.] 'caution money' (Antiph.). ◅LW▻
•VAR Also ἀραβών
•DER ἁρραβωνίζεται· ἁρραβῶνι δίδοται 'is presented with caution money' (H.).

•ETYM A Semitic loan acc. to Lewy 1895: 120, followed by Schwyzer: 153, 316, who compare Hebr. *ʿērābōn* 'id.'. But the Semitic character of the word is not certain; perhaps the word is a loan from elsewhere (Cohen *GLECS* 8 (1957): 13). Egyptian has *ʿrb*. Cf. E. Masson 1967: 30ff. Cf. Lat. *arrabō*, *arra*.

ἀρραβών 2 [m.]? · ἄγκιστρον 'fish-hook' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. An attempt at an explanation in Lewy 1895: 130.

ἄρρατος [adj.] = σκληρὸς, ἀμετάστροφος 'hard, unalterable' (Pl. *Cra.* 407d, *Resp.* 535c, *Ax.* 365a). ◁?▷

•VAR In Euph. 24 the -α- is long.

•ETYM Uncertain. Does it derive from *ἀ-ϝρατ-ος, from PIE **uert-* 'to twist'? If this is correct, the length of the -α- would be spurious. An analysis -ϝρᾰ-τος is more obvious.

ἀρρηνής [adj.] 'growling', only in ζἀκοτόν τε καὶ ἀρρηνές (Theoc. 25, 83), scil. θηρίον, said of a dog; acc. to H. = ἄγριον, δυσχερές 'wild, intractable'. ◁?▷

•DER ἀρρηνεῖν· λοιδορεῖν. καὶ <ἐπὶ> γυναικὶ· πρὸς ἄνδρα διαφέρεσθαι 'to slander, abuse; of a woman, to quarrel with a man' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Is it from ἀρ(ρ)ἀζω 'to bark, howl', remodelled after στρηνής or ἀπηνής? See ▶ἀράζω.

ἀρρηφόρος [f.] name of the Athenian girls who carried the symbols of Athena in procession (Paus.). ◁?▷

•VAR ἐρρηφόρος, -έω (inscr.); and ἐρσηφόρος, -ία; also ἐρσε-, ἐρσο- (inscr., sch. Ar.).

•DER ἀρρηφορία 'procession of ἀρρηφόροι' (Lys.), denominative ἀρρηφορέω [v.] (Ar., Din.), τὰ ἀρρηφόρια (sch. Ar., *EM*).

•ETYM Unexplained. In antiquity, the word was derived from ἄρρητος 'unsaid, mysterious' (with an inexplicable loss of -το-), or from ἕρση 'dew', also the name of a daughter of Kekrops. See Adrados *Emerita* 19: 117-133 and Burkert *Herm.* 94 (1966): 1ff.

ἀρριχάομαι ⇒ἀναρριχάομαι.

ἄρριχος [f., m.] 'basket' (Ar.). ◁PG?(S)▷

•VAR ἀρίσκος· κόφινος ἢ ἀγγεῖον λύγινον 'basket or vessel of chaste-tree wood' (H.).

•DER ἄρσιχος (D. S.), diminutive ἀρριχίς [f.] (Ath.).

•ETYM Unknown. The development -ρσ- > -ρρ- is normal in Attic (Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 265); the same suffix occurs in the synonym σύριχος (Schwyzer: 498, Chantraine 1933: 402). Fur.: 348 hesitantly compares ἄρυσος/ ἔρυσος 'basket'. Probably a substrate word; it does not belong to ἀερσι- (ἀείρω), as DELG suggested.

ἀρρωδέω ⇒ὀρρωδέω.

ἄρσεα [n.pl.] · λειμῶνες 'meadows' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Delph. ἄρσια (*F. Delph.* 3, 4, 42, 13)?

•ETYM Unknown. Schwyzer suggested a relation with ἄρδω 'to irrigate', with a suffix -σος like in ἄλσος etc. (Schwyzer: 513, cf. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 254). The suffix

-σος, however, may be a substrate element (Fur.: 254[27]). Gusmani 1969: 512 compares Hitt. *aršī-* 'plantation'.

ἀρσενικόν [n.] 'arsenic' (Arist.). ◁LW Orient.▷
•VAR Also ἀρρενικόν, fem. ἀρρενική (Gal.).
•ETYM Word of oriental origin, ultimately from MP **zarnīk* 'gold-colored' (cf. MoP *zarnīx*, *zarnīq* 'id.' and see ►χλόη, ►χλωρός), probably via a Semitic intermediary (Syr. *zarnīkā*) and reshaped after ἀρσενικός, ἀρρενικός 'male'. See Schrader-Nehring 1917 s.v.

ἄρσην, -ενος [adj.] 'male' (Il.). ◁IE **uers-n-* 'male'▷
•DIAL Att. ἄρρην; Ion., Lesb., Cret. ἔρσην, Lacon. ἄρσης.
•DER ἀρρέντερος 'male' (Arc.) and ἐρσεναίτερος (El.) are probably secondary after θηλύτερος.
ἀρσενικός (Att. -ρρ-) 'male' (Hell.), ἐρσενικός (pap.), ἀρσένιος (Teuthis); ἀρσένιον [n.] 'male child' (pap.). Adverb ἀρρενωδῶς 'male' (LXX); abstracts: ἀρρενότης [f.] 'masculinity, masculine gender' (Stoic.), ἀρσένωμα 'masculine seed' (sch. Opp.). Denominative verb ἀρρενόομαι 'to become man, behave like a man' (Luc., Ph.).
•ETYM ἄρσην and ἔρσην reflect IE **u(e)rsēn* 'male animal', the zero grade ἄρσην corresponding to Skt. *(v)ṛṣa-bhá-* 'bull', Arm. *arn* 'ram', and full grade ἔρσην to OP *aršan-* 'man, male', Lat. *verrēs* 'ram', Lith. *vẽršis* 'bull calf'. The Gr. forms show no trace of a digamma, cf. especially Gortyn ερσεν-. Pronk fthc.b has argued that initial **u-* was lost in Greek, Armenian and in part of the Indo-Iranian cognates in the compound **g^{w}eh$_3$u-ursēn* 'bull', attested in ToA *kayurṣ*, ToB *kaurṣe* 'bull' and ON *kursi* 'bull calf' (a brilliant find by Kroonen, p.c.). For the former, textbook view see the discussion in Peters 1993a. Cf. ►ἀρνειός, ►ἀρνευτήρ.

ἄρσιον ⇒ἀνάρσιος.

ἀρσώμιδες · ὑπόδημα γυναικεῖον 'women's sandal' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

ἀρτάβη [f.] a Persian and Egyptian measure (Hdt.). ◁LW Iran.▷
•VAR Also ἀρτέβη.
•DER In papyri: ἀρτάβιος 'measuring an α.', ἀρταβιαῖος 'id.', ἀρταβίειος (or -ιεῖος) 'id.'; cf. κοτυλίειος (and -ιεῖος) from κοτύλη (Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 95); abstract ἀρταβιεία (also -βεία, -βία) 'tax for one α.'.
•ETYM The word is of Iranian (Old Persian) origin, acc. to R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 100-102.

ἄρταμος [m.] 'butcher, cook' (S.). ◁?▷
•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *a-to-mo*.
•ETYM Eustathios 577, 45 explains it as ὁ εἰς ἄρτια τέμνων, in which case it would be haplological for **ἀρτί-ταμος* or **ἀρτό-ταμος* 'artful cutting'. DELG objects that we should expect -τομος; to my mind, the whole etymology is most improbable. Fur.: 345 thinks it is a substrate word; although there is no further evidence, this is *a priori* the most likely solution.

ἀρτάω [v.] 'to bind to, hang upon, attach to' (Hdt.). ◁GR▷

•DER Verbal nouns: ἄρτημα designation of several objects, such as 'ear-pendant' (Hdt.), 'weight' (Arist.), etc.; ἄρτησις 'hanging' (Papp.), ἀνάρτησις 'id.' (Thphr.), ἀρτησμός 'id.' (*AB*). Further ἀρτάνη 'rope, noose' (A.), after πλεκτάνη, etc.

•ETYM ἀρτάω is reconstructed as *ἀϝερτάω, from ἀείρω 'to bind, hang', but the derivation is unusual (Schwyzer: 705f.). Cf. ▶ἀρτήρ and ▶ἀρτηρία.

ἀρτεμής [adj.] 'fresh, healthy' (Il.). ◁?▷

•DER ἀρτεμέω [v.] 'to be healthy' (Nonn.), ἀρτεμία 'health' (Max., *AP*, Procl.).

•ETYM Unknown. The word has been explained as a haplology, either from *ἀρτι-δεμής (to δέμας), or as a compound from ἀρ- = ἀρι- (but see on ▶ἀρπεδής) and *τέμος (to ▶τημελέω), Fick & Bechtel 1894: 439. Both are unconvincing.

Ἄρτεμις, -ιδος [f.] name of the goddess (Il.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Gen. also -ιτος.

•DIAL Myc. *a-te-mi-to* /Artemitos/ [gen.]; *a-ti-mi-te* /Artimitei/ [dat.]. Dor. Ἄρταμις, -ιτος; Boeot. Ἄρταμις, -ιδος; Delphi Ἄρτεμις, -ιτος (*SIG* 671, etc.).

•DER Ἀρτεμίσιος, Ἀρταμίτιος [m.], also the month name Ἀρτεμισιών (Th.); Ἀρτεμίσιον [n.] 'temple of Ἄ.' (Hdt.). Ἀρταμίτια [n.pl.] 'festival of Ἄ.' (Delphi). ἀρτεμιδήϊον [n.], ἀρτεμισία [f.] plant name, see Strömberg 1940: 100. Ἀρτεμισιασταί [m.pl.] worhsippers of Ἄ. (Athens), as if from *ἀρτεμισιάζω; cf. Ἀπολλωνιαστaί (Chantraine 1933: 316).

•ETYM The forms show an interchange *e/i*, which may point to Pre-Greek origin. We further find *e/a* (see Fur.: 185), which is rather an old phenomenon than a recent assimilation. The variation *t/d* is due to a recent replacement of the suffix: Myc. has *-t-*, and the forms in -σιον- presuppose a *-t-* too.

The name is found in Lydian inscriptions (*Artimuś*, *Artimu-*), and Lycian has *ertemi*, but this does not prove that the name comes from Lydia or Asia Minor. Improbable is Illyrian origin (Ruipérez *Emerita* 15 (1947): 1ff. and Ruipérez *Zephyrus* 2 (1951): 89ff., who assumed Illyr. **artos* 'bear'). Against the interpretation as 'bear-godess' and connection with ἄρκτος see Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 34, who connects ἄρταμος 'butcher', which seems very improbable. The Indo-European interpretation by Peters 1989: 214ff. involves many difficulties and should be rejected.

ἀρτέμων, -ονος [m.] 'foresail' (*Act. Ap.* 27, 40); mg. uncertain in Lyd. *Mens.* 2, 12. ◁?▷

•ETYM A technical word, for which a precise explanation of meaning and history is lacking. Connection with ▶ἀρτέομαι or ▶ἀρτάω with a suffix -μων (Chantraine 1933: 172, Schwyzer: 522) does not explain the meaning. Borrowed as Lat. *artemo(n)* name of a sail (since Lucil.); it also means 'principal pulley' (Vitr. 10, 2, 9). Cf. Vart 1887: 101-106 and Rougé 1966: 58f.

ἀρτέομαι [v.] 'to prepare, make ready' (Hdt.). ◁GR▷

•COMP Prefixed ἀν-, παρ-αρτέομαι (Hdt., Arr.).

•DER ἄρτησις (Hdt.), with a v.l. ἄρτισις, from ἀρτίζω; ἀρτίζω 'to prepare, equip' (Theoc.), καταρτίζω (Hdt.), cf. the pair αἰτέω : αἰτίζω. The *s*-stem in ἐπαρτής 'ready' (Od.) does not presuppose an *s*-stem noun.

•ETYM Derived from the root ἀρ- in ►ἀραρίσκω, via an intermediary noun in -τ-; not directly from ►ἄρτι.

ἀρτήρ [m.] 1. that by which anything is carried (LXX *Ne.* 4, 17 [11]); 2. kind of shoe (Pherecr. 38, H.). ◄GR►

•ETYM 1. derives from *ἀϝερ-τήρ, from ►ἀείρω 1 'to raise'; 2. could be analyzed as 'what is bound to', from ►ἀείρω 2 'to bind', or from ἀρτάω with haplology for *ἀρτη-τήρ.

ἀρτηρία [f.] 'artery', 'windpipe' (Hp., Pl., Arist.); see Strömberg 1944: 60. ◄GR►

•DER ἀρτηριακός (medic.) and ἀρτηριώδης (Gal.); ἀρτηρίασις 'bronchitis' (Isid. *Etym.* 4, 7, 14), as if from a verb of disease *ἀρτηριάω, cf. ψωρίασις, ἐρυθρίασις.

•ETYM Like the semantically comparable ἀορτή (see ►ἀείρω 2), it probably derives from ἀείρω 'to bind, hang up'. On the formation, see Chantraine 1933: 81 and Scheller 1951: 59.

ἄρτι [adv.] 'just, just now, recently' (A.); in Homer only in compounds and derivatives). ◄IE *h_2er- 'fit'►

•COMP Frequent as a first member, first meaning 'right, fitting': ἀρτι-επής 'who knows well how to use the word', ἀρτί-φρων,'sensible, intelligent'; ἀρτί-πος (all Hom.), ἀρτί-χειρ, ἀρτι-μελής (Pl.). In later compounds, it means 'recently'.

•DER ἄρτιος (Il.) 'right, fitting', also 'even' (of numbers), ἀρτιότης [f.] (Arist.), ἀρτιάκις [adv.] 'an even number of times' (Pl.), ἀρτιάζω [v.] 'to play at odd and even' (Ar.); ἀρτιασμός (Arist.). Perhaps ἀρτίζω 'to order, equip, etc.', if not from ►ἀρτέομαι; usually ἀπ-, ἐξ-, καταρτίζω, with a number of derivatives; from the simplex ἀρτιστῆρες [pl.] title of an officer in Elatea.

•ETYM Probably a locative of the *t*-stem *h_2er-*t*- 'order', from the root of ►ἀραρίσκω. The word neatly corresponds with Arm. *ard* 'just now', cf. *ard-a-cin* 'just born, ἀρτι-γενής', and with Lith. *artì* 'close by'. Lat. *ars*, *artis* reminds of ἀρτίφρων and ἀρτίχειρ, where the first element may mean 'skillful'. See ►ἀνάρσιος.

ἀρτίαλα [n.pl.] 'decoration of the ear' (Poll. 5, 97). ◄?►

•DIAL Doric.

•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with ἄρτιος, with a suffix -αλο- (Schwyzer: 483f., Chantraine 1933: 245f.), has been suggested.

ἄρτος [m.] 'bread' (Od.). ◄?►

•DIAL On Myc. *a-to-po-qo* /arto-pok^{w}os/ 'baker', see ►πέσσω.

•COMP Frequent as a first member, note ἀρτο-κόπος 'baker' (Hdt.) with metathesis (cf. Lith. *kepù* beside OCS *pekǫ*); further ἀρτοποιός 'id.' (X.), etc.

•DER Diminutive ἀρτίσκος [m.] (Hp., Dsc., Gal.) and ἀρτίσκιον (Damocr.).

•ETYM Unknown; connection with ἀρ- 'fit' is improbable. Pisani *Ric. ling.* 1 (1950): 141 derives it from Iranian **arta-* 'flour' as a borrowing, which is impossible for a word already attested in Mycenaean. Hubschmid 1953b: 104 adduces Basque *arto* 'id.', OSpan. *artal* 'especie de empanada', etc. and considers it to be a substrate word (or is it a loan from Greek?).

ἀρτύω [v.] 'to arrange, prepare', also of food 'to season' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2(*e*)*r-tu-* 'order'▷
•COMP Frequently prefixed, e.g. ἐξ-, κατ-αρτύω (Il.).
•DER 1. ἄρτυμα 'condiment' (Hp., S.), with late derivations ἀρτυμάτιον, ἀρτυματώδης, ἀρτυματικός; ἀρτυμᾶς and ἀρτυματᾶς [m.] 'spice trader' (pap.). 2. ἄρτυσις 'arrangement, seasoning' (Ph., D. S.). 3. ἀρτυτήρ name of an official (Thera). 4. ἀρτυτικός [adj.] 'fit for seasoning' (sch.); ἀρτυτικόν [n.] 'herb' (*Sammelb.* 5224, 50). A variant is ἀρτύνω = ἀρτύω (Il.); see Schwyzer: 727f.
•ETYM The verb is denominative in origin, but the noun is found only in ἀρτύς· σύνταξις 'ordering', ἀρτύν· φιλίαν καὶ σύμβασιν ἢ κρίσιν 'friendship, coming together, decision' (H.). It is a derivation in *-tu-* from *$h_2$er-* 'to fit' as in ▸ἀραρίσκω, and may well be old, cf. Skt. *ṛtú-* [m.] 'fixed time, order, rule' < *$h_2$rtu-*, Arm. *ard*, gen. *ardu* 'order', Lat. *artus*, gen. *-ūs* [m.] 'joint, limb'.

ἄρυα [n.pl.] · τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρυα 'Heraclean filberts' (H.). ◁LW▷
•VAR Cf. αὐαρά· τὰ Ποντικὰ κάρυα 'nuts from the Pontic area' (H.).
•ETYM ἄρυον is considered a variant of κάρυον; see Strömberg 1940: 155f.; thus also Fur.: 391. The variation κ/zero points to substrate origin. One would conceive of a Pre-Greek form **qar-*, of which the first phoneme (a uvular) was rendered as *k-* or zero in Greek.
Alb. *arrë* [f.] 'nut, nut-tree', OCS *orěxъ* 'nut', Lith. *ríešas, ríešutas* 'nut', Latv. *riẽksts* 'nut', and OPr. *buccareisis* 'beech-nut' (first element *bucus* 'beech') are too different to be compared to the Greek forms: the BSl. forms have **a/or-* beside **r-*, followed by *-ei-*.

ἀρύβαλλος [m.] 'bag or purse which can be tied together' (Stesich.), 'globular oil flask' (Ar.). ◁PG?(S)▷
•DIAL ἀρβυλίδα· λήκυθον. Λάκωνες 'oil flask (Lacon.)' (H.). Also ἀρυβάσσαλον· κοτύλη ἢ φλάσκων 'small vessel, flagon' (H.).
•ETYM Hesychius explains it as ἀρύβαλλοι· τὰ μαρσύππια 'pouches'. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρύειν καὶ βάλλειν εἰς αὐτούς 'because sth. is scooped and put into them'. This explanation (though defended by Chantraine) is folk-etymological and is not worth discussion. It is not even certain that the meaning 'flask' is primary. Most probably Pre-Greek (note the suffix -αλλος), cf. ▸βαλλάντιον.

ἀρύω 1 [v.] 'to draw water' (Hes.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. ἀρῦσαι.
•DIAL With an enlargement -τ- (Schwyzer: 704): Att. ἀρύτω, Lesb. ἀρυτήμενοι (Alc.).
•COMP As a second member in ἐτν-ήρυσις 'soup ladle', ζωμήρυσις, οἰνήρυσις etc. (com.).
•DER ἀρυστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'spoon' (Alc., Semon., Hdt.), ἀρυτήρ (Dsc., pap.); fem. ἀρυστρ-ίς, -ίδος (*AP*), more common ἀρύταινα 'id.' (Ar., Antiph., Thphr., pap.), after ἀρύτω, see Chantraine 1933: 109; diminutive ἀρυταίνιον (Lebena [II^a]).
ἄρυστις [f.] 'ladle' (S.), diminutive ἀρύστιχος [m.] (com., Aegina); ἀρυσάνη 'id.' (Timo), cf. names for utensils like λεκάνη; ἀρυσᾶς (Delos) probably denotes the profession 'water drawer'; for ἄρυσος [m.] 'wicker basket' (Hdn.), cf. τάμισος,

πέτασος, etc.; ἀρυτήσιμος and ἀρύσιμος 'potable' (sch.); ἀρυστικός 'fit for scooping' (Ael.).

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk *Eranos* 50 (1952): 1-8 takes it as *ϝαρύω (comparing [ϝ]αρυσσάμενος Hes. *Op.* 550), and connects it with Arm. *gerem* 'to take prisoner', εὑρίσκω 'to find', assuming a root **uer-*; but the Greek -α- creates difficulties for this etymology. It could be from a *u*-present **urh*$_1$*-u-*, but there is no further support. For other doubtful attempts see DELG.

ἀρύω 2 [v.] 'to speak, cry', only in glosses: ἀρύει· ἀντὶ <τοῦ> λέγει, βοᾷ 'shouts, instead of speaks'; ἀρύουσαι· λέγουσαι, κελεύουσαι 'who are speaking, urging'; ἀρύσασθαι· ἐπικαλέσασθαι 'to summon' (H.). ◁?▷

•DIAL It is Syracusan acc. to *EM* 134, 12.

•ETYM Unknown. Not related to ▶ἀρνέομαι 'to refuse, deny', as per Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 19f. Latte corrects it to ἀπύει = ἠπύει.

ἀρχή [f.] 1. 'begin, origin' (Il.); 2. 'reign' (Pi.). ◁GR▷

•DER From 1: ἀρχαῖος 'original, ancient, old' (Pi.), ἀρχαιότης [f.] 'antiquity' (Pl., D. H.); late denominatives ἀρχαΐζω [v.] 'to be old-fashioned', of style (D. H., Plu.), ἀρχαϊσμός 'old-fashionedness, etc.' (Men., D. H.); ἀρχαιωθείς (χρόνος) 'aged' (pap. VI^{P}). Also ἀρχαϊκός 'old-fashioned' (Ar., Antiph.).

From 2: ἀρχικός 'ptng. to power, etc.' (A., Th., Pl.), later also taken to 1. (Phld.); diminutive (scornful) ἀρχίδιον (Ar., D.), ἀρχήϊον, ἀρχεῖον 'government building', ἀρχειώτης (*Dig.*) and ἀρχειωτικός (Lyd.); Dorianized ἀρχέτας [m.] 'ruler' (E.), which could derive from ἄρχω directly; ἀρχῖτις (Thasos), ἀρχίνη (Syros), both incorrectly written with -ει-, and ἀρχηΐς (Amyklai) are names of priestesses.

•ETYM ἀρχή is a verbal noun of ▶ἄρχω.

ἀρχός 1 ⇒ἄρχω.

ἀρχός 2 [m.] 'rectum, anus' (Hp.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk asks if it could be a joking formation for ▶ἀρχός 1.

ἄρχω [v.] 'to be the first', thence 1. 'to begin' (Il.); 2. 'to rule' (Il.). ◁IE? **h*$_2$*r-ske/o-* 'start, rule'▷

•VAR Aor. ἄρξαι.

•DIAL Uncertain is the interpretation of Myc. *a-ke-* in PNs: /ark^{h}e-/ or /age-/? Uncertain too is Myc. *o-ka*, see Aura Jorro 1985-1993.

•COMP ἀρχέκακος 'who initiated the evil' (Il.); ἀρχιτέκτων (Hdt.) after τερπικέραυνος (?); ἀρχι- is never found in poetry.

•DER ἀρχός [m.] 'leader' (Il., poet.); ἀρχεύω [v.] 'to be the first, command' (epic since Il.), which is also used as an official term (Paphos, Cos) could be denominative to ἀρχός or be an enlargement of ἄρχω after βασιλεύω, ἀριστεύω. The usual term is ἄρχων, -οντος [m.] 'commander', name of the highest official in Athens, fem. ἀρχοντίς (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*), short form ἀρχίς (Tenos). Late derivations: ἀρχοντικός 'ptng. to the α.' (*AP*, pap.), ἀρχοντεύω [v.] 'to be α.' (Olbia), ἀρχοντιάω [v.] 'to wish to command' (sch., Lyd.). ἄργματα [n.pl.] 'first fruits' (ξ 446), ἀπάργματα (Ar.), ἀπαρχαί; also ἄρχματα (H.) with restored -χ-. On ▶ἀρχή, see s.v.

•ETYM Klingenschmitt 1974: 274[1] suggested to derive ἄρχω from a present *h_2r-*ske/o*- '(der Reihenfolge und dem Range nach) der erste sein'. The reconstruction was pleaded for more recently by Matzinger *KZ* 113 (2000): 287-288[27], who also derives Arm. *ark'ay* 'king' from the same root. Frisk and Chantraine only mention the connection with ►ὄρχαμος 'commander' (Il.). The variation α-/ ο- between these words has been taken to point to substrate origin by Fur.: 342, but this proposal does not seem compelling, since the morphological analysis of ὄρχαμος is unclear.
LIV[2] s.v. *reg^h- follows Tichy, who reconstructed *$(h_2)rg^h$-*ske/o*- to a root found in MHG *ragen*, *regen* 'to rise, stir' and Lith. *regėti* 'to watch'. This seems possible only if we assume a root *h_2rg^h-, because a PIE root could not start in *r- (cf. Beekes 1995: 148), but also because of the Greek imperfect ἦρχε. The present ἄρχω may have specialized its meaning from 'start to join' to 'undertake'.

ἄρωμα [n.] 'condiment, aromatic plant' (Hp.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown. See Schmeja 1968: 133. For the suffix -ωμα, see Chantraine 1933: 184ff.

ἆσαι [v.aor.inf.] 'to satiate, take one's fill' (Il.) ◅IE *seh_2- 'satiate'▻
•VAR Inf.pres. ἄμεναι, subj. ἔωμεν < *ἤ-ο-μεν; fut. ἄσειν; them. pres. ἄεται (Hes. *Sc.* 101 cod. Laur.; the other mss. have ἄαται, which may be athem. or stand for contracted *ἄται; cf. ἄται· πληροῦται 'is filled' [H.]). See Solmsen 1901: 93f.
•DIAL Myc. *a-se-so-si* /asēsonsi/ [fut.].
•DER ἄ-ατος > ἄτος 'insatiable'.
•ETYM Derivatives from this old athematic root aorist are ►ἄδην and ►ἄση. PIE *seh_2-/sh_2- is found as a verbal root in Hitt. *šāḫ-*[i] 'to clog, to stuff', and further in isolated nominal derivations: Lith. *sotùs* 'satiated', Lat. *satis* 'enough', OIr. *sáith* 'fullness', and Lith. *sótis* 'satiety' (all < *$s(e)h_2$-*ti*-); Go. *gasoþjan* 'to satiate' (denominative) etc. On *εά(ζ)ω 'to satiate' see Peters 1993b: 89ff.

ἀσαλής [adj.] = ἄφροντις, ἀμέριμνος 'careless, thoughtless', attribute of μανία (*EM* 151, 49 = A. *fr.* 319). ◅?▻
•DER ἀσάλεια (cod. ἀσαλέα) = ἀμεριμνία καὶ ἀλογιστία 'freedom from care, thoughtlessness', *EM* = Sophron (113).
•ETYM Acc. to *EM*, the word derives from σάλη in the sense of φροντίς 'thought, care'. Modern scholars derive it from σάλος (with regular transition to an *s*-stem), which is glossed by Hesychius as φροντίς, ταραχή 'agitation', and is identified with ►σάλος 'turbulent movement'. σάλη (also σάλα H.) would be a back-formation of ἀσαλής and ἀσαλεῖν (cod. ἀσάλειν)· ἀφροντισθῆναι. It is uncertain, however, if we are dealing with one and the same word.

ἀσάμινθος [f.] 'bathtub' (Il.). ◅PG(S)▻
•DIAL Myc. *a-sa-mi-to* /asamint^{h}os/.
•ETYM A clear substrate word because of the suffix in -νθ-, like in the TNs Κόρινθος, Ὄλυνθος, etc. Gaerte *PhW* 1922: 888 and von Blumenthal *IF* 48 (1930): 50 pointed to Sum. *asam*, Akk. *assammu(m)*, *ansammum* 'earthenware water-vessel'. Improbable speculations by Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 657.

ἄσαρον [n.] 'hazelwort, Asarum europaeum' (Crateuas). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Short, unadapted form ἄσαρ (Aët.), whence ἀσαρίτης (Dsc.), of οἶνος.
•ETYM Unknown. Lewy 1895: 47 thinks it is Semitic. *A priori*, a Pre-Greek word is most probable. Cf. perhaps ▶ἀρίσαρον, and Strömberg 1940: 158.

ἄσβεστος [adj.] 'unquenchable, unextinguishable', also 'unslaked' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Verbal adjective of ▶σβέννυμι. As a substantive, it indicates either unslaked lime (τίτανος) or an unknown combustible mineral. It never means 'asbestos' (ἀμίαντος), see Diels *KZ* 47 (1916): 203ff.

ἄσβολος [f., m.] 'soot' (Hippon.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ἀσβόλη [f.] (Semon.). In the gloss ἀσβολόεν· μέγα, ὑψηλόν, μέλαν 'big, high, dark' (H.), Latte reads the second as ψολόεν: for μέγα, we may also posit μέλαν, but its final ν was read as υ. This led to the interpretation of υψολοεν as ὑψηλόν.
•DER ἀσβολώδης 'sooty' (Dsc.), denominative verb ἀσβολόομαι in ἠσβολωμένος (Macho), also ἀσβολάω (Aesop.), ἀσβολαίνεται· *fuscatur* (gloss.).
•ETYM Fur.: 154f. posits substrate origin, which must be correct in view of the rare cluster -σβ- and the variant σποδός 'soot', which was hitherto unexplained. This means that ἄσβολος has a Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. Furnée further points to σποδίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked in hot ashes', which is also called σπολεύς (Philet. *apud* Ath. 3, 114e); note that the latter is unnecessarily corrected to *σποδεύς by Frisk! For the interchange δ/λ, cf. ▶λαβύρινθος beside Myc. *da-pu₂-ri-to-*. Finally, Fur.: 393[21] asks whether the group is identical with ψόλος 'soot' (A.), which seems most probable to me (but identification with ψόθος 'dirt' is less obvious). On variation σπ/ψ in Pre-Greek words, see Fur.: 393.
The analysis as a compound ἄσ-βολος, with elements derived from **h₂eh₁s-* 'to dry' and βάλλω, must be abandoned; it was semantically unlikely anyway.

Ἀσγελάτας [m.] epithet of Ἀπόλλων on Anaphe. ◁PG▷
•VAR Ἀπόλλων Αἰγλάτας (Anaphe, Thera).
•ETYM The explanation in Greek terms by Schwyzer: 27 (who assumes a development ασ > αι[σ]) is rightly criticized by Chantraine s.v. αἴγλη; part of Schwyzer's evidence is itself Pre-Greek. The variation in these epithets is typical of Pre-Greek words, as can clearly be seen in the name ▶Ἀσκληπιός: *aC-/aiC-* and *asC-/aisC-*. In the present case, we only have *aiC-* and *asC-*, but the principle remains the same (Fur.: 293, 295; see also *Pre-Greek*). Furnée's (ibid.: 234, 335) further connection with ἀγλα(ϝ)ός and ἄγλαυρος deserves consideration. The resemblance of Akkadian *azugallatu* 'great physician' (Burkert 1992: 78) is remarkable. Thus, the word is probably a loan via (Pre-)Anatolian and Pre-Greek. A connection with ▶αἴγλη cannot be proven.

ἀσελγής [adj.] 'elated, wanton, unconstrained' (Lys.). ◁?▷
•VAR Unclear ἀσάλγαν· ὕβριν, ἀμέλειαν 'insolence, indifference' and ἀσαλγάνας· φοβερός, εἴρηκε δὲ οὕτως παραβαρβαρίζων 'fearful' (H.); as the final remark says, this may be just a vulgar or 'barbarian' pronunciation.
•DER ἀσέλγεια 'licentiousness' (Pl.). Denominative ἀσελγαίνω 'to be elated' (D.); sporadically ἀσελγέω (sch.); ἀσέλγημα (Plb., pap.).

•ETYM The interchange α/ε is frequent in Pre-Greek words, but it is unclear if the glosses belong here: ἀσάλγα could perhaps be a Pre-Greek formation meaning ἀσελγεία, but the formation of the second gloss and its semantic relation to our word are unexplained. I am not sure whether the conclusion of a substrate origin is admissible. Havers *IF* 28 (1911): 194ff., stated that the word is Boeotian for *ἀθελγῆς, but this is semantically difficult.

ἄση [f.] 'disgust, loathing, dissatisfaction' (Hp.). ◁GR?▷
•DIAL Aeol. ἄσᾱ.
•DER ἀσηρός (-ᾱ-) 'causing discomfort, feeling disgust' (Aeol, Ion.), ἀσώδης 'id.' (Hp.). ἀσάομαι [v.] 'to feel nausea' (Aeol., Ion., Arist.), probably denominative.
•ETYM If the word originally meant 'surfeit', then ἄση is from ▶ἄσαι, but the formation poses difficulties. Unlikely is the suggestion by Solmsen 1909: 242ff., who assumed an analogically preserved suffix -σᾱ- from the zero grade root ἀ- < PIE *sh_2-, rejecting a pre-form *sh_2-$t\underline{i}$-eh_2-. It would be better to posit *$(h)ad$-s-ā, an old collective from the *s*-stem in ἄδος 'satiation' (Il.); problematic, however, is the failure of a geminate -σσ- (only in ἀσσαροτέρας Sapph. 77) to appear in Aeolic. The simplification to -σ- would be due to epic influence acc. to Schwyzer: 321, but all in all, the explanation is not entirely convincing. See ▶ἄδην, ▶ἀδμιολίη.

ἄσθμα [n.] 'short-drawn breath, panting', as a medical term 'asthma' (Il.). ◁?▷
•DER Medical term ἀσθματικός [adj.], also ἀσθματίας, ἀσθματώδης; denominative ἀσθμαίνω [v.] 'to pant, breathe with difficulty' (Il.); late ἀσθμάζω (*AB*); uncertain ἀσθμάομαι (pap.), ἄσθμησις (gloss.).
•ETYM Unclear. -θμα is known as a suffix (cf. ἴθμα), but derivation from *h_2enh_1- 'to breathe' (in ▶ἄνεμος) seems impossible: it would have to yield ἀνε-, even as the result of a zero grade *h_2nh_1-. The -σ- is also found in ἰ-σθμός. Chantraine offers an unclear comment: "dans le cas de ἄσθμα, le σ donne une certaine valeur d'harmonie imitative." If he means that it is onomatopoeic, the same could be supposed for the word itself.

ἀσιδα [f.] 'stork' (LXX). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Cf. ἀσίδα (-ον cod.)· ἐρωδιόν 'heron' (H.).
•ETYM A loanword from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *hᵃsidhah.*

ἀσίαρος [adj.] · ἐπισκάζων. ἢ ἀσίδαρος 'limping upon' (H.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•ETYM Fur.: 391[14] takes it as Pre-Greek (adducing other cases of variation dental/zero).

ἄσιλλα [f.] 'yoke for carrying baskets, etc.' (Simon.). ◁PG(S)▷
•ETYM An improbable Semitic etymology is offered by Lewy 1895: 110. Most probably, ἄσιλλα is a substrate word in view of the suffix -λλα, cf. ▶ἄμιλλα.

ἀσίρακος [m.] 'locust' without wings (Dsc.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Considered to be an Egyptian loanword (Strömberg 1944: 16, Gil Fernández 1959: 238), but no argument is given. A substrate word is more probable.

ἄσις, -ιος [f.] 'slime, mud' (Il. Φ 321). ◁?▷

•DER ἀσώδης (A. *Supp.* 31), perhaps for *ἀσιώδης after the homonym that belongs to ἄση? Ancient commentators derived the reading Ἀσίω (instead of Ἀσίῳ) in B 461 from this word (Eust.), instead of from Ἀσία.

•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *ásita-* 'dark, black' (for *-ta-*, compare Skt. *hári-* 'yellow' beside *hári-ta-* 'id.') presupposes that the *s* in ἄσις was preserved after *-*ŋ̥*-. Nikolaev 2005: 50f. pleads for a reconstruction **h₂nsi-* for these words, arguing against the Lex Rix, but there is no compelling evidence for **h₂-*: Cop compared Hitt. *ḫanzana-* 'black', but see the critical remarks in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. The etymology must be regarded as uncertain.

Fur.: 80[426] compares ἄα· σύστημα ὕδατος (H.), but variation σ/zero is further unknown in Pre-Greek words.

ἀσκάλαβος [m.] 'lizard, gecko' (*SGDI* 3123 [Corinth], Nic.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also ἀσκαλαβώτης (Ar.), σκαλαβώτης (Orac. *apud* Eus. *PE* 5, 12), καλαβώτης (LXX), cf. γαλεώτης to γαλεός; further Argive καλαβύστης (H.) and ἀσκόλαχα (read *ἀσκάλαβα?), cf. Chantraine 1933: 403; κωλώτης (Arist.); see κῶλον; καλαβάς· καλαβώτης (H.).

•ETYM Clearly a substrate word. The ending -βος is often found in animal names, see Chantraine 1933: 266ff. Several variations are typical for substrate words: prothetic vowel, σ-mobile, etc. On the suffix -ωτ-, see Fur.: 283f. Less probable is a connection with ▸σκάλοψ 'mole' (Fur.: 154).

ἀσκάλαφος [m.] name of an unknown bird, perhaps an owl (Arist.), see Thompson 1895 s.v. Also a PN (Il.). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•VAR Also κάλαφος· ἀσκάλαφος. Μάγνητες (H.).

•ETYM The suffix -φος in animal names is well known. Clearly a substrate word, like ▸ἀσκάλαβος.

ἀσκαλώνιον [n.] of κρόμυον, 'onion from Askalon', in Palestine (Diocl.). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Cf. Strömberg 1940: 125 and André 1956 s.v. *Ascalonia*. Lat. *ascalōnia*, whence MoFr. *échalotte* > MoHG *Schalotte* and MoE *scallion*, was borrowed from Greek.

ἀσκαλώπας [m.] 'woodcock, Scolopax rusticola' (Arist.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Ending with long ᾱ (DELG)?

•ETYM Probably identical with ▸σκολόπαξ. A substrate word with typical variations.

ἀσκάνδης [m.] ἄγγελος, ἡμεροδρόμος 'messenger, courier' (Plu.). ◂LW Iran.▸

•VAR Also ἀσγάνδης, ἀστάνδης.

•ETYM An Iranian word, cf. Buddhist Sogdian *zγ'nt*, *'st'nyk* 'messenger', as well as Bab. *ašgandu* (Happ *Glotta* 40 (1962): 198ff., Schmid *Glotta* 40 (1962): 321). Cf. Arm. *astandel* 'waner'.

ἀσκάντης [m.] 'pallet, bier' (Ar.). ◂PG(V)▸

•DIAL ἀκχάνθαρ (codd. ἀκχαλίβαρ)· κράββατος. Λάκωνες 'couch (Laconian)' (H.); σκάνθαν· κράββατον 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM The variations are due to substrate, rather than "vulgar" or "popular" origin (which solves nothing).

ἀσκαρίζω ⇒σκαίρω.

ἀσκαρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'worm in the intestines, larva of the gnat' (Hp.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR Also σκαρίδες· εἴδος ἑλμίνθων 'kind of worm' (H.).
•ETYM Generally taken to be from ἀσκαρίζω 'to jump', e.g. in Strömberg 1944: 24; Frisk thinks this is semantically not strong. German *Springwurm* is a calque from Greek. In view of the prothetic vowel, it is rather a substrate word.

ἄσκαρος [m.] 1. a kind of shoe, cf. ἄσκαροι· γένος ὑποδημάτων ἢ σανδαλίων (H.); also 2. a musical instrument, cf. Poll. 4, 60: ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν ψιθύραν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῷ ἀσκάρῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ νομίζουσιν. ◁?▷
•ETYM The musical instrument was a square with strings, so it probably has nothing to do with the shoe. Fur. analyses the shoe as a suffix -αρος added to ἀσκός 'skin, bag made of a skin'. The gloss ἀσκαροφόρον· φορτηγόν 'carrier of cargo' (H.) is unclear; does it imply that ἄσκαρος means 'bag, pack, load'? Cf. ▸ ἀσκέρα and ▸ ἀσκηρά.

ἀσκελής [adj.] 'obstinate', also 'weak, soft'? (Il.). ◁GR?▷
•DER Adverb ἀσκελές, -έως. Note the gloss ἀσκαλεῶς· ἄγαν σκληρῶς 'very hard' (H.), wrong for ἀσκελέως?
•ETYM Mostly derived from ▸ σκέλλω 'to dry up', either with privative ἀ- in the sense of 'not withered, soft' (cf. περι-σκελής 'completely dried up, hard'), or with copulative ἀ- in the sense 'dried up, hard' (note the contradiction). The latter meaning fits ἀσκελὲς αἰεί, with the notion 'obstinately', but not κ 463, where it seems to mean 'weak'.

ἀσκέρα [f.] 'winter shoe with fur lining' (Hippon.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•DIAL Ion. -η. Also in Attic inscr., *SEG* 13, 13: 148.
•DER Diminutive ἀσκερίσκος [m.] (Hippon.).
•ETYM A loanword, but is it from Lydian (see Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 37, O. Masson 1962: 125) or a substrate word (it is also attested in Attic inscr.)? Fur.: 348 compares ▸ ἄσκαροι.

ἀσκέω [v.] 'to process raw materials, shape by art' (Il.), 'to exercise, train' (Hdt.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. ἀσκῆσαι.
•DIAL Myc. *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* /askētriai/, also *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$, 'workers', of textile or wool?
•DER ἄσκησις [f.] '(gymnastic) exercise' (Hp.), 'ascetism, way of life' (Luc.); ἄσκημα [n.] 'exercise' (Hp., X.); ἀσκεία (H.); deverbal ἄσκη [f.] = ἄσκησις (Pl. Com.). Agent nouns: ἀσκητής [m.] 'skilled worker', 'athlete' (Att.), 'hermit' (Ph.); ἀσκητήρ (Poet. *apud* Gal. *Protr.* 13), fem. ἀσκήτρια 'nun' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*); ἀσκητικός [adj.] 'industrious' (Pl. *Lg.* 806a), 'of an athlete' (Ar.), 'ascetic' (from ἀσκητής or from ἄσκησις, or even directly from ἀσκέω).
•ETYM The oldest meaning may be 'to fashion material, embellish or refine it'. As DELG remarks, it could be a denominative of ἀσκός, implying an original meaning 'to prepare a skin', but this remains uncertain.

ἀσκηθής [adj.] 'unhurt, unscathed' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR ἀσκηθέες = -θεῖς (ξ 255), not ἀσκεθέες as per Eustathius (see Leumann 1950: 263).

•ETYM Presupposes a noun *σκῆθος [n.] 'damage', which has been connected with a Germano-Celtic group: e.g. Go. *skaþis* [n.] 'damage'. However, the comparison is impossible, as θ does not match Gothic *þ*.

ἀσκηρά [f.] · εἶδός τι τῶν καστανίων 'kind of chestnut' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻

•ETYM Fur.: 131[59] compares Arm. *kask* 'chestnut'; for alternation κ/zero, cf. ►ἄδδιξ. See ►κάστανα.

Ἀσκληπιός [m.] hero, later god of medicine (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Dor. -ᾱπιός.

•DIAL Αἰσκλαπιός (Epid., Troiz.), Ἀσχλαπιός (Boeot.), Αἰσχλαπιός, Ἀσκαλαπιός (Thess.), Ἀσκαλπιός (Gort.), Αἰσχλαβιός (on a bronze figure from Bologna with Corinthian letters; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 116), Ἀγλαπιός (Lac.), Αἰγλαπιός.

•DER ἀσκληπιάς [f.] name of a plant (Dsc); see Strömberg 1940: 99. Patronymic Ἀσκληπιάδης [m.] (Il.), Ἀσκληπιάδειος name of a metre (Heph.); Ἀσκληπίεια (-ίδεια) [n.pl.] 'festival for Ἀ.' (Pl.); Ἀσκληπιεῖον [n.] 'temple for Ἀ.' (Plb., Str.); Ἀσκληπιακός (Aristid., Dam.); Ἀσκληπιασταί (-ᾱπ-) [m.pl.] name of worshippers of Ἀ. (Rhodos), cf. on Ἀρτεμισιασταί s.v. Ἄρτεμις). ἀσκληπιάς [f.] plant name (Dsc., Gal.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 99.

•ETYM Szemerényi's etymology (Szemerényi *JHS* 94 (1947): 155) from Hitt. *aššula-* 'well-being' and *pai-/pi-* 'to give' cannot be correct, as it does not explain the velar.

The name is typical for Pre-Greek words: apart from minor variations (β/ π, αλ(α)/ λα, κ/ χ/ γ), we find α/ αι (a well-known variation, see Fur.: 335-339) followed by -γλαπ- or -σκλαπ-/ -σχλαπ/β-. To my mind, this goes back on a voiced velar without -σ-, or a voiceless velar *with* -σ-. The -σ- was probably palatalized and we must reconstruct *(*a*)-*s*ʸklap-. As the group -σγ- is rare in Greek, especially before another consonant, the loss of -σ- can be understood. The palatal character was sometimes expressed as a preceding or following ι (see on ►ἐξαίφνης, ►ἐξαπίνης and ►πινυτός beside ►πνυτός).

Fur. 233f., 296 attempts to connect αἰγλή and ἀγλαός as found in the epithets of Apollo Αἰγλητης, Ἀσγελᾱτᾶς 'the shining one'. However, this must be rejected, as here there are no variants with αἰσ- < *as*ʸ* as in Asklepios.

ἀσκός [m.] 'animal skin, hide', mostly 'bag made of it' (Il.). ◅?▻

•DIAL ἀκκόρ· ἀσκός. Λάκωνες (H.).

•DER Diminutives ἀσκίον (Hp., Crates Com.), ἀσκίδιον (Ar., Posidon.). ἀσκίτης (sc. ὕδρωψ) [m.] 'dropsy, patient with this illness' (Epicur.); ἄσκωμα 'leather padding', of the hole which served for the rowlock (Ar.). Denominative verb ἀσκώσατο· ἠχθέσθη 'was vexed' (H.). See ►ἀσκώλια.

•ETYM Unknown. Boeot. furnishes a PN ϝασκώνδας, but there is no trace of ϝ- in Homer. Not related to φάσκωλος, as per Fur.: 241.

ἄσκρα [f.]? · δρῦς ἄκαρπος 'tree without fruits' (H.). ◅LW Medit.▻

•DER Note the place name Ἄσκρα in Boeotia.
•ETYM Hubschmid 1953b: 83f. compares Basque *azkár* 'kind of oak' and Lat. *aesculus* 'id.', which suggests that it is a Mediterranean. word.

ἄσκυρον [n., m.] 'St. John's wort, Hypericum perforatum' (Dsc.), also = ἄλισμα (Ps.-Dsc.). See André 1956 s.v. *ascyron*. ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR σκύρον (Nic. *Th.* 74).
•DER σκυράω [v.] 'to go mad', from eating α. (Nic.).
•ETYM The prothetic vowel points to a substrate word (Fur.: 373).

ἀσκώλια [n.pl.] festival for Dionysus (sch. Ar. *Pl.* 1129). ◂?▸
•DER ἀσκωλιάζω [v.] (Ar. *Pl.* 1129), which acc. to the sch. means 'to hop on greased wine-skins at the ἀ.', whence ἀσκωλιασμός (Poll. 9, 121); elsewhere it means 'to hop on one leg; jump up and down with the legs held together' (Arist.).
•ETYM Chantraine 1933: 243f. derived ἀσκώλ- from ἀσκός 'hide, bag, etc.' with a suffix *-(ō)lo-*, but given the different meaning, the connection with ἀσκός must be secondary. Better seems the comparison by Schulze 1892: 141² with σκωλοβατίζω 'to walk upon stilts' (Epich.), ἀγκωλιάδεν· ἄλλεσθαι. Κρῆτες 'to jump (Cret.)' (*AB* 1, 327, 5), and ἀγκωλιάζων· ἀλλόμενος τῷ ἑτέρῳ ποδί (H.). Schulze assumed that *ἄσκωλος derives from *ἄν-σκωλος; likewise, DELG derived the forms in ἀγκωλ- from ἀνα- and ►κῶλον 'member'. However, it seems clear that the ἀ- is a prothetic vowel. σκωλοβατίζω itself is clearly derived from ►σκῶλος 'pole'.

ἄσμενος [adj.] 'well-pleased, glad' (Il.). ◂?▸
•DER ἀσμενίζω [v.] 'to receive with joy, to be content' (Plb.), ἀσμενισμός 'satisfaction' (Ph.); ἀσμενέω [v.] (Din.).
•ETYM An isolated participle, which has been interpreted as a sigmatic aorist *ϝᾰδ-σ-μενος from the root of ►ἀνδάνω, ►ἥδομαι, but note that the form has no aspiration. Wackernagel 1897: 6 proposed connection with ►νέομαι 'to return' as **ṇs-s-menos*, assuming an original meaning 'safe' (see DELG). Not compelling.

ἀσπάζομαι [v.] 'to welcome kindly, greet' (Il.). ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. ἀσπάσασθαι.
•DIAL Myc. PN *a-pa-si-jo-jo*, perhaps /Aspasioio/.
•DER Verbal nouns ἀσπασμός (Thgn.), ἄσπασμα (E., Ph.), ἀσπαστύς [f.] (Call.) 'greeting, caress'. An old adjective is ἀσπάσιος 'welcome, cheerful' (Il.), after other adjectives in -σιος (Schwyzer: 466, Chantraine 1933: 41), cf. θαυμάσιος.
Verbal adjective ἀσπαστός 'welcome' (Od.), ἀσπαστικός 'cheerful, friendly' (Plb.). On ἀσπακάζομαι (*Com. Adesp.*), ἀσπακῶς· φιλοφρόνως 'friendly' (H.) see Frisk 1934: 62ff.
•ETYM No etymology. Connection with ►σπάω in the sense of 'to draw to onself' has been proposed, but then the ἀ- would have to be the Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 189f. derives it from *ἀν-σπάζομαι.

ἀσπαίρω [v.] 'to pant, struggle, resist' (Il.). ◂IE **h₂sperH-* 'kick with the foot'▸
•VAR Only pres.; also σπαίρω (Arist.).
•DER ἀσπαρίζω (Arist.), cf. ἀσκαρίζω to ►σκαίρω.

•ETYM The conviction that ἀ- in ἀσπαίρω is secondary (Frisk) has no basis; it does not derive from ἀνα- (Kretschmer *KZ* 33 (1895): 566, etc.). Rather, the form without ἀ- will be secondary (perhaps after the pair ἀσκαρίζω : σκαίρω?).
Related forms are Lith. *spiriù* 'to kick with the foot', Skt. *sphuráti* 'id.', Lat. *spernō* 'to despise', ON *sperna*, among others. Lubotsky 2006 reconstructs the verb as **TsperH-* 'to kick with the heel' in view of the irregular correspondences in the anlaut. The words may be old compounds of **pd-* 'foot' and **per(H)-* 'to beat, kick'.

ἀσπάλαθος [f., m.] name of several types of thorn-bush (Thgn.), see Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 7. ◂PG?(S)▸
•ETYM Solmsen 1909: 21 connected σπαλύσσεται· σπαράσσεται, ταράσσεται 'to rip, agitate' (H.), σφαλάσσειν· τέμνειν, κεντεῖν 'to cut, sting' (H.), etc. (see ἀσπάλαξ), but this is semantically unconvincing. It is rather a loanword (substrate?); the suffix -θος often occurs in plant names, see André 1956: 234.
Alessio compares Lat. *palla* 'genesta alba' (Alessio *RILomb.* 74 (1940-1941): 737ff., Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 219. See also Fournier *RPh.* 1950: 172-176.

ἀσπάλαξ, -ακος [m.] 'mole, Sphalax typhus' (Arist.), see Thompson *Class. Rev.* 32 (1918): 9ff. ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also σπάλαξ [m., f.] (Arist.), ἀσφάλαξ [m.] (Babr.) and σφάλαξ (Paus.).
•ETYM The suffix -αξ in animal names is well known, e.g. κόραξ, σκύλαξ (Chantraine 1933: 378). The connection with a root **sp(h)el-* 'to split, tear off' (Pok. 985) is hardly credible. The variations (prothetic vowel, π/φ) in combination with the suffix -ακ- virtually ascertain substrate origin. The synonym σκάλοψ may be a variant, or a recent metathesis. ▸σπάλαθρον 'poker' does not belong here.

ἀσπάλιεύς [m.] 'fisher' (Nic.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR ἀσπάλους· τοὺς ἰχθύας. Ἀθαμᾶνες 'fish (Athamanian)' (H.). Cf. ἄσπαλον· σκύτος 'skin, hide' (H.) (unrelated?).
•DER ἀσπαλία· τοῦ ἁλιέως ἐργασία 'trade of the fisherman' (H.) for *ἀσπαλιεία? Cf. ἀσπαλίσαι· ἁλιεῦσαι, σαγηνεῦσαι 'fish, catch as in a net' (*AB* 183).
•ETYM Cf. ἁλιεύς. The etymology is unknown; the old comparison with Lat. *squalus* name of a big fish, ON *hvalr* 'whale' must be forgotten. Rather a susbtrate word, with Huber 1921: 21. DELG strangely doubts the connection of ἀσπαλιεύς and ἄσπαλος.

ἄσπαλον ⇒σπολάς.

ἀσπάραγος ⇒ἀσφάραγος.

ἀσπάσιος ⇒ἀσπάζομαι.

ἀσπερχές [adv.] 'unceasingly' (Il.). ◂IE **sperǵʰ-* 'hurry'▸
•ETYM Derived from σπέρχω 'to (be in a) hurry', with copulative (intensive) α-; see Chantraine 1933: 427.

ἄσπετος [adj.] 'endless, immense' (Il.). ◂IE **sekʷ-* 'say'▸

•ETYM From **n-sk^{w}-eto-*, literally 'unspeakable', a negative verbal adjective to ἐννέπω < PGr. **en-hek^{w}-*. The omission of **k^{w}e* > τε in this word, which is probably due to the preceding σ-, has given rise to the name ἄσπετος-rule.

ἀσπιδής •ETYM A hapax in δι' ἀσπιδέος πεδίοιο, which some read instead of διὰ σπιδέος πεδίοιο. Doubtful; further details s.v. ▸σπίδιος.

ἄσπιλος ⇒σπιλάς 1.

ἀσπίς 1, -ίδος [f.] 'shield' (Il.), a round shield, as opposed to ▸σάκος, see Trümpy 1950: 2off. and *LfgrE* s.v. ◂IE **h$_2$esp-* 'cut'?▸
•DER Diminutive ἀσπίδιον (Hermipp.), also as a plant (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 55; ἀσπιδίσκη and -ίσκος (LXX, inscr.), ἀσπιδίσκιον (inscr.), ἀσπιδισκάριον (Lyd.); ἀσπιστής 'warrior with shield' (Il.), secondary ἀσπιστήρ (S., E.) and ἀσπίστωρ (A. *Ag.* 404 [lyr.]), see Chantraine 1933: 327 and 325f.; ἀσπιστικός (D. H.). Further ἀσπιδίτης (S. *Fr.*), probably after ὁπλίτης; more common ἀσπιδιώτης (Il., Theocr., etc.), metrically conditioned in origin; ἀσπιδόεις 'consisting of shields' (Opp.). ἀσπιδεῖον mg. uncertain (inscr., pap.); cf. forms in -εῖον in Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 12ff.; note the gloss ἀσπιδεῖα· τὰς πτύχας τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ μέρος τῆς νεὼς πρὸς τῇ πρύμνᾳ 'plates of shields, also a part of the ship near the stern' (H.). Denominative ἀσπίζω 'to shield, protect' (Lydia, H., Suid.).
•ETYM No remotely convincing suggestions have been made (see older litt. in Frisk) until Melchert 2007: 253-8, who finds the root of CLuw., Hitt. *ḫasp-* in Lat. *asper* 'rough, harsh' and also in Gr. ἀσπίς, starting from an *i*-stem **h$_2$esp-i-*, with meaning specialized to 'skin, leather', thence 'shield'.

ἀσπίς 2, -ίδος [f.] name of the Egyptian cobra, 'Coluber haie' (Hdt.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Perhaps identical with ▸ἀσπίς 1, after the shield formed by the snake's neck when it attacks. Rather not a loanword.

ἄσπληνον [n.] a plant (Dsc.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Also -ος [m.].
•ETYM Perhaps from privative ἀ- and σπλήν: the plant would cure anthrax. Rather not a loanword.

ἄσπρις [f.] kind of oak, 'Quercus Cerris' (Thphr.). ◂?▸
•ETYM No etymology. It is not related to OHG *aspa* 'asp', as this originally had *-ps-*, and the Greek *-r-* would remain unexplained.
Hubschmid 1953b: 98 compares Basque *tšapaŕ* 'oak', but this does not fit well.

ἄσσα [n.pl.] indefinite pronoun, = τινά.
•VAR Att. ἄττα; ἄσσα, Att. ἄττα = ἄτινα. ⇒τίς.

ἄσπρος [adj.] 'rough' (Ael.). ◂LW Lat.▸
•ETYM A loan from Lat. *asper*. For the later history of the word, see DELG.

ἀστακός [m.] 1. 'the smooth lobster' (Philyll.), 2. 'hollow of the ear' (Poll.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR ὀστακός (Aristom.), Attic acc. to Ath. 3, 105b.

•ETYM Often analyzed as a *k*-derivation of the word for 'bone' (Gr. ὀστέον, Skt. *ásthi*, obl. *asth(á)n-*); so **h₃esth₁-n̥-kó-*. However, this etymology dates from a time when every Greek word had to be given an IE origin. The formation is unparallelled in Greek, and the assimilation ἀστα- < ὀστα- is highly improbable. The comparison with Skt. *an-ástha-ka-* 'without bones' (Frisk) is irrelevant: it is formed with a suffix productive in that language; neither does MInd. *aṭṭhi-taco* 'lobster' < **asthi-tvacas-* 'with bony skin' prove anything for Greek.
Rather, we are dealing with a substrate word, with variation ἀ-/ ὀ-. See Fur.: 137. See ►ἀστράγαλος, ►ὀστέον, ►ὄστρακον.

ἀστάλη [f.] · πολύπους ὁ ἐν τῇ μυκτῆρι 'excrescence in the nostril' (1.), ἔνιοι σκώληκα οὐρὰν ἔχοντα 'worm with a tail' (2.) (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Fur.: 379 compares (1.) with ἄστλιγξ and ὄστλιγξ 'anything curled', which is also used for the arms of the cuttle-fish. This cannot be substantiated. The etymology of (2.) is completely unknown. Chantraine adduces ἀσταλύζειν, but this must be a mistake; see ►ἀνασταλύζω.

ἀστάνδης ⇒ἀσκάνδης.

ἀσταφίς, -ίδος [f.] 'dried grapes, raisins' (Hdt., IA, inscr. Tegea [V^a]); σταφὶς ἀγρία 'stavesacre, Delphinium Staphisagria' (Hp.), see André 1956 s.v. *pedicularia herba*. ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also ὀσταφίς (Cratin.), σταφίς (Hp.).
•DER σταφίδιος (Hp.) and σταφιδίτης (Orib.), of οἶνος. Also σταφιδευταῖος (Hp.), as if from **σταφιδευτής* or **σταφιδεύω*. Denominative verb σταφιδόω [v.] 'to dry grapes, produce raisins' (Dsc., *Gp.*).
•ETYM The formation reminds of κεδρίς, κεφαλίς and other parts or products of plants; the stem recalls ►σταφυλή 'grapes'. A typical substrate word, with prothetic vowel and variation α/ο-.

ἄσταχυς [m.] 'ear of corn' (Il.), 'bandage' (Gal.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR στάχυς (Il.+), -ῡς (E.); see ►στάχυς.
•ETYM Previously connected with OHG *stanga, stengil*, etc. Undoubtedly a substrate word in view of the prothetic vowel.

ἀστέλεφος [m.]? · τὸ περὶ τὴν κιθάραν δέρμα 'the skin around the thorax' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. Fur.: 373 compares ►στέρφος 'skin, etc.', with variation ρ/λ and prothetic vowel. However, substrate origin is unlikely for the latter word, as it has a decent Indo-European etymology.

ἀστεμφής [adj.] 'firm, stiff' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR ἀστεμιφέως [adv.] (Od.).
•ETYM Unclear. The ἀ- is assumed to be either copulative ("stamped tight") or privative ("unmoved, unshaken", which is the meaning given by LSJ). This presupposes a noun **στέμφος* or a verb **στέμιφω* 'to press, stamp', but these are not known in Greek (only ►στόμφος and ►στέμβω, with the wrong stop). Unrelated is

►στέμφυλα. Appurtenance to the PIE roots in Pok. (**steb^h-* 1012, **stem-* 1021) is difficult.

ἀστεροπή [f.] 'lightning' (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR More common is στεροπή (Il.); ἀστραπή (Hdt.); στροπά· ἀστραπή. Πάφιοι 'lightning (Paphian)' and στορπάν (cod. -τιάν)· τὴν ἀστραπήν 'id.' (H.); Στορπᾶος epithet of Zeus (Tegea). Note στροφαί. ἀστραπαί (H.).

•DER ἀστεροπητής, -οῦ [m.] epithet of Zeus (Il.), ἀστεροπῆτα κεραυνόν (*IG* 14, 641) after ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν (Hom.); ἀστεροπαῖος (Corn.).

From ἀστραπή: ἀστραπαῖος (Arist.) and ἀστράπιος (Orph.); ἀστραπηδόν (Aristobul.). Denominative ἀστράπτω [v.] 'to thunder' (Il.), aor. ἀστράψαι; late ἄστραψις (Suid.) and ἀστραπτικός (sch.).

A variant which occurs in poetry is στράπτω (S., A. R.), whence the back-formation στραπή (*EM*).

•ETYM Mostly analyzed as a compound from ἀστήρ 'star' and ὀπ- 'eye', meaning 'star-eye'. For the semantics of the formation, Arm. *p'ayl-akn* 'lightning' is compared (*p'ayl* 'glow, splendour' and *akn* 'eye'), as well as Arm. *areg-akn* 'sun' (*arew* 'sun' and *akn*). However, 'glow, splendour' is not the same as 'star' and, more importantly, the variants στεροπή and ἀστραπη cannot be explained in this way (also note π/φ in στροφή). Also, if ἀστράπτω is not a very recent formation, one would expect *ἀστρασσω from the IE pre-form, as DELG points out. The word must therefore belong to the substrate layer, as Kuiper and Furnée already saw. See Beekes *MSS* 48 (1987): 15-20.

ἄστηνος [adj.] 'miserable' (Call.), acc. to *EM* 159, 11 παρὰ τὸ μὴ στάσιν μηδ' οἴκησιν ἔχειν. ◅GR?▻

•VAR Remarkable is the athematic plural in ἀστῆνες· ταλαίπωροι, δυστυχεῖς 'distressed, unfortunate' (H.).

•DER Denominative ἀστηνεῖ· ἀδυνατεῖ 'is unable' (H.).

•ETYM The gloss of *EM* is clearly a guess. Possibly from privative α- and the second member of ►δύστηνος.

ἄστήρ, -έρος [m.] 'star' (Il.). ◅IE **h$_2$ster-* 'star'▻

•VAR Plur. mostly ἄστρα, whence secondary sg. ἄστρον.

•DER Diminutives: ἀστερίσκος (Call., Thphr.), ἀστερίσκιον (Apollon.); ἀστηρίδιον 'star-like ornament' (pap.).

Adjectives: ἀστερόεις 'starry' (Il.); ἀστερωτός 'id.' (inscr. III^a); ἀστέριος 'star-like' (Arat., Call.), ntr. ἀστέριον, which is also found as a plant name (Crateuas); see Strömberg 1940: 48, 50; ἀστεριαῖος 'like a star' (Cleom.); ἀστερικός 'belonging to the stars' (*Theol. Ar.*), ἀστερώδης (sch.).

Substantives: ἀστερίας fish and bird name (Philyll., Arist.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 28, Thompson 1895: 57; ἀστερίτης, of λίθος, name of a mythical stone (Ptol. Heph.), fem. ἀστερῖτις plant name (Ps.-Apul.).

From the zero grade in ἄστρα (ἄστρον): ἄστριον 'star-like ornament' (inscr.); ἀστρῷος 'starred, of the stars' (*AP*, Phlp.); ἀστρικός 'belonging to the stars' (Philostr.); ἀστραῖος 'starred' (Nonn.).

Rare denominatives: ἀστερίζω [v.] 'to arrange in constellations' (Hipparch.); ἀστερόω [v.] 'to change into stars, provide with stars' (*Placit.*, sch.).

•ETYM The reconstruction of the word for 'star' is straightforward: hysterodynamic nom. *$*h_2stḗr$*, acc. *$*h_2ster\text{-}m$*, gen. *$*h_2str\text{-}os$*, seen in Hitt. *ḫasterza* /ḫstertˢ/, Arm. *astł*, OIr. *ser* < *$*h_2ster\text{-}h_2$*, Go. *stairno* << *$*h_2ster\text{-}no\text{-}$*, ToB *śirye*, Av. *stār-əm* [acc.sg.], Skt. *tā́raḥ* [nom.pl.] (the absence of the *s-* is unexplained), *stṛ́-bhiḥ* [instr.pl.]; Lat. *stella* < *$*stēr\text{-}lā$* or rather *$*stēl\text{-}nā$*.

►ἀστεροπή, etc. do not belong here. The connection with PIE *$*h_2eh_1s\text{-}$* 'to burn' seems quite probable; Sumerian-Babylonian origin (*Ištar* 'Venus'), on the other hand, is highly improbable in view of the initial laryngeal. On the internal derivation of the word, see most recently Pinault 2007: 271-279.

ἄστλιγξ ⇒ὄστλιγξ.

ἀστός ⇒ἄστυ.

ἀστραβδα [adv.]? mg. unknown; used with δορκάσιν παίζειν (Hdt. 3, 64). ◅?▻

•VAR Accent unknown.

•ETYM Formation like κρύβδα, κύβδα, μίγδα (Schwyzer: 626), of unknown etymology.

ἀστράβη [f.] 'comfortable saddle for an ass or a mule' (Lys.), see *RE* 4, 1792. ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR On ἀστράπην (Anon. in Rh. 8, 668) see below. Note Lat. *astrama* = σανίς, ὑποπόδιον (gloss. II 22, 15, see *RE*), where the *-m-* for *-b-* may point to (Pre-Greek) substrate origin.

•ETYM Connection with ►ἀστραβής 'steadfast' (as per DELG) is improbable. Neumann *Inc. ling.* 1 (1974): 103-8 connects Hitt. *ašatar* 'seat' (from *aš-* 'to sit'), but *-ba-* is rare in Hittite. Fur.: 143 mentions ἀστράπην (-απήν trad.), referring to Sturtevant *Class. Phil.* 6 (1911): 208. Variation αβ/απ is well-known in substrate words (Fur.: 107), so it may well be a Pre-Greek word. This analysis is rejected without good reason by Neumann (who points to other words in -βα/ος, but these are probably loanwords too).

ἀστραβής, -ές [adj.] 'straight, steadfast, rigid' (Pi., Hp., Pl.). ◅GR▻

•DER ἀστραβαλίζειν· ὁμαλίζειν, εὐθύνειν 'to make even or level, direct' (H.). ἀστραβιστήρ. ὄργανόν τι ὡς δίοπτρον 'an instrument, as that for seeing through' (H.).

•ETYM Commonly assumed to belong to ►στραβός 'squinting', ►στρεβλός 'twisted, crooked', etc., with privative ἀ-.

ἀστράγαλος [m.] 'one of the neck vertebrae; anklebone; knuckle-bones (used as dice); dice' (Il.). Also a plant, see DELG Supp. ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR ἀστραγάλη [f.] 'id.' (Anacr.), στράγαλος (Vita Aesop. (G) 69, see LSJ Supp.).

•DER ἀστραγαλωτός (μάστιξ) '(whip) made from ἀ.' (Crates Com.), ἀστραγαλωτή a plant (Philum.); see Schwyzer: 503, Chantraine 1933: 305.

ἀστραγάλειος 'covering the ankles, talaris' (Aq.), ἀστραγαλῖτις 'kind of iris' (Gal.), ἀστραγαλῖνος 'bull finch' (Dionys.). Denominative ἀστραγαλίζω [v.] 'to play with ἀ.'

(com., Pl.), whence ἀστραγάλισις 'dicing' (Arist.), ἀστραγαλιστής 'dice player' (com.), ἀστραγαλιστικός [adj.] (Eust.). Hypocoristic ἄστρις [f.] = ἀστράγαλος (Call.); with the hypocoristic suffix -χ- also ἄστριχος [m.] (Antiph.), see Schwyzer: 498.

•ETYM Generally considered to be a derivation in -λ- (Chantraine 1933: 247) of the inherited word for 'bone' (see ►ὀστέον). The same etymology is often assumed for ►ἀστακός and ►ὄστρακον, ►ὄστρειον, but this cannot be correct. There is no good explanation for the -γ-. Therefore, it is probably a substrate word (Beekes 1969: 51).

ἄστραλος [m.] · ὁ ψαρὸς ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν 'starling (Thess.)' (H.). ◅LW?▻

•ETYM Closely resembles words for 'tern' and 'starling', like Lat. *sturnus*, OHG *stara* [f.], etc. However, the reconstruction *ἀστῠλός, assumed by Schwyzer (see Frisk), is improbable. A much simpler solution is to assume independent suffixes *-no-* and *-lo-*. Although we may mechanically reconstruct **h₂str-lo-* for Greek and **h₂stor-no-* for the European branches, it is more likely that the word is non-IE. See Thompson 1895 s.v.

ἄστραπή ⇒ἀστεροπή.

Ἀτρεύς [m.] father of Agamemnon, son of Pelops, etc. (Il.).

•ETYM West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 262-266 remarks that the form in -εύς is extremely rare (the nom. in Homer only in B 106, while Ἀτρέος υἱός occurs 11 times). The name was interpreted as ἄτρεστος 'undaunted'. West supposes that the name may have had Ἀτρε(h)- followed by -ίας (there is a variant Ἀτρέας) or by -ίων (Ἀτρείων occurs as a patronymic). This possible form explains the Hittite name *Attar(i)šši̯a-*, mentioned as a man from *Aḫḫi̯au̯a-* = Achaea. This name may represent *Ἀτερσιας or *Ἀτρεσιας: a man with the same or a related name.

ἄστρις •VAR ἄστριχος. ⇒ἀστράγαλος.

ἄστυ [n.] 'town' (Il.). ◅IE **ueh₂stu-* 'town'▻

•VAR Att. -εως, Ion. -εος.

•DIAL Myc. *wa-tu* /wastu/, Boeot. ϝαστιος [gen.]; Myc. *wa-tu-o-ko* /wastuokʰos/, Arc. ϝασστυοχō [gen.].

•DER ἀστικός 'of a town' (A., etc.), which could also be derived from ἀστός (see below); sometimes ἀστυκός after ἄστυ; ἀστεῖος 'id.', also 'fine, polite' (Att., Arist.), whence ἀστειότης (Vett. Val.), ἀστειοσύνη (Lib.), denominative ἀστεΐζομαι [v.] (Str., J.), ἀστεϊσμός (Demetr. *Eloc.*, D. H.), ἀστέϊσμα (Tz.); further ἀστεϊεύομαι (sch.). Curious formation in ἄστυρον '(small) town' (Call., Nic.). ἀστός [m.] 'citizen' (Il.) < *ἀστϝός, Thess. ϝαστϝος; thence ἄστιος = ἀστικός (inscr. Crete, Stymphalos, Delos). ἀστίτης [m.] 'fellow citizen' (S.) after πολίτης.

•ETYM ἄστυ < ϝάστυ resembles Skt. *vā́stu* [n.] 'residence, abode' (younger *vastu* [n.] 'place, thing'), Messap. *vastei* [dat.] and ToA *waṣt*, ToB *ost* 'house'. Together with ἀστυ, this requires ablauting **ueh₂stu-*, **uh₂steu*, the latter form being generalized in ἀστυ (see Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 24). The root shape implies that the word cannot belong to Skt. *vásati* 'to dwell, live', Gr. aor. ►ἄεσα 'to spend the night', Hitt. *ḫuiš-zi* 'to live'. Recently, some scholars have therefore assumed metathesis of **h₂us-* to

*uh_2s-, either restricted to Greek or in PIE (see litt. in Balles 2007: 17, especially Neri *KZ* 118 (2005 [2006]): 208[32]), but this does not convince. It is not probable either that the group of ἄστυ is related to Lat. *vāstus* 'desolate', OHG *wuosti* 'barren', OIr. *fás* 'empty', which rather belong to the root *h_1ueh_2- 'to lack, disappear'.

ἀστυλάζει ⇒ἀνασταλύζω.

ἀσυρής [adj.] 'lewd, filthy' (Hdt. 4, 51). ◅GR?▻

•ETYM Uncertain. Perhaps copulative α- and *σύρος, which would be an old verbal noun to ►σύρω 'to drag, sweep', with the same semantic shift as in σύρμα, συρφετός 'refuse, litter'.

ἀσύφη [f.] kind of κασία 'cinnamon' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 12, Dsc. 1, 13). ◅LW▻

•VAR ἀσυφήμων (v.l.).

•ETYM Unknown loanword, see André 1956 s.v. *asufi*.

ἀσύφηλος [adj.] uncertain, 'headstrong, insulting' or 'foolish' (Il.)? ◅PG?(V)▻

•ETYM The scholion on Ven. A and Bechtel 1914 connect σοφός, with privative ἀ-. For the vocalism, Σίσυφος and σέσυφος· πανοῦργος (H.) are compared. Fur.: 337 further compares the gloss αἰσύφιος· δεινός, ψευδής, ἀπατεών 'awesome, deceptive, treacherous' (H.), -ος (Cyr.), which seems to fit well. In view of the interchange αι-/α-, substrate origin is more probable than the traditional etymology.

ἄσφαλτος [f., m.] 'asphalt, bitumen' (Hdt.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also -ον [n.].

•DER ἀσφάλτιον 'treacle clover, Psoralea bituminosa' (Dsc.), named after the smell (see Strömberg 1940: 62); ἀσφαλτῖτις 'bituminous' (Str.), of βῶλος, etc.; ἀσφαλτώδης 'like α.' (Arist., Str.), whence ἀσφαλτωδεύομαι [v.] 'to cover with α.'.
Denominative verb ἀσφαλτόω 'to smear with α.' (LXX), whence ἀσφάλτωσις (Suid.); ἀσφαλτίζω [v.] 'to smell like α.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Generally taken as a negated verbal adjective of σφάλλεσθαι, under the assumption that it denoted the material that protects walls from tumbling down (σφάλλεσθαι). For the 'causative' meaning of the verbal adjective one compares ἀμέθυστος; still, this semantic point makes the etymology weak. It is rather a substrate word. Diels *KZ* 47 (1916): 207ff. noted that sources occur everywhere in the Greek world, e.g. on Zakynthos and near Dyrrhachium.

ἀσφάραγος 1 [m.] 'throat, gullet' (X 328, Plu.). ◅PG(S,V)▻

•VAR σφάραγγος (σφάραγος Latte)· βρόγχος, τράχηλος, λαιμός, ψόφος 'windpipe, neck, throat, noise' (H.); = φάρυγξ (Apion *apud* Phot.).

•ETYM Fur.: 227 connects φάραγξ, -γγος 'gorge' and compares σφάραγγες (codd. -ές) sine expl. (H.). The combination of the variations and the suffix -αγ-/-αγγ- (prenasalization) proves substrate origin. He further compares μάραγοι· οἱ ἀπόκρημνοι τόποι 'overhanging places' (H.), which seems improbable to me.

ἀσφάραγος 2 [m.] 'asparagus, young shoots' (Cratin.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also ἀσπάραγος (com., Thphr., Plb., etc. [not given separately by LSJ]).

•DER ἀσφαραγία 'rootstock of the asparagus' (Thphr.) and ἀσφαραγωνία 'wreath of asparagus' (Plu.), cf. βρυωνία, ῥοδωνία.
•ETYM The word has been compared with ►σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise, teem', but it is rather a substrate word, as is made probable by the variation π/φ.

ἀσφόδελος [m.] 'asphodel, Asphodelus ramosa' (Hes.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also σφόδελος (H.), σφοδελός (Ar.); σποδελός (v.ll. acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 152).
•DER ἀσφοδελός 'grown with α.' (Od.), on the accent see Schwyzer: 420; ἀσφοδελώδης 'like α.' (Thphr.), ἀσφοδέλινος 'made of α.' (Luc.).
•ETYM A substrate word, as is shown by the variants. Fur.: 288 further compares σφονδύλ(ε)ιον, σπονδύλιον 'Heracleum sphondylium', which would show prenasalization. A speculative attempt by Biraud 1993: 35-46, who finds the same suffix in στυφελός, ζάφελος, ῥάκελος, etc.

ἀσχαλάω [v.] 'to be distressed, grieved' (Il., Archil., E.). ◄?►
•VAR ἀσχάλλω (Od., IA) is more usual; fut. ἀσχαλεῖ (A. *Prom.* 764).
•ETYM Commonly derived from *ἄσχαλος 'who cannot hold himself', with privative α- and the root of σχεῖν, to which a suffix -αλο- would have been added. Highly doubtful.

***ἀσχέδιον** · τραχύ, Κρῆτες 'rough (Cretan)' (H.). ⇒ἀσχέλιον.

ἀσχέδωρος [m.] 'wild boar' in Magna Graecia (A. *Fr.* 191). ◄?►
•ETYM Kretschmer *KZ* 36 (1900): 267f. proposed a Doric form *ἀν-σχε-δορϝ-ος 'who resists the lance', which would originally be an epithet. Comparable formations are μεν-έγχης, μεν-αίχμης. Possible at best.

ἀσχέλιον · τραχύ, Κρῆτες 'rough (Cretan)' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Latte notes: "non coharens ideoque asperum", and corrects to ἀσχέδιον. DELG connects the corrected form with σχεδ-όν and ἔχω (which may be what Latte meant). However, Latte's correction is too uncertain to be printed in the edition of Hesychius.

ἀσχίον [n.] 'puffball, Lycoperdon giganteum' (Thphr.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 31.

ἄσχυ [n.] 'inspissated juice of the fruit of the bird cherry (Prunus Padus)', used by the Scythians (Hdt. 4, 23). ◄LW Iran.►
•ETYM See the note ad loc. in the edition of Legrand.

ἄσωτος •VAR ἀσωτία. ⇒ σωός.

ἆτα ⇒οὖς.

ἀταβυρίτης [adj.] scil. ἄρτος, a kind of bread from Rhodes (Sopat.). ◄GR►
•ETYM Cf. Ἀταβυρία· ἡ Ῥόδος πάλαι (H.) and the mountain Ἀτᾶβύριον. The suffix -ίτης is common for kinds of bread, cf. Redard 1949: 88.

ἀτάλαντος ⇒τάλαντον.

ἀταλός [adj.] 'tender, delicate' (Il.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•DER Denominative verb ἀτάλλω (pres. only) 'to skip in childish glee', trans. 'to bring up (a child)' (Il.); ἀτάλματα· παίγνια 'toys' (H.). With internal reduplication (Schwyzer: 648) ἀτιτάλλω 'to rear, tend' (Il.), aor. ἀτίτηλα; ἀτιτάλτας 'foster father' (Gortyn).

•ETYM Extensive discussion in DELG. Leumann *Glotta* 15 (1927): 153ff. (also Leumann 1950: 139ff.) derives ἀταλός from the expression ἀταλὰ φρονέων, which arose by reanalysis of ἀταλαφρονέων. This is based on ἀταλάφρων, and this again is the negation of ταλάφρων. Although it explains the compositional vowel α, the whole analysis is too complicated. Derivation from ἄττα (Benveniste 1969(2): 85ff.) seems improbable too. What remains is an adjective ἀταλός of unknown origin, with a verb that means 'to treat tenderly'. Fur.: 262 compares ἀζαλαί· νέαι καὶ ἁπαλαί and concludes that it is a substrate word. This is quite probable.

ἀτάλυμινος [f.] = κοκκυμηλέα, 'plum tree' (Nic.). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Unknown, but no doubt a substrate word (suffix -υμνος).

ἀτάρ [adv.]? 'nevertheless, but' (Il.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM A combination of *h_2et = Lat. *at* 'but' (also in Go. *aþþan* 'but') and ►ἄρ (s.v. ►ἄρα). Cf. ►αὐτάρ and Ruijgh 1957: 43ff.

ἀτάρβακτος [adj.] 'fearless' (Pi., B.). ◁PG?, ?▷

•ETYM A privative verbal adjective, which presupposes an unattested *ταρβάσσω or *ταρβάζω that would belong to τάρβος, ►ταρβέω, see Fur.: 219. Cf. ἀτάρμυκτος (Euph., Nic.) to ►ταρμύσσω 'to scare' (Lyc.). See ►τάρβος.

ἀταρπιτός •VAR ἀταρπός. ⇒ἀτραπός, ἀτραπιτός.

ἀταρτηρός [adj.] 'mischievous, baneful' (Il.), mg. not quite certain. ◁?▷

•DER ἀταρτᾶται· βλάπτει, πονεῖ, λυπεῖ 'hinders, labors, grieves' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Stürmer *IF* 47 (1929): 299 assumes a pre-form *ἄταρτος 'unfatiguing', comparing ►ἀτέραμνος and ►τείρω. This is impossible because the roots concerned are dissyllabic (*$terh_1$- 'to pierce', *$terh_2$- 'to overcome').

ἀτάσθαλος [adj.] 'reckless, wicked' (Il., Aeol.). ◁?▷

•DER ἀτασθαλίαι (always plur. in Hom.), sing. -ίη, -ία (Hes., Hdt., Pi.); ἀτασθάλλων [pres.ptc.] (Od.).

•ETYM Unexplained. As DELG remarks, connection with ἄτη is impossible as the latter has long ἆ-. The gloss from Hesychius ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς ἄταις θάλλειν is clearly a folk etymology. The proposal by Frisk *Eranos* 31 (1933): 21ff. to posit *ἄ-θαρστος = Skt. *á-dhṛṣta-* 'irresistable', to θάρσος, is a desparate attempt. See also Fur.: 379.

ἀτειρής [adj.] 'indestructible, stubborn, hard' (Il.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Mostly connected with ►τείρω 'to tire', Lat. *terō* 'to rub', in which case the proposal by Bechtel 1914 s.v. to posit *ἀτερϝ-ής (with the *-*u*- of τέρυ) makes some sense. Improbable is the proposal by Wackernagel 1897: 14ff., who assumed *ἀτερσ-ής to ►τέρσομαι and an original meaning 'not dried up, fresh'.

ἀτέμβω [v.] 'to maltreat', med. 'to be bereft of' (Il.), also 'to revile' (A. R.) by a false interpretation of φ 312, acc. to Leumann 1950: 33. ◁?▷
•VAR Only pres.
•DER ἀτέμβιος· μεμψίμοιρος 'criticizing' (*EM*).
•ETYM Unknown. Traditionally connected with Skt. *dabhnóti* 'to damage' < *d^heb^h-, but aspiration is not lost after nasal in Greek (Schwyzer: 333).

ἀτενής, -ές [adj.] 'tense, fixed, attentive' (Hes.). ◁IE? **ten-* 'draw, stretch'▷
•DER ἀτενίζω [v.] 'to stare' (Hp.), ἀτενισμός (Thphr.) and ἀτένισις (Paul. Aeg.).
•ETYM Perhaps 'with tension', if derived from a substantive *τένος [n.] = Lat. *tenus* [n.] 'cord' with copulative α- (and Ionic psilosis), from the root of ►τείνω.

ἄτερ [prep.] 'without, far from' (Il.). ◁IE **sn-ter*, **snHu*, **snHi* 'without'▷
•DER ἄτερθε(ν), Aeol. ἄτερθα 'id.' (Pi., A. and S. [lyr.]); ἀπάτερθεν, also as adv. (Il.).
•ETYM A psilotic form (perhaps Aeolic) from *ἀτέρ, identical with OHG *suntar* 'separated, but' < PIE **sn̥-tér*. There was also a form **snH(e)u* giving Greek ►ἄνευ and remade in Skt. *sanu-tár* 'separate from, far away' (cf. Av. *hanarə*). Again differently formed are ToA *sne*, ToB *snai* 'without', Lat. *sine* 'id.' < **seni*, OIr. *sain* 'particular, different'. However, these words require a laryngeal (**snH-*), which is impossible for ἄτερ. This is problematic, but remains unsolved to date (in spite of Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 66 (1988): 137-141). The suggestion by Nikolaev 2007: 165 that ἄτερ continues **h_2n-ter* is unacceptable, in view of the problems this creates for ►ἄνευ (which he derives from **h_2n-eu*). The fact that the word is psilotic shows that it is a poetic (epic and Ionic) word.

ἀτέραμνος [adj.] 'hard, stubborn, merciless' (Od.). ◁IE? **terh₂-* 'overcome'▷
•VAR Athematic ἀτεράμων 'id.' (Ar.).
•DER ἀτεραμνία (Hp.), ἀτεραμνότης (Thphr.), ἀτεραμνώδης (Gal.).
•ETYM Analyzed as a private formation to a noun *τέραμα, from the root of ►τείρω, ►τέρην, which implies an original meaning 'without weakness'. This is semantically a bit strained, and worse, there is no evidence for **h_2* in this root (**terh₁-*). It seems more natural to connect **terh₂-* 'to overcome', as found in Hitt. *tarra-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to be able', Skt. *tiráte* 'to overcome'. There is also an adjective ►τεράμων, but Frisk and Chantraine think that it may be secondarily derived from ἀτέραμνος.

ἄτερος ⇒ἕτερος.

ἀτέων [ptc.] unknown, 'mad' vel sim. (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR ἀτέει (Call. *fr.* 633).
•ETYM Connection with ἄτη (Bechtel 1914) seems impossible because there the ἀ- is long. It has therefore been proposed to read Υ 332 as ἀτέοντα with synizesis, or even as ἀ(ϝ)ατέοντα.

ἄτη [f.] 'damage, guilt, blindness, dazzlement' (Il.), 'penalty, fine' (Gortyn). ◁?▷
•COMP ἄν-ατος, ἄπ-ατος (Gortyn).

•DER ἀτηρός 'blinded, bringing disaster' (Thgn., A.), ἀτηρία (Pl. Com., X.); ἀτάομαι (ἀϝατάομαι; see below) 'to suffer or sustain damage' (S., E.), 'to lose a suit, be fined' (Gortyn, Gytheion).

•ETYM As appears from αὐάτα (Alc.) and denominative ἀϝατᾶται (Gytheion), ἄϝτη derives from *ἀϝάτη. Note ἀγατᾶσθαι (= ἀϝα-)· βλάπτεσθαι 'to be damaged' (H.). The ἀ- is long except in Archil. 73 (where it is possible to read ἄγη, see Page *Entretiens Hardt* 10 (1964): 110), and in A. *Ag.* 131 (where Hermann reads ἄγα).

*ἀϝάτη is a verbal noun to *ἀϝά-σαι (see ►ἀάω), which could mechanically derive from PIE *h_2ueh_2-. Fur.: 234 compares ἀϝατη with ἀπάτη (interchange ϝ/π). Cf. DELG *Supp.* s.v. ►ἀάω on the parallellism with Hitt. *waštul* 'fault', which is semantically very neat - but this does not prove that there is an etymological relation with ἄτη.

ἀτημελής ⇒τιμελέω.

ἀτίζω [v.] 'not to heed, to despise' (Il.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Aor. ἀτίσ(σ)αι.

•ETYM Formation in -(ί)ζω to the stem of ►τίω; cf. the synonym οὐκ ἀλεγίζω.

ἀτιτάλλω ⇒ἀταλός.

ἀτίω [v.] 'to dishonor' (Thgn. 621, Orph. *L.* 62). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Incidental formation, antithetic to ►τίω after the pattern of τιμάω : ἀτιμάω (which derives from ἄτιμος, but has been reshaped after τιμάω). Cf. the older form ►ἀτίζω.

Ἄτλας, -αντος [m.] 'Atlas' (Od.), name of the god who carries the pillars of heaven. ◅PG▻

•DER Ἀτλαντίς [f.] (Hes.), among other things the name of a mythical island, plausibly interpreted as Minoan Crete (Castleden 1998); thence Ἀτλαντικός (E.) and Ἀτλάντειος (Critias).

•ETYM Originally the name of an Arcadian mountain god; the name was transferred to the mountain chain in Western Africa, see Solmsen 1909: 24.

The old interpretation is that the word is built from copulative α- and the root *$telh_2$- of τλῆναι, and that it was later reshaped to an *nt*-stem (cf. Ἀτλᾶγενέων Hes. *Op.* 383). The name of the African mountain is also compared with Berber *ádrār* 'mountain' (Steinhauser *Glotta* 25 (1936): 229ff.). Brandenstein *Arch. Orbis* 17:1 (1949): 69ff. plausibly suggested folk-etymological reshaping of Berb. *ádrār*.

The assumption of initial *$sm̥$- is clearly a desperate guess. It cannot to be expected that this ancient Titan carries an Indo-European name; moreover, Pre-Greek words often end in *-ant-*. See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 12[1].

ἀτμήν, -ένος [m.] 'servant, slave' (Call.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR ἄτμενος [m.] (Archil., *POxu.* 8, 1087 column 2, 38, Call. *fr.* 538), also as an adjective = δουλικός (H.).

•DER ἀτμενίς 'female servant' (*EM*); also ἀδμενίδες (*EM*), after δμώς? ἀτμενία 'slavery' (Man., *AP*), ἀτμένιος 'laborious' (Nic.); denominative ἀτμεύω (Nic.), for *ἀτμενεύω.

•ETYM The variation τ/δ points to a substrate word. Fur.: 179 (also 95) adduces λατμενεία· δουλεία (H.); other instances of λ-/zero are found ibid.: 392.

ἀτμός [m.] 'steam, vapor, odor' (A.). ◅?▻

•VAR ἀτμή [f.] 'id.' (Hes.).

•DER ἀτμίς [f.] 'steam' (Hdt., Pl., Arist.), whence ἀτμιδώδης (Arist.) and ἀτμιδόομαι [v.] 'to be changed into steam' (Arist.). Also ἀτμώδης (Arist., Thphr.), ἀτμίζω [v.] 'to steam, evaporate' (S., X., Arist.), which may also derive from ἀτμίς.

•ETYM Contracted from ἀετμός, cf. the glosses ἀετμόν· τὸ πνεῦμα 'wind', ἄετμα· φλόξ 'flame' (H.)? Compared with ▸ἄημι, and further with ▸ἀϋτμή, but the vocalism is unexplained. DELG points to the difference in meaning with ἄημι (see Solmsen 1901: 271f.). Not to Skt. *ātmán-* 'soul', OHG *ātum* 'breath' < *h_1eh_1t-m-*.

ἄτος ⇒ἄατος.

ἀτρακίς ⇒ἄτρακτος.

ἄτρακτος [m., f.] 'spindle' (Hdt.), also 'arrow' (S., A. *fr.* 139); Laconian acc. to Th. 4, 40. ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR ἄδρακτος (H., gloss.), see LSJ Supp.

•DER Diminutive ἀτράκτιον (Epic. anon. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 9, *fr.* 10; *POxy.* 14, 1740, 2). ἀτρακτυλ(λ)ίς, -ίδος 'spindle-thistle, Carthamus lanatus' (Arist., Thphr., Theoc.), ἀτρακίς kind of thistle (Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 105.

•ETYM The connection with Lat. *torqueō*, τρέπω and Myc. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* /trok^{w}eiomenos/, etc. is impossible in view of the -κ-; moreover, the ἀ- would remain unexplained.

It is rather a loan from the substrate; this may find support in ἄδρακτος and ἀτρακίς, if the variation κ/κτ is old and not due to simplification. Skt. *tarku-* has formerly been compared, but it derives from *tark-* 'to turn' and is unrelated.

ἀτραπός [f.] '(foot)path' (Hdt.). ◅PG?(V), EUR?▻

•VAR ἀταρπός (Il.), ἀταρπιτός (Il.), ἀτραπιτός (Od.) after ἁμαξιτός (s.v. ▸ἁμάξα); ἀτραπητός (*AB* 460).

•ETYM Often taken as copulative α- and the verbal root ταπ- seen in ▸τραπέω 'to tread (grapes)', the *o*-grade of which is seen in τροπέοντο· ἐπάτουν 'were treading' (H.). Possible, though the formation is strange (cf. the doubts in DELG). It is rather a substrate word, of which the interchange αρ/ρα could also be an indication. In IE words with this variation, one of the variants is analogical, but this seems impossible here: the root has a full grade II τρεπ-, so we cannot understand the vocalization -αρ-. Ru. *tropá* 'id.' (Fraenkel 1956a: 104) could point to a European substrate word (cf. Beekes 2000).

ἀτράφαξυς, -υος [f.] 'orach, *Atriplex rosea*' (Hp.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR ἀδρἀφαξυς (ἀδρ-), ἀνδρἀφαξυς, ἀτρἀφαξις, cf. Hdn. Gr. 1, 539; 2, 49; 467 and Strömberg 1940: 160.
•ETYM Clearly a substrate word, as is shown by the variants δ/τ, the prenasalization and perhaps the interchange υ/ι. Folk etymology (after ἀδρός, ἀνήρ) does not explain all the variants. See Fur.: 179, etc. Lat. *ātriplex* is a loan from Greek (Frisk) rather than a parallel borrowing (as suggested by André 1956 s.v.).

ἀτρεκής [adj.] 'exact, precise' (Il.); see Luther 1935: 43ff.; Leumann 1950: 304f. ◅?▻
•VAR Homer has only adverbial ἀτρεκές and ἀτρεκέως.
•DER ἀτρέκεια 'what exactly happened, truth' (Hdt., Pi.), Ion. also -είη (-ίη); ἀτρεκότης 'id.' (sch.). Denominative verb ἀτρεκέω [v.] 'to be sure, etc.' (E. *fr.* 315).
•ETYM Unknown. The analysis as a compound of privative α- and an *s*-stem *τρέκος, in the sense 'undistorted', finds no further support: connection with the root of Lat. *torqueō* is impossible, because a reflex of the labiovelar would be lacking.

ἀτρέμα •VAR ἀτρέμας. ⇒τρέμω.

ατροπανπαις [adj.] uncertain (*IG* 5(1), 278 [Lacon. I^{P}]). ◅GR▻
•DER Also πρατοπανπαις.
•ETYM Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1911): 269f. (also Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 211) reads ἀδροπἀμπαις = 'the ripe πάμπαις'. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 658 objects that a boy cannot be ἀδρός if he is in his 5th year (LSJ Supp.) of state education (at the age of 12). He convincingly interprets the first element as 'second' (ἄτερος), see Szemerényi 1964: 271.

ἀτρύγετος [adj.] uncertain (Il.), epithet of the sea and the aether. ◅IE? **trug-* 'dry'▻
•ETYM In antiquity connected with ▶τρυγάω and interpreted as 'unfruitful', but this is formally not easy. Vine 1998: 62-64 proposes **n̥-trug-eto-* 'un-dry-able', cf. ἔτρυγεν· ἐξηράνθη and τρυγητός = ξηρασία. This is quite possible. Leukart 1986 analyzed it as intensive ἀ- and τρύζω, assuming the sense 'strongly murmuring'; this is less probable.

ἄττα 1 [m.voc.] 'father' (Il.). ◅IE *atta* 'father'▻
•VAR ἄττειν [acc.] 'grandfather' (Thespiae).
•DIAL Thess. acc. to Eust. 777, 54, used to address one's foster father.
•ETYM A nursery word which is found in several IE languages, and may be inherited: Lat. *atta* inflected Hitt. *atta-*, Go. *atta*, gen. *-ins*, etc.; suffixed OCS *otьcь*. See also ▶ἄππα.

ἄττα 2 = τινὰ. •VAR ἄττα = ἄτινα. ⇒τίς.

ἀτταβυγάς ⇒ἀτταγᾶς.

ἀτταγᾶς, -ᾶ [m.] kind of partridge, 'francolin, Tetrao francolinus' (Ar.). See Thompson 1895 s.v. ◅PG?(S)▻
•VAR ἀτταγήν, -ῆνος (Arist.), which is the scientific form; also ἀτταγῆς, -έος (Opp.); without α-: ταγήν = ἀτταγήν (Suid.).

•DER Diminutive ἀτταγηνάριον (gramm.), ταγηνάριον (Suid.). Fish name ἀτταγῖνος (Dorio *apud* Ath., ms. -εινός), perhaps after the color (Strömberg 1943: 120), but see Lacroix *Ant. class.* 6 (1937): 295.
•ETYM On the formation see Chantraine 1933: 31 and 167, Björck 1950: 63 and 272, Strömberg 1944: 45, also Hubschmid 1963: 119. Unexplained; it is called onomatopoeic (after the cry) by Ael. *N. A.* 4, 42. It could be a substrate word (note the suffix -ην, for which see Fur.: 172[118]). On the variant without prothetic vowel, see Fur.: 374.

ἀττάκης, -ου [m.] 'kind of locust' (LXX). ◂LW▸
•VAR Also ἀττακύς (LXX), ἄττακος [m.] (Aristeas, Ph.).
•ETYM Probably a loanword, but from the orient, or from the substrate? See Gil Fernández 1959: 238. Cf. ▸ἀττέλαβος.

ἀτταλίζομαι [v.] · πλανῶμαι. Σικελοί 'to cause to wander (Sicilian)' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Acc. to Lobeck 1843: 147 it is a denominative of ἀταλός; this remains hypothetical.

ἄττανα [n.pl.] · τήγανα. καὶ πλακοῦς ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῶν σκευαζόμενος 'frying-pan; flat cake which is prepared on it' (H.). ◂LW▸
•DER Diminutive ἀττανίδες· πλακοῦντες, ἔνθρυπτοι 'flat cakes, sops' (H.). Further ἀττανίτης 'a cake', beside τηγανίτης (Hippon.) and ταγηνίτης (Ath.), see Redard 1949: 87f.
•ETYM Unknown. Because of the form in Hippon., Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 282f. supposed that the word was Anatolian, see O. Masson 1962: 119. Ernout 1946: 28 = Ernout *BSL* 30 (1930): 92 compares Lat. *atena, adtanus, atanuuium, atanulus*, cups for religious service, which he considers to be Etruscan (but the Greek words are not cups).

ἀττάραγος [m.] 'crumb, morsel of bread' (Ath., Call.), τὸ ἐλάχιστον. οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρτων φλυκταίνας. οἱ δὲ τὰς καλουμένας ψίχας 'blisters on cakes or loafs of wheat-bread; morsels' (H.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM Certainly a loanword, possibly Pre-Greek.

ἀττάρυμα [n.]? · πόμα, σόφισμα Κρητικόν 'drink, Cretan device' (H.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Brown 1985: 35 thinks σόφισμα should be understood in the sense 'invention, specialty'. He derives ἀττάρυμα from the place name Ἄπταρα (with Cretan assimilation). Like Latte, he considers a mistake for *ἀτταρικά.

ἀττέλαβος [m.] an edible locust (Hdt.). ◂PG(S)▸
•VAR ἀττέλεβος (LXX), cf. ἀττελεβόφθαλμιος (Eub.); also Thess. PN Αττελεβει[ος], ἀτ(τ)ελεβαία Masson *Mus. Helv.* 43 (1986): 486. Also ἀττελάβη· ἀκρίδας 'locusts' (H.).
•ETYM Clearly a substrate word (note -βος). Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 17[1]; Strömberg 1944: 16 reckoned with Egyptian origin.

ἀττηγός [m.] 'male goat' (Magnesia Mae. [II[a]]; Eust. ad ι 222). ◂LW Anat.▸

•ETYM Acc. to Eust., ἀττηγός was used by certain Ionians; Arnobius 5, 6 calls the word *attagus* 'hircus' Phrygian. So probably an Anatolian loan.

Ἀττικός, Ἀτθίς [adj.] 'Attic'. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also Ἀτθικός (*IG* 4²(1), 104), Ἀθικός (*IG* 4²(1), 102). Fem. Ἀτθίς 'Attic', especially the land 'Attica'.

•ETYM Derived from the same source as the name of Athens, displaying θ, geminated τθ, and unaspirated ττ, which are typical Pre-Greek variants. See ▶Ἀθῆναι.

ἄττομαι [v.] 'to set the warp in the loom, i.e. start the web' (Hermipp. 2). ◁IE *h_2et- 'stick, pierce'▷

•DER ἄσμα 'warp' (*AB*), cf. δίασμα (Call., etc.) from διάζομαι = ἄττομαι (Nicophon), see below. Cf. ἄττεσθαι· διάζεσθαι στήμονα (H.).

•ETYM ἄττομαι derives from *ἄτ-ɟομαι; δι-άζομαι must be analogal after verbs in -ζω. Bechtel 1914: 130f. connected ▶ἤτριον. The connection with Alb. *end*, *ind* 'to set the warp in the loom' (for which Klingenschmitt 1982: 113[8] reconstructs *h_2nt-*ie*-) is impossible, as *h_2nt- gave Greek *ἀντ- (in spite of Nikolaev's recent attempt, Nikolaev 2005).

Van Beek (p.c.) proposes to connect Hitt. *ḫatt-*$^{a(ri)}$ 'to pierce, prick' and reconstruct *h_2et-*ie/o*- for ἄττομαι. In Greek, the verb was restricted in its meaning to weaving; cf. also ▶ἔξαστις, which may derive from *-h_2et-*ti*-. The development of meaning is trivial; compare MoE *stitch* beside *stick* (*into*), and MoDu. *insteken* 'to insert' (in knitting).

ἀτύζομαι [v.] 'to be frightened, amazed, terrified' (Il.). ◁PIE *h_2tug- 'be terrified'▷

•VAR Aor. pass. ἀτυχθείς, later ἀτύζω, aor. ἀτύξαι.

•DER ἀτυζηλός 'terrible' (A. R.).

•ETYM The comparison wirh Hitt. *ḫatuki*- 'terrible' and Skt. *tujyáte* 'to be seized by panic' (the usual mg. of Skt. *tuj*- is 'to push, set in motion') convinces both formally and semantically.

αὖ [adv.] 'again, on the other hand, on the contrary' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2eu 'away, again'▷

•DER As a prefix in ▶αὐχάττειν.

•ETYM To Lat. *au*- in *au-fugiō*, etc., Lith. *au*-, OCS *u*- 'away from', further to Skt. *áva* 'down'. It is frequently found in adverbs and particles, e.g. αὖτε (αὐτάρ), αὖτις, αὖτιν (αὐτίκα), αὖθι, αὖθις, αὖθε, and in the pronoun ▶αὐτός. Cf. Osc. *auti* = Lat. *aut*, and Lat. *autem*.

αὐαίνω •VAR αὐαλέος. ⇒αὖος.

αὐαψή [f.] = αὐαντή, 'ξηραντικὴ νόσος, atrophy' (Hp. gloss. XIX 86, 18 K) [not in LSJ]. ◁GR▷

•ETYM Concatenation of αὖος 'dry' (αὐαίνω, αὐαντή), and a second element, cf. χορδαψός 'disease in the great guts'. Connection with ἅπτω 'to fasten' may be doubted.

αὐγή [f.] 'light, glow, ray of light', e.g. of the sun (Il.). ◁IE? *h_2eug- 'shine'▷

•COMP On μελαναυγής, etc., see DELG.

•DER αὐγήεις 'clear-sighted' (Nic.), αὐγίτης (λίθος) name of a precious stone (Plin.); αὐγῖτις plant name = ἀναγαλλὶς ἡ Φοινικῆ (Ps.-Dsc.), see Redard 1949: 67, 70 and Strömberg 1940: 25).

Denominative verbs: 1. αὐγάζομαι (-άζω) 'to see clearly, lighten, shine upon' (Il., poet., LXX), verbal nouns αὔγασμα (LXX) and αὐγασμός (*Placit.*); αὐγάστειρα 'lightening' (Orph.). 2. αὐγέω [v.] 'to illuminate' (LXX).

Note αὖγος (H.) as an explanation of ἠώς; Αὐγώ [f.] name of a bitch (X.) is probably a term of endearment.

•ETYM Probably an old verbal noun, cf. Alb. *ag* 'dawn' < **h₂eug-*, see Demiraj 1997. Perhaps further to OCS *jugъ* 'South, south wind'. Connection with the root **h₂eug-* 'to increase, grow strong' seems plausible, in view of the limited distribution of the words meaning 'light'.

αὐδή [f.] '(human) voice, sound, speech' (Il.). ◁IE **h₂ued-* 'speak'▷

•VAR *οὐδήεσσα is a suggestion of Aristotle for αὐδήεσσα, meant as 'ἐπίγειος'; on this see Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 127f.

•DER αὐδήεις 'with (human) voice' (Il.); denominative verb αὐδάω, aor. αὐδῆσαι 'talk, speak, speak to' (Il.). (Chantraine's opposition of a god(dess) with a human voice, language as opposed to the language of the gods is wrong. It means 'having a voice [to speak with]', which may be 'human' or 'beautiful' as the context requires; see Beekes, l.c. 128 n.3.)

•ETYM Mostly derived from a root **h₂ued-* that is assumed for ►ἀείδω, and with lengthened grade for ἀ(ϝ)ηδ-ών. An *o*-grade **h₂uod-* is assumed for the name Ἠσί-(ϝ)οδος and in ϝοδόν (written γοδόν)· γόητα 'sorcerer', ϝοδᾶν (written γ-)· κλαίειν 'to weep' (H.), but DELG considers the glosses unreliable. Note that this would presuppose the Saussure Effect (loss of the initial laryngeal before *o*-grade of the root), which is not certain (see Van Beek 2009). The problem with this whole account is that an alternation **h₂u-ed-* beside **h₂u-ei-d* is suspicious, and that a long vowel in **h₂u-ēd-* is not very probable either.

There has also been discussion whether **h₂ud-* gave ὐδ- (Beekes) or αὐδ- (Peters 1980a: 65ff., 72). The zero grade is seen in ►ὐδέω, cf. ἴθαρός < **h₂id^{h}-*. Outside Greek, a root **(h₂)ued(H)-* is found in Skt. *vádati* 'speak', ptc. *uditá-* and in OCS *vaditi*. A root-final laryngeal is improbable, as we would then expect aspiration of the stop in Sanskrit. Hitt. *uttar* 'word, thing, story, reason, etc.' is probably unrelated, while Lith. 1sg. *vadinù* 'to call, name' points to **-d^{h}-* on account of Winter's Law. See ►ἀηδών, ►οὐδήεσσα.

αὐερύω ⇒ἐρύω.

αὐθᾰ́δης, -ες [adj.] 'conceited, presumptuous, arrogant' (Hdt.). ◁GR▷

•DER Thence αὐθάδεια 'conceit, presumption' (Att., Hell.), also -ία; αὐθαδικός (Ar.). Denominative αὐθαδίζομαι [v.] 'to be presumptuous, etc.' (Pl., Them.), αὐθάδισμα (A.); also αὐθαδιάζομαι (J.) 'id.'.

•ETYM From *αὐτο-ϝάδης, a compound of αὐτός and the root of ἀδεῖν < **swad-* with crasis. A contracted Ionic form αὐτώδης is given by A. D. *Pron.* 74, 9 and H. See ►ἀνδάνω.

αὐθέντης, -ου [m.] 'author, perpetrator', also 'murderer' (Hdt.). ◁IE **senH-* 'win, accomplish'▷

•DER Only late, e.g. fem. αὐθέντρια = κυρία (Lydia); αὐθεντία 'dictatorship' (LXX, pap.); αὐθεντικός 'authentic, correct, etc.' (pap.), etc.

•ETYM The forms αὐτο-έντης (S.) and συνέντης· συνεργός 'working together' (H.) point to earlier *ἔντης, the full grade of the root of ἀνύω 'to accomplish', combined with αὐτός. The root is *aniṭ* from forms where the laryngeal was lost before vowel, acc. to Rikov *Orpheus* 4 (1994): 63-66. On the later history of the word see DELG.

αὖθι [adv.] 'right here, there, immediately' (Il.); later contaminated with αὖθις 'again' (Call.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Probably, αὖθι arose from αὐτόθι by haplology (Meillet *MSL* 20 (1920): 106f.). Att. αὖθις and Rhegin. αὔθιν seem to be conflations of αὖθι and αὖτις/ αὖτιν (see Schwyzer: 629); on -ς and -ν see Schwyzer: 619f.

αὐίαχοι in N 41-2 φλογὶ ἴσοι ἀολλέες ἠὲ θυέλλῃ || ἄβρομοι αὐίαχοι ◁?▷

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, Aeolic for *ἀ-ϝίϝαχοι (Schwyzer: 224) which would belong to ἰαχή < *ϝιϝαχή. Acc. to Aristarchus, ἀ- is copulative or intensive: 'shouting intensely'; acc. to Apion and Hesychius it contains privative ἀ-, meaning 'without a sound'; less probable. The application of βρόμος to fire, wind, etc. is found more often. See ▶ἰάχω.

ἀνίδετος [adj.] 'invisible', in ἀνϊδέτου· ἀφανοῦς, ἀοράτου (H.). ◁IE **uid-* 'see'▷

•ETYM Probably from **n̥-uid-eto-*, where **-etó-* has potential value. Vine 1998: 33-35 argues for the interpretation of Myc. *o-wi-de-ta-i* as a dat.pl. /owidetā^{h}i/ 'to the invisible deities (of the nether world?)' < **n̥-uid-eto-*.

αὖλαξ ⇒ἄλοξ.

αὐλή [f.] 'open court, courtyard' (since Il.). ◁IE **h₂eus-leh₂*▷

•VAR Another formation in αὖλις, acc. -ιν, gen. -ιδος [f.] 'night camp (in open air)' (Il.).

•COMP ἄγραυλος 'who passes the night outside' (Il.); ἔπαυλος (Od.).

•DER αὔλειος 'of the courtyard' (Od.), after ἔρκειος; αὐλαῖος (LXX) is rare and late, substantivized as αὐλαία [f.] 'curtain' (Hyp., Thphr.), also αὐλεία (Andania); αὔλιον [n.] 'cottage, fold, cave' (*h. Merc.*); αὔλιος [adj.] 'belonging to the αὐλή or αὔλιον' (A. R.); αὐλία· ἔπαυλις ἢ ἡ μικρὰ αὐλή (*AB* 463); αὐλικός 'of the court' (Plb., Phld.). Diminutive αὐλίδιον (Thphr.). αὐλίτης (αὐλήτης H.) 'farm servant' (S., A. R.). αὐλιάδες (*APl.*), of νύμφαι, cf. κρηνιάδες.

Denominative verb αὐλίζομαι [v.] 'to lie in the courtyard, camp (in the open), pass the night' (IA), late verbal nouns αὔλισις (Ael.), αὐλισμός (Sm., H.), αὔλισμα (sch.); αὐλιστήριον (Herm., Aq.).

•ETYM αὐλή, αὖλις are derivations of the root of ▶ἰαύω, ▶ἄεσα 'to spend the night', which is also seen in Arm. *aw-t'* 'place to spend the night' and *aganim* 'to spend the night'. The formation in *-l-* has also been supposed in ToB *aulāre*, ToA *olar* 'companion', if from **h₂eu̯-l(e)h₂-* + *-ro-*.

As remarked by Clackson 1994: 104ff. (already Peters 1980a: 39f.), all Greek forms may derive from *h_2*eus-l-*. Clackson sees no reason to assume a separate root *h_2*eu-* just for Armenian, and assumes old Schwebeablaut *h_2*eus-* ~ *h_2*ues-*.

αὔληρα ⇒εὔληρα.

αὗλις ⇒αὐλή.

αὐλός [m.] 'hollow tube, pipe, flute' (Il.); also 'cow-bane, Cicuta virosa' (Ps.-Plu.). ◁IE *h_2*eu-l-* 'tube'▷

•DER Diminutive αὐλίσκος (Thgn., Hp., S., Arist.), αὐλίδιον (Alex. Trall.).

αὐλών [m., f.] 'defile, glen, etc.' (Hdt.); on -ών, see Chantraine 1933:164; diminutive αὐλωνίσκος [m.] (Thphr.), αὐλωνιάδες (Opp.), of νύμφαι, cf. αὐλιάδες to ▶αὐλή), Αὐλωνεὺς epithet of Dionysus (Attica), αὐλωνίζω (H.). αὐλωτός 'provided with pipes' (A.).

Denominative verb αὐλέω [v.] 'to blow (a flute)' (Alcm.), αὔλησις 'flute-playing' (Pl., Arist.), αὔλημα 'piece of music for the flute' (Pl., Ar.); αὐλητής 'flutist' (IA) and αὐλητήρ (Ion.) 'flute-player', fem. αὐλητρίς (IA), whence diminutive αὐλητρίδιον (Theopomp. Hist.), also αὐλήτρια (D. L.); αὐλητικός [adj.] 'concerning the flute or flutist' (Pl., Arist.), from αὐλητής or from αὐλέω, αὐλός. TN αὐλητήριον (H.) and αὐλητηρία· αὐλῶν θήκη 'place for storing flutes' (H.).

αὔλιξ (cod. αὐλίξ)· φλέψ 'blood-vessel' (H.), cf. χόλιξ 'guts, bowels'. On the mg. of αὐλῶπις, epithet of the helmet (Il.), see Trümpy 1950: 44. Also αὐλωπίας a kind of tunny(?), perhaps = ἀνθίας (Thompson 1947: 20)?

•ETYM Several cognates with a suffix *-l-* are found, e.g. Lith. *aūlas* [m.] 'leg of a boot', MoNw. (dial.) *aul* 'hollow stalk of Angelica', Lat. *alvus* 'belly, cavity, etc.' (with metathesis). Hitt. *auli-* [c.] 'tube-shaped organ in the neck' < *h_2*ouli-*, OPr. *aulis* 'shin'. The words adduced all denote hollow or tube-like objects. The correspondences αὐλός : Lith. *aūlas*, καυλός : Lith. *káulas* < *keh_2u*-ló-* are noteworthy, see Güntert 1914: 154. See ▶ἔναυλος.

αὖνος ⇒βαῦνος.

αὔξω [v.] 'to increase, strengthen, magnify; grow' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2*eug-*, *h_2*ueg-s-* 'grow'▷

•VAR ἀέξω (Il.), αὐξάνω (Ion.-Att.), αὐξύνω (Aesop.), aor. αὐξῆσαι, late ἀεξῆσαι (Nonnos). It is unfortunate that αὔξω and αὐξάνω are not treated separately in LSJ.

•DER Action nouns αὔξησις (IA), αὐξησία (Hdt.), αὔξημα (Hp., E.), αὔξη (Pl.), αὔξις (H., v.l. in Pl. *Phlb.* 42d) 'increase, growth'. Agent noun αὐξητής [m.] 'booster, promotor' (Orph.), Αὐξώ name of a goddess of growth (Paus., Poll.).

αὐξίς, -ίδος [f.] 'young of the tunny' (Phryn. Com., Arist., Nic.), see Strömberg 1943: 127, either from αὔξω or αὔξη.

Adjectives: αὐξητικός 'increasing, furthering' (Hp., Arist.), αὔξιμος 'id.' (Hp., A.), uncertain αὐξηρός (Nic.).

•ETYM Derived from the PIE root *h_2*ueg-s-*, where the *-s-* is probably presentic in origin. *h_2*ueg-* is found in Gm. (e.g. Go. *wahsjan*), Skt. *vakṣáyati* 'to make grow', Av. *vaxš-* 'id.'.

A root *$h_2$eug-, without -*s*-, is found in Lat. *augeō* 'to increase (tr.)', Go. *aukan*, Lith. *áugti* 'to grow'; the zero grade in Skt. *ugrá-* [adj.] 'big, strong'. An *s*-stem is found in Lat. *augur* 'prophet', Skt. *ójas-* [n.] 'strength', enlarged in Lat. *augustus* 'venerable'. With -*s*-, *$h_2$eugs- is found in ToB *auks-* 'to grow (intr.)'. Zero grade *ug-*s*- is found in Skt. pres. ptc. *úkṣant-*, med. *ukṣámāṇa-*, and Av. pres. *uxšiieitī* 'grows'.
The conclusion to be drawn from all these forms is that *$h_2$eug- and *$h_2$ueg-*s*- are old, where the full grade slot changed in the latter because of the root structure. The same phenomenon is found in ἀλκή < *$h_2$elk- beside ἀλέξω < *$h_2$lek-*s*-.

αὖος [adj.] 'dry' (Il.). ◂IE *h_2*s*-us-* 'dry'▸
•DIAL Att. αὕος.
•DER Abstract αὐότης [f.] 'drought' (Arist.); αὐονή (Archil., A. [lyr.], Herod.), cf. καλλονή, ἡδονή (Chantraine 1933: 207).
αὐαλέος 'dry' (Hes., poet.) like ἀζαλέος etc.; αὐηρός (*AP*), cf. αὐστηρός; also αὐσόν· ξηρόν 'dry' (H.) with a suffix -*s*- like in ῥυσός, γαυσός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 454). On αὐσταλέος, αὐστηρός, see below.
Denominative verb αὐαίνω [v.] 'to dry', also αὐαίνω (compounded with ἀπ-, ἀφ-, κατ-, καθ-αυαίνω); thence αὕανσις 'drying, dehydration' (Arist.), αὐασμός 'id.' (Hp.); αὐαντή name of a disease 'dehydration' (Hp.).
A primary verb seems to be implied by the gloss αὔω· ξηραίνω 'dry up' (Hdn.), which finds support in ἀφαὐει (Ar. *Eq.* 394), unnecessarily corrected in ἀφᾶνεῖ by Solmsen 1901: 277, and perhaps in προσαὐσῃ (S. *Ant.* 619). It may be denominative, however (Schwyzer: 723). Thence αὖσις (*EM*).
Two adjectives with related mg.: αὐσταλέος 'dried up' (Od.), cf. αὐαλέος; and αὐστηρός 'harsh' (Hp.) presuppose a verbal adj. *αὕστος; but cf. the synonym καὐστειρα.
•ETYM αὖος, αὕος is cognate with Lith. *saũsas*, OCS *suxъ*, OE *sēar* all 'dry'. Skt. *śoṣa-* [m.] 'drying', assimilated from **soṣa-*, is secondary. Uncertain is the appurtenance of Alb. *than* 'dry', see Demiraj 1997 s.v. Forms pointing to **sus-* are Skt. *śúṣka-* = Av. *huška-*, OP *uška-* 'dry', perhaps also Lat. *sūdus* 'dry, bright' < **suzd-* (but see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). From **sus-*, verbs like Skt. *śúṣyati*, Latv. *sust* 'to become dry' are derived.
Lubotsky *KZ* 98 (1985): 1-10 argues that the Greek form goes back on *$h_2$sus-. This root shape is found in ἀυσταλέος, which has five syllables. Lubotsky further analyzes αὖος as a perfect ptc. of *$h_2$es-* 'to be dry' (not 'to burn, glow'), as seen in ἄζω and in Lat. *āreō*. The reconstruction of the root has altered slightly: Lat. is from *$h_2$eh$_1$s-*, and Gr. ἄζω < *$h_2$ed-ie/o-*, but this does not affect the analysis, as a zero grade *h_2h$_1$s-* is simplified to *h_2s-*. Balto-Slavic and Germanic are derived from *$h_2$sous-* with secondary *o*-grade. In this way, the awkward reconstruction **saus-* with PIE **a* can be avoided.
Doubtful criticism on Lubotsky by Berg and Lindeman *Glotta* 70 (1992): 181-196, based on the reconstruction of a proto-hexameter; they end with assuming IE **a*, and a prothetic vowel of non-laryngeal origin, etc. See ▸αὐχμός.

αὖρα [f.] usually 'breeze, fresh air' (ε 469, etc., poet.), but see below.

•ETYM Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 619, 626 connects ►ἀήρ < **h₂eus-ēr*, showing that αὔρα still clearly means 'morning mist' in ε 469.

αὐρι [adj.] · ταχέως 'quickly' (*AB* 464). ◄?►
•COMP αὐρι-βάτᾱς 'walking quickly' (A. *fr.* 280), in the gloss αὐριβάτας· Αἰσχύλος το αὐρὶ (ms. αὔριον) ἐπὶ τοῦ ταχέως τὶθησι, καί ὁ αὐτὸς Ψυχοστασίᾳ οὕτως φησὶ τὸ ὄνομα (*fr.* 207 M) ταχυβήμων (H.).
•ETYM αὐριβάτᾱς derives from αὔρι βαίνειν (βῆναι), with the suffix -της. Etymology unknown. Perhaps the compound contained αὔρι 'early in the morning' (see ►αὔριον) and was later misunderstood. Cf. ►αὐροί.

αὔριον [adv.] 'tomorrow' (Il.). ◄IE **h₂eus-r-* 'dawn'►
•DER αὐρίζειν· ῥιγοῦν καὶ τὸ εἰς αὔριον ὑπερτίθεσθαι 'be cold or shiver; defer until tomorrow' (H.).
•ETYM Derived from *αὔρι, the old locative of an *r*-stem also found in Lith. *aušrà* 'dawn', Skt. *usrā́-* [f.] 'morning', and, within Greek, in ►ἀήρ (see on ►ἕως) and ►ἦρι. The same stem is also found in ἄγχ-αυρος (νύξ) 'near the morning' (A. R. 4, 111), perhaps for earlier *ἀγχαύριος, which itself would derive from the expression ἄγχι τῆς αὔριον.

αὐροί [?] · λαγοὶ [ἴσαυροι] 'hares' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Perhaps related to αὖρι· ταχέως (H.). Acc. to Keil *Herm.* 23 (1888): 317 and Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 41f. we should read αὐροί (= ἀβροί)· λάγ<ν>οί. Doubtful.

αὐροσχάς, -άδος ⇒ἀρασχάδες.

αὔσιος ⇒αὐτός.

αὐσταλέος •VAR αὐστηρός. ⇒αὖος.

αὐτάρ ⇒ἀτάρ, αὖ.

ἀΰτέω •VAR ἀϋτή. ⇒αὔω 1.

αὐτίκα [adv.] 'immediately' (Il.). ◄GR►
•ETYM For the ending cf. τηνίκα, ἡνίκα, πόκα, ὅκα, etc.; for the first element see αὖ, αὖτιν, and especially αὐτός. Cf. ἐξαυτῆς 'id.' (Thgn.) from ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ (Wackernagel 1916: 41⁴). See Monteil 1963: 296.

ἀΰτμή [f.] 'breath; scent' (Il.). ◄IE **h₂seut-* 'seethe'►
•COMP νήυτμος < **n̥-h₂sut-mo-*.
•DER Also ἀϋτμήν, -ένος [m.] (Ψ 765, γ 289).
•ETYM Fritz *KZ* 106 (1993): 288-299 solved the problem by connecting OHG *siodan* 'sieden', reconstructing **h₂seut-*. Greek ἀϋτ- is from **h₂sut-*; the *o*-grade **h₂sout-* is found in Go. *sauþs* 'sacrifice'; Fritz also gives a discussion of the semantics. Not to ἄετμα· φλόξ or ἀετμόν· τὸ πνεῦμα (H.), nor to ►ἀτμός 'steam, vapor'.

αὐτόδιον [adv.] probably 'immediately' (only θ 449). ◄IE **dieu-* 'light of day'►

•ETYM In antiquity, interpreted as ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐλθόντα. Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 258 supposed *αὐτό-διϝον, derived from the root **dieu-* (Lat. *diēs*, ►Ζεύς), comparing αὐτ-ήμαρ 'on the same day', and Skt. *sa-dívaḥ* 'at once'. Quite possible.

αὐτοκάβδαλος [adj.] 'improvised, extempore' (Arist.); also subst. plur. 'buffoons, improvisers' (Eup.). ◄PG(V)►

•ETYM Fur.: 316 compares καυαλός· μωρολόγος (not to Lyd. καυης 'priest', as per Latte), with interchange βδ/ β/ ϝ. The group -βδ- is almost certainly of substrate origin. To my mind, the word is cognate with κόβᾱλος, etc. (see Kuiper 1956: 215), Fur.: 237.

αὐτοκράτωρ, -ορος [m., f.] 'one's own master, independent', = Lat. *imperator* (Th.). ◄GR►

•ETYM For older *αὐτοκρατης after the agent nouns in -τωρ.

αὐτόματος, (-η), -ον [adj.] 'spontaneous, automatic, of one's own accord' (Il.). ◄IE **mn-to-* 'thought'►

•ETYM Formed of αὐτός and the zero grade of the root of ►μέμονα, μέμαμεν, ►μένος. The second member -ματος agrees with the second element of Lat. *commentus* and with Skt. *matá-*, Lith. *miñtas* 'thought', etc. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 303f., Schwyzer: 502f.

αὐτός [pron.] 'self' (Il.), ὁ αὐτός 'the same'; in the oblique cases also as an anaphorical pronoun of the 3rd person. ◄IE **h₂eu* 'again' + **to-* 'that'►

•COMP Very many compounds; cf. Sommer 1948: 83ff., 153ff. and DELG s.v. See ►κασίγνητος, ►αὐτόδιον, ►αὐτόματος.

•DER αὐτίτης (sc. οἶνος) 'local wine(?)', see Redard 1949: 96; also 'all alone' (Arist., hapax); αὐτότης [f.] 'identity' (S. E.), ταὐτότης [f.] 'id.' (Arist.). Denominative verbs: ταὐτόομαι 'to become identified' (Dam., Procl.), ταὐτίζω [v.] 'to use as a synonym' (Procl., Eust.).

αὔτως [adv.] 'just like, like it was, merely, etc.' (for the accent see Schwyzer: 384); αὔσιος 'idle, in vain' (Ibykos) reminds of αὐτόματος.

See further ►αὐτόθι, ►αὐτίκα.

•ETYM Risch 1937: 312 derives it from *αὖ τόν. On Go. *auþs*, *auþeis*, MoHG *öde*, etc. see Mezger *KZ* 82 (1968): 288ff.

αὐχάττειν [v.] · ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐμμένειν ἐγχάττειν 'to go back' (H.). ◄GR►

•DIAL Doric

•ETYM The forms are Cretan, with -χάττειν standing for χάζειν (Buck 1955: 71). It is supposed that αὐ-, as a prefix, corresponds with Lat. *au-* (e.g. *auferō*), Lith. *au-*, Slav. *u-*. See ►αὖ.

αὐχέω [v.] 'to boast' (Hdt.). ◄?►

•COMP κενε-αυχής 'idle boasting' (Il.).

•DER αὔχημα 'boasting' (Pi., S., Th.), whence αὐχηματίας 'boaster' (sch., Eust.) and αὐχηματικός (Eust.); αὔχησις 'id.' (Th., Aq.); back-formation αὔχη 'boasting, pride' (Pi.), αὐχάν· καὐχησιν 'boasting' (H.), wrong Güntert 1914: 153f.; αὐχήεις (Opp., *AP*);

αὖχος 'id.' (sch.). αὐχαλέος [adj.] 'boasting, proud' (Xenoph., H.), cf. θαρσαλέος to θάρσος, θαρσεῖν); αὐχητής [m.] 'boaster' (Poll.), αὐχητικός 'boasting' (sch.).
•ETYM Unrelated to ►εὔχομαι, which goes back on a root *h_1ueg^{wh}-. Adontz 1937: 10 derived the word from ►αὐχήν, assuming an original sense 'to keep one's neck proudly'; unconvincing formally as well as semantically. On Oettinger's connection with Hitt. *ḫuek-^{zi} / ḫuk-* 'to conjure, treat by incantation' is followed with due hesitation by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v., as formal (*h_2ug^h- > Gr. ὑχ-) as well as semantic objections can be made against it. Discussion in Peters 1980a: 18ff.
Fur.: 391 considers non-IE origin, connecting ►καυχάομαι with interchange κ-/zero. Probably from a Pre-Greek uvular, see *Pre-Greek*.

αὐχήν, -ένος [m.] 'neck, throat; isthmus' (Il.). ◅IE? *$h_2emǵ^h$-u-* 'narrowness'▻
•VAR Aeol. acc. ἄμφενα (Theoc. 30. 28), αὔφην in Jo. Gramm. *Comp.* 3, 16 is very doubtful, cf. Solmsen 1909: 118[2]. Further ἄμφην· αὐχήν, τράχηλος 'neck, throat' (H.); also ἀμφήν· αὐλήν 'id.' (H.).
•DER αὐχένιος 'of the neck' (Od.), diminutive αὐχένιον (*An. Ox.*, Eust.), αὐχενίας [m.] 'provided with bull's necks' (gloss.). Denominative verb αὐχενίζω [v.] 'to cut the throat' (S.), 'to bind by the throat' (Ph., *Hippiatr.*), whence αὐχενιστήρ [m.] (Lyc., *Hippiatr.*).
•ETYM The variants ἄμφην and αὐχήν are generally assumed to reflect *amg^{wh}-ēn* with assimilatory loss of nasality in αὐχήν (Pisani *Ric. ling.* 1 (1950): 182f., most recently Pronk fthc.a). The Greek words are then derived from the IE *u*-stem adjective reflected in Skt. *aṃhú-*, OCS *ǫzъkъ*, Go. *aggwus* 'narrow', which derive from the root *$h_2emǵ^h$-*, see ►ἄγχω. One further connects Arm. *awji-k'* [pl.] 'neck', with a similar assimilation of the nasal to the following labiovelar, which is a controversial development (see Clackson 1994: 107ff.).
Alternatively, the variants may show that the word is Pre-Greek. Variation labial/velar, however, is rare (Fur.: 388, φ/χωριαμός, but cf. γέφυρα/ βέφυρα); also α/αυ is rare; μ/ϝ occurs mostly before *n* or intervocalically (Fur.: 242-247).
Therefore, I think we must compare the type δάφνη / δαυχνα-, which Fur.: 229-233 explains as showing variation labial/ϝ. In my opinion, these forms had a labiovelar *g^{wh}*, which either gave φ (in Aeolic) or -υχ- with anticipation of the labial element (see *Pre-Greek*). So we have *ἀφ-ην beside αὐ-χήν; ἄμφ-ην then shows the well-known prenasalization.
The Armenian form does not prove IE origin, as it can be a loan from an Anatolian language, cf. γέφυρα - *kamurǰ* (Beekes *Glotta* 78 (2004)).

αὐχμός [m.] 'drought; squalor' (Hp.). ◅GR▻
•DER αὐχμηρός 'dry, dirty' (Hp.; Chantraine 1933: 232f.), whence rare abstracts αὐχμηρότης, αὐχμηρία, αὐχμηρώδης; αὐχμώδης 'id.' (Hdt., E., Arist.). Hapax αὐχμήεις (*h. Hom.* 19, 6); αὐχμαλέος (Choeril., Amynt.), after ἀζαλέος etc.
Denominative αὐχμέω [v.] 'to be dry, dirty' (Od., IA), also αὐχμάω. αὔχμωσις 'dirt' (Gal. 16, 88) is probably an enlargement of αὐχμός. Late by-form αὐχμή [f.] (Q. S., Phryn.).

•ETYM A compound of ►αὖος 'dry' and -χμι- from the word for earth (see ►χθών), see Pronk fthc.a. A similar formation may be preserved in νεο-χμι-ός 'new', see Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 1f.

αὔω 1 [v.] 'to cry aloud, call' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR The υ is long everywhere. Ipf. αὖε (dissyllabic), mostly aor. ἀῦσαι, fut. ἀύσω.

•DER ἀϋτή '(battle) cry' (cf. Trümpy 1950: 153ff.), Corcyr. αϝυτα, with ἀϋτέω = αὔω (Il.), only pres. except for late ἠΰτησα (Nonn., *Epigr. Gr.*); ἀϋτέω can either be denominative from ἀϋτή or deverbative from αὔω (Schwyzer: 705f.). Also αὐονή 'shouting' (Semon. 7, 20).

•ETYM The word may be onomatopoeic, but nothing more can be said. Specht *KZ* 59 (1932): 121 mentioned ἄβα· τροχὸς ἢ βοή (H.).

αὔω 2 [v.] 'to get a light, light a fire' (ε 490). On the mg. Borthwick *Class. Quart.* 63 (1969): 296. ◅IE **h₂eus-* 'scoop, take'.▻

•DIAL Myc. *pu-ra-u-to-ro* /purautrō/ [du.], ἔναυον· ἔνθες, Κύπριοι 'put in(to) [ipv.]' (H.).

•COMP ἐναύω 'to kindle' (Hdt.), med. 'to scoop fire' (IA); ἔναυσμα 'spark, etc.' (Hell.) and ἔναυσις (Plu. *Cim.* 10), also of drawing water; ἐξαῦσαι· ἐξελεῖν 'to take out' (H., Pl. Com.), whence ἐξαυστήρ 'fire-tongs, κρεάγρα' (A., inscr.); καταῦσαι· καταντλῆσαι (cod. καταυλῆσαι), καταδῦσαι 'to pour down, go down' (H.); also καθαῦσαι· ἀφανίσαι 'to hide' (H.).

Uncertain are καταύσεις (Alcm. 95) and προσαύσῃ (S. *Ant.* 619 [lyr.]).

Further πυραύστης [m.] 'moth that gets singed in a candle' (A.), πυραύστρα [f.] 'pair of fire-tongs', πύραυστρον [n.] 'id.' (Herod.), cod. πύραστρον; all from πῦρ αὔειν (see the Myc. form above). With analogical loss of σ: γοιναῦτις· οἰνοχόη 'vessel (for pouring wine)' (H.).

•ETYM αὔω may be from **h₂eus-e/o-* or from **h₂eus-ie/o-*; most Greek forms show psilosis. IE cognates are ON *ausa* 'to scoop' < **ausanan* and Lat. *hauriō* 'to scoop' (with hypercorrect *h*-). The predominant connection with fire seems to be a secondary development of Greek. See ►ἀφύσσω.

αὔω 3 ⇒ἰαύω.

αὔω 4 ⇒αὖος.

ἀφαδία [f.] 'enmity' (Eup. 34). ◅GR▻

•DER ἄφαδος 'displeasing, odious' (*EM*) and ἀφάδιος 'id.' (Hdn.).

•ETYM Derivations from ἀφανδάνω, ἀφαδεῖν (Od.); see ►ἀνδάνω.

ἀφάκη [f.] 'vetch, Vicia angustifolia' (Pherecr.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR ἄφακος (Schwyzer 1950: 30).

•ETYM Dsc. and Galen think it comes from φακός 'lentil'. The suggestion by Fur.: 373 is attractive: he takes ἀ- as a prothetic vowel and considers the word to be a substrate word (note the change of inflection -ος : -η). Likewise Pisani *Paideia* 11 (1956): 296.

ἀφαμιῶται [m.pl.] slaves in Crete (Str.). Also ἀφαμιῶται· οἰκέται ἀγροῖκοι 'rural household slaves' (H.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Literally, 'those in a state of ἀφαμία (= ἀφημία)' who have no φήμη. Cf. ἀφημοῦντας· ἀγροίκους (H.).

ἄφαρ [adv.] 'forthwith, immediately' (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR ἀφνός· ἐξαίφνης 'suddenly' (H.).
•DER ἀφάρτερος (Ψ 311) 'quicker'; ἀφαρεί (ἀφάρει DELG)· ταχέως καὶ ἀκόπως 'quickly and indefatigably' (*EM*, H., Suid.).
•ETYM One connects ἄφνω, assuming a neuter *r/n*-stem. Van Windekens 1941: 28 connects Go. *abrs* 'strong', comparing for the meaning MoE *fast*. Fur. (see index) brilliantly connected ἐξαίφνης and ▸ἐξαπίνης, and further ▸αἶψα, -ηρός, assuming a substrate element with variation α/ αι, π/ φ. He also connected ▸αἰπύς etc., which is quite possible (cf. MoHG *jäh*, both 'steep' and 'immediate').

ἀφαρεύς [m.] 'belly-fin of the female tunny' (Arist. *HA* 543a, uncertain), τοῦ θήλεος θύννου τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ γαστρὶ πτερύγιον 'id.' (H.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•ETYM Fur.: 174 compares ἀβαρταί· πτηναί, Κύπριοι 'flying, wings'; for -τος in substrate words see ἄτρακτος, ἄσφαλτος. The suggestion in DELG that it could belong with ἄφαρ is ununderstandable.

ἀφάρκη [f.] name of an evergreen tree, 'Arbutus hybrida' (Thphr.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•ETYM Improbable theory by Strömberg 1944: 27ff. (compound from ἀπο- and ἄρκυς), see Frisk. Unclear is ἀφαρκίδευτον· ἀγρευτόν, ἀθυσίαστον 'caught, unsacrificed' (H.), see DELG. Fur.: 175 refers to Schwyzer: 530, comparing Thess. Φαρκαδών, which would point to a prothetic vowel. A substrate word is probable anyhow.

ἀφάσσω •VAR ἀφάω. ⇒ἅπτω.

ἀφατειν [?] uncertain (*IG* 5(1), 209: 34); not an infinitive, see Bourguet 1927: 110, 4 and 124, 1. ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

ἀφαυρός [adj.] 'weak' (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸
•DER ἀφαυρότης [f.] (Anaxag.). Denominative verb ἀφαυροῦται (Erot., v.l. ἀμαυροῦται), as an explanation of ἀμαλδύνεται 'becomes weak'.
•ETYM Unknown. These words are often explained as contaminations (see Frisk), but there is no reason to assume such processes; it only testifies to our ignorance. Much more probably, Fur.: 330 compares φαῦρος· κοῦφος 'light' (H.), φλαῦρος 'indifferent, bad' (with inserted λ?) and φαῦλος 'insignificant'. I would suggest that ἀμαυρός / μαυρός is also cognate (with interchange μ/ labial stop, cf. e.g. λαφύσσω/ λαμυρός, etc., see Fur.: 224ff.). Note the v.l. of the verb cited above, and note that -αυρος can hardly represent something IE (*-*eh₂u-ro*-?).

ἀφελής, -ές [adj.] 'plain, simple' (IA). ◂GR▸
•DER ἀφέλεια, -είη [f.] (Hp.), late ἀφελότης [f.] (*Act. Ap.*, Vett. Val.); Chantraine 1933: 298.
•ETYM Highly improbable is the proposal by Persson 1912(2): 797³, who connects φελλεύς 'stony terrain' and analyzes it as 'without a stone, even'. This etymology is

even given by LSJ as the meaning of the word! Chantraine points to the geminate in φελλεύς. New analysis by Taillardat *RPh.* 71 (1997): 153f., see DELG *Supp.*: the word means 'without quality', be it positive or negative, and is derived from ἀφελεῖν 'to take away, deprive'.

ἄφενος [n.] 'wealth' (Il.). ◁IE? *h_2b^henen- 'rich'▷

•VAR Also msc., after πλοῦτος, acc. to Fehrle *PhW* 46 (1926): 700f.

•COMP εὐηφενής (Il.); the better attested v.l. εὐηγενής can hardly be correct, see Bechtel 1914. As a second member in the PNs Δι-, Κλε-, Τιμ-αφένης.

•DER With loss of vowel and remarkable final accent: ἀφνειός (Il.), also ἀφνεός 'rich' (Il.). Thence back-formation ἄφνος [n.] (Pi. *fr.* 219). Lengthened ἀφνήμιων (Antim.), after πολυκτήμιων, etc.

Denominative verb ἀφνύει, ἀφνύνει· ὀλβίζει 'is blissed' (H.); ῥυδὸν ἀφνύνονται· πλουτοῦσιν 'are wealthy' (Suid.).

•ETYM The old connection with Skt. *ápnas-* [n.] 'possessions, riches' is now generally rejected. ἄφενος was one of the corner stones of the Pelasgian theory, which must now be abandoned (see my Introduction).

The agreement with Hitt. *ḫappina(nt)*- 'rich' is remarkable, but cannot be correct in view of the more likely comparison with Lat. *ops* 'power', *opulentus* 'wealthy' (which is probably not directly related to the Hitt. word, see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *ops*).

Balles *KZ* 110 (1997) starts from *$ǝ_1$-g^{wh}n-o-*, parallel to a formation in *-io-* in Skt. *ághnyā-* '(the valuable animal which is) not to be killed'. She explains the adjective with final accent from *$ǝ_1g^{wh}$n-es-ó- > ἀφνεό-, with metrical lengthening in Homer. However, the explanation of the full grade as analogical after σθένος is improbable; the whole construction is not convincing.

The Greek word looks IE (ablaut; cf. also archaic εὐηφενής). For Greek a root *h_2b^henen- is the obvious reconstruction. The accent and the form ἀφνεός may be explained following Balles: *h_2b^hnes-ó-, with ablaut as in ἄλγος / ἀλεγεινός (metrical lengthening in Homer is probable as *ἀφνεοιο is impossible in the hexameter and *ἀφνεος, -ν , etc. are difficult). The recent attempt to connect ἄφενος with IE *h_2eb^h- 'stream' by Willi 2004 does not convince.

It cannot be connected with the Hittite word (reading *ḫpina- is doubtful). A loan from Anatolian would probably have κ-, and the φ, the *s*-stem, and the adjective would be unclear.

ἀφήτωρ, -ορος [m.] epithet of Apollo (I 404). ◁GR▷

•VAR ἀφητορεία· μαντεία 'power of divination' (H.). σαφήτωρ· μάντις ἀληθής, μηνύτης, ἑρμηνεὺς 'true diviner, informer, interpreter' (H.).

•ETYM Eustathios and the scholia explained it, among other things, as 'prophet' (Eust. ὁμοφήτωρ), i.e. from copulative α- and φημί. This cannot be correct. It rather derives from ἀφίημι, in the sense 'who sends off'. This could well mean 'archer' ('to discharge'). Kraus *Wien. Ak. Anz.* 87: 516ff. suggests 'who sends off people on a journey'.

ἄφθα [f.] a pedriatic illness, 'thrush' (Hp.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Mostly plur. ἄφθαι.

•DER ἀφθώδης, ἀφθάω (Hp.).
•ETYM Hardly related to ἅπτω. Fur.: 318[5] thinks it is a substrate word because of the group -φθ- (but I see no reason to follow him in supposing that the dental is secondary).

ἀφία [f.] 'lesser celandine, Ranunculus ficaria' (Thphr. *HP* 7, 7, 3). ◅PG?(V)▻
•ETYM The connection with ἀφιέναι (τὸ ἄνθος) in Thphr. is untenable. The word is rather a loan. Krahe 1955: 44 connected Lat. *apium* 'parsley' (further to **ap-* 'water'). Fur.: 167 objects that these are quite different plants. Himself, he proposes to compare ἄφρισσα 'id.' (Apul. *Herb.* 15), see ibid.: 330, with parallels for the insertion of -ρ-.

ἀφίας [?] · βωμός 'step, altar' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown; Maaß *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 23 (1925): 228 can be forgotten.

ἄφλαστον [n.] 'curved poop of a ship, with its ornaments' (O 717, Hdt.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Bechtel 1921(3): 285 posited 'that which prevents destruction', from privative ἀ- and ►φλάω; improbable. Rather Pre-Greek, thus already Hermann *Gött. Nachr.* (1943): 1f. For a PG suffix -το- cf. ►ἄτρακτος. Borrowed from Greek: Lat. *aplustr(i)a, -ōrum.*

ἀφλετῆρες ⇒φλέω.

ἀφλοισμός [m.] 'foaming at the mouth' (O 607). ◅?▻
•ETYM Possibly a verbal noun in -σμός to ἔφλιδεν· διέρρεεν 'flowed out'; cf. διαπέφλοιδεν· διακέχυται 'has been poured out'; πεφλοιδέναι· φλυκταινοῦσθαι 'to have blisters' (H.), etc., see ►φλιδάω. Is the ἀ- copulative, or after ►ἀφρός 'id.'?

ἄφνω [adv.] 'suddenly' (A.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Late ἄφνως (*Epigr. Gr.* 468; Schwyzer: 405, 624[5]).
•ETYM Related to ►ἄφαρ; often interpreted as a frozen case form of a heteroclitic stem (Schwyzer: 520). More probable is Furnée's brilliant proposal to connect ἐξαίφνης and ►ἐξαπίνης, etc. By-forms are ἀφνός· ἐξαίφνης (Schwyzer: 624) and ἀφνίδια· ἀφνίδαν, ἄφνω (both H.); on αἰφνίδιος cf. ►αἴφνης.

ἀφόρδιον [n.] 'excrement' (γαστρός, Nic.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Frisk suggests that it is from *ἀφόδιον (ἄφοδος 'excrements'), reshaped euphemistically (after φόρος) or drastically (after πορδή)? Not entirely convincing.

ἄφρα [f.] 'kind of plaster' (Aët. 15, 14). ◅GR▻
•ETYM Perhaps a shortening of Ἀφροδίτη in the same sense (Aetius).

ἀφρατίας [m.] · ἰσχυρός. Κρῆτες 'strong (Cretan)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Latte corrects to ἀφραττίας, a development of *ἀφρακτιᾶς, from ἄφρακτος. Uncertain.

ἀφρίους [acc.pl.m.] · ἀθέρας 'chaff' (H.). ◅IE? **He/ob*[h]*ri-* 'awn'▻

•ETYM Hoffmann *BB* 18 (1892): 287 compared Skt. *ábhri-* 'hoe, pickaxe', which Wackernagel accepts, see Latte's edition of Hesychius. However, Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 658 rightly asks whether the meanings are compatible.

ἄφρις · μύρτον (H.), i.e. *pudendum muliebre*. ◁GR▷

•ETYM Hypocoristicon of Aphrodite (DELG).

ἄφρισσα [f.] a plant = ἀσκληπιάς (Apul. *Herb.* 15). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 330 connects ▶ ἀφία. The suffix -ισσ- suggests a Pre-Greek word.

Ἀφροδίτη [f.] goddess of love (Il.). ◁LW Sem.?▷

•DIAL Cypr. Ἀφοροδίτα, Cret. Ἀφορδίτα.

•DER Ἀφροδιτάριον an eyesalve (Gal.), Ἀφροδιταρίδιον 'darling' (Pl. Com.); adj. Ἀφροδίσιος 'belonging to Ἀ.' (IA), substantivized Ἀφροδίσιον 'temple of Ἀ.'; ἀφροδίσια [n.pl.] 'sexual intercourse', ἀφροδισιακός; denominative ἀφροδισιάζω [v.] 'to have intercourse' (IA), whence ἀφροδισιασμός, ἀφροδισιαστής 'lecher', ἀφροδισιαστικός.

For Ἀφροδισιασταί 'worshippers of Ἀ.' (Rhodos), cf. Ἀπολλωνιασται.

•ETYM The connection with ἀφρός (Kretschmer *KZ* 33 (1895): 267) and other older explanations (e.g. Maaß *N. Jb. f. d. klass. Altertum* 27 (1924): 457ff.) are now abandoned. A recent Indo-European attempt was made by Witczak 1993: 115-123.

As the goddess seems to be of oriental origin (see Burkert 1985: 152ff.), the name probably comes from the East too. A possibility is the Semitic name of the goddess *Aštoret*, *Astarte*; cf. Burkert op. cit. 248[18]. It may have entered Greek via another language. Less probable is the connection with Pre-Greek πρύτανις, Etr. *(e)pr9ni* as 'lady, mistress' by Hammarström *Glotta* 11 (1921): 215f.

West *Glotta* 76 (1998): 134-138 rejects the idea that the name renders Aštart (Ugaritic *'Aṯtartu*), but he thinks it may well be of Semitic origin. It is not easy either to connect the root *prd*, from which a word for 'pigeon' was formed. West ends with the suggestion that the name may have rendered a title 'She of the villages', but this seems not very adequate. Still, it seems possible that the name came from the one languages which on historical grounds we should expect to be relevant: Cypriot Phoenician.

ἀφρός [m.] 'foam, slaver' (Il.). ◁?▷

•DER ἀφρώδης 'foaming' (Hp.), ἀφριόεις 'id.' (Nic.; metri causa, see Chantraine 1933: 272). ἀφρῖτις, -ιδος f. 'kind of ἀφύη' (Arist.), see Redard 1949: 81.

Denominatives ἀφρέω [v.] 'to foam' (Il.), ἀφρίζω 'id.' (IA), whence ἀφρισμός (medic.) and ἀφριστής [m.] (*AP*); ἀφριάω [v.] 'id.' (Opp.); ἀφρόομαι [v.] 'id.' (*Theol. Ar.*).

•ETYM Meillet *BSL* 31 (1931): 51f. connected Arm. *p'rp'ur* 'foam' (which does not belong to σπείρω), but the ἀ- is problematic (*$*h_2$*- would give *a-* in Armenian), and the *$*b^h$* presupposed by Greek did not give *p'*. Not to Skt. *abhrá-* [n.] 'cloud' (because of the meaning), not to ▶ ὄμβρος, because the rule of de-aspiration before resonant is not valid. Not here ▶ ἀφρίους· ἀθέρας (H.).

ἀφύη [f.] 'small fry of various fishes' (Epich., Ar.), only plur. in Att. acc. to H. s.v. ἀφύων τιμή. See Thompson 1947: 19f. ◁IE *b^hh_2u- 'grow'▷

•VAR Mostly plural. Also ἀφύα, cf. ἀφύα· μεμβράς 'sprat' (H.). The gen.pl. is ἀφύων, not -ῶν, which means it is ntr.

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *a-pu$_2$-we*, *-de* (TNs) /Ap^{h}uwei/, /Ap^{h}ūn-de/; see below.

•DER ἀφύδιον (Ar.), with ῠ (see Schwyzer: 199); ἀφυώδης 'whitish' (Hp.). Denominative ἀφύω [v.] 'to become whitish' (Hp.); see Chantraine 1933: 431.

•ETYM From privative ἀ- and φύω (one compares *nonnats* 'Aphua pellucida' in Nice) seems folk etymology, but is defended by Meier-Brügger *MSS* 52 (1991): 123-125: *$n̥$-b^huH-*o*- 'without growth' (the root is actually *b^hh_2u-), which is a recent formation compared with Skt. *ábhva-* 'monster' < *$n̥$-b^hh_2u-*o*- (with loss of laryngeal). The accentuation of the gen. pl. ἀφύων (not -ῶν, Hdn. Gr. 1. 425, 13) points to an unextended stem ἀφῠ̄- (nom. *ἀφῦ-ς), cf. φυγή, φύγα-δε. DELG also keeps open the possibility of a substrate word.

ἀφυσγετός [m.] 'mud', carried by a stream (Λ 495). ◁?▷

•VAR As an adj. 'filthy' (Nic. *Al.* 432), but ἀφυσγετόν is better; also 'abundant' (ibid. 584). ἀφύσγετος (Tyrannion).

•ETYM Unknown. Nicander did not understand the meaning any longer, and connected it with ▶ἀφύσσω. Formation like συρφετός (Schwyzer: 501, Chantraine 1933: 300).

ἀφύσσω [v.] 'to draw or scoop liquids' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also ἀφύω in ἐξ-αφύοντες (ξ 95), ἐξαφύουσιν· ἐξαντλήσουσιν 'they will drain' (H.); aor. ἀφύσ(σ)αι, fut. ἀφύξω.

•DER ἀφυσμιός (Suid.) and ἀφύσιμος (sch.), also ἀφύξιμος (Nic.) with transition to the flexion with velar.

ἄφυσσαν· τὴν κοτύλην <παρὰ> Ταραντίνοις 'cup (Tarantine)' (H.). Also ἀφύστα· κοτύλη, στάμνος 'cup, jar' (H.) and ἀφυτρίς (cod. ἀφύτρις)· ἀρύταινα (cod. ἄρπαινα) 'ladle or cup' (H.). Uncertain κατηνδράφυξας· κατέκτεινας (H.).

•ETYM Oehler (see Schulze 1892: 311) explained the form as ἀφ + ὑσ- < *h_2us-, the zero grade of αὑσ- found in ▶αὔω 2 'to light a fire' and Lat. *hauriō* < *$h_2(e)us$-, which is quite possible. The presents ἀφύσσω and ἀφύω are probably derived from the aorist.

Ἀχαιμένης [m.] Achaimenes, ancestor of the Persian royal house (Hdt.). ◁LW Persian▷

•VAR Gen. -εος, -ους.

•DER Ἀχαιμενίδαι [pl.] descendents of Ἀ., a Persian clan to which the Persian kings belonged (Hdt.); Ἀχαιμένιος 'Persian' (*A. Pl.*); Ἀχαιμενία a part of Persia (St. Byz.); Ἀχαιμενῖτις [f.] epithet of Babylon (Epiphan.). ἀχαιμενίς, -ίδος [f.] a plant (Ps.-Dsc.); see Strömberg 1940: 134ff. and André 1956 s.v. *achaemenis*.

•ETYM From OP *Haxāmaniš*, which probably means 'having the mind (*-man-*) of a friend'. Greek -αι- in Ἀχαι-μένης (instead of *-ā-* in *Haxā-maniš* is probably an adaptation to names like Ταλαι-μένης, Πυλαι-μένης, etc. (Schwyzer: 448). Jacobsohn

KZ 54 (1927): 261f. explained -αι- from the stem *haxāi-* = Skt. *sakhāy-* 'friend', which is cognate with Lat. *socius*.

ἀχαίνει [v.] · σαίνει, παίζει, κολακεύει 'fawns, plays, flatters' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM No etymology.

ἀχαίνη [f.] 'kind of bread, made by women for the Thesmophoria' (Semus 13). ◁?▷
•ETYM No etymology.

ἀχαΐνης, -ου [m.] 'brocket, two-year-old stag' (Arist.). ◁?▷
•VAR ἀχαΐνη [f.], also ἀχαιΐνη 'roe' (Arist.).
•DER ἀχαινέη [f.] 'deerskin' (A. R.).
•ETYM The word has been derived from Ἀχαΐα, the supposed habitat of the animal; cf. Keller 1909: 350; Keller 1887: 77, 79, 91. Brands 1935: 81 points to *EM*, sch. A. R. 4, 175, who derive it from a town Ἀχαινέα in Crete.

Ἀχαιοί [m.pl.] name of a Greek tribe (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Sg. Ἀχαιός 'Achaean', fem. Ἀχαιαί, sing. -ά (see Schwyzer: 460).
•DER Ἀχαΐς, -ίδος [f.] (scil. γαῖα) 'the land Achaea' or 'the Achaean woman' (scil. γυνή), also Ἀχαϊάς [f.] (Il.); Ἀχαϊκός, Att. Ἀχαϊκός (cf. Schwyzer: 265f.) 'Achaean'; Ἀχαΐη, Att. Ἀχαΐα [f.], the Thessalian and Peloponnesian regions 'Achaea'; also a town (Rhodos, etc.), perhaps trisyllabic.
•ETYM The name Ἀχαιοί < Ἀχαιϝοί (cf. Lat. *Achīvī*) is known from Egyptian sources as *'q'jw'š'*, to be read as *Aqaiwaša*, and also in Hitt. *Aḫḫiia*, later *Aḫḫiiaua* (e.g. Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 227). In spite of strong opposition (e.g. Sommer 1934, Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 169ff.), the equation is now generally accepted, but the Hittite form has not been satisfactorily explained (why is there no reflex of the second α in Hittite?). Recenly, Finkelberg *Glotta* 66 (1988): 127-134 derived the Greek form from Hitt. *Aḫḫiiaua*, with *-ḫiį-* giving χ, but this is doubtful. The name is no doubt Pre-Greek, e.g. /Akay^{w}a-/.

ἀχάλιον [n.] a plant, = σιδηρῖτις, ἀλθαία (*Hippiatr.* 11), but these are two different plants; they are both used as medicaments. ◁?▷
•ETYM No etymology.

ἀχᾶνη [f.] name of a measure = 45 μέδιμνοι (Ar.); 'chest, box' (Phanod.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 54 compares Eg. *hn* 'chest' (Akk. *ḫannū*). Fur.: 138 compared Hitt. (Hurr.) *aganni*, but this means 'bowl' (and is connected with Akk. *agannu* 'bowl', Kronasser 1962-1987: 245, and with Eg. *'ikn* 'pot'). He also compares ἀγάννα· ἄμαξα <ἱερὰ> καί ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄρκτος (H.) (with ἄμαξα taken as 'box'; and the Bear seen as a box?); ibid.: 392, he compares λαχάννα (H.). No solution can be offered.

ἀχαρνώς, -ώ [m.] a sea fish, = ὀρφώς, perhaps 'bass' (Callias Com. 3). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ἄχαρνος; ἀχάρνᾶς, with gen. ἀχάρνου (Arist. *fr.* 566). Comparable forms: ἀχάρνα· εἶδος ἰχθύος 'kind of fish' (H.), ἀχέρνα (cod. -λα)· ἰχθὺς ποιός 'id.' (H.); ἀκαρνάν (Ath.), ἀκάρναξ· λάβραξ 'bass' (H.).

•ETYM The variation χ/κ and the ending -ω(ς) point to Pre-Greek origin; the group -ρν- is also frequent in such words. Cf. Thompson 1947: 6f.

ἀχᾰ́της, -ου [m.] 'agate' (Thphr.). ◁LW▷

•ETYM Borrowing from an unknown source. Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 56. The river *Achates* on Sicily and the PN *Achates* are probably called after the stone.

ἄχερδος [f.] 'wild pear, Pyrus amygdaliformis' (Od.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also [m.] (Theoc.); ἀγέρδα (cod. -αα)· ἄπιος, ὄγχνη 'pear-tree, pear' (H.). ἄχηρον· ἀκρίδα Κρῆτες 'locust (Cretan)' (H.), with Cretan development ερδ > ηρ; ἀκρίδα is changed by Latte into ἀχράδα, which is doubtful; cf. ▸ἀκρίς.

•ETYM Theoretically, ἀγέρδα could be Macedonian, but there are no further indications.

Comprared with Alb. *dardhë* 'pear' < **g^{h}ord-*. In this case, the ἀ- must be a real prothetic vowel, and the word a non-IE loan word. Connection with ▸ἀχράς is evident.

ἀχερωΐς, -ίδος [f.] 'white poplar, Populus alba' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Connection of -ωΐς (< **-ōsis*) with Lith. *úosis* 'ash' is most improbable. Derivation from Ἀχέρων is a mere formal guess. The stem ἀχερω- suggests a Pre-Greek word (type ▸ἤρως; cf. on ▸ἀχαρνώς).

Ἀχέρων, -οντος [m.] name of several rivers, also the mythical river of the Underworld (Od.). ◁?▷

•DER Ἀχερούσιος (A.), fem. -ιάς (Pl., X.); younger Ἀχερόντ(ε)ιος, fem. -ιάς (E.).

•ETYM Connected with the Balto-Slavic group of Lith. *ẽžeras*, *ãžeras*, OPr. *assaran*, OCS *jezero* 'lake', under the influence of which Ἀχέρων has been interpreted as 'forming lakes'. Acc. to Derksen 2008 s.v., the BSl. group may be related to the group of Lith. *ežià* 'boundary(-strip)', ORu. *ězъ* 'fish weir', and also with Arm. *ezr* 'bank, border' as PIE **h$_1$eǵ^{h}-* (the group of Lith. *ẽžeras* then goes back to **h$_1$oǵ^{h}-er-o-*). This reconstruction implies that the Greek name cannot be related, in view of its initial Ἀ-. The gloss ἀχερούσια· ὕδατα ἑλώδη 'marshy waters' may be based on ideas of the Underworld river, and cannot be used as a testimony for the original meaning of the name.

ἀχεύω⇒ἄχνυμαι.

ἀχήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'poor' (Theocr.), a Doric word. ◁PG?(S)▷

•VAR ἀεχῆνες· πένητες '(day-)laborers, poor (men)' (H.) must be due to folk etymology (privative α and ἔχω).

•DIAL ἠχῆνες· κενοί, πτωχοί 'bereft, beggar(ly)' (H.) must be from IA.

•COMP κτεαν-ηχης· πένης '(day-)laborer, poor (man)' (H.).

•DER ἀχηνία 'poverty, lack' (A.), with short α- after the negation. Other formation in ἀχηνεῖς· κενοί (H.); verb ἠχάνω· πτωχεύω 'to beg' (Suid.), perhaps to be read **ἰχάνω*, see below. Also ἀχαιος (*IG* 3, 1385)?

•ETYM Connection with ἰχανάω 'desire' (Hom.) has been proposed (cf. Wackernagel 1897: 11f.), with an alternation *ī* / *ā*. Indo-Iranian forms with a similar alternation

exist: Skt. *īhate* 'to desire', Av. *iziieiti* 'to strive, long for' beside Av. *āzi-* [m.] 'desire', etc. In laryngealistic terms, this alternation would continue *$*h_2e$-$h_2ǵ^h$-* beside *$*h_2i$-$h_2ǵ^h$-*. But if Av. *aēzah-* 'desire' belongs to this group rather than Av. *āzi-*, which is far more likely, the root should be reconstructed as *$*Heiǵ^h$-* (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 273) and Greek ἀχήν cannot be connected. ToA *ākāl*, ToB *akālk* 'desire' are supposed to be Iranian loans.

Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 659 proposes that ἀχήν is from ἀ-εχ- (doubtful). Not related to ἴχαρ (A.), which has short ι-.

Since an IE etymology is unknown, the word might be Pre-Greek (Chantraine 1933: 166: "vocabulaire technique et populaire"; "cette fois encore il semble s'être produit une collision entre un suffixe indo-européen et une finale méditerranéenne"). IE adjectives in -ην, -ηνος are hardly known (cf. Chantraine ibid.), but the suffix is well-known in Pre-Greek, cf. ►ἀτμήν and see Fur.: 172[118].

ἄχθομαι [v.] 'to be loaded', mostly of mental oppression: 'to be vexed or grieved' (Il.).
◅IE *$h_2ed^hǵ^h$- 'squeeze, (op)press'►
•VAR Aor. ἀχθεσθῆναι.
•DER ἄχθος [n.] 'load', also metaph. 'burden, trouble' (Il.). Thence ἀχθεινός 'burdensome' (E., X.), and rare forms like ἀχθηρός (Antiph. 94, uncertain), ἀχθήεις (Marc. Sid. 96), ἀχθήμων (Man. 4, 501). Denominative verb ἀχθίζω 'to load' (Babr.), perhaps ἀχθήσας (for ἀχθίσας?)· γομώσας, ἤγουν πληρώσας 'stuffed, filled' (H.).
ἀχθηδών, -όνος [f.] 'weight, burden' (A.); cf. ἀλγηδών.
•ETYM Former comparisons (ἄχθος 'load' with ἄγω 'to carry'; ἄχθομαι 'to be grieved' with ἄχομαι, ἄχνυμαι 'to be sad' were formally not very convincing (a verbal suffix -θ- is not well represented). One also compared ►ὀχθέω, but this is more plausibly connected with ἔχθομαι 'to be hated'.
Risch *IF* 69 (1964): 78 etymologically connected ἄχθομαι with Hitt. *ḫatk-ⁱ* 'to shut, close, make tight', which would mean that we have to reconstruct *$*h_2ed^hǵ^h$-*. Both Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. and Puhvel *HED* s.v. accept this etymology, noting that it is corroborated by the fact that neither the *-t-* nor the *-k-* is ever spelled with a geminate in Hittite. The meaning 'to shut' in Hittite must have developed from 'to squeeze'.

Ἀχιλλεύς [m.] the son of Peleus and Thetis (Il.). ◅PG►
•VAR Also Ἀχιλεύς (Il.).
•DIAL Myc. *a-ki-re-u*, dat. *a-ki-re-we*.
•DER Ἀχιλλήϊος (Hdt.), Att. Ἀχίλλειος (E.); also a plant.
•ETYM The variation λλ ~ λ (like σσ ~ σ in Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς) is typical of Pre-Greek words, and probably points to a palatalized phoneme /lʸ/. Any metrical explanation of the origin of this interchange is vicious. I do not believe that the name is hypocoristic for an older compound, or that it belongs to ►ἄχος 'pain'.
Holland *Glotta* 71 (1993): 17-27 gives a new proposal for Achilles. He connects it again with ἄχος, though he admits that it does not mean 'fear' as in Germanic: although he translates it as 'grief' in some passages, in Greek it means 'distress'. He cites instances where Homer mentions the ἄχος of Achilles, but these can easily be

understood as folk-etymological explanations of the name. Holland explains the geminate as hypocoristic, and then assumes an element -ιλο- for which he cites ὀργίλος 'inclined to anger', but here without any meaning; it contradicts his intepretation of the λ as a remnant of λαός 'army', for which there is no evidence. The most serious mistake is that he does not accept the evidence of Mycenaean, where we find *a-ki-re-u* = Ἀχιλλεύς. Holland admits (19) that the word enjoyed a certain popularity, and that "the name was not invented for the Homeric hero". It shows that the name existed in this form centuries before Homer. The name can easily be understood as Pre-Greek: note the suffix -ευς, and the variaton between geminate and simple consonant (Fur.: 387). Holland sweeps this explanation away as "nebulous pre-Greek" (17), but this is no argument. In doing this, he takes us back to the period before we knew Mycenaean, and his interpretation must be fundamentally rejected. Achilles is clearly a hero taken over from other stories. The meaning of the name remains unknown, but this is unimportant.

ἀχλῦς, -ύος [f.] 'mist, darkness' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2eg^hlu- 'mist, dark weather'▷

•VAR Later -ῠς.

•DER ἀχλυώδης 'hazy, murky' (Hp., Arist., Hell.); ἀχλυόεις 'cloudy, dark' (Epigr. *apud* Hdt., Hell., late epic). Denominative verbs: ἀχλύω [v.] 'to become (make) dark' (Od., epic), ἄχλυσις 'obfuscation' (Syn. Alch.); ἀχλύνομαι 'to become dark' (Q. S.); ἀχλυόομαι 'to become dark', -όω 'to get dark' (Thphr.).
ἀχλυδιᾶν· θρύπτεσθαι 'to break small' (H.) after the verbs for diseases in -ιάω (Schwyzer: 732), perhaps by contamination with χλιδᾶν (χλιδιᾶν).

•ETYM Seems identical with OPr. *aglo* [n.] 'rain' (which need not be a *u*-stem); Arm. *alǰa-m-uǰ-k'* [pl.] 'darkness' requires metathesis of -g^hl-, and subsequent palatalization of g^h to *ǰ*. The reduplication is typical of Armenian.

ἄχνη [f.] 'foam, froth; chaff' (Il., poet., Hp.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM With a different velar, we find Lat. *agna* 'ear of corn' < **akna*, Go. *ahana* 'chaff', etc., from the root **$h_2eḱ$-* 'sharp'. Connection with this root has been proposed for ἄχνη too, assuming a suffix *-snh$_2$-*, but this seems ad hoc: the more obvious connection with ►ἄχυρον 'chaff' shows that it is a Pre-Greek word.

ἄχνυμαι [v.] 'to grieve, lament for' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2eg^h- 'distress, fear'▷

•VAR Ptc. also ἀχεύων, ἀχέων (Il.; see below); aor. ἀκαχέσθαι, ἀκαχεῖν, ἀκαχῆσαι, perf. ἀκάχημαι (ἀκηχεμένη metr. cond.?); thence a new pres. ἀκαχίζομαι, -ίζω; ἄχομαι occurs only twice (Od.). Rare presents are ἀκαχύνω (Antim.), ἀκάχομαι (Q. S.) and ἀχνάσδημι (Alc. 81), a re-formation in -άζω from **ἄχνημι*, **ἄχναμαι*.

•DER An old noun is ἄχος [n.] 'sadness, pain' (Il.); ἀχνύς, -ύος [f.] 'id.' (Call.) after ἄχνυμαι.

•ETYM Although a difference in meaning exists, ἄχος corresponds with the *s*-stem in Go. *agis* [n.], OE *ege* [m.] 'fear'. Further, Gm. has a preterito-present Go. *og* 'to fear', and the Go. ptc. *un-agands* 'fearless' is thematic, like ἄχομαι. Further cognates are OIr. *-ágadar* 'id.', and PIIr. **Hag^{h}a-* > Skt. *aghá-* [adj.] 'evil, bad, dangerous' (RV+), YAv. *aya-* [adj.] 'bad, evil'.

ἀχεύων is tentatively interpreted as a participle built on an athematic present *ἄχευμι (DELG) or aorist *ἤχευα (Frisk). For ἀχέων beside ἄχος, one compares κρατέων to κράτος. See Strunk 1967: 105ff., and cf. West *ZPE* 67 (1987): 17-19.

ἀχραδάμυλα [?] · ὁ κοχλίας 'snail' (H.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Cf. ἀκραμύλα· κοχλίας, Ταραντίνοις (H.); χραμαδοῖλαι· χελῶναι 'tortoises'. καὶ αἱ νωθρόταται τῶν κυνῶν 'the most hybridized of bitches'. οἱ δὲ τοὺς κοχλίας 'snails' (H.). Here the last explanation has clearly been added later, as the case forms do not agree.

•ETYM As two forms have both δ and μ, the syllable with δ was probably lost in ἀκραμύλα (either in reality or only graphically: in ΑΔΑ?). Since two forms end in -μυλα, the original form will have been ἀχραδαμυλα. Variation οι/ υ is well known in Pre-Greek words. The analysis will be *(*a*)*krad-am-ul-a*, with well-known Pre-Greek suffixes. The word closely resembles the town Καρδαμύλη (Il.), also on Chios; for the metathesis see Fur.: 392 (on τέρμινθος/ τρέμιθος).

ἀχράς, -άδος [f.] 'the wild pear and its fruit, Pyrus amygdaliformis' (com., Arist.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM One connects ►ἄχερδος. Acc. to Frisk and Chantraine, it is possibly a loanword; to my mind, it is Pre-Greek, with ἀ-χερδ- beside ἀ-χραδ-, with metathesis and α/ε (cf. Fur.: 392 στεργίς / στρεγγίς). Admittedly, the alternation can also be understood in IE terms, but such an origin is highly improbable for a word for 'pear'. DELG points out that -άς, -άδος is frequent in plant names.

ἀχρεῖον [acc.sg.n.] not quite certain: ἀχρεῖον ἰδών (B 269); ἀχρεῖον δ' ἐγέλασσε (σ 163); ἀχρεῖον κλάζειν (Theoc. 25, 72). ◁GR▷

•COMP ἀχρειό-γελως [adj.] (Cratin.); ἀχρείως γελᾶν (*APl.*).

•ETYM It may be the same word as ἀχρεῖος 'useless, idle' (see ►χρή).

ἄχρι, ἄχρις [adv., prep., conj.] 'to the uttermost; as far as, until, as long as' (Il.). ◁IE **me-ǵʰsri* 'until'▷

•DER ἄχροι (Corcyra; after the locatives in -οι).

•ETYM This is the zero grade of ►μέχρι. On the variant with -ς, see Schwyzer: 404f., 650.

ἀχύνωψ ⇒κύνωψ.

ἄχυρα [n.pl.] 'chaff' (com.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Rarely sing. -ον; collective sing. ἀχυρός or ἄχυρος [m.] 'heap of chaff'. Note ἄχορα· τὰ πίτυρα. ἔνιοι δὲ κρανίον 'chaff, skull; head' (H.).

•COMP ἀχυροθήκη (X.).

•DER ἀχυρώδης (Arist.), ἀχύρινος (Plu.), etc.; ἀχυρών, -ῶνος [m.] 'storehouse for chaff' (Delos), ἀχύριος [m.] 'heap of chaff' (Heraklea). Denominative verb ἀχυρόω [v.] 'to mix with chaff', etc. (Arist., Thphr.), whence ἀχύρωσις (Arist.).

Remarkable is ἀχυρμιαί [f.pl.] 'heap of chaff' (E 502, *AP* 9, 384, 15), which is a form in -ιά from a noun in -μος. The form in -αί is probably an old locative; see Dürbeck

MSS 37 (1978): 39-57. The same formation is found in ἀχύρμιος (Arat. 1097), said of ἄμητος. Doubtful ἀχυρμός (Ar. *V.* 1310; conj. by Dindorf for ἀχυρός).

•ETYM The analysis as an old *r/n*-stem to ἄχνη is impossible, as the -υ- would remain unexplained. The word is clearly identical with ἄχορα (see ►ἄχωρ), a gloss not mentioned in the literature. It shows that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 362). This explains the relation to ἄχνη: Pre-Greek has often a suffix with -ν- beside the more frequent suffixes -VC-; moreover, -υρ- is well known.

ἀχυρμιαί ⇒ἄχυρα.

ἄχωρ, -ορος [m.] 'scurf, dandruff' (Ar. *fr.* 410, Hdn. Gr. 2, 937). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR ἀχώρ, -ῶρος (Alex. Tracl.). Cf ἀχῶρα· τὸν ἀχῶρα. εἴρηται δὲ τὸ πιτυρῶδες τῆς κεφαλῆς 'the scurf of the head' (H.) and ἄχορα· τὰ πίτυρα. ἔνιοι δὲ κρανίον 'chaff, skull; head' (H.).

•DER ἀχωρώδης (Aët., v.l. in Hp. *Liqu.* 6); ἀχωρέω [v.] 'to suffer from ἄχωρ', or -ιάω (conj. in Paul. Aeg. 3, 3).

•ETYM The connection with ►ἄχυρα 'chaff' is proven by the glosses. The vocalic interchange points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 211, 302, 362). See also Skoda *RPh.* 60 (1986): 215-222.

ἄψ [adv.] 'back(wards), again' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂ep-* 'from, away'▻

•DER ἄψερον = ὕστερον, πάλιν (Alc., H., Zonar.), after ὕστερον.

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *abs* 'away, back'. For the -ς cf. ἐξ and Schwyzer: 620. The relation to ἄπο, etc. is unclear.

ἀψίνθιον [n.] 'wormwood, Artemisia Absinthium' (Hp.). ◅PG(S)▻

•VAR Also ἄψινθος [f., m.] and ἀψινθία [f.].

•DER ἀψινθίτης οἶνος (Dsc.); ἀψινθᾶτον 'drink prepared with ἀ.' (Aët.) and ἀψινθάτιον (pap.); cf. Lat. *absinthiātum (vinum)*.

•ETYM The suffix -νθ- proves Pre-Greek origin.

ἀψίς, -ῖδος ⇒ἅπτω.

ἄψορρος [adj.] 'going backwards' (Il.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Also -ον [adv.].

•ETYM Forssman 1980: 185ff. convincingly derives the second member from the verbal root ϝερρ- 'to go away', see ►ἔρρω. The problem with the older analysis "with the ὀρρος backwards" is that ►ὀρρος is an Attic word; in the epic language we find παλίν-ορσος with the expected treatment of *-rs-*. The form ἀψόρροος in ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο (Σ 399, υ 65) is either from ἄψ and ῥόος with compositional -ο-, or rather from ἄψορρος reshaped after ῥόος (discussion in Forssman l.c.).

ἄω 'to eat one's fill'. ⇒ἅσαι.

***ἄω** 'to blow'. ⇒ἄημι.

ἀών, -όνος 1 [?] a fish (Epich., H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Epich. 63 has ἀόνες φάγροι τε. No etymology.

ἀών, -όνος 2 [?] Plur., a kind of garment (*P. Amh.* 2, 3a, II, 21). ◁LW Eg.▷
•VAR ἀϊών (ᾱΐ) (B. 17, 112, S., H. s.v. ἔλυμια, see LSJ Supp.).
•ETYM The text in B. (αἰόνα πορφυρέαν) shows that it was ᾰ̓ών. An Egyptian word, see Latte *Phil.* 87 (1932): 271f. and Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 192.

ἄωροι 1 [adj.] uncertain, epithet of the πόδες of Scylla (μ 89), also in opposition to the ὀπίσθιοι πόδες (Philem. 145). ◁?▷
•ETYM Acc. to scholia H and Q, it means ἄκωλοι: τοὺς γὰρ Ἴωνας λέγειν φασὶ τὴν κωλῆν ὥρην καὶ ὡραίαν (sch. μ 89). In *SIG* 1037 (Milete IV-III[a]), ὥρη is a part of the sacrificial animal, but different from κωλῆ. Bechtel 1914 s.v. translates 'Beine, die keine Waden haben', so 'legs without calfs', but his comparison with Lat. *sūra* seems impossible. Van Windekens proposes to understand ἄωροι (H.), i.e. 'wakeful' (belonging with ὦρος 'sleep'). The meaning in Philem. may be artificial.

ἄωρος 2 [m.] 'sleep' (Sapph. 57). ◁?▷
•VAR Call. *fr.* 177, 28 (Pfeiffer) has ὦρον.
•ETYM Acc. to *EM* 117, 14, it stands for ὦρος: κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ᾱ μηδὲν πλέον σημαίνοντος. ὦρος γὰρ ὁ ὕπνος 'the ᾱ does not mean anything, for ὦρος means ὕπνος'. Cf. ἄωρος (cod. ἄορος)· ἄυπνος. Μηθυμναῖοι (H.). See ►ἀωτέω.

ἀωτέω [v.] 'to sleep'(?), with ὕπνον as an object (K 159, κ 548). ◁?▷
•VAR Only present.
•ETYM In the same meaning, but without object, in Simon. 37, 5. H. glosses ἀωτεῖτε (γλυκὺν ὕπνον, κ 548) with ἀπανθίζετε τὸν ὕπνον 'pick sleep (vel sim.)'. Derived from ►ἄωτος; connection with ►ἄωρος 2 'sleep' seems impossible.

ἄωτος [m.] 'flock of wool, down; the choicest, the flower of its kind' (Il.). Raman *Glotta* 53 (1975): 195-205 shows that the word means 'nap, tap'. ◁?▷
•VAR Also -ον [n.].
•DER ἀωτεύειν· ἀπανθίζεσθαι 'to pluck off flowers' (H.), ὑφαίνειν 'to weave, plan' (*AB*).
•ETYM Considered to be a verbal noun to ►ἄημι, so *'blowing'; this was also argued by Jacquinod *REA* 90 (1988): 319-323, assuming *$h_2u̯oh_1$-to-*. But semantically, there is no support for the connection with 'blow'; the etymology was merely suggested by the formal appearance. Rather the word is a technical term, as remarked by DELG; it remains without etymology.

B

βᾶ 1 [interj.] imitation of the bleating of a lamb (Hermipp. 19). ◁ONOM▷
•ETYM Onomatopoeic word. Cf. ►βῆ.

βᾶ 2 Abbreviation of βασιλεῦς 'king' (A. *Supp.* 892, lyr.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Cf. Schwyzer: 423 A. 2. However, there is a v.l. πᾶ, an abbreviation of πατήρ.

βαβάζειν [v.] · τὸ <μὴ> διηρθρωμένα λέγειν. ἔνιοι δὲ βοᾶν 'to speak [in]articulately; to cry' (H.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Also βαβίζω, -ύζω (Zenod.).
•DER βάβαξ [m.] 'chatterer' (Archil.); βάβακοι· ὑπὸ Ἠλείων τέττιγες 'cicadas', ὑπὸ Ποντικῶν δὲ βάτραχοι 'frogs'; βάβακα· τὸν γάλλον 'eunuch' (H.) (see Maas *RhM* 74 (1925): 469f.).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic forms like these are frequent: cf. ►βαβαί, ►βάζω, ►βαῦζω, ►βαβράζω, and ►βάβαλον; cf. also ►βάρβαρος, ►βαβύρτας, ►βόμβος, etc.

βαβαί [interj.] Exclamation of surprise (E.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Extended βαβαιάξ (Ar.).
•ETYM Cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 254. Lat. *babae* is borrowed from Greek. Cf. ►βαβάζω and ►παπαῖ, as well as ►πόποι.

βάβακα ⇒βαβάζειν.

βαβάκινον, -ος [m.] (or [n.]?) · χύτρας εἶδος 'kind of earthen pot' (H.). ◁LW Celt.?, Anat.?▷
•VAR Cf. βακάϊον· μέτρον τι 'a measure' (H.).
•ETYM Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 41 compared ἐμβακανίτης· τὸ μετὰ τοῦ ταρίχους καὶ στέατος σκευαζόμενον βρῶμα 'food prepared with salted [fish] meat and hard fat' (H. and Cyrill. mss.) to reconstruct an unreduplicated form *βάκινος (-ον), probably also found in Lat. *bacchinon* (Greg. Tur., whence MoFr. *bassin*). The word is supposed to be Anatolian or Celtic. Fur.: 171 connects the word with φάκται· ληνοί, σιπύαι, πύελοι (►φάκτον 2) and Myc. *pa-ko-to* [du.] /p^{h}aktō/. The variation would then point to a Pre-Greek word, but this is uncertain.

βαβάκτης [m.] epithet of Pan (Cratin.), Dionysus (Corn.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR ἐκβαβάξαι· ἐκσαλεῦσαι 'shake violently' (H.) = S. fr. 139. βαβάξαι· ὀρχήσασθαι 'dance' (H.); βαβάκτης· ὀρχηστής, ὑμνῳδός, μανιώδης, κραύγασος, ὅθεν καὶ Βάκχος 'dancer, singer of hymns, like a madman, shouter, whence also Bacchus' (H.); = λάλος 'talkative' (*EM* 183, 45).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word to express joy; cf. ►βαβάζω. DELG considers the connection with Lydian to be an etymological speculation on Bacchus. The terms with βαβα(κ)- may sometimes have included other expressions of joy etc., which were not limited to one language only.

βάβαλον [n.] · κραύγασον. Λάκωνες 'bawler, shouter; Laconians' (H.). ◄ONOM►
•ETYM Onomatopoeic word; cf. ►βαβάζω, ►βαβάκτης. On the -λ- in the suffix, cf. ►λάλος; on *bal-*, see also Pok. 91f. On βάβαλον· αἰδοῖον 'private parts', see ►βάμβαλον.

βαβήρ [m.] · ὁ Ἄρης (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

βάβιον [n.] 'baby' (Dam. *Isid.* 75). ◄ONOM►
•DER See L. Robert 1963: 368.
•ETYM A nursery word used in Syria. See ►βαβάζω and Pok. 91 (E *baby*). Also related is βαβάλια 'cradle' (Oehl *IF* 57 (1940): 11ff.).

βαβράζω [v.] 'to chirp', of cicadas (Anan., H.). ◄ONOM►
•ETYM Onomatopoeic word; cf. ►βαβάζω.

βαβρήν [?] · ὑπόστασις ἐλαίου κατά Μακεδόνας 'sediment of olive-oil (Maced.)' (H.). ◄PG?►
•ETYM Hoffmann 1906: 73f. relates it to βάπτω, which is doubful. The meaning suggests a Pre-Greek word: sometimes it is connected with ►βάβρηξ.

βάβρηξ [m./f.] in βάβρηκες· τά οὖλα τῶν ὀδόντων, οἱ δὲ σιαγόνας· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς κατεχόμενα 'the gums of the teeth, the jaws; particles of food stuck between the teeth' (H.). ◄PG?(V)►
•VAR βέβρηκες· τὸ ἔνδον τῶν σιαγόνων μέρος 'the part within the jaws'(?) (H.).
•ETYM Kalléris 1954: 114f. derives the word from a root βρ- in βίβρωσκω, but this root ends in $*h_3$, and should not be lost in this formation. There seems no apparent reason to connect this gloss with βαβρήν, as per Kalléris and DELG. Is βάρηκες just a mistake? The meaning of βέβρηκες unclear: μέρος can hardly mean 'piece of food'. The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the variation α/ ε. See ►βαβρήν, ►βάρηκες.

βαβύας [m./f.]? · βόρβορος, πηλός 'mud, earth' (H.); βαβύη· χείμαρρος, οἱ δὲ πόλις [read πηλός?] 'winter-flowing mud' (H.); βακίας [read βαβύας?]· βόρβορος, πηλός ὑπὸ Ταραντίνων 'mud, earth [Tarent.]' (*EM* 186,1). ◄PG?►
•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 20 suggests Messapian origin (with the ending *-uos*). However, the meaning rather suggests a Pre-Greek word.

βαβύρτας [m.] · ὁ παράμωρος 'an almost foolish man' (H.). ◄LW►
•DER Also a PN (Wilhelm 1909: 321).
•ETYM Cf. Lat. *baburrus* 'stultus, ineptus'; cf. the type βάρβαρος (?) and E-M s.v. *babit.*

βαγαῖος [m.] · ὁ μάταιος. ἢ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος. μέγας. πολύς. ταχύς 'foolish/idle; or the Phrygian Zeus; great, many, swift' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM The gloss consists of two or more elements; see Solmsen 1909: 139[1]. One may think of a connection with OP *baga-* 'god' (cf. ▸βάγος). Schmitt *Sprache* 9 (1963): 38-47 reads Βαλαῖος, but Heitsch *Glotta* 46 (1968): 74f. returns to Βαγαῖος.

βάγαρον [adj.] · χλιαρόν, Λάκωνες 'warm (Lacon.)' (H.) ◂?▸
•ETYM No etymology.

βάγος [m.]? · κλάσμα ἄρτου <ἢ> μάζης. καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ στρατηγός. Λάκωνες 'piece of cake or barley-cake; both a king and general (Lacon.)' (H.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Probably a contamination of ϝάγος (ἄγνυμι) and ἀγός (Latte). Pisani *KZ* 67 (1940): 111 thinks βασιλεύς = OP *baga-* 'lord, god' (cf. the people's name Βαγαδάονες [Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 232]), but see Petersen *AmJPh.* 56: 64ff. and Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 197.

βαδᾶς ⇒βάταλος.

βάδην ⇒βαίνω.

βάδιον ⇒βάτος 2.

βάδρυα ⇒μάδρυα.

βάζω [v.] 'to speak, say' often of nonsense (Il.). ◂ONOM▸
•VAR Only present stem, except for βέβακται (θ 408) and ἔβαξας (H.).
•DER βάξις 'word, rumour' (Emp.), βάγματα [pl.] (A. *Pers.* 637 [lyr.]).
•ETYM Cf. βάσκειν· λέγειν (which Latte deletes), κακολογεῖν (H.) (cf. λάσκειν). Possibly from *βάκ-σκειν (Schwyzer: 708; cf. Βάκις). ▸βάσκανος can hardly be separated from βάσκειν. See also ▸άβακής. Onomatopoeic; cf. ▸βαβάζω (the objections of DELG are hardly decisive).

βάθρον ⇒βαίνω.

βαθύς [adj.] 'deep, high', metaph. 'rich', etc. (Il.). ◂IE?▸
•COMP Many compounds with βαθυ-: e.g. -κολπος, -λειμος (Hom.).
•DER Grades of compar. βαθύτερος, -τατος, rarely βάθιον, βάσσον, βάθιστος (Seiler 1950: 52). Factitive verb βαθύνω (Il.), 'go down, sink (intr.)' (Ph.). On Βαθύλος, -υλλος see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 218. Besides βένθος 'depth' (Il.) and βάθος [n.] 'id.' (IA, mainly in an ethical sense).
•ETYM Related to βένθος, but there are no further etymological connections; only an alternation *-*en-* : -*n̥-* can be reconstructed, which suggests IE origin. βένθος is not analogical after πένθος (as per Schwyzer *RhM* 81 (1932): 201, accepted by Pok. 465). Not related to βάπτω (and βόθρος), as per Szemerényi *Glotta* 38 (1960): 211-216, nor to ▸βῆσσα, ▸βάσσος, or ▸βυθός.

βαΐα [f.] 'grandmother' (Str.). ◂ONOM, PG?▸
•ETYM Nursery word; might be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 217).

βαῖβυξ, -υκος [m.] 'pelican' (Hdn. Gr., H. ex Philet., Choerob.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR βαυβυκᾶνες· πελεκᾶνες (H.).
•ETYM For the suffix, cf. ὄρτυξ, ἴβυξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 397). βαῖβυξ seems to be a typical Pre-Greek word (βαυβυκ- by assimilation?).

βαίθ- ⇒βάτος.

βαίνω [v.] 'to go' (Il.). ◁IE *$g^{w}em$-, *$g^{w}eh_{2}$- 'go'▷
•VAR Only present stem. Other presents: 1. βάσκω, mostly ipv. βάσκε, -τε (Il.); 2. βιβάσκω (Il.), mostly causative; 3. βίβημι (βίβᾱμι), -άω (to ἔβην, see below) in βιβάς, βιβῶν, βιβᾷ 'stride' (Chantraine 1942: 300); 4. causative βιβάζω (post-Hom.); 5. βιβάσθων in μακρὰ β. (Il.), metrical lengthening of βιβάς at verse end (Chantraine 1942: 327, Shipp 1967: 39). Suppletive aor. ἔβην, fut. βήσομαι (factitive ἔβησα, βήσω after ἔστησα, στήσω), perf. βέβηκα (all Il.).
•COMP ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐμ-βαίνω, etc.
•DER 1. βάσις [f.] 'step, base' (Pi., in compounds Il.) = Skt. *gáti-* (see below). 2. βατήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'threshold, basis' (Amips., inscr., etc.). 3. -βάτης, -ου [m.] in compounds with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐμ-βάτης, etc. (Il.), also with nominal first element, e.g. στυλο-βάτης; 4. -βατος in compounds: ἀνα- (ἀμ-)βατός, etc. (Il.); as a simplex, βατός 'accessible' (X.) is very rare; see Chantraine 1933: 302ff. Abstracts in -σία are derived from -βάτης and -βατος, like ὑπερβασία 'transgression' (Il.); also denominatives in -εύω and -έω, like ἐμβατεύω, etc. 5. -βάς, -άδος [f.] in ►ἐμβαδές. Hence the adverb βάδην 'step by step'. 6. βάθρον 'basis, seat', etc. (IA), βάθρᾱ. 7. βαθμός and βασμός [m.] 'step, basis', etc. (Hell.; βαθμίς [f.] Pi.). Unrelated is ►βαμβαίνων.
From the root βη-: βῆμα, βᾶμα [n.] 'step', etc. (*h. Merc.*, etc.), = Av. *gāman-* [n.] 'step'; further, βηλός (βᾱλός) [m.] 'threshold' (Il.), βηλά [n.pl.] = πέδιλα (Panyas.); see Chantraine 1933: 240. Also -βήτης, -ου [m.] in ἐμπυριβή-της (τρίπους) 'standing over the fire' (Ψ 702); see also ►διαβήτης 'circle, etc.' (Ar.) and ►ἀμφισβητέω.
•ETYM The verbal root *$g^{w}em$- has a number of exact matches in other branches. Greek βαίνω and βάσκω both go back to the root *$g^{w}em$-. The first is a *yod*-present, from *$g^{w}an̯ie/o$- < *$g^{w}m̥$-*i̯e/o*-, identical with Lat. *veniō*; the second is a present in *ske/o- from *$g^{w}m̥$-*sk*-, seen back in Skt. *gácchati*. The full grade is seen in Go. *qiman* 'to come' and Skt. *ágamam* [aor.] 'I went'. Morphologically, βάσις is comparable with Skt. *gáti*-, Lat. *con-ventio*, and Go. *ga-qumþs*. Further, -βατος = Skt. *(-)gata-* and Lat. *-ventus*.
The non-presentic forms ἔβην, βήσομαι, βέβηκα, etc. are derived from a different root βη- (βᾱ-) < *$g^{w}eh_{2}$-. For βίβημι, cf. Skt. *jígāti* 'he goes'. The aor. ἔβην agrees exactly with Skt. *ágām* 'I went'; the noun βῆμα corresponds to Av. *gā-man-* [n.] 'step, pace'. The root pair *$g^{w}em$- :: *$g^{w}eh_{2}$- may be compared with **drem*- (see ►δραμεῖν) :: **dreh*$_{2}$- (see ►διδράσκω). See ►βέβαιος, ►βέβηλος, ►βωμός, ►βαστάζω, ►βητάρμων.

βαιός [adj.] 'small, slight' (Parm.). ◁?▷
•VAR Cf. ἠβαιός (Il.).
•DER βαιών, -όνος [m.] a small worthless fish = βλέννος (Epich.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 32, Chantraine 1928: 10. On the meaning of μέτρον παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι (H.) see ►βαῖς.

•ETYM The word has been compared with ►ἠβαιός. Fur.: 378 takes the ἡ- as prothetic, allegedly indicative of Pre-Greek origin; in my view, this remains uncertain.

βαΐς [f.] 'palm leaf' (LXX, pap.). ◄LW►
•VAR Acc. -ιν. Also βάϊον [n.] 'id., measuring rod' (*Ev. Jo.*, pap.).
•DER Adj. βαϊνός (Sm.) 'made of palm leaf', βαινή [f.] 'branch of a palm' (LXX).
•ETYM From Eg. *b'j*, Copt. *bai*. See Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 245f.

βαίτη [f.] 'shepherds' or peasants' coat or tent made of skins' (Hdt.), also 'covered hall' (Magnesia, Mantinea; see Gossage *Class. Rev.*N.S. 9 (1959): 12f.). ◄PG?►
•DER βαίτωνα· τὸν εὐτελῆ ἄνδρα 'shabby man' in opposition to βαιτάς· εὐτελὴς γυνή H.; for the gloss βαίτιον see ►βλίτον.
•ETYM Unknown (see Pisani *Sprache* 1 (1949): 138). Go. *paida* 'χιτών' and other Gm. words, like OHG *pfeit* [f.] 'shirt, coat' etc., are borrowed from βαίτη; from Gm. in turn is Fi. *paita* 'shirt'. With a suffix *-k-*, we can probably connect Alb. *petk* 'coat'. If the Albanian continues **paitakā*, the word may have been taken over from a European substrate (Fur.: 158 argues for Pre-Greek origin).

βαίτιον [n.] · βοτάνη ἐμφερὴς δικτάμνῳ, ἤγουν γλήχωνι 'plant resembling dittany, or rather pennyroyal' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM βαίτιον was supposed to be a mistake for βλίτιον; see ►βλίτον (not accepted by DELG).

βαίτυλος [m.] kind of (magical) stone (Sotacos of Carystos apud Plin. *N. H.* 37, 135) which fell from heaven (Dam. *Isid.* 94, 203). Acc. to Hesychius and others, the stone was given to Kronos instead of Zeus. Also name of a god (Διὶ Βετύλῳ, Dura iii^{p}). βαίτυλον ἄν κατέπιες Apostol. 9.24, of a greedy person. ◄LW Sem.►
•VAR ῠ̄ (LSJ Supp.).
•DER βαιτύλιον (Dam., etc.).
•ETYM Zuntz *Class. et Med.* 8 (1966): 169ff., with special attention for the sources, thought that it was a Mediterranean word, also seen in Sem. *bethel*, interpreted as 'House of God'. Unfortunately, Zuntz postulates a pan-Mediterranean substrate as a common source, which is hardly acceptable. Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 99f. rather opts for Semitic origin, and likewise Röllig, *Dict. Deities Demons* (s.v. Bethel). The fact that the word appears very late in Greek, and in the context of northern Syria, makes this the most probable solution: *Bayt-el* 'House of El'. An old Pre-Greek word is therefore improbable (cf. further West 1997: 294f.; Davidson *Herm.* 123 (1995): 363-9).

βαΐτυξ ⇒βλέτυες.

βάκανον 1 [n.] 'Althaea cannabina'. ◄?►
•VAR Cf. βάκανον· τὸ ἀγριοκάναβον (Lex. Parisinus gr. 2419).
•DER βακάνιον (*POsl.*).
•ETYM For the suffix, cf. λάχανον and see Chantraine 1933: 199. Cf. ►βάκανον 2 and DELG Supp. s.v.

βάκανον 2 [n.] 'Brassica napus oleifera' (pap. I^{p}-II^{p}). ◁LW Eg.▷
•ETYM See ►βάκανον 1.

βάκηλος 1 [m.] 'woman-like man' (Antiph.), 'eunuch in service of Cybele' (Luc.). Βάκηλος· ἀπόκοπος, ὁ ὑπ' ἐνίων γάλλος, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρόγυνος, ἄλλοι παρειμένος, γυναικώδης 'a castrated man, a Gallus or hermaphrodite or a weakened man, a woman-like man' (H.) ◁LW Anat.▷
•ETYM Cf. κάβηλος and κάληβος, with comparable meanings, in Hesychius. Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 472ff. and Nehring *Sprache* 1 (1949): 165 assume metathesis. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 192 compares Βάκχος; this is improbable. The word is probably Anatolian (so perhaps Pre-Greek, [Fur.: 116]?). On the meaning, see Lucas *RhM* 88 (1939): 189f. and Masson *RPh.* 93 (1967): 229.

βάκηλος 2 [adj.] · ὁ μέγας 'big or great man' (H.). ◁PG(S)▷
•ETYM Fur.: 115 compares βάγιον· μέγα (H.). The suffix -ηλο- is well known in Pre-Greek.

βάκκαρις, -ιδος [f.] 'unguent from asarum' (Semon.). ◁PG?, LW Lyd.?▷
•VAR Acc. -ιν. Also βάκκαρ [n.] = ἄσαρον (Plin.) and βάκχαρι [n.] (Aret.), βάκχαρ [n.] (Ps.-Dsc.).
•ETYM The word is Lydian, according to Sch. A. *Pers.* 42; cf. βάκκαρις· … ἄλλοι δὲ μύρον Λυδόν (H.). Whereas Fur.: 128 argues for Pre-Greek origin (words in -αρ are well-represented there), E. Masson 1967: 100f. suggests that it is Anatolian. The word is not of Gaulish origin (WH 1, 91); Lat. *baccar* etc. are borrowed from Greek.

βακόν [adj.] · πεσόν. Κρῆτες 'falling (Cret.)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. The word is not to be derived an unknown verb *βᾰ́κω, aor. *ἔβᾰκον (as per Bechtel 1921, 2: 782), nor is a connection with βάκτρον ('stick', see ►βακτηρία) or βάκται· ἰσχυροί 'strong men' (H.) very likely. Cf. ►ἀβακής.

βάκται [m.] · ἰσχυροί 'strong men' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Fur.: 311 etc., connects the word with Hitt. *ụakturi-* 'solid, durable' and Lycaon. Ουανγδαμιος, etc. (with prenasalization), which remains very uncertain.

βακτηρία [f.] 'staff, stick, scepter (as a symbol of judges)' (Ar.). ◁EUR▷
•VAR Also βακτήριον (Ar.), βακτηρίδιον (H.), βακτηρίς, -ίδος [f.] (Achae. [?]). Cf. βάκτρον [n.] 'stick, cudgel' (A.).
•DIAL Cypr. *pa-ka-ra* (LSJ Supp.).
•DER Also βάκτρον 'id.', whence βακτρεύω [v.] 'to prop' (arg. metr. in S. *OC*), βάκτρευμα (E.); βακτηρεύω (Suid.) by influenced of βακτηρία.
•ETYM βακτηρία looks like an abstract formation from *βακτήρ, with a by-form βάκτρον, just as ἀροτήρ beside ἄροτρον. It has been compared with ►βάκται · ἰσχυροί (H.) (doubtful) and ►βακόν (improbable). The word is related to Lat. *baculum* 'staff, stick', which points to **bak-tlo-*. From *baculum* in turn is borrowed βάκλον 'stick, cudgel' (Aesop.); also OIr. *bacc* 'hook, crook' etc. Pok. 93 gives other, quite doubtful, forms. Is it a European loanword, given the *a*-vocalism?

βάκτρον [n.] · κάμηλος 'camel' (H.) ◁LW Iran.▷

•ETYM If the gloss is correct, rather 'Bactrian', as Bactrian camels were famous (Arist. *HA* 498 b 8).

βάκχος [?] a fish, kind of κεστρεύς 'mullet' (Hicesios apud Ath. 306 e). ◁?▷
•ETYM See Thompson 1947, Saint-Denis 1947 and Strömberg 1943: 96.

βάκχυλος [m.] = ἄρτος σποδίτης 'bread baked in hot ashes' (Nic. *Fr.* 121). Elean, acc. to H. ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps PG because of the geminate -κχ- and the suffix -υλ-.

βάλαγρος [m.] a freshwater fish, kind of carp (Arist.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also βάλ(λ)ερος, βαλλιρός, βαλῖνος (βαρῖνος) (Arist.).
•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v. amd Strömberg 1943: 39. Fur.: 116 compares βάρακος· ἰχθὺς ποιός 'kind of fish' (H.); this is uncertain. Still, the word is certainly Pre-Greek because of the variants (Fur.: 192).

βαλανεῖον [n.] 'warm bath, bathroom' (Ar.). ◁PG▷
•DER βαλανεύς [m.] 'bath-man' (Ar.), as a basis of further derivatives (cf. κναφεῖον : κναφεύς, etc.)? Also βαλανίτης (-είτης) 'bather' (Plb.). βαλανάριον [n.] (pap., inscr.) with the Latin suffix *-ārium*.
•ETYM DELG attempts to derive the word from βάλανος 'acorn' as 'stopper', but this is improbable. For a term for bathing in warm water, which is probably an Aegaean custom, we might expect Pre-Greek origin, like ►ἀσάμινθος. The structure of the word is frequent in Pre-Greek: βαλ-αν- (with β-, -α-, -αν-). From βαλανεῖον comes Lat. *bal(i)neum*.

βάλανος [f.] 'acorn, fruit like an acorn, date', and objects like an acorn, e.g. 'stopper'; also name of a fish (Od.). ◁IE **g*^{w}*lh*$_2$- 'acorn'▷
•DER βαλάνιον 'acorn-drink' (Nicoch.), 'suppository' (medic.), βαλανίς 'stopper' (Hp., pap.), βαλανῖτις 'kind of chestnut' (Plin.). βαλανωτός 'fastened with a β.' (Parm.), βαλανώδης, βαλάνινος 'made of dates' (Thphr.), βαλανηρός 'like a β.' (Thphr.).
Verbs: 1. βαλανίζω 'to shake off acorns' (*AP*, Zen.), 'to administer a suppository' (Hp.); 2. βαλανόω 'to fasten with a β.' (Ar.).
•ETYM Old IE word. The closest kin is Arm. *kałin*, gen. *kałnoy* 'acorn', although a pre-form **g*^{w}*l̥h*$_2$*-eno-* (> βάλανος) would also have to give Arm. *-an-* (so the *-in-* is probably analogical). Several related forms have a dental suffix: Lat. *glāns*, *-andis* (**g*^{w}*lh*$_2$*-nd-*), CS *želudъ* (< **želǫdъ* < **g*^{w}*elh*$_2$*-end-*), Alb. *lend* [m.], Tosk *lëndë* [f.] 'acorn'. A different formation is found in Baltic, e.g. Lith. *gìlė* 'acorn'. Not related to βάλλω, which derives from **g*^{w}*elh*$_1$-.

βάλαρις plant name = βρύον 'oyster-green', λυχνίς 'rose campion' (Ps.-Dsc.), βοτάνη τρίφυλλος 'three-leaved plant' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also βάλλαρις.
•ETYM Unknown. Perhaps Pre-Greek because of -λ-/ -λλ-.

βαλαύστιον [n.] 'flower of the wild pomegranate' (Dsc., Gal.). ◁PG▷
•VAR βαλώστιον (pap. III^{a}).

•COMP βαλαυστιουργός (Alciphr. 1, 2), form and mg. uncertain, 'dyer'?
•DER βαλαύστ(ρ)ινος (pap.).
•ETYM The variation αυ/ω is typical of Pre-Greek words. Moreover, the meaning already suggests substrate origin. Fur.: 301 compares ►βαλλωτή 'Ballota nigra' (Dsc.).

βαλβίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'rope indicating start and finish of the race-course, turning post' (Att.). ◄PG►
•DER βαλβιδώδης 'provided with cavities' (Hp.), cf. Wendel *Herm.* 69 (1934): 345.
•ETYM Formation with -ῖδ- like κρηπίς, κνημίς, etc. βαλβίς is a technical term borrowed from the Pre-Greek (already Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 164ff.).

βάλε [interj.] with optative: 'o that!' (Alcm.). ◄GR►
•VAR Also ἄβάλε, ἄβάλε (= ἆ βάλε) with ind. and inf. (Call.).
•ETYM Probably an aor.ipv. of βάλλω. Older litt. is mentioned by Frisk, who compares the Lithuanian permissive particle *te-gùl* (quite uncertain).

βαλιός [adj.] 'spotted, dappled' (E.), 'swift' (Opp.; after ἀργός). ◄?►
•VAR With a different accent (see Schwyzer: 380, 635): Βαλίος, name of a horse of Achilles (Il.).
•DER βαλία· ὀφθαλμία 'an eye-disease' (H.)?
•ETYM Cf. πολιός and other color adjectives in -ι(ϝ)ός (Chantraine 1933: 123). Since **b-* is rare in PIE, it has been considered a loanword from another IE language: e.g. Thracian/Phrygian (Solmsen *KZ* 34 (1897): 72ff.), Illyrian (Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 203), Macedonian (Schwyzer: 68³, hesitantly). If so, the genuinely Greek cognate would have to be ►φαλιός. Pok.: 118 posits **bʰel-*.
Athanassakis *Glotta* 78 (2000): 1-11 demonstrates with an extensive discussion that the word is of Illyrian origin; cf. Alb. *ballë* 'horse with a white spot on its forehead'. For the Albanian word, Huld 1984: 40 reconstructs **bʰol-;* Demiraj 1997 assumes **bʰh₂l-*.

βαλίς [f.] = σίκυς ἄγριος 'wild cucumber' (Ps.-Dsc.). ◄?►
•DER βαλιδικά (κάρυα 'nut-bearing tree', pap.).
•ETYM See André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 40-2, who connects it with βάλλω, because the fruit throws out its sap and kernel.

βαλλάντιον [n.] 'purse' (com., Thphr.). ◄PG?►
•VAR βαλάντιον (less frequent).
•ETYM Unknown. Krahe (see Frisk) thought it was a word from the northern Balkans, related to Lat. *follis.* However, it is perhaps Pre-Greek because of the variation -λ- ~ -λλ-. Cf. ►βαλλίον.

βάλλεκα [?] · ψῆφον 'pebble' (H.). ◄PG(S)►
•ETYM The connection with Lat. (Iber.) *bal(l)ūca* 'gold-sand, grain of gold' (WH s.v. *balūx*; Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 198) is improbable, since the gloss does not refer to gold. Apparently, the word contains a suffix -εκ-, which is very rare (compare ►ἀλώπηξ); therefore, we opt for Pre-Greek origin.

βαλ(λ)ήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'king' (A.), also name of a mythical stone in Phrygia (Ps.-Plu.). ◁LW Anat.▷

•VAR Less certain βαλήν = παλην (inscr. IV^{a} Lycia).

•DER βαλληναῖον (ὄρος) = βασιλικὸν ὄρος.

•ETYM Unexplained. According to H. and others, the word is Thourian or Phrygian; at any rate, it is an Anatolian loan (Solmsen 1909: 138f.). The word is not related to Lat. *dēbilis*, nor to Aram. *ba'lēna* 'our Lord'. The ending -ην is a common feature of Pre-Greek (Fur.: 143).

βαλλητύς [f.] Festival in Eleusis during which stones were thrown (Ath. 9, 406d ff.; see Deubner 1932: 69). ◁?▷

•ETYM Because of the incomprehensible formation of the stem (in spite of fut. βαλλή-σω), the word is probably a loanword adapted to βάλλω by folk etymology (Schwyzer: 291). On the other hand, DELG accepts a morphological analysis βαλλη- + -τυς.

βαλλίζω [v.] = βάλλω 'to throw' (Sophr.), but = κωμιάζω, χορεύω 'to celebrate; to dance (Ath., etc.), known from the western colonies (Ath. 8, 362b f.). ◁GR▷

•DER βαλλισμός 'dance' (Alex.). βαλλιστής (Shipp *Glotta* 39 (1960): 149-52) from which Lat. *ballista* 'catapult' (since Plaut.); βαλλίστρα 'id.' (Procop.); as a constellation Scherer 1953: 203.

•ETYM Derived from βάλλω. On the meaning, see Paessens *RhM* 90 (1941): 146ff., Radermacher *RhM* 91 (1942): 52ff., and DELG. Lat. *ballāre* 'dance' is related to βαλλίζω, but is not directly borrowed from it.

βαλλίον [n.] = φαλλός 'phallus' (Herod.). ◁LW▷

•DER Βαλλίων PN (Axionic.), Lat. *Ballio* (Pt.); Thracian people's name Τρι-βαλλοί? (but see Detschew 1957: 526).

•ETYM If cognate with ▶φαλλός, the word might be from another language (Thraco-Phrygian?). See Haas *Wien. Stud.* 71 (1958): 161-7. See also Fur.: 172, who assumes a Pre-Greek root *φαλ/ βαλ- 'Hervorspringendes'. Note also ▶βά(μ)βαλον 'αἰδοῖον'.

βάλλις, -εως [f.] a medicinal plant (Xanth. 16). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. See L. Robert 1937: 156-8. Cf. ▶βάλ(λ)αρις, ▶βαλλωτή, and ▶βαλίς.

βάλλω [v.] 'to throw, hit' (Il.), originally probably 'to reach, hit by throwing'. ◁IE *$g^{w}elh_{1}$- 'hit by throwing'▷

•VAR Aor. βαλεῖν (βλείην, ξυμβλήτην, ἔβλητο), perf. βέβληκα, -μαι, (βεβολημένος from *βέβολα, Chantraine 1942: 235?), fut. βαλῶ, also βαλλήσω (see ▶βαλλητύς).

•DIAL Arc. δέλλω in ἐσ-δέλλω = ἐκ-βάλλω, also ζέλλω, ἔζελεν (*EM*, see below).

•COMP ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐμ-, ἐκ-βάλλω, etc.

•DER 1. βόλος [m.] 'throwing, net' (A.); in compounds πρόβολος [m.] 'projecting land', etc. (Od.). 2. βολή [f.] 'throw(ing)' (Il.). Many derivatives of βόλος, βολή: see DELG. 3. βέλος [n.] 'throwing weapon' (Il.); cf. ▶βελόνη. 4. βέλεμνον 'arrow, javelin' (Il.), see below. 5. -βλής in compounds, e.g. προβλής, -ῆτος 'projecting' (Il.). 6. βλῆμα 'throw, throwing weapon; wound'. 7. -βλησις in compounds, e.g. ἀνάβλησις

'delay' (Il.). 8. -βληστρον (on the σ see Schwyzer: 706) in ἀμφίβληστρον 'net' (Hes.). See ►βαλλητύς, ►βλῆτρον.

Few derived agent nouns; from a simplex only βλήτειρα ὀιστῶν (Alex. Aet.); nouns in -ευς were derived from the compounds, e.g. -βολεύς (Hell.) in ἀμφιβολεύς, etc.; also διαβλήτωρ (Man.) = διάβολος. Formation in -(έ)της in ἑκατηβελέ-της (Il.) < *-$g^{w}elh_{1}$-teh_{2}-, = ἑκατηβόλος.

Adjectives: from the compounds we have derivations in -βλητικός and -βλήσιμος, and adverbs in -δην, e.g. παραβλήδην (Il.).

Deverbative βολέω has been assumed for the perfect forms in βεβολήατο, βεβολημένος, etc., but see Chantraine 1942: 435.

•ETYM IA βάλλω and Arc. ζέλλω, -δέλλω point to original *g^{w}-. The geminate -λλ- derives either from a yod-present PGr. *$g^{w}al$-$i̯e/o$- or from a nasal present PGr. *$g^{w}al$-n-e/o-, perhaps for originally athematic *$g^{w}\underline{l}$-$n(e)h_{1}$-. The full-grade in Arc. δέλλω (ζέλλω) was taken from the aorist ἔζελεν· ἔβαλεν (H.), which represents an old root aorist *$h_{1}e$-$g^{w}elh_{1}$-t (see Harðarson 1993a: 162ff.), while ἔβαλον continues the zero grade of the same root aorist: 3pl. *$g^{w}lh_{1}$-o-nt. The old full grade βελε- is also found in ►ἑκατηβελέτης and in βέλεμνον (note that Fur.: 151 considers the latter to be a substrate word because of the suffix, and connects πελεμίζω). The form βλη- derives from the zero grade *$g^{w}lh_{1}$-C-, which is certain for ἔβλητο (see Francis *Glotta* 52 (1974): 11-30). On the meaning of ἔβλην, see McCullagh *KZ* 115 (2002): 59-78.

Remarkably, this seemingly old verb has no certain cognates. Av. *ni-yrāire* probably stands for *ni-ynā- (Insler *KZ* 81 (1967): 259-64), while the appurtenance of ToA *klā-*, ToB *klāy^{ā}-* 'to fall', Skt. *ud-gūrṇa-*, and OIr. *atbaill* 'dies' is highly uncertain (notwithstanding LIV^{2} s.v. *$g^{w}elh_{1}$-). Not related to Skt. *galati* 'to drip', OHG *quellan* 'to bubble up', etc. (= LIV^{2} s.v. 2.*$g^{w}elH$-). See ►βούλομαι, ►βελόνη.

βαλλωτή [f.] a plant, 'Ballota nigra' (Dsc.). ◄PG?(V)►

•ETYM Cf. ►βάλαρις, ►βάλλις, and Strömberg 1940: 151. Fur.: 301 compares ►βαλαύστιον (also -ώστιον); the interchange αυ/ ω is well-attested in Pre-Greek words, as is the suffix -ωτ-.

βαλμός [m.] ([n.]?) · στῆθος 'breast' (H.). ◄PG►

•ETYM Unknown. According to Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 196, the word is Pre-Greek. For the suffix, cf. ►λαιμός. Fur.: 172, 178 convincingly compares φαλὸν· τὸ στερεὸν κύκλωμα τοῦ στέρνου 'the solid circle of the breast' (H.). The variation bertween βαλμ- and φαλ- points to Pre-Greek origin.

βάλσαμον [n.] 'balsam', both the shrub and its oil (Arist.); 'Comiphora Opobalsamum' and 'Chrysanthemum balsamita'. ◄LW►

•VAR See below.

•DER βαλσαμίνη 'βούφθαλμον' (Ps.-Dsk.), 'ὀποβάλσαμον' (Plin.); cf. Strömberg 1944: 38.

•ETYM Assumed to be Semitic, cf. Akk. *bašāmu*, Hebr. *bāśām*, and Arab. *bašām* 'id.' (Lewy 1895: 41). Fur.: 143 etc. argues for Near-Eastern origin on the basis of the -λ- (and Arm. *apr(a)sam* and the variants πάλσαμον, βλάσαμον, βάρσαμον). However, Schrader-Nehring 1917 (s.v. Balsam) state that the plant originated from the far south

(Africa) and became known only after Alexander. On plant names in -αμον, -αμος, see Schwyzer: 494 and Chantraine 1933: 133.

βαμβαίνω [v.] 'to chatter with the teeth, stammer' (K 375, Bion, *AP*). ◂ONOM▸
•ETYM Onomatopoeic verb. Cf. βαμβακύζω (Hippon.), βαμβαλύζω (Phryn., H.); γογγύζω, etc., as well as βαμβαλεῖν (H.). See Weber *RhM* 82 (1933): 193². Not related to βαίνω, as per Schwyzer: 647. Cf. ▸βαβάζειν, ▸βάβαλον.

βαμβακεύτριαι [f.] · μαγγανεύτριαι, οἱ δὲ φαρμάκισσαι, οἱ δὲ λαλοῦσαι 'tricksters, others: women using charms, others: chattering women', also τὸ δὲ βαμβακείας χάριν· φαρμακείας χάριν 'thanks to sorcery' (both H.). ◂LW India?▸
•VAR βάμβακους τοὺς φάρμακους Κίλικες καλοῦσιν 'the Cilicians call drugs β.' (*AB*). Also ἀβαμβάκευτος 'not seasoned', of food (Pyrgion *apud* Ath.), for which there are no obvious cognates.
•ETYM A word for medicine or charms; the meaning 'λαλοῦσαι' must have arisen secondarily. The basis is identical with that of the word for 'cotton', ▸βαμβάκιον; cotton was thought to have a medicinal effect.

βαμβάκιον [n.] 'cotton' (Suidas s.v. πάμβαξ). ◂LW India?▸
•VAR παμβακίς (AP 6,254,6, Myrin.), πάμβαξ (Suid.).
•DER βαμβακοειδής, v.l. for βομβυκ- (Dsc. 3,16).
•ETYM Cotton is first mentioned in an inscription by Sanherib. Hdt. 3,106 describes it as Indian. Theophrastus says that it was found near the Persian Gulf. We find the word in MP *pambak*, whence Arm. *bambak*, Oss. *bæmbæg*. From Greek were borrowed Lat. *bambax*, *bambagium* with Ital. *bambagia*; through the influence of βόμβυξ (because of the formal and semantic resemblance?), Ital. *bombagio*, MoFr. *bombasin*. Another Gr. designation is ἐριόξυλον; cf. MoHG *Baumwolle*. Pliny uses the word *gossypium*. Unclear is whether ▸βύσσος in Pausanias also means 'cotton'. For 'cotton', see also ▸κάρπασος. Cf. ▸βαμβακεύτριαι.

βάμβαλον · ἱμάτιον· καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. Φρύγες 'a garment; genitals (Phrygian)' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Probably two words. See L. Robert 1963: 153 (the treatment of Campanile *SSL* 3 (1963): 83-85 is incorrect).

βαμβραδών, -όνος [f.] kind of sprat (Epich.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•VAR βεμβράς (Aristomen.), μεμβράς; βεβράδα· ἀθερίνην 'kind of smelt' (H.).
•DER μεμβραφύα s.v. ▸ἀφύη.
•ETYM The word has been derived from βράζω, by comparison with βαμβρασμός· καχλασμός 'splashing of water' and βαμβράσσει· ὀργίζεται 'is angry' (Cyr.), under the improbable assumption that the fish was named after the sound it makes (e.g. Strömberg 1943: 63ff.). Given the formal variants, the word is rather Pre-Greek. For the formation, cf. animal names like ▸τενθρηδών, τερηδών (Schwyzer: 529f., Chantraine 1933: 360f.).

βάναυσος, -ον [adj., m.] 'of an artisan; artisan'; metaph. 'vulgar' (IA). ◂PG(S)▸
•DER βαναυσία.

•ETYM According to *EM* 187, 40, a haplology from *βαύναυσος, in turn a compound of ►βαῦνος 'furnace' and ►αὔω 'scoop, light a fire'. Although this would fit Hesychius' explanation βαναυσία· πᾶσα τέχνη διὰ πυρός. κυρίως δὲ ἡ περὶ τὰς καμίνους. καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης χαλκεὺς ἢ χρυσοχόος βάναυσος 'any art using fire; in common usage, the art using furnaces; also, any metal worker or goldsmith is a βάναυσος', we have to disregard that as folk etymology (Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 178). Evidently, it is rather a Pre-Greek word. For the suffix -σος, cf. κόμπασος and ὄρυξος (see *Pre-Greek*).

βαννάται [f.] · αἱ λοξοὶ καὶ μὴ ἰθυτενεῖς ὁδοὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ βάννατροι 'slanting and non-straight roads (Tarant.); the same as βάννατροι' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM DELG suggests that β- represents ϝ-, and that the gloss contains *ϝαρν-, as in βάννεια 'piste des moutons'. Uncertain.

βανωτός [m.] 'vase used as a measure' (pap. III[a], Callix.). ◅PG▻

•ETYM Pre-Greek; for the suffix -ωτ-, see *Pre-Greek* (the -ω probably goes back to *-au-*, which makes comparison with βάναυσος attractive).

βάπτω [v.] 'to immerse, so as to temper or color' (Od.). ◅?▻

•VAR Aor. βάψαι.

•DER 1. βαφή 'dipping, temper, dye' (IA); 2. βάμμια 'dye' (Pl.); 3. βάψις 'id' (Antiph.). βαφεύς 'dyer' (Pl.), βαφεῖον (Str.); verb βαπτίζω, which appears metathesized in βιπτάζω (Epich.).

•ETYM Often considered to be a yod-present comparable to ON *kvefja* 'to press down, immerse, choke' and OSw. *kvaf* [n.] 'depth' (thus Frisk). However, this does not explain the -α-. The by-form βύπτειν· βαπτίζειν (H.) is perhaps formed analogically after δύπτειν (see ►δύω) or κύπτειν; it does not reflect an original zero grade.

βάραθρον [n.] 'cleft, abyss'. ◅PG▻

•VAR βέρεθρον (Hom.; Aeol.?, Chantraine 1942: 114), from which (through *βέρθρον) βέθρον (Euph.), Arc. ζέρεθρον (representing δ-; cf. ζέλλω = δέλλω s.v. ►βάλλω).

•ETYM The connection with ►βιβρώσκω 'devour' cannot be maintained: $*g^{w}erh_3$- / $*g^{w}rh_3$- would give *δερο-/ βρω-, *βαρ(ο)-. In view of the variants, the word is rather Pre-Greek, like ►φάραγξ; see Beekes 1969: 193 (on alleged Illyrian cognates, see Krahe *IF* 58 (1942): 220).

βάρακος [m.] · ἰχθὺς ποιός H., a freshwater fish in a Boeotian inscr. ◅PG?▻

•VAR Cf. βαρκαῖος (Theognost.).

•ETYM Cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. and Lacroix 1938: 52. Fur.: 116 compares βάλαγρος(?).

βάραξ, -κος [m.] a kind of cake (Epil.). ◅PG(S,V)▻

•VAR βήρηξ (Ath.; H. also βήραξ); πάραξ (*Test. Epict.*); βάρακες· τὰ προφυράματα τῆς μάζης 'dough kneaded in advance for a cake' · Ἀττικοί δὲ βήρηκας· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν τολύπην 'it also designates the ball-shaped cake' (H.).

•ETYM A foreign word (thus already Bechtel 1921, 2: 368), and typically Pre-Greek (suffix -ακ-, variants β/π). Cf. ▸ βάρηκες.

βάρβαξ · ἱέραξ παρὰ Λίβυσι 'hawk, falcon (Libyan)' (H.). A PN on Thera, Masson *RPh.* 93 (1967): 231. ◂?▸

•ETYM See Fauth *Herm.* 96 (1968): 257f.

βάρβαρος, -ον [m.] 'foreign(er), non-Greek', also adj. 'uncivilized, raw' (IA). ◂ONOM▸

•COMP βαρβαρόφωνος 'of foreign speech' (Il.).

•DER βαρβαρικός 'foreign' (Simon., Th., X., Arist., etc.) with βαρβαρίκιον name of a garment (pap.); βαρβαρώδης (sch., Tz.).

Denominative verbs: 1. βαρβαρίζω 'to behave like a foreigner, to side with the barbarians = Persians' (Hdt.), whence βαρβαρισμός 'use of foreign language or customs, language mistakes' (Arist., Hell.), adv. βαρβαριστί 'in a foreign way, in foreign language' (Ar., Plu. et al.); 2. βαρβαρόομαι 'to become a barbarian, become uncivilized' (S.).

•ETYM An onomatopoeic reduplicated formation, which originally referred to the language of the foreigner. One may compare Skt. (post-Vedic) *barbara-* 'stammer', a designation of non-Aryan peoples. In spite of Sumer. *barbar* 'foreigner' not of Babylonian or Sumerian origin. From βάρβαρος was borrowed Lat. *barbarus*. Comparable formations in other IE languages are mentioned in Pok. 91f. and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 217 s.v. *balbalā-*.

βάρβιτος [f.] or [m.] musical instrument with many strings (Pi.). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•VAR Later also -ον [n.], also βάρμιτος (*EM* 188, 21, called Aeolic); also βάρμος (Phillis *apud* Ath. 14, 636c) and βάρωμος (Ath.).

•ETYM Foreign word (Phrygian? See Str. 10, 3, 17). Grošelj Slavistična Revija 4 (1951): 250 connects it with φόρμιγξ, as does Fur.: 173, etc. The word is most probably Pre-Greek, with a suffix -ιτ-. Perhaps the strange -ω- in the variant βάρωμος can be explained from **barʷm-*? Otherwise, one might consider the possibility that this -ω- is the result of epenthesis.

βαρβός [m.] = μύστρον 'spoon' (Ar. fr. 341). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

βαρδῆν [v.] · τὸ βιάζεσθαι γυναῖκας. Ἀμπρακιῶται 'to coerce women (Ambrac.)' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown. Not convincing are the solutions by Pisani *RhM* 97 (1945): 62[14] (of Illyrian origin, from **bʰer-* 'bear', which would also be the source of Lat. *forda* 'pregnant'), Bechtel 1921, 2: 282 (as original *ϝαρδῆν related to ἄρδαλος 'dirt'), and Pischel *BB* 7 (1883): 334 (to Skt. *mṛdnāti* 'squeezes').

βάρηκες [m.]/[f.]? = τὰ οὖλα τῶν ὀδόντων, σιαγόνες, τολύπη 'the gums, cheeks; clew of wool', etc. (*EM* 188, 37ff.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR ▸ βάρακες 'τολύπη' 'ball-shaped cake' (H.).

•ETYM Cf. ►βαβρῆκες 'id.'. Is the word from Pre-Gr. **barʷ-ak-*? or simply reduplicated, i.e. **ba-b[a]r-ak-*?

βᾶρις 1 [f.] 'Egyptian boat, a kind of raft' (A.). ◄LW Eg.►
•VAR Gen. -ιδος, -ιος.
•ETYM The word is of Egyptian origin, cf. Copt. *barī* 'boat' (Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 241). From βᾶρις is borrowed Lat. *bāris, barca* (< **bārica*) 'bark'. Fur.: 325, on the other hand, considers all these words to be loans from a Mediterranean substrate. On the 'strengthened' form βούβαρις (Philist. 56), see Chantraine 1928: 16.

βᾶρις 2 [f.] 'large (fortified) house' (LXX). Toponym, see L. Robert 1963: 14-6, 128. ◄LW Illyr.?►
•VAR Gen. -ιδος, -εως.
•ETYM Probably Illyrian (Krahe 1955: 39, with *ā* from *au*); cf. ►βαυρία · οἰκία *EM* (Messapian) and ►βύριον. Alternatively, we may consider the possibility that the word derives from a Pre-Greek form **barʷ-*, which would explain the interchange βαρ- ~ βαυρ- ~ βυρ-.

βαρῖτης [m.] name of a bird (Dionys. *Av.* 3, 2). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown; any connection with ►βᾶρις 2 is not compelling.

βάριχοι · ἄρνες 'lambs, sheep' (H.). ⇒ἀρήν.

βαρνάμενος ⇒μάρναμαι.

βᾶρος [m.] kind of spice (Mnesim. 4, 62). ◄?►
•VAR βάρον [n.].
•ETYM Unknown.

βαρύες [m.]/[f.]? · δένδρα 'trees' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. The word is hardly related to βορέας, as per Osthoff 1901: 48. See ►ἄβλαροι.

βάρ<υ>κα · αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίνοις. καὶ περόνη 'the genitals [Tarant.]; a pin' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. Completely uncertain is the idea of von Blumenthal 1930: 1of. that the word is Illyrian-Messapian, related to Lat. *feriō, forō*, and to φάρυγξ, etc. Comparison of the suffix (Lat. *verrūca*) is pointless, since the *-u-* is a conjecture.

βαρύς [adj.] 'heavy', of tone 'low, deep' (Il.). ◄IE **gʷrh₂-u-* 'heavy'.►
•COMP βαρύ-γδουπος (Pi.), etc.
•DER βαρύτης, -ητος [f.] (Att.). Denominatives: 1. βαρύνω 'weigh down, oppress' (Il.); 2. βαρύθω 'be weighed down' (Il.); 3. βαρέω see below. Further βάρος [n.] 'heavy weight' (as a simplex Hdt.; in compounds (χαλκο-, οἰνο-βαρής) already Il.). The ptc. βεβαρηώς (οἴνῳ βεβαρηότες, -ότα γ 139, τ 122) cf. οἰνοβαρής (A 225; metrically lengthened οἰνοβαρείων ι 374, κ 555), from which οἰνοβαρέω (Thgn.); thence (?) βεβαρημένος (Pl.); βόρημαι (Sapph. *Supp.* 25, 17) with Aeol. vocalism; βαρέω (Hp. *Morb.*).

•ETYM The word is identical in formation with Skt. *gurú-* and Go. *kaurus* 'heavy', whereas Lat. *gravis* reflects **graus* < **g^{w}reh$_{2}$us*. The full grade is seen in the Skt. compar. *gárīyān*. Lat. *brūtus* 'heavy, brute', which goes back to an extended **g^{w}rH-u-to-*, is originally an Oscan word. Cf. ►βριαρός, ►βρίθω.

βάρ(ω)μος ⇒βάρβιτος.

βασαγίκορος [adj.] · ὁ θᾶσσον συνουσιάζων (Hippon.). ◄?►
•ETYM Is this word corrupt? See O. Masson 1962: 173. Shall we compare ἀψίκορος 'quickly satiated' s.v. ►ἅπτω?

βάσανος [f.] 'touchstone, examination, inquiry (by torture), agony' (Pi.). ◄LW Eg. (Lyd.)►
•DER βασανίτης λίθος (H., Ptol.). Denominative βασανίζω 'put to the test, inquire (by torture)' (IA).
•ETYM From Eg. *baḫan*, a stone, which was used by the Egyptians as a touchstone of gold. It came to Greece via Lydia (Λυδία λίθος, B. 22); the σ for *ḫ* is unclear. See Sethe *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1933: 894ff.; Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 90. In Plin. 36, 58, *basaniten* became *basalten* by mistake, which is the origin of *basalt*. See Niedermann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 127f.

βασιλεύς [m.] 'king (especially the Persian king), prince' (Il.). ◄PG(S)►
•DIAL Myc. *qa-si-re-u* /g^{w}asileus/; fem. *qa-si-re-i-ja*; *qa-si-re-wi-jo-te* /g^{w}asilewjontes/.
•DER Feminine forms: βασίλεια (Od.); βασιλίς (S.), βασιληΐς (Man., *Epigr. Gr.* 989, 3), βασίλισσα (inscr. Athens 337^{a}, com.; formed to stems in -ικ- from words like Κίλισσα, Φοίνισσα, etc.); βασίλιννα 'wife of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς in Athens' (D.; cf. Κόριννα, Φίλιννα, etc., hypocoristic, Schwyzer 491; differently Chantraine 1933: 205). Diminutive βασιλίσκος, also name of a snake, fish, etc. (Hp.; cf. Strömberg 1943: 91f.), adjectives βασιλήϊος (Od.), βασίλειος (Att.); fem. also βασιληΐς (Il.); substantivized ntr. βασιλήϊον, βασίλειον, 'king's palace' (IA). Denominative verb: βασιλεύω (Il.).
•ETYM Beside βασιλεύς, Greek has two other words for 'king', ►κοίρανος and ►ἄναξ. βασιλεύς is the youngest; see Wackernagel 1916: 209ff. The word is no doubt of Pre-Greek origin (i.e., not a loanword from another country); labiovelars are well-known in this language.

βάσκανος, -ον [adj., m.] 'one who bewitches, sorcerer, slanderer' (Att.). ◄EUR?►
•DER βασκανία, βασκάνιον 'bewitching, witchcraft'; βασκοσύνη 'id.' (Poet. *de herb.*, mag. pap.), for βασκ(αν)οσύνη. Denominative verb βασκαίνω 'to bewitch'.
•ETYM Generally connected with βάσκειν· λέγειν, κακολογεῖν, and further with ►βάζω. However, βάσκειν in the sense 'κακολογεῖν' may have been influenced by βάσκανος itself. Kretschmer 1896: 248^{4} unconvincingly considered the word to be a borrowing from a Thraco-Illyrian representative of φημί, φάσκω. One has also tried to connect Lat. *fascinum*, which cannot be a loanword from Greek; perhaps the Latin and the Greek have a common origin in a substrate. Cf. further ►βασκευταί, ►βάσκιοι.

βασκαρίζειν [v.] · σκαρίζειν, Κρῆτες 'to jump (Cret.)' (H.).
•ETYM DELG thinks it is derived from βάσκω after the verbs in -αρίζω, but this hardly explains the meaning 'jump'.

βάσκα ⇒μακέλη.

βασκᾶς [m.] kind of duck (Ar. *Av.* 885, v. l. Arist. *HA* 593b 17), ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Acc. -ᾶ. Also βοσκάς, -άδος (Arist. ibid., Alex. Mynd. *apud* Ath. 9, 395d, and φασκάς, -άδος [f.] (Alex. Mynd. ibid.); H. gives all forms.
•ETYM Cf. ἀτταγᾶς, ἐλασᾶς, and other bird names; see Chantraine 1933: 31. The o of the variant βοσκάς can hardly be due to influence of βόσκω; nor is the β- (compared to the φ- of φασκάς) Thracian or Illyrian. For the gloss βοσκάς· φασκάς. Λίβιοι (H.), Latte suggests: "<Ιλ>λυριοι? (propter β pro φ)". However, the variation has to be taken seriously: it clearly points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 168; unconvincing, however, is his link with Bulg. *patka*, Span. *pato*, p. 251; Sardian *busciu*, adduced by Thompson 1895 s.v. βοσκάς, is nothing better).

βασκαύλης [m./f.] an unknown utensil (*POxy.* 1, 109, 22, III-IV^{P}). ◂LW Celt.▸
•VAR Perhaps also ►μασκαυλης.
•ETYM Grenfell-Hunt adduce Lat. *vasculum*, but this would hardly yield the Greek form. WH considered it a loan from Lat. *bascauda* (also *m-*) 'metal washing-basin' (Mart.). Thus Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 660, but his proposal that the Greek word is due to a mis*reading* of Λ for Δ is improbable; it could well be a phonetic development. Fur.: 212 thinks that the word is Pre-Greek, as shown by *b/m* and *d/l*. He further recalls Talmud. *maskel* 'basin', which would confirm its Mediterranean origin. However, Martialis 14, 99 appears to prove that the word is Celtic (or perhaps a European substrate word).

βασκευταί [m.]/[f.]? · φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι 'fascides; bundles' (H.). ◂EUR▸
•VAR Cf. βάσκιοι· δεσμαὶ φρυγάνων 'bundles of firewood' (H.).
•ETYM It has been suggested that the word is Macedonian, cognate with Lat. *fascia* 'binding'. On the assumption that φασκίδες is the genuinely Greek reflex, Szemerényi *KZ* 71 (1954): 212f. proposed that it is Illyrian. However, the word rather seems to come from a European substrate; see Beekes 2000: 21-31. Not related to ►φάσκωλος.

βάσκω ⇒βάζω and βαίνω.

βασσάρα [f.] 'fox' (sch. Lyc. 771), 'dress of a Bacchante' (*EM*, *AB*, H.) from the skin of a fox; 'bacchante' (sch. Lyc. 771, *EM*), 'impudent woman' (Lyc., *EM*). ◂LW Eg.▸
•DER βασσάριον 'fox' (Hdt. 4, 192; Libyan), βασσαρεύς name of Dionysus (Hor.), βάσσαρος = βάκχος (Orph.); denominative verb ἀνα-βασσαρέω 'to break forth in Bacchic frenzy' (Anacr.).
•ETYM Herodotus calls the word Libyan, which seems to be confirmed by the etymological connection with Eg. *wasar*, Copt. *bašor* (Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 660, without reference). Szemerényi further tries to maintain the connection with

Hitt. *ua̯ššuu̯ar* 'clothing', rightly rejected by Neumann 1961: 19. Fur.: 257[36] notes that βάσσος = βασσάρα (*EM*), and that -αρ(ος) is a frequent Pre-Greek suffix.

βάσσος [n.] · οὐδετέρως· ἡ βῆσσα 'a neuter word meaning glen, vale' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Schwyzer *RhM* 81 (1932): 199f. (who argues against the accentuation βᾶσσος) proposes *βάθ-σος. However, beside βῆσσα, we find Dor. βᾶσσα, so that βάσσος could be a variant of βῆσσα and βᾶσσα; if so, Pre-Greek origin becomes likely. The suggestion of Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 258f. that Lat. *bassus* 'lowly' is borrowed from this word remains quite uncertain. See ►βῆσσα, ►βαθύς.

βαστά [n.pl.] · ὑποδήματα. Ἰταλιῶται 'sandals (Ital.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Johansson *IF* 19 (1906): 121 takes βαστά as Messapian and connects it with OHG, etc. *bast* 'bark'. Jacobsohn *ZfdA* 66 (1952-1953): 238ff. thinks it is an Iranian (Scythian) *Wanderwort*, i.e. Av. and OP *basta-* 'bound' (cf. πεῖσμα, πενθερός); this is uncertain. Not related to Lat. *fascis* (see ►βασκευταί). See Meid *IF* 69 (1965): 232.

βαστάζω [v.] 'to lift up, raise' (Od.). ◅?▻
•VAR Aor. βαστάσαι, late βαστάξαι.
•DER βάσταγμα 'load' (E.), βασταγή 'transport' (Lyd.). Here also βάστραχαις· τοὺς τραχήλους. Βοιωτοί 'necks, throats (Boeot.)' (H.) (*EM*), from βάστακας (from *βάσταξ, cf. *μάσταξ and Bechtel 1921, 1: 303) contaminated with τράχηλος; further βαστραχηλίζει· τραχηλίζει 'twist the neck, overpower' (H.) and βαστραχαλίσαι· τραχηλιάσαι; from carrying on one's back. βαστέρνιον from Lat. *basterna*.
•ETYM Unknown. Connection with βαίνω (see Schwyzer 1937: 70) is not convincing.

βασυνίας [m.] kind of sacrificial cake, from the island Hecate near Delos (Semos 3). ◅PG▻
•DER βασυμνιάτης 'baker of β.' (inscr. Corycos, Lycia).
•ETYM See von Wilamowitz 1931: 264. Fur.: 245 adduces the variant with -μν-, which proves Pre-Greek origin.

βάταλος [m.] · καταπύγων καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος, κίναιδος, ἔκλυτος 'a lewd man, hermaphrodite, catamite; lascivious' (H.); = πρωκτός 'anus' (Eup. 82 *apud* Harp.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also βάτταλος; βατᾶς, βαδᾶς and σπάταλος 'wanton, lascivious'; see below.
•DER βαταλίζομαι 'to live like a β.' (Theano), -ίζω (τὰ ὀπίσθια, of a horse) 'to turn to and fro' (*Hippiatr.*). Shortened (cf. Chantraine 1933: 31f.) βατᾶς· ὁ καταφερής. Ταραντῖνοι 'lecherous person (Tarantinian)' (H.); βαδᾶς· κίναιδος ὡς Ἀμερίας (H.). Demosthenes was called Βάτ(τ)αλος in his youth (D. 18, 180; Aeschin. 1, 126; 2,99), which perhaps referred to a speech-defect, namely pronouncing λ for ρ and thus βατταλίζειν for βατταρίζειν 'to stammer'; see Holst *Symb. Oslo.* 4 (1926): 11ff.
•ETYM There has been an attempt to connect the word with βατέω 'mount'; however, that βαδᾶς would be formed after βάδην, βαδίζω is quite improbable. Fur.: 154, etc. convincingly connects it with ►σπάταλος, which indicates Pre-Greek origin, along with the interchange ττ/ τ/ δ.

βατάνη •ETYM See ►πατάνη.

βατέω •VAR βατεύω ⇒βαίνω.

βᾰτιᾰ́κη [f.] a cup (Diph.). ◁LW Iran.?▷
•ETYM The word is Persian, according to Ath. 784a. Rudgren *Glotta* 38 (1958): 10-4, compared MoP *bād(i)yah* < **bātiaka-*. Thence the Lat. LW *batioca*. Fur.: 179 compares βάτος, βάδος 'measure for liquids' (LXX), and the suffix -ακη (158[64]), but see ►βάτος 2.

βατίς [f.] 'skate, ray' (Epich.); also a bird, 'stone chat'? (Arist.); also 'samphire, Crithmum maritimum' (Plin.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM If the word is identical with ►βότις, the vowel interchange points to Pre-Greek origin, which is to be expected for a fish name anyhow.

βάτος 1. [m.] and [f.] 'bramble, Rubus ulmifolius' (Od.). Also a fish, 'skate' (Epich.), because of its spines (Strömberg 1943: 47). ◁LW▷
•VAR βάτον [n.] 'blackberry' (D. S.).
•DER βατία (βατιά?) 'thicket' (Pi.); βάτιον 'mulberry on Salamis' (Parth.); βατίς 'skate' (Epich.); name of a bird (Arist. *HA* 592b 17: ὄρνις σκωληκοφάγος); plant name 'Crithmum maritimum' (Plin.); βατόεις 'thorny' (Nic.). Not here Βατίεια = σῆμα Μυρίνης (B 813) and the PN Βάτεια (Hellanic.), which are rather Illyrian.
•ETYM Bertoldi *Glotta* 21 (1933): 258ff. points to ►μαντία 'blackberry', identified as Dacian by Dsc. 4, 37, as well as several other plant names pointing to **ma(n)t-*, e.g. Alb. *man* 'mulberry', Gheg *mand*; see also Fur.: 209, 272. A widespread Mediterranean word. See also DELG.

βάτος 2 [m.] a measure for liquids (LXX). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Also βάδος.
•ETYM Probably a loan from Semitic (Hebr. *bath*); see LSJ Supp. s.v. βαίθ, βαίθαρα. Cf. ►βατιάκη.

βάτραχος [m.] 'frog' (Hdt.). Also name of a fish, 'Lophius piscatorius' (Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 92f. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Ion. βάθρακος with displacement of aspiration, a common phenomenon (cf. Lejeune 1972: 59f.); βότραχος (Hp.) and βρόταχος (Xenoph. 40, see Bechtel 1921(3): 109); βρατάχους· βατράχους (H.); further βρούχετος· … βάτραχον δὲ Κύπριοι (H.), perhaps after βρυχάομαι; βύρθακος· βάτραχος (H.); βρύτιχοι· βάτραχοι μικροὶ ἔχοντες οὐράς 'frogs having small tails' (H.) (cf. βρύω?); βριαγχόνην· βάτραχον. Φωκεῖς (H.), a mistake for **βρ(α)τ-αγχ-?*; βρόγχος· βάτραχος (H.) may also be a mistake; also βλίκανος, βλίκαρος, βλίχα(ς) (H., *EM*, Suid.); βλίταχος (H.). βάβακοι· ὑπὸ Ἠλείων τέττιγες 'cicalas', ὑπὸ Ποντικῶν δὲ βάτραχοι (H.), see ►βαβάζω.
•DER Diminutive βατράχιον (Paus.), also plant name 'Ranunculus' (Hp., Dsc., cf. Strömberg 1940: 119); βατραχίσκοι· μέρος τι τῆς κιθάρας 'a part of the lyre' (H.); on the suffixes Chantraine 1933: 408. βατραχίτης, -ῖτις (λίθος; because of the color; Plin.).
•ETYM Several variants are due to folk etymology or taboo, and also to simple phonetic variation. *A priori*, a local (i.e. Pre-Greek) form is to be expected for all of these forms; the variation α/ o points to this. This holds for βαρδακος as well, if this

is what must be read in H. for βαρακος· βάραχος (Fur.: 184²; see Latte). The form may in origin have been onomatopoeic βρατ-αχ- (Grošelj Živa Ant. 6 (1956): 235), with which compare βρεκεκεξ; or even **brt-ak-*, from which the forms with -υ- may have originated (βύρθακος, βρύτιχος). The hopeless forms βριαγχόνη, βρόγχος (is this form to be read for βρούχετος?) contain a (misread) prenasalized *(βρατ)αγχος, which would also point to Pre-Greek origin. The forms βλικ/χ- and βάβακοι are etymologically unrelated. For the meaning 'hearth', Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 660 refers to Alb. *vatër*.

βατταρίζω [v.] denoting a speech-defect, perhaps 'to stammer' (Hippon.). Cf. Holst *Symb. Oslo.* 4 (1926): 11. ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Cf. βατταρισμοῖς· φλυαρίαις 'nonsense' and Βάττος· ...τρυλόφωνος, ἰσχνόφωνος 'feeble; thin- or weak-voiced' (H.).
•DER βατταρισμός (Phld.). Cf. Βάτταρος (Herod.).
•ETYM The word is comparable to βαττολογέω 'stammer' (*Ev. Matt.* 6, 7, Simp.) together with βαττολογία· ἀργολογία, ἀκαιρολογία 'ill-timed speech' (H.). Cf. the PN Βάττος (Hdt. 4, 155). See also ►βάταλος. Is it onomatopoeic? Cf. Lat. *butubatta*; on βαττολογέω, see especially Blass and Debrunner 1959: Anh. § 40. See also Pok. 95.

βαυβάω [v.] 'to sleep' (E. *Fr.* 694, etc.), also factitive 'to put to sleep' = κοιμίζω (H.). ◁ONOM▷
•DER βαυβών [m.] = ὄλισβος (Herod.), also βαυβώ· τιθήνη Δήμητρος 'nurse of D.'. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ κοιλίαν, ὡς παρ' Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ (fr. 153) 'it means the womb/belly too, like in Emp.' (H.); see Headlam and Knox 1922 to Herod. 6, 19; on the formation Schwyzer: 478. βαυβαλίζω 'to make sleep' (Alex. 229) see ►βαυκαλάω.
•ETYM A nursery word.

βαυβυκᾶνες ⇒βαῖβυξ.

βαΰζω [v.] 'to bark; revile, cry, etc.' (A.). ◁ONOM▷
•DIAL Dor. βαΰσδω.
•DER Also βαυβύζω (pap.).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic form from βαύ βαύ (Com. adespota 1304). Cf. Lat. *baubor* 'bark', Lith. *baũbti* 'cry', of cows, etc.

βαυκαλάω [v.] 'to lull to sleep, nurse' (Crates).
•DER βαυκάλη 'cradle' (Sor.).
•ETYM Denominative from βαύκαλος, known only from *EM* 192, 20: βαύκαλον· μαλακιζόμενον, τρυφερόν, καὶ ὡραϊστόν 'softened, effeminate, affected'. This in turn is a derivation from ►βαυκός, cf. ►βαυβάω.

βαυκάλιον [n.] vase with a narrow neck (pap.). ◁LW?▷
•ETYM One supposes Egyptian origin. See Nencioni *Riv. degli stud. or.* 19 (1940): 98ff. DELG suggests βαυκαλάω, which does not seem probable. On the forms (including MoFr. *bocal*) Leroy-Molinghen *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 214-20. Cf. καυκάλιον (s.v. ►καῦκος) and ►βῖκος.

βαυκός [adj.] 'affected, prudish' (Arar. 9). ◁PG?▷

•COMP βαυκοπανοῦργος (Arist. *EN* 1127b 27).
•DER βαυκίδες [pl.] 'women's shoes' (Com., Herod.), βαυκίζομαι, -ίζω 'to play the prude, θρύπτεσθαι' (Alex. Com.); βαυκισμός 'a dance' (Poll.). PN Βαῦκος. On ►βαυκαλάω, see s.v.
•ETYM Cf. γλαυκός, σαυκός, and φολκός for the suffix. It is probably a Pre-Greek adjective (but the comparison in Fur.: 325 with ψαυκρός, μαυκυρός is not evident). It is uncertain whether the gloss 'women's shoes' belongs to this lemma. For Iranian comparanda, see Rundgren *Orientalia Suecana* 6 (1957): 60f.

βαῦνος [m.] 'furnace', also = χυτρόπους '(stand for a) pot' (Eratosth., Max. Tyr., etc.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Cf. βαύνη· κάμινος ἢ χωνευτῆριον 'furnace' (H.).
•ETYM Technical term without etymology. Fur.: 236 compares αὖνος· κάμινος.

βαυρία ⇒βύριον, βᾶρις.

βδάλλω [v.] 'to milk (cows)' (Pl.). ◄PG►
•VAR Mostly present (rare aorists βδάλας, βδῆλαιο). Also βδέλλω (sch. Theocr. 11, 34) (cf. βδέλλα 'leech').
•DER βδάλσις 'suction' (Gal.). Difficult βδαλοί· ῥαφίδες 'garfish, Belone acus' θαλάσσιαι. καὶ φλέβες κρισσώδεις 'varicose veins' (H.) (not a mistake for βελόνη); βελλαι 'id.' (H.), misread for βδαλοί, or a variant of *βδελλαι?
•ETYM It is deceptive that βδάλλω looks like a zero grade of βδέλλ-(α). The meaning 'leech' and the group βδ- show that it is a Pre-Greek word, as does the geminate -λλ- (perhaps *bdal^{y}-*, or **b^{y}al^{y}-*). If βδαλοί does belong here, it exhibits the Pre-Greek interchange -λλ/λ-.

βδέλλιον [n.] '(aromatic) gum of the oriental wine palm' (Dsc., Plin.). ◄LW Sem.►
•VAR Also βδέλλα (J.).
•ETYM An Oriental loan; cf. Hebr. *b^{e}dōlaḥ* and Akk. *budulḫu*. See Lewy 1895: 45 and Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 84f.

βδελυρός [adj.] 'disgusting, loathsome' (Ar.). ◄PG►
•DER βδελύσσομαι (-ττ-), fut. βδελύξομαι 'feel a loathing' (Hp.), act. -ύσσω, -ύττω (LXX) together with βδελυγμία (Cratin.), etc. Verbal adjective βδελυκτός (βδελύκτροπος from *βδελυκτο-τροπος A.). PN Βδελυ-κλέων (Ar.), βδελυχρός (Epich.).
•ETYM βδελυρός is mostly explained as formed from βδέ-ω with a suffix -λυ- (as in θῆ-λυ-ς), but this is hardly possible. A verb in -εω does not yield a stem in -ε to which suffixes can be added. Moreover, a suffix -λυ- probably does not exist: θῆλυς seems rather to be built on a λ-stem (DELG, Frisk), and -λυ- was certainly no longer productive (Chantraine 1933: 121). One scholar assumed a suffix -λ- in βδέλλων· τρέμων ἢ βδέων, βδέλεσθαι· κοιλιολυτεῖν (H.; the forms are doubted) and in βδόλος 'stench' (*Com. Adesp.* 781; cf. γαλεόβδολον, s.v. ►γαλέη). However, these forms are just as difficult: there was no stem βδε- to which a suffix could be added. Moreover, the derivation of βδελυρός from βδέω is not clear semantically (in H., forms are often explained with μισέω): it is easy to understand that the verb was later

influenced by the meaning of βδελυρός. Therefore, the word cannot be explained as an inner-Greek formation. An analysis as βδελ-υρ- then seems more probable, both components of which are probably Pre-Greek: βδ- and the suffix -υρ- (see *Pre-Greek*).

βδέω [v.] 'to break wind, fart' (com.). ◁IE **pesd-* 'break wind (smoothly)'▷
•VAR Aor. βδέσαι (*AP*) and βδεῦσαι (Hierocl.).
•DER βδ-ύλλω 'break wind (for fear)' (Ar.) and βδέννυμαι· ἐκκενοῦμαι τὴν κοιλίαν 'empty the intestines' Suid. (βδένεσθαι H., correct? Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 97f.) Cf. βδόλος, ►βδελυρός and ►βδελύσσομαι.
•ETYM βδέω goes back to an old PIE verb **pesd-* reflected in e.g. Ru. *bzdet'*, Lith. *bezdù*, *bezdėti*, Lat. *pēdō* < **pezdō*. Thus, βδέω itself must come from *βζδέω; see Schwyzer: 326 add. 5. Cf. also ►πέρδομαι.

βέβαιος [adj.] 'firm, steady' (Parm., IA). ◁GR▷
•DER βεβαιότης [f.] 'stability' (Pl.), denominative βεβαιόω 'establish' (IA).
•ETYM Generally connected with βῆναι, though the formation is unclear; it is hardly from *βεβα-υσ-ιος, as per Wackernagel 1916: 113[1] (cf. *ϝιδ-υσ-ιος > ἴδυιος).

βέβηλος [adj.] 'allowed to be trodden, profane, permitted' (trag.). ◁GR▷
•DIAL Dor. βέβᾱλος, Cyrene βάβαλος.
•ETYM Like βέβαιος, the word is connected with the perfect βέβη-κα, but the formation is not quite clear. Cyren. βάβαλος is also problematic; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 235.

βεβράδα ⇒βαμβραδών.

βέβροξ [adj.] · ἀγαθός, χρηστός, καλός 'good, useful/good, beautiful' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Acc. to Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 197f., it is a foreign word, related to Lat. *for(c)tis*, etc. (?). For the ending, cf. βίρροξ s.v. ►βίρρος. The word is probably Pre-Greek. See ►βεβρός, ►βροκός.

βεβρός [adj.] 'stupid' (Hippon. 40 Masson). ψυχρός, τετυφωμένος 'cold/stupid, stupid' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also βεμβρός· τετυφωμένος, πάρετος 'stupid, relaxed' (H.).
•ETYM We may compare βέβροξ, with the semantic development 'good' > 'too good, stupid'. See Masson ad loc. The prenasalized form indicates Pre-Greek origin.

βειέλοπες [pl. m./f.] · ἱμάντες οἷς ἀναδοῦσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νικηφόρους 'leather straps with which the Lacedaimonians honored victorious men' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR The notation -ει- or -ι- was discussed in antiquity, *An. Ox.* 2, 289; Bourguet 1927: 97[3].
•ETYM Neither Solmsen 1901: 255 (*ϝιελ- to γίς [= ϝίς]· ἱμάς, Lat. *vieō* 'bind, plait') nor Kalén *GHÅ* 26:2 (1920): 105ff. (*ϝεισελ-ελοπες to Skt. *veṣṭate* 'wrap round' and *ἔλοφος 'tie, strap'; cf. ►ἀργέλοφοι) offer a persuasive hypothesis. The word is probably non-IE, and must be analyzed as β(ε)ιελ-οπ- with the frequent Pre-Greek suffix -οπ- (καλαῦροψ).

βεικάδες · δέρματα θρεμμάτων νόσῳ θανόντων, Λάκωνες 'skins of animals perished from disease (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

βείομαι ⇒βίος.

βέκος [m.] 'bread' (Hdt. 2,2). ◅IE? *$b^{h}h_{1}g$- 'bake'.▻

•ETYM Identified as Phrygian by Herodotus, which is to be confirmed by its occurrence in Phrygian inscriptions. Hipponax (fr. 125 Masson) seems to identify it as Cyprian (which may have borrowed it from Phrygian as well); see O. Masson 1961: 167f. and Solmsen *KZ* 34 (1897): 70. Fur.: 297 compares βέσκεροι· ἄρτοι ὑπο Λακώνων (H.): "eine altes vorgriechisches Restwort, das sich in drei entlegenen Gebieten (Zentral-Kleinasien, Kypros, Peloponnesos) behauptet hat."

βέλα · ἥλιος 'sun'. •ETYM See ►εἴλη 1.

βέλεκκος [m.] · ὄσπριόν τι ἐμφερὲς λαθύρῳ μέγεθος ἐρεβίνθου ἔχον 'pulse resembling a caper spurge (*Euphorbia Lathyris*) having the size of a chick-pea' (H.); also in Ar. fr. 755. ◅PG?▻

•VAR Ms. -υς.

•ETYM Fur.: 150f compares ►πέλεκυς, πέλεκκον, -ος, just as Kretschmer 1896: 106f. before him.

βέλεμνα ⇒βάλλω.

βέλλιον [adj.] · ἀτυχές, Κρῆτες 'unfortunate (Cret.)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares γελσόν· ἀτυχές (H.).

βελλούνης [adj.] · τριόρχης. Λάκωνες 'buzzard (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM As a hypothesis, Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 166 connects φαλλός, Lat. *Balliō*. For the formation, cf. ►ἐριούνης.

βελόνη [f.] 'needle' (Arist.). ◅?▻

•DER Diminutive βελονίς (Hermipp.); both also as fish names, see Strömberg 1943: 36f.

•ETYM Cf. περόνη, etc., on which see Chantraine 1933: 207. Connection with βάλλω is not semantically evident. Fick 1874-1876(1): 404 therefore connected the word with Lith. *geliù, gélti* 'sting'. Is β- for δ- Aeolic?

βέλτερος [adj.] 'better, the best' (Il.). ◅IE? *bel- 'strong'.▻

•VAR βελτίων (post-Hom.); superlative βέλτατος (A.), βέλτιστος (Att.).

•DIAL Dor. (Theoc.) βέντιστος (λτ > ντ).

•DER From βελτίων: βελτιόω (Ph.). On ►ἀβέλτερος, see s.v.

•ETYM Mostly connected with Skt. *bála-* [n.] 'force', Lat. *dē-bilis* 'without power', OCS *boljii* 'bigger', etc. But the formation is unclear, most notably the -τ-. Seiler 1950: 91ff. assumes *βελτός 'desired' > 'better' (it is hardly related to βούλομαι because of the β-, but cf. Cret. δέλτον· ἀγαθόν [Phot.]). On *bála-*, etc., see the discussion in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 215.

βέμβιξ, -ῑκος ⇒βόμβος.

βεμβράς, -άδος ⇒βαμβραδών.

βένετος [adj.] 'blue', in the circus (Lyd.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•DER βενετιανός 'partisan of the Blues' (M. Ant. 1,5).
•ETYM From Lat. *venetus*; see E-M s.v. and André 1949: 181f.

βένθος ⇒βαθύς.

βερβέριον [n.] 'kind of headdress' (Anacr. 21, 3; LSJ Supp.). ◁?▷
•ETYM The word has been compared with βερρόν and βειρόν· δασύ. Older suggestions which assumed the meaning 'shabby garment' must now be abandoned.

βεργαῖος [adj.] 'romantic, invented' (Alex. *P. Oxy.* 1801, Str. 2, 3, 5). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Alexander (DELG; LSJ: Antiphanes) of Berga in Thrace was famous for his 'tall tales'.

βέρεθρον ⇒βάραθρον.

βερενίκιον a plant (H.); 'nitre' of good quality (Gal.). ◁GR▷
•DER βερενικάριον νίτρον (Orib.); βερενικὶδες 'women's shoes' (H.).
•ETYM The word derives from the name of queen Berenike.

βερίκοκκον [n.] 'apricot' (Gp.). ◁LW? Lat.?▷
•VAR βερικόκκιον.
•ETYM DELG mentions that Latin has the word *praecoquum* 'precocious' (perhaps it was considered a precocious variant of the peach), which was transcribed in Greek as πραικόκκιον (not in LSJ); note Gr. ▸κόκκος 'grain of fruit'. However, it is unclear how this could have yielded βερίκοκκον. Through Arab. *albarqūq* and Catal. *a(l)bercoc*, the word reached French as *apricot*.

βέρκιος · ἔλαφος ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'deer (Lacon.)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. See Bourguet 1927: 63[4].

βερκνίς [m./f.]? · ἀκρίς 'locust' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Evidently cognate with ▸βροῦκος, etc. Fur.: 129[50] considers it a different word, but a suffix *-n-* (without a preceding vowel) is typical for Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*).

βερνώμεθα [v.] · κληρωσώμεθα. Λάκωνες 'we shall appoint (Lacon.)' (H.). ◁?▷
•VAR Cf. βερρέαι· κληρῶσαι H., which may be corrupt.
•ETYM Kretschmer *KZ* 35 (1899): 605 and Fraenkel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 37 connect the word with μέρος, μείρομαι with dissimilation from μερ-ν-. von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 153f. argues for Illyrian origin (cf. φερνή).

βερρός ⇒βίρροξ.

βέσκεροι ⇒βέκος.

βεττονική [f.] 'Paul's betony, Sideritis purpurea' (Paul. Aeg.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM From Lat. *uettonica, betonica*; see André 1956.

βεῦδος [n.] 'rich woman's dress' (Sapph.); = ἄγαλμα at Hermione (*EM* 195, 52). ◂LW Phryg▸
•ETYM See Pfeiffer 1949-1953 on Call. *fr.* 7, 11. βεῦδος is borrowed from Phrygian *beudos*, the statue of a goddess, which itself derives from PIE **b^{h}eud^{h}-os-* (Lubotsky *JIES* 36 (2008): 96-98). The comparison with -γαύδης by Fur.: 116 is improbable.

βῆκα [f.]? · ἀναδενδράς 'vine that grows up trees' (H.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM Fur.: 212, etc. compares ἁμαξίς· γένος σταφυλῆς ἀπὸ ἀναδενδράδος (H.); this is possible, but doubtful (on p. 393, he even adduces a Georgian word).

βήλα = οἶνος. ⇒πηλός.

βήλημα · κώλυμα, φράγμα ἐν ποταμῷ. Λάκωνες 'an obstacle, fence in a river (Lacon.)' (H.).
•ETYM Related to Messen. ἤλημα. The word is from *ϝέλ-νημα; see ▸εἴλω and ▸ἅλής.

βηλός •VAR βῆμα. ⇒βαίνω.

βήξ [m., f.] 'coughing' (Th.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Gen. βηχός, also βηκός, see Schulze 1933a: 703.
•DER Diminutive βηχίον, also a plant 'colt's-foot (*Hustenkraut*), Tussilago farfara', as a medicine against coughing (Lehmann *KZ* 41, 94, Strömberg 1940: 85f.). Denominative βήσσω, βήξω, ἔβηξα.
•ETYM The root noun βήξ denotes the illness as an agent. Fur.: 128 notes βήκιον and πήχιον as variants and concludes that it is Pre-Greek. Ultimately, the word might be of onomatopoeic origin (but certainly not IE, pace Pisani *Arch. glott. ital.* 53 (1968): 63f.).

βηρίχαλκον [n.] · τὸ μάρανθον, Λάκωνες H., perhaps to be corrected in μάραθρον 'fennel' (DELG). ◂?▸
•ETYM Cf. ἄνθρυσκα· ἄγρια λάχανα παραπλήσια ἀνήθοις, οἷα καὶ τὰ μάρανθα 'wild herbs close to dill, like the μ.' (*AB* 404, 23). See Hesselman 1932: 94. To be read as ϝηρι- (Bechtel 1921, 2: 373).

βήρυλλος [f.] a precious stone, 'beryl' (LXX). ◂LW India▸
•VAR βηρύλλιον 'id.' (LXX).
•DER βηρύλλιος a plant (Ps.-Dsc.); βηρυλλίτης (λίθος, *Cat. Cod. Astr.*).
•ETYM The stone came from India in Hellenistic times; the name was Prākr. *veruliya* < *veḷuriya* (Sanskritized *vaiḍūrya-*). The word is Dravidian, perhaps derived from *Vēḷūr*, present-day *Bēlūr*, a town in southern India; see Master *BSOAS* 11 (1943): 304ff. βήρυλλος is a back-formation from βηρύλλιον; see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 215[6].

βήσαλον 'brick' (Moses Alch.). ◂?▸
•VAR Cf. βίσαλον (Alex. Trall.).
•ETYM Unknown. The word is no doubt non-IE.

βῆσσα [f.] 'wooded combe, glen' (Il.). ◂PG?▸

•DIAL Dor. βᾶσσα
•DER βησσήεις (Hes.).
•ETYM On the assumption that ►βαθύς reflects a zero grade (*h_2), βῆσσα has been connected with it as an *e*-grade root variant, i.e. *βᾰθ-ᵢα; this would imply, however, that βένθος, certainly related to βαθύς, is secondary. I would rather take βένθος and βαθύς as reflecting old *en* ~ *n* ablaut, so that βῆσσα cannot be connected. Alternatively, βῆσσα was thought to be cognate with Av. *vī-gāθ-* [f.] 'ravine', Skt. *gā́hate* 'plunge' (or *gāhá-*), OIr. *báidim* 'sink into the water' (LIV² *$g^{w}eh_2d^{h}$-). Any relation with ►βυθός can be excluded, but Fur.: 330 refers to the gloss βρῆσσαι· βῆσσαι (H.) and opts for Pre-Greek origin (Βρῆσσα is a town and a promontory in Lesbos; see Fick 1905: 63).

βῆτα ⇒ἄλφα.

βητάρμων [m.] 'dancer' (θ 250, 383, Man.); ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρμοσμένως βαίνειν 'to walk fitly' (H.). ◅GR?►
•DER Secondary βηταρμός 'dance' (A. R. 1, 1135).
•ETYM Usually connected with ►ἁραρίσκω, etc., though there is no other compound in -αρμων governing the first member (as in πολυ-κτήμων; see Sommer 1948: 12², 117). The first member seems to be derived from βῆναι, but there is no clear solution. Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 35 assumes haplology from *βηματ-άρμων, which seems possible; Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 51 (1899): 199¹ starts from *βητος, *βητη or (with dissimilation) *βῆτρον = Skt. *gā́tram* 'limb'. Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 198 assumes βη-τ- (nom. *βής), like δω-τ- (nom. δώς). Cf. also Bechtel 1914: 81f.; Knecht 1946: 34; Schwyzer: 442.

βίᾱ [f.] 'strength, force' (Il.). ◅IE *$g^{w}ei$- 'conquer, force'►
•DIAL Ion. βίη.
•COMP ὑπέρβιος (Il.), ἀντίβιος (Il.), etc.
•DER βίαιος 'violent' (Od.); βιατᾶς [m.] 'strong' (Alcm.). Denominative verb βιάομαι, βιάω (Il.), βιάζομαι, βιάζω (Il.). βιασμός (Eup.), βιαστήρ (Gorg.) 'violent man', βιαστικός 'using violence' (Pl.). On ►βῑνέω, see s.v.
•ETYM Presumably, a derivative of the verbal too *$g^{w}ei$-, reflected in Skt. *jáyati* 'conquer'. Conversely, a connection with Skt. *j(i)yā́-* 'robbery' (?) can be excluded, since its direct cognate Av. *ziiā-* points to *$ǵ^{h}$- instead (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 574).

βιβάζω ⇒βαίνω.

βίβλος ⇒βύβλος.

βιβρώσκω [v.] 'to devour' (originally non-presentic; for the late present see below). ◅IE *$g^{w}erh_3$- 'devour'►
•VAR Perf. βέβρωκα (Il.), βεβρώθοις Δ 35 (see Chantraine 1942: 429), βεβρώσεται (Od.), βέβρωμαι (A.), aor. ἔβρων (*h. Ap.* 122), pass. ἐβρώθην (Hdt.). Other forms are late: βρώζω (Herod.), fut. βρώσομαι (Hell.), βιβρώσκω (Babr.), ἀναβρώσκων (H.), ἔβρωσα, -ξα (Hell.). Desiderative βρωσείω 'desire to eat' (Call.).

•COMP ὠμο-βρώς, -τος 'eating raw meat' (E.), δημο- 'devouring his people', θυμο-βόρος (Il.), cf. Lat. *carni-vorus*, Skt. *aja-gará-* 'devouring goats', Av. *aspō.gara-* 'eating horses'.

•DER Action nouns: βρωτύς (Il.) and βρῶσις (Il.) 'food' (Chantraine *BSL* 59 (1964): 11-22); also βρώμη (Od.), βρῶμα (IA); βρωτόν (E.); βρώσιμος 'eatable' (A.). Agent nouns: βρωτήρ (A.), as 'moth' also βρωστήρ (Aq.). βορά 'food (of a predator)' (possibly cognate to the **g^{w}oreh$_2$-* that seems to be set forth by Lat. *vorāre*). On ►βούβρωστις, see s.v.

•ETYM Derived from IE **g^{w}erh$_3$-*, which formed a root aorist (which fits the semantics; ἐσθίω is to a certain extent used as the corresponding present). The zero grade is found in the verbal adj. βρωτός, which agrees morphologically with Lith. *gìrtas* 'drunk' and Skt. *gīrṇá-* 'devoured'. Greek generalized this zero grade βρω-, further regular in the plural of the aorist and perfect, as in e.g. ἔβρως [2sg.aor.]. The aor. is found in Arm. *eker* [3sg.] (**h$_1$e-g^{w}erh$_3$-et*) from the pres. *utem* and in the Skt. aor. *garat*, *gārīt*. Sanskrit has a perfect *jagāra* for **g^{w}e-g^{w}orh$_3$-e* and a present *giráti* < **g^{w}rh$_3$-e/o-*; the latter agrees with OCS *žьrǫ* 'devour'. Lat. *vorāre* may be denominative. ►βάραθρον is not related. Cf. ►δέρη.

βίδην · εἶδος, κροῦμα, Σοφοκλῆς Ἀκριδίῳ "ὡς ἐπιψάλλειν βίδην τε καὶ ξυναυλίαν". ἄλλοι βίθυν (H.) ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also βυδοί· οἱ μουσικοί, ἢ κροῦμάτι. σοφώς Κρησίν (H.). Also ψαλεῖ βίδυν LSJ Supp.

•ETYM A musical term, the details of which are unknown; even the case form of the lemmas is unclear. Fur.: 194 correctly concludes that the word is Pre-Greek (variation ι/ υ). Kathakis-Karamanos *Glotta* 83 (1985): 165, considers βίδυν as the original form of the word.

βιδυ(ι)οι [m.pl.] 'supervisor', designation of Spartan officials supervising male youths (Laconia, Messenia [II^{a}], Paus.). ◁IE **ueid-* 'see'▷

•VAR Also βιδεοι; Pausanias's βιδαιοι is wrong.

•ETYM Probably from **ϝιδυσ-i̯οι*, i.e. the zero grade of the perf.ptc. εἰδώς, for which cf. Hom. fem. ϝιδυῖα (see ►οἶδα). Cf. the Mycenaean PN *wi-do-wo-i-jo*. Striano *Glotta* 68 (1990): 40-48, tries to explain the two notations βιδυ(ι)οι, βιδεοι as rendering **wid-wos-i̯os*. Further comparanda are Att. ἰδῦ(ῖ)οι· συνίστορες, μάρτυρες 'witnesses' (Solon *apud* Ar. *fr.* 222), and ἰδυῖοι· ... οἱ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας κρῖνοντες 'they who judge in cases of murder' (H.). The form with -ε- is not well explained; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 355ff. On βι-/ βει- cf. Bourguet 1927: 97[3]. A parallel formation was considered for ►βέβαιος, but this is hardly correct.

βιζακίων [gen.pl.] · μικρῶν λίθων 'small stones' (Suid.). ◁LW Sem.?, PG?(S)▷

•ETYM Lewy *KZ* 59 (1932): 190 compares Aram. *bizqā*, *bīzᵉqā* , etc. 'broken piece, small stone'. However, -ακ- could also represent the Pre-Greek suffix.

βικία [f.] 'vetch', vicia sativa (Gal.) ◁LW Lat.▷

•VAR βικίον [n.].

•ETYM From Latin *vicia*.

βῖκος [m.] 'vase with handles', also a measure (Hdt.; see Solmsen 1909: 65; also Hippon. *fr.* 142 Masson). ◁LW Eg.?, Sem.?▷
•DER Diminutive βικίον (pap.), βικίδιον (Suid.).
•ETYM Egyptian origin has been considered: cf. Eg. *b:ḳ.t* 'oil flask, used as a measure' (Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 241). E. Masson 1967: 78ff. considers Semitic origin. Not related to Lat. *fiscus*, as per Fur.: 294, nor to ▶βαυκάλιον.

βίλλος · τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μόριον τὸ κοινῶς βιλλίν 'the lot of a man, commonly βιλλίν' (Hdn. I, 158). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also βιλλᾶς (ib.).
•DER PN Βίλλος, -αρος (L. Robert 1963: 16-22).
•ETYM Fur.: 325 compares ἀβίλλιον· ἀνδρεῖον (H.). The prothetic vowel may point to Pre-Greek origin, which is expected anyway. βιλλίν is Ephesian if the form is a nom.; cf. the Pre-Greek words in -ν (see *Pre-Greek*).

βίμβλις ⇒βύβλος.

βῑνέω [v.] 'coire, futuere' (Ar.), also τὸ βίᾳ μίγνυσθαι 'to have intercourse by force' (Sol. *apud* H.). ◁?▷
•VAR βενέω (Olympia V[a]), impf. βινεσκόμην, fut. βινήσω.
•DER Desiderative βινητιάω (Ar.), as if from *βινητής; cf. ὠνητιάω : [ὠνητής :] ὠνέομαι.
•ETYM βῑνέω is a vulgar word that is often connected with βία 'force', but the association with 'force' may be secondary. It has also been compared with ζάει· βινεῖ (H.), but it is unclear how these words should be related. Skt. *jināti* 'overpower, suppress' cannot be related in view of Av. *zināiti*, which proves **ǵ-* (instead of **g^{w}-*); nor can we connect δῑνέω, as the meaning is too far off (pace Palmer *Minos* 5 (1957): 62). Basing himself on the variant βενέω, De Lamberterie (*CEG* 1) proposes a connection with **g^{w}en-* 'woman', with ῑ from κῑνέω; in that case, however, we would expect *δεν-. See ▶μιάομαι.

βίος ⇒βιω-.

βιός [m.] 'bow', also 'bowstring' (Il.), see Trümpy 1950: 66f. ◁IE **g^{w}ieh$_2$-* 'string'▷
•VAR Rare after Homer, replaced by τόξον.
•ETYM Related to Skt. *jyā-*, Av. *jiiā-* 'bowstring'. Schindler 1972: 20 assumes a root noun **g^{w}ieh$_2$-*, and derives the Greek word from **g^{w}ih$_2$-o-* 'provided with a bowstring'; this, however, depends on whether the meaning 'bowstring' is found in Greek. Schwyzer 1950: 32[4] starts from an original fem. *o*-stem, which is rather doubtful. The word is probably further related to Lith. *gijà* 'thread', OCS *ži-ca* 'string'; yet note the slightly different root **g^{wh}iH-* 'string, sinew, etc.' in Lat. *fīlum* 'thread', etc.

βίρρη · πυράγρα, οἱ δὲ δρέπανον 'pair of fire-tongs; pruning-knife' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Fur.: 232, 251 compares Svan *berež* 'iron'; Akk. *parzillu*, Hebr. *barzel*, Ugar. *brśl*, South Arabic *przn* 'id.'; furthermore, OE *bræs*, OFris. *bras(penning)*, Basque *burdin* (cf. Dussaud 1953: 162). Is the word from Asia Minor?

βίρρος [m.] 'kind of cloak' (Artem.). ◁EUR?▷
•VAR βίρροξ· δασύ, Μακεδόνες 'dense (Maced.)' (H.); βερρόν, βειρόν· δασύ (H.); βιρρωθῆναι· ταπεινωθῆναι 'be reduced' (H.).
•ETYM Cf. Lat. *birrus* 'id.'; was the word originally Celtic? Cf. MIr. *berr*, W *byrr* 'short'. See Friedmann 1937: 92. Is it a European substrate word?

βίσβη [f.] βίσβης (-ν?)· δρέπανον λέγουσι Μεσάπιοι. καὶ ἑορτὴν Βισβαια, ἣν ἡμεῖς κλαδευτήρια 'pruning-knife [Messap.]; the festival Βισβαια, a festival at pruning-time' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Messapian?

βίσταξ ὁ β' <μετά> βασιλέα παρά ΙΙέρσαις 'the second after the king (Pers.)' (H.). ◁LW Pers.▷
•ETYM Certainly a mistake for *βιταξ, a borrowing from a Persian word for 'viceroy', known from MP as *bidaxš*. The Persian word is discussed by Szemerényi *Acta Iranica* 5 (1975): 363ff., but our gloss is not mentioned there, and the article does not bring us much further. Nyberg *Eranos* 44 (1946): 237[2] analyzed the first part as Iran. **bitīya-* 'second'. Amm. Marc. 23, 614 has it in the form *vitaxa*. Later Greek has βιδαξης, πατιάξης.

βίσων, -ωνος [m.] 'European bison' (Paus.). ◁EUR▷
•ETYM Cf. OHG *wisunt*. The Greek form comes from Lat. *bisōn*, and this in turn from Gm. (thus DELG), of which the ultimate origin remains unknown (Kluge[22] s.v. *Wisent*). See Pok. 1134.

βίτος [?] 'binding of a wheel' (Ed. Diocl.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM From Lat. *uitus*.

βίττακος ⇒ψίττακος.

βιω- [v.] 'to live' (Il.). ◁IE **g*^{w}*eih*$_3$- 'live' (or **g*^{w}*h*$_3$*(e)i*-?)▷
•VAR Aor. ἐβίων, βιῶναι; *s*-aor. ἐβίωσα (Hdt.), med. fact. ἐβιώσαο (θ 468); fut. βείομαι, βέομαι (Il.; old subjunctive, cf. ἔδομαι), also βιώσομαι; perf. βεβίωκα. βιόμεσθα (*h. Ap.* 528 for *βειομεθα? DELG); pres. βιόω (Arist.).
•DER βίος '(way of, means of) life', βιοτή [f.] 'id.' (Od.), βίοτος [m.] 'id.' (Il.); also Cret. βίετος (see below). βιωτός 'worth living' (Att.), βιώσιμος 'to be lived' (Hdt.). With δ from *g^{w} Heracl. ἐνδεδιωκότα, if = ἐμβεβιωκότα. In PN Βιο-; Βίτων < Βιο-.
•ETYM The root ended in a laryngeal, and the zero grade **g*^{w}*ih*$_3$- is seen in Av. *jī-ti-*, OCS *ži-tъ*, as well as in Lat. *vīta*, Osc. *bíitam* [acc.]; with a suffix *-uo-*, it appears in Skt. *jīvá-*, OCS *živъ*, Lat. *vīvus*, etc. (all 'alive'), and in the thematic presents derived from this adjective: Lat.*vīvō*, Skt. *jī́vati*, OCS *živǫ*, ToA *śāw-*, ToB *śāy-* ~ *śāw-* (all 'live'). The forms with short *i* (e.g. Go. *qiwa-*, MW *byw*) may be due to pretonic shortening, i.e. Dybo's Law (Schrijver 1991: 355, 526). Greek does not have forms with long *i*, which is understandable since all forms attested have a vowel after the root: **g*^{w}*ih*$_3$*-o-* > βίος, **g*^{w}*ih*$_3$*-eto-* > βίοτος. (For the formation, cf. ►θάνατος; for the most recent discussion on this, see Vine 1998.) Cret. βίετος will have restored the suffix -ετος. One noteworthy form is ►ὑγιής, which must derive from **h*$_2$*iu-g*^{w}*ih*$_3$*-ēs*, with

analogically restored vocalism of the ending. The aorist ἐβίων has been reconstructed by Francis 1970: 76ff. with the suffix *-eh₁-*, seen in the Greek "passive" aorist (e.g. ἐμάνην); thus, **gʷih₃-eh₁-* yielded βιω-. A full grade I **gʷeih₃-* (probably old; cf. Klein 1988: 272) must be assumed for βέ(ί)ομαι. The same full grade is seen in Skt. *gáya-*, Av. *gaiia-* 'life' < **gʷe/oih₃-o-* and in ORu. *gojь* 'peace'. A full grade II **gʷieh₃-* is seen in Av. *jiiā-tu-* 'life' (Skt. **jyā-tu-* in *jīvā́tu-*, which must have been reshaped after *jī́vati*); Gr. ζωϝός is probably from this root form (rather than from the zero grade of the root, as per Klein (l.c.): 257ff.). Since this root form seems to be found in Gr. ζώ-ω, ζῆ-ν as well (see ▸ζώω), Schwebeablaut cannot be avoided (pace Anttila 1969: 137). Arm. *kea-m* 'I live' (see LIV²) is difficult to judge. On the basis of BSl. accentual reflexes, Kortlandt reconstructs **gʷh₃(e)i-* (e.g. Kortlandt 1992: 237⁴); for Greek, one would have to assume laryngeal metathesis **gʷh₃i-* > **gʷih₃-* (in pre-consonantal position).

βλάβη [f.] 'damage' (A.) ◂PG▸

•VAR βλάβος [n.].

•DIAL Cretan ἀβλοπές· ἀβλαβές H., ἀβλοπία = ἀβλάβεια, καταβλάπεθαι = -εσθαι (inscr.).

•COMP ἀβλαβής.

•DER βλαβερός 'damaging' (Hes.), formed to ἀβλαβής like κρατερός to ἀκρατής (Schwyzer 482). Verb βλάπτω, βλάψαι, ἐβλάβην, originally 'to hinder, disable' (Il.), also without suffix βλάβεται (T 82, 166 = ν 34), probably old (Chantraine 1942: 311). βλάψις (Pl.).

•ETYM On the basis of the Cretan forms, βλαβ- is mostly considered to have resulted from βλαπ- by assimilation. With βλαπ- as the original form, it is connected with Skt. *mṛ́c-* f., *marká-* m. 'damage', Av. *mərəṇcaitē* 'destroys', which require a reconstruction **mr/lkʷ-*. However, the development to -λο- (which is Arc.-Cypr., Myc.) is not found in Cretan (although one might consider an Achaean substrate on Crete). On the other hand, the interchanges α ~ ο and β ~ π are typical for Pre-Greek; Fur. 144 compares ἀβλαβία - ἀβλοπία with ἀραβῆσαι, Cret. ἀροπῆσαι. A connection with Lat. *mulceō* 'stroke, caress', *mulcō* is doubtful because of the velar and the meaning; see WH s.vv. Puhvel *HED* suggested a connection with Hitt. *gullakuwan*, but this means 'scheusslich' (Tischler 1983ff. s.v.). Cf. ▸βλάσφημος.

βλαγίς [?] · κηλίς. Λάκωνες 'stain (Lacon.)' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown. von Blumenthal 1930: 23f., suggests connecting the word with βλαί<ς> βλητή. Λάκωνες 'stuck (Laconian)' (H.).

βλαδεῖς [adj.] · ἀδύνατοι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων 'powerless'; βλαδαρόν· ἐκλελυμένον, χαῦνον 'flaccid, porous' and βλαδαρά· ἄωρα, μωρά, ὠμά 'untimely, sluggish' and βλάδαν [?]· νωθρῶς 'slothful', and βλαδόν· ἀδύνατον 'powerless' (H.). ◂IE? **mld-u-*▸

•VAR These words are sometimes identified with βλαδύς Hp. *Aër.* 20; perhaps βλαδαρός 'bottle' Gal. 19, 88 is related, too.

•ETYM In spite of the variation, mostly only βλαδύς is cited, although the appurtenance of that form is actually doubtful. On that basis, the word is often equated with Skt. *mṛdú-*, Lat. *mollis* < **moldu̯i-* 'soft', and further connected with

►ἁμαλδύνω. Evidently, the latter connection is impossible in IE terms because of the prothetic vowel; Arm. *mełk* 'weak, soft' shows that this group had no initial laryngeal. Rather, I would take the variation in the suffix and that in the initial (presence vs. absence of a prothetic vowel) as indications of substrate origin, although this cannot be proven independently.

βλαί [?] · βληχή [corr. for βλητη], Λάκωνες 'bleating (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown; see ►βλαγίς.

βλαισός [adj.] 'bent, distorted' (Hp.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR πλαισός (Phot.).
•DER βλαισώδης, βλαισότης, βλαισόομαι, βλαίσωσις (all Arist.).
•ETYM Formation as in γαυσός, γαμψός, λοξός (Chantraine 1933: 434). Lat. *blaesus* 'lisping, stammering' may eventually be borrowed from Greek? Pre-Greek origin is probable in view of the variation β ~ π.

βλᾶξ, -κός [m., f.] 'indolent, stolid, stupid' (Ar.), from 'weak'? Also a fish (Erot.), Strömberg 1943: 33f. ◅IE? **mlh₂(e)k-* 'weak'▻
•DER βλακικός, βλακώδης 'id.'; βλακίας· ἰχθὺς ποιός 'a kind of fish' (H.). Denominative βλακεύω [v.] 'to be slack', whence βλακεία, βλάκευμα.
•ETYM The word cannot be of IA origin. If it is related to μαλακός, one might posit **mlh₂-k-* (which would explain the long ᾱ) next to **mlh₂-ek-*. Without the suffix *-k-*, Skt. *mlā-tá-* 'soft' and OIr. *mláith* 'tender, soft' (< **mlā-ti-*) may be related, but Lat. *flaccus* should be left out. Perhaps Ru. *molčát'* 'be silent', which may go back to **mlh₂k-*, is related, too. ►βλιχρός is also possibly related (but not ►μύλη, nor ►ἁμαλδύνω, both of which are outdated comparisons). See ►μαλακός.

βλάπτω ⇒βλάβη.

βλαστάνω [v.] 'to bud, sprout, grow' (A.). ◅?▻
•VAR Aor. βλαστεῖν, intr. fut. βλαστήσω (Thphr.), trans. aor. ἐβλάστησα (Emp.), perf. βεβλάστηκα (Hp.), ἐβλάστηκα (E.); recent formations βλαστέω, βλαστάω.
•DER βλάστημα 'offshoot' (A.), βλαστικός (Thphr.); deverbal βλαστός 'id.' (Hdt.), βλάστη 'origin' (S.), whence βλαστέω (Thphr.).
•ETYM The aorist βλαστεῖν is the basis of all the forms. Its analysis is uncertain; perhaps *βλαθ-τεῖν (or βλαδ-, βλατ-). Connection with ►βλωθρός 'tall' is impossible if the words are IE (an ablaut **mld*ʰ-, **mlōd*ʰ- is impossible in an adjective); the same holds true for ►μολεύω 'cut off (and transplant) the shoots of trees' (cf. further ►βλώσκω). From other languages, OHG *blat* (etc.) 'leaf' is often proposed as a comparandum.

βλασφημέω [v.] 'to speak profanely, slander' (Arist.). ◅?▻
•DER βλασφημία (Democr.); βλάσφημος 'evil-speaking' is rare and late (D.).
•ETYM βλασφημέω and βλασφημία seem to be older than βλάσφημος, which is reminiscent of ἀνδραγαθία (from ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός), etc. The second element seems to be φήμη, the first is uncertain (βλάβος, μέλεος, etc.). Cf. the synonymous ►κερτομέω, ►λοιδορέω, which have no etymology. On MoGr. βλαστημῶ, see *CEG* 5.

βλάττα [f.] 'purple' (Ed. Diocl.). ◂LW Lat.▸
•ETYM From Lat. *blatta*, which is itself of unclear origin.

βλαττοῖ [v.] · παιδαριεύεται 'behaves childishly' (H.). ◂ONOM▸
•ETYM Latte ad loc. compares Lat. *blatiō*, *blaterō* 'babble, chatter'. The word is an onomatopoeic formation; cf. ▸βαβάζω.

βλαύτη [f.] 'slipper' (Com.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR βλαῦδες· ἐμβάδες, κρηπῖδες, σανδάλια 'slippers, boots, sandals' (H.).
•DER Verb βλαυτοῦν· ὑποδέειν. ἢ πλήσσειν σανδαλίῳ, οἱ δὲ ὑποδήματι 'to put on shoes, or: strike with a sandal, or with a shoe' (H.) (from Men.).
•ETYM Although it is often assumed reshaping that βλαῦδες results from analogical reshaping of βλαῦται after ἐμβάδες, it is preferable to explain the variation τ ~ δ as Pre-Greek.

βλεῖ ⇒βλέτυες.

βλεμεαίνω [v.] 'to boast' (Il.; σθένεϊ βλεμεαίνων, -νει Θ 337, etc.). ◂?▸
•VAR ἀβλεμές· ἀσθενές, φαῦλον 'weak' and ἀβλεμής· ἄτολμος, ἀτερπής, παρειμένος 'without courage, without joy, slack'.
•DER ἀβλεμής 'powerless' (Nic.); unclear -έως πίνων 'immoderately' (?; Panyas.).
•ETYM Formation like μενεαίνω. Thus, the word is probably from *βλέμος in ἀ-βλεμής (cf. μενεαίνω to μένος). No etymology.

βλέννᾰ [f.] 'mucous discharge, μύξα' (Hp.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also βλέννος [n.] (Arist.); πλένναι· μύξαι H.; βλένα· μύξα. οἱ δὲ δία τοῦ π πλένα καὶ πλέννα τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ δυσκίνητα H.; πλεννεραί = μυξώδεις (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 131). πληνώδης· ἀσθενὴς (H.) is perhaps to be read πλεν(ν)-, Fur.: 144.
•DER βλεννώδης 'slimy, mucous' (Hp.). Also βλεν(ν)ός 'id., idiot' (Epich.), and (with regular retraction of the accent) βλέννος [m.] a fish (Sophr., H. as an explanation of σιαλίς), see Strömberg 1943: 29, Grilli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 33 (1961): 201f.
•ETYM On the assumption that βλέννος goes back to *μλεδ-σ-νος (Lejeune 1972: 124), it was often connected with Skt. *ū́rṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool' (would be Gr. *-βλεδής), *mṛdú-* 'soft', and MIr. *blind* 'slime from the mouth of a dead man' (Pok. 718). Justified criticism can be found in DELG, "Pour le sens ces rapprochements ne s'imposent pas." and Frisk, "Der sehr beschränkte Wert dieser Kombinationen liegt indessen auf der Hand." As Fur.: 144 points out, the variations π ~ β, νν ~ ν prove Pre-Greek origin. If the final -α is short, βλενα cannot be IE, whereas this ending is frequent in Pre-Greek.

βλέπω [v.] 'to see, look, perceive' (Solon). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Aor. βλέψαι; other forms (e.g. βέβλεφα, βέβλοφα) are late. Also ποτι-γλέποι [opt.] (Alcm. 23, 75).
•COMP Often with prepositions, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-. Also παραβλώψ (Il.), κυνοβλώψ (H.).

•DER βλέψις 'sight' (X.); βλεψίας a fish, κεφαλῖνος (Strömberg 1943: 42); βλέμμια 'glance' (Att.); rare βλέπος 'id.' (Ar.). Expressive deverbative: βλεπάζοντες· βλέποντες and βλεπετύζει· βλέπει H., perhaps for βλεπετίζει, cf. χρεμετίζει.
βλέφαρον 'eyelid' (Il.), mostly plur.; thence βλεφαρίδες [f.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'eye-lashes', also 'eyelids' (Ar., X., Arist.); βλεφαρίτιδες τρίχες 'eye-lashes' (Paul. Aeg.); βλεφαρικός 'of the eyelids' (Cael. Aur.); βλεφαρίζω [v.] 'to blink' (sch.).
•ETYM γλέπω exists beside βλέπω just as γλέφαρον beside βλέφαρον; the variation was taken to suggest a labiovelar *g^w- with irregular development (see Schwyzer: 298f.), but rather points to substrate origin. von Blumenthal 1930: 21 points to Macedonian γλέπου = βλέπω. It is possible that the verb and the noun βλέφαρον are unrelated; in that case, the latter word may originally have been *γλέφαρον and may have influenced the verb. But it seems more probable that they were cognate, with β/ γ and π/ φ pointing to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 389; pace Hamp *Glotta* 72 (1994): 15), although β/ γ is rare. Pre-Greek had labiovelars which did not always develop in the same way as their inherited equivalents.

βλέτυγες [m./f.]? · φλυαρίαι, οἱ δὲ βλέκυγες 'nonsense, foolery; also β.' (H.). ◂ONOM, PG?▸
•VAR Cf. *βλαταγίζουσα [conj. for βλασταρίζουσα]· ἐπικροτοῦσα 'rattling, applauding' (H.); also ὑπερβλαττύουσαν (DELG s.v. βλαττοῖ).
•ETYM With βλετ-, βλεκ-, -βλαττ-, βλικ-, we find quite a number of stem variants, perhaps of onomatopoeic origin, otherwise possibly Pre-Greek (cf. Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 42). See ▸βλίκανον.

βλέτυες [pl.] · αἱ βδέλλαι 'leeches' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR *βλίτυξ (ms. βαιτυξ)· βδέλλα H.; the correction by Latte seems evident, but is not mentioned by DELG.
•ETYM Analyzed as a derivation in -τυ- from a stem βλε- (see Frisk s.v.), seen in καταβλέθει and καβλέει· καταπίνει (both) 'gulp down' and βλεῖ· βλίσσει, ἀμέλγει, βλίζει 'collect honey, milk' (H.). Note that βλίζω is further unknown, and that the semantics are incompatible if βλίσσει stands for βλίττω; therefore, DELG s.v. thinks that the gloss may be corrupt. However, since a root βλε- is impossible in IE (the basic shape is *CeC-), the word must be Pre-Greek, which is confirmed by βλίτυξ (Fur.: 355). For -υς beside -υξ, cf. Fur.: 218 on μῆρυξ. Cf. ▸δέλεαρ.

βλέφαρον ⇒βλέπω.

βλῆρ ⇒δέλεαρ.

βλῆραι [f.] · αἱ κνίδαι. ἄλλοι χόρτον. οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀσπρίων τὴν καλάμην 'nettles; fodder, the stalk of straw of pulse' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM The conjecture of Strömberg 1944: 54f. is improbable. Note that the gloss is corrupt (the case forms do not agree); perhaps one should assume a second gloss βλῆρ· χόρτον ...?

βληστρίζω ⇒βάλλω.

βλῆτρον [n.] 'bolt, plug' (like in MoGr.); only O 678 ξυστὸν κολλητὸν βλήτροισι 'a shaft or lance shod with bands'. Scholars in antiquity were uncertain: τῆς ἁμάξης τροχοί. σφῆνες. ἐμβλήματα. οἱ δὲ γόμφους καὶ συμβολὰς ἁξόνων 'wheels of a wagon; wedges; insertions; bolts and the joins of axles' (H.). ◁GR?▷

•ETYM The connection with βάλλω remains uncertain. The factitive ptc. βλητρώσας 'providing with β.' is explained by Hesychius as ἐμβαλών.

βληχή [f.] 'bleating' (μ 266, A.). ◁ONOM▷

•DIAL Dor. βλᾱχᾱ́.

•DER βληχάομαι 'bleat' (Ar.), perhaps not denominative, but an independent intensive like βρυχάομαι, μυκάομαι, etc. (see Schwyzer: 683). βληχηθμός (Ael.; cf. μυκηθμός, etc.), βλήχημα H., βληχάς (Opp., cf. μηκάς, Schwyzer: 508). βληχητά [pl.] 'bleating animals' (Eup., cf. ἑρπετά, etc.). βληχώδης 'bleating' (Babr.). βληχάζω (Autocr.).

•ETYM An onomatopoeic formation with many parallels, e.g. Cz. *blekati*, MLG *bleken*, MoHG *blöken*; and, without the velar, CS *blějati*, Latv. *blêt*, and MHG *blœjen*; with a dental, there are Gm. words like OE *blǣtan*, OHG *blāzen*; all of which point to original **ē*. Trag. βλᾱχᾱ́ must be a hyperdorism; note βληχάομαι in Theoc.

βλῆχνον [n.] 'male fern, Aspidium Filix-mas'. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also βλῆχρον (Dsc.), βλήχρα H., also βλᾶχνον (Phan. Hist), βλᾶχρον (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. See Rohlfs 1958: 124, Rohlfs *Sprache* 5 (1959): 175[2], and Rohlfs *Glotta* 38 (1959): 103. The variation ρ/ν does not derive from an *r/n*-stem, but points to Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 388.

βληχρός [adj.] 'weak' (Alc.). ◁?▷

•VAR ἀβληχρός (Il.; s.v.).

•DER βλῆχρος a plant, Strömberg 1940: 24.

•ETYM Connected with ►βλᾱ́ξ as Ionic; the -χ- would be expressive (thus Chantraine 1933: 225f.; not via *μιλᾱκ-σ-ρός). Not related to ►μαλάχη, as per Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀβληχρός. Blanc 1999: 317-38 suggests connection of the root **g*^{w}*elh*$_{1}$- 'sting' (Pok. 470); the ἀ- was either lost in βληχρός (which is an insufficient solution), or added later to ἀβληχρός.

βλήχων, -ωνος [f.] 'pennyroyal', 'Mentha pulegium' (*h. Cer.*). ◁PG▷

•VAR Ion. γλήχων, Dor. γλᾶχων; also βληχώ, -ους (Schwyzer 479); βληχός = βλήχων (Thphr., Dsc.).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-ko* /glāk^{h}ōn/, but the reading is doubtful.

•DER βληχωνίας 'prepared with β.' (Ar.); Chantraine 1933: 94f. γληχωνίτης (οἶνος; Dsc.).

•ETYM Unknown. The variation β- ~ γ- could be due to dissimilation (Schwyzer: 299); cf. β-/ γλέπω. But since the word has no etymology, and since the stem formation is strange, we are rather dealing with a Pre-Greek word. For a folk-etymological connection with βληχάομαι, see Strömberg 1940: 155.

βλίζω ⇒βλέτυες.

βλίκανον ⇒βλίχας.

βλικάς [m.]/[f.]? · σύκου φύλλον 'leave of a fig' (H.). Also *EM* 201, 41, Choeroeb., An. Ox. 2,184, 9. ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Most probably a Pre-Greek word.

βλῑμάζω [v.] 'to feel, squeeze' (e.g. woman's breasts, Com., Hp.). Also = βλίττω (*EM*). ◁?▷
•COMP Verbal noun βλίμασις· ἡ τῶν τιτθῶν θλῖψις 'squeezing tits' (H.).
•DER Cf. βλιμάξαι· βαστάσαι 'lift up' (Latte thinks that this gloss is corrupt), ἀτιμάσαι 'dishonour' (H.); βλίμη· προπηλακισμός, ὕβρις 'besmearing, offense' (H., *EM*).
•ETYM Unexplained.

βλίτον [n.] 'blite, Amaranthus Blitum' (Hp.). ◁?▷
•DER A few denigrating designations of persons: βλιτάς [f.] 'old woman', βλιτομάμμας mg. uncertain (Ar. *Nub.* 1001; or to μέλι?), βλίτωνας· τοὺς εὐήθεις 'silly' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown. Not related as *μλ-ιτον to ►μύλη, ►ἁμαλδύνω. LW Lat. *blitum* 'blite', also *bliteus* 'tasteless, foolish' (Plaut.).

βλίττω [v.] 'to cut out the comb of bees' (Arist.). ◁IE **meli, -tos* 'honey'▷
•VAR Analogical βλίζω (H.), aor. βλίσαι.
•DER βλιστηρίς [f.], from *βλιστήρ; PN Βλιστίχη.
•ETYM From *μλιτ-ι̯ω, zero grade denominative of μέλι, -ιτος 'honey'.

βλίτυρι 'the sound of the chord of a harp'; hence 'sound without mg.' (S. E.) ◁ONOM▷
•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic.

βλίτυρον · ἐστὶ φυτὸν ἢ φάρμακον ἢ χορδῆς μίμημα 'a plant or drug or an imitation of a gut-string' (*EM* 201, 43). ◁?▷
•ETYM For the last part, see ►βλίτυρι.

βλιχ(αν)ώδης [adj.] 'clammy'; cf. LSJ Supp. ◁?▷
•VAR βλιχώδης (Hp.), βλιχανώδης (Diph.). βλίκανος (which must not be changed to *βλίχανον)· βάτραχον 'frog' καὶ βλίχαν '?' (H.)
•ETYM Minon *RPh.* 74 (2000): 263f. compares βλαχάν· βάτραχον and Artemis's epithet βλαγανῖτις. Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 42, adduces βεβλιχασμένον (ms. βεβλυχ-)· μεμολυσμένον 'stained' (H.).

βλοσυρός [adj.] uncertain, perhaps 'terrible' (Il.). ◁?▷
•COMP βλοσυρώπῑς [f.] (Λ 36; on the ι see Schwyzer: 463, Chantraine 1942: 208), -ωπός (*AP*, D. P.), -ώπεε [du.] (Opp.); βλοσυρόμματος (Cerc.), βλοσυρόφρων (A.).
•ETYM Uncertain. Leumann 1950: 141ff. derives it from βλοσυρ(ός) 'of a vulture', as if it were Aeolic from IE *g^{w}l̥tur(os), related to Lat. *voltur(us)* 'id'. There is no evidence, however, that the word is IE.

βλύζω [v.] 'to bubble, gush forth' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. βλῦσαι.
•DER Verbs βλύω (LXX), βλυστάνω (Procop.); βλύσις (*AP*). Also adj. βλύδιον· ὑγρόν, ζέον 'humid, seething' (H.).

•ETYM Cf. κλύζω, φλύζω; βλύω is probably secondary. Maurice *BSL* 82 (1987): 216f., attempted to connect it with φλύω (οἰνόφλυξ). We may consider onomatopoeic origin. In any case, not related to Skt. *galati* 'drip' or OHG *quellan*.

βλωθρός [adj.] '(grown) high' (of trees; Il.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR γλωθρός (H., see LSJ Supp. and Fur.: 389), a form which is often overlooked.

•ETYM The connection with a word for 'head' (Skt. *mūrdhán-* [m.], OE *molda* [m.] 'upper part of the head, crown') as *μλωθρός is obsolete. Nor can it be connected to ▶μέλαθρον or ▶βλαστάνω, two alternative proposals by Frisk. Further, ▶βλώσκω "est loin pour le sens" (DELG). In my view, the variant with γ- points to Pre-Greek origin (see Beekes 1969: 215f.).

βλωμοί [?] · στραβοί 'squintings' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. See Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 198 (who compares βάλλω).

βλωμός [m.] 'piece of bread' (Call.). ◁?▷

•COMP ὀκτά-βλωμος (Hes. *Op.* 442), see Hofinger *Ant. class.* 36 (1967): 457ff.

•ETYM Not related to βλέει in καβλέει (H.; see ▶βλέτυες). Cf. ψωμός s.v. ▶ψῆν; however, the etymology is unknown.

βλώσκω [v.] 'to go, come' (Il.). ◁IE *$melh_3$- 'come'▷

•VAR Aor. μολεῖν, ἔβλω· ἐφάνη, ὤχετο, ἔστη 'appeared, went, stood up' (H.); fut. μολοῦμαι (βλῶξαι, βλώξω Lyc.), perf. μέμβλωκα (βέβλωκε· ἠρεμεῖ, φύεται 'be at rest, grow', H.).

•COMP Also with κατα-, προ-, ἐκ-, etc. αὐτόμολος 'deserter' (Hdt.); ἀγχίμολον (ἦλθε, Il.), old absolutive, Wackernagel *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944): 226ff.; ἀγχιβλώς· ἄρτι παρών 'just arrived' (H.).

•DER προμολή (mostly plur. -αί) 'approach, vestibule' (Ar.); βλῶσις· παρουσία 'presence' (H.).

•ETYM The present βλώσκω < *μλώ-σκω (cf. μολ-εῖν, μέ-μβλω-κα) from *$mḷh_3$-*sk*- is clear. The aorist stem βλω- then has the same origin, with the zero grade from the plural. The nominal forms with -μολ- have the *o*-grade *$molh_3$-, while the aor. stem μολ-ε/o- is explained from metathesis in *μελο-μ, -ς, -τ < *$melh_3$- (after Ruipérez *Emerita* 10 (1942): 386-407). Harðarson 1993a: 169f. and 224f., also assumes *$ḷh_3$ > ολο under the accent, which is doubtful; a twofold development μλω- (in ἔβλω) beside μολο- is improbable. I would expect *-$ḷh_3$-*V*- to have yielded -αλV-, which was replaced by -ολV- after the predominant *o*-vocalism. The metathesis is not an independent phonetic development, but part of this process of morphological reorganisation. Outside Greek, the verb may be found in Slavic, e.g. SCr. *iz-mòlīti* *'let appear', i.e. 'show', and Sln. *molíti* 'pass, hand over'. The connection with ToA *mlusk^{ā}*- 'escape' (and ToB *mlutk^{ā}*-? Cf. Adams s.v.) is uncertain. Connection with μέλλω is phonetically improbable (because of the laryngeal), while that with ▶μολεύω 'cut off and transplant the shoots of trees' is semantically very difficult.

βόᾱξ [m.] a fish, 'Box boops' (Epich.). ◁?▷

•VAR Ion. βόηξ, later βῶξ. Ar. Byz. preferred βόωψ (ap. Ath.). Cf. βόα = σάλπη (Pancrat. *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM The ancients believed that the fish was called this way because it cried; see Strömberg 1943: 63-6 and Thompson 1947 s.v. βώξ. Thence the Latin loanword *boca*; MoGr. βοῦπα, γοῦπα, γῶπα.

βοάω [v.] 'to cry' (Il.). ◅ONOM▻
•VAR Aor. βοῆσαι (Ion. also βῶσαι), βεβωμένος, ἐβώσθην.
•DER βοή 'cry' (Il.), βοητύς 'id.' (α 369), βόᾱμα, βόημα 'id.' (A.), βόησις 'id.' (Thd., Quint.); βοητής (Hp.), fem. βοᾶτις (αὐδά) 'loud' (A.).
•ETYM Probably a deverbative like ποτάομαι, with deverbal βοή (Schwyzer: 683); alternatively, βοάω is denominative from βοή. A connection with Skt. *jóguve* 'to speak loudly' (intensive) and BSl., e.g. Lith. *gaudžiù*, *gaũsti* 'to cry, weep' and OCS *govorъ* 'noise' is conceivable, but these may just as well belong to ►γοάω. βοάω is rather onomatopoeic; cf. *bū* s.v. ►βύας. Lat. *boō*, *boāre* was borrowed from Greek. The same root is found in ►βοηθέω, ►βωστρέω.

βοηδρομέω ⇒βοηθόος.

βοηθόος [m.] 'who brings help (in war)' (Il.). ◅GR▻
•VAR Dor. βοᾱθόος, Att. and Hdt. βοηθός (see below).
•DER Hence a denominative Aetol. βοᾱθοέω (Lesb. βᾱθόημι), and by hyphairesis Dor. βοᾱθέω, Att. and Hdt. βοηθέω 'come to help on a cry, help' (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 96f.). From βοαθόος resp. βοηθό(ο)ς: Aetol. βοαθοΐα (< *βοαθοϝία), Att. βοήθεια 'help' (rebuilt after the nouns in -εια̃ [Schwyzer: 469]). From βοηθέω as a back-formation βοηθός (or contracted from βοηθόος, see Schwyzer: 469?); βοήθησις 'help' (Hp.).
•ETYM βοηθόος is from an expression like (ἐπὶ) βοὴν θεῖν (see Schulze 1933a: 188). Based on βοηθέω, βοηθός, the synonym βοηδρομέω (Eur.) was created, together with βοηδρόμια [pl.] name of a festival (D.; month name Βοηδρομιών, Βοηδρόμιος), and βοηδρόμος (E.; on the connection, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 96ff.).

βόθρος [m.] 'hole, trench, pit (dug in the ground)' (Il.; on the mg. see Hutchinson *JHS* 55 (1935): 1ff.; also as a sports term, see Jüthner *Wiener Stud.* 53 (1935): 68ff.). ◅PG?▻
•DER Diminutive βοθρίον (Alciphr.), also 'small ulcer' (Hp.). Also βόθῡνος [m.] (Cratin.; cf. αἰσχρός : αἰσχύνομαι, Chantraine 1933: 208).
•ETYM βόθρος and βόθυνος have been connected with Lith. *bedù* 'sting, dig', Lat. *fodiō* 'to dig', *fossa* 'ditch', and MW *bedd* 'canal'. In order to explain the discrepancy between Greek β- and Lat. *f-*, dissimilation of PIE **b^{h}od^h-* to PGr. **bod^h-* was assumed, or influence of βαθύς (but Alciphr. 3, 13 ἐμβαθύνας βόθρια may be a later association). Equally unsatisfying is the solution of Petersson 1921: 128ff., who assumed a labiovelar and connected the word with γυθίσσων· διορύσσων 'digging out' (H.) and further to βαθύς, etc. (see ►βυθός). Since the IE connection is impossible, and the formation (nominal -ῡν-, see *Pre-Greek*) is also suspect, we should better derive the word from Pre-Greek; even the meaning suggests such origin.

βόλβιτον [n.] 'cow dung' (see Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 54f.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Also -ος [m.] (Thphr.), βόλβιθος (*PMag. Par.*; after σπύραθος, σπέλεθος? See Chantraine 1933: 367); also βόλιτον, -ος (Cratin.); βόλβιτα· ἀφόδευμα βοός 'cow dung' (H.) (i.e. βόλβις), followed by βόλβυθον· τὸ αὐτό.
•DER βολίτινος (Ar.); βολίταινα cuttle fish, which smells badly (Arist.), also βολβίτιον (Gal.) and βολβίς (Epich.).
•ETYM As an alternative to the unsatsifactory assumption that βόλιτον arose from βόλβιτον through dissimilation, Frisk implausibly suggested that it is rather βόλβιτον that is secondary, influenced by βολβός. βόλιτον cannot be derived from βάλλω, βόλος, and βολεών 'Düngerhaufen' either, because this leaves the formation unexplained. Much better is it to explain the variation as Pre-Greek, which is further confirmed by the suffix -ιτον (Fur.: 163; further 180, 187); in addition, the alternations τ ~ θ and ι ~ υ are typical for Pre-Greek. The variation between β and zero, to which Fur.: devotes an entire chapter, is perhaps best explained from a labialized lateral, i.e. **bal^{w}-it-* in this case (cf. ►αὖλαξ and *Pre-Greek*). The discussions in Frisk and DELG are typical examples of the wrong method to explain away the characteristics of Pre-Greek.

βολβός [m.] 'onion; purse-tassels, Muscari comosum' (Att., Arist.). ◄ONOM►
•DER βολβίον (Hp.), βολβάριον (Epict.), βολβίσκος (*AP*) 'small onion'. From βολβός the plant βολβίνη (Thphr., see Strömberg 1937: 86). On the fishnames βολβίδιον, βολβίτιον, βολβιτίνη see ►βόλβιτον; also βολβῖτις, βολβιτίς. See Thompson 1947: 33.
•ETYM The form of the word is expressive, sound-symbolic, with a kind of reduplication. There are no direct relatives. It is reminiscent of words for round, globular objects, like Lat. *bulla* 'water bubble', βυλλά· βεβυσμένα 'stuffed objects' (H.), Lith. *burbulas* 'water bubble', etc.; cf. βομβυλίς s.v. ►βόμβος. Further, similar to Arm. *bołk* 'radish' (less adequate, however, is Skt. *bálba-ja-* [m.] kind of grass, 'Eleusine indica', originally 'balba-born'); cf. Pok. 103 and WH s.v. *bulbus*. Lat. *bulbus* is a loan. Cf. ►βῶλος.

βολέω ⇒βάλλω.

βολεών 'dunghill' (Din.). ◄GR?►
•DER βολεός 'heaped' (inscr. II^{a}, LSJ Supp.), of λίθοι 'stones' as boundary marks.
•ETYM Generally derived from βάλλω, but this could be deceptive. The suffix is obscure; see Chantraine 1933: 164. βολεός may or may not be cognate.

βολίζη [f.] 'female slave in Crete' (Seleucus *apud* Ath. 267c). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

βόλινθος [m.] 'aurochs, the European bison', = βόνασος (Arist.). ◄PG(S)►
•ETYM The conclusion, on the basis of βόνασος, that the word derives from *βόνινθος is most uncertain. The influence of βοῦς is also a mere guess. No etymology. Probably Pre-Greek; cf. Krahe *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 180 and Krause 1958: 62f.

βόλιτον ⇒βόλβιτον.

βομβοία [f.] · ἡ κολυμβὰς ἐλαία παρὰ Κυπρίοις 'olive pickled in brine (Cypr.)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

βόμβος [m.] 'noise with a low tone' (IA). ◁ONOM, PG▷

•DER βομβέω 'give a low tone, hum' (Il.). βομβάξ interj., as ironic imitation of a swollen style (Ar. *Th.* 45), with intensive reduplication βομβαλοβομβάξ (ibid. 48). Related are: βομβυλιός (accent. acc. to Hdn. 1, 116; IA) 'humming insect', also vase with a small neck (from the sound when emptied), also βομβύλην· λήκυθον 'a vase' (H.) and βομβυλία· κρήνη ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ 'source in Boeotia' (H.); with different mg.: βομβυλίδας· πομφόλυγας 'waterbubbles' (H.). βόμβυξ, -ῡκος [m.] 'low sounding flute, the lowest tone of a flute' (Ar.); also βομβυκίας (of κάλαμος 'reed-pipe'; Thphr.); Βομβύκᾱ [f.] name of a flute player (Theoc.); also 'drone', with βομβύκιον kind of bee (Arist.). Glosses βομβρύζων· τονθορύζων, βοῶν 'mumbling, shouting'; βομβρυνάζειν· βρενθύεσθαι 'be haughty' (H.). Related is βέμβιξ 'whipping-top; insect'.

•ETYM Although πέμφιξ and πομφόλυξ, variants of βέμβιξ, show typical Pre-Greek charactertistics (e.g. -ῡκ- beside -ῑκ-), the ultimate origin of the word is probably onomatopoeic. Cf. Lith. *bim̃balas*, Latv. *bam̃bals* 'beetle', CS *bubenъ* 'drum', 3sg. Alb. *bubullin* 'it thunders', ON *bumla* [f.] 'drum'. Lat. *bombus* is a Greek loan. See ▶βολβός.

βόμβυξ, -υκος [m.] 'silk-worm' (Arist.). ◁PG▷

•VAR The quantity of the υ is unknown.

•DER βομβύκιον 'cocoon of the β.' (Arist.); βομβύκινος (Lib.).

•ETYM βόμβυξ must be of Anatolian origin, as is also suggested by its structure: it is now known that silk was also produced in Greece itself (Kos and Asia Minor) before it was introduced from the east (Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 65). We may compare several words for 'cotton' (see ▶βαμβάκιον), of which Osman. *pambuk* 'cotton' is the best match. The word may derive from an original **p/bamb-ūk-* (with suffix *-uk-*, probably with long *ū*; cf. also Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 381ff., *DNP*: 347ff.).

βόνασ(σ)ος [m.] 'aurochs' (Arist.). ◁EUR▷

•ETYM Unexplained; generally considered to be a loanword from a European language. There have been attempts to connect it with ▶βόλινθος, which is quite uncertain. Fur.: 213 tries to connect it with Paeonian ▶μόναπος, for which there is no basis.

βορά ⇒βιβρώσκω.

βόρασσος [m.] 'growing spadix of the date with immature fruit' (Dsc. 1, 109, 5). ◁LW Eg.▷

•ETYM Egyptian word; cf. Arab. *bosr* 'unripe date'. See Cuny *REA* 20 (1918): 223f.

βόρατον ⇒βράθυ.

βόρβορος [m.] 'mire, filth' (Asios). ◁?▷

•DER Βορβορῖται name of an association in Thera (inscr.) and of a Manichaean-gnostic sect (Epiph.). Denominatives: βορβορόω, βορβορίζω (Dsc.; = μολύνει H.). See also ►βοβορύζω.

•ETYM Expressive reduplicated formation, probably onomatopoeic (cf. the gloss βορβορίζει s.v. ►βορβορύζω). A connection with Arm. *kork* 'dirt', which would require a reconstruction *$*g^{w}org^{w}(or)o$-, remains very doubtful.

βορβορύζω [v.] 'to rumble' (Hippon., see LSJ Supp.). ◅?▻

•DER βορβορυγή· ποιός τις ἦχος, ὃν καὶ κορκορυγὴν καλοῦσιν 'kind of sound, also called κ.' (H.), βορβορυγμός 'id.' (Hp.); also βορβόρωσις (Archig. *apud* Aët.), as if from βορβορόω (see ►βόρβορος). βορβορίζει· γογγύζει, μολύνει. Κύπριοι 'grumbles, stains (Cypr.)' (H.), βορβορισμός (Cael. Aur.) = βορβορυγμός.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation. Connected with ►βόρβορος, though partly different in meaning (developments like these are not infrequently found in onomatopoeic words). In βορβορίζει, the two meanings come together. No etymology.

βορβύλα · πέμμια στρογγύλον διὰ μήκωνος καὶ σησάμης μεγέθους ἄρτου 'round pastry made from poppy and sesame, of the size of a loaf of bread' (H.). ◅LW Anat.▻

•ETYM Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 661 compares Hitt. ^{NINDA}*purpura*- 'Klotz' or 'Kugel, Knödel'. Names of pastries are frequently borrowed from Asia Minor.

βορέας, -ου [m.] 'north wind, north', also PN (Il.); see Nielsen *Class. et Med.* 7 (1945): 1ff. ◅IE? *$g^{w}(o)rH$- 'mountain'▻

•DIAL Att. (contracted) βορρᾶς, -ᾶ (see Scheller 1951: 114), Ion. βορέης, contracted βορῆς, -έω, Lesb. βορίαις (ι < ε; αι for ᾱ).

•DER βόρειος, Ion. βορήιος (Chantraine 1933: 52) 'of the north wind'; fem. also βορε(ι)άς, βορηιάς (A.). Local adverbs: βορέηθεν, βορρᾶθεν, βορρόθεν, etc. Denominative: βορεύω 'come from the north' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Taken as 'wind from the mountains', related to a word for 'mountain' seen in Skt. *girí*-, Av. *gairi*-, Lith. *gìrė* 'wood', and OCS *gora*; cf. Illyr. *bora* 'mountain' in names (Krahe *IF* 57 (1940): 125ff.), as well as ►δειράς. So the Ὑπερβόρεοι are properly 'those living beyond the mountains' (Pedersen *KZ* 36 (1900): 319). The formation, however, is unclear; see Pedersen 1926: 66, Schwyzer: 461. On wind names in -ίας, see Chantraine 1933: 95. Is the word an IE formation at all?

βόσκω [v.] 'to feed, tend', med. 'to feed oneself' (Il.). ◅IE *$g^{w}eh_{3}$- 'feed, tend'▻

•VAR Fut. βοσκήσω (Od., but see Chantraine 1942: 446), *hapax* βώσεσθε (A. R. 1, 685; see below); ἐβοσκήθην, βεβόσκηκα, ἐβόσκησα are all Hell. and late.

•DIAL Myc. *su-qo-ta-o* /su-g^{w}ŏtāōn/, *qo-u-qo-ta* /g^{w}ou-g^{w}ŏtai/.

•COMP In compounds -βώτης and -βότης (συ-βώ-της, ἱππο-βό-της); αἰγίβοτος 'browsed by goats'; πουλυβότειρα. As a first member in βωτι-άνειρα 'feeding men' (Il.); see Risch 1937: 174.

•DER βοσκή 'fodder, meadow' (A.); βόσκημα 'id.', also 'cattle tended, herd' (trag.). βοσκός 'shepherd' (Aesop.; a back-formation, see Schwyzer 541); fem. βοσκάς 'feeding itself' (Nic.). βόσις 'fodder' (T 268); βοτόν 'cattle', especially 'sheep' (Il.),

βοτάνη 'fodder' (Chantraine 1933: 199), βοτέω 'tend' (Nic., H.); βοτήρ 'shepherd' (o 215; fem. βότειρα (Eust.); βώτωρ (Il.), cf. Benveniste 1948: 29 on the difference between -τωρ and -τήρ.
•ETYM Old IE verb. Its nearest relation is Lith. *gúotas* 'herd' (*g^weh_3-to-); cf. βοτόν (*g^wh_3-to-). ►βοῦς is probably derived from this root.

βόσμαρος [m.] 'Indian millet, Ragi, Eleusine coracana' (Str.). ◅?▻
•VAR βόσμορον (Peripl. M. Rubr.).
•ETYM Unknown.

βόστρυχος [m.] 'curl, lock of hair' (Archil.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Plur. also βόστρυχα (*AP*).
•DER βοστρύχιον, also 'vine-tendril' (Arist., *AP*), βοστρύχια· στέμφυλα 'mass of pressed graped or olives' (H.); cf. βότρυχος s.v. ►βότρυς; βοστρυχηδόν 'in locks' (Luc.). βοστρυχίζω, βοστρυχόομαι. On the suffix -χ- see Chantraine 1933: 402.
•ETYM Unknown. The suffix -υχ- could well be Pre-Greek (-υC- is frequent), and such origin is probable for the whole word. On the confusion with ►βότρυς, see there.

βοτάνη ⇒βόσκω.

βότις a fish (Sophr.). ◅?▻
•VAR βότις· βόλτιον H., considered corrupt by Latte; on sufficient grounds?
•ETYM Perhaps identical with ►βατίς.

βότρυς, -υος [m.] 'bunch of grapes' (Il.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Also acc. βότρυα (Euph.), LSJ Supp.
•DER βοτρυηρός 'of the genus grapes' (Thphr., cf. οἰνηρός Chantraine 1933: 233). βοτρυῖτης, -ῖτις (λίθος) kind of pearl, 'Calamine' (Dsc.). Adverb βοτρυδόν (Il.). Isolated βοτρυμός· τρυγητός 'vintage' (H.), as if from *βοτρύω; see Schwyzer: 492. After βόστρυχος arose βότρυχος 'lock of hair' (Pherecr.; probably E. *Or.* 1267) and βοστρύχιον 'vine-tendril' and βοστριχίτης, see ►βόστρυχος.
•ETYM Like ἄμπελος, the word is probably Pre-Greek. It is hardly Semitic (Hebr. *boṣer* 'uvae immaturae acerbae'), as per Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 661. Fur.: 302 considers it originally to have been identical with βόστρυχος (interchange στ/ τ); this is very doubtful.

βου- augmentative prefix. ◅GR▻
•ETYM This meaning seems to have developed from the bahuvrīhi compounds of the type 'having X like a β.' See βούβρωστις, βουγάιε, etc. Cf. DELG and further Richardson *BICS* 8 (1961): 15-22 and Richardson *Hermathena* 96 (1962): 92.

βοῦα [f.]? · ἀγέλη παίδων. Λάκωνες 'a group of children (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•VAR Wrong accent acc. to DELG. βουόα· ἀγέλη τις 'a herd' (*EM*; perhaps from βουσόα, to σεύειν? But original σσ would not have disappeared; Wahrmann *Glotta* 17 (1929): 242 supposes an hyperarchaism).
•DER βουαγόρ· ἀγελάρχης, ὁ τῆς ἀγέλης ἄρχων παῖς. Λάκωνες 'slave who watches over the herd (Lacon.)' (H.); also βουαγός, βοαγός (inscr.). Further συμβοῦαι·

συνωμόται 'confederate'. συμβουάδ<δ>ει· ὑπερμαχεῖ. Λάκωνες 'fight in defense of' (H.).

•ETYM According to von Blumenthal 1930: 9, the word is Illyrian for φυή; this is semantically improbable. See Bechtel 1921, 2: 368f. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 242.

βουαγετόν [m.]/[n.]? · ὑπό βοῶν εἱλκυσμένον ξύλον 'piece of wood drawn by oxen' (H.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM The word is simply from βοῦς and ἄγω.

βουάκραι [f.] · οἱ φοίνικες ὑπό Λακώνων (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. LSJ translates 'palms', but it is impossible to know if this was really the intended sense.

βουβάλιον 1 [n.] 'bracelet' (Com., inscr.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Mostly plur. -ια. Cf. βουπάλινα (Delos) and βουπαλίδες· περισκελίδες 'leg-bands' (H.).

•ETYM The variation β ~ π points to Pre-Greek origin (so not from πάλλω!). For the suffix -ιν-, Fur.: 145, 373 refers to γοσσύπινον, ἀπόλινον. The word is hardly connected with βούβαλις 'antelope' (as per L. Robert 1963: 24-30).

βουβάλιον 2 [n.] 'wild cucumber, ἄγριος σικυός' (Ps. Diosc., Hp. *apud* H.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Explained from the prefix ►βου- and ►βάλλω, see André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 40-2, but this looks like a folk-etymological explanation; the structure of the word is strange. As a plant name, the word is rather Pre-Greek.

βούβαλις, -ι(δ)ος [f.] '(African) antilope' (Hdt.); see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 52; Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 263. ◅?▻

•VAR Also βούβαλος [m.] (Arist.).

•ETYM The word seems to contain ►βοῦς, but this is rather a secondary association, as the formation is unclear. It was borrowed as Lat. *būbalus*, whence later *bufalus*, OFr. *bufle*, E *buffalo*.

βουβάρας · (1) μεγαλοναύτης, παρὰ τὴν βᾶριν 'great sailor [?], after the β. (a flat-bottomed boat)' καὶ (2) μέγα βάρος ἔχων 'having heavy weight' καὶ (3) αὐχηματίας 'boaster' ἢ (4) ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀναίσθητος ἄνθρωπος 'great and unnoticed man' (H.). ◅GR, ?▻

•VAR Cod. βοβ-. Cf. βούβαρις· νεὼς ὄνομα 'name of a ship' (H.).

•ETYM In (3) the ms. has και αύχηματίας; καυχητίων ex EM Alb. The other definitions are clear.

βούβαστις [f.] 'groin' (Aët.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Related to ►βουβών; further unknown. DELG improbably considers it to have been coined after the Egyptian goddess Βούβαστις. Note that Pre-Greek has a suffix -(α)στ-; see *Pre-Greek*.

βούβητις, -ιος [f.] 'stream for watering cattle'(?) (*Tab. Heracl.* 2, 13, 14). ◅?▻

•ETYM Since the word is Doric, it is not related to ἔβην (ἔβᾱν). The form *-βα-ετις (Schwyzer: 270) has no basis. The old connection with Lith. *gẽtis* 'Viehtrift' seems impossible, as a labiovelar would yield δ-. Foreign origin (Kretschmer *KZ* 30 (1890): 579, Fraenkel 1910: 116 A. 1) is always possible, but βου- suggests a Greek word.

βούβρωστις [f.] 'ravenous appetite' (Ω 532), also as a goddess. ◁GR?▷

•ETYM The meaning is not quite certain: 'hunger' does not fit well in Homer, and in antiquity it was interpreted as οἶστρος 'gadfly'. The word seems to have an augmentative ►βου- (Schwyzer: 434), like βούλιμος and βούπεινα (which are possibly synonymous), and a second element as in βιβρώσκω; it is modelled after νῆστις (Risch 1937: 39), but as an agent noun (like ►ἄμπωτις).

βουβών, -ῶνος [m.] 'groin' (Il.); 'swollen gland' (Hp.). ◁?▷

•VAR Late also βομβών (Moeris; after βόμβος?).

•DER βουβωνίσκος 'bandage for the groin' (Heliod. *apud* Orib.; cf. γραφίσκος, etc., Chantraine 1933: 408); βουβώνιον the plant 'Aster amellus' (Dsc., Strömberg 1940: 87). Denominative βουβωνιάω 'to suffer from swollen glands' (Ar.).

•ETYM Unknown. Formation like μυών, σιαγών. Connection with βουνός 'hill' is morphologically impossible. It can hardly be related to Skt. *gavīnī́* [f.du.] 'part of the lower body'. If the (late) variant βόμβων is reliable, the word is then be Pre-Greek.

βουγάΐε [m.] 'braggart'? (N 824, σ 79). ◁?▷

•VAR Schol. βουκαίε.

•ETYM Contains the prefix ►βου- as in ►βούβρωστις, βουκόρυζα, βούπαις, etc.; the second member could be related to the pres. ►γαίω (cf. κύδεϊ γαίων). The ᾱ is problematic (Zenodotus wrote βουγήϊε; Chantraine 1942: 22). See Latacz 1966: 129f.

βουκάτια [n.pl.] a festival in Delphi (inscr.). ◁IE? **tḱen-* 'slay'▷

•DER Βουκάτιος name of a month.

•ETYM The analysis as 'killing of cows' (from καίνω) is factually correct. Puhvel *KZ* 79 (1964-5): 7ff. (after Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930: 372) reads '(festival) of 100 cows' as in Skt. *go-śatam*. Note that ►ἑκατόν derives from **dḱm̥-tom* > **ekaton*, and that the **d* also leaves a trace in the decades in **-dḱomth₂* > -ήκοντα. This shows that the **-t-* did not cause lengthening.

βουκόλος [m., adj.] 'cowherd' (Il.). ◁IE **kʷel(H)-* 'turn around'▷

•DIAL Myc. *qo-u-ko-ro* /gʷou-kolos/.

•DER βουκολίαι 'herds of cattle' (*h. Merc.*), βουκόλια (-ιον) 'id.' (Hdt.); βουκολεῖον 'office of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς' (Arist. *Ath.* 3, 5; cf. πρυτανεῖον); βουκολίς [f.], also [adj.] 'pasture' (D. H.); βουκολίσκος kind of bandage (Gal.; cf. βουβωνίσκος s.v. ►βουβών); βουκολίνη· κίγκλος τὸ ὄρνεον 'the bird κ.' (H.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.; βουκολικός 'ptng. to the shepherd', "bucolic" (Theoc.). Denominative βουκολέω (Il.), βουκολιάζομαι, -ιάζω 'sing shepherd songs' (Theoc.). From βουκόλος, as a short name, Βοῦκος (Theoc.).

•ETYM Old compound of βοῦς and πέλομαι, cognate with OIr. *búachaill*, MW *bugail* 'shepherd'. Cf. ►αἰπόλος and ►ἀμφίπολος.

βουκονιστήριον [n.] 'arena for bulls' (*IGRom.* 3, 484, Oenoanda II^{p}). ◁GR▷
•ETYM For κονιστήριον (Vitr., Pergamon), cf. κονίστρα 'arena' (Heberdey and Kalinka 1897: 2, 70). Acc. to Robert *Hellenika* 3 (1946): 149f., however, it must be equated with βυκανιστήριον.

βουλιμία [f.] 'hunger like a bull' (Timocl.). ◁GR▷
•DER βουλιμιάω [v.] 'to have hunger like a bull' (Ar.). βουλιμώττω (Suid.) = βουλιμιάω.
•ETYM From βούλιμος, properly an adjective (Alex.), but also = βουλιμία (Plu.) by association with λιμός; see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 59. In contains augmentative ►βου-, as in ►βούβρωστις, ►βουγάϊε.

βούλομαι [v.] 'want, wish' (Il.). ◁IE *$g^{w}el$- (*$g^{w}elh_3$-?) 'want, wish'▷
•VAR The other tenses are based on the present: βουλήσομαι, ἐβουλήθην, βεβούλημαι. On βέβουλα (A 113) see below.
•DIAL Arc.-Cypr. Eretr. (also Hom., see Chantraine 1942: 311) βόλομαι, Lesb. βόλλομαι, Dor. (Cret.) βώλομαι; Thess. βέλλομαι, Boeot. βείλομη, Dor. (Heracl., etc.) δήλομαι, Locr. Delph. δείλομαι.
•DER βουλή 'will, decision, council' (Il.); Dor. Arc. βωλά, Lesb. βόλλα. Denominative βουλεύω (βωλ-, βολλ-εύω), -ομαι 'deliberate' (Il.), with many derivatives: βούλευμα, βουλεία, βουλευτής, βουλευτήριον 'council chamber'.
•ETYM The verb has been much discussed, yet there is no agreement on its prehistory (the root must have been *$g^{w}el$-/$g^{w}ol$-). We can assume that there was a perfect *βέβολα with present meaning, a trace of which could be found in προ-βέβουλα (A 113), with ου from βούλομαι. The o-vocalism and the β- may have spread from there. (We cannot exclude influence from βουλή, but this is probably itself to be derived from the present.) However, it seems doubtful that the perfect alone is the source of the pervasive o-vocalism. The central problem is the origin of the present, for which a suffix *-n-* or *-s-* has been assumed, although Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 315f. maintains that only -λν- can explain the compensatory lengthening (see also Slings *Mnem.* 28 (1975): 1-16). Peters 1986: 311 suggested a root in *-h_3, which may help to explain the o-vocalism: a nasal present *$g^{w}l$-*n*-h_3- would have yielded *βαλνο- [or βλανο-?], which was replaced by *βολν-, and Pamphylian βΟΛΕμενος would have βολε- < *βελο- < *$g^{w}elh_3$-. However, Peters' solution remains problematic because we have no evidence of βλω-, nor is there a clear basis for the introduction of the *o*-vocalism.

βουλῡτός [m.] lit. "unyoking of the oxen", 'evening' (Π 779 = ι 58, in βουλυτόν δε). ◁GR▷
•ETYM From ►βοῦς and ►λύω with a suffix -το- (Chantraine 1933: 303). The length in λῡ- is caused by a laryngeal, also seen in Lat. *so-lū-tus*, Skt. *lū-na-* 'cut off', and in ToAB *läw^{ā}-* 'to send'.

βουνός [m.] 'hill' (Hdt.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR βουνός· στιβάς, κύπριοι 'bed of leaves, matress (Cypr.)' (H.).

•DER βοῦνις [f.] 'hilly' (A.; cf. θοῦρις). Plant names βουνιάς 'Brassica napus' (Agatharch.) and βούνιον 'Bunium ferulaceum' (Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 117. βουνίτης epithet of Pan, but reinterpreted as containing βοῦς; Dor. βωνίτης.

•ETYM Acc. to Hdt. 4, 199, the word is Cyrenaean, but it is actually Doric (Solmsen *BPhW* 1906: 756f.). It is a dialectal word that spread in Hellenistic times (DELG). Fur.: 208, 213 cites μουνιάς, μουνιαδικόν as variants of βουνιάς, which may point to Pre-Greek origin. He further adduces Basque *muno* 'hill', and additionally refers to προύνους· βουνοὺς (H.). Fur.: 213[53] thinks that βουνός· στιβάς 'bed of straw' derives from βύνω.

βουπαλίδες •VAR βουπάλινα. ⇒βουβάλιον.

βούπρηστις [adj.] 'poisonous beetle' (Nic.); also a plant, Bunias erucago? (Thphr.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM See Amigues *RPh.* 64 (1990): 89-97, who interprets it as 'who inflames cattle', and explains the plant name as secondary to that of the animal.

βούπτινον [m.]/[n.]? · βοτάνη, λεγομένη τρίφυλλον 'a plant called clover' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Fur.: 318 thinks that the word is Pre-Greek because of the group πτ, which is quite possible.

βουρδών [m.] 'mule' (Edict. Dioclet.). ◁LW Lat.▷

•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *burdō*.

βοῦς [f., m.] 'cow, bull, ox' (Il.). ◁IE *$g^{w}eh_{3}$-u- 'cow'▷

•VAR Gen. βοός; acc. βῶν (Dor. and H 238), Dor. nom. βῶς; Att. acc. βοῦν after βοῦς (see below).

•DIAL Myc. *qo-o* /g^{w}ōns/? (Ruijgh 1967a: 131).

•COMP As a first member, βου-, βο(ϝ)- (before vowel): βουκόλος, βούβοτος, ►βούτυρον, βοηλάτης, ►βοῶπις. On augmentative ►βου- s.v. and ►βούβρωστις, ►βουγάιε, ►βουλιμία. See also ►ἑκατόμβη. As a second member also -βοιος, e.g. ἐννεά-βοιος (Il.) < *-βοϝιο- = Skt. *gávya-* (see below).

•DER Diminutives βοΐδιον (Ar.), βούδιον (Hermipp., pap.). Further βούτης 'cowherd', also adj. 'of a cow' (A.), with πολυ-βούτης 'rich in cows'; βοεύς 'strap of cow-leather' (β 426), βοών, -ῶνος [m.] 'cow-sty' (Heraklea).

Adjectives: βόειος, βόεος 'bovine' (Il.), substantivized fem. βοείη, βοέη 'cow-hide' (Il.). With a suffix -κ-: βοει-κός (Th. et al.) and βο-ϊκός (Elis, Priene); also βόϊνος (gloss., Eust.); βοώδης (Adam., Apollon. *Lex.*).

Denominative verb βοόω 'to transform into an ox' (Eust.).

On Βοῦκος, βουκαῖος see ►βουκόλος. See also ►βοῦα and ►βουσός.

•ETYM βοῦς is cognate of Skt. *gáuḥ*, acc. *gā́m* (= βῶν), Lat. *bōs* (from Osc.-Umbr.), gen.pl. *boum* = βοῶν = Skt. *gávām*, U acc. *bum* = βῶν; Arm. *kov* (*u*-stem), OIr. *bó*, OHG *chuo*, ToA *ko*, ToB *ke$_{u}$*, Latv. *gùovs* all 'cow', OCS *gov-ędo* 'cattle'. Adjective *$g^{w}ou$-io-* in -βο(ϝ)ιος = Skt. *gávya-*, Arm. *kogi* 'butter'.

The root was probably *$g^{w}eh_{3}$-, as seen in ►βόσκω 'to tend'; the circumflex accent in the nom.sg. points to a lost laryngeal. The original inflection is still unclear: we expect *$g^{w}eh_{3}$-u-s*, gen. *$g^{w}h_{3}$-eu-s* (proterodynamic); the latter form explains Av. *gaoš*

and Gr. βοϝός, but not Skt. *gáuḥ*, nor the acc. *gā́m*, βών, which look like old forms. The Greek nom. could be **g^{w}eh$_3$-us* > βοῦς; the acc. may have been **g^{w}ōm* < older **g^{w}oum*.

βουσός [f.] 'path for cows', only dat. βουσοῖ (Orchomenos, Arcadia, Schwyzer: 664, 15; 18). ◁GR?▷
•ETYM From *βου-σόϝος (Schwyzer: 450); related to ►σεύω. Cf. μιλοσόη· ὁδός, δι' ἧς πρόβατα ἐλαύνεται. 'Ρόδιοι 'road on which cattle is driven (Rhod.)' (H.), as well as ►βοῦα. Not related to Ion. βυσσός 'depth, bottom' (as per Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 22).

βουτάνη [f.] A: · (1) μέρος τι τῆς μακρᾶς νεώς 'part of a long ship'; (2) ἡ μάστιξ 'a whip', ἡ (3) τάνυσις τῆς βοείας 'force of an ox'. (4) μέρος δὲ τῆς νεώς, πρὸς ὃ τὸ πηδάλιον δεσμιεύεται 'part of the ship to which the rudder is tied'. (5) διηλοῖ δὲ καὶ μάχην 'a battle'. (6) ἀηδίαν 'nausea'. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Cf. B: βουστάνη· βοοστασία, ἡ τῶν βοῶν στάσις 'cowshed'. (2) ἡ μάστιξ 'whip', (3) καὶ πληγή 'blow'.
•ETYM Glosses A1, B3, and A4, which was added later, are unexplained. Gloss A2 is identical to B2: they show the typical Pre-Greek variation τ ~ στ (Fur.: 304f). For A5, Fur. compares βύτανα· κόνδυλοι 'knuckle, swelling' (H.), and for A6, he suggests that a gloss βούταλις (Aisop. 85) ἀηδών was lost (Fur. 305f.). A3 and B1 are probably folk etymologies from antiquity.

βοῦτ(τ)ις [f.] 'vase in the form of a frustum of a cone' (Hero). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also βούτη.
•ETYM Lat. *buttis* may be borrowed from Greek; the Greek word itself is evidently Pre-Greek because of the alternation τ ~ ττ. See ►βυτίνη, βωτίον, ►βωσίον (cf. also Szemerényi *BSOAS* 19 (1957): 627f.).

βούτῡρον [n.] 'butter' (Hp.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Also βούτυρος (Gal.), after τυρός.
•ETYM From βοῦς and τυρός; cf. βούσταθμον (: σταθμός). Lat. *būtȳrum* is borrowed from the Greek, and from the Latin in turn OHG *butera*, MoDu. *boter*, etc. See Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 177f.

βοῶπις [adj.] epithet of Hera: 'with the head of a cow'(?), 'with the eyes of a cow' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM From ►βοῦς and ►*ὤψ.

βρά [?] · ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἠλείων 'brothers [Elean]' (cod. Ιλειων) (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM If the word is related to φράτηρ, it could perhaps be an Illyrian element in the Elean dialect, cf. Alb. *vëlla* 'brother', which is unexplained otherwise (Demiraj 1997; cf. also Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 33; Pisani *Sprache* 7 (1961): 100). Latte even reads Ἰλλυρίων for the Ιλειων of the manuscript.

βραβεύς [m.] 'judge at the games, arbitrator, umpire; leader' (S.). ◁PG?▷
•DIAL Here perhaps Myc. *mo-ro-qa*, but form and mg. (a person, official?) are unknown.

•DER βράβευμα 'decision of a judge' (S.), βραβεία 'decision' (E.), βραβεῖον 'prize' (Men.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. Probably Pre-Greek (see Chantraine 1933: 125). In order to account for the Myc. form (where /a/ may phonetically be [o]), we may reconstruct **mrogʷ-*, **mragʷ-*, or **mr̥gʷ-*. If this word is of Pre-Greek origin indeed, this could imply that the athletic contests, too, are part of the Pre-Greek heritage.

βράβῠλον [n.] 'sloe, Prunus spinosa' (Theoc.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR βράβυλος [f.] (Aret.). Mss. also βραβι-, βραβη-; also βάρβιλος (Gp).

•ETYM Unknown; a loanword. Cf. βραβύλη = ἀνεμώνη ἡ φοινικῆ (Ps.-Dsc.). See André 1956 s.v. *brabilla*.

βράγος [?] · ἕλος 'marsh-meadow' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM βράγος might somehow be related to βράχος, βράχεα 'shallows' (Hdt.). For these words, Fick *BB* 29 (1905): 199f. proposed that they are of Macedonian origin, whereas Çabej 1969: 176 compared Alb. *bërrakë* 'sumpfiges Land'. According to Moutsos *KZ* 88 (1974): 74-76, who reads βραγός (as in the ms.), the word means 'embankment, garden-plot' (however, his IE etymology remains quite uncertain).

βράγχος [m.] 'hoarseness, angina' (Hp.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also βάραγχος (Hippon.), βράγχη [f.] (Xenocr.) 'id.' and βραγχία· ἡ περιτράχηλος ἀλγηδών 'pain around the neck' (H.).

•DER βραγχαλέος 'hoarse' (Hp.), βραγχός 'id.' (*AP*). βραγχάω, βραγχιάω [v.] 'to have a sore throat' (Arist.); βραγχιάζοισθε· πνίγοισθε 'choke, stifle' (H.). Different mg. in βράγχια [pl.] 'gills of fishes, bronchial tubes', also βαράγχια, βαράχνια (Hdn.).

•ETYM The resemblance with βρόγχος 'windpipe' may have caused the semantic shift of βράγχια. Fur. 128, 276 connects the word with βραχώδης· τραχύς 'rough, harsh' (H.), βρακίας· τραχεῖς τόπους 'rough places' (H.), and βαρακινῆσιν· ἀκάνθαις. σκόλοψι 'thorns, palisade' (H.). Thus, we arrive at a set of variants βρακ-/ βραχ-/ βραγχ-, which are typical of Pre-Greek. The aorist βραχεῖν 'rattle, clash' (Johansson *KZ* 36 (1900): 345f.) may also be connected as 'produce a raw sound'. The additional α in the first syllable of βάραγχος (Schwyzer: 278, 831) may be due to purely phonetic epenthesis, but this type of variation, too, is frequent in Pre-Greek words as well (Fur.: 378-385).

βραδύς [adj.] 'slow' (Il.). ◁IE? **gʷrd-u-* 'slow'▷

•VAR Compar. and superl. βραδύτερος, -τατος, also βραδίων, βάρδιστος and βραδίστατος (Ael.).

•DER βραδυτής, -τῆτος 'slowness' (Il.), βράδος 'id.' (X.; after τάχος). Denominative βραδύνω 'retard' (A.).

•ETYM βραδύς may morphologically be identical with Lith. *gurdŭs* 'slow', Latv. *guŗds* 'tired', reflecting **gʷrdŭ-* (Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 172; Fraenkel *KZ* 69 (1951): 76ff.). Lat. *gurdus* 'dolt, heavy' can be connected as well (De Vaan 2008 s.v.).

βράθυ [n.] 'savin, Juniperus sabina'; also 'Juniperus foetidissima' (Dsc.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR Also βόρατον [n.] (D. S.); βορατίνη (Aq.).

•ETYM βράθυ has been compared with a Semitic word, Aram. *bᵉrāt*, Hebr. *bᵉrōš*, Assyr. *burāšu* 'cypress'; Lat. *bratus* (Plin.), an Anatolian cypress, must go back to the same source (Lewy 1895: 34; Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 671).
Fur.: 187 thinks it is rather a loan word from the Near East, comparing κυπάρισσος and Hebr. *gōfer* (this might be supported by the suffix -ιν-). For the *u*-stem, cf. μῶλυ, μίσυ, and σῶρυ (Chantraine 1933: 119), as well as δάκρυ 'resin'.

βράθυ 2 · πόα τις θεοῖς θυομένη 'some herb offered to the gods' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

βράκαι [f.pl.] 'breeches' (pap., inscr., D. S.), worn by Gauls. ◂LW Celt.▸
•ETYM Borrowed from Celtic, just like Lat. *brācae*.

βράκαλον ⇒ῥόπαλον.

βράκανα [n.] · τά ἄγρια λάχανα 'wild vegetables' (H.; also Pherecr., Luc.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM βράκανα has been compared with OHG *moraha*, OE *moru* 'carrot'. Fur.: 330 rather compared βάκανον 'cabbage(-seed)' (Aët.), which requires the assumption of an alternation β ~ βρ (or even β ~ βδ ~ βρ); for such an alternation there are indeed parallels in the Pre-Greek lexicon.

βρακεῖν [v.] · συνιέναι 'to comprehend'; βράξαι· συλλαβεῖν, δακεῖν, καταπιεῖν 'to put together, comprehend; bite; gulp down' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Perhaps also to be considered here is δυσβράκανον· δυσχερές, ... δυσκατανόητον 'hard to manage, ... hard to understand' (H.). Since Roth *KZ* 19 (1870): 223, the word has been connected with Skt. *mṛśáti* 'touch, take, seize' (**mṛ́k-*). Further comparisons have been with βράψαι· συλλαβεῖν, ἀναλῶσαι, κρύψαι, θηρεῦσαι 'comprehend; spend; hide; hunt' and βράπτειν· ἐσθίειν, κρύπτειν, ἀφανίζειν, τῷ στόματι ἕλκειν, ἢ στενάζειν 'eat; hide; render invisible; suck up with the mouth; sigh', as either influenced by μάρψαι or related to it (with assimilation of κ to initial μ-, giving π; Schwyzer: 302). All of these comparisons are uncertain (see ▸μάρπτω). Cf. further βράκετον· ... πλῆθος 'crowd' and βράττειν· πληθύνειν, βαρύνειν 'multiply, oppress' (H.). See Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 200. See ▸βρόξαι.

βράκος [m.]? · κάλαμος, ἱμάτιον πολυτελές 'reed; an expensive cloak' (H., also Sappho 57, Theoc. 28,11). ◂?▸
•ETYM The word has been identified with ▸ῥάκος 'ragged cloth', but the meaning does not fit. Also, the first gloss is unclear. Perhaps the word goes back to **u̯r̥ko-*, parallel to γάρκαν· ῥάβδον 'rod' (H.; Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 199f.).

βράπτειν ⇒βρακεῖν.

βράσσω [v.] 'to shake violently, agitate, boil (up), winnow' (Ar.). ◂?▸
•VAR Att. βράττω, also ἐκ-βρήσσω (Gal.), aor. βρᾶσαι, ἐβράσθην, fut. βράσω, perf. βέβρασμαι. In H., · τὸ ἡσυχῇ ὀδύρεσθαι 'wailing in silence'. Also βράζω 'be boiling'.
•DER βρασμός 'boiling', βράσμα 'id.', βρασματίας 'upheaval' (Posidon., etc.; cf. μυκητίας σεισμός, σεισματίας Chantraine 1933: 94f.), βράσις 'boiling' (Orib.). βράστης [m.] 'earthquake' (Arist.), βραστήρ 'winnowing-fan' (gloss.).

•ETYM Bezzenberger *BB* 27 (1902): 152f. connected the word with Latv. *murdēt* 'boil up', Lith. *mùrdau, mùrdyti* "etwas im Wasser rüttelnd behandeln"; this is uncertain.

βράσσων ⇒βραχύς.

βραυκανᾶσθαι [v.] · ἐπὶ τῶν κλαιόντων παιδίων λέγεται ὡς μίμημα φωνῆς 'is said when children weep, onomatopoeic' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Related to βροῦκος?

βραχεῖν [v.] · ἠχῆσαι, ψοφῆσαι 'to sound' (H.), 'to rattle, clash' (Il.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Aor. βράχε, ἔβραχε. Perhaps here βράχαλον· χρεμετισμόν 'neighing' (H.).
•ETYM Possibly related to ▸βράγχος.

βραχίων, -ονος [m.] 'upper arm', as opposed to ▸πῆχυς (Il.). ◂GR?▸
•DER βραχιόνιον 'armlet' (Delos II^{a}), βραχιονιστήρ 'id.' (Plu.), see Chantraine 1933: 327f.; βραχιάλιον, -άριον (Sm.), βραχιόλιον (Alex. Trall.) from Lat. *bracchiale, bracchiolum.*
•ETYM According to Pollux 2, 138 originally the comparative of ▸βραχύς: ὅτι ἐστὶ τοῦ πήχεως βραχύτερος 'because it is shorter than the forearm'. However, the phonetically regular reflex of **mr̥ǵʰ-ios-* is probably seen in βράσσων (K 226): βραχίων would have to be a later formation. Alternatively, Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 147f. (see also Ruijgh 1991b: 585) assumes that it has the same suffix as Κυλλοποδίων. The word was borrowed as Lat. *bracchium*, which in turn was the source of MW *braich*, etc.

βραχύς [adj.] 'short' (Hdt., Pi.). ◂IE **mr̥ǵʰú-* 'short'▸
•VAR Grades of compar. βραχύτερος, -τατος, βράχιστος. βραχίων (in this sense only Choerob., elsewhere 'upper arm', s.v.); hapax legomenon βράσσων τε νόος (K 226), after θάσσων?
•DIAL Aeol. βροχύς.
•DER βραχύτης, -τητος (Pl.); τὸ βράχος (only Procop.). Denominative βραχύνω 'shorten' (Hp.). On βράχεα [n.pl.] 'shallows' see ▸βράγος.
•ETYM βραχύς (< **mrǵʰú-*) finds a morphological match in Skt. *múhuḥ, múhu* [adv.] 'suddenly', *muhūrtá-* [n.] 'short time, moment' (Prakritisms for **mr̥hú-*), Av. *mərəzu-* 'short' in *mərəzu-jīti-, mərəzu-juua-* 'short life' resp. 'short-lived' (cf. ὁ βίος βραχύς [Hp.]), Sogd. *murzak* 'id.', OHG *murg(i)* 'short', and OE *myrge* 'entertaining' ("kurzweilig"). Further related are Go. *ga-maurgjan* 'to shorten', and Lat. *brevis* (< **mreǵʰu-i-*).

βρέγμα •VAR βρεγμός. ⇒βρεχμός.

βρέγμα 2 ⇒βρέχω.

βρέγμα 3 [n.] a substance found in peppercorns (Dsc.2, 159). ◂LW India▸
•ETYM Word of Indian origin, acc. to Pliny *NH* XII, 14,27; see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 64.

βρεκεκεκέξ [interj.] imitation of the sound of frogs (Ar. *Ran.* 209). ◂ONOM▸

βρέμω [v.] 'to roar, grumble' (Il.). ◂ONOM▸
•VAR Only pres.
•COMP βαρύ-βρομος, etc.; -βρεμι-έτης in ἐρι-, ὑψι-βρεμ-έτης (Il.). -βρέν-τᾱς in ἀναξι-βρέν-τᾱς, ἀργι-βρέν-τᾱς. Also αἰολο-βρόντᾱς from βροντάω.
•DER βρόμος 'loud noise' (Il.) whence βρόμιος 'boisterous' (Pi.), Βρόμιος as a name of Bacchos (A.). -βροντή 'thunder' (Il.), Βρόντης name of a Cyclops (Hes.), Βροντήσιος (Ζεύς); βροντέα name of a precious stone (Plin.). Denominative βροντάω 'to thunder' (Il.). βρενταί· βρονταί (H.). Deverbative βρομέω (iterative-intensive) (Il.); βρωμιάομαι 'cry' (Ar.). Further βρεμεαίνων· ἠχῶν H., see ▸βλεμεαίνω. Note that the -ντ-forms refer to thunder, whereas the forms with μ and without τ indicate droning sounds in general.
•ETYM Although βρέμω resembles Lat. *fremō* 'to rumble, roar', OHG *breman* 'buzz', and MW *brefu* 'roar' (Pok. 142), these cannot be connected, since they derive from **bʰrem-*, whereas Greek has β-. Therefore, it is rather an onomatopoeic word. ▸βρόμος ~ βόρμος in the sense 'oats' (Hp.) is not related, but probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ▸χρεμετίζω.

βρένδον [m.]/[n.]? · ἔλαφον 'deer' (H.). βρέντιον· ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἐλάφου 'a stag's head; the head of a deer' (Str. 6,3,6, *EM*). ◂LW Messap.▸
•ETYM A Messapian word (*EM*), possibly also found in place names, e.g. Βρεντέσιον = *Brundisium*. Further possible cognates are found in NGm., e.g. MoSw. dial. *brind(e)* 'male elk' and MoNw. (dial.) *brund* (Latv. *briêdis*, probably from Gm.); cf. Alb. *bri* 'horn, antlers', without a dental (Demiraj 1997 s.v.). See Krahe 1955: 39; Rix *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1970): 115ff.

βρένθος [m.] is attested in wide variety of (only partly polysemic) meanings: 1. a bird (a waterbird in Arist. *HA* 609ª23, but a singing bird (v.l. βρίνθος) in Arist. *HA* 15ª16 = κόσσυφον 'blackbird' (H.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.); 2. 'pride' (Ath.); 3. · πυθμήν, τύμβος 'bottom, base; tomb' (H.). 4. a perfume βρένθον· μύρον τι 'a perfume' <τῶν παχέων>, ὡς βάκκαρις (an unguent), οἱ δὲ ἄνθινον μύρον 'perfume of flowers' (H.), cf. βρενθινῷ· ἀνθινῷ (H.). 5. βρένθινα· ῥιζάρια τινά, οἷς ἐρυθραίνονται αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς παρειάς 'roots with which women redden their cheeks' · οἱ δὲ ἄγχουσαν, οὐκ εὖ … οἱ δὲ φῦκος ('orchil'?) παρεμιφερὲς κύδει Ἀφροδίτης (H.) 6. βρένθις = θρίδαξ (Nic. fr. 120), βρένθιξ· θριδακίνη. Κύπριοι 'lettuce (Cypr.)' (H.). ◂?▸
•DER βρένθειον (μύρον; Sapph.). βρένθυς, -υος [f.] 'perfume of βρένθειον μύρον' (Phld.). More usual is βρενθύομαι (pres. only) 'to behave haughtily, swagger' (Ar.), also βρενθύνομαι (*AP*).
•ETYM DELG is of the opinion that the name of the bird is the same word as that for 'arrogance', which is quite doubtful. It suggests that there were two groups, the bird name (and 'arrogance') on the one hand, and the plants and perfume on the other. The word for 'τύμβος' may constitute yet another group. However, these categories remain uncertain.
If the v.l. βρίνθος is reliable, the bird name may be Pre-Greek because of the variation ι/ ε. On the other hand, βρινδεῖν· θυμοῦσθαι, ἐρεθίζειν 'be agitated,

provoke' (H.) is not related (pace von Blumenthal 1930: 6, Krahe *DLZ* 51 (1930): 1654; see also Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 190ff.).

βρέτας, -εος [n.] 'wooden image of a god' (A.). ◁PG?▷
•DER PN Βρέτων (Attica), Bechtel 1917a: 13f.
•ETYM DELG suggests that the word is the Doric equivalent of ►ξόανον, likewise an image of a god. No etymology (see Benveniste *RPh.* 58 (1929)128f.).

βρέφος [n.] 'newborn child, young of an animal' (Il.). ◁IE? *$*g^{w}erb^{h}$- / $g^{w}reb^{h}$- 'child, young'▷
•COMP βρεφο-κτόνος 'child-killing' (Lyc.).
•DER βρεφώδης 'childish' (Ph.), βρεφόθεν 'from childhood' (Eust.).
•ETYM βρέφος is related to OCS *žrěbę, žrěbьcь* 'foal'; the Greek reflects *$*g^{w}reb^{h}$-, but the Slavic must go back to *$*g^{w}erb^{h}$- (in South Slavic, the regular metathesis of PSl. **er* yields *rě*). The appurtenance of MIr. *brommach* 'foal' (< *$*g^{w}romb^{h}āko$-) is uncertain; on Skt. *gárbha-* 'womb', see ►δελφύς.

βρεχμός [m.] 'front part of the head' (Il.). ◁IE? *$*mreg^{h}$-*n*- 'brain(-pan)'▷
•VAR Also βρέγμα [n.] (Stratt.; Schwyzer: 206), βρεγμός (*EM*), βρέχμα (v.l. Alciphr. 3, 5).
•ETYM Not related to βρέχω. The word is rather related to WGm. words for 'brain': OE *brægen*, MLG *bragen*, OFr. *brein*, etc. (PGm. **bragna-*), from *$*mreg^{h}$- or *$*b^{h}reg^{h}$-; cf. also OW *br(e)ithel*. The connection of Benveniste *BSL* 31 (1930): 80 with Av. *mərəzu-* 'cervical vertebra' and MoIran. words for 'neck' from *$*mr̥z$- remains uncertain.

βρέχω [v.] 'to wet, drench' (Hp.). ◁IE? *$*merg^{h}$- 'wet, moisten'▷
•VAR Aor. βρέξαι, βρεχθῆναι, βραχῆναι; ἀναβέβροχεν (P 54).
•DER βροχή 'rain, moistening, inundation' (Democr.), βροχετός (*AP*), βροχμός, βρέγμα (Erot.). βροχίς 'ink-horn' (*AP*), βρόχιον 'id.' (pap.).
•ETYM In spite of the doubts expressed in DELG s.v., and the difference in meaning, βρέχω is possibly related to Latv. *merguôt* 'rain slowly', *merga* 'soft rain', which can be traced back to *$*merg^{h}$- (Trautmann 1923: 182; however, Ru. *morosít'* 'rain slowly' cannot be connected because of its *-s-*). βρεχω would require *$*mreg^{h}$- with schwebeablaut (cf. the discussion s.v. ►βρέφος; perhaps it is a secondary full grade on the basis of a zero grade *βραχ-). See ►βρύχιος.

βρήσσειν [v.] · τὸ μετὰ βηχὸς ἀναπτύειν. ἔνιοι ταῦτα χωρὶς τοῦ ρ γράφουσι 'to spit up by coughing; sometimes written without the ρ' (Gal. *Lex. Hipp.*); βρήσσει· βήσσει 'to bleat, cough' (H.). ◁ONOM▷
•DER βρῆγμα· ἀπόπτυσμα ἀπὸ θώρακος, παρὰ Ἱπποκράτει 'what is spit out from the chest' (H.) Acc. to Bechtel 1917a: 12f., also the Boeot. PN Βρεικίδας (= Βρηκ-) (?).
•ETYM An expressive (onomatopoeic) word, a variant of βήσσειν, perhaps under the influence of ►βραχεῖν. The gloss βρήσσουσιν· βληχῶνται. φωνεῖ τὰ πρόβατα 'calls the cattle' (H.) suggests that the -ρ- is a variant of -λ- (and perhaps of δ in the cluster βδ-?; cf. Fur. 330).

βρί (βρῖ) [?] · ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ τίθεται 'an epithet of the [words] great, strong and fierce' (H.). ◁PG▷

•DIAL The interpretation of Myc. *pi-ri-ta-wo* is uncertain.

•COMP In e.g. βρι-ήπυος 'crying loudly' of Ares (N 521), with ἠπύω (Bechtel 1914 s.v.), Βριάρεως see below, βριηρόν· μεγάλως κεχαρισμένον 'very happy' (H.), Βρίακχος 'Bacchante' (S.) with ἰάχω, Ἴακχος.

•DER βριαρός [adj.] 'strong' (Il.); βριάω [v.] 'to be or make strong, mighty' (Hes.) back-formation from βριαρός? See Schwyzer: 682f., Bechtel l.c.; also βριερός. For Βριάρεως, a giant with hundred arms (Il.), in Hes. Ὀβριάρεως, the interpretation 'who causes much damage (ἀρή)' (Bechtel 1914) is most uncertain; much more probably it is a Pre-Greek name, cf. Fur.: 168[103].

With -θ-: βρῖθω 'to be laden with, be full of' (Il.), perf. βέβρῑθα, aor. βρῖσαι; βρῖθύς 'heavy' (?) (Il.), βρῖθος [n.] 'weight' (Hp.), βριθοσύνη 'id.' (Il.). Here also βρινδεῖν· θυμοῦσθαι, ἐρεθίζειν 'to be agitated, irritate' (H.) with prenasalization of βριθ-? (For the mg., cf. βριμάομαι.) Further ▸βρίμη, ▸βριμάομαι. See also ▸βρίζω and ▸ὕβρις.

•ETYM Since the idea of an old 'ablaut' **ī / ia* must be given up and such cases must be reconstructed as **-ih₂- / -ih₂-e*, βριαρός could in principle continue **gʷrih₂-eros*. The suffix can hardly be anything else, because we cannot assume a derivational system **-i- / -ro-* here, nor has a root *βριαρ any plausibility (pace Benveniste 1935: 15). The connection with ▸βαρύς 'heavy' is very doubtful, as this word continues **gʷrh₂-u-*; a derivative **gʷrh₂-iH-* would have given *βαρῑ-. **gʷr-iH-*, derived from a root without laryngeal, would be possible, but the only evidence for such a root is Skt. *grī-ṣmá-* [m.] 'midsummer' (Wackernagel *KZ* 61 (1934): 197f.). However, the semantics are very weak, and for the explanation of the second part *-ṣmá-* as from *sámā* '[half-]year', Av. *ham-* 'summer' is difficult as the latter derive from **smH-*. As Fur.: 168[104]; 174[122]; 246f. remarks, the word group, meaning 'big, strong, χαλεπός', can be alternatively connected with βριμός 'great, difficult' (see ▸βρίμη). Since βρῑμ- is very probably related to ὄβριμος (cf. ὀβριάρεως), this whole etymon must be of Pre-Greek origin in view of the variants (Fur.: index). See ▸φρμιάσσομαι.

βρία = πόλις, τεῖχος, in Thracian (Str. 7, 6, 1); βρίαν· τὴν ἐπ' ἀγροῖς (ἄκροις?) κώμην 'an unfortified village in the country (in the periphery?)' (H.). ◁LW Thrac.?▷

•ETYM The word has been connected with ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* 'town' (which may continue < **urih₁-en-*) since Lidén 1916: 143f. (see Adams s.v.). ▸ῥίον 'peak, headland' has also been compared. The theory of Pisani *KZ* 75 (1957): 78f. (i.e., that the word is Ligurian) is improbable. Fur.: 270[13] refers to Ἱολτυμβρία, Σηλυ(μ)μβρία and 355 to Βρέα, a town in Thrace. As DELG remarks, the word can hardly be regarded as genuinely Greek.

βριαρός ⇒βρί.

βρίγκα [m.] · τὸ μικρόν. Κύπριοι 'small (Cypr.)' (H.); βρίγκος name of a sea-fish (ap. Ath. 322e), = ἰχθῦς κητώδης 'cetaceous fish' (H.) (Thompson 1947 s.v.); further ἀνωδόρκας· βρίγκος (cod. βρίκχος) ὁ ἰχθῦς, ὑπὸ Θηβαίων 'sea-fish (Theb.)' (H.) (Strömberg 1943: 58); also PN (Eretria). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. For the stem formation, see ▸βρίζω.

βρίζω [v.] 'to be sleepy, nod' (Δ 4, 223, A.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. ἔβριξα (Od., E. *Rh.* 826 [lyr.], v.l. ἔβρισα), βρίξαι· ὑπνῶσαι, νυστάξαι 'sleep, take a nap'; βρισθείς· ὑπνώσας H.; βριζώ, -οῦς [f.] = ἐνυπνιόμαντις (Semus 5). ἄβρικτον· … ἄγρυπνον 'sleepless', ἀβρίξ· ἐγρηγόρως 'awake' (H.; cf. ἀπρίξ s.v. ▶ἄπριγδα and Schwyzer: 620).

•ETYM Unexplained. The connection with βρί-, βρίθω (Curtius 1858: 475; cf. Lat. *somnō gravātus*) is improbable.

βρίθω ⇒βρί.

βρίκελοι [m.] · οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἱστόποδας, ἀπὸ τοῦ βάρους καὶ τοῦ ξύλου· οἱ δὲ βαρβάρους· Δίδυμος δὲ τὰ τραγικὰ προσωπεῖα, παρὰ Κρατίνῳ, οἷον βροτῷ εἴκελοι, ἐν Σεριφίοις 'long beams of the loom, made of a weight and wood; barbarians; characters in tragedy (apud Cratinus, acc. to Didymus); like a mortal (in Cratinus's Seriphians)' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also: βρίκελος· Κρατῖνος Σεριφίοις (204K.) "<αἶρ',> αἶρε δεῦρο τοὺς βρικέλους" ("raise high the beams")· ἔστι δὲ βαρβαρικὸν τὸ ὄνομα, τίθεται δὲ [καὶ] ἐπὶ προσώπων τραγικῶν καὶ εἴρηται οἱονεὶ βροτῷ [ε]ἴκελος ἢ Βριξὶν [ε]ἴκελος. Βρίγες γὰρ ἔθνος βαρβαρικὸν 'the word is barbarian; it is used for tragic characters [too] and it is used like "like a man" or "like a barbarian". For the Βρίγες are a barbaric race.' (Paus. Gr. p. 169 Erbse). Cf. βρικόν· βάρβαρον; βρυκός· βάρβαρος; βρίγες· βάρβαροι. οἱ δὲ σολοικισταί 'barbarian, or those who speek incorrectly' (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps we are dealing with a Pre-Greek word βρικ-/ βρυκ- 'barbarian, foreigner': the variation ι ~ υ is well known, and -ελ- is a Pre-Greek suffix (see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes). The idea that the word has anything to do with Βρίγες is clearly folk-etymological, whereas an interpretation as βροτῷ εἴκελος is a learned etymology. According to Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 166f., it is a Pre-Greek word related to φρίκες· χάρακες 'pointed stick, palisade (?)' (H.). The gloss as ἱστόποδες 'beams' in H. is unclear; perhaps it is inspired by a folk-etymological interpretation of βρίκελοι from βάρος and κελ- (= ξύλον).

βρίμη [f.] · ἀπειλή. καὶ γυναικεία ἀρρητοποιΐα 'threat; also womanly vice' (H., supposed to refer to A. R. 4, 1677 Μηδείης βρίμῃ πολυφαρμάκου); doubtful conj. *h. Hom.* 28, 10 (of Athena); also probably Orph. *Fr.* 79 = 'roaring'. ◁PG▷

•VAR Cf. βριμός· μέγας, χαλεπός 'great, difficult' (H.)

•DER Βριμώ epithet of Hecate and Persephone (A. R.), also Ὀβριμώ; βριμώδης (Herm. *apud* Stob. [?]). Verbs: βρῑμάομαι 'snort with anger' vel sim. (Ar. *Eq.* 855, Phld.) with βρίμημα (H., *APl.* [?]), more usual ἐμ-βριμάομαι (A.); βριμόομαι 'id.' (X.), βριμαίνεται· θυμαίνεται, ὀργίζεται 'is angry, rages'; βριμάζων· τῇ τοῦ λέοντος χρώμενος φωνῇ 'using the voice of the lion'; βριμάζει· ὀργᾷ εἰς συνουσίαν. Κύπριοι 'is longing for company (Cypr.)' (H.).

•ETYM Probably based on βρι- in βριαρός, βρίθω. As these words are rare, their meanings are not quite clear (cf. Solmsen *KZ* 42 (1909): 207[2]). The assumption that the original meaning was 'heaviness, vehemence, energy', etc. is partly based on the wrong etymological connection with βαρύς (see the discussion on ▶βρι-). Pre-Greek

origin is proven by Fur. (index) credible connection with φριμάσσομαι, the whole group of βρι-, and with ►ὄβριμος (cf. Ὀβριμώ). See ►βρί.

βρίνδεῖν ⇒βρί.

Βριτόμαρτις [f.] epithet of Artemis on Crete (inscr., Str.), also a goddess or nymph on Crete, Dreros (Call. *Dian.* 190). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also Βριτόμαρπις, -μάρπεια (Crete); There is also a form Βρυτόμαρτις (Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 170).
•DER Βριτομάρτια [n.pl.] festival on Delos (inscr.).
•ETYM Acc. to Marinatos Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 9: 79ff. it belongs to the Aetolian DN Μάρπησσα. Wahrmann (l.c.) held that -μαρπις is the original form, but it is improbable that Βριτόμαρτις is due to dissimilation.
Acc. to Solin. 11, 8, it means 'dulcis virgo' = 'sweet maiden', which seems confirmed by the gloss. Latte thinks that the gloss may have been invented secondarily to explain the name, but Brown 1985: 41 rightly objects that the *u*-stem cannot be accounted for in this way. Proposals for an IE etymology are useless. For the interchange π/ τ, Fur.: 166 compares Πανοπεύς / Φανοτεύς; see also ibid.: 389. A variation ι/ υ is also known from Pre-Greek. See ►βριτύ.

βριτύ [adj.] · γλυκύ. Κρῆτες 'sweet (Cret.)' (H.). ◄PG►
•COMP See also on ►Βριτόμαρτις, epithet of Artemis on Crete (inscr., Str.), also a goddess or nymph on Crete, Dreros (Call. *Dian.* 190).
•ETYM Unknown. The hypothesis of Magnien *Glotta* 21 (1933): 178 is improbable.

βρόγχος [m.] 'windpipe, throat' (Hp.). ◄PG(V)►
•DER βρόγχια [n.pl.] 'bronchial tubes' (Hp.), βρογχίη [f.] 'system of conducts connecting heart with liver' (Hp., cf. ἀρτηρία), βρογχεῖον 'bronchial cartiledge' (S.). βρογχωτήρ 'neck in a garment' (J.; cf. τροπωτήρ - τροπός, Chantraine 1933: 327f.). Denominative βρογχιάζει· καταπίνει 'gulps down' (H.).
•ETYM The word is evidently connected with ►βρόξαι and βρόχθος. The nasal infix, which would be inexplicable if the word were IE, can be easily understood as Pre-Greek prenasalization. For the formation of βρόχθος ~ βρόγχος, compare κόχλος ~ κόγχνη, and μόχθος ~ μογέω. It is conceivable that βροχθ- is not a suffixal derivation from this word, but just another form of the root. Further, ►βράγχος and ►βραχεῖν belong to this group, with the typical variation α/ο.

βροκός [adj.] · μωρός, Ἕλληνες 'dull' (H.); βρόκων· ἀμαθής, ἀπαίδευτος, οἷον βόσκημα 'who has not learnt; uneducated; like a piece of cattle' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM DELG refers to βρόκοι· ἀττέλεβοι 'locusts' and considers it to be "un emploi plaisant" of 'locust'. To my mind, it is rather an accidental homonym. Fur.: 145 suggests connection with πρόκον· ἠλίθιον 'numb' (H.), and, much more doubtfully, with Lat. *bargus* 'sine ingenio'.

βρόμος 1 [m.] 'oats' (Thphr.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also βόρμος (Dieuch. *apud* Orib.).

•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek on account of the alternating vocalism; cf. further examples in Fur.: 392.

βρόμος 2 [m.] · τόπος εἰς ὃν ἔλαφοι οὐροῦσι καὶ ἀφοδεύουσι 'place into which deer urinate and defecate' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. Hardly related to βρέμω (as per LSJ).

βροντή ⇒βρέμω.

βρόξαι [v.] 'to gulp down, swallow (again)' (μ 240, δ 222; H. βρόξαι as a simplex = ῥοφῆσαι, *AP*). ◅PG▻

•VAR Aor. pass. ἀναβροχέν (λ 586), perf. ἀναβέβροχεν (P 54, acc. to Zenodotus for ἀναβέβρῠχεν). βράξαι· … καταπιεῖν 'gulp down' (H.). Cf. βρούξ· τράχηλος, βρόγχος 'neck, throat' (H.).

•COMP Mostly ἀνα-, κατα-βρόξαι.

•DER βρόχθος [m.] 'throat, gullet' (Hp.), βροχθώδης 'shallow' (?; Nic.); βροχθίζω 'take a mouthful, clear the throat, give to drink' (Arist.).

•ETYM The surprising *o*-vocalism in the aorist can hardly be explained by Aeolic origin, in spite of the gloss βράξαι. The notation κατα-βρῶξαι (Ar.) may be due to influence of βιβρώσκω. βρόχθος, probably an action noun, has been compared with γνάθος, στῆθος, etc. (Schwyzer: 510f., Chantraine 1933: 367), but these are body parts (note that γνάθος is Pre-Greek). Not related to βιβρώσκω, as *$*g^{w}rh_{3}$-C-* would have given *βρω-C-. From other languages, one adduces Gm. and Celt. words like MHG *krage* 'neck, throat, collar', ME *crawe* 'crop, craw (of a bird)' (which may contain *$*g^{w}rog^{h}$-*), and OIr. *brágae* 'neck', MW *breuant* 'windpipe' from PCl. *$*brāg$-*, PIE *$*g^{w}rōg^{h}$-* (not from *$*g^{w}rHg^{h}$-*, as this would give βρη/α/ωχ- in Greek). However, this IE etymology can explain neither βρόχθος, nor ►βρόγχος or ►βράγχος. The aberrant *o*-vocalism is confirmed by the *a*-vocalism of βράγχος, which should be interpreted as reflecting Pre-Greek origin. If βρούξ· τράχηλος, βρόγχος (H.) is reliable, it would also remain unexplained by the IE etymology; for ο/ου in Pre-Greek, however, cf. κολοτέα/ κολουτέα (see *Pre-Greek*).

βροτός [m., f.] '(mortal) man', also 'mortal' (Il.). ◅IE *$*mr-tó-$* 'dead, mortal'▻

•COMP φαεσίμβροτος 'shining on mortals', βροτολοιγός 'ruining mortals' (Il.), etc. Note ἄβροτος 'without men' (A. *Pr.* 2).

•DER βρότεος (τ 545, etc.), βρότειος (Archil.) 'mortal, human' (cf. Wackernagel 1916: 69¹, S. Schmid 1950: 28f.); βροτήσιος 'id.' (Hes.), after Ἰθακήσιος, φιλοτήσιος, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 41f.; βροταί· γυναῖκες 'women' (H.), corrected by Latte to βροτοί(?). ἄ-μβροτος 'immortal, divine', note ἀ-βρότη νύξ (Ξ 78), cf. ἀμφιβρότη ἀσπίς 'shield protecting in all directions' (B 389); ἀμβρόσιος 'id.', ἀμβροσίη 'Ambrosia', food of the gods (all Il.). On PNs with μόρτος see Masson *RPh.* 89 (1963): 222f. Unrelated is ►μαραίνω.

•ETYM βροτός, Aeolic from *$*mr̥tó-$*, agrees with Arm. *mard* 'man' (*$*mr̥tó-$*), Skt. *$mr̥tá-$* (verbal adj.), Av. *mərəta-* 'dead'; Lat. *mortuus*, OCS *$mrъtvъ$* 'dead' (with suffix after *vivus*, *$živъ$*). The privative Skt. *a-$mŕ̥ta$-*, Av. *a-$məšа$-* 'immortal' is comparable to ἄ-μβροτος. Another vocalism is found in ►μορτός· ἄνθρωπος, θνητός 'man' (H.) =

Skt. *márta-*, Av. *marəta-* 'the mortal one, man', probably representing a different ablaut grade **mor-*.

βρότος [m.] mostly interpreted as 'clotted blood' (Il.). Except for μέλανα βρότον 'dark blood' (ω 189) only at verse end in the formula βρότον αἱματόεντα 'red blood' (H 425). ◅?▻

•DER βροτόεις 'bloody' in ἔναρα βροτόεντα (Z 480, etc.) and βροτόεντ' ἀνδράγρια (E 509); further the hapax βεβροτωμένα τεύχεα (λ 41 = Q. S. 1, 717; after this Stesich. 42 δράκων ... κάρα βεβροτωμένος).

•ETYM Perhaps Aeolic (with retracted accent) for *βρατός, but the connection with Skt. *mūrtá-* 'clotted' (pres. *mūrchati*) is only possible if loss of the laryngeal under unknown circumstances is accepted. (The word has been compared with στρα-τός, Aeol. στρο-τός, to Skt. *stīr-ṇá-*, but the latter contains a different root; see Beekes 1969: 243.). Differently, Leumann 1950: 124ff.: he maintains that βρότος is from ἄμβροτος, wrongly taken as ἀναίμων; this is hardly probable. Improbably, Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 257f.: that ἀμφιβρότη (ἀσπίς B 389, etc.) is from *βροτόν 'body'.

βροῦκος [m.] 'locust' (Thphr.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR βροῦχος (LXX, Ph.), βρούκα (Cypr., H.); βραῦκος (Cret.), βραύκη (*AB*, H.), βρε<ῦ>κος· ἡ μικρὰ ἀκρίς, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν 'small locust (Cret.)' (H.), βρύκος (H.), βρόκοι· ἀττέλεβοι, ἀκρίδες 'locusts' (H.).

•DIAL Ion. acc. to H.

•ETYM βρύκος (and βροῦχος) was compared with βρύκω 'eat greedily, grind the teeth' (*EM*), but the agreement may be secondary. No doubt a Pre-Greek word, a hypothesis which is confirmed by the vocalic variation. The names of small animals frequently show such variations, but this is precisely due to foreign origin, or to dialectal differences (cf. Schwyzer: 198). See also ►βερκνίς. Lat. *bruchus* is borrowed from the Greek, MoFr. *bruche* in turn from Latin.

βροῦλος [m.] · πόα ἔνυδρος 'plant growing in water' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The text has πονηρος; see Rohlfs 1930: 388.

βρόχθος ⇒βρόξαι.

βρόχος [m.] 'noose, slip-knot' (Od.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR βρυγχός· βρόχος (H.).

•DER βροχίς 'id.' (*AP*).

•ETYM The word has been connected with μόροττον· ἐκ φλοιοῦ πλέγμα τι, ᾧ ἔτυπτον ἀλλήλους τοῖς Δημητρίοις 'plaiting of bark, with which the Δ. used to hit each other' (H.), but it is uncertain whether the noose was made of bark (see Fur.: 341). βρόχος has also been compared with Slavic words like OCS *mrěža* 'net, noose', Serb. *mrȅža* 'net', and Latv. *meîga, maîga* 'railing, gallery', Lith. *márška* 'net' (Vasmer 1953(2): 119). However, these words would need implausible reconstructions **morHg^{h}-skeh$_{2}$-* and **merHg^{h}-ieh$_{2}$-*, whereas they could be explained much more easily from **merg-* with Winter's law. If the gloss on βρυγχός, which had not been noticed earlier, is reliable, then the prenasalization points to Pre-Greek origin. Not connected to ►βρέχω, nor to ►μέρμις.

βρῦ ⇒βρῦν.

βρυαλίζων [v.] · διαρρήσσων 'breaking' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•DER βρυαλιγμόν· ψόφον, ἦχον 'sound' and βρυαλίκται· πολεμικοὶ ὀρχησταί· 'μενέδουποι' Ἴβυκος καὶ Στησίχορος 'war dancers; steadfast in battle (Ibyc. and Stes.)' (H.). Further, Λακωνικὰ ὀρχήματα διὰ Μαλέας ... καὶ βρυάλιχα..., προσωρχοῦντο δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι 'Laconian dances ... and β. ..., which the women danced for Apollo, too' (Poll. 4,104); βρυλλιχισται [read βρυαλ-]· οἱ αἰσχρὰ προσωπεῖα περιτιθέμενοι γυναικεῖα καὶ ὕμνους ᾄδοντες 'people who wear ugly masks of women and sing songs' (H.); βρυδάλιχα (read βρυάλιχα?; ms. -ίχα)· πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον 'female mask' (H.; further corrupt).
•ETYM Derived from *βρύαλος (-η, -ον), which itself is connected with ►βρύω, but the meaning does not match very well. For the semantics, it has been compared with βρυάσομαι· ἀναβακχεύσομαι μετά τινος κινήσεως 'burst into Bacchic frenzy with a certain movement' (H.). It is probably a Pre-Greek word: Fur.: 174 also cites βρυανιῶν· μετεωριζόμενος καὶ κορωνιῶν 'is raised and streches the neck [is ambitious]' (H.).

βρύθακες [?] · οἱ χιτῶνες βομβύκινοι. ἢ γένος ἰθαγενῶν 'silken tunics; an ancient stock' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Fur.: 187 compares βρυτιγγοί· χιτῶνες 'tunics' (H.), and further, βρυτίνην· βυσσίνην (H.); he reconstructs a word *βρυθ/τ-ος 'linen' (or 'silk'?). Cf. ►βύσσος.

βρύκος [m.] · κῆρυξ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ δὲ ἀττελεβος 'herald; barbarian; locust' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR βρύκαιναι· ἱέρειαι ὑπὸ Δωριέων 'priestesses (Dor.)' (H.). Also βρυχός· κῆρυξ (H.).
•ETYM On the explanation ἀττέλεβος, see βροῦκος; for βάρβαρος, see βρίκελοι. For βρυχός, cf. Βρυχαλείῳ, the epiclesis of Hermes at Pharsalos (Dettori *Myrtia* 15 (2000): 27-33). Further unknown.

βρῦκω [v.] 'to bite, eat greedily' (Com.), next to βρῦχω 'grind the teeth' (Hp.), but the distinction is not always clear . ◁IE *$g^{w}ruHg^{h}$-▷
•VAR Aor. βρῦξαι, fut. βρύξω.
•DIAL βρύκω Att. acc. to Moeris and Ammon.
•DER βρυγμός (Eup.); βρυκετός· ταὐτὸν τῷ βρυγμῷ, καὶ βρυκηθμὸς ὁμοίως. Δωριεῖς 'the same as β., and likewise for β. (Dor.)' (H.); cf. δακετόν, βρυχηθμός. Further βρυκεδανός· πολυφάγος ... 'eating a lot' (H.), cf. πευκεδανός; βρύγδην 'with clenched teeth' (?) (*AP*).
•ETYM If the κ in βρῦκω is secondary for χ in βρῦξαι, then βρύξω and βρύχω may continue *$g^{w}ruHg^{h}$-, cf. OCS *gryzǫ, grysti* 'gnaw', Lith. *gráužiu, gráužti* 'id.' (the initial accentuation of Ru. *grýzla* shows that the root must have contained a laryngeal). Further related are OIr. *brón* 'sorrow', MW *brwyn* 'biting pain' (from **brŭgnos* with pretonic shortening), and possibly Arm. *krcem* 'gnaw' < **kurcem* (perhaps metathesized like *turc*, gen. *trcoy* 'jaw'; see Lidén 1906: 34f.), if *c* for expected *j* can find an explanation. Cf. ►βρῦν, ►βρυχάομαι, ►βρύχιος.

βρυλιχισταί ⇒βρυαλίζων.

βρῦν in βρῦν εἰπεῖν 'call for drink', of small children (Ar. *Nu.* 1382). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Also βρῦ or βροῦ.
•DER βρύλλω 'id.' (Ar. *Equ.*1126); βρύλλων· ὑποπίνων 'drinking a little' (H.).
•ETYM Probably based on an onomatopoeic form. West *Glotta* 47 (1970): 184f., thinks it represents βρῦτον, which would be surprising.

βρύσσος [m.] a kind of sea urchin (Arist.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR ἄμβρυττοι· εἶδος ἐχίνου θαλασσίου, Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτοὺς δὲ βρύττους καλεῖ 'kind of sea urchin, also called β. by Arist.' (H.) (also ἄβρυττοι); also βρύττος· εἶδος ἐχίνου πελαγίου, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, οἱ δὲ ἰχθύν, οἱ δὲ τρισυλλάβως, ἄμβρυττον, ἤν, Λάχης ποιεῖ 'some: a fish; others, with three syllables, ἀμβ., [?]' (H.; it cannot be concluded that the reading ἄβρυττοι is false).
•ETYM The variants, together with the prenasalization, prove that this is a Pre-Greek word.

βρύτανα ⇒βύτανα.

βρυτιγγοί ⇒βρύθακες.

βρῦτος [m.] 'beer' made of barley (Archil.). ◁LW Thrac.▷
•VAR Also -ον [n.]; also βροῦτος, βρύττιον (H.).
•DER βρύτεα (-ια) [n.pl.] 'refuse of olives or grapes, τὰ στέμιφυλα' (Ath.). βρύτινος (Cratin.), βρυτικός (Antiph.).
•ETYM As is evident from the variant forms, βρῦτος is a loan word from Thracian. It may be identical with OE *broð*, OHG *prod* 'juice', OIr. *bruth* 'glow' (**b^{h}rutos, -om*). The closest comparandum is Lat. *dēfrūtum* [n.] 'must boiled down', from Lat. *ferv(e)ō*; see Schrijver 1991: 254f. Whether the long ῦ of the Greek goes back to Thracian as well is unknown. Lat. *brīsa* 'refuse of grapes' is probably also derived from Thrac. βρύτεα, -ια (Demiraj 1997 s.v. *bërsī*). Not connected to ▸φρέαρ, ▸φορύνω.

βρῦχάομαι [v.] 'to roar, bellow' (Il.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Perf. βέβρῦχα (with pres. mg.), Aor. βρυχήσασθαι.
•DER βρυχηθμός 'roar(ing)' (Arist.), βρύχημα 'id.' (A.); retrograde βρυχή (Opp., cf. βρύχω); βρυχητής, βρυχητήρ; βρυχηδόν (A. R.). Perhaps here also βρούχετος· … βάτραχον δὲ Κύπριοι 'frog [Cypr.]', βρυχός· κήρυξ 'herald' (H.; also ▸βρυκός). For the forms see Fraenkel 1912: 95[3] (p. 96).
•ETYM The intensive perfect βέβρυχα (cf. μέμυκα, etc.) was the basis of βρυχάομαι. Probably of onomatopoeic origin.

βρῦχιος [adj.] 'deep (under water)' (A.). ◁?▷
•DER ὑπόβρυχα 'under water', originally an adjective acc.sg. (ε 319, Hdt. 7, 130; see Bechtel 1914 s.v.), later adverbial (Arat.); ὑποβρύχιος (*h. Hom.* 33, 12); περιβρύχιος 'engulfing' (S.). Secondary βρύχα 'depth of the sea' (Opp. *H.* 2, 588).
•ETYM One would have to start from a noun *βρύξ, βρυχός 'water, depth (of the sea)'. On the formation of ὑπόβρυχα, ὑποβρύχιος, see Schwyzer 1950: 532.

Connection with βρέχω is phonetically impossible, and the meaning is different as well. There seems to have been a connection with βρυχάομαι by popular etymology.

βρυχός ⇒βρύκος.

βρύχω ⇒βρύκω.

βρύω [v.] 'to swell, teem with' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Only pres. (but βρύσας Procop.).
•COMP Old ἔμβρυον [n.] 'new-born (lamb)' (ι 245), 'foetus' (Hp.), type ἔμπεδος, ἐγκέφαλος.
•DER βρύσις (Suid.), βρυσμός (Arc.), also PN as Βρύας, Βρύσων. Also βρυάζω with βρυάσομαι· ἀναβακχεύσομαι μετά τινος κινήσεως 'burst into Bacchic frenzy with a certain movement' (H.; uncertain ἀνεβρύαξαν Ar. *Eq.* 602) together with βρυασμός 'voluptuousness' (Plu.), Βρυάκτης epithet of Pan (Poet. *apud* Stob.). βρύον [n.] 'tree-moss, etc.' (Hp.) with βρυώδης, βρυόεις (Nic.); βρυώνη, βρυωνία 'black, white vine' (Nic., Dsc.; see Chantraine 1933: 207f.). See ►βρυαλίζων. Denominative βρυόομαι 'to be grown over with βρύον' (Arist.).
•ETYM No etymology.

βρῶμος [m.] 'stench' (LXX, Gal.). ◁?▷
•VAR Sometimes βρόμος.
•DER βρῶμα 'ordure' (?; *Ev. Marc.* 7, 19); βρωμώδης, βρομώδης 'stinking' (Str.); βρωμιέω (-ο-) 'id.' (Al.).
•ETYM No etymology. The word has been supposed to be identical with βρόμος 'noise' (Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 222f., Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 98, Hatzidakis *Glotta* 22 (1934): 130-3). Differently, Kalitsunakis *Glotta* 12 (1923): 198. Lat. *brōmus, brōmōsus, exbrōmō* is borrowed from the Greek. The word lives on in the chemical element (Fr. *brome*, E. *bromine*, etc.).

βύᾶς [m.] 'eagle-owl, Strix bubo' (Arist.). ◁ONOM▷
•DER Verb βύζω (βύας ἔβυξε D. C., see Schwyzer 716). Deverbal βῦζα = βύας (Nic.).
•ETYM Derived from the onomatopetic βῦ after the nouns in -ᾶς (Schwyzer: 461, Chantraine 1933: 27f., 30). Similar instances of onomatopoeia are e.g. Arm. *bu* 'owl' (= Georg. *bu*), MoP *būm* 'id.', Lat. *būbō*, Bulg. *buh* (Pok. 97f.; Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 216; André 1967: 45). Cf. ►βύκτης.

βύβλος [m.] The Egyptian papyrus, 'Cyperus Papyrus; papyrus stalks, bark, roll, paper' (Hdt.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR βίβλος, βίμβλις; Βίμβλινος (or -ινων)· εἶδος οἴνου καὶ γένος ἀμπέλου ἐν Θρᾴκη καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς οἶνος. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἀπ' ὀρῶν Βιβλίνων. ἔστι δὲ Θρᾴκης 'kind of wine and vine in Thrace, also old wine. Epicharmus [uses it as] from the B. mountains. It is from Thrace.' (H.).
•DER βύβλινος (Od.), βίβλινος (pap.) 'made of papyrus'; (both) also a kind of wine, see DELG; also βίμβλινος (LSJ Supp. and H., see above). βυβλιά (on the accent see Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 191f.) 'plantation of papyrus' (*Tab. Heracl.*; but see Scheller 1951: 47). βυβλίον, βιβλίον (see Kretschmer *KZ* 57 (1930):

253) 'paper, book' (IA). βιβλίδιον with strange long ι, βίμβλις, -ιδος 'cords of β.', cf. βιβλίδες· τὰ βιβλία ἢ σχοινία τὰ ἐκ βίβλου πεπλεγμένα (*EM* 197, 30).

•ETYM The papyrus rind was supposedly named after the Phoenician harbor Byblos, from where it was shipped to Greece. Since the name of this town was *Gbl* in Phoenician, next to Akk. *Gublu*, and Hebr. *G^{e}bāl*, we would need to assume the the initial *gu-* was interpreted as *g^{w}u-* by the Greek, or that distant assimilation *g-b* > *b-b* took place. However, E. Masson 1967: 101-7 concluded that the word is of unknown origin and that the town was named after it and Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1941): 122f. assumed that the word was Pre-Greek. Fur.: 364 offers evidence for υ/ ι in Pre-Greek (the forms with -ι- appear to be old, not due to late assimilation; cf. Kretschmer *KZ* 57 (1930): 253). Pre-Greek origin is also strongly suggested by the prenasalized forms (which are hardly expressive). Cf. ►πάπυρος.

βυβός [adj.] = 'μεστός, πλήρης, μέγας' 'full, great' (Sophr. 115 *apud* Suid. and H.). ◄ONOM►

•DER PN Βύβων Masson *Verbum* 18 (1995-6): 319 (Euboea), so the word is old.

•ETYM Familiar word, from ►βυνέω, ►βύω, etc., either with reduplication or with -βος. On words in -βός, see Chantraine 1933: 261.

βυθός [m.] 'depth (of the sea)' (A.). ◄PG►

•COMP ἄβυσσος 'bottomless' (Hdt.), substantivized fem. 'abyss, underworld' (= Hebr. *təhōm*, LXX, NT, pap.; cf. Schwyzer *RhM* 81 (1932): 203); βυσσοδομεύω 'build in the deep > brood over (in the deep of one's soul), ponder deeply' (Od.), *metri causa* for βυσσοδομέω (Eust., Suid.) like οἰκοδομέω, etc., see Chantraine 1942: 368.

•DER βύθιος 'of the depth' (late), fem. βυθῖτις (ψάμμις, *AP*). Denominative βυθίζω 'sink' (S.); ptc. βυθόωσα (ῥίζα) 'going in the deep' (Nic. *Th.* 505). Further βυσσός [m.] 'depth of the sea' (Il.), βυσσόθεν (S.). Also βύσσα (Opp.; after βῆσσα? so probably secondary); further βύσσαλοι· βόθροι 'pits', βυσσαλεύοντι· τῷ βυθῷ ἐφικνουμένῳ 'reaching the depth' (H.); also βυθμός· ἄντρον, πυθμήν, καὶ βυθμήν 'cave, bottom', perhaps corrupt.

•ETYM A base form *βυθ̯ός or *βυθσός, for βυσσός (Frisk), does not inspire confidence, since this would presuppose that the word is epic (Aeolic): *-*d^{h}i̯-* and *-*Ts-* would give IA -σ-. In order to connect the word with βαθύς (and βῆσσα), a labiovelar has bee posited, but then the straightforward connection of βαθύς with βένθος must be abandoned. Moreover, assuming a labiovelar would mean that the β- is irregular (one would expect γυ-): it would have to have been introduced from βῆσσα, which remains a guess. A connection with γυθίσσων· διορύσσων 'digging out' (H.) would pose the same problem; the form is better left aside. The earlier attempts to connect βαθύς and βῆσσα (with α, as opposed to υ) are most improbable, and should now be abandoned. βυθός - βυσσός shows a typical variation in Pre-Greek words; see Fur.: 248-263, e.g. ἄνηθον/ ἄνησον. The conclusion is confirmed by βυσσαλ-, with a typical Pre-Greek suffix; cf. κόρυδος beside κορύδαλος/κορυδαλλός (Fur.: 254). One may also compare the glosses ἄμυσσος· κῆτος 'sea monster' and ἀβυδόν· βαθύ.

Van Windekens *KZ* 100 (1987): 307 connects Hitt. *akkuš(š)a-* 'Fangrube', which is quite improbable ("β au lieu de -κ- sous l'influence de βυσσός").

βυκάνη [f.] 'trumpet, horn' (Plb.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•DER βυκανάω 'to blow the horn' (Plb.), βυκανητής (Plb.); βυκανίζω (Eust.) βυκανιστής (Plb.), βυκανισμός (Nicom.).
•ETYM A loan word from Lat. *būcina*; for the suffix, cf. *māchina* : μηχανή (Niedermann *IF* 37 (1916/1917): 147f. *contra* Cuny 1908: 108ff.: from unweakened **būcana*). A more exact rendering is βου-; βουκινάτωρ (Lyd.) = *būcinātor* and the hybrid form βουκινίζω (S. E.) are directly borrowed from Latin. See also ►βουκονιστήριον.

βύκτης [adj.] / [m.] only βυκτάων ἀνέμιων (κ 20), also substantivized as 'stormwind' (Lyc.). ◁ONOM▷
•ETYM If the word means πνεόντων, φυσητῶν (i.e., 'blowing'), as the ancients suggested, it may be compared with βεβυκῶσθαι· πεπρῆσθαι <παρὰ> Θετταλοῖς 'blow, kindle (Thess.)' (H.), and further with ►βυνέω. According to Fraenkel 1910: 19[1], the word is connected with βύζω, βύξαι 'to hoot (like an owl)' (see ►βύᾱς). See the discussion on *k*-enlargements of onomatopoeic *bū-* and *bu-* in Pok. 97f. and 100f.

βυνέω [v.] 'to stuff' (Hdt.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also βύνω (Hdt.), βύζω (Aret., H.); βύω, aor. βῦσαι, fut. βύσω; βέβυσμαι (Od.), ἐβύσθην, (παρά)βυστος.
•COMP Often with prefixes δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-.
•DER βύσμα 'plug' (Hp.), βύστρα 'id.' (Antiph.); βύζην [adv.] (< *βύσ-δην, see below) 'closely' (Hp.), together with βυζόν· πυκνόν, συνετόν, γαῦρον δὲ καὶ μέγα 'compact, intelligent, haughty, big' (H.). Also βυλλά· βεβυσμένα H., with denominative βεβυλλῶσθαι· βεβύσθαι (H.). Fur.: 213[54] suggests that βουνός· στιβάς 'mattress', Κύπριοι (H.) is derived from βυνέω.
•ETYM Like κυνέω, βυνέω could represent a continuation of a nasal present *βυ-νέ-σ-ω, with βῦν- perhaps from a zero grade βυν-σ- (e.g., in the 3pl. *βύνσοντι, see Schwyzer: 692). Alternatively, it could go back to *βυσ-νέω with secondary -έω. βυνέω has been compared with Alb. *m-bush* 'fill' and words for 'pouch', e.g. MIr. *búas* (< **bousto-*), ON *posi*, OE *posa*, OHG *pfoso*, PGm. **pŭsan-* (< **bŭson-*). However, this connection fails on the necessity to assume a root with PIE **b-* (the material collected in Pok. 98ff. is too heterogeneous). Cf. ►βυβός, ►βουβών, ►βύτανα.

βύνη 1 [f.] 'malt (for brewing)' (pap., Aët.). ◁?▷
•VAR βύνι, -εως [n.] (after κίκι, κόμμι, etc.).
•DER Doubtful βυνεύς· σκεύασμά τι κρίθινον 'dish made of barley' (H.; Lagercrantz 1913: ad *PHolm.* 15); constructed from a gen. βύνεως?
•ETYM Unknown; of foreign origin?

βύνη 2 [f.] · θάλασσα 'sea' (Euphor. *fr.* 127), πεύκη 'pine' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM The meaning 'sea' fits well to the homophonous name of Leucothea (Ino) in Lyc. 107, but its etymology is unknown.

βύνητος an Egyptian garment (Hdn.). ◁LW? Eg.▷
•ETYM Unknown.

βύριον [n.] βύριον· οἴκημα 'abode'; βυριόθεν· οἴκοθεν 'from home' (H.). Cf. εὐβύριον· τὸ εὔοικον εἴρηται, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν βαυρίαν ἢ κατὰ Μεσσαπίους σημαίνει οἰκίαν 'comfortable to inhabit, because β. means "house" in Messapian' (*EM* 389,25); and βαυριόθεν = οἴκοθεν 'from home' (Cleon Sic. 2). ◁LW Messap.▷
•DER Perhaps βυρμός· σταθμός 'stable' (H.), s.v. von Blumenthal 1930: 3.
•ETYM Messapian word, also seen in Germanic: ON *búr* [n.], OHG, OE *būr* [m.] 'cottage, room' (PGm. **būra-*); cf. Pok. 149. With a different ablaut are ▶βαυρία and ▶βᾶρις. See Krahe *IF* 57 (1940): 116. The words are supposed to be *r*-derivatives of the root for 'live, be'; see ▶φύω.

βυρρός [m.] · κάνθαρος. Τυρρηνοί 'dung-beetle, drinking cup (Etr.)' (H.). ◁LW? Etr.▷
•ETYM The word is believed to derive from the color, from Gr. πυρρός = Lat. *burrus* 'deep red' (Paul. Fest. 31). See Fohalle 1925: 157f. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 166. However, this is hardly appropriate in the case of a cup. Fur.: 213 connects it with μύρσος 'basket' (Call. *fr. anon.* 102; H.), Etr. *murś*; the word lives on in Otrant. *vurro*, Toscan. *borraccia* (Alessio 1955: 736).

βύρσα [f.] 'skin, hide' (Hdt.). ◁PG?▷
•COMP βυρσοδέψης (Ar.).
•DER βυρσίς (H.); βύρσινος 'of leather' (D. C.), βυρσικός 'id.' (*Gp.*), also 'used by tanners' (*Hippiatr.*, to βυρσεύς), βυρσώδης 'id.' (Gal.). βυρσεύς 'tanner' (*Act. Ap.*) for older βυρσοδέψης (Ar.); βυρσεύω 'tan' (H.), βυρσεῖον 'tan-pit' (sch.). Denominative βυρσόω 'to cover with skins' (Ath. Mech.). Old is only βυρσίνη 'leather thong' (Ar. *Eq.* 59, 449).
•ETYM A technical term without etymology (Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 271, see further Frisk). The word may be of Pre-Greek, as argued by Fur.: 65, etc., who also compares ἀμυρτόν· ἱμάτιον 'cloth' (H.).

βύσσα [f.] a bird (Ant. Lib. 15). ◁?▷
•ETYM Etymology unknown.

βύσσος [f.] "Byssos", flax and the linen made of it (Emp.); later also referring to cotton and silk. ◁LW Sem.▷
•DER βύσσινος 'made of β.' (Hdt.); βύσσωμα 'net from β.' (*AP*; on the formation see πέπλωμα, etc., Chantraine 1933: 187).
•ETYM The word is supposed to have been borrowed by Greek from Eg. *wꜣḏ* 'linen' via Semitic (Hebr., Aram. *būs*; see E. Masson 1967: 20ff.; Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 661).

βυσσός ⇒βυθός.

βύσταξ [m.] 'moustache' (Antiph. 44.4 *apud* Ath. 4, 143a). ◁PG▷
•VAR Cf. βύσταγα· πώγωνα 'beard' (H.).
•ETYM The explanation of βύσταξ as adapted from μύσταξ after βυνέω is highly improbable. Rather, it is evidently cognate with μύσταξ, the words being of Pre-

Greek origin because of the alternation β ~ μ (Fur.: 116, 218; cf. κ/ γ, see also Güntert 1914: 128). For further variants, see ►μύσταξ.

βύτανα [n.pl.] · κονδύλοι 'knuckle'. οἱ δὲ βρύτανα (H.). ◄PG?►
•ETYM A formation in -ανον (Chantraine 1933: 197ff., Schwyzer: 489f.). Although the word has been connected with ►βυτθόν · πλῆθος 'crowd' (H.) and ►βύττος · γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον 'private parts of a woman' (H.), this is only a superficial resemblance in form. The variant with βρ- points to a Pre-Greek word; further examples are adduced by Fur.: 330.

βυτθόν [n.]? · πλῆθος 'large number, crowd' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM The word has been connected βύτανα and βύττος, for which there seems to be no rationale.

βυτίνη [f.] · λάγυνος ἢ ἀμίς. Ταραντῖνοι 'flask or chamber-pot (Tarantian)' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Cf. Att. πῡτῑ́νη 'flask covered with plated osier' (Poll.), title of a comedy of Cratinus (Ar. *fr.* 880 K.-A.).
•ETYM The interchange π/ β proves Pre-Greek origin (the variation voiced/ voiceless being extremely frequent in such words; Fur.: 101-200). The suffix -ῑν- is also frequent in Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*, Suffixes). VLat. *butina* is borrowed from the Greek, and the Latin is in turn the source of e.g. OE *byden*, OHG *butin*, MoHG *Bütte* (Fi. *putina*, Ru. *bódnja*, etc. are again borrowed from Germanic; see Vasmer 1953 s.v.).

βύττος [m.]? · γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον 'female genitals' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Cf. μυττός· τὸ γυναικεῖον 'id.' (H.).
•ETYM Fur.: 218 connects the gloss with μ-, which shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Szemerényi refers to Hubschmid 1955: 76.

βωβός [adj.] name of a handicap, acc. to H. = χωλός, πηρός (πτορός cod.) 'lame, disabled'; by Plu. *Fr. inc.* 149 used together with κωφός; in MoGr. it means 'dumb'. ◄?►
•DER PN Βωβᾶς, Βουβᾶς, L. Robert 1963: 30-33.
•ETYM Cf. κολοβός, κλαμβός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 261).

βωληνή [f.] ἄμπελος 'grape-vine', growing in Bithynia (Gp. 5, 17, 5). ◄PG (or LW Anat.)►
•ETYM Fur. 219 compares μῶλαξ, a Lydian name for wine.

βωλήτης [m.] 'fungus, especially mushroom' (Ath.). ◄LW? Lat.►
•VAR Also βωλίτης (*Gp.*, Gal.), also 'root' of the lychnis.
•DER βωλήτιον 'saucepan', βωλητάρια πινάκια (pap.), βωλητῖνος ἄρτος (Ath.), after the form.
•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *bōlētus* (Sen.), which was named after the Spanish town *Boletum* (Niedermann *IF Anz.* 29 (1912): 31f.). βωλίτης is remodelled after the derivatives in -ίτης, and borrowed into Latin (Plin.) again (Redard 1949: 70); its meaning 'root' is due to influence of βῶλος.

βῶλος [f.] 'lump, clod of earth' (Il.). ◂?▸
•VAR Also [m.].
•COMP ἐρίβωλος, ἐριβῶλαξ (Il.).
•DER Adjectives βωλώδης (Thphr.), βώλινος (H.); adverb βωληδόν (Dsc.); βώλωσις 'formation of lumps' (pap.). Old is βῶλαξ [f.] = βῶλος (Pi.; cf. on -αξ Chantraine 1933: 379; βωλάκιος (Pi.). βωλίς· μάζης εἶδός τι ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις 'kind of ball in sacrifices' (H.); unclear the gloss on βωλόναι (H.).
•ETYM Etymology unknown; hardly connected with ▸βολβός.

βωμός [m.] 'step, stand (for chariots), base (of a statue)', most frequently 'altar' (Il.). ◂IE *$g^{w}oh_{2}$-*mo*- 'stand'▸
•COMP βωμολόχος 'one that waited about the altars to steal the meat, ribald'.
•DER βωμίς 'step' (Hdt.; on the word *CEG* 6), βωμίσκος technical term (Hero.); βῶμαξ· ὁ μικρὸς βωμός, ὑποκοριστικῶς 'small altar (hypocor.)' (H.). βωμῖτις (sc. γῆ) 'sacred land' (Pergamon). βωμίστρια 'priestess' (Nic.; on -ίστρια Chantraine 1933: 106); βώμᾶξ· βωμολόχος H., see Chantraine 1933: 381f.; on -αξ see Björck 1950: 263[1]. Adjectives βώμιος (S.), also month name (Lamia); βωμιαῖος (S.). Note βώμηνεν· ὤμοσε 'swore' (H.) from *βωμαίνω 'swear (with the hand on the altar)'.
•ETYM Verbal noun *$g^{w}oh_{2}$-*mo*- to ἔ-βη-ν (ἔ-βᾱ-ν). For the meaning, cf. ▸βάσις and OP *gāθu*- 'place, throne' (from *gā*- = βᾱ-, βη-).

βωνίτης ⇒βουνός.

βωρεύς [m.] 'mullet' (Xenocr.). ◂LW Eg.▸
•VAR βωρίδιον [n.], also βουρίδιον (Alex. Trall.).
•DER On the PN with Βωρ- (Βῶρος, Βώρακος, Βώριμος) see Boßhardt (below).
•ETYM Boßhardt 1942: 61 derived the word from βῶροι· ὀφθαλμοί 'eyes' (H.), just as Strömberg 1943: 42f., but βῶροι is probably from *ϝῶροι (see ▸ὁράω). Connected with Copt. *bori*, Arab. *būrī*; see Thompson 1947 s.v. and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 247.

βωσίον [n.] a utensil (pap.). ◂PG?▸
•DER βωσιδία (pap.). Also βωτάριον (Zos. Alch.); βωσιδιαι is probably bad orthography for -ίδια.
•ETYM From βωτίον· σταμνίον 'wine jar' (H.) with τι > σι; see Olsson *Symb. Oslo.* 4 (1926): 62f. The word may be related to ▸βοῦτ(τ)ις.

βωστρέω [v.] 'to call (to aid)' (Od.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Only present.
•ETYM The word is connected to ▸βοάω just as ἐλαστρέω (Il.) to ἐλαύνω, ἐλά-σαι and καλιστρέω (Call.) to καλέω. It is an expressive formation, based on the nominal suffixes τερ-, τρο- (cf. Risch 1937: 310), but details remain unclear.

βωτάζειν ⇒γατάλαι, οὐτάω, and ὠτειλή.

βωτιάνειρα •VAR βώτωρ, etc. ⇒βόσκω.

Γ

γα ⇒γε.

γάβαθον [n.] · τρυβλίον 'cup, bowl' ◁LW? Sem.▷
•VAR Also καβαθα (accent unknown; pap. III^{a}); also fem.sg. (Edict. Diocl.). And ζάβατος· πίναξ ἰχθυηρὸς παρὰ Παφίοις 'a trencher for fish (Paphian)' (H.).
•ETYM Semitic origin has been assumed (E. Masson 1967: 75, which could also account for Lat. *gabata*. Alternatively, we may consider Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 187 assumes that it is a Mediterranean loan). Cf. ►γάβενα, ►κάβος.

γάβενα [n.pl.] · ὀξυβάφια, ἤτοι τρυβλία 'small vessel; cup, bowl' (H.). ◁?, PG?▷
•ETYM On the basis of MoGr. forms, Moutsos *Orbis* 18 (1969): 535-540 argues that γάβενον < *γαβινον < *καβινον, a derivative from κάβος. Fur.: 116, etc. compares the word with ►γάβαθον, which is certainly a possibility.

γαγάτης [m.] (sc. λίθος) 'lignite' (Orph., Plin., Dsc.). ◁LW Anat.▷
•VAR Also γαγγῖτις or γαγγῆτις λίθος (Str.); this form may have been influenced by the adjective 'of the Ganges'. And ἐγγαγὶς πέτρα (Nic.) = γαγάτης.
•ETYM According to Pliny 36, 141, the word derives from Γάγας or Γάγγαι, a town and river in Lycia. The forms with γαγγ-, with prenasalization, confirm its Anatolian (= Pre-Greek?) origin. Lat. *gagātēs*, with MoFr. *jais*, MoHG *Gagat*, etc., was borrowed from the Greek.

γαγγαίνειν [v.] · τὸ μετὰ γέλωτος προσπαίζειν 'playing with great laughter' (H.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Cf. γαγγαλίδες· γελασῖνοι 'front teeth; dimples'; γαγγαλᾶν, γαγγαλίζεθαι· ἥδεσθαι 'to enjoy oneself'; γάγγαλος· ὁ εὐμετάθετος τῇ γνωμῇ καὶ εὐμετάβολος 'fickle in belief; changeable'.
•ETYM γαγγαίνειν is a reduplicated expressive form, which has been taken to belong together with Skt. *gañjana-* 'despising', which in turn was connected with OE *canc* 'insult'. As the Skt. form appears only in MInd., the connection remains very uncertain. Neither is the word related to Lat. *gannīō*, etc. Cf. ►γογγύζω.

γάγγαμον [n.] 'small round net for catching oysters' (A.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR γαγγάμη [f.] (Str.); γαγγάμη· σαγήνη ἢ δίκτυον ἁλιευτικόν. καὶ σκεῦος γεωργικὸν 'drag-net or fishing-net; also an agricultural tool' (S ὅμοιον κρεάγρᾳ 'similar to a flesh-hook') (H.); γάγγαμον· δίκτυον. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν 'fishing-

net; also that which is around the navel' (H.); γαγγαμουλκοί· σαγηνευταί 'dragging an oyster-net' (H.).
•DER γαγγαμεῦς· ἁλιεύς, ὁ τῇ γαγγάμῃ ἐργαζόμενος 'fisherman, he who handles the γ.' (H.); γαγγαμευτής 'id.' (conj. *EM*).
•ETYM Technical term, certainly of foreign origin and probably Pre-Greek. Not related to ►γέντο 'he took'. Neumann 1961: 100 connects it with Hitt. *kānk-*^{i} 'to hang'; this is most uncertain.

γαγγῆτις ⇒γαγάτης.

γαγγλίον [n.] 'tumour on a tendon, or the head' (Gal.); the nerve knots now called *ganglia* have been compared to such a tumour. ◅PG?▻
•DER γαγγλιώδης 'like a γ.' (Hp.).
•ETYM Unknown. The word is mostly connected with ►ἄγλις, ►γέλγις, ►γάλινθοι, ►γέλινθοι. It is most probably non-IE, and possibly Pre-Greek (Fur.: 129).

γάγγραινα [f.] 'gangrene', an illness that eats away the flesh (Hp.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Cf. γάγγραινα· φαγέδαινα 'cancerous sore, cancer'. οἱ δὲ καρκίνος 'lobster', etc. (H.).
•DER γαγγραινόομαι, γαγγραίνωσις, etc. (Hp.).
•ETYM For the suffix, cf. ►φαγέδαινα. The basic form is uncertain, for a discussion of which see Chantraine 1933: 108f.; it is perhaps *γάγγρων, *γάγγρος, or *γάγγρα. Alexander Polyhistor in St. Byz. s.v. Γάγγρα gives this word as a name for 'goat'. In antiquity, it was compared with γράω 'to devour' (thus also Frisk), but this is certainly incorrect. It is most probably a Pre-Greek word (*a*-vocalism, -αινα, prenasalization?). Cf. ►καρκίνος.

γάδασμιον [n.]? · ἐνηρόσιον 'rent for corn land'. ◅GR?▻
•VAR Ms. γαλασιον corr.
•ETYM Latte *Mnem.* 3/10 (1942): 91^{10} reads γάδασμον for γαλασιον in the manuscript on the basis of a comparison with δασμός 'rent'.

γαδή [f.] · κιβωτός 'box' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻
•ETYM Cf. γάνδιον· κιβώτιον (H.; Belardi *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 8: 9 (1954): 620). Because of the prenasalized variant, the word is Pre-Greek. Because of the deviant semantics, Lat. *gandeia*, an African vehicle, is not related.

γάδος 1 [m.] name of a fish, also called ὄνος (Dorio *apud* Ath. 7, 315f.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR γάδαρος (Diogenian) = γαϊδάριον (pap. VI-VII^{P}), MoGr. γαϊδαρόψαρον (see Thompson 1947 s.v. ὄνος and Saint-Denis 1947 s.v. *asellus*. Very unclear, see DELG.
•ETYM There is a variety of names for the ὄνος-fish: γαλίας, γαλλερίας, καλλαρίς, χελλαρίης, etc. (Strömberg 1943: 130f.). Fur.: 339^{3}, 254 adds γάζας· ἰχθῦς ποιός 'a fish' (H.), assuming Pre-Greek origin. DELG explains γαϊδάριον as a loan from Arabic (Andriotis, Etym. Lex. s.v.), but disassociates it from γάδος.

γάδος 2 ⇒γάνδος.

γάζα [f.] '(royal) treasury' (Thphr., *OGI* 54, 22 [III^{a}]). ◅LW Pers.▻

•COMP γαζο-φύλαξ 'guarding the treasury' (LXX).
•ETYM According to Pomp. Mela 1, 64 and others, γάζα is of Persian origin, cf. MP *ganj* (ultimately going back to Median; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* 1: 315 with references). Arm. *ganj* was likewise taken over from Iranian. Lat. *gaza*, and probably Syr. *gazā*, were borrowed from Greek.

γάζας ⇒γάδος 1.

γάθια [f.] · ἁλλαντία 'small sausage' (H.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM Unknown. See Belardi *Ric. ling.* 4 (1958): 196. Fur. (index) connects the word with γηθυλλίς, ἀγαθίς.

γαῖα [f.] 'earth' (Il.).
•COMP Dor. γαιάοχος, Lacon. γαιάϝοχος, epic ►γαιήοχος, epithet of Poseidon, also ►ἐννοσίγαιος (Il., s.v.). ἀνώγαιον 'upper floor of a house, granary'; also ἀνόκαιον· ὑπέρῳον, γράφεται καὶ ἀνώγεων H.; perhaps the form with -o- is original, the other variants being due to folk etymology.
•DER γαιήϊος 'from the earth' (Od.; with -ήϊος, Chantraine 1933: 52); γαιών 'heap of earth' (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 136) beside γαεών (*IG* 14, 322: II 83, Halaesa); γαιόω 'change into earth' (Tz.).
•ETYM Unknown; see ►γῆ.

γαιήοχος [m.] Epithet of Poseidon, secondarily of Zeus, etc. (Il.), mg. uncertain, mostly taken as 'earth-shaker' (= ►ἐννοσίγαιος, s.v.). ◁?▷
•VAR Dor. γαιαοχος, Lacon. γαιάϝοχος.
•ETYM γαιήοχος is a compound with γαῖα as the first member, but the interpretation of the second member is debated. The solution of Borgeaud *KZ* 68 (1944): 221f. that the word means 'bringing home (i.e., the husband of) Gaia' (viz., Ποσειδῶν) is impossible. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 303 interpreted γαιήοχος as Γαῖαν ὀχεύων 'mounting Gaia' or Γαίᾳ ὀχούμενος, basing himself on the myth that Poseidon ἵππιος had intercourse with the earth goddess Demeter. However, Lacon. γαιάϝοχος shows that the second member started with ϝ-, for which there are no indications in the case of ►ὀχέω and ►ὀχεύων. Alternatively, Nilsson 1941: 419 understood 'faring below the earth' (with Poseidon as a river, after Hesychius, "ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀχοῦμενος"), which is implausible, too. Most scholars follow Meillet 1924 and connect the second member with Go. *gawigan* 'to set in motion'. Cf. further αἰγίοχος (s.v. ►αἰγίς).

γαῖσος [m.] a Gaulish javelin (Ph. *Bel.*). ◁LW Lat.▷
•VAR Also γαῖσον [n.].
•DER γαισᾶται/-οι 'mercenarii' (Plb.) is a loan from Lat. *gaesātus*.
•ETYM Like Lat. *gaesum*, the word is from Gaulish, but via Latin: cf. the PN *Gaesātorīx*, *Gaeso-rīx*, Vandal. *Gaise-rīcus*, Go. *Rada-gaisus*. We can compare OIr. *gae*, Co. *gew* 'javelin', and OHG and OS *gēr*, OE *gār*, ON *geirr* [m.] 'spear'. See further s.v. ►χαῖος.

γαίω ⇒γάνυμαι, γηθέω.

γακού · ἡδύ, γλυκύ 'sweet' (H.). ◅?▻

•DER γακουπώνης· ἡδυπότης 'fond of drinking' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

γάλα [n.] 'milk' (Il.). ◅IE **glkt(-)* 'milk'▻

•VAR Gen. γάλακτος. Rare forms: dat. γάλακι (Call. *Hek.* 1, 4, 4), gen. γάλατος (pap.), τοῦ γάλα (Pl. Com.). Also γλάγος [n.] (B 471). Other forms: γλακῶντες· μεστοὶ γάλακτος 'full of milk' (H.); κλάγος· γάλα. Κρῆτες (H.), see below; with hypocoristic gemination γλακκόν· γαλαθηνόν 'sucking (milk)' (H.); and γλακτοφάγος 'living on milk' (Il.); these forms may be due to simple assimilations (or metathesis).

•COMP Old is γαλα-θη-νός 'sucking milk' (Od.) from γάλα and θῆσθαι; on the suffix cf. ἁγανός, etc. (Schwyzer: 452), also τιθήνη. Also γαλακτο-πότης 'drinking milk' (Hdt.), etc. On γάλα as a second member see Sommer 1948: 83.

•DER γαλακτίς (πέτρα) name of a stone (Orph.) = γαλακτίτης (Dsc.), both also as plant names = τιθύμαλλος (Aët., gloss.; after its juice, see Strömberg 1940: 58); γάλαξ name of a white shellfish (Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 109; cf. Chantraine 1933:379); ►γάλιον s.v. Adjective γαλακτώδης (Arist.). Denominative verbs: γαλακτίζω, γαλακτόομαι, γαλακτιάω. With ξ (from τ assibilated before ι) γαλαξίας (κύκλος) 'Milky Way' (D. S.; see Chantraine 1933: 95; also γαλακτίας Ptol.); γαλάξια [n.pl.] name of a festival for Cybele (inscr., Thphr.), from which Γαλαξιών month name on Delos (inscr. III[a]). Independent is γαλατμόν· λάχανον ἄγριον 'wild herb' (H.; cf. γάλιον); perhaps from *γαλακτ-μόν (Strömberg 1940: 58); Fur.: 374, 389 compares ἁδαλτόμον. See on ►γάλαγγα. From γλάγος derive the late forms γλαγερός, γλαγόεις; also περιγλαγής (II 642) and γλαγάω (*AP*).

•ETYM Outside Greek, only found in Lat. *lac* (De Vaan 2008 s.v.) and Armenian (see below). The basis of the Greek forms is **galakt-* or **glakt-*; the latter is seen in γλακτο-φάγος (N 6). As an alternative to assuming a proto-stem with two variants, we may consider the possibility that γάλα goes back to **glakt* (from **glkt*) with loss of the final consonants and development of a secondary vowel in the nom./acc. (cf. γυνή). In that case, γλακτο- (see above) would be the expected outcome for the oblique cases, whereas γάλακτος would have analogical γάλ- instead of γλ-. Since in the nominative the final consonants must have been lost in subsequent stages, i.e. **galakt* > **galak* > γάλα, the intermediate stage could have yielded the *t*-less forms like γλάγος. The Armenian forms, class. *kat'n* and dial. *kaxc'*, have been explained by Kortlandt (following Weitenberg) as from acc. **gl̥kt-m*, gen. **gl̥kt-s* via an intermediate **kałt'-* with *al* < **l̥* (Kortlandt *REArm.* 19 (1985): 22). MIr. *lacht*, etc. were borrowed from Lat. *lac*. The derivation of Szemerényi *KZ* 75 (1958): 170-184 from **mlg/k-* (from the root of ἀμέλγω) is impossible, as this root was **h₂melǵ-*. Not related is Hitt. *galaktar* 'soothing'; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *kalank-[i]* 'soothe'.

γάλαγγα [?] 'galingal, Alpina officinarum' (Aet.). ◅LW Sem.▻

•ETYM From Arab. *khalandjan*, itself of Chinese origin. See André 1956 s.v. *galenga*.

γάλας · γῆ 'earth'. παρὰ Εὐκλίτῳ (H.). Corr. Εὔκλῳ? (*PW* 6, 1055). ◅?▻

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The word is Mediterranean, according to Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 200.

γαλάσιον ⇒γάδασμιον.

γαλέη, γαλῆ [f.] 'weasel, marten' (*Batr.*, Ar.); also a fish name (Ael.), see Strömberg 1943: 108. ◁?▷

•COMP γαλε-άγκων (Arist.), also γαλι-άγκων (Hp.; after the frequent first members in -ι: ἀργι-, κυδι-, etc.; see below), properly "with arms like a weasel", i.e. 'with short upper arm', cf. Solmsen 1909: 225f.; γαλεό-βδολον [n.] "weasel stench", 'dead nettle', substantivized bahuvrīhi, = γαλήοψις "weasel eye" (Dsc.); on the names see Strömberg 1940: 138f., Lehmann *IF* 21 (1907): 193[1]. Denominative γαλιάω = ἀκολασταίνω 'be licentious', "ce qui serait sémantiquement satisfaisant"(?) DELG.

•DER γαλιδεύς 'young weasel' (Crat.), after λυκ-ιδεύς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 364; see below); γαλεώτης 'gecko lizard' (Ar.), 'weasel' (Luc.); on the formation see Schwyzer: 500; also 'swordfish' (Plb.), cf. s.v. ▶γαλεός.

•ETYM The formation of γαλέη shows that the word originally indicated the skin; cf. ἁλωπεκ-έη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 91) and Lat. *galea* below. γαλέη has been connected with Lat. *glīs* 'dormouse' and Skt. *giri-*, *girikā-* [f.] 'mouse'. However, the Skt. word is only attested in lexicons and probably did not really exist (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 488). In spite of its deviant meaning, the Latin could perhaps be related if γαλ- reflects **glH-V-*, Lat. *glīs* possibly going back to **glHi-* (Schrijver 1991: 242). γαλέη is not related to MW *bele* 'weasel' (pace Schwyzer: 299; cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v. *fēlēs*). The original meaning 'weasel-skin' is found in Lat. *galea* 'leather helmet', cf. κυνέη properly 'dog-skin'. For a possible connection of 'weasel' with ▶γαλόως 'husband's sister', see there.

γαλεός [m.] 'dogfish, shark' (Pl. Com.), also = γαλέη (Aret.). ◁?▷

•DER γαλεώδης 'like a shark' (Arist.), γαλεώτης 'swordfish' (Plb.; see below), also γαλαξίας = γαλεός (Gal.); connection with γαλαξίας 'milky way' unclear; remarkable compound γαλεώνυμος = γαλεός (Phylotim. *apud* Gal.), cf. also καλλιώνυμος name of a fish, see Strömberg 1943: 108f.

•ETYM Strömberg l.c. maintained that the dogfish was named after the weasel, but the formation of γαλεός is unclear (a back-formation from γαλεώτης after ἀσκαλαβώτης : ἀσκάλαβος?). On γαλεός, see Thompson 1947 s.v. For γαλεώνυμος etc., Frisk and DELG (s.v. γαλέη) suggested contamination and tabu-formation, which remains gratuitous.

γαλήνη [f.] 'stillness of the sea' (Od.); also 'lead sulphite' (Plin.), see Chantraine *RPh.* 91 (1965): 203-5. ◁IE **ǵlh₂-es-* 'laughter'▷

•VAR Dor. γαλᾶνᾱ.

•DER γαλήνεια (γαλάνεια) = γαλήνη (Eur.), after σαφήνεια?; not from γαληνής (only Arist. *Phgn.* 811b 38); γαληναίη (A. R.; cf. ἀναγκαίη beside ἀνάγκη), γαληναῖος (*AP*). γαληνός 'still' (E.). After the numerous adjectives in -ρο- (not an old *r/n*-stem): γαληρός (H.); after the adjectives in -ερος: γαλερός (H.).

•ETYM Similarly to σελήνη, the variants γαλήνη and γαλᾶνᾱ derive from *γαλασ-νᾱ, in turn from an *s*-stem that is also seen in γέλως, γελασ-τός, etc. Because of its *e*-grade, γελήνη (termed Aeol. by Jo. Gramm. *Comp.* 3, 1) is perhaps to be ranged with the latter words. γαλήνη must originally have meant 'cheerfulness'; cf. γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν 'to shine, flourish' (H.). For the ablaut grade **ǵlh₂-es-*, cf. Arm. *całr* 'laughter'. See ►γελάω, ►γλήνη, ►γλῆνος.

γάλι ⇒ἅλις.

γαλιάγκων ⇒γαλέη.

γαλίας ⇒γάδος.

γάλινθοι [m.pl.] · ἐρέβινθοι. οἱ δὲ γάλιθοι 'chick-peas; elsewhere γάλιθοι' (H.). ◅PG▻
•VAR Also γέλινθοι· ἐρέβινθοι (H.).
•ETYM Pre-Greek (note the suffix -ινθος with a variant without prenasalization, as well as the interchange α/ε). Not related to ►γέλγις.

γάλιον [n.] 1. 'bedstraw, Galium verum' (Dsc. 4, 95) and 2. 'dead nettle' (Plin. 27, 81). ◅GR▻
•VAR The first also (ibid.) γαλάτιον (cf. ἁλάτιον 'salt') and γαλαίριον (unclear).
•ETYM In the sense 'bedstraw' etc., γάλιον is related to γάλα because it was used as rennet (Dsc. l.c., cf. Strömberg 1940: 108). In the sense 'dead nettle', we should rather compare ►γαλέη in view of other words for 'dead nettle': γαλεόβδολον and γαλήοψις.

γαλλαρίας •VAR γαλλερίας. ⇒καλλαρίας.

γάλλαρος [m.] 'member of a Dionysiac cultic society' (inscr. Philippopel, II^{p}). γάλλαρος· Φρυγιακὸν ὄνομια παρὰ Λάκωσι 'a Phrygian name, acc. to the Laconians' (H.). ◅LW Phr.▻
•ETYM See Dunst *KZ* 78 (1963): 147ff. Cf. ►γάλλος.

γάλλια [n.pl.] · ἔντερα 'intestines' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM As **ϝάλλια*, the word is perhaps from **ϝάλνια*, related to εἰλύω 'wind, turn, etc.' (Lidén *KZ* 61 (1934): 22f.). Cf. ON *vil* [n.], *viljum* [dat.pl.] 'viscera', IE **uel-io-*. On the development, cf. Lesb. Thess. στάλλα, from **στάλνᾱ*.

γάλλος [m.] 'a priest of Cybele, eunuch' (inscr, Epict.). ◅LW Phr.▻
•COMP γαλλομανής, γαλλιαμβικόν metrical term (not in LSJ).
•DER γαλλαῖος 'of a γ.' (Rhian.), γαλλάζω (Schwyzer: 633, 12).
•ETYM In antiquity, the word was believed to be Phrygian. Probably, ►γάλλαρος is related.

γαλόως [f.] 'husband's sister' (Il.). ◅IE **ǵlH-ōu-s* 'husband's sister'▻
•VAR γαλόω [gen.sg.], γαλόῳ [dat.sg.] and [nom.pl.], γαλόων [gen.pl.] (with metrical diectasis). Also γάλις· γαλαός (H.), see below.
•DIAL Also Att. γάλως, -ω (acc. to Hdn. Gr.).

•ETYM The Greek forms derive from *γαλ-αϝ-ο- (not *γαλ-ωϝ-ο-; Beekes *MSS* 34 (1976):13ff), a thematicization of **ǵlh₂-eu-*, which is probably an oblique stem of **ǵ(e)lh₂-ōu-s* (formation as in ►πάτρως, ►μήτρως). The PIE term denoted the unmarried sister of the husband, cf. Lat. *glōs* 'husband's sister' (secondarily 'brother's wife'; the loss of the laryngeal in Latin is difficult to account for, see Schrijver 1991: 131). Further cognates are Arm. *tal* 'id.' (*i*-stem), which has initial *t-* for *c-* after *taygr* 'husband's brother' (see ►δαήρ), and Slavic words like OCS *zъlъva*, Ru. *zólva*, *zolóvka*, which must reflect **-uu̯-* instead of **-u-*, probably through adaptation to *-uh₂-* after other feminines. γέλαρος· άδελφοῦ γυνή, Φρυγιστί (H.) is unclear (for **γέλαϝος*? Hermann *Gött. Nachr.* (1918): 222f.). Oettinger 1998: 649-654 points out that in Romance languages and dialects, 'weasel' and 'aunt' are often homonyms, because of the behaviour of the aunt; for the same reason, the IE terms may have been identical. The nature of the laryngeal is difficult to determine, unless the Hesychius gloss has **γαλαϝ-ος* < **ǵlh₂-eu-os*. γάλις could represent **ǵlH-i-*.

γαμβρός [m.] 'son-in-law, brother-in-law (sister's husband)' (Il.). ◅IE **ǵ(e)mH-* 'marry'▻

•DER Rare and late: γαμβροτιδεύς 'son of a γαμβρός' (Iamb., after λεοντιδεύς, etc.), γαμβρεύω 'form connections by marriage' (LXX).

•ETYM Outside Greek, one compares Skt. *jāmātar-* = Av. *zāmātar-* (with secondary *-tar-*); cf. Av. *zāmaoiia-* (< **-mavya-*) 'brother of the son-in-law' and Skt. *jāmí-* 'related', fem. also 'daughter-in-law', Lat. *gener*, Alb. *dhëndërr*, *dhândër(r)*. The formation of the BSl. terms is isolated: Lith. *žéntas*, OCS *zętъ*. The BSl. and Alb. words, as well as Lat. *gener*, must have been influenced by **ǵenh₁-* (γίγνομαι), although even then Latv. *znuôts* remains difficult, as it seems to go back to **ǵneh₃-to-*. The Greek and Indo-Iranian forms must belong together, the Greek requiring **ǵn̥-ro-*, the Indo-Iranian forms **ǵomo-*; ►γαμέω might have been formed secondarily, or else the resemblance may be due to later influence γαμέω (cf. Viredaz *IF* 107 (2002): 152-180).

γαμέω [v.] 'to marry' (Il.). ◅IE **ǵ(e)m-* 'marry'▻

•VAR Fut. γαμέω (γαμῶ), aor. γῆμαι, perf. γεγάμηκα, -ημαι (Att.); late γαμήσω, ἐγάμησα, ἐγαμήθην; isolated fut. γαμέσσεται I 394 'give in marriage' (Aristarchus reads γε μάσσεται).

•DER Back-formation γάμος [m.] 'wedding' (Il.). From γαμέω: γαμετή 'wife' (Hes.); from γάμος: γαμέτης 'husband' (A.). γαμήλιος 'nuptial' (A.) with the month name Γαμηλιών (Arist.). A suffix *-l-* also in γάμελα [n.pl.] 'wedding offerings' (Delphi V[a]) and Γαμέλιος months name (Dodona). Desiderative γαμησείω (Alciphr.).

•ETYM There are no cognate verbs outside Greek. The connection with γέντο, ὕγγεμος = συλλαβή, γέμω is uncertain. Probably connected with ►γαμβρός.

γάμμα [n.] name of the letter (X.). ◅LW Sem.▻

•VAR γέμμα (Democr.).

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *gīmel* and the word for 'camel': Hebr. *gāmāl*, Aram. *gamlā* (Schwyzer: 140).

γαμφηλαί [f.pl.] 'jaws of animals' (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR γναμφαί· γνάθοι 'jaws' (H.).
•DER Backformation γαμφαί (Lyc.).
•ETYM Cf. τράχηλος 'neck, throat', etc. Generally connected with ►γόμφος and γομφίος, but the α-vocalism is problematic. Neither a popular word, a zero grade *γαφ- with restored nasal, nor influence from γαμψός or γναμπτήρ (*CEG* 1) seems to be a sufficient explanation. The suffix -ηλ- occurs in Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*), so the word may be Pre-Greek. Pedersen (see WP 1: 534) pointed to Ru. *gubá* 'lip', etc.

γαμψός [adj.] 'curved, crooked' (Ar.). ◁PG?▷
•COMP γαμψῶνυξ (Il.), γαμψώνυχος (Epich.) 'with curved claws'.
•DER γαμψόομαι (Arist.), γαμψωλή (H.).
•ETYM It seems evident to connect the word with ►γνάμπτω. On the assumption that γαμψός is a back-formation from γαμψώνυχ(ο)-, the absence of the -ν- was implausibly explained as the result of dissimilation (Leumann 1950: 156). Equally unattractive is it to assume a contamination of γνάμπτω and κάμπτω (Güntert 1914: 115f.). We rather have to connect γαμψός with (a variant of) ►κάμπτω, and possibly ►γνάμπτω is related as well. If so, all of these words may well be Pre-Greek.

γᾶναι •VAR Cod. γάναι. ⇒αἴνω.

γάνδος [m.] · ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πανοῦργος. τίνες δὲ γάδος 'a villain who knows much; some authors have γάδος' (H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Cf. γάσος· ὁ ἀπατέων. ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πανοῦργος 'a deceiver; a villain who knows much'.
•ETYM The prenasalization proves Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 254, 288. This conclusion is confirmed by the variant with σ.

γανῖται [?] · δάπανοι, ἄσωτοι 'extravagant men; spendthrifts' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM DELG hesitantly and unconvincingly suggests a connection with Lat. *ganea* 'underground house', which implies some relationship with ►γάνος 2.

γάνος 1 ⇒γάνυμαι.

γάνος 2 [m.] · παράδεισος 'garden' (Cyprian, acc. to *EM*); γάνεα· κήπους 'gardens' (H.). ◁LW Sem.▷
•ETYM From Semitic (Hebr. *gan* 'garden'); see E. Masson 1967: 74.

γάνος 3 ⇒γλάνος.

γάνυμαι [v.] 'to brighten up, be glad, rejoice' (Il.). ◁IE *geh_2u- 'be bright, be glad'▷
•VAR Present; further only fut. γανύσσομαι (Ξ 504); late perf. γεγάνυμαι.
•COMP Γανυ-μήδης, etc.
•DER γανύματα· ἁρτύματα 'seasonings' (*AB*), γανύσματα (Paul. Sil.), from which (with rhotacism) γανύρματα H.; γανυρόν· λευκόν, ἡδύ, ἱλαρόν 'white, sweet, merciful' (H.; γανερόν *EM*), γανυτελεῖν· γανυπελεῖν, ἡδύσματα ποιεῖν 'bring joy' (H.), γάνος 'brightness, joy' (Sapph.), with γάνωμα = γάνος (Ph.), γανώδης (Thphr.), διηγανές· λαμπρόν 'bright' (H.) and γανόομαι (Anacr.) with γάνωσις

(Plu.). Denominative γανεῖν· λευκαίνειν 'to become bright' (H., *EM*). Pres. γανύσκομαι (Them.). Homeric ptc. γανόωντες, γανόωσαι, etc. 'glitter, gleam' (Il.), innovations after the verbs in -ανάω (see Risch 274, Chantraine 1942: 360), late present γανόωσιν (Arat. 190) and γανάσσαι· σμῆξαι, ἠδῦναι 'wash clean, rejoice' (H.). γαίων in κύδει γαίων (Il.) 'rejoicing in splendour' vel sim.; γαίεσκον· ἔχαιρον 'rejoiced' (H.).

•ETYM γάνυμαι is an old nasal present *gh_2-*n*-*u*-, cognate with γαίων, from *γᾰϝ-i̯ω < *gh_2u-i̯ō. Possibly further related to ►γαῦρος (*geh_2u-*ro*-) and ►γηθέω.

γαπελεῖν [v.] · ἀμελεῖν 'to have no care for' (H.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Without any additional support, Bechtel *KZ* 44 (1911): 354 connected the word with the PNs Arg. Γαψίας, Delph. Γάψων (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 307). It has also been proposed to correct this entry, i.e. to *ναπελεῖν for νηπελεῖν (Whatmough *Class. Phil.* 53 (1958): 203f.). Alternatively, Fur.: 391 convincingly adduces ἀπαλεῖν· ἀμελεῖν (H.): because of the variation in the initial, a very promising indication of Pre-Greek origin.

γάρ [pcl.] 'for, since' (Il.).

•ETYM From ►γε ►ἄρ. See Schwyzer 1950: 560.

γάργα [f.] · αἴγειρος 'black poplar, Populus nigra' (H.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Fick 1905: 82 compares the Attic Deme called Γαργηττός and Γάργαρα (Troas).

γαργαλίζω [v.] 'to tickle' (Pl.). ◅ONOM▻

•VAR γαγγαλίζω (Phryn.), with γαγγαλίδες· γελασῖνοι 'front teeth; dimples' (H.) and γαγγαλιάω (H.).

•DER Backformation γάργαλος (Ar.), γαργάλη (Com.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic formations with reduplication (for *γαλ-γαλ-); cf. Schwyzer: 259 and 647.

γάργαρα [n.pl.] 'heaps, lots (of people)' (Com.). ◅ONOM▻

•VAR Dissimilated γάργαλα· πλῆθος, πολλά 'a multitude, many' (H.).

•DER γαργαρίς· θόρυβος 'tumult' (H.), γαργαίρω 'swarm' (Com., Sophr.); γαργάρται· λίθοι αὐτοφυεῖς 'natural stone' (H.)? With another vowel γέργερα· πολλά (H.).

•ETYM Reduplicated onomatopoeic formation. Not related to ►ἀγείρω, ►ἀγοστός. Comparable independent formations are seen, for instance, in Lith. *gurgulỹs* 'tangle of threads, swarm (of birds)', *gùrguolė* 'mass (people, bees)'.

γαργαρίζω [v.] 'to gargle' (Orib., sch.). ◅ONOM▻

•DER Deverbal γαργαρεών [m.] 'uvula', also 'trachea' (Hp.); cf. ἀνθερεών. With different vocalism γέργερος· βρόγχος 'windpipe' (H.), cf. on ►γάργαρα.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic formation with intensive reduplication; see Schwyzer: 423.

γάρκαν [?] · ῥάβδον. Μακεδόνες 'rod, wand (Maced.)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Reminiscent of ►γάρρα · ῥάβδος; ►γάρσανα · φρύγανα. Κρῆτες 'stick (Cret.)' (H.) and ►γέρρον. However, the words can hardly be cognate, even if they are from

Pre-Greek. Not related to βράκος· κάλαμος (pace Pisani *Acme* 1 (1948): 312; Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 200f.; Kalléris 1954: 136f.; see also Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 253f.).

γάρνον [?] · τὸ ἔσω τῆς πλήμνης σιδήριον, ὃ τὸν ἄξονα τρίβει 'iron implement in the nave of a wheel, which pounds the axle' (H.). ◅?▻
•VAR Pollux 1, 145 writes γάρκον.
•ETYM Etymology unknown.

γάρος [m.] 'sauce or paste made of brine and small fish' (A.). ◅?▻
•VAR Also ntr. (pap.), γάρον (Str.).
•DER γαράριον, γαρηρόν 'bowl for γ.' (pap.); γαριτικός (pap.); γαρῖνος and γαρίσκος fish names (Marcell. Sid.); Strömberg 1943: 41 and 88.
•ETYM Etymology unknown; Lat. *garum* is borrowed from the Greek (see DELG).

γάρρα ⇒γέρρον.

γαρριώμεθα [v.] · λοιδορούμεθα 'we are reproached' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM An expressive form which recalls Lat. *garriō*, 'to chatter'. The connection with ▸γῆρυς is doubtful. Bechtel 1921, 2: 369 opts for Laconian origin.

γάρσανα ⇒γέρρον.

γάσος ⇒γάνδος.

γαστήρ [f.] 'belly, paunch, womb' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Gen. -τρός, -τέρος (for the inflection see Schwyzer: 568, Chantraine 1942: 96 and 215).
•COMP As a first member γαστρ(ι/ο)-. Old ὀγάστωρ (H.).
•DER γάστρα, -η 'belly of a vase' (Il., inscr., cf. μήτρα); γάστρων 'pot-belly' (Alc.). Denominative γαστρίζω (Ar.).
•ETYM γαστήρ is often derived from *γρασ-τήρ as "glutton", which would be a derivative of ▸γράω; the word would be matched by Skt. *grastar-* 'eclipser', an astronomical term (allegedly from "devourer"). However, the semantics are far-fetched since the belly is not an "eater", nor is DELG's comment convincing: "le ventre de femme en tant qu'elle conçoit et porte un enfant". If ▸γέντα should be related, we might think of a **gnt-tēr* with *tt* > *st*, but this remains quite uncertain.

γατάλαι [f.pl.] · οὐλαί 'barley-corns' (H.).
•ETYM Mostly corrected to γατειλαί and, as *ϝατειλαί, connected with ▸ὠτειλή.

γαυλός [m.] 'milk-pail, water-bucket, beehive' (Od.). ◅?▻
•VAR γαῦλος, with different accent (see Hdn. Gr. 1, 156), a (round) freighter (Epich., see Chantraine 1928: 7).
•ETYM A connection with ▸γωλεός and ▸γύαλον (q.vv.) and, outside Greek, OHG *kiol*, ON *kjóll* 'ship' has been considered. Alternatively, γαυλός could be borrowed from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *gullā* 'vase for oil'. Specifically Phoenician origin cannot be proven with the gloss γαυλοί· καὶ τὰ Φοινικικὰ πλοῖα γαῦλοι καλοῦνται 'also Phoenician ships are called γ.' (H.); see E. Masson 1967: 39ff. Lat. *gaulus* is borrowed from the Greek.

γαυνάκης [m.] a thick cloak, Persian or Babylonian? (pap., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Clem. Al.). ◁LW Pers.▷
•VAR Also καυνάκης (Ar.) and καυνάκη [f.] (pap.).
•ETYM Borrowed from a Persian word that reflects older **gauna-ka-* 'hairy' (cf. Av. *gaona-* 'hair'). Assyr. *gunakku*, a garment, is borrowed from the same source, whereas Lat. *gaunaca* (since Varro) was taken over from the Greek (see Schwyzer *ZII* 6 (1926): 234ff.). Alternatively, Fur.: 119 assumes a 'vorderasiatisches Wanderwort' (see R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 102-105).

γαῦρος [adj.] 'haughty, exulting in' (Archil.). ◁?▷
•DER γαύρηξ 'braggart' (Alc.), γαυρότης 'exultation' (Plu.). Denominative γαυριάω 'bear oneself proudly' (Cratin.); γαυρόομαι 'id.' (E.).
•ETYM Mostly connected with ▶γάνυμαι, ▶γηθέω. MIr. *gŭaire* 'noble' (< **gaurios*?) has also been cited as a comparandum. Cf. ▶ἀγαυρός.

γαύσαπος [m.] 'shaggy woollen cloth, frieze' (Str.). ◁LW Balkans?▷
•VAR γαυσάπης (Varro).
•ETYM For a suggestion, see Fur.: 119, who compares καυσία 'Macedonian felt hat' (NB: forms like *γαυδαπος, which he often cites, e.g. 229, are ghost forms). Lat. *gausape(s)*, *-a*, *-um* (Lucil.) is borrowed from the Greek. γαύσαπος is not borrowed from from Assyrian *guzippu*, *kuzippu* 'cloth' (Lewy *KZ* 58 (1931): 26ff.).

γαυσός [adj.] 'crooked, bent outwards' (Hp.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Or γαῦσος? (DELG; the accent varies).
•DER Thence γαυσάδας· ψευδής 'false' (H.; see DELG); denominative γαυσόω (Sor.). Also ἔγγαυσον· ἔνσκαμβον 'crooked' (H.), cf. Strömberg 1946: 127.
•ETYM For the suffix, cf. βλαισός, λοξός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 434). γαυσός has been compared with γαυλός, which is semantically improbable, and with γυρός, γύαλον (from a PIE root **geu-* 'curve, etc.'), which is formally impossible. The origin of the word is rather to be sought in Pre-Greek.

γε [pcl.] 'at least, at any rate' (Il.). ◁IE **ǵe* emphatic pcl.▷
•VAR Dor. Boeot. γα.
•ETYM Combinations like ἐμέγε, σέγε invite a comparison with Go. *mi-k*, *þu-k*, although *mik* could be influenced by *ik* 'I'. The particle ▶-χι has a comparable function, cf. Skt. *hí* (from **ǵʰi*), and also Skt. *ha* (from **gʰe*) and *ghă* (from **gʰo*), and further Lith. *ne-gŭ*, *ne-gì* 'not', OCS *ni-že* 'neque', ToA *-(ä)k*, ToB *-k*, Hitt. *ammuk* 'me', etc.

γέγειος [adj.] 'antique' (Hecat.). ◁?▷
•ETYM DELG remarks that the word never means 'of the earth', so that connection with γῆ is improbable. However, the meaning could actually derive from 'earth-born' (LSJ).

γέγωνα [v.] 'to shout so as to make oneself heard' (Il.; on the meaning Wackernagel 1916: 156f.). ◁?▷

•VAR Old perfect, with preterite (plpf.) (ἐ)γέγωνε, ἐγεγώνει, ἐγεγώνευν (-εον), inf. γεγωνέμεν, -εῖν, ptc. γεγωνέοντες (Chios V[a]); imp. γέγωνε (A.), γεγωνείτω (X.), 3sg.pres.ind. γεγωνεῖ (Arist.); new aor. γεγωνῆσαι (A.), Fut. -ήσω (E.). Unclear γεγωναί· αἱ ὁμιλίαι 'intercourse' (H.).

•DER γεγώνησις (Plu.). From the ptc. γεγωνώς the adj. γεγωνός, -όν 'loud-sounding' (A.). Recent γεγωνίσκω (A.).

•ETYM Often connected with ►γιγνώσκω, but the lengthened vowel was usually left unexplained (see Schwyzer 770). Hackstein 2002: 187ff. assumes a desiderative PGr. **ge-gon-s-* from an IE root **ǵh₃en-*, also seen in ToA *ken-* 'call'. On this proposal, see now Vine 2007: 343-357.

γεῖσον [n.] 'projecting part of the roof, cornice' (E.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Often γεῖσσον, γεῖσος [n.] (LXX, Hell. inscr.).

•DER γείσωμα 'penthouse' (Poll.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.); γείσωσις· τὸ τῆς στέγης ἐξέχον 'projecting part of the roof' (H., *EM*), from γεισόω (*EM*), but see Chantraine 1933: 288.

•ETYM A Carian word, acc. to Steph. Byz. s.v. Μονόγισσα, who compares Car. γίσσα 'stone' (which does not fit very well semantically). Fur. 117 compares Georg. *kviša* 'gravel', etc.; cf. further κίσηρις 'pumice-stone' (Arist.). In any case, the word is a loan, like many other terms for building, on which see Schwyzer: 62; the term could be an Anatolian LW or (= ?) Pre-Greek.

γείτων, -ονος [m., f.] 'neighbour', also as an adj. (Od.). Also γ<ε>ίτονας· τὰ δύο αἰδοῖα 'the two genitals' (H.), also in MoGr. (Pontos, Koukoulés Ἀρχ. 27, 61ff.). ◄IE?►

•COMP As a second member in τὰ Μεταγείτνια a festival in Miletus (V[a]), with the month name Μεταγειτνιών (IA), beside Πεδαγείτνιος, etc. (Rhodos, Cos, Chalcedon).

•DER Late fem. γείταινα (*AB*, cf. τέκταινα, etc.). With γειτον-: γειτονία 'neighbourhood' (Pl.) with γειτονέω (A.), γειτονεύω (Hp.). With γειτν-: γειτνιάω (S.), γειτνία, γείτνιος (pap.), γειτνέω (pap.), etc.

•ETYM If the ablaut in the suffix is old, γείτων cannot be a recent creation. However, it lacks a good etymology (in any case, not related to γεῖσον).

γελανδρόν [adj.] · ψυχρόν 'cold' (H.; in wrong position). ◄?►

•ETYM γελανδρόν is reminiscent of Lat. *gelidus*. Contrary to what Frisk argued, the unusual formation of the Greek word does not prove that the entry is corrupt; rather, its correctness is corroborated by the French dialect word *jalandro* from the region of Grenoble (Hubschmid *Vox Romanica* 3 (1938): 130). If we assume substrate origin and a pre-form *γελαδ-ρο- with prenasalization, all three words could be related (perhaps the ultimate source is Galatian).

γελάω [v.] 'to laugh' (Il.). ◄IE **gelh₂-* 'laugh'►

•VAR Aor. γελάσ(σ)αι, with γελάσομαι, ἐγελάσθην, γεγέλασμαι (Att., etc.).

•DER γέλασμα 'laughing' (A., see below), γελαστύς 'id.' (Call.), γελαστής 'laugher, sneerer' (S.), ἐγγελαστής (E.), γέλασις (*EM*). γελασῖνος 'laugher' (Ael.), plur. 'the front teeth' (Poll.). Also γελάσκω (*AP*) and γελασείω (Pl.).
Beside γελάω stands γέλως, -ωτος (epic acc. γέλω for γέλων, γέλον, Att. gen. γέλω) [m.] 'laughter' (Il.), with γελώω (Od., see Chantraine 1942: 365f.) and γελοῖος (B 215, where γελοΐιος *metri causa*, cf. Schwyzer: 467 and Chantraine 1942: 168) with denominative γελοιάω, γελοιάζω (LXX). γελασ- in ά-γέλασ-τος (θ 307), also in γελᾱνής (Pi.) < *γελασ-νής? Also in γελαρής· γαλήνη. Λάκωνες 'calm of the wind (Lacon.)' (H.) < *γελασ-ρής; also in γελάω, γελάσ-σαι <*γελασ-i̯ω. Aeolic *o*-stem γέλος [m.] (cf. ἔρως : ἔρος : ἐραστός).
•ETYM Beside γέλως (**gelh₂-ōs*) stands Arm. *całr*, gen. *cału* 'laughter' (with *ci-całim* [v.] 'laugh'); cf. Clackson 126-132. For the ablaut, cf. γαλ- < **glh₂-* in γαλήνη. The 'physical' meaning is preserved in γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν 'glow, flower' (H.). Cf. ►γαλήνη, ►γλήνη, ►γλῆνος.

γέλγη [n.pl.] 'frippery' (Eup., Luc.). Acc. to H., (ὁ ῥῶπος καὶ) βάμματα, καὶ ἄτρακτοι, καὶ κτένες '[petty wares and] dyes, and spindles and combs'. ◄?►
•DER γέλγει· βαπτίζει, χρωματίζει 'dip, tinge' and γέλγια· πήνη, σπάθη, κουράλια 'woof, blade, coral' (H.).
•ETYM No etymology. Hardly connected to ►γέλγις.

γέλγις [f.] 'garlic', or its cloves (Thphr.). ◄PG►
•VAR Gen. -ῐδος, -ῑθος; plur. γέλγεις, γέλγιθες.
•DER γελγιδόομαι 'change into γ.' (Thphr.), γελγιθεύειν· ἀπατηλογεῖν 'to speak deceivingly (vel sim.)' (H.).
•ETYM The obviously related synonym ►ἄγλις suggests that γέλγις is to be analysed as a reduplicated *γε-γλις. Evidently, the variation ά- ~ zero or ά- ~ γε- cannot be of IE origin. In addition, Fur.: 123, 127 (etc.) adduces σκελλίς, -ίδος (Plu.; also σκελίς Alex. Trall.) with the same meaning; this form cannot be separated from γέλγις, and so further confirms Pre-Greek origin because it adds, e.g. the interchange γ ~ κ. The suffix, too, with a long vowel ῑ, is typically Pre-Greek. Any connection with ►γαγγλίον is a mere guess.

γέλενος [?] · ἀσπόδελος, νάρκισσος 'asphodelus, narcissus' (H.). ◄PG►
•ETYM Fur.: 138 compares σχέλινος· ἀγρία κυπάρισσος 'wild cypress' (H.); see his comments.

γέμω [v.] 'to be full (of)' (IA). ◄IE? **gem-* 'take, seize'►
•VAR Only present.
•DER γόμος 'freight, cargo' (IA) with factitive γομόω 'load' (Babr.); poet. γέμος [n.] 'load' (A.). Deverbative with causative value (Schwyzer: 717): γεμίζω 'to fill, load' (A.); also γεμόω 'id.' (pap.).
•ETYM Probably related to U *kumiaf* [acc.pl.f.] 'gravidās' whence, as a loan, Lat. *gumia* [m., f.] 'glutton'. Connection with Lat. *gemō* is difficult (see E-M: 'be full' < sigh'?). Cf. Szemerényi *ZDMG* 101 (1951): 219. The word has further been connected with ►γέντο 'took', which is semantically not evident.

γενεά •VAR γενεή. ⇒γίγνομαι.

γένειον •VAR γενειάς. ⇒γένυς.

γέννᾱ [f.] 'descent, birth' (Pi.). ◁IE **ǵenh₁-* 'beget'▷

•DER γεννάδᾱς [m.] 'noble (of birth)' (Ar.), Att. γεννήτης 'member of the γένος' (Is.); γεννικός 'noble' (Com., Pl.); γεννήεις 'begetting' to γεννάω, see below. Old is γενναῖος 'of good origin' (Il.) with γενναιότης (E.). Beside γέννα and γενναῖος, we find the verb γεννάω 'to beget, generate' (Pi.) with γέννημα (S.; γένημα after γένος), etc., γέννησις, γεννητής 'begetter' (S.); γεννήτωρ (A.) and γεννητήρ (App.) 'id.', γεννήτειρα (Pl.), γεννήτρια (Phryn.). From γεννάω also γεννητικός (Arist.) and γεννήεις (Emp.).

•ETYM γέννα and cognate forms are obviously related to root represented by γένος and γίγνομαι. However, problematic is the origin of the geminate νν, which is certainly not expressive (pace Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 15f., Chantraine 1933: 46). If the verb γεννάω is primary (as argued by DELG), we could perhaps explain the νν as the result of a restoration of the root γεν- (for instance after γένος) in a νᾱ-verb (like δάμνημι, δαμνάω). On the other hand, γενναῖος seems to be an old formation, which in turn suggests that its basis γέννα is old as well (as argued by Wackernagel *KZ* 30 (1890): 300 and 314; for γενναῖος, Schwyzer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 195f., has suggested that it actually stands for *γενε̯αῖος). As none of the above solutions is really convincing, we should rather consider some kind of irregular, for instance analogical development of **nja*; after all, γέννα ends in short -α, which seems to presuppose *-i̯a* < **-ih₂*. See ►γίγνομαι.

γένος ⇒γίγνομαι.

γέντα [n.pl.] 'intestines' (Call.); κρέα, σπλάγχνα 'meat, innards' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM No etymology. According to Eust., it is a Thracian word. Szemerényi *WuS* NF 1 (1938): 156f. connects it with ►γαστήρ, which is theoretically possible if the latter reflects **gnt-tēr*.

γεντιανή [f.] a plant, 'gentian' (Dsc., Hp.). ◁?▷

•DER γεντιὰς ῥίζα (Androm. *apud* Gal., Dsc.), for *γεντιανάς, Chantraine 1933: 353.

•ETYM According to Dsc. 3, 3, the plant is named after the Illyrian king Gentis, which has been associated with the fact that the plant was prominent in the Alps; cf. Strömberg 1940: 135. On the form of the name of the Illyrian king, *Gent(h)ius*, see Krahe 1929: 53f. Compare also Venet. *χε.nθe.i* [dat.].

γέντο [v.aor.] 'he took' (θ 43). ◁IE? **gem-* 'seize, take, etc.'▷

•ETYM Like λέκτο 'he laid down', γέντο is either a med. root aorist, or an *s*-aorist that lost its -σ- (*λέκ-σ-το, *γέμ-σ-το; on the μ, see below); cf. Schwyzer: 751 Zus. 2. If they are root aorists, both verbs have analogical full grade. To γέντο < *γέμτο, we can probably further add the ipv. ἀπό-γεμε· ἄφελκε. Κύπριοι 'draw away (Cypr.)' and ὔγ-γεμος· συλλαβή. Σαλαμίνιοι 'grip, hold (Salam.)' (H.). From other languages, comparisons have been made with MIr. *gemel* 'fetter', Latv. *gùmstu, gùmt* 'seize, etc.', as well as OCS *žǫmǫ, žę̀ti* 'σφίγγειν, comprimere'. The word has furthermore been

compared with Gr. ►γέμω 'be full', which could be the thematic present beside the athematic (sigmatic) aorist γέντο. Not connected to ►γαμέω, nor to ►γάγγαμον 'net'.

γένυς, -υος [f.] 'jaw', also 'edge of an axe' (Il.). ◁IE *ǵenu- 'chin'▷

•VAR Sometimes ῠ *metri causa*.

•DER γένειον (< *γενεϝ-ιον) 'chin, beard' (Il.), with γενειάς 'beard, cheek' (Od.); γενειάτης, -ήτης, fem. -ᾶτις, -ῆτις 'bearded' (Theoc., cf. ὑπηνήτης), γενειόλης 'id.' (Hdn.); γενειαστήρ 'chin-strap' (Poll., cf. βραχιονιστήρ). Denominative verb γενειάω 'to get or have a beard' (Od.), etc. Also γενηΐς 'edge of an axe' (S. *Ant.* 249 gen. γενῆδος).

•ETYM The *u*-stem has parallels in OIr. *giun, gin* 'mouth', MW *gen* 'cheek, chin', plur. *geneu*, Go. *kinnus* 'cheek', ToA *śanw-e-ṃ* [du.] 'cheeks', and further Arm. *cnawt* and Skt. *hánu-* [f.] 'jaw-bone' (with an unexplained *h-* for *j-*, Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 801), whereas Lat. *gena* 'cheek' is reshaped after *māla* (but the *u* is preserved in *dentes genuīnī* 'molars'). Compare also Av. **zanauua* (written *zanuua*), MoP *zanax*, Khot. *ysanuva* 'jaw'. Not connected to ►γνάθος.

γεράνδρυον [n.] 'old tree-trunk' (Thphr.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM A Hellenistic innovation: a substantivized adjective γεράνδρυος (Thphr., etc.), modelled after μελάν-δρυον 'heartwood' (Thphr.; cf. τὸ μέλαν δρυός ξ 14); see Strömberg 1937: 99. Cf. also γεράνδρυες (H.), from δρῦς. See ►γέρων and ►δρῦς.

γέρανος [f., m.] 'crane' (Il.), also metaphorically of various kinds of apparatuses, and a fish name (see Strömberg 1943: 120). ◁IE *ǵerh$_2$-en-/-eu- 'crane'▷

•DIAL Myc. *ke-re-na-i* [dat.pl.] /kerenāhi/, see *RPh.* 73 (1999) 84 (doubtful).

•DER γερανίς kind of bandage (medic.). γερανῖτις name of a stone (Plin.), γερανίας 'with a crane (neck)' (Phryn.), γεράνιον 'geranium', also called γερανογέρων (Strömberg 1940: 54 and 159). See also Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM Beside the *o*-stem γέρανος (*ǵerh$_2$-n-), we have an *n*-stem in γέρην or γερήν (H.) < *ǵerh$_2$-ēn. Old name of the bird 'crane', with a suffix *-n-* or *-u-*, seen in Arm. *krun-k*; Celtic, e.g. Gaul. *tri-garanos* 'with three cranes', MW *garan*; Germanic, e.g. OE *cran*, OHG *kran-uh*; Lith. *garnỹs* 'heron, stork'. The *u*-stem appears in Lat. *grūs*, Lith. *gérvė* (*ǵerh$_2$-u-), OCS *žeravъ* (*ǵerh$_2$-ōu-) with BSl. *g- by depalatalization from the zero grade *ǵrh$_2$-.

γέρας [n.] 'gift of honour' (Il.); originally 'old age', see ►γῆρας. ◁IE *ǵerh$_2$- 'old'▷

•VAR Gen. -αος or -ως.

•DIAL Myc. *ke-ra* /geras/.

•COMP Compound ἀ-γέρασ-τος 'without gift of honour' (Il.).

•DER γεραιός 'old' (Il., accent like in παλαιός); γεράσμιος 'honouring, honoured, aged' (*h. Merc.*, cf. Schwyzer: 493); denominative γεράζω 'honour' (*EM*). Beside γέρας stands γεραρός 'honourable' (Il.; hardly an old *r*-stem as per Benveniste 1935: 16; different Schwyzer: 516), fem. γέραιρα (Il. [v.l.], see Bechtel 1914), and γεραίρω 'honour, distinguish' (Il.).

•ETYM Cf. Skt. *jarás-* [f.] 'old age'. ►γέρων, ►γῆρας, and ►γραῦς are cognate. Perhaps also connected with ►γεργέριμος.

γεργέριμος [?] a kind of olives (Call.). See H., Suid., Ath. 56 d. They are δρυπεπής, i.e. ripe on the tree. ◅LW Sem.▻

•ETYM Semitic origin seems possible: for a connection with Hebr. *garg^{e}rīm* 'ripe olives', see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 41. Therefore, the word is rather not related to γέρων, etc.

γερδιος [m.] ([f.]) 'weaver' (pap. II^{a}). ◅LW?▻

•VAR Accentuation unknown. Also γέρδις.

•COMP γερδιοραβδιστής (pap.), γερδοποιόν (gloss.).

•DER Feminines γερδία (*Edict. Diocl.*) and γερδίαινα (pap.). γερδιακός and γερδιών 'weaving-shed' (pap.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *gerdius* (since Lucil.); further unknown. Was it borrowed into Latin from Greek? Hebr. *girdā'ā* 'weaver' is also from Greek, acc. to Bauer in WH s.v. As the word is very late, a loan is probable. See Frisk *Supp.*

γεροῖος •VAR γεροίταν, γέρυς. ⇒γέρων.

γέρρον [n.] different objects of wickerwork: 'shield' (Hdt.), 'wattles, booths, body of a cart' (D.), 'stake, arrow' (Eup.), = τὸ αἰδοῖον 'genitals' (Epich.). ◅EUR▻

•COMP γερροφόρος 'shieldbearer' (Pl.).

•DER γερράδια· στρωτηρίδια 'crossbeams' (H.); cf. Chantraine 1933: 72, Schwyzer: 487. Here also γέρσυμον· ἄκρον ἁλιευτικοῦ καλάμου 'point of a fishing rod' (H.)? (cf. γέρρον = 'stake'), variants γένσιμον (H.) and κέρσιμον (sch.), see below; not to ἀγείρω as per Latte. On γάρρα and γάρσανα s.v. ►γάρσανα.

•ETYM γέρσυμον (not to be corrected to γέρσιμον, *contra* Latte), which is found next to γένσιμον and κέρσιμον, points to a substrate word (interchange ε/ α, κ/ γ, ι/ υ). Probably, Arm. *caṙ* 'tree', plur. 'shrubs' is also to be compared, as well as perhaps ON *kjarr* [n.] 'shrubs' (PGm. **kersá-*), and ON *kass* 'basket' (PGm. **kársa-*). Within Greek, γάρσανα and γάρρα may be related. The whole group of words probably derives from a European substrate; see Fur.: 117. Lat. *gerra* [f.] 'wicker-work' is borrowed from the plural γέρρα.

γέρων, -οντος [m.] 'old man'; also as an adjective 'old' (Il.). ◅IE **ǵerh$_2$-* 'be(come) old, ripen'▻

•VAR As an administrative term οἱ γέροντες 'the elders'.

•DIAL Myc. *ke-ro* /gerõn/? *ke-ro-si-ja* /geronsiā/?

•DER γερούσιος 'concerning the elders' (Il.), γερουσία 'council of the elders' (in Sparta, Carthage, etc., D.; on these forms see Collinge *Glotta* 49 (1971): 218-229), γερουσίας 'member of the γ.' (Sparta), γερουσιαστής 'id.' (Plb.; Chantraine 1933: 316ff.), γερουσιακός. Diminutive γερόντιον (Ar.), γερόντειος (Ar.), etc. Denominative γεροντεύω 'be a senator' (Sparta), with γεροντεία (Ephesus). γεροντιάω 'get older' (D. L.). Beside γέρων, γέροντ- there are a few formations with γερυ-: γέρυς and γερύτας· γέρων (H.), cf. πρέσβυς and πρεσβύτας. Also PNs Γερύλος, Γέρυλλος, Γερυς, -υδος hypocoristic? (Bechtel 1917a: 15). Of the forms with

-οι-, γεροίταν· πάππον. Κρῆτες 'grandfather' (H.) is inverted writing for γερύταν; γεροῖα [n.pl.] 'old stories' (Corinn.), if correct, is perhaps after the adjectives in -οῖος (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 304). Unclear is γερωνία (H.), see Latte, despite Scheller 1951: 33². γερωχία (Ar. *Lys.* 980) is perhaps graphic for Lacon. γερω'ία (von Fritz *AmJPh.* 66 (1945): 196f.; but see Wackernagel 1916: 208²; also Schwyzer: 218). γεράτης 'old', of a horse (*POxy.* 6, 922; DELG refers to γερατία; not in LSJ).

•ETYM In its formation, γέρων is identical with Skt. *járant-*, Oss. *zærond* 'old (man)'. One may further compare Arm. *cer*, *-oy* 'old man' (*o*-stem) and MoP *zar* 'id.'. Cf. ►γέρας, ►γῆρας, ►γραῦς.

γεύομαι [v.] 'to taste' (Il.); γεύω, γεῦσαι 'give a taste' (Hdt.). ◄IE **ǵeus-* 'taste'►

•VAR Aor. γεύσασθαι, fut. γεύσομαι, perf. γέγευμαι; secondary athem. form γεύμεθα (Theoc. 14, 51).

•DER γεῦμα 'tasting' (IA), γεῦσις 'id.' (Democr.), γευθμός 'id.' (Nic.), γεύστης (Chios), γευστήριον (Com.); γευστικός (Arist.).

•ETYM The compound ἄ-γευσ-τος 'not tasting, inexperienced' (Att.) points to a basis **γεύσ-ομαι*, which agrees with Go. *kiusan*, ON *kjósa* 'taste, choose', OHG OS *kiosan*; further, with Skt. *juṣáte*, *-ti* 'id.' and Lat. *gustāre* = OHG OS *kostōn* 'taste', as well as Go. caus. *kausjan* from **ǵous-eie/o-*.

γέφῡρα [f.] 'bridge'; on other mgs. in Homer see below (Il.). ◄PG►

•VAR Boeot. βέφυρα, Cret. δέφυρα, Lacon. δίφουρα (H.).

•DER γεφυρίς· πόρνη τις ἐπὶ γεφύρας, ὡς Ἡρακλέων 'whore on the bridge' (H. also with another mg.); denominative γεφυρόω 'make a bridge' (IA; Il. 'dam up', see below') together with γεφύρωσις (Str.), γεφύρωμα 'bridge' (J.), γεφυρωτής 'bridge-builder' (Plu.); γεφυρίζω 'abuse' (Plu.), acc. to H., "ἐπεὶ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας τοῖς μυστηρίοις καθεζόμενοι ἔσκωπτον τοὺς παριόντας" 'because the people sitting at the bridge in Eleusis during the mysteries used to mock at the passers-by'; thence γεφυρισμός (Str.), γεφυριστής (Plu.).

•ETYM The variation of the first consonant between γ-, β- and δ- suggests a labiovelar **g^{w}-*, although the reflex γ- is then difficult to explain. The evidently cognate Arm. *kamurǰ* 'bridge' would also pose unsurmountable problems if the word were IE. Beekes *Glotta* 78 (2004): 12-21 follows Fur. 97, etc., who sees it as a loanword from Anatolian, connecting Hattic *hammuruwa* 'beam'. An original meaning 'beam' fits all passages in Homer and, notably, the expression πολέμοιο γεφύρας, where it has the same meaning as phalanx ('tree, beam'). The Lacon. form with -ι- and -ου- points to non-Greek origin as well.

γῆ [f.] 'earth' (Il.). ◄PG►

•VAR Dor. γᾶ, Cypr. ζα is uncertain, see Lejeune *BSL* 50 (1954). Ion. plur. γέαι is an innovation (Schwyzer: 473, Schwyzer 1950: 51, Meister 1921: 172, 253).

•DIAL In the Thebes tablets we find *maka*, interpreted as */Mā Gā/* 'Mother Earth' (e.g. Avrantinos-Godart-Sacconi, *Thèbes* (...) *Les tablettes*, 2001).

•COMP Often as a first member γη- (γα-), mostly γεω- from γη-ο- (late also γε-η- from γη-η-, γε-ο- and γειο- after -γειος < -γη-ιος): γη-γενής 'earthborn' (IA), γή-λοφος (Pl.), γεώ-λοφος (X.) 'earthen hill', γεωμετρία, -ίη 'surveyeing of lands' (IA),

γεωργός 'peasant' (IA) < γη(-ο)-ϝοργός or -ϝεργός, cf. γαβεργός· <ὁ> ἀγροῦ μισθωτής. Λάκωνες 'tax farmer (Lacon.)' (H.).

•DER Diminutive γήδιον (Ar.); adj. γήϊνος 'earthen' (IA), Dor. γάϊνος, γεώδης (Pl.), γειρός (Hp., cf. s.v. ἐγγαροῦντες); rare γήτης (S. *Tr.* 32) 'peasant', cf. γαῖται· γεωργοί (H.), Redard 1949: 36; denomin. γεόομαι 'become earth' (D. S.)

•ETYM No IE etymology; the hypothesis of Meier-Brügger *MSS* 53 (1992): 113-6 (connecting **ǵenh₁-* 'to beget') is incorrect. Probably related to ►γαῖα, which is a Pre-Greek word as well. On possible ►Δα 'Earth', see ►δᾱ and ►Δημήτηρ, as well as ►Ποσειδᾶων; however, this is rather doubtful. For the interchange δ-/ γ-, cf. γέφυρα/ δέφυρα and Fur. 388f. The word is likely to go back to **gaya*, which was contracted to **gā* at a very early date. See *Pre-Greek* under the suffix -αι-. Cf. ►αἶα and ►γέγειος.

γη(γ)γήλιξ [?] · ὁ ἄγριος μῦς 'wild mouse' (H.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Also γήλιγρος.

•ETYM There is no reason to correct γη(γ)γήλιξ into γιγγιλ-. A suffix -ρ(ο)-, as seen in the variant γήλιγρος, is well-known from Pre-Greek; likewise, γηγγ- shows typically Pre-Greek reduplication and prenasalization, for which γίγγλυμος and γάγγαμος may be compared. Without doubt, the word is of Pre-Greek origin.

γηθέω [v.] 'to rejoice' (Il.). ◅IE **geh₂dʰ-* 'be glad' (?)▻

•VAR Perf. γέγηθα, aor. γηθῆσαι (Dor. γᾱθέω, γέγᾱθα, γᾱθῆσαι); late presents γήθομαι, γήθω (Dor. γᾱ́θω).

•DER γηθοσύνη (Il.), γηθόσυνος (Il.); late γῆθος [n.] (Epicur.) and γηθαλέος (Androm., *apud* Gal.). Also γᾶσσαν· ἡδονήν 'joy' (H.), if with Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 376 from **γᾱθ-ι̯αν.*

•ETYM Because of Lat. *gaudeō, gāvīsus sum*, a pre-form **γᾰϝ-εθ-έω* was reconstructed for γηθέω (see Schwyzer: 703), but the contraction then needed would have to have been very early and have spread even to the perfect (Chantraine 1942: 429). Moreover, the present **geh₂u-edʰ-eie-* would be an isolated formation within PIE. Recently, the word has been compared with ToA *kātk-*, ToB *kātk-* 'be glad' (< **geh₂dʰ-sk-*), which has yielded the reconstruction **geh₂dʰ-* for Greek (LIV², Adams 1999: 150). The same root is found in ►γαίω < **γᾰϝ-ι̯ω* and ►γάνυμαι.

γηθυλλίς, -ίδος [f.] name of an onion (Epich.); cf. Strömberg 1937: 84. ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also γήθυον [n.] (Ar.), γήτειον [n.] (Ar.), κητίον (Cratin.), γαιθυλλάδαι (H.). Fur.: 187, 253 further adds γάθια· ἁλλάντια 'sausage' (H.), ἀγασυλλίς 'Ferula marmarica' (Dsc. 3, 84). ἀγαθίς = σησαμίς 'sesame' (H.).

•DIAL Dor. γᾱθυλλίς.

•ETYM Because of the many alternations, e.g. τ/ θ/ σ, α/ αι, γ/ κ, γηθυλλίς is obviously of Pre-Greek origin. The suggestion of DELG that γήτειον was remodelled after γηθέω (which would explain the variation τ/ θ) is implausible in itself and does not account for the other variants. The folk-etymological suggestion of Kalén 1918: 103ff. to analyse γη-θυλλίς as 'Erdsäckel', with **θύον* 'sacculus' (as found in γήθυον) is of course to be abandoned.

γῆρας [n.] 'old age' (Il.). ◁IE **ǵerh₂-* 'be old, ripen'▷
•VAR Gen. -αος, -ως.
•DER γηραιός 'old' (Hes.; cf. γεραιός s.v. ▶γέρας), γηραλέος 'id.' (Anacr.; after the adjectives in -αλέος), γηράεις 'id.' (Alc., see Chantraine 1933: 272f.). Further γήρειον 'thistledown' (Arat.) and γηράνιον· γεραν<ογέρων> H.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 159[1]; γηράμιων H., glossed as (*)γράζα.
Further γηράσκω 'to get old' (Il.), 3sg. aor. ἐγήρα, ptc. γηράς (Il.), inf. γηράναι or γηρᾶναι (A., cf. Schwyzer 682); aor. ἐγήρασα (Hdt.; also as a causative like ἔφυσα: ἔφυν, Schwyzer: 755γ); fut. γηράσομαι, -σω (IA), later γεγήρακα, ἐγηράθην. New present γηράω (X.); aor. γηρείς (Xenoph.) after δαμείς. From γηράσκω: γηράσιμος 'getting older' (Tlos), and γήρανσις (Arist.) after ὑγίανσις (Chantraine 1933: 281).
•ETYM The word stands beside γέρας, with a remarkable long vowel which has been explained as deriving from the *s*-aorist, but this cannot be proven. On ἐγήρα as the reflex of an old *s*-aorist, see Barton *Glotta* 60 (1982): 32-49 and Harðarson 1993a. 72-76. Cf. ▶γέρας, ▶γέρων, ▶γραῦς.

γῆρυς [f.] 'voice, speech' (Il.). ◁IE? **geh₂r-* 'voice, sound'▷
•DIAL Dor. γᾶρυς, -υος.
•DER γηρύω, γαρύω 'sing, speak' (*h. Merc.*), γήρυμα (A.).
•ETYM Comparable forms are found in Celtic and Germanic, which, however, often have a short vowel, e.g. Go. *kara* [f.] 'care, solicitude' and OE *cearu* [f.] 'id.', OHG *chara* [f.] 'lament(ation)', and OIr. *ad·gair* < **gar-et.* LIV connects the Celtic verb with Oss. *zæl-* 'resound' and reconstructs an IE root **ǵar-* 'tönen, rufen' with **a*, ablauting with **ā* for forms like γῆρυς, OIr. *gáir* [f.] 'cry', W *gawr* 'crying, battle'. However, *a*-vocalism, and certainly *a* :: *ā* ablaut, is of course impossible in PIE: the evident reconstruction is **gh₂r-*, **geh₂r-*. The zero grade **gh₂r-* explains the Celtic forms with *-a-*, and theoretically also the Germanic ones, although the latter are perhaps better kept apart because of their deviant meaning. Forms with *-rr-*, like Lat. *garriō*, and Gr. ▶γαρριώμεθα are rather not related (LIV suggests onomatopoeic origin).

γίγαρτον [n.] 'grape-stone' (Simon.); cf. Strömberg 1937: 140 for the names of kernels. ◁PG?▷
•DER γιγαρτίς· σταφίς 'grape' (H.), γιγαρτώδης 'stone-like' (Thphr.); γιγαρτώνιον 'unripe grape' (Dsc.)
•ETYM Reduplicated formation. It is often connected with Lat. *grānum*, MoHG *Korn*, *Kern*, which is formally improbable (Greek would have a different suffix and reduplication). The word is rather non-IE, that is to say a Pre-Greek loan.

γιγγίς, -ίδος [f.] kind of turnip, French carrot (Alex. Trall.). ◁PG?▷
•DER γιγγίδιον a plant, Daucus Gingidium (Dsc.); γιγγικίδιον (schol. Nic. *Al.* 432).
•ETYM Solmsen 1909: 213f. assumed **γεγγίς*, with assimilation, connecting the word with ▶γογγύλος. However, it is rather a Pre-Greek word.

γιγγλίαν [f.] · κάλυμμα κεφαλῆς ἐρεοῦν 'woollen hood for the head' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

γιγγλισμός [m.] · γαργαλισμὸς ἀπὸ χειρῶν, γέλως 'tickling by the hand; laughter' (H.). ◁ONOM▷

•ETYM DELG compares κιχλισμός (hardly influenced by ▶γίγγρος). Neither is it related to γίγγλυμος.

γίγγλος [m.] · νᾶνος 'dwarf' (H.). ◁ONOM?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

γίγγλυμος [m.] 'hinge, joint, pivot, gudgeon' (X., Epid.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Also γιγγλυμός; and γύγλ- (ap. Frisk), γιγλύμιον (ap. Frisk), not in LSJ.

•DER γιγ(γ)λύμιον (Anthem.), γιγγλυμώδης (Arist.), γιγγλυμιωτός (Ph.), γιγγλυμόομαι (Hp.).

•ETYM Technical term of unknown origin (cf. Schwyzer: 423). Not related to OIr. *glún* 'knee', etc. (as per Petersson 1922: 8f.). Probably Pre-Greek (note the prenasalization and interchange ι/ υ).

γίγγρος [m.] name of a Phoenician flute (Men.). ◁PG or LW Phoen.▷

•VAR Also -ον H., -ᾶς [m.]. γίγγλαρος (Poll.), γιγγλάριον (*AB*) by dissimilation?

•DER Thence γιγγράϊνος 'like a γ.' and γιγγραντός '(made) for a γ.' (Ath.); γιγγρίαι· αὐλοὶ μικροί, ἐν οἷς πρῶτον μανθάνουσιν 'small flutes, on which they first learn', γιγγρασμός· ἦχος 'sound', γιγγρί· ἐπιφώνημά τι ἐπὶ καταμωκήσει λεγόμενον. καὶ εἶδος αὐλοῦ 'an interjection in case of mockery; also a kind of flute' (H.).

•ETYM According to Ath. 4, 174f., the word is from Γίγγρης, the Phoenician name of Adonis, but it is actually rather an expressive onomatopoeic formation (not related to γῆρυς or γέρανος). Lat. *gingrina* 'genus quoddam tibiarum exiguarum' (Paul. Fest.) is borrowed from the Greek.

γίγνομαι [v.] 'to be born, become, arise' (Il.). ◁IE **ǵenh₁-* 'beget, arise'▷

•VAR Ion., etc. γῖνομαι (Schwyzer: 215), Thess. Boeot. γίνυμαι, Cret. γίννομαι; aor. γενέσθαι, perf. γέγονα, γέγαμεν, γεγαώς, med. γεγένημαι (recent), fut. γενήσομαι; recent are γενηθῆναι and γενηθήσομαι (Att., etc.); trans. *s*-aorist γείνασθαι (epic, etc., from *γεν-σ-; Schwyzer: 756, Wackernagel 1916: 175), also γεινόμεθα, -μενος (either for γί(γ)νομαι, Schwyzer: 715, or for γεν- with metrical lengthening); athem. root aorist ἔγεντο (Hes.; analogical innovation, see Schwyzer: 678f.).

•COMP -γνη-τος in e.g. ▶κασίγνητος 'brother' and -γν-ος in νεο-γν-ός 'newborn' (*h. Hom.*), with a suffix -ιο- in ὁμό-γν-ιος 'of the same origin'.

•DER Action nouns: 1. γένος [n.] (γενικός, -γενής) and γόνος, γονή (γονεύς 'parent'). 2. γενεά (Ion. -ή) 'lineage' (Il.; see Chantraine 1933: 91). 3. γενέ-θλη (Il.) and γένε-θλον (A.) 'id.', together with γενέθλιος and (rare and late) γενεθλιακός, γενεθλίδιος, γενεθλίωμα, γενεθλιάζω. 4. γενε-τή 'birth' (Hom.); hypocor. Γενετυλλίς name of Aphrodite as a protectress of birth (Ar.). 5. γένε-σις 'birth, origin' (Il.). 6. ▶γέννᾰ. Agent nouns: γενέ-τωρ (Ion. Dor.) and γενε-τήρ (Arist.) 'begetter'; on the difference see Benveniste 1948: 46; fem. γενέτειρα (Pi.); γενέ-της (Ion.); thence γενέσια [n.pl.] 'parentalia' (Hdt.). γνήσιος 'of real descent' (Il.) from γνητός. Cf. further ▶ἴγνητες; γνωτός, -τή 'relative' belongs to γιγνώσκω.

•ETYM The reduplicated pres. γίγνομαι is also found in Lat. *gignō* [act.] 'to beget', and the aorist ἐγένετο corresponds to the Skt. root aorist *ájani*, whereas the perf. γέγονα matches Skt. *jajāna*. Nouns include γένος (= Skt. *jánas-*, Lat. *genus*) and γόνος (Skt. *jána-*), γενέτωρ, γενετήρ (= Lat. *genitor*, Skt. *jánitar-* and *janitár-*), γενέτειρα (= Skt. *jánitrī*, Lat. *genitrī-x*); γένεσις (with *e*-grade) corresponds to Skt. *jātí-* 'birth, family', Lat. *nāti-ō*, OE *(ge)cynd* (all with zero grade). Gr. -γνητος is from **ǵnh₁-to-*, while -γν-ος in compounds shows loss of the laryngeal, as in Lat. *prīvi-gn-us* 'born separately' = 'stepchild'; furthermore, note the correspondence νεογνός: Go. *niuklahs* 'as a child' (dissimilated from **-kna-* < IE **-ǵnh₁-o-*).

γιγνώσκω [v.] 'to come to know, perceive' (Il.). ◁IE **ǵneh₃-* 'recognize, get to know'▷

•VAR Ion., etc. γῑνώσκω (cf. γῑ́νομαι beside γίγνομαι), Epidaur. γνώσκω, aor. γνῶναι, perf. ἔγνωκα, fut. γνώσομαι; with analogical -σ-: γνωσθῆναι, ἔγνωσμαι; later *s*-aor. γνώσασθαι (Man.).

•COMP Many compounds.

•DER γνῶσις 'inquiry, knowledge' (IA), often in compounds, e.g. ἀνά-γνωσις 'recognizing, reading' to ἀνα-γιγνώσκω 'recognize, read'; γνώμη 'thought, judgement' (Thgn.); rare γνῶμα 'token, opinion' (Hdt.); usual γνώμων [m.] ([f.]) 'interpreter, expert, etc.' (IA); γνωτός 'known' (Il.), often with -σ- γνωστός (A.; ἄγνωστος Od.) like in γνωστήρ 'surety, witness' (X.), γνώστης 'id.' (LXX), etc. With a suffix -ρ- we find γνώριμος 'well-known, familiar' (Od.), γνωρίζω 'make known, become acquainted with' (IA), γνώρισις, γνώρισμα, γνωρισμός, γνωριστής, etc.

With unexplained vocalism ἀγνοέω 'to fail to perceive or recognize' (Il.; ἠγνοίησα with 'false' -οι-; see Chantraine 1942: 99) together with ἀγνοίᾱ, ἄγνοιᾰ (Att.); after νοέω and compounds: ἀνοίᾱ, ἄνοιᾰ, etc. (in any event, not derived from **ἄγνο-ϝος*, which would be a related to ἀγνώς, ἀγνῶτος 'unknown', Od.).

•ETYM γιγνώσκω matches Lat. *(g)nōscō*, OP *xšnāsa-* in *xšnāsāhiy* 'you shall recognize' (subj.), etc., and probably Alb. *njoh*, although these forms have full grade **ǵneh₃-*, whereas Greek probably has a zero grade **ǵnh₃-sk-*. Likewise, the **to*-ptc. γνωτός corresponds to Lat. *nōtus*, Skt. *jñātá-*, as well as OIr. *gnáth* 'known' and ToA *ā-knats*, ToB *a-knātsa* 'fool', where the Greek form points to **ǵnh₃-to-* (as does perhaps Tocharian). Cf. further OCS *znati* 'recognize', 1sg. *znajǫ*, Arm. aor. *can-eay* 'I recognized', Go. *kann*, pl. *kunnum*, ptc. *kunþs* 'known'. On ἀγνοέω, see above; on ▶γέγωνα, see there. Hitt. *kane/išš-zi* 'to acknowledge', which was thought to reflect **ǵnēh₃-s-* (with Eichner's Law, i.e., that a laryngeal does not color an old lengthened grade), can be accounted for with a conventional reconstruction **ǵn(e)h₃-s-* (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Nevertheless, the vocalism of OE *cnāwan* 'know' (< PGm. **knē-*) and ToA *kñasu* 'I have recognised' (< **knēs-*) remains difficult. For γνώριμος, cf. Lat. *gnārus* < **ǵnh₃-ro-*; Gr. γνῶσις, Lat. *nōti-ō* and Skt. *-jñāti-*, however, may be independent formations.

γιλός [adj.] · ἑτερόφθαλμος 'one-eyed' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Perhaps connected here is the PN Γίλλος, Γιλλίς (but see on νεόγιλλος, as well as Bechtel 1902: 64).

γινιπτήριον [n.] 'broom' (*P. Leid.* X, 19). ◁?▷

•ETYM Perhaps for *γινιστήριον; cf. Lat. *genista.*

γίννος [m.] 'offspring of a mare by a mule' (Arist.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also γινος (Ialysos). LSJ (and Supp.) give the accentuations γίννος, γιννός and γῖνος. Also ἰννός (H.) and ὔννος.
•ETYM Unknown; see DELG. The forms without γ- or with υ may well be late. It can hardly be from γίγνομαι. The word is probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ►ὄνιννος.

γῖτον [n.] uncertain; 'comestibles'? (*UPZ* 89,14, II[a]). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

γλαβρήνη [f.] Cretan plant name (unknown poet III[P]). ◁PG▷
•ETYM See Neumann 1967: 229-235. Probably a local name, i.e. Pre-Greek.

γλάγος ⇒γάλα.

γλάζω [v.] 'to sing aloud (μέλος)' (Pi. *Fr.* 97). ◁?▷
•VAR cf. γλαγγάζει· πτερύσσεται, κέκραγε 'he flaps the wings, shrieks' (H., Cyr.).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic; cf. ►κλάζω. But von Wilamowitz (following the sch.) reads μέλι; thus, does it mean 'suck'?

γλαινοί ⇒γλήνη.

γλάμων, -ωνος [adj.] 'blear-eyed' (com.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also γλαμυρός 'id.' (Hp.). From γλάμος· μύξα 'mucus' (H.) after adjectives in -ων and -υρός (φλεγυρός 'inflamed', Chantraine 1933: 231). Denominative γλαμάω (Poll.) = λημιάω (which LSJ does not give), γλάμυξος = γλαμυρός together with γλαμυξιάω (*EM*), for γλα[μο]-μυξος? γλημώδης = γλαμυρός (Gal.), after λημώδης 'full of rheum'?
•ETYM Unknown. The comparisons with Lith. *glėmės, gléimės* [pl.] 'slime' (not related to MoE *clammy* 'sticky') and Alb. *ngjomë* 'humid, fresh' (Pok. 361) are very doubtful. The word may be Pre-Greek. From Greek comes Lat. *glamae* = *gramiae* 'viscous humor that collects in the corners of the eyes'.

γλάνος [m.] 'hyena' (Arist.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Cf. γάνος· ἡ ὕαινα, ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καί Βιθυνῶν H.; also γάννος 'hyena' (Phlp. *in GA*).
•DER Hence the fish name γλάνις, -ιος (-εως), -ιδος [m.] ([f.]) 'Silurus, sheat-fish' (Com., Arist.; γλάνιος Hdn.), thus called because of its voracity and the sound it makes, see Strömberg 1943: 70 and Thompson 1947 s.v.
•ETYM Unknown. The word may be Pre-Greek.

γλαρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'chisel' (S., Delos III[a]). ◁?▷
•ETYM For the formation, cf. the semantically related γραφίς, γλυφίς, κοπίς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 338).

γλαυκός [adj.] in Hom. (Π 34) and later poets of the sea, post-Hom. always the color 'blueish-green or grey' (Il.); see Pötscher *RhM* 141/2 (1998): 97-111. ◁PG?▷
•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-u-ko* /Glaukos/.

•DER γλαῦκος name of a fish (Com.; see Strömberg 1943: 23f. and Thompson 1947: 48); γλαυκία ἢ γλαυκίον· βοτάνη τις 'a plant' (H.: Plin.); also 'juice of the horned poppy' (Dsc.) and name of a duck (Ath.), both after the color; γλαυκίδανον name of an eye salve (Gal.). Denominal ptc. γλαυκιόων 'gleaming?' (Il.), but acc. to Pötscher *Glotta* 72 (1994): 105-8) 'with the green, brilliant eyes of an owl', γλαυκόομαι 'be affected with glaucoma' (Hp.), γλαύκωμα 'glaucoma' (Arist.), γλαύσσω 'shine' (H.) cf. λευκός: λεύσσω. Several PNs: Γλαῦκος, Γλαύκη (Il.), Γλαύκων, -ίων, etc. See ►γλαυκῶπις.

•ETYM Hardly connected to ►γαλήνη, ►γελάω. Improbably, Leumann 1950: 148ff. (with incorrect analysis of γλαυκῶπις; see Chantraine 1966: 193ff.). No etymology. The word is hardly IE, as **gleh₂u-ko-* would be an unusual formation; therefore, it is rather Pre-Greek.

γλαυκῶπις [adj.] 'with the bright eyes of an owl' (Il.), epithet of Athena. On the mg. Pötscher *Phil.* 141/1 (1997): 3-20 (not to γλαυκός 'blue'). ◅GR▻

•ETYM The owl was associated with Athena. Its eyes are remarkable for their 'éclat nocturne'. Cf. βοῶπις epithet of Hera. See ►γλαῦξ.

γλαυνός [m.] a kind of chiton (Poll. 7, 48). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

γλαῦξ, -κός [f.] 'little owl, Athene noctua' (com., Arist.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR LSJ gives γλαύξ. Besides, there is a word γλαύξ 'wart cress' (Dsc.), which is also given as γλάξ (Hdn. Gr. 1, 395, etc.).

•ETYM Derived from γλαυκός by the ancients, which is rejected by Thompson 1895 s.v. as a folk etymology. Thus also Pötscher *Phil.* 141/1 (1997): 3-20 (see on ►γλαυκῶπις). Some bird names with the *k*-suffix are provided by Specht 1944: 204; note πέρδιξ and the many Pre-Greek words in -ξ (see *Pre-Greek* on word end). The etymology is unknown. The variation in the word for 'cress' may point to a Pre-Greek word (which is probable anyhow), but it is not sure that 'owl' and 'cress' have the same origin.

γλαφυρός [adj.] 'hollow(ed)' (Il.), 'polished, smooth, refined, elegant' (Ar.). ◅?▻

•DER γλαφυρότης 'neatness, elegance' (Ph.) and γλαφυρία 'id.' (Plu.). Rare is γλάφυ [n.] 'cavern' (Hes. *Op.* 533) and γλάφω 'hollow out' (Hes. *Sc.* 431), also (late) 'engrave' (διαγλάψασα, see *ClassRev.* 12 (1898): 282 [Coptos II^{p}]).

•ETYM Dissimilated from -υλός, according to Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 223², which would be derived (cf. λιγυρός : λιγύς) from a *u*-stem that is perhaps represented by γλάφυ. In the sense 'hollow out' (attested only once), γλάφω may be secondary. Later, when this verb means 'engrave', it looks like a cross between γλύφω and γράφω. The development to 'smooth', etc. probably went via 'engraved' and 'polished'. DELG thinks that γλαφυ- was dissimilated from *γλυφυ- (see ►γλύφω); this is doubtful.

γλέπω •VAR γλέφαρον. ⇒βλέπω, βλέφαρον.

γλήνη [f.] 'eyeball' (Hom.; also in a reviling sense Θ 164), also 'pupil of the eye' (Ruf. *Onom.*, H.), metaph. 'socket of a joint' (Gal.), 'honeycomb' (*AB*, H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•DER γλήνεα [n.pl.] 'gaudy things, trinkets' (Ω 192), 'stars' (Arat.); sing. γλῆνος = γλήνη (Nic.), = φάος (H.). γληνίς (*IG* 5(1) 1447: 9 [Messene III-II^{a}]) mg. unknown. Artificial is Hell. γλήν = γλήνη (Hermesian.), cf. Schwyzer: 584 A. 6. Also PNs: Γλῆνος, Γλῆνις, Γληνώ, Γληνεύς. Unclear is the mg. of τρί-γληνα (ἕρματα, Hom.); τρίγληνος also as an attribute of Hecate (Ath.).
•ETYM The basic meaning of the word is probably 'shining' (see DELG), whereas 'socket of a joint' seems secondary. One may compare γαλήνη 'calm weather' and γλαινοί· τὰ λαμπρύσματα τῶν περικεφαλαιῶν, οἷον ἀστέρες 'ornaments of headbands, like stars' (H.), which last word is known only from this gloss.
Comparison of γλαινοί with OHG *kleini* 'gleaming, elegant, fine, small', OE *clǣne* 'clean' is quite uncertain, since we would then have to separate the other Greek words without -ι-. For γλήνη, Lamer *IF* 48 (1930): 231f. assumes a basic meaning 'puppet', opting for Pre-Greek origin. If γλαινοί is indeed related, this conclusion seems most probable, since α/ αι is frequent in Pre-Greek words (cf. γηθυλλίς / γαιθυλλάδαι; pace DELG, which remarks that this variation would render an etymological comparison 'imprudent').

γλήχων ⇒βλήχων.

γλία •VAR γλίνη, γλίον. ⇒γλοιός.

γλῖνος [m.] 'Cretan maple' (Thphr.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Also γλεῖνος.
•ETYM No etymology. See Amigues *RPh.* 73 (1999): 84.

γλίσχρος [adj.] 'sticky, penurious' (IA). ◂?▸
•DER γλίσχρων 'niggard' (Ar.), γλισχρότης (Arist.), γλισχρία (sch.). Denominative γλισχραίνομαι 'be sticky' (Hp.), γλίσχρασμα 'glue' (Hp.); γλισχρεύομαι 'be niggardly' (M. Ant.).
•ETYM To ▸γλίχομαι, ▸γλοιός. The formation is unclear; cf. Chantraine 1933: 225. Fur.: 297 thinks the -σ- of γλίσχρος points to a Pre-Greek word. See the conclusion under ▸γλοιός.

γλοιός [m.] 'glutinous substance, gum', also the oil and sweat scraped off by athletes (Semon.); secondarily also [adj.] (pap.). ◂EUR▸
•DER γλοιώδης (Pl.); γλοιάς· ἡ κακοήθης ἵππος καὶ πολυδήκτης παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ 'horse with bad character and biting according to S.' (H.), γλοίης, -ητος [m.] 'slippery, shifty' (Hdn.; see Chantraine 1933: 267). Denominative γλοιόομαι 'become sticky' (Dsc.), γλοιάζω 'twinkle with the eyes' (Hp.). Also γλία 'glue' (*EM*) and γλίνη (*EM*) together with γλινώδης (Dsc.), γλίον· εὔτονον, ἰσχυρόν 'well-strung, vigorous' (H.), perhaps also γλιᾶται· παίζει, ἀπατᾷ 'plays, deceives' (H.), γλιῶσαι· τὸ παίζειν 'play' (*EM*). Further γλίττον· γλοιόν (H.). Verb γλίχομαι, properly 'stick to', so 'long for' (Hdt.), only present except for ἐγλιξάμην (Pl. Com.); deverbal γλιχός (H.), γλιχώ (*EM*). The semantic development is not always clear (see DELG). See ▸γλίσχρος.

•ETYM If from *γλοιϝός, the word agrees with Ru. (dial.) *glev* 'slime of fishes' (Slav. **glěvъ* < **gloi-uo-*). If, however, it derives from *γλοι̯ός, the word may correspond to OE *clǣg* 'loam, clay' (PGm. **klaiia-*). The *n*-suffix in γλίνη, also in CS *glěnъ* 'slime' < **gloi-no-* and in Ru. *glína* 'clay, loam' < **glei-neh₂-*, is explained as from a nasal present seen in OIr. *glenim* (**gli-neh₂-mi*), OHG *klenan* 'stick, smear'. The gloss γλίττον (H.) is best explained, like Lat. *glittus* 'sticky', with a geminated variant of the *t*-suffix seen in Lat. *glūten* [n.] 'glue' (< **gloi-t-en-*?; it is not an old *r/n*-stem, as per Benveniste 1935: 104) and Lith. *glitùs* 'sticky'. γλία is compared with Ru. *glej* 'clay, loam' (< **glьjь*). There is no cognate for γλίχομαι, analyzed as a χ-present in Schwyzer 702. See Pok. 362f. Not all comparisons are convincing. Most words cited are from BSl. or Gm., which suggests European substrate origin.

γλουρός [m.] 'gold' (*AP*); cf. γλούρεα· χρύσεα, Φρύγες 'golden items (Phrygian)' (H.). ◂LW? Phr.▸

•ETYM This word recently turned up in a Phrygian inscription from Dokimeion in the form γλουρεος (Brixhe *Kadmos* 43 (2004): 7-26). It clearly represents the Phrygian reflex of PIE **ǵʰlh₃-ro-*. Cf. ▸ χλωρός.

γλουτός [m.] 'buttock', also dual (X.) and plur. (Il.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR γλουτά (sch. Theoc. 6, 30).

•DER γλούτια 'id.', also medullary tubercles near the pineal gland of the brain (Gal.). Diminutive γλουθίον?

•ETYM Compared with Sln. *glûta, glúta* 'lump, swelling' (if < **glout-*); further, with OE *clūd* [m.] 'mass of stone, rock' and MoE *cloud*, which are semantically less evident. Without *t*-suffix Skt. *gláu-* [m.] 'round lump, wen-like excrescence'; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 511. Schwyzer: 501[10] and 577[11] considers a secondary τ(ο)-suffix (cf. πρωκτός). The IE material (in Pok. 361) is not very convincing. If the -θ- is reliable, the word is rather Pre-Greek.

γλυκύς [adj.] 'sweet' (Il.). ◂IE? **dlku-* 'sweet'▸

•VAR On γλυκίων, γλύσσων, γλυκύτερος, γλυκ(ε)ιότερος see Seiler 1950: 48ff.

•DIAL Myc. *de-re-u-ko* perhaps /dleukos/.

•DER γλύκων individualising (Ar. *Ec.* 985), also PN, together with Γλυκώνειος (Heph.); γλυκόεις (Nic.). Diminutives: γλυκάδιον 'sweetmeat, vinegar' (Choerob.; for the mg. cf. ἦδος = ὄξος), γλυκίδιον (pap.). γλυκίν(ν)ᾶς [m.] 'cake made with sweet wine' (Seleuc. *apud* Ath., Cretan [H.]). γλυκύτης (Hdt.). Denominative γλυκαίνω (Hp.), γλύκυσμα (Lib., Sch.), with γλύκανσις (Thphr.), γλυκαντικός (S.); γλυκάζω (LXX), etc.; γλυκασία 'family-love' (*Sammelb.*); γλυκίζω (Pagae, *Gp.*), γλυκισμός (Callix.); ἐγ-γλύσσω 'be sweet' (Hdt. ἔγγλυκυς Dsc.; γλύξις 'sweet wine' (Phryn. Com.); γλεῦξις· οἶνος ἥψημα <ἔχων> 'wine [containing] must' (H.), cf. γλεῦκος. Also γλυκερός (Od.), the fem. Γλυκέρα (with retracted accent) as a PN, with Γλυκέριον. With geminate: γλυκκόν· γλυκύ and γλύκκα· ἡ γλυκύτης (H.). Plant name γλύκη· βοτάνη τις ἐδώδιμος 'an edible plant' (H.) and (strange) γλυκυμή = γλυκύρριζα (Hp. *apud* Gal.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 63. γλεῦκος [n.] 'sweet wine' (Arist.), γλεύκινος (Dsc.), γλευκίτης (οἶνος) = γλεῦκος (Arist. comm.); γλευκήσας

'stunned by sweet wine' (H.); also γλεύκη = γλυκύτης (sch.) and γλεῦξις, see γλύξις above.

•ETYM If the word is to be connected with Lat. *dulcis*, we should reconstruct *δλ-. The Mycenaean form seems to confirm this idea, but the υ in the root is unexpected. On Arm. *k'ałcr* 'sweet', see under ►ἡδύς. The full grade γλεῦκος looks like a late innovation after the numerous neutral *s*-stems, but ἀγλευκής (Epich.) seems to be an old form.

γλύφω [v.] 'to carve, cut out, engrave' (IA). ◄IE **gleub^h-* 'cut, carve, split'►

•VAR Pres. always ῠ; aor. γλύψαι, fut. γλύψω, aor. pass. ἐγλύφθην/ ἐγλύφην, perf. γέγλυμμαι.

•COMP ἑρμογλυφεῖον 'statuary's shop' (Pl.); τρίγλυφος, an architectonical element.

•DER γλυφή 'carving' (D. S.), γλύμμα 'engraved sign' (Eup.), γλυφίς, mostly -ίδες [pl.] 'notches, especially at the end of an arrow' (Il.), chisel, etc.' (J.), cf. ἀκίς for the suffix; γλύφανος 'knife' (*h. Merc.*); γλυφεῖον (Luc.); γλυφεύς 'carver, sculptor' (J.), γλυφευτής 'id.' (pap. VI^p); γλυπτήρ = γλύφανος (*AP*), γλύπτης 'carver' (*APl.*), γλυπτικός (Poll.). Adjective γλυφική (τέχνη; Thrace).

•ETYM Germanic has the ablauting verb, e.g. OHG *klioban* '*cleave*, split', pret. *kloub*, opt. *klubi*. Lat. *glūbō* 'bark, peel' probably represents the old full grade **-eu-*. Also related is Ru. *glýboko* 'deep', etc.; see Vasmer 1953 s.v. Some compare ►γλαφυρός.

γλωρόν [?] · νόμον 'custom, law' (H.). ◄GR?►

•ETYM Kukules 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 27 (suppl.) 76 compares MoGr. (Karpathos, Cyprus) γλωρός = χλωρός; χλωρονόμι 'grass'. Differently, Latte.

γλῶσσα [f.] 'tongue, language' (Il.), 'rare, dialectal word' (Arist.). ◄IE **glōg^h-s*, gen. **glg^h-ós* 'point'►

•VAR Att. γλῶττα; Ion. also γλάσσα (see below).

•COMP γλώσσ-αργος 'garrulous' (Pi.), from γλώσσ-αλγος 'id.'; from here στόμαργος, see Strömberg 1944: 31; different (to ἀργός 'quick') Willis *AmJPh.* 63 (1942): 87ff.

•DER γλωσσάριον (Dsc., pap.), γλωσσίδιον (Zen.); γλώσσημα 'point of an arrow' (A.) retains the original mg.; see Chantraine 1933: 186), also 'rare word' (Quint.), γλωσσηματικός (D. H.); γλωσσώδης 'talkative' (LXX), γλωσσός 'id.' (Hdn.); γλωσσίς 'inflammation of the tongue' (Hippiatr.). γλωττίς 'end of a pipe, glottis' (Hero), also a bird (Arist., see Thompson 1895 s.v.); γλωττικός (Arist.); denominative γλωττίζω 'kiss with the tongue', γλωττισμός (*AP*).

•ETYM Originally "provided with a point", a derivation in -ια from ►γλῶχες. Ion. γλάσσα points to a paradigm **γλωχ-*, **γλαχ-* which can be explained as nom. **glōg^h-s*, gen. **glg^h-ós*. (see Beekes 1969: 246).

γλῶχες [f.pl.] 'beard of corn' (Hes. *Sc.* 398). ◄IE **glōg^h-s*, **glg^h-ós* 'point'►

•DER See ►γλῶσσα. Also γλωχῖς, acc. γλωχῖν, gen. -ῖνος (Hdn. 2, 431, 437) [f.] 'end of the yoke-strap, barb of an arrow, etc.' (Il.). Thence γλωχινωτός (Paul. Aeg.).

•ETYM γλωχῖς continues **-ih$_2$-s*, with different development before a consonant than word-finally (in γλῶσσα). There are no certain cognates. The connection with CS

glogъ 'thorn' (Bezzenberger & Fick *BB* 6 (1881): 237) is doubted by Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 145.

γναθμός [m.] 'jaw' (Hom.). ◁PG▷
•VAR γνάθος [m.] (Hp.). Note γναμφαί (H. acc. to LSJ, but not in Latte).
•DER PN of a parasite Γνάθων, with Γναθώνειος, Γναθωνίδης, Γναθωνάριον (Plu.). Denominative γναθόω 'hit the jaw' (Phryn. Com.).
•ETYM γναθμός is formed from γνάθος, after λαιμός, βρεχμός, ὀφθαλμός. The word has always been compared with Lith. *žándas* 'id.', Latv. *zuôds* 'chin, sharp side'. However, the Lith. acute accentuation either points to a laryngeal, or it may have been caused by a following *d* (Winter's Law). In neither case can we connect the Greek word: a preform **gnh₂dʰ-* would have given **γνᾱθος, and **gnh₂edʰ-* gives **γαναθος; therefore, the Lithuanian, with its entirely different structure, cannot be cognate. Actually, -νᾰ- cannot be derived from any other PIE form either, and the word must therefore be non-IE, i.e. Pre-Greek (this also excludes further connection with γένυς, as the latter is of course IE). Macedonian κάναδοι· σιαγόνες, γνάθοι (H.) has often been compared as well; it may well be related, but only as a Pre-Greek word (perhaps it stands for *κναδοι with epenthesis, see Fur.: 378). κάναδοι has also been connected with κνώδων, κνώδαλον.

γναμπτούς [adj.] · χαλινούς 'bits or bridles' (H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also γλαμψοί· χαλινοὶ στόματος 'bits or bridles for the mouth' (H.).
•ETYM The word is typically Pre-Greek: first, it displays the variation πτ/ψ (see Fur.: 263) as well as ν/λ (see Fur.: 388), and second, the structure γναC- cannot be IE (see also under ▸γνάθμιος).

γνάμπτω [v.] 'to bend' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Aor. γνάμψαι, verbal adj. γναμπτός.
•DER γναμπτήρ 'jaw' (Androm. *apud* Gal.), cf. γναμφαί s.v. ▸γαμφηλαί; γνάμψις 'bending' (*EM*). Without second nasal (dissimilated?) γνάπτει· κάμπτει and γναπτός = γναμπτός (H.).
•ETYM The etymology of γνάμπτω is unknown. Although it is commonly assumed that it was influenced by κάμπτω (cf. κνάμπτω; e.g. Frisk s.v.), γνάμπτω does not have the κ- of κάμπτω, nor can the -ν- have been taken from there. An Indo-European etymology seems excluded because γναμπ- cannot have a PIE preform (see under ▸γνάθμιος). However, an alternation γν-/ κ- (as in γνάμπτω : κάμπτω) is not typical for Pre-Greek either. If the insertion of the ν could be explained, we could perhaps assume voicing of κν- to γν-. Cf. also Guilleux *RPh.* 70 (1996) s.v. γνάμπτω.

γνάπτω •VAR γνάφαλλον, γναφεύς. ⇒κνάπτω.

γνήσιος ⇒γίγνομαι.

Γνίφων ⇒Κνίφων.

γνόφος ⇒δνόφος.

γνοτέρα [f.] the fish βαλλωτή, Ballota nigra (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 103). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also γνωτέρα.
•ETYM Fur.: 370 compares ἀγνωτίδιον, a variant with a prothetic vowel. Thus the word is Pre-Greek.

γνύθος [n.] 'pit, hollow' (Lyc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also msc. (H., also γνυθός).
•ETYM Formation like βάθος, βυθός. Note γνυφαί· νάπαι 'vales' (H.). Fur.: 390 points to σκύφος / σκύθος. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

γνύξ [adv.] 'with bent knee' (Il.; Erbse *Glotta* 32 (1953): 240ff.). ◁IE **ǵenu-* 'knee'▷
•ETYM From ►γόνυ with zero grade and analogical -ξ after πύξ, λάξ, etc. (Schwyzer: 620). Although the zero grade of γόνυ does not recur in ►γνυπ-, contrary to common belief, it is in fact found in πρόχνυ 'kneeling; utterly' (Il.), where, admittedly, the aspiration is not well explained (cf. Av. *fra-šnu-* 'with the knees forward'; Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 585). The zero grade **ǵnu* probably occurred in the IE paradigm of 'knee', e.g. Hitt. *ganut* [instr.sg.] and Av. *žnubiiō* [dat.-abl.pl.].

γνυπ- [v.] 'to be depressed' (Men.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also γνυπ(ε)τ-. γνύπωνες· στυγνοί, κατηφεῖς, ἄτολμοι, παρειμένοι. καὶ μαλακοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς γόνυ πεπτωκέναι 'hateful, downcast, spiritless, those who have been passed over; also faint-hearted; after "being on one's knees"' (H.) with the verbal forms γνυπόντι (leg. γνυποῦντι) and from **γνυπόω*: ἐγνυπωμένον· ταλαίπωρον. κατηφές 'miserable, downcast' and ἐγνυπώθη · τρυφᾷ. καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον 'with delicacy; also the opposite' (H.) and κατεγνυπωμένον (Plu. *Mor.* 753c), -μένως (Men. 857). With γνυπτ-: γνυπτεῖν· ἀσθενεῖν. μαλακίζεσθαι 'to be weak, show weakness' (H.) and γνυπτῶν· (cod. γνυων) νωθραίνων 'sluggish' (H.). From **γνυπτόω*: κατεγνυπτῶσθαι = κατεστυγνᾶσθαι (H. s.v. γνύπετοι). With anaptyctic vowel: γνύπετοι· ἐκτεταμένοι, δειλοί, ἄλλοι δὲ κατηφεῖς 'stretched prostrate, wretched; miserable' (H.). Here also γνυπεσόν· ἀργόν, οἱ δὲ ἔκλυτον 'brilliant; buoyant' (H.) with interchange τ/ σ.
•ETYM Fur.: 315 has correctly observed (following Latte; see now LSJ *Supp.* s.v. γνυπτόω) that this is a separate verb with the variants γνυπ- and γνυπτ-, as well as a variant γνυπετ- with anaptyxis; the variation π/ πτ, etc. is well known in Pre-Greek (Fur.: 307ff; *Pre-Greek* section 5.5).

γνώριμος •VAR γνωρίζω. ⇒γιγνώσκω.

γνωτός ⇒γίγνώσκω.

γοάω [v.] 'to groan, weep' (Il.). ◁IE? **g$^{(w)}$ou(H)-* 'call, cry'▷
•VAR Fut. γοήσομαι (late -ήσω), aor. γοῆσαι (Amorgos), isolated preterite γόον [3pl.] Z 500 (see Chantraine 1942: 392[1]).
•DER γόης, -ητος [m.] 'sorcerer' (IA), γοητικός (Arist.), γοητεύω 'bewitch' (Pl.), with γοητεία, γοήτευμα (Pl.), γοήτευσις (Plot.), γοητευτικός (Poll.), γοητεύτρια (Eust.); fem. γοῆτις (*AP*). γόος [m.] 'lament' (Il.). γοερός 'wailing' (A.), analogical γοηρός (Lyc.), γοώδης 'id.' (Pl.), also γοεδνός (A.), after ὀλοφυδνός, σμερδνός, etc. (cf. Schulze 1933a: 398); also γοήμων (*APl.*).

•ETYM Like βοάω, μυκάομαι, etc., γοάω is probably a deverbative intensive; γόος is deverbal. We may compare OHG *gi-kewen* 'call', OE *cīegan* 'id.' < PGm. **kaujan*, the Skt. intensive *jó-guv-e* 'speak out loudly', as well as an *r*-derivation in OCS *govorъ* 'noise' with *govoriti* 'make noise' (Ru. also 'speak'), see Derksen 2008 s.v. Pace DELG, the connection between γοάω and βοάω is attractive. The different initials can be explained from paradigmatic split, i.e., an original **g*^{w}- was lost before a zero grade **g*^{w}*u*- in the preform of γοάω; the semantic differentiation can easily be secondary.

γόγγρος [m.] 1. 'conger eel' (Antiph.); 2. 'tubercular disease in olive trees' (Thphr.). ◅PG?▻

•DER γογγρίον (sch. Opp. *H.* 1, 113); also γογγρώδης (H.: γογγρώδης τῆς ἐλαίας ἔκφυσις as an explanation of γόγγρος); also γογγροειδής (Arist.); γογγρώνη 'excrescence on the neck' (Hp.; cf. χοιράς 'id.', from χοῖρος 'pig'; suffix like in κροτώνη).

•ETYM The botanical-medical term is just a metaphorical use of γόγγρος = 'conger-eel': the fish is round, thick, and voracious, like in καρκίνος, Lat. *cancer*. The fish name is often considered to be Pre-Greek (e.g. Fohalle 1925: 157ff.; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 166). Pace DELG, ►γογγύλος is not related. Lat. *conger* (*gonger*) is borrowed from Greek.

γογγύζω [v.] 'to murmur, grumble' (LXX). ◅ONOM▻

•DIAL Ionic acc. to Phryn.

•DER γογγυσμός (Anaxandr.), γόγγυσις (LXX); agent noun γογγυστής (*Ep. Jud.*, Thd.), γόγγυσος (Thd.; see Chantraine 1933: 435); γογγυστικός (Erot.). In H. also γογγρύζειν and γογγρύσαι· ὡς χοῖρος φωνῆσαι 'sound like a pig', after γρύζειν.

•ETYM An onomatopoeia without certain cognates. Skt. *gaṅgūyati* 'cry loudly', *guñjati* 'hum' are only parallel onomatopoeic formations, and the same is true of ►γαγγαίνειν.

γογγύλος [adj.] 'round' (A.). ◅?▻

•DER Substantivized (with change of stress) γόγγυλος "the round one" = 'κόνδυλος, the clenched fist' (sch.), 'ὄλυνθος, wild fig' (Nic.). γογγυλίς (com.), γογγύλη (Str.) 'turnip', also 'round bread' (Ar.), γογγυλίδιον 'pill' (medic.); γογγυλώδης 'round' (sch.); denominative γογγύλλω [v.] 'to make round' (conj. Porson Ar. *Th.* 56 for γογγυλίζω after γογγύλ<λ>ειν· συστρέφειν 'to condense, become compact' H.); γογγυλεύματα· στρογγυλεύματα 'globular things' (H.). Isolated γογγυλᾶτης 'who hurls balls of fire'(?) epithet of Zeus (Lyc.).

•ETYM Next to γογγύλος, we find στρογγύλος 'id.' (cf. also ἀγκύλος, καμπύλος with similar meaning). The etymology is unknown: a connection with ON *kǫkkr* 'clump' (< PGm. **kanku*- < **gongu*-) is highly doubtful, as is the comparison with Lith. *gungulỹs* 'ball'; nor does a relationship with ►γιγγίς, γιγγίδιον 'a kind of turnip' seem probable.

γόδα [n.pl.] · ἔντερα. Μακεδόνες 'intestines (Maced.)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM γόδα has been compared with MLG *kūt* 'weak parts of an animal' and Skt. *gudá-* 'intestine, vagina' (Pok. 393), but this connection is problematic because the required root structure with two unaspirated voiced stops was not allowed in Proto-Indo-European. Latte reads γόλα instead, connecting χολάς, χόλιξ. His suggestion is adopted by Fur. 141, who also adds κόλον 'id.'.

γοδᾶν [v.] · κλαίειν. Κύπριοι 'to cry (Cypr.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•VAR γοδόν· γόητα 'sorcerer' (H.).
•ETYM The reconstruction *ϝοδ- has been assumed, but is not certain. Connection with ▸αὐδή is impossible. Latte reads *γοᾶναι.

γοεδνός •VAR γοερός. ⇒ γοάω.

γοῖτα [?] · οἶς 'sheep' (H.). ◅?▻
•VAR Cf. γοτάν· ὗν. Μακεδόνες 'wild swine (Maced.)' (H.).
•ETYM Fick *BB* 29 (1905): 200 read the word as ὗς and conjectures that it is from γοῖ γοῖ, the grunting of a pig (*AP* 11, 327). This is a mere guess.

γολοινά [f.] · χλωρά. ἢ γολονά 'pale; name of a plant' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM The suggestion of Grošelj Slavistična Revija 4 (1951): 263f. to connect OCS *zelenъ* 'green', etc. is phonologically impossible (see ▸χλόη). Although Latte assumes that this entry (and the following, γολομένη· βοτάνη) is corrupt, we should rather take the form at face value: it is obviously related to γολονά, the variation οι ~ ο in the vocalism pointing to Pre-Greek origin.

γολύριον [n.] · κέλυφος. οἰκεῖον Ταραντίνοις 'pod, shell (Tarantian)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Only worthless guesses have been made.

γόμος [m.] · ζωμός 'soup' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Latte reads θωμός. von Blumenthal 1930: 15¹ thinks the word is Messapian, related to χέω (from *$ǵ^h$(*o*)*u-mo-*). There are mere hypotheses.

γόμφος [m.] 'peg, bolt, nail' (Od.); also a fish name (gloss.; Strömberg 1943: 36), 'tooth' (H.). ◅IE *$ǵemb^h$- 'bite', $ǵomb^h$*o*- 'cutting tooth'▻
•DER γομφίος (ὀδών) 'molar' (IA), γομφίτης 'kind of styrax' (Aët.), γομφάριον fish name (sch.). Denominative γομφόομαι, -όω 'to fasten with bolt or nails' (A.) with γόμφωσις (Gal.), γόμφωμα 'framework, peg' (Plu.); γομφωτήρ 'shipbuilder' (*AP*), γομφωτήριον 'tenon' (Delos III^a); γομφωτικὴ τέχνη 'shipbuilding' (Pl.). γομφιάζω 'to have toothache, gnash the teeth' (LXX) with γομφιασμός (LXX) and γομφίασις (Dsc.).
•ETYM Old word for 'tooth', probably 'cutting tooth': Skt. *jámbha-*, Alb. *dhëmb*, OCS *zǫbъ*, Latv. *zùobs*, ToA *kam*, ToB *keme*. Cf. κόμβους· ὀδόντας γομφίους (H.), Illyrian? (Krahe *IF* 60 (1952): 297). Forms with a metaph. meaning include OHG *kamb* 'comb' and Lith. *žañbas* 'sharp side'. On the deviant meaning in Greek (from the use of the cutting teeth as pegs), see Porzig 1954a: 184f. Verbs include Skt. iterative *jambháyati* 'grind' and Lith. *žembiù*, *žeñbti* 'cut' and OCS *zębǫ* 'tear up'; on the meanings, see Narten *KZ* 79 (1965): 255ff.

γονή •VAR γόνος. ⇒ γίγνομαι.

γόνυ [n.] 'knee' (Il.); also 'joint of plants' (Hdt.; cf. Strömberg 1937: 101). ◁IE **ǵenu, ǵonu* 'knee'▷
•VAR Gen. (*γόνϝ-ατος >) γόνατος, epic Ion. γούνατος, epic also γουνός (< *γονϝ-ός), plur. γόνατα, γούνατα, epic also γοῦνα.
•DER γονατώδης 'with joints' (Thphr.); denominative γουνάζομαι 'clasp the knees' (as a suppliant) (Il.) with γούνασμα (Lyc.), γουνασμός (Eust.), also γουνόομαι 'id.'; γονατόομαι 'get joints' (Thphr.), γονατίζω 'bend the knee' (Cratin.).
•ETYM γόνυ derives from the PIE word for 'knee': Skt. *jā́nu*, Av. *zānu-drājah-*, MP *zānūk* (pointing to PIE **o*, lengthened by Brugmann's Law); Hitt. *genu*, Lat. *genū*, ToA *kanwe-ṃ*, ToB *kenī-ne* 'knees [du.]', Arm. *cun-r*, plur. *cun-g-k'*; Gm. words like Go. *kniu* < PGm. **knew-a-*, with the zero grade from the gen. **ǵneu-s* (for the zero grade **gnu-* cf. further ▸γνύξ, s.v.). On Hom. θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, see Schwyzer 1923b: 283ff. Cf. also ▸γωνία. Cf. also ▸ἰγνύη.

γόος ⇒γοάω.

γοργός [adj.] 'grim, fierce, terrible' of look, gaze (A.), later also 'vigorous, lively'. ◁?▷
•VAR Γοργώ, acc.pl. Γοργούς (Hes.)
•COMP γοργώψ, γοργωπός (A.).
•DER γοργότης 'rapidity' (Hermog.), γοργία = agilitas (gloss.), denominative γοργόομαι 'to be spirited', of horses (X.), γοργεύω (pap., Sm., H.).
Γοργώ, -οῦς [f.] (Il.) name of a female monster with a petrifying look, whence Γοργείη κεφαλή (Il.); on the formation see Schulze 1892: 254; plur. mostly Γοργόνες (Hes.), with new singulars Γοργόνα (acc.), etc. (E.), whence Γοργόνειος (A. *Pr.* 793, etc.), Γοργόνη (Hdn.), Γοργονώδης (sch.) and the plant names Γοργόνειον and Γοργονιάς (Ps.-Dsc.; see Strömberg 1940: 101). Also Γοργάδες (S. *Fr.* 163), explained by H. as ἀλιάδες; and Γοργίδες· αἱ Ὠκεανίδες (H.). PN Γοργυθίων (Θ 302) and Γοργίας with Γοργίειος 'Gorgias-like' (X.) and γοργιάζω 'to speak like G.' (Philostr.).
•ETYM According to Frisk, γοργός is not related to OIr. *garg(g)* 'raw, wild', OCS *groza* 'shiver' (as argued by Osthoff 1901: 44ff.), nor to Arm. *karcr* 'hard' (pace Pedersen *KZ* 39 (1906): 379). With Γοργώ primary to γοργός, Leumann 1950: 154f. took the former to be a back-formation from γοργώψ (γοργῶπις), γοργωπός (on an implausible connection with ▸γοργυρα, s.v., see Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 663).

γοργυρα [f.] 'underground drain', sometimes used as a prison (Hdt. 3, 145, *EM*, H.); cf. ἁρδάλια· τοὺς πυθμένας τῶν κεραμίδων, οὓς ἔνιοι γοργύρας καλοῦσιν 'the base of roof-tiles, which some call "γοργύρας"' (H.) which LSJ translates 'water-pot, trough'. Cf. also κορκόδρυα· ὑδρόρυα 'water-course', perhaps to be read as *κορκόρεα· ὑδρορ(ρ)όα (Fur.: 141, which would fit the word order). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR γεργυρα (Alcm. 132); accent unknown.
•DIAL κορχυρέα (Corc. II[a]). Cf. γέργερος· βρόγχος (H.) [DELG].
•DER γοργύριον 'subterranean channel' (LSJ Supp. Sparta).
•ETYM Perhaps related to γαργαρίζω, as per DELG. γοργυρα, with all its variants, is definitely of Pre-Greek origin: variations κ/ γ/ χ and ε/ ο; ending -έα (see Chantraine

1933: 91f.); suffix -υρ- like in γέφυρα (see *Pre-Greek*). Thus also Neumann 1961: 91, on words for drainage, etc.

γουνός [m.] 'hill' (Il.), acc. to *EM* and Orion = ὑψηλὸς τόπος 'elevated place'. ◁PG(V)▷
•DER From Γόννος, *Γοῦνος perhaps the name Γουνεύς B 748, see Boßhardt 1942: 111f.
•ETYM γουνός is not related to the Thessalian PNs Γόννος, Γόννοι, and Γοννοῦσσα (the alleged *γονϝος would probably not yield the attested forms, see Buck 1955: §54), nor to ▶γόνυ, with which it was compared since antiquity (*EM*; equally unconvincing is the comparison with Ru. *gumnó* 'threshing-floor' see Derksen 2008 s.v.). We should rather compare γῶνος (H.) and χῶνος (H.), which implies that the word is Pre-Greek in view of the variation. Fur.: 138 mentions additional material from Sardinia (Gonnos, Gonni), Berber, Basque, and Caucasian.

γοῦρος [m.] a cake (Sol. 38, 3). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM The word can be compared with ἄγγουρος· εἶδος πλακοῦντος 'kind of cake', with prothetic vowel and prenasalization (cf. κύνωψ/ ἀγχύνωψ [which is not from *ἀνα-!]). Therefore, it is of Pre-Greek origin. Perhaps further connected to ▶γῦρις, ▶γυρίνη.

γουτάριον [n.] 'tomb' (inscr. Phrygia). ◁Lyd.▷
•ETYM This is probably the same word as γούντη (inscr. Lydia III^{p}). Probably somehow connected with Hitt. *kuntarra-* (Neumann 1961: 66f.); from Hurrit. *kuntari-*?

γουττᾶτον [n.] a cake (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647c). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM From Lat. *guttātus, -um* 'sprinkled' (Martialis), in turn from *gutta* 'drop'.

γράαι [f.pl.] marine animal (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 38). ◁(LW) Ind.▷
•ETYM An Indian word; cf. Skt. *gráha-, grāhá-* 'crocodile, alligator, snake, etc.'. See Goossens *Le Muséon* 59 (1946): 621ff.

γράβαν [f.] · σκαφίον, βόθρον 'small bowl or basin, hole' (H.). ◁LW Gm.▷
•VAR MoGr. (Laconia, etc.) γράβα = τρώγλη 'hole', often in place names, see Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 360f., Rohlfs 1930: 461.
•ETYM Kretschmer *Arch. slav. Phil.* 27 (1905): 234 states that the word is from Gm., e.g. Go. and OHG *graba* 'ditch'. Or is it perhaps from/via Illyrian? See also Hubschmid *ZRPh.* 77 (1961): 432. Cf. ▶γράβιον.

γράβιον [n.] 'torch, oakwood' (Stratt.; also S. *Fr.* 177 [cod. γραφίοις]?). ◁EUR?▷
•ETYM From an (Illyrian?) word **grabu* for 'beech, oak', seen in U *Grabovius*, epithet of Jupiter; the word is also found in MoGr. γράβος (Epirus), γάβρος (Arcadia). Further compared with Ru. *grab* 'hornbeam', etc. and OPr. *wosi-grabis*. See Vasmer s.v., Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 361f., and Porzig 1954a: 148. These comparisons are rejected by Garbini 1969: 391ff.; cf. also Restelli 1969: 820.
Fur.: 169 compares γοβρίαι· φανοί, λαμπτῆρες 'bright, torches' (H), which cannot be ignored; he concludes that the word is a non-IE substrate word, perhaps from the Balkans. See ▶κράββατος.

γραῖα •VAR γρᾶΐς. ⇒γραῦς.

γράπις [adj.] 'ὁ ἐρρυτιδωμένος, wrinkled' (*EM*), 'cast slough of a serpent' (H.), in S. *Ichn.* 177 the mg. is unclear; name of a bird (H.). ◁?▷
•DER γράπτης 'wrinkled' (Eust.), γραπίνης· οἶνος τραχύς 'harsh wine' (H., *EM*). Not here, as per Frisk, γραιόομαι 'become old'; see ►γραῦς.
•ETYM Unknown. Not related to γραῦς, γῆρας. DELG suggests that γράπις is a hypocoristic of γράπτης 'wrinkled' cited by Eust., which may derive from γράφω.

γράσος [m.] 'smell of a goat' (Ar.). ◁GR?▷
•DER γράσων 'id.' (M. Ant.; cf. γνάθων beside γνάθος, Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207[13]), γρασωνία = γράσος (Archig. Med.).
•ETYM γράσος is supposed to be a word for 'he-goat' = "gnawer" from ►γράω 'to gnaw'. On -σο-, see Chantraine 1933: 433ff.

γραῦς [f.] 'old woman' (Il.); a sea-crab (Artem., H., see Strömberg 1943: 95, thus also γραῖα [Epich.]); said of the scum of boiled milk (Ar.). ◁IE **ǵreh₂-iu-* 'old woman'▷
•VAR Gen. γρᾱός (Schwyzer 574).
•DIAL Ion. γρηῦς, γρηῦς.
•DER Enlarged to γραῖα (Od., also adj. 'old') < *γρᾱϝ-ιᾰ; coll. γραιβία ἢ γραιτία (i. e. γραιϝία)· πανήγυρις. Ταραντῖνοι 'assembly, festival (Tarent.)' (H.); see Scheller 1951: 32. Another enlargement in γρᾶΐς, -ίδος (Charito), Dor. γραῦις (Call.).
From γραῦς: γραώδης 'like old women' (Chrysipp.); from γραῖα: γραιολέας· πονηρὰς ἢ ὀλεθρίας γραίας 'poor and wretched old women' (H.) (cf. the adj. in -όλης, but see DELG; the translation ὀλεθρίας is folk-etymological).
Denominative verb γραΐζω 'to remove the γραῦς from the milk' (Ar.); from γραῖα: γραιόομαι 'to get old', of wine (*AP*).
•ETYM From the root **ǵerh₂-* in γέρων, γέρας. Probably from *γρᾱ-i̯υ- < **ǵreh₂-iu-*, with -i̯υ- like in ὑός 'son' (plur. υἷες); the element *-iu-* has nothing to with **h₂oiu-* (see ►αἰών), pace Szemerényi. See ►γέρων, ►γέρας, ►γῆρας.

γράφω [v.] 'to scratch, write' (Il. [aor. only]). ◁IE **gerbʰ-* 'scratch, carve'▷
•VAR Aor. γράψαι.
•DIAL γρόφω (Melos).
•COMP Often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-, etc. Many compounds with -γράφος as a second member (e.g. λογογράφος 'writer of speeches'); the proparoxytona are passive, e.g. ἄγραφος 'not written'.
•DER γραπτύες [f.pl.] 'scratching' (ω 229); γραφή 'id.' also 'prosecution' (IA; γροφά Epid.), γραφικός; γράφεα [n.pl.] = γράμματα (Arcad., El.); γράφημα = γράμμα (*AB*); γραμμή 'line' (Pi.), γραμμικός 'linear, geometric' (Gal.), γραμμιαῖος 'id.' (Dam.), γραμμώδης (Thphr.); γραμμιστήρ a chirurgical instrument (medic., cf. βραχιονιστήρ) and γραμμιστός (Eust.; γραμμίζω uncertain in Eust. 633, 63). γράμμα, plur. -ατα 'line, writing, letter' (IA); also γράσσμα (Arc.; < *γράφ-σμα), γράθματα (Arg.) and γρόππατα (Aeol., Balbilla); see Schwyzer 317 add. 1 and 523f. On διάγραμμα Bikerman *Rev. de phil.* 64, 295ff. From γράμμα: γραμμάτιον (Luc.), γραμμάριον 'weight of 2 oboles' (Aët.); γραμματεύς 'writer, secretary' (Att.) with γραμματεύω

and γραμματεῖον 'writing table, etc.', γραμματ(ε)ίδιον; γραμματεία 'secretariate' (pap., Plu.); γραμματικός, γραμματικεύομαι (*AP*); fem. γραμματική (τέχνη) 'grammar, etc.'; γραμματιστής 'secretary, teacher' (IA), γραμματίζω (rare; Herod., Messen., Boeot.); γραμματιστική 'elementary education' (Phld.). γραμμός 'writing' (Hdn.). γραφεύς (Dor. Arc. also γροφεύς) 'painter, writer' (Emp.), γραφεῖον 'writing instrument' (Arist.); γραπτήρ 'writer' (*AP*), γραπτεύς (sch.). γραφίς 'slate-pencil' (Pl.; γροφίς Epid.); γραφίσκος medical instrument (Cels.). ἐπιγράβδην 'scraping the surface' (Il.) shows the original meaning. Desiderative deverbative γραψείω (gloss.).

•ETYM All forms can be explained from the root form γραφ- < **grb*^{h}-. The principally Doric variant γροφ- (γροφά, -ίς, -εύς, -εύω, σύγγροφος, etc.) does probably not represent old *o*-vocalism, but rather an inner-Greek variant of ρα from a zero grade (DELG). Outside Greek, we have PIE **gerb*^{h}-, seen in Gm. (OE *ceorfan* 'cut, carve', MHG *kerben* 'id.'), and further in Slav., e.g. OCS *žrĕbii* (**gerb*^{h}-) 'allotment' (prop. *'carved stick'?). ► γριφᾶσθαι is problematic.

γραψαῖος [m.] = κᾰ́ραβος 'crab' (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 106d). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Not from γράφω, as per Chantraine *RPh.* 91 (1965): 211-214. As Frisk states, the origin is unknown; perhaps it is a Mediterranean word. He compared κάραβος (Epich.). Fur.: 123, 154 adduced other forms for 'beetle' and 'crab': Lat. *scarabaeus*, which presupposes *σκαραβαῖος (note the agreement with our word), σκορόβυλος (from *σκορβ-), and σκορπίος. So we have prothetic **s*- and the variations α/ ο, β/ π. All of these point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur. assumes that γραψ- stands for *γαρψ- (but the ψ is difficult). This gives a word (*s*)*karP*-. Furthermore, he compares καράμβιος (Fur.: 109), καρβάρεοι· κάραβοι H.; καραβίδες (169); κηραφίς and κεράμβυξ, κεράμβηλον (with the interchange ε/ α and prenasalization). Frisk points to the "allgemeine Ähnlichkeit mit ital. (*g*)*ravosta*, nhd. *Krebs*, *Krabbe* und anderen germ. Wörtern ebenso wie mit κάραβος". See ► κᾰ́ραβος.

γράω [v.] 'to gnaw, eat' (Call. *Fr.* 200). ◁IE? **gres*- 'gnaw, eat'▷

•VAR Only impf. ἔγραε. Athem. ipv. γράσθι (Cypr.), them. (contracted) γρᾶ· φάγε. Κύπριοι 'eat! (Cypr.)' (H.). Also γραίνειν· ἐσθίειν 'eat' (H.).

•DER γράστις [f.] 'green fodder' (pap., *Hippiatr.*); more common κράστις (Ar.), probably due to folk etymological connection with another (unknown) word; γραστίζω 'feed at grass' (*Gp.*, *Hippiatr.*), γραστισμός (*Hippiatr.*); κραστίζομαι 'graze' (Sophr.), κρατήριον 'mangar' (Poll.). Also γράσσις (*PHamb.* 39 II, II^p). With prefix καγρᾶ· καταφαγᾶς. Σαλαμίνιοι (H.), see Bechtel 1921, 1: 421 and 446.

•ETYM The word has been compared with Skt. *grásate* 'devour' (in which case γράω would be from **grs-e/o*-). Cf. also ► γράσος. Connection with ► γάγγραινα, ► γρῶνος is improbable. Cf. ► γαστήρ.

γρηγορέω ⇒ἐγείρω.

γρῆνος ⇒ἀγρηνόν.

γρίντης ⇒ῥῖνος.

γρῖπος [m.] 'fishing basket, creel' (*AP*, Artem.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR = γρῖφος [m.] (Plu.), mostly metaph. 'riddle' (Ar.; see Chantraine 1928: 20), secondarily as adj. 'obscure' (Hdn. *Epim.* 16).
•DER γριφότης 'obscurity' (Hdn.). γριπεύς 'fisherman' (Sapph.), γριπεύω (Zonar.), γριπῆ̈ς (τέχνη, *AP*); γρίπων 'id.' (*AP*); denominative γριπέω (Syria), γριπίζω (Lib., H.), γρίπισμα (*EM*, Zonar.). γριφώδης 'enigmatic' (Luc.), γριφεύω 'give a riddle' (Ath.). Also γριπώμενα· συνελκόμενα καὶ σπασμωδῶς συμπαθοῦντα, οἱ δὲ ἐγγίζοντα 'contracting and undergoing spasms; approaching' (H.); γεγριφώς· ὁ τοῖς χερσὶν ἁλιεύων 'fishing with bare hands'. Several lemmata in H.
•ETYM The variation π/ φ is typical for Pre-Greek words; such an origin for a fisherman's word is quite understandable. Comparison with MHG *krebe* [m.] 'basket', ON *kjarf, kerfi* [n.] 'bundle' (from **e*) or Skt. *grapsa-* 'bundle' must therefore be rejected. There is no reason to connect the word with ►γέρρον.

γρίσων, -ωνος [m.] 'swine' (Hdn. Gr. 2, 249, H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Although γρίσων is generally considered to be onomatopoeic, cf. γρῦλος s.v. ►γρῦ (and ►γρομφάς), this lacks support.

γριφᾶσθαι [v.] · γράφειν, οἱ δὲ ξύειν καὶ ἀμύσσειν. Λάκωνες 'to write; to scratch, scrape (Lacon.)' (H.); γριφώμενα ἀλγήματα 'sufferings' (Hp. *Prorrh.* 1, 100, Erot.); the definiens γραφόμενα, ἢ ἐπανειλούμενα 'being written or unrolled' in H. is unclear. ◄?►
•ETYM ►σκαρῑφάομαι has been compared. Perhaps also connected are ►ἀγρεῖφνα, ἀγρίφη 'harrow'.

γρομφάς, -άδος [f.] · ὗς παλαιά, σκρόφα 'old swine' (H.). ◄ONOM►
•VAR Also γρόμφις, -ιος [f.] (Hippon., H.), γρόμφαινα [f.].
•DER γρομφάζω 'grunt' (gloss.).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic words. Cf. γρύζω, and also στομφάζω 'speak loudly'. Lat. *scrōfa* 'sow' is perhaps a loanword from Greek. Note the absence of the nasal (i.e. prenasalization?).

γρόνθος [m.] 'fist' (*PAmh.* 2, 141, 10, IV^{P}, sch., gloss.), 'breadth of a hand' (Aq.), also 'grasp, spoke of a machine'. ◄?►
•DER γρόνθων· ἀναφύσησις, ἣν πρώτην μανθάνουσιν αὐλητὰι καὶ κιθαρισταί 'upward stream of air, which flute players learn first' (H., Poll.), with which was may perhaps connect γρονθωνεύεται (cod. -θον-)· θυμοῦται 'becomes angry' (H.).
•ETYM The suffix -θος used to be distinguished (cf. μασθός, βρόχθος, κύσθος), which admitted comparisons with ON *krumma* [f.] 'hand', OHG *krimman* 'press', and Lat. *gremium* 'lap, womb'. Lith. *grùmdau* 'von oben gewaltsam stoßend stopfen' belongs to the productive iterative-intensives in *-dau* (cf. *grumiù, grùmti* 'press into, fill'). All of these comparisons, however, are quite uncertain.

γρόσφος [m.] 'throwing spear' (Plb.); οἱ γροσφομάχοι 'javelin-fighters' = Lat. *velites* (Plb.). ◄?►
•VAR κρόσφος (Eust.).
•ETYM A technical term borrowed from an unknown source; note that the word is late.

γρῦ [n.]? usually with negation: a 'small quantity', often of sounds (Ar.); acc. to sch. Ar. *Pl.* 17 of the grunting of a swine (clearly onomat.); = ὁ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄνυχι ῥύπος 'the dirt under the nail' (H.; also γρύξ) and = γρύτη; a small coin (Suid.). ◂ONOM▸

•VAR Indeclinable.

•DER γρύζω, aor. γρύξαι 'grunt' (Ar.), γρυσμός (Agathocl.); γρῦλος, expressive gemination γρύλλος 'piglet' (Ath.), metaph. 'eel' (Diph. Siph.; because of its thickness and sound, see Strömberg 1943: 68f.); γρυλίων· χοῖρος 'pig' (H.); as a PN Γρῦλος, -ων, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 581); γρῦλίζω (Ar.; γρυλλίζω rejected by Phryn.); γρῦλισμός (Arist.); γρύλλη· ὑῶν φωνή 'sound of pigs' (H.). γογγρύζειν, γογγρύσαι (H.) were influenced by ▸γογγύζειν.

•ETYM For onomatopoeic γρύζω, compare Lat. *grunniō*, *grundiō*, OE *grun(n)ian*, OHG MoHG *grunzen*. A difficult comparison is that with γρωνάδες· θήλειαι σύες 'female pigs' (H.), which has been thought to represent the Laconian pronunciation with [u]; cf. MoGr. γουρούνι 'swine' (is γέωνα H. an error?) and see Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 135. Cf. further ▸γρύλλος 'caricature' and γρυλλισμός a dance.

γρύλλος [m.] 'caricature' (Plin. *HN* 35, 114). ◂?▸

•DER γρυλλο-γραφέω 'draw caricatures' (Phld.). Also a dance (Phryn. *PS* p. 58 B.); thus also γρυλλισμός, with γρύλλος = ὁ ὀρχούμενος (ibid.).

•ETYM Deemed an Egyptian (i.e. Hellenistic) word by Phrynichos; see Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 190f. It is not from the PN Γρύλλος (Plin.); see Latte ibid. See further Page *Class. Rev.* 7 (1957): 189-191 and Maas *Greece and Rome* 5 (1958): 71. There is no relation between γρύλλος and γρῦλος. DELG thinks the connection between the dance and 'caricature' is evident.

γρῦμέα [f.] 'bag or chest for old clothes' (Com., Phld.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Codd. often γρυμαία; also γρυμεῖα, γρυμεία. γρύτη [f.] 'trash, trumpery, woman's dressing-case, vanity-bag, frippery' (Sapph., pap.); 'small fry' (Gp.).

•COMP γρυμεοπώλης (Luc.); γρυτοπώλης (Cos, pap.); γρυτο-δόκη (*AP*).

•DER Diminutive γρυτάριον (Zen., pap.); γρυτεύεται· παρασκευάζεται 'to prepare, put on make-up' (H.).

•ETYM In origin, the word probably denoted small things of little value, later also the chest, etc. The formation of γρυμέα is rare; together with the variants -αία, -εία, it suggests a non-Greek (= Pre-Greek) formation, on which see *Pre-Greek* on the suffix -αι/ε(ι)-. Perhaps connected to γρῦ as 'something small'. The comparison with Lat. *grūmus* 'heap of earth, hillock' is unconvincing; better, but still doubtful, is that with OE *cruma* 'crumb'. From γρυμέα probably comes Lat. *crumīna* 'bag, purse'; see Pfister *IF* 56 (1938): 200ff. Likewise, γρύτη may be the source of Lat. *scrūta* [n.pl.] 'trash, frippery'.

γρυνόν [n.] = σίκυς ἄγριος 'kind of wild fish' (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 150). ◂?▸

•ETYM André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 10 connects the word with γρύσει = τήξει (Arist. *Pr.* 876b 15) because of its fluid contents; this is most uncertain, as the verb itself is unclear.

γρῦνός [m.] 'dry wood, torch' (Hom. *Fr.* 18, Lyc. 86, 294). ◂?▸

•VAR γρουνός [m.] (v.l. and Call. *Fr. anon.* 84).
•DER γρύνη· λιβανωτός 'frankincense' (Theognost. *Can.* 108). Cf. the TN Γρύνειον, Γρῦνοι (Aeolis), Fick *BB* 23 (1898): 22 and 213.
•ETYM Unknown.

γρῡπός [adj.] 'hook-nosed, curved' (Pl.). ◂PG(V)▸
•DER γρυπότης (X.). Denominative γρυπόομαι 'become hooked, of nails' (Hp.), γρύπωσις (medi.); further γρύπτω, γρυπαίνω and γρυμπαίνειν· γρυποῦσθαι, συγκάμπτειν 'bend together' (H.). Them. aorist ἔγρυπον (like ἔκτυπον) 'become wrinkled', of the earth in an earthquake' (Melanth. Hist. 1); thus γᾶν ἐγρυμμέναν (Gortyn); idem γρυπανίζω (Antiph. Soph.) and γρυπάνιος (ib.); γρυπάλιον· γερόντιον. ἢ γρυπάνιον (H.), γρυπνόν· στυγνόν 'abhorred' (see DELG). Root noun γρῦψ, -πός [m.] the mythological 'griffin' (Aristeas *apud* Hdt., A.), later the real 'lammergeier' (LXX); cf. γύψ, σκώψ, γλαῦξ; also γρῦπαι· αἱ νεοσσιαὶ τῶν γυπῶν. οἱ δὲ γῦπαι 'the young of vultures; vultures' (H.). γρυβός· γρύψ (H.) after the nouns in -βος? (Chantraine 1933: 261). Metaph. γρῦπες· μέρος τῶν τῆς νεὼς σκευῶν καὶ ἄγκυραι 'part of the ship's tackle and anchors' (H.).
•ETYM A connection with OE *crumb*, OHG *krump* 'crooked' is not very probable (the nasal is difficult). The nasal in γρυμπαίνω could be a Pre-Greek prenasalization, but could also be of inner-Greek origin. The long *u* is difficult to account for in IE (it requires **-uH-*). Güntert 1914: 132f. thought that γρύψ was γύψ, influenced by γρυπός; this is unconvincing. Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 17 assumed a loan from Akkadian (*karūbu* 'griffin, cherub'; cf. Hebr. *kᵉrūb* and Lewy 1895: 11f.) through Hittite. From the archaeological perspective, origin in Asia Minor (and the Near East: Elam) is very probable, for discussions on which see *DNP* s.v. Greif, and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 51f. (note that it is not connected with Akk. *karūbu*), Wild *Wien. Ak. Sb.* 241/4 (1963): 3-28. It is not certain that γρύψ is related to γρυπός. The adjective makes the impression of a Pre-Greek word (γρυμπ-), thus this would be true of the mythical bird as well (whatever its ultimate origin); note γρυβός, which may prove a Pre-Greek alternation of stops. Fur.: 175 assumes further variations on the basis of the Latin forms. Note also γρῦνος· γρύψ H., which fits in his system as showing π/ ϝ (236). Through Lat. *gryphus*, the word entered the Western Eur. languages (*griffin, Greif*).

γρύτη ⇒γρυμέα.

γρύψ ⇒γρῡπός.

γρῶνος [adj.] 'hollow, cavernous' (Lyc.). ◂?▸
•DER γρώνη 'hole, kneading trough' (Nic., *AP*), γρώνους (H.) in several specific mgs.
•ETYM The usual reconstruction *γρωσ-νος vel sim. (to ▸γράω) is quite uncertain, as the verb shows no ablaut; the meaning hardly fits, either.

γύαλον [n.] 'hollow (of a cuirass), vales, dells' (Il.), also of the hand, cf. ἐγγυαλίζω; see below. ◂IE? **gou-* 'hand'; **gu(H)-* 'bend' (?)▸
•DER γυαλός epithet of λίθος (Call. *Fr. anon.* 331), with different accent γύαλος [m.] 'cubical stone' (*EM* 243, 12); γυάλας 'cup' (Megara and Macedonia, Ath. 11, 467c; see

Solmsen 1909: 216). ἐγ-γυαλ-ίζω 'hand over' (Il.; see Schwyzer: 736). Independent ἐγγύαλον (Orion) = ἔγκοιλον. Also γυέλιον· κόλπον 'lap' (H.).

•ETYM For the formation, one might compare ἀγκάλη, ὀμφαλός (Chantraine 1933: 245ff.). For ἐγγυαλίζω, the meaning 'hollow of the hand' has been posited. Cf. YAv. *gauua-* 'hand'; see ►ἐγγύη. Mostly connected with ►γύης, ►γυῖα s.v.

γυγαί [?] · πάπποι 'grandfathers' (H.; cod. πάμποι). ◄LW? Anat.►

•ETYM If πάπποι is correct, this is an Anatolian word cognate with Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-* 'grandfather', HLuw. *ḫuḫa-*, Lyc. *χuge-*; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. Brandenstein 1954b: 65 connects it with the name of the Lydian king Γύγης. Cf. Heubeck *Lydiaka* (1959): 62f; however, Neumann 1961: 69ff. connected it instead with the bird γύγης. The same word as Lat. *avus*, Arm. *hav* 'grandfather', i.e. **h₂euh₂o-*. See ►κοκύαι.

γύγης, -ου [m.] a waterbird (Dionys. *Av.* 2, 16). ◄?►

•ETYM Perhaps onomatopoeic, after its sound; see Thompson 1895 s.v. Lidén 1892: 92f. connected the word with Lith. *gùžas*, *-ùtis* 'stork', ON *kjúklingr* 'chicken', etc.

γύης, -ου [m.] a. 'the curved piece of wood in a plough (Hes. *Op.* 427, 436), ἄροτρον αὐτόγυον 'plough whose γύης is of one piece with the ἔλυμα and ἱστοβοεύς, not fitted together (πηκτόν)' (Hes.); b. 'lands' (trag.), mostly plur., also a measure in τετρά-γυος 'of four γ.', etc. (Hom.); sometimes fem., cf. γύη· μέτρον πλέθρου 'measure of 100 ft./10,000 sq. ft.' (H.); also γύος [m.] (pap.); c. 'the system of ἀστράγαλοι' (H., Poll.); d. -γυος with e. ἀμφίγυος. ◄IE? **gou-* 'hand'; **gu(H)-* 'bend' (?)►

•COMP ἀμφί-γυος of lance and javelin (Il.), 'with a limb at each end'? (Trümpy 1950: 59); metrical lengthening ἀμφιγυήεις, said of Hephaistos, 'crippled on both sides'(?); τετρά-γυος 'of four γ.' (land measure).

•ETYM This word belongs to a difficult complex. It probably consists of: (1) γύαλον, (2) γυῖα, (3) ἐγγύη, which I have treated separately, which correspond to 1, 4, and 2 in DELG s.v. γύη(ς) . Here, γύη(ς) (DELG nrs. 3, 5) is treated.

The basic form **γυ(η)-* 'curve, curving' has been assumed. For comparison, we have MoP *gōšā* 'corner' and Av. *gu-* 'hand'; the other forms in Pok. 393-8 are hardly relevant.

Here probably ►γύαλον, ►γυῖα; see also ►γυρός. Hardly to ►γυλιός.

γυῖα [n.pl.] 'limbs' (Il.), also 'lap' (μητρὸς γυῖα, *h. Merc.* 20); rare sing. γυῖον 'hand' (Theoc. 22, 121); 'body' (Pi.). ◄IE? **gou-* 'hand'; **gu(H)-* 'bend' (?)►

•DER γυιόω 'cripple' (Il.), with γυιός 'lamed' (Call.).

•ETYM Connected with ►γύης and ►ἐγγύη.

γυλιός [m.] 'knapsack' (Ar.); also an animal, 'hedgehog'? (Sophr. 73; see also sch. Ar. *Pax* 527). ◄?►

•VAR Also γύλιος.

•DER Also γύλλιον· ἀγγεῖον πλεκτόν 'plaited vessel' (H.), and the fish names γυλλίσκοι· ἰχθύες ποιοί (H.), γυλάριον = μυξῖνος (sch. Opp. *H.* 1, 111). The gloss γυλλάς· εἶδος ποτηρίου, παρὰ Μακεδόσιν 'kind of drinking cup (Maced.)' (H.) will be a mistake for γυάλας (s.v. γύαλον).

•ETYM Unknown. ON *kýll* 'bag for victuals', OHG *kiulla* 'bag' < **keula-* have been compared; see WH s.v. *vola*. Further related to γύαλον? Fur.: 120 compares γυλάριον with ►κύλλαρος.

γυλλός [m.] mg. unclear, 'block of stone' (Milete VI-V^{a}) carried in a procession for Apollo (Nisson, *Gr. Rel.* 1,189); κύβος, ἢ τετράγωνος λίθος 'cube or cubic stone' (H.); γυλλοί· στολμοί 'equipment, apparel' (H.; Latte: corrupt). ◅?▻

•DER γύλλινα· ἐρείσματα, γεῖσοι 'prop, projecting part of the roof' (H.). On γυλλάς· εἶδος ποτηρίου, παρὰ Μακεδόσιν, γύλλιον· ἀγγεῖον πλεκτόν (H.) see ►γυλιός.

•ETYM No etymology. Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 72f. connects the word with Hebr. *gōlēl* 'Rollstein'.

γυμνός [adj.] 'naked, unarmed' (Il.). ◅IE **nog^{w}-no-* 'naked'▻

•VAR ἀπόνοιμον· ἀπογύμνωσιν 'stripping bare' (H.).

•DER γυμνάς, -άδος [f.m.] 'naked' (E.); 'trained' (E., Att.); collective = 'trained men' (Amorgos, Astypalaia, Cos). γυμνής, -ῆτος [m.] 'light-armed warrior' (Tyrt.), with γυμνητικός (X.), γυμνήσιος (Arist.), γυμνητεύω (Plu.), γυμνητεία 'light-armed men' (Th.), 'nakedness' (Corn.); γυμνήτης, fem. -ῆτις 'naked' (Lyc.). γυμνικός (ἀγών) 'gymnastic' (opp. ἱππικός) (Hdt.). γυμνηλός 'poor' (H., *EM*, after νοσηλός, etc.). γυμνότης [f.] (LXX). Denominative γυμνόομαι 'to strip' (Il.), -όω (Hdt.), γύμνωσις (Th.). γυμνάζομαι 'to exercise (naked)' (IA); γυμναστής 'trainer' (Pl.), γυμναστικός , ἡ γυμναστική (τέχνη) 'gymnastics' (IA); γύμνασμα 'training' (D. H.), γύμνασις 'id.' (Poll.); γυμνάσιον 'training' (Pi.), 'school for exercise, gymnasium' (Att.), γυμνασιώδης (Cic.); γυμνασία; on -σιον, -σία Schwyzer: 469f. γυμνασίδιον (Arr.) and γυμναστήριον (Gal.). γυμνιεύω 'to be naked' (*P. Ross. Georg.* 3, 28, IV^{p}).

•ETYM Old inherited word. With a dental suffix, we have Lat. *nūdus* (< **nog^{w}od^{h}o-* per Schrijver 1991: 274f.), OIr. *nocht*, Go. *naqaþs*, OHG *nackt*, and ON *nøkkviðr*. Without a suffix are Lith. *núogas*, OCS *nagъ* (with acute lengthened vowel according to Winter's Law); with a suffix *-no-*, Skt. *nagná-*, Av. *mayna-* (dissimilated); with *-n-*, Gm. forms like ON *nakinn*, OFr. *naken*, probably modelled after the *n*-participles. Hitt. *nekumanza* (with *e*-vowel) is modelled after the adjectives in *-u̯ant-* (becoming *-mant-* after *u*). With *e*, we also have Arm. *merk* < **meg^{w}ro-* (cf. Av. *mayna-*). The υ is from **o* like in νύξ after a nasal and before a following labiovelar; the -μν-, from **-g^{w}n-* (cf. ἀμνός). We also find λυμνός (H.), with dissimilation of **νυμνός*, as well as ἀπολύγματος· ἀπογύμνωσις. Κύπριοι (H.), with preserved -γ-. The essential point, the initial γ-, was explained by Kortlandt (ap. Beekes *Orbis* 37 (1994): 91) as an assimilation **noŋ^{w}no-* > **ŋoŋ^{w}no-*. The initial [ŋ-] was reanalyzed as /γ-/, since ŋ was not a phoneme in Greek.

γυνή [f.] 'wife, woman' (Il.). ◅IE **g^{w}en-h$_{2}$* 'woman'▻

•VAR Gen. γυναικός. Boeot. βανά (Corinn.), plur. βανῆκας· γυναῖκας H.; Cypr. **βονα* does not exist (O. Masson 1961: 298). Voc. γύναι from **γυναικ*, see Schwyzer: 582f. The stem γυν-αικ- probably derives from an adj. **g^{w}neh$_{2}$-iko-* (Szemerényi *AION* 2 (1960): 13-30; against Lejeune *REA* 63 (1961): 435).

•DIAL Myc. *ku-na-ja* /gunaia/.

•COMP On the forms of γυνή as a second member ἄ- ἀνδρό- κατά- μισό- φιλόγυνος, ἀ- ἡμι- καλλι- ὀρσι- φιλογύναιξ, ἀγύναικος, ἀ- ἡμι- κακο- κατα- μισο- πολυ- φιλογύναιος, ἀ- ἀνδρο- μισο- νεο- πολυ- φιλογύνης see Sommer 1948: 62f. Exceptional γύν-ανδρος 'hermaphrodite', and γυναι-μανής (Il.). Survey in DELG s.v.

•DER Diminutive γυναικάριον (Diocl. Com.), γυναίκιον (Longos), γυναικίσκιον· παιδίσκιον (H.); γυναικίας [m.] 'womanish man' (Eup.; like νεανίας); γυναικωνῖτις 'women's room' (Lys.), rare γυναικών (X., like ἀνδρών).

Adjective γυναικήϊος, -εῖος (Od.; as ἀνδρήϊος, -εῖος), γυναικικός (Arist.; like ἀνδρικός), γυναικώδης (Plb.: ἀνδρώδης), γυναικηρός (Diocl. Com.; after πονηρός, etc.).

Denominative verbs γυναικίζω, -ομαι 'to behave like a woman' (IA) with γυναίκισις (Ar.) and γυναικισμός (Plb.); γυναικόομαι, -όω 'to be, make womanish' (Hp.).

Not derived from the extended stem γυναικ-: γύννις, -ιδος 'womanish man' (A.) and γύναιος [adj.] (cf. δείλαιος), γύναιον [n.] 'woman'.

•ETYM γυνή derives from the PIE word for 'woman', *$g^{w}en$-h_2, e.g. Skt. (Ved.) *gnā́*- 'woman, goddess', Av. *gənā* 'woman'. An exact match with γυναι- is offered by Arm. *kanay*- in the plur. *kanay-k'* [nom.], etc.; the element -κ- is seen further in Messap. *gunakhai* 'γυναικί'(?) and NPhr. κναικαν, κναικο.

The labiovelar also appears in Go. *qino* (*n*-stem), OIr. *ben* (*ā*-stem) 'woman', both < *$g^{w}en$-. The full grade, replaced by the zero grade in Greek, is seen in e.g. Arm. *kin*, OPr. *genna*, OCS *žena*, Skt. *jáni*-, ToA *śäṃ*, ToB *śana*. The zero grade is found in OIr. *ban*- (in compounds), gen.sg. *mná* < **bnās*. A lengthened grade is seen in Go. *qens* (*i*-stem) 'woman'.

The word was originally a proterodynamic h_2-stem: nom. *$g^{w}en$-h_2 (seen in Skt. *jáni*-, ToB *śana*), gen. *$g^{w}n$-eh_2-*s* (in OIr. *mná*). The Greek *u*-vocalism probably goes back to a zero grade *$g^{w}ṇh_2$-*V*-, although this would normally be expected to give *βαν-, which is the form attested in Corinna.

On ►μνάομαι 'to woo for one's bride', see ►μιμνήσκω. The full grade may be preserved in ►βενέω, a variant of ►βινέω (acc. to De Lamberterie *RPh.* 65 (1991): 149-160).

γῦπη [f.] · κοίλωμα γῆς, θαλάμη, γωνία. 'cavity in the earth, den, corner' (Call. *Aet. Oxy.* 2080, 73). ◄EUR►

•VAR γύπας· καλύβας, καὶ θαλάμας. οἱ δὲ γυπῶν νεοσσιάς 'hut, den; nest of young birds', referring to ►γύψ through folk etymology. οἱ δὲ τὰς κατὰ γῆς οἰκήσεις, οἱ δὲ σπήλαια 'a habitation below the earth, caverns' ... (H.).

•ETYM The word is connected with a Gm. word for 'room, cave, etc.': ON *kofi*, OE *cofa*, MoHG *Koben*, etc. These words may be European substrate words; see Beekes *KZ* 109 (1996): 223-227. Av. *gufra*- 'deep' is probably unrelated; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *gabhīrá*-. On γυπάριον, see ►γύψ.

γύπωνες [pl.] dancers in Sparta (Poll. 4, 104): οἱ δὲ γύπωνες ξυλίνων κώλων ἐπιβαίνοντες ὠρχοῦντο, διαφανῆ ταραντινίδια ἀμπεχόμενοι 'some say the γύπωνες danced upon wooden limbs, putting on tarantinidia, translucent dresses'. ◄?►

•COMP ὑπογύπωνες (ib.).

•ETYM Unknown.

γυργαθός [m.] 'wisker-basket, creel' (Ar.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Accent after Hdn. Gr. 1, 145. Also γύργαθον (*BGU* 1092, 29) and γέργαθος (*POxy.* 741, 5).
•DER γυργάθιον (*PHolm.* 18, 17).
•ETYM Technical word. Connected with *ger-* ('plait'?) in ▶γέρρον? The word looks Pre-Greek.

γυρῖνος ⇒γυρός.

γῦρις, -εως [f.] 'the finest meal' (Dsc.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also γύριος (*PSI* 4, 428, 44, III[a]).
•DER γυρίνη kind of cake (Luc.), γυρίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread from γ.' (Ath.), γυριστήριος (gloss.).
•ETYM Unknown. Perhaps connected with ▶γοῦρος.

γῦρός [adj.] 'round, curved' (τ 246: γυρὸς ἐν ὦμοισιν ['round in the upper arms', i.e., 'muscular'?]). ◁IE? **gou-* 'hand'; **gu(H)-* 'bend' (?)▷
•DER γῦρος [m.] 'rounding, circle' (Thphr.) with γύριος 'forming a γ.' (Anon. *apud* Suid.), γυραλέος (Opp.). Denominative γυρόω 'make round, make a circle' (LXX, Nic.) with γύρωσις (pap., *Gp.*); also γυρεύω 'walk in a circle' (Str.). γυριστός 'curved' (sch.), γυρτόν· κυφόν 'hunchbacked' (H.). Also γυρῖνος [m.] 'tadpole' (Pl.; but with short υ) with γυρινώδης (Arist.). Here also PlN like Γυραὶ πέτραι (δ 500), see Bechtel 1914 s.v.
•ETYM Connection with **gou-* 'hand', **guH-* 'curved' (see Frisk) seems quite possible. See ▶γύης, ▶γύαλον.

γύψ [m.] 'vulture' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR γῦπός.
•DER γυπιάς (πέτρα) 'where vultures live' (A. *Supp.* 796 [lyr.]; cf. ὀρεστ-ιάς, etc. Schwyzer: 508); γύπινος 'belonging to a vulture' (Luc.), γυπιαῖος 'id.' (Tz.), γυπώδης 'vulture-like' (Arist.). γυπάριον 'nest, cranny' (γυπαρίοις καὶ πυργιδίοις Ar. *Eq.* 793).
•ETYM Monosyllabic bird name like σκώψ, γλαῦξ, etc. The usual connection with **geu-* 'bend' (see ▶γῦρός, ▶γύαλον, etc.) is quite uncertain. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

γύψος [f.] 'gypsum, chalk, cement' (Hdt.). ◁LW Sem.?▷
•DER γυψίον (pap.), γυψική 'tax on plasterers' (pap.), γύψινος (*EM*), γυψώδης (Sor.); denominative γυψόω 'plaster with gypsum, chalk over' (Hdt.) with γύψωσις (*Gp.*) and γυψωτής (*EM*); γυψίζω 'id.' with γυψισμός (pap.).
•ETYM From Semitic? See Muß & Arnolt *TAPA* 23 (1892): 70.

γωλεός [m.] 'hole' (Arist.), γωλ<ε>ιοί· σπήλαια. καὶ αἱ πρὸς θάλασσαν καταδύσεις 'caverns; descents towards the sea' (H.); plur. γωλε(ι)ά (Nic.). ◁?▷
•ETYM The word has been compared with Lith. *guõlis*, Latv. *guoļa* 'lair, nest' (Lith. *guliù* 'lie down'), and Arm. *kałał* 'hole, hiding-place'. However, this comparison must remain uncertain and IE origin is not very probable. We have to reckon with

influence from φωλεός (Fraenkel *KZ* 71 (1954): 40); cf. also the remote similarity with ►γύαλον, etc.

γωνία [f.] 'corner' (Hdt.), also 'leader' (LXX). On its use in geometry see Mugler 1958-1959. ◄GR►

•COMP As a second member -γωνος in τρί-γωνος, etc. (like -βιβλος to βιβλίον, etc.), see Debrunner *IF* 60 (1952): 40off.; συγγωνίος (*RPh.* 73 (1999) 84).

•DER γωνίδιον (Luc.); γωνιαῖος (Pl. Com.), γωνιήϊος (Delphi), γωνιώδης (Hp.), γωνιακός (Procl.); γώνιος (pap. VI^{P}).

γωνιάζω (Porph.) with γωνιασμός (Ar.); γωνιόομαι (Dsc.) with γωνίωμά (Eust.) and γωνίωσις (Archig. Med.). For παραγωνίζω see *RPh.* 71 (1997): 155f.

•ETYM Generally connected with ►γόνυ. Since the paradigm of **ǵonu-* contained no lengthened grade and mathematicians were Pythagoreans, the long ω must be explained as the regular Doric development of *γονϝ-ία; the long *ā* in Skt. *jā́nu* arose from short *o* in **ǵonu* by Brugmann's Law and is irrelevant. Alternatively, Hamp *MSS* 43 (1984): 19f. explains the long ω from the type τρί-γωνος.

γῶος [m.] · μνημεῖον 'memorial' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown. For a suggestion, see von Blumenthal 1930: 15 A. 1, who considers the word as Messapian (or Macedonian), deriving it from IE **ǵʰōuo-* beside **ǵʰouo-* in Gr. χοῦς.

γῶπας [acc.pl.] · κολοιούς. Μακεδόνες 'jackdaw (Maced.)' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•ETYM According to Lesny *KZ* 42 (1909): 297f., γῶπας is identical to γῦπας; according to Hoffmann 1906: 47, it is to be connected with σκῶπας (both hypotheses doubted by Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 307). See ►σκώψ, which could be yet another variant (Fur.: 110).

γωρῦτός [m.] ([f.]) 'quiver, which was also a bow-case' (φ 54). ◄LW Iran.►

•VAR Hesychius' χωρυτός will be due to ancient folk-etymology, as appears from Ap. Soph. (παρὰ τὸ ... χωρεῖν), while γορυτός (H.) may be just a mistake.

•ETYM According to Benveniste 1937b: 42ff., a loanword from a Scythian compound (see under τόξον) that contains the word for 'cow' (see ►βοῦς), Iran. Γω- in Γωβάρης, etc., as a first member. The interpretation of the second member is totally unclear however, since (pace Benveniste) we can hardly identify it with MoP *rūda* 'intestine' and interpret the whole compound as 'cow-hide' (Morgenstierne *KZ* 61 (1934): 29f.). If the second member cannot be 'hide', the first member need not be 'cow-' either. Alternatively, Lubotsky suggests that γωρῦτός may derive from **varūtra-* 'something that protects' (Skt. *varūtár-*), with *v-* > *g-* as in later Iranian. For the Greeks, the pronunciation of the initial may already have resembled *g(w)-*, and a substitution of *-va-* by *ō* is trivial. Note that this etymology additionally explains the long ῦ.

Δ

δα- [pref.] e.g. in δα-φοινός 'very red' (Il.), especially of animals, and δά-σκιος 'very shady' (Od.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From δια-, Aeol. ζα-, although the conditions are unclear (metrical explanation in Chantraine 1942: 168, see also Sjölund 1938: 25f.). See ▶δάσκιος.

δᾶ [interj.] (trag.) in lyrics, e.g. A. *Eu.* 874 οἰοῖ δᾶ φεῦ. ◁?▷

•ETYM According to sch. *Ag.* 1072, *EM* 60, 8, the word is Doric for γᾶ, γῆ, which Kretschmer finds in Dor. Δαμάτηρ (see ▶Δημήτηρ) and in Dor. Ποτειδάν (see ▶Ποσειδῶν). However, it is probably only an exclamation. On the accus. Δᾶν, see ▶Ζεύς.

δᾱγύς, -ῦδος [f.] 'puppet' of wax (Theoc. 2, 110). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Technical word of foreign origin. Etymology unknown. Probably a Pre-Greek word (suffix -ῡδ-).

δαδύσσομαι [v.] 'to be distracted' (Sophr. 117, H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also δαιδύσσεσθαι· ἕλκεσθαι 'to be drawn, pulled' (H.) and δαιδήσσουσι (for *δαιδύσσουσι?)· βασανίζουσι 'they put to the test'.

•ETYM Since Roscher-Osthoff *IF* 5 (1895): 282 (and, later, LIV² s.v. **deu̯k-* 'ziehen'), the word has been connected with Lat. *dūco* 'lead', Go. *tiuhan* 'draw' (cf. ▶ἀδευκής, ▶ἐνδυκέως), assuming intensive reduplication *δαι-δυκ-ι̯ο-. However, different from that tradition, DELG notes that the word has "pas d'étymologie". Indeed, if δα- is not a late notation for δαι- (as argued by e.g. Schwyzer: 841 and Frisk), the variation δα-/δαι- may point to Pre-Greek origin.

δαεγώ [interj.] · οἶδα, ἐπίσταμαι 'I know, understand' (H.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Latte and Pearson read δαείω (a subjunctive, acc. to DELG), for which I see no support. Alternatively, MoGr. (Cappadocian) δαγώ 'I know', from οἶδα ἐγώ (Schwyzer: 769), has been compared (Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 215), which is more probable.

Δάειρα [f.] name of a chthonic goddess in Attica, to whom a pregnant sheep was sacrificed (Pherecyd. 45, Lyc. 710, inscr.); also Δαῖρα (A. *Fr.* 277, inscr.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER Δαειρίτης [m.] name of a priestess (Poll.).

•ETYM Formerly compared to formations like κυδι-άνειρα and connected with ▶δαῆναι, Skt. *dasrá-* 'effecting miracles' (cf. ▶δαΐ-φρων) but this is semantically unattractive. Nilsson *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 32 (1935): 82f. and Kern in *PW* 4: 1980f.

assumed a feminine of ▸δᾱ́ήρ, so properly "sister-in-law", which is not convincing either. More probably Pre-Greek (where a suffix -ειρα occurs more often).

δαῆναι [v.] 'to learn' (Il.). ◂IE **dens-* 'learn'▸

•VAR Epic also intr. aor. δαήμεναι, fut. δαήσομαι, perf. δεδάηκα, δεδαώς (Od.), med. δεδάημαι (*h. Merc.*), redupl. aor. (with caus. mg.) δέδαε 'taught' (Od.), δέδαον [3pl.] (H.), inf. δεδάασθαι (for δεδαέσθαι?) (π 316), secondary δάε, ἔδαε (A. R.), δα[ι]ῆσαι· διδάξαι 'learn' (H.); present ▸διδάσκω.

•DER δαήμων 'knowing' (Il.) with δαημοσύνη (A. R.); privative ▸ἀδαής; δάησις (*EM*); ▸Δάειρα.

•ETYM The stem δα- derives from the zero grade of IE **dens-*. The full grade is seen in Av. *dīdaiiąhē* < **di-dens-h₂ei* and in nominal forms like Skt. *dasrá-* 'effecting miracles'. The aor. δέ-δα-ε is from **de-dn̥s-e-t*. Cf. ▸δήνεα, ▸διδάσκω, ▸δαΐφρων.

δᾱ́ήρ [m.] 'husband's younger brother, brother-in-law'. ◂IE **deh₂i-uer-* 'brother-in-law'▸

•VAR Acc. -έρα, voc. δᾶερ, gen.plur. δᾱ́έρων Ω 769 (verse initial) and 762 (Il.), Hell. and late also the accus. and dat.sing. δαῖρα, δαιρί, nom.plur. δέρες (Lydia), gen.sg. δῆρος (Bithynia).

•DER Δάειρα is rather not related.

•ETYM Old kinship term, agreeing with Skt. *devár-*, Arm. *taygr*, Lith. *dievер-ìs*, OCS *dĕver-ъ*; thus it derives from **δαιϝήρ*. Is δαιρί from **δαιϝρί*, and **δαιϝρῶν* for metrically impossible δᾱ́έρων? See Schwyzer: 266 and 568. Lat. *lēvir* was transformed after *vir* and has *l-* for *d-* and *ē* for *ae* from the colloquial language.

δαί [interj.] always after interrogative τί, πῶς δαί 'what, how then?' (α 225, ω 299 [both doubtful]; Com.; often false for δέ). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Innovation to δή after νή : ναί. See Schwyzer 1950: 563³; 570.

δᾱΐ [f.] 'in battle' (Il.). ◂?▸

•DIAL Myc. *da-i-qo-ta* /dā$^{(h)}$i-k^{wh}ontās/, Δηιφόντης.

•COMP δαικταμένων Φ 146, 301. PNs Δάιππος (Milete), Δαικράτης (Olbia), Δαΐλέων, Δαιμένης (Athens).

•ETYM Isolated epic dative (also Hes. *Th.* 650, A. *Th.* 925), formerly derived from a root noun **δαῦς*. However, the Myc. form without *-w-* shows that this reconstruction is untenable, so it is rather not related to ▸δαίω. New accus. δάϊν (Call. *Fr.* 243). See ▸δήϊος.

δαιδάλλω [v.] 'to work artfully, embellish' (Il.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Only present stem.

•DIAL Myc. *da-da-re-jo-de* /daidalejon-de/.

•DER δαίδαλμα 'work of art' (Theoc.). δαίδαλον [n.] 'id., ornament' (Il.); Δαίδαλος name of a mythical artist (Il.), δαίδαλος 'artful' (A.); δαιδάλεος (Il., cf. μαρμαίρω: μαρμάρεος, etc.; acc. to Leumann a metrical variant to πολυ-δαίδαλος 'rich in ornaments'); also δαιδαλόεις (Q. S., like παιπαλόεις). Denominative δαιδαλόω (Pi.), δαιδαλεύομαι (Ph.) with δαιδαλεύτρια 'artful female artist' (Lyc.).

•ETYM The relation between δαιδάλλω, δαίδαλος, and δαίδαλον is debated. Leumann 1950: 131ff. started from a Mediterranean word δαίδαλον 'ornament', from which δαιδάλλω and the compound πολυ-δαίδαλος 'rich in ornament' would be derived. Others have taken δαιδάλλω, which was thought to be an intensive reduplicated formation, as the starting point (cf. Schwyzer: 647 and 725). Within Greek, ►δέλτος and ►δηλέομαι have been compared (see s.vv); further, δάλλει· κακουργεῖ 'do wrong' (H.) and ►δόλων; see also ►δόλος. Not related are several words for 'build, split' in other IE languages, e.g., Lat. *dolāre* 'hew', Skt. *dár-dar(ī)ti* 'split', OIr. *delb* 'form' (< **del-wā-*), etc. Instead, we should consider Pre-Greek origin, for instance through a connection with the PN Δαίδαλος. Assuming that the verb is primary, δαιδάλλω may have to be interpreted morphologically as a reduplicated **dal^{y}-dal^{y}-*.

δαιδύσσεσθαι ⇒δαδύσσομαι.

δαΐζω [v.] 'to cleave, pierce' (Il.). ◄GR►

•VAR Aor. δαΐξαι, perf. ptc. δεδαϊγμένος.

•DER δαϊκτήρ "divider", of Ares (Alc.), also of γόος (A. *Th.* 916); also δαΐκτωρ (γάμος A. *Supp.* 798); δαΐγμός (*EM*); δαΐκτας in e.g. μηλοδαΐκτας (B.); καρπο-δαισται (Gortyn) is rather from δαίομαι with analogical -σ-, like in δεδαισμένον, δαισθείς (E.).

•ETYM Deverbative from ►δαίομαι (see Schwyzer: 736).

δαίμων, -ονος [m., f.] 'godlike power, fate, god' (Il.). ◄IE **deh$_2$-(i-)* 'cut, divide'►

•DER Adjective δαιμόνιος 'belonging to a δαίμων' (Il.); on δαιμόνιε see Brunius-Nilsson 1955; ntr. δαιμόνιον 'godlike power' (IA); δαιμονικός 'id.' (Plu.); δαιμονιακός 'id.' (*PMag. Osl.* 1, 143); δαιμονιώδης 'like a δ.' (*Ep. Jac.*, Procl.). Rare and late δαιμονίς (Procl.) and δαιμόνισσα (*PMag. Leid. W.* 16, 48). On δαιμονή (Alcm. 69?) see Schwyzer: 524. Denominative δαιμονάω 'be possessed by a δ.' (A.), δαιμονιάω 'id.' (Phld.), δαιμονητιᾷ· δαιμονίζεται. Κρῆτες H., after verbs of disease in -άω, -ιάω and -ητιάω (Schwyzer: 731f.); δαιμονίζομαι 'id.' (Philem.) with δαιμονισμός (Vett. Val.), 'become a god' (S. *Fr.* 173, H.); δαιμονιάζομαι = δαιμονιάω (pap.). Often as a second member of compounds: bahuvrīhi (βαρυ-, δυσ-); substantives (ἀγαθο-, ἀνθρωπο-); see Frisk s.v.

•ETYM The word is connected with ►δαίομαι as 'divider' (cf. von Wilamowitz 1931: 363); for the semantics, cf. OP *baga-*, OCS *bogъ* 'god' beside Av. *baga-* 'part', Skt. *bhága-* 'id.', related to *bhájati* 'divide' (the meaning has not developed from "Zerreißer, Fresser (der Leichen)"). See Nilsson 1941: 216ff. and (on its development in modern languages) Chantraine *CRAI* 1954: 452-5.

δαίομαι [v.] 'to divide', med. 'to feast' (Il.). ◄IE **deh$_2$-*, **deh$_2$-i-* 'cut, divide'►

•VAR δαίνυμι, aor. δαῖσαι, fut. δαίσω, δαισθείς.

•DER Abstracta δαίς, -τός [f.] 'portion, meal' (Il.), compounds ἁβρό-, ὁμό-; δαίτη 'meal' (Il.); δαιτύς, -ύος [f.] 'id.' (X 496; Chantraine 1942: 96) with δαιτυμών, -όνος [m.] 'guest' (Od.); δαιτυμονεύς (Nonn.); δαῖσις 'division (of property)' (Gortyn) with δαισάνη = πτισάνη (*EM*), δαίσιμον (-ιον *EM*)· ἐδώδιμον 'food' (H.); δαιθμός 'division, divided land' (inscr.). Nomen loci: δαιτήριον (*EM*). Agent noun: δαιτρός

'divider, carver' (Od.) with δαιτροσύναι [pl.] 'the arts of the carver' (π 253); denominative δαιτρεύω 'to divide, carve' (Il.) with δαιτρεία (Hdn.); Δαίτωρ as a PN (Θ 275), συνδαίτωρ 'conviva' (A.); δαιτρόν 'part, portion' (Δ 262); δαίτης title of a priest (E. *Fr.* 472, 12), as a second member in λαγο-δαίτας (A.). Isolated is δαιταλεύς 'banqueter' (A.), cf. δαιταλάομαι 'to banquet' and δαιταλουργία (Lyc.). An enlargement of δαίομαι is ►δαΐζω. See ►δαίμων.

•ETYM δαίομαι (with analogical -ι-) agrees morphologically with Skt. *dáyate* 'divide' < *$*dh_2$-eie-*. Other forms of this Skt. root go back to *$*deh_2$-* or *$*dh_2$-*, e.g. *dā́-ti* 'to mow, cut off', *di-tí-* 'dividing', *d-yá-ti* 'divide' < *$*dh_2$-i̯e-*. Also connected is ►δῆμος (Dor. δᾶμος). From Gm. and Arm., the word for 'time' has been connected: OE *tīma*, ON *tími* 'hour, *time*', PGm. **tī-man-* < **dī-mon-*; OHG *zīt* 'time', Arm. *ti* 'old age, time' < **dī-t(i)-*. Alb. *daj* 'divide, cut', aor. *dava* may be related, too. See LIV² s.v. **deh$_2$(i̯)-* 'teilen'. Cf. ►δατέομαι and ►δάπτω.

δάϊος ⇒δήϊος.

δαισάνη = πτισάνη (*EM* 264) 'peeled barley'. ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. See Fur.: 255, 337.

δαΐφρων [adj.] 'artful, experienced'; 'brave' (Il.) by secondary connection with ►δαΐ 'in battle'. ◅IE **dens-* 'high mind, power'▻

•ETYM Compound with ►φρήν (s.v.; cf. ἄ-φρων); the first member is perhaps from *δαh-ι-, related to Skt. *das-rá-* 'effecting miracles', with *i* and *ro* alternating as in κυδι-άνειρα and κυδρός (Schwyzer: 447). Note that this would presuppose that **s* > *h* in the Greek outcome of clusters *-*n̥sV-*. On ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆϊ δαΐφρονι δαίεται ἦτορ (α 48), see Risch 1947: 88.

δαίω [v.] 'to kindle' (Il.). ◅IE **deh$_2$u-* 'burn'▻

•VAR intr. perf. δέδηα 'burn', ptc. δεδαυμένος (Semon. 30 B), δάηται (Υ 316, Φ 375), aor. δαῆναι, ἐκδαβῇ (= -ϝῇ)· ἐκκαυθῇ. Λάκωνες 'let it be burnt out, lit (Lacon.)' (H.).

•COMP Compounds with άνα- (A.), κατα- (H.). θεσπι-δᾱ́ες (πῦρ, M 177, etc.) 'flaming godlike' (rather to the aor. δαῆναι than to δάος?).

•DER δάος [n.] (< *δάϝος) 'torch' (Hom.) together with δᾱνός < *δαϝεσ-νός 'fit for a torch, dry' (ο 322, Ar. Pax 1134 [lyr.]). δᾶλός [m.] 'firebrand' (Il.) < *δᾱϝελός (= δαβελός· δαλός. Λάκωνες H.), δαελός (Sophr.); *δάϝος: *δαϝελ-ός like νέφος: νεφέλη; further δαῦλον· ἡμίφλεκτον ξύλον 'half-burnt wood' (H.). Diminutive δᾱλίον (Ar.); δᾶλός also = μελάνουρος ἰχθύς 'fish with a black tail' (H.), metaph. 'burnt out = old man' (*AP*), with hypocoristic gemination δαλλώ· ἡ ἀπόπληκτος. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔξωρον παρθένον ἢ γυναῖκα καὶ πρεσβυτέραν 'dumb woman; an over-aged maiden or woman' (H.). δαΐς, -ίδος [f.] 'torch' (Il., on Att. δᾶς, δᾳδός see below) < *δαϝίς, whence the diminutive δᾳδίον (Ar.); δᾳδίς 'torch-festival' (Luc.), δᾴδινος 'ptng. to the torch, made of pine-wood' (Gal.), δᾳδώδης 'resinous' (Thphr., Plut.), to δᾶς 'resin-glut', name of a disease in pines (Thphr.); δᾳδόομαι 'become affected with resin-glut' together with δᾴδωσις (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 167. Compounded δᾳδοῦχος 'holding a torch'. δαύακες· θυμάλωπες 'pieces of burning wood' (H.), cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 118, Grošelj Živa Ant. 2 (1952): 206. δαερόν· μέλαν. καὶ τὸ καιόμενον

'black; burning' (H.), perhaps also Emp. 90 for δαλερός. δαηρόν· θερμόν, καυματηρόν, λαμπρόν, προφανές 'warm, very hot, glowing, shining forth' (H.). δαηθμιόν· ἐμπρησμόν 'burning' (H.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 137f.; Latte (with Voß) corrects it to δαιθμιόν. ►δαῦκος · ὁ θρασύς. καὶ βοτάνη τις Κρητική 'bold; also a Cretan plant' (H.) is rather PG. Not here ►δαΐ 'in battle', because Myc. has no *-w-*.

•ETYM As shown by δεδαυμένος, δαίω goes back to *δαϝ-i̯ω. Att. δᾴς (δᾶις < *δαιϝ-ις) originates from a metathesized *δαίϝω (cf. Cor. Διδαίϝων). The perfect δέδηα < *δέ-δᾰϝ-α resembles Skt. *du-dāv-a* (gramm.), to which the present *du-nó-ti* 'to burn' is related (for **dunā́ti*, acc. to LIV² s.v. **deh₂u̯-* 'in Brand geraten'). OIr. *dóim* 'to burn' and OHG *zuscen* 'id.' may have to be connected as well. Cf. Peters 1980a: 37. See ►δύη and ►δήϊος.

δάκνω [v.] 'to bite', also 'to sting (of insects), wound' (Il.). ◅IE **denḱ-* 'bite'▻

•VAR Aor. δακεῖν (Il.), δῆξαι (Luc.); fut. δάξομαι (Hp.), δήξομαι (E.); perf. δέδηγμαι (Ar.), δεδαγμένος (Pi.), δέδηχα (Babr.), δέδακα (*AP*); aor. pass. δηχθῆναι (S.), δακῆναι (Aret.); vb.adj. ἄ-δηκτος (Hes., Hp.).

•COMP Compounds with ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, ἀντι-, etc., also θυμοδακής (Od.).

•DER δάκος [n.] 'bite, stitch', often 'biting animal' (Pi.) = δακετόν (Ar., cf. ἑρπετόν), δαγμός 'bite, stitch' (Ruf.), δάγμα 'id.' (Nic.), δάκια· τὰ ἄγρια ὀρνιθάρια 'wild birds' (H.); δάξ = ὀδάξ (Opp.) together with δαξ-ασμός = ὀδαγμός (Ti. Locr.; after μαρασμός, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 141f.). From δηκ-: δῆγμα 'bite, stitch' (A.), δηγμός 'id.' (Hp.), δῆξις 'id.' (Hp.); δήκτης 'biter, biting' (E.) with δηκτήριος 'id.' (E.) and δηκτικός (Arist.); δήξ, δηκός 'worm in wood' (Tz.) after σφήξ. δακνώδης 'biting, stinging' (Hp.), δακνηρός 'id.' (Phld., cf. ὀδυνηρός), δακνίς· ὀρνέου εἶδος 'kind of bird' (H.), δακνᾶς 'biter' (Phryn.). Expressive δακνάζω (A.), δαγκάνω (Hdn.).

•ETYM The aorist δακεῖν agrees morphologically with the Skt. present *dáśati* 'bites'; the perfect *dadáṃśa* and nouns like *dáṃśa-* 'bite' show that the root was *denḱ-*. Therefore, δηκ- in δήξομαι, etc. is a secondary full grade of δακεῖν, after λήψομαι: λαβεῖν. Probably we should connect ToB *tsāk*ā-* 'bite' (Adams 1999 s.v.), whereas in Gm. we find nouns like OHG *zangar* 'biting, sharp', ON *tǫng* 'tongs' (perhaps Alb. *danë* 'tongs' is related, too). Further forms in LIV² s.v. **denḱ-* 'beißen'.

δάκρυ [n.] 'tear, drop' (Il., also *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 30 = 'resin', cf. ►βράθυ). ◅IE **drḱ-h₂ḱru-* 'eye-bitter' > 'tear'▻

•VAR Dat.pl. δάκρυσι; also δάκρυον [n.] (Il., from the plur. δάκρυα).

•COMP παρά-δακρυ plant name (Ps.-Dsc.); many bahuvrīhis in -δακρυς.

•DER Diminutive δακρύδιον as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.); δακρυ-όεις 'rich in tears' (Il.); δακρυώδης 'running' (of wounds, Hp.); denominative δακρύω 'weep (over)' (Il.) with δάκρῦμα 'mourned for' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 7, 169), 'tear' (A.).

•ETYM Old word for 'tear'. Also seen in Arm. *artasu-k'* [pl.] (< **draḱu-*, see below), sing. *artawsr* (< **draḱu-r*); Gm., e.g. OHG *zahar*, Go. *tagr*; Celt., e.g. OBret. *dacr*, OIr. *dér* < **daḱr(o)-*. In addition to these forms, there is also OHG *trahan* < PGm. **trahnu-* < IE **draḱnu-*. It has been supposed that earlier **draḱru-* gave these various forms by dissimilation. But the eastern languages have similar words without initial

consonants: Skt. *áśru-*, Av. *asrū-*, Lith. *ašarà*, ToA *ākär*, ToB *akrūna* [pl.] (see Pinault 1997: 219-233). To explain all different forms, Kortlandt *AAL* 6 (1985) assumes a compounded form **dŕ̥k-h₂ḱru* 'eye-bitter', where the first element is from **derḱ-* 'to see' and the second element from 'bitter'. For Hitt. *išḫaḫru-* [n.] 'tears', Kortlandt (l.c.) reconstructs **skʷ-h₂ḱru* (from **sekʷ-* 'see'). A Hell. form *δάκρῦμα is often assumed to be the source of Lat. *dacrŭma, lacrĭma*, but see now the discussion in De Vaan 2008 s.v. *dacruma*.

δάκτυλος 1 [m.] 'finger' (also as a measure, etc.), 'toe' (IA). ◂PG▸

•VAR Boeot. δακκύλιος (Tanagra).

•COMP Compounds like τετραδάκτυλος 'four-fingered'; ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'rose-fingered'.

•DER Rare diminutives: δακτυλίδιον (Ar.), δακτυλίσκος (Lebadeia), δακτυλίς (Steph. Med., Plin.); δακτύλιος [m.] (-ον [n.]) '(finger)ring' (Sapph., Hdt.) with the diminutive δακτυλίδιον (Delos III[a], pap.), also δακτυλίδριον, -ίδρυον (pap., dissimilated from -ύδριον [Chantraine 1933: 72f.]), δακτύληθρον (Them.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 373), δακτυλήθρα 'glove with fingers' (X., Chantraine l.c.). δακτυλῖτις plant name (Dsc.; after the root which is thick like a finger, Strömberg 1940: 37), δακτυλεύς name of a sea-fish (Ath.). Adjectives: δακτυλ-ιαῖος 'as thick as a finger' (Hp.), δακτυλικός 'ptng. to the finger' (Ath.), δακτυλωτός 'with fingers' (Ion.). Denominative δακτυλίζω 'to count with the fingers, etc.' (H.) together with δακτυλιστής (pap.), an unknown profession.

•ETYM No etymology. Because Boeot. δακκύλιος can hardly have its -κκ- from -κτ-, it is rather from *δάτκυλος. A form *δατκ-υλ- looks perfectly Pre-Greek: cluster -κτ- (< -τκ-) and a suffix -υλ-. Not connected to OHG *zinko*; the relation to Lat. *digitus* is unclear.

δάκτυλος 2 [m.] 'date', the fruit (Arist.). ◂LW Sem.▸

•ETYM From Semitic (Arab. *daqal*, etc.), reshaped to δάκτυλος by folk-etymology because the leaf resembles a hand; see Lewy 1895: 20f.

δαλάγχαν ⇒θάλασσα.

δαλής [adj.] · μωρός 'dull' (H.). ◂PG?(V)▸

•VAR δαλαῖς· οἱ ἀμαθεῖς 'those who are ignorant' (sch. Theocr. 9, 33e).

•ETYM Fur.: 255 connects the word with ζαλαίνω· μωραίνω 'be dumb' (H.).

δάλλει ⇒δηλέομαι.

δᾶλός ⇒δαίω.

δαμάζω ⇒δάμνημι.

δαμάλης, -ου [m.] 'tamer', said of Eros (Anacr.), 'younger bull (still to be tamed)' (Arist.). ◂IE **demh₂-* 'tame'▸

•VAR Fem. δάμαλις (A.); δαμάλη (E.) 'young cow'.

•DER Diminutive δαμάλιον (pap.); δάμαλος 'calf? (Hdn.); denominative δαμαλίζω 'to tame' (Pi.). On Δάμαλις as a PN see Schmid *Phil.* 95 (1942): 118[123].

•ETYM Connected to ►δάμνημι, δαμάσαι; see Chantraine 1933: 236f. Cf. WH s.v. *damma* 'buck, doe, etc.'.

δάμαρ, -αρτος [f.] 'wife' (Il.; on the meaning, see Gernet 1937: 393ff.). ◄PG?►
•VAR δόμορτις· γυνή 'woman' (H.; perhaps Aeol.).
•DIAL Myc. *da-ma-te*, *du-ma-te* [dat.sg.] /damartei/, /dumartei/?
•DER No derivatives.
•ETYM Etymology unknown. Since Schulze *KZ* 28 (1887): 281f., it has been derived from the word for 'house' (see δάπεδον, δεσπότης, and δόμος) and the root άρ- in άραρίσκω with a dental suffix; likewis, δόμορ-τ-ις (Schwyzer: 451[3]). Others have seen an old neuter in -ρ in δάμαρ; see Benveniste 1935: 30 and Lejeune 1972 §29[4]. Ruijgh *Lingua* 51 (1980): 90 connects the word with ταμία, which might point to Pre-Greek origin.

δάμνημι [v.] 'to tame, subdue, conquer', especially of horses (Il.). ◄IE *$demh_2$- 'tame'►
•VAR Also pres. δαμνᾶ [3sg.] (for Aeol. δάμνᾱ, according to Schwyzer: 694), aor. δαμάσ(σ)αι, intr. δαμῆναι, perf. δέδμημαι (all Il.); to δαμάσ(σ)αι a new present δαμάζω (A.), fut. δαμάσσω, 3sg. δαμᾷ (Il.), aor. pass. δαμα-σ-θῆναι (Il.), also (after δέδμημαι 'I have built') δμηθῆναι (Il.).
•COMP Compounded with ὑπο-. As a first member in δάμν-ιππος (Orph.).
•DER δμητήρ (ἵππων) 'tamer' (*h. Hom.*, Alcm.), fem. δμήτειρα (Il.), δμῆσις (ἵππων) 'taming' (Il.); ά-δμής, -τος [f.m.] 'untamed, unmarried' (Od.), also ᾰ́-δμη-τος 'id.' (Il.) and ά-δάμα-σ-τος (Il.), ά-δάμα-τος (trag.), δμᾱτέα (Dor.). δαμαστέα (H.); ►άδάμας. Isolated are δαμα- and δαμν- in: Δαμαῖος 'tamer', of Poseidon (Pi.), δαμάτειρα (*AP*), πάν-δαμάτωρ 'all-tamer' (Il.), late fem. πανδαμάτειρα; δάμασις and δαμαστικός (sch.), δαμάστης ([Epich.] 301 [?], gloss.); δαμνῆτις· δαμάζουσα, τιμωρός 'avenging'; δάμνος· ἵππος. Τυρρηνοί (H.). δαμασώνιον and δαμναμένη plant names (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.; a love potion acc. to Strömberg 1940: 92). See further ►δαμάλης. Not here ►δμώς.
•ETYM The present δάμνημι, Aeol. δάμνᾱμι agrees morphologically with OIr. *damnaim* 'to bind, tame (horses)' from *dm-n-eh_2-mi, from a root *$demh_2$- seen in δαμά-σαι, where the expected *δεμα- was reshaped to δαμα-, partly after -δαμο- < *dmh_2-o-; the zero grade *$dm̥h_2$- is found in δμη-θῆναι (Dor. δμᾱ-). There are many representatives in other IE languages, e.g. Hitt. *damāš-^{zi}* 'he forces, urges'. Gr. πανδαμάτωρ, Lat. *domitor*, and Skt. *damitár-* may be independent parallel formations. As a second member in compounds, ἱππό-δαμος (Il.) is reminiscent of Skt. *arim-dama-* 'conquering the enemy' (though the latter rather reflects *$domh_2$-o-); (ᾰ́-)δμητος is from *$dm̥h_2$-to- (Lat. *domitus* is an independent formation).

δᾰνᾰ́κη [f.] name of a small Persian coin; ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῖς νεκροῖς διδόμενος ὀβολός 'an obol offered to corpses' (H., Call., Poll., *EM*). ◄LW Pers.►
•ETYM From Persian, cf. MoP *dāna(k)* 'quarter of a dram (drachme)'. See Eilers *Welt des Orients* 2 (1959): 333.

Δαναοί [m.pl.] 'Danaans', a Greek tribe (Argos), used by Homer as a general name for the Greeks. According to an ancient tradition, they took their name from king Danaos, who came from Egypt. ◁PG▷
•ETYM Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 15ff. sees in the Danaoi the people of the Scythian king Tanaus, who in the 15th c. came to Argos. Kretschmer also compared the river names *Tanais* and *Donau*, and the Indo-Iranian ethnonym *Dānu-*, etc. This is untenable; the name is certainly Pre-Greek. A country *Danaja* (T/Dnjw), with a city *Mukana*, is mentioned in inscriptions from Egypt, from Amenophis III (1390-1352 BC) and earlier from Tuthmosis III (1437 BC); see *DNP* s.v. *Danaos* and Latacz 2001: 150-165.

δα(ν)δαίνειν [v.] · ἀτενίζειν, φροντίζειν, μεριμνᾶν 'to look intently, consider, ponder' (H.).
•ETYM δα(ν)δαίνω has nothing to do with ▶δενδίλλω; it may be Pre-Greek (**da(n)-dan-yω*).

δανδαλίδες ⇒δενδαλίς.

δάνδαλος [m.] · ὁ ἐριθκαός, τὸ ὄρνεον 'robin, redbreast'. ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

δάνδιξ, -ηκος [m.] name of a big dog (Ps.-Callisth. 2, 33 cod. B). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Cf. the other forms with -ηκ- in *Pre-Greek*.

δάνος [n.] 'gift' (Euph. 42), 'loan, debt' (Call. *Epigr.* 48). ◁IE? **dh₂-no-* 'gift'▷
•DER δάνειον [n.] 'loan' (D.) with δανειακός (Cod. Just.), denominative δανείζω, -ομαι 'loan, give credit' (Att., Hell. also δανίζω), from which δάνεισμα 'loan' (Th.), δανεισμός 'loan, credit' (Att., Arist.) and δανειστής 'usurer, believer' (LXX,) with δανειστικός (Thphr.). Unclear is δάνας· μερίδας. Καρύστιοι 'portion' (H.).
•ETYM The suffix is just as in ἄφενος, κτῆνος, etc. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 256 connects it with ▶δατέομαι, i.e. IE **dh₂-no-*; cf. Skt. *diná-* 'divided'? Not directly related to δίδωμι, as **dh₃-no-* would give *δονος. Alternatively, the word could be foreign.

δάξ ⇒δάκνω.

δάξα [f.] · θάλασσα. Ἠπειρῶται 'sea (Epir.)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

δάος ⇒δαίω.

δαπάνη ⇒δάπτω.

δάπεδον [n.] 'ground' (Od.). ◁IE?▷
•VAR ζάπεδον (Xenoph., Paros).
•DER No derivatives.
•ETYM Possibly a zero grade of **dem-*, seen in δεσ-πότης and δόμ-ος (and δάμαρ?), compounded with πέδον. ON *topt*, (O)Sw. *tomt* 'building place' have been compared, which would continue PGm. **tum-feti-* (= *δα-πεδι-); further, can we

compare Lith. *dim-stis* 'court'? The form ζάπεδον is explained (see Frisk) as an inverted writing of δα- after the intensifying prefix ζα- / δα-; this is hardly convincing. Cf. ►ζακόρος and perhaps ►ἀλλόδαπος.

δάπις, -ιδος [f.] 'carpet, rug' (com.).

•DER Diminutive δαπίδιον.

•ETYM Güntert 1914: 151 assumed a folk-etymological reshaping of τάπις after δάπεδον 'ground', but the word is rather a variant of ►τάπης.

δάπτω [v.] 'to devour, consume' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Aor. δάψαι.

•COMP Compounds with ἀπο-, δια-, κατα-, whence καταδαπάνη and καταδαπανάω (Hdt., X.).

•DER δαπάνη 'cost, expenditure' (Hes. *Op.* 723; cf. σκάπτω : σκαπάνη) with derivative δαπάνυλλα (Corc.); δαπανηρός 'spendthrift' (Pl.) with δαπανηρία (Arist.); denominative δαπανάω 'spend, consume' (Hdt.) with δαπάνημα (X.), δαπάνησις (Aristeas) and δαπανητικός 'consuming' (S.); δαπανητής *EM*; deverbal δάπανος = δαπανηρός (Th.); isolated δαπανούμενα (Andania I^{a}) as if from δαπανόω or -έω. δάπτης 'eater' (Lyc.) from the present stem, unless = δάπ-της; from the aorist stem δαψ- with a suffix -λ-: δαψ-ιλής 'abundant' (Ion., Arist.; δαψιλός Emp. may be older acc. to Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 461ff.) together with δαψίλεια (Arist.) and δαψιλεύομαι (LXX). See ►δαρδάπτω.

•ETYM If δάπτω is formed from a root δαπ-, this may be compared with Lat. *daps* '(sacrificial) meal', and perhaps with the ToA pret. and subj. *tāp-* 'eat', ToB *tāpp-* 'consume' (?), although the Tocharian initial *t-* from **d-* is problematic (Adams 1999 s.v.). Further connections have been proposed with Lat. *damnum* 'expenditure, loss' and ON *tafn* 'sacrificial animal, meal', which could be from **dap-no-m*, as well as with Arm. *tawn* 'feast' (< **dap-ni-*). Skt. *dāpayati* 'divide' is a productive causative-formation from *dā-* 'divide', and is therefore not connected. In spite of the proposed cognates, which do not convince on the semantic side, we may also consider Pre-Greek origin for δαπ(τ)-/ δαψ-, especially if it should be related with ►δεῖπνον (Fur.: 325). Lat. *dapinō* is a loan from δαπανάω.

δαράται [f.pl.] name of the kitchen, which is offered by a phratry at a matrimony (Delphi V-IV^{a}). ◁?▷

•VAR Also δαρατος [m.] name of a Thessalian bread (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 3, 114b); δαρατον [n.] (Coropa VI-V^{a}; not quite certain).

•ETYM The comparisons with Skt. *dūrvā-* and MoDu. *tarwe* 'wheat' and MoE *tare*, or that with Lith. *dirvà* 'field, floor' (see Fraenkel 1955 s.v.), are very doubtful. See Kalléris 1954: 147-151. DELG refers to δάρον (H.). Cf. ►δράμις.

δάρδα [f.]? · μέλισσα 'bee' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Perhaps reduplicated: Skt. *dardurá-* 'frog, pipe', Lith. *derdėti* 'rasseln, schwatzen' and OIr. *dardaim* 'to roar (of a deer)' have been compared. See also Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 202 (Δάρδανοι, etc.). Fur.: 391 considers the word as Pre-Greek.

δαρδαίνει [v.] · μολύνει 'stains', ἀνεδάρδανε· ἀνεμόλυνε (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Specht *KZ* 66 (1939): 203f. unconvincingly analysed δαρ-δ-αίνω, -άνω, connecting a word for 'excrement' seen in OE *tord* [n.] 'excrement', ON *torðyfill* 'dung-beetle', as well as in Latv. *dìrst* 'cacare', Lith. *dìrsė* 'back'. As this is mere speculation, the etymology is still unknown. Cf. ▸δάρδα.

δαρδάπτω [v.] 'to devour' (Hom.). ◁?▷

•VAR Only present except δαρδάψῃ (Opp.), δαρδάψαι· ῥῆξαι, σπαράξαι 'break, tear' (H.), δεδάρδαφε· καταβέβρωκε 'he eats up' (H.).

•ETYM Intensive reduplicated formation with unclear -ρ-, perhaps connected to δάπτω (Fur.: 326). See Frisk for older litt.

δαρθάνω [v.] 'to fall asleep'. ◁IE **der-* (?) 'sleep'▷

•VAR The simplex as a present only Hierocl. in *CA*; aor. ἔδραθον (υ 143); mostly κατα-δαρθάνω (Pl.), also ἐγκατα-, ἐπικατα-, συγκατα-, and ἀπο-, παρα-, aor. -δραθεῖν (Od.), -δαρθεῖν, perf. -δεδάρθηκα (Att.), later aor. -δαρθῆναι (see Schwyzer 759). Mostly as a suppletive aorist to the pres. [καθ-]εύδω 'sleep'.

•DER No derivatives.

•ETYM δαρθάνω bears a certain resemblance to Skt. *drā́-ti* 'to sleep', Lat. *dormiō* 'id.', CS *drěmati* 'slumber' (from **drēm-*). Theoretically, the θ could be a secondary formant (cf. Benveniste 1935: 191 and Chantraine 1942: 329).

δάρ[ε]ιρ [?] · τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δακτύλου ἐπὶ τὸν μικρὸν διάστημα 'the distance from the thumb up to the little [finger]'; also δάριν· σπιθαμήν. Ἀρκάδες 'span (Arcad.)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM DELG assumes rhotacism in the first gloss and thinks it is Laconian, and borrowed from the Arcadian form. See ▸δῶρον 2.

δάρκα [?] kind of κασία (Dsc. 1, 13). ◁PG?▷

•VAR δάκαρ (v.l.).

•DER δάρκανος = ἐρυθρόδανον (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 143); for the formation cf. ἄκανος, ῥάφανος, etc. (Strömberg 1940: 144).

•ETYM Unknown. The form δάρκανος might confirm the reading of the lemma. Is the word Pre-Greek?

δάρκες ⇒δράσσομαι.

δάρπη [f.] · σαργάνη, κόφινος 'basket' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 261 connects τάρπη and δάρπη and, further, σάρπους· κιβωτούς, Βιθυνοὶ δὲ ξυλίνους οἰκίας 'boxes; wooden dwellings (Bith.)' (H.) This proves Pre-Greek origin. Note that the word is also attested in Anatolia (Bithynia). Older suggestions (see Frisk; Güntert *IF* 45 (1927): 347: cross of ▸τάρπη s.v. and *δάρφη = Skt. *darbhá-* 'grass-bundle'; Bechtel 1921, 2: 289: δ- "vulgar" for τ-) have therefore become obsolete.

δᾴς ⇒δαίω.

δάσκιλλος [m.] an unknown fish (Arist. *HA* 591a 14: τέρπεται τῷ βορβόρῳ καὶ κόπρῳ ['it enjoys filth and excrement']). ◁?▷

•ETYM Wood *AmJPh.* 48 (1927): 303 derived it from δά-σκιος 'shadowy', which is a mere guess.

δασπλῆτις [f.] of unknown meaning; used of the Erinyes, Hekate, the Eumenids, etc. (o 234, Theoc.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also δασπλής, -ῆτος [f.] (Simon., Euph., Nonn.; -ῆτε as a msc.du. in Nic.), δασπλήτης [m.] (*An. Ox.*).

•ETYM Unknown. The formation is like χερνῆτις, κυνηγέτις, etc. (Schwyzer: 451). There are several explanations. An analysis as δασ-πλῆτις looks nice formally, but a connection with πλησίον, ἄ-πλητος, Dor. ἄ-πλᾶτος 'unapproachable', πλᾶτις 'spouse' (Bechtel 1914) seems strange. The first member must then be connected either to δασύς (Osthoff *MU* 2 (1879): 46ff.), or to *δα- 'house' in δά-πεδον. Differently, Solmsen *RhM* 60 (1905): 497ff.; Schwyzer: 451.

δασύς [adj.] 'hairy'; 'aspirated' as a grammatical term (Od., IA). ◁?▷

•COMP Compounded with ἀμφί- (Hom.), ἐν- (Dsc.), ἐπί- (Thphr.), ὑπέρ- (X.), ὑπό- (Dsc.).

•DER δασύτης 'hairiness, aspiration' (Arist.), δάσος [n.] 'thicket, shagginess' (Men.), δάσυμα eye-disease = τράχωμα (Sever. Med.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.); δασυλλίς [f.] hypocoristic of bears (*EM* 248, 55); Δασύλλιος epithet of Dionysus (Paus.; acc. to *EM* l.c. παρὰ τὸ δασύνειν τὰς ἀμπέλους, 'because vine-branches are rough'). Denominative δασύνομαι, -ω 'become, make hairy' (Ar.) with δασυντής, -τικός 'aspirating' (gramm.), δασυσμός (Dsc.). Note δασκόν· δασύ (H.); unless from δάσκιον as per Latte. On ▸δάσκιλλος, see s.v.

•ETYM The old connection with Lat. *dēnsus* depends on the development of -σ- after sonantic *n̥*. Hitt. *daššu-* 'heavy, strong' used to be added here too, but it is now rather connected with Gr. διδάσκω 'learn' by Kloekhorst 2008, who reconstructs **de/oNs-u-* (cf. also ▸δαῆναι). A pre-form **dntu-* vel sim. was proposed because of PNs like Delph. Δατυς and Phth. Δατυου, but the -τυ- in these names cannot reconciled with the -συ- in δασύς: the latter cannot reflect **-tu-*.

δατέομαι [v.] 'to divide' (Il.). ◁IE **dh₂-* 'divide'▷

•VAR Aor. δάσ(σ)ασθαι, perf. δέδασμαι; from the aor. the new present δάσσω (Call. *Fr. anon.* 145).

•DIAL Myc. *e-pi-de-da-to* /epi-dedastoi/, *e-pi-da-to* /epi-dastos/.

•COMP Compounds with ἀνα- (ἀναδασμός 'redistribution'), ἀπο- (-δάσιμος, -δασμός), δια-, ἐν-, κατα-, ποτ-.

•DER δατητής 'divider' (A.), δατήριος 'dividing' (A. *Th.* 711; haplological for *δατητήριος), δάτησις (Poll.). δασμός 'distribution, tribute' (Il.) < *δατ-σμός, δάσμευσις 'distribution' (X.), δάσματα· μερίσματα 'parts' (H.); δαστήρ name of an official (Aetol.). Lengthened present δατύσσειν· λαφύσσειν, ἐσθίειν 'to lap, eat' (H.), iterative preterite δασάσκετο (I 333).

•ETYM No exact parallel. The verb contains the zero grade δᾰ- < *dh_2- of the root of ►δῆμος, δᾶμος, and ►δαίομαι. For the present formation, cf. πατέομαι and Schwyzer: 705f. and 676.

δαῦκος [m.] name of several Umbellates (Athamanta Cretensis, Peucedanum Cervaria, Daucus Carota; Hp., Dsc., H.; see Andrews *Class. Phil.* 44 (1949): 185). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also δαῦκον (Thphr.), δαύκειον (Nic.), δαυκίον (*Gp.*); also δαῦχος (below), δαυχμός 'Cretensis' (Nic.), see also on ►δάφνη 'laurel'.
•DER δαυκίτης (οἶνος), see Redard 1949: 96.
•ETYM The plants are characterized by their sharp smell and the bitter, burning taste of the root, such that a connection with δαίω 'kindle, burn' has been proposed; see Frisk for older lit., where the scholia to Nic. *Th.* 94 on δαυχμός (v.l. δαῦκος) are mentioned: Πλούταρχος πλείονα μέν φησι γένη τῆς βοτάνης εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς δυνάμεως ἰδίωμα δριμὺ καὶ πυρῶδες 'Pl. says that there is more than one species of the plant, the common peculiarity of the meaning being "sharp and fiery"'. However, the name of the Daukos plants rather derives from their gummy sap, which is collected from certain species and which burns with a bright flame; cf. δαυχμόν· εὔκαυστον ξύλον δάφνης 'well-burning wood of the laurel'. Note the form καῦκον in Ps.-Dsc. 2, 139, which was influenced by κάω, καῦσαι. Mediterranean origin is quite possible. Under ►δάφνη, it is argued that this is one and the same word; in addition, δαῦκος and δαῦχος are actually identical, too: δαύκου· τὸ μέντοι δαύκου καὶ δαύχου γράφεται, ἐπὶ τινων δὲ καὶ γλύκου H.).

δαυλός [adj.] 'thick, shaggy' (A.). ◁?/PG▷
•VAR δαῦλος (Paus. Gr.).
•COMP ἔνδαυλον· λοχ<μ>ώδες, δασύ 'overgrown with bushes, rough' (H.).
•DER Δαυλίς in Phocis?
•ETYM Cf. the antonyms ψωλός, ψιλός for the suffix (Chantraine 1933: 238). Direct connection with δασύς is impossible. If a suffix -τ- is assumed for ►δασύς, then δαυλός < *$d\underline{n}su$-lo- could remain with Lat. *dēnsus*.

δαύω [v.] 'to sleep' (Sapph. 83), ἔδαυσεν· ἐκοιμήθη 'he fell asleep'; ἀδαύως· ἐγριηγόρως 'awake' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Improbably, Güntert 1914: 163. No better is the hypothesis of Bechtel 1921, 1: 118 (that the word is related to Skt. *doṣā-* 'evening'). See under ►δείελος.

δάφνη [f.] 'laurel' (Od.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Variants: λάφνη· δάφνη. Περγαῖοι (H.) and δαύχνα (Thess., Cypr.) with Δαυχναῖος (Aetol.); also δαυχμός 'Cretensis' (Nic., H.; see δαῦκος).
•DER δαφνίς 'laurel' (Hp.; cf. κεδρίς and Chantraine 1933: 343), δαφνών 'laurel wood' (Str.), δαφνῖτις 'Kassia of laurel, etc.' (Dsc.), -ίτης (οἶνος, *Gp.*), epithet of Apollo in Syracuse (H., *EM*). Adjectives: δαφνώδης 'laurel-like' (E.), δάφνινος 'from laurel' (Thphr.), δαφνιακός (*AP*), δαφνήεις 'rich in laurels' (Nonn.), δαφναῖος 'belonging to the laurel' (Nonn.), also an epithet of Apollo (*AP*, Nonn.), Δαφναία epithet of

Artemis in Sparta (Paus.), also Δαφνία (Olympia, Str.). Δάφνις [m.] PN, Δαφνοῦς TN.

•ETYM While it is obviously in some fashion related to Lat. *laurus*, δάφνη is a typically Pre-Greek word that showing several types of variation. The variants δαφν- or δαυκ/χ-(ν/μι)- can be explained by assuming a proto-form **dak^{w}-(n)-* (note that there is no *λαυφ-, see *Pre-Greek* B 1). Thus, δαφν- and δαυκ/χ-ν/μι- were one and the same word originally.

δαφοινός ⇒δα- and φοινός.

δαψιλής ⇒δάπτω.

δέ [pcl.] adversative and copulative: 'but, and' (Il.). ◁IE **de* deictic pcl.▷

•VAR Myc. *-de*, e.g. *da-mo-de* /dāmos de/ 'but the people'.

•ETYM Probably from ►δή by means of vowel reduction, following the functional bleaching, as per Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 6 (1949): 85ff. Because of Myc. *-de*, the connection as **g^{w}e* with OCS *že* 'δέ' (as defended by e.g. Delbrück 1893-1900(2): 502ff.) is impossible.

-δε [postp.] local (deictic) postposition governing the accusative of direction, originally accentuated δέ (A. D. *Adv.* 179, 5; 181,13, Hdn. 1, 498), later enclitic as opposed to δέ 'but' (Il.). ◁IE **de* deictic pcl.▷

•DIAL Myc. *ku-do-ni-ja-de* /Kudōnijān-de/; *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* /harmoteiōna-de/ 'to the wheelwright'

•ETYM Identical with (ablauting) OCS *do* 'towards', Gm., e.g. OE *to*, OHG *zuo* 'to' (IE **dō*); further, Lat. *in-de* and *en-do*, *indu*. The deictic function of -δε is also observed in ὅ-δε, etc. See also ►δεῦρο.

δέατο [v.] 'seemed', isolated imperfect 3sg. (ζ 242). ◁IE **deih$_2$-* 'shine'▷

•VAR Besides δεάμην· ἐδοκίμαζον, ἐδόξαζον 'I approved, supposed' and δέαται· φαίνεται, δοκεῖ 'it appears, seems' (H.); Arcadian subj. δεατοι and (aor.) δεα[ση]τοι. Here perhaps also the aorist δοάσσατο 'seemed', subj. δοάσσεται (Hom.) for *δεάσσατο, -εται after ἔδοξε 'he expected' (Wackernagel 1916: 61f.), but cf. τροχάζω 'I run quickly' from τρέχω 'I run'; see Ruijgh 1957: 130.

•ETYM The disyllabic root **deih$_2$-* is continued in δέᾰ-το and in the adjective ►δῆλος < *δέα-λος. There has been some debate on whether, in *-ViHC-, the laryngeal assimilated to the yod or not (cf. the thematic optative in -οι-). If so, then our form may continue a thematic verb in **deih$_2$-e-to*. Sanskrit has *dī-de-ti* 'shines', ipv. *di-dī-hí*. See ►δῖος, ►Ζεύς, ►δέελος.

δέδαε ⇒δαῆναι.

δέδια •VAR Also δεδίσκομαι, δεδίττομαι. ⇒δείδω.

δέελος [m.] 'binding'(?), only K 466. ◁IE **deh$_1$-* 'bind'▷

•VAR δέελος· δεσμός, ἅμμα 'band, bond' (H.).

•ETYM Although δέελος has traditionally been identified with the adjective δῆλος 'clear', even since the ancient grammarians, Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 319 (see

►δῆλος) has convincingly argued that this is wrong. According to him, it is rather a noun in the passage of the Iliad. δέελος is derived from δέω 'to bind' with the suffix -ελο-; its meaning could have been 'tie' (cf. the gloss by H.; for another, less plausible option, see Ruijgh l.c.).

δεῖ ⇒ δέω 2, δέομαι.

δειδίσκομαι [v.] 'to greet, welcome' (Hom.). ◁IE [188] **deik-* 'show'▷

•VAR δειδέχαται, -το, δεικ-νύ-μενος, δεικ-ανόωντο and δε(ι)-δισκ-όμενος.

•ETYM These forms were corrected into *δηδέχαται, etc. by Wackernagel *BB* 4 (1878): 268ff., who connected them with Skt. *dāśnóti* and wanted to restore the (supposed) intensive reduplication in the Greek form (see Beekes 1969: 114). On the use of the different forms, see Tichy *Glotta* 54 (1976): 71-84. Forssman *Sprache* 24 (1978): 3-24 showed that δει-, consistently found in the texts, is the correct reading. The form δει-δεχ- is the most difficult and replaces δει-δικ- (Forssman §31). The other forms replace *δει-δικ-; the original meaning was 'to show'. Cf. also ►διδέχαται.

δείδω [v.] 'to fear' (Il.). ◁IE **duei-* 'fear'▷

•VAR Old perfect continuing *δέ-δϝοι-α; plur. δείδιμεν < *δέ-δϝι-μεν, with a new sing. δείδια (Il.), Att. δέδιμεν, δέδια; new perfect Hom. δείδοικα, Att. δέδοικα < *δέ-δϝοι-κα (doubtful is δεδροικώς [for δεδϝοι-]· <δε>δοικώς H.?), with a new present δεδοίκω, fut. δεδοικήσω (Sicily); sigmatic aorist δεῖσαι (Il.) < *δϝεῖ-σαι (ἔδδεισε < *ἔ-δϝει-σε), them. root aor. in περὶ γὰρ δίε (Ε 566, etc.) and δίον (Χ 251) < *δϝί-ε, -ον (Il.); see on ►δίεμαι; fut. δείσομαι (Il.).

•DER Το δείδω: δειδ-ήμων (Γ 56, Nonn.) after the adjectives in -ήμων (δαή-μων, etc.). Το δεῖσαι: δεισίλος· δειλός 'wretched' (H.); to δέδοικα: δεδείκελον· ἀεὶ φοβούμενον, δειλόν 'frightened all the time' (H.) Expressive deverbative δειδίσσομαι (epic), Att. δεδίττομαι, aor. δειδίξασθαι, δεδίξασθαι 'be frightened', first < *δεδϝικ̯ομαι, unless analogical after the verbs in *-(ί)σσω. Innovation after the σκ-verbs δεδίσκομαι (Ar.). Cf. also ►δέος, ►δεῖμα, ►δειλός, ►δεινός.

•ETYM δείδω is related to Av. *duuaēϑā* 'threat', and, with an *s*-extension, Skt. *dvéṣṭi* 'hate'. Possibly, Lat. *dīrus* 'fearful' is to be connected (if a dialectal form from **du̯ei-ro-* or **du̯eis-o-*; cf. De Vaan 2008). Further related to ►δίς 'twice', ►δύω 1 'two'; see Benveniste *Word* 10 (1954): 254f. The comparison with Arm. *erknč'im*, etc. 'to fear' is rejected by Kortlandt *AAL* 10 (1989): 43-52.

δείελος [adj.] 'of the afternoon, of the evening', [m.] 'evening' (Od.). ◁?▷

•VAR -όν Hdn. Also δείελον [n.] 'evening meal' (Call.); denominative δειελιήσας 'after the evening meal' (ρ 599; after ἑστιήσας).

•DER δείλη [f.] 'afternoon, evening' (also Φ 111, unless to be read δειέλη, Wackernagel 1916: 166; Hdt.) with δειλινός (LXX), δειελινός (Theoc.). Doubtful denominative δείλετο (η 289; read by Aristarchus for δύσετο); see Schwyzer 722f. Uncertain εὔδειλος (Alc. *POxy.* 2165 I 3), of λόφος; see Gentili *Maia* 3 (1950): 255f. Cf. εὐδείελος.

•ETYM The word is not related to Skt. *doṣā́-* 'evening', etc., nor to δῆλος. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 319 argues that δείελος must be connected with Myc. *e-u-de-we-ro* /eu-deiwelos/.

δεικανόωντο ⇒δηδέχαται.

δείκνυμι [v.] 'to show' (Il.). ◁IE **deiḱ-* 'show'▷

•VAR Also them. δεικνύω; Ion. δέκνυμι, Cret. δίκνυτι, aor. δεῖξαι.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παραδείκνυμι, etc.

•DER δεῖξις, frequent compounds ἀπό-, ἔν-, ἐπί-δειξις, etc. (IA); δεῖγμα 'proof', παρά-, ἔν-, ἐπί-δειγμα, etc. (IA), with παρα-δειγματικός, δειγματίζω, δειγματισμός, etc. (Arist.). Agent nouns: δείκτης, ἐν-, προ-δείκτης, etc. (Hell.) with δεικτικός, ἀπο-, ἐν-δεικτικός, etc. (Att., Arist.). Nomen loci: δεικτήριον 'scene' (pap., *EM*) with δεικτηριάς [f.] 'mime' (Plb.). Isolated δείκηλον '(mimic) performance, picture, sculpture' (Hdt.; see Chantraine 1933: 242, Schwyzer: 484) with δεικηλίκτᾱς (Dor.) 'actor, ὑποκριτής' (Plu.); also δείκελον (Democr.) and δείκανον (*EM*). See on ▸δίκη.

•ETYM With the exception of Cret. δίκνυτι and the noun δίκη, the Greek νυ-present with secondary full grade has ousted all other ablaut forms. Outside Greek, we find thematic presents, e.g. Lat. *dīcō* (old *deicō*) 'speak', Go. *ga-teihan* 'show, make clear', OHG *zīhan*, MoHG *zeihen* 'accuse', Skt. *diśáti* 'show, demonstrate'. Other formations are the Sanskrit intensive *dédiṣṭe*, the Iranian yod-present Av. *disiieiti* 'show', and deverbatives as Lat. *dīcāre*, OHG *zeigōn* 'show'. Cf. in general Gonda 1929. Hitt. *tekkuššiie/a-*^{zi} 'to show' is not related (see Kloekhorst 2008). See also ▸δηδέχαται.

δείλη •VAR Also δείλετο. ⇒δείελος.

δειλός [adj.] 'cowardly, miserable' (Il.). ◁IE **duei-* 'fear'▷

•COMP ἄ-, θρασύ-, πάν-, περί-.

•DER δειλία 'cowardice, uselessness' (IA) with δειλιάω 'fear' (LXX), ἀπο-δειλιάω (Pl.) and (ἀπο-)δειλίασις (Plb.); δειλότης (H.) and denominative δειλαίνω 'be fearful' (Arist.), δειλόομαι (S. *Ichn.* 150?, LXX); δειλιαίνω 'make fearful' (LXX). Expressive δείλαιος 'wretched' (Emp.), δειλαιότης (sch.); δείλακρος (Ar.; Frisk 1934: 63f.), δειλακρίων (Ar.), δειλακρίνας (*EM*).

•ETYM Usually analyzed as *δϝει-λός or *δϝει-ελός, a stem in -λο- beside *δϝεῖος > δέος, comparable to the pair νεφέλη: νέφος. However, Kuiper *Glotta* 75 (1999): 63-67 finds the meaning 'cowardly' only in N 278; elsewhere in Homer, it means 'vile, worthless, miserable, wretched'. Moreover, the initial δ- does not make position, and out of 36 instances, δειλός is never found in hexameter-initial position, which shows that it was probably *δεελός. Therefore, he prefers a connection with Skt. *dīná-* 'weak, minor, miserable' < **dih*$_1$*-no-*; δειλός then reflects **deih*$_1$*-(e)lo-*.

δεῖμα [n.] 'fear' (Il.). ◁IE **duei-* 'fear'▷

•DER δειμαλέος 'timid' ([Arist.] Phgn., Mosch.; cf. θαρσαλέος, σμερδαλέος, etc.), δειματόεις (*AP*), δειματηρός (A. D.), δειματώδης (Aret.), Δειματίας epithet of Zeus (D. H.), Δείμας PN (cf. Schwyzer: 526). Denominative δειμαίνω 'be afraid' (*h. Ap.*),

δειματόομαι, -όω 'to get, make frightened' (Hdt.) with δειμάτωσις. Often personified as Δεῖμος 'Fear' (Il.).
•ETYM From *δϝεῖ-μα, related to ►δείδω.

δεῖνα, ὁ (ἡ, τό) [?] 'N. N., mr. so-and-so' (Att.). ◄?►
•VAR τοῦ δεῖνος, οἱ δεῖνες, etc., sometimes indecl. τοῦ δεῖνα (more forms in Schwyzer: 612), always with the article.
•ETYM Unknown. The explanation from plur. *τάδε ἔνα (cf. ἐκεῖνος) 'this (and) that' > *ταδεῖνα, with analogical ὁ δεῖνα, has now been abandoned: the singular forms are much more common than the plural forms. Biraud 1994: 57-69 proposes that it consists of **de* (proximate deixis) + pronominal **en-* (with distant deixis) and final adverbial -α, lit. 'Mister-this-or-that-way'.

δεινός [adj.] 'fearful, terrible', also 'awesome, strong, extraordinary', etc. (Il.). ◄IE **duei-no-* 'fearful'►
•COMP πάν-, περί-, ὑπέρ-.
•DER δεινότης (Att.), especially as a rhetorical term. Denominative δεινόω 'to exaggerate, magnify' (Th.), together with δείνωσις (Pl.) with δεινωτικός (Corn.) and δείνωμα (Phld.); δεινάζω 'to be in fear' (LXX). PN Δϝενίας (Cor.). Expressive Δεινάκων (inscr.; Schwyzer: 417).
•ETYM From *δϝει-νός, related to ►δείδω. The pair κλεινός (< *κλεϝεσ-νός): ἀ-κλε(ϝ)ής enables an alternative analysis of δεινός beside *ἀ-δϝειής (> ἀ-δεής): namely, from a basis *δϝειεσ-νός, with early contraction.

δεῖπνον [n.] 'meal' (Il.). ◄PG?►
•COMP With -δεῖπνον as a second member: 1. substantives ἀριστό-, λογό-, ψευδό-; 2. Bahuvrīhis in -δειπνος like ἄ-, σύν-, φιλό-. As a first member: δείπνηστος (-ός), scil. καιρός 'time for eating' (ρ 170), from δεῖπνον and ἐδ- 'eat' (with compositional lengthening), with το- as in δορπηστός (s.v. ►δόρπον) and ►ἄριστον; also δειπνηστύς 'id.' (H.).
•DER Diminutive δειπνίον (Ar.), δειπνάριον (Diph., *AP*). δειπνῖτις (στολή) 'cloth for meal' (D. C.). δειπνοσύνη = δεῖπνον (Matro; parodizing); Δειπνεύς [m.] a hero in Achaia (Ath.). Denominative δειπνέω 'to have δεῖπνον' (Il.), whence δειπνητής 'guest' (Plb.) with δειπνητικός (Ar.) and δειπνητήριον 'dining room' (J.). δειπνίζω 'to entertain (a guest)' (Od.) with δειπνιστήριον 'dining room' (Mantinea I[a]); on δειπνέω and δειπνίζω see Schwyzer: 736.
•ETYM No etymology; perhaps of Pre-Greek origin. Fur.: 339 assumes that it derives from *δαιπνον and compares ►δάπτω, Lat. *daps, damnum*, etc.

δειράς, -άδος [f.] 'height, mountain ridge' (*h. Ap.*). The exact mg. is uncertain; see DELG. ◄PG?(S)►
•DIAL Cret. δηράς.
•COMP As a second member in ὑψί-δειρος.
•DER Without suffix (or from δειρή; see below): δειραῖος 'hilly' (Lyc.). Also δεῖρος· λόφος. καὶ ἀνάντης τόπος 'ridge; steep place' (H.); derived from ὑψί-δειρος?

•ETYM On the assumption that δειράς goes back to *δερσάς, it was connected with Skt. *dṛṣád-* 'rock, millstone', but this etymology must be abandoned because *-*ad-* is not an IE suffix (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 741f.). Alternatively, Ehrlich *KZ* 39 (1906): 569f. posited a pre-form *$*g^{w}$erio-*, relating it to ►βορέας, etc. (s.v.; also Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 248). However, Miller *Glotta* 54 (1976): 159ff. showed that the Attic word is epic, and probably Homeric in origin, so that it can reflect δερϝ-αδ- (which also matches Cret. δηράς), which makes a connection with Att. δέρη 'neck, ridge' possible (for the semantics, cf. the gloss δεῖρος· λόφος H.). Although there are no other indications, the suffix may point to Pre-Greek origin. See ►δέρη.

δειρή ⇒ δέρη.

δειριᾶν [v.] · λοιδορεῖσθαι. Λάκωνες 'to abuse [Lacon.]'; δειρεῖοι· λοίδοροι 'railers'. οἱ αὐτοί; δερίαι· λοιδορίαι 'reproaches' (H.; Bechtel 1921, 2: 370 corrects into δεριᾶν, δεριαῖοι.; van Herwerden 1910: 192 into δηριῆν, etc.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Bezzenberger *BB* 16 (1890): 248 and Zupitza 1896: 78 have implausibly suggested connections with Skt. *járate* 'crackles, roars, sounds', OHG *queran* 'tipple', etc.; so far, the word remains without etymology. See also ►λοιδορέω.

δεῖσα [f.] 'slime, filth' (pap. II^{a}, Suid., *EM*), δείσ-οζος 'having a bad smell' (*AP*). ◅?▻

•COMP Compound ἄδειος· ἀκάθαρτος. Κύπριοι 'filthy (Cypr.)' (H.) with loss of -σ-, as is regular in Cypr.

•DER δεισαλέος (Clem. Al., Suid., H.), δεισαλία = ἀκαθαρσία (Thd., H.); cf. Debrunner *IF* 23 (1908-1909): 23f. and 38.

•ETYM Unknown. Solmsen 1909: 236f. connects the word with OCS *židъkъ* 'succosus, ὑδαρός' and Ru. *žídkij* 'thin, fluid, slim'. See also Lasso de la Vega *Emerita* 22 (1954): 89.

δεισίας [acc.pl.f.] κρεῶν 'of meat' (*IG* 2^{2}, 1356 [Attica IV$^{a\ init}$]). ◅?▻

•VAR Also δεισιάδα· τὴν μοῖραν 'lot', οἱ δὲ διμοιρίαν 'double share' (H.), cf. διχάς 'half', μονάς 'unit', etc. (Chantraine 1933: 358).

•ETYM Unknown.

δέκα [num.] 'ten' (Il.). ◅IE *$*dek\acute{m}$* 'ten'▻

•COMP 'eleven', 'twelve': ἕν-, δώ-, also δυώ-, δυό-.

•DER Inherited (see below) δέκατος (Arc. Lesb. δέκοτος, cf. Arc. δυώδεκο) 'tenth'; fem. δεκάτη (sc. μερίς) 'the tenth' (IA) with δεκατεύω 'to exact tithe' (IA), with δεκάτευμα (Call.), δεκάτευσις (D. H.), δεκατεία (Plu.), δεκατευτής (Harp.) and δεκατευτήριον 'custom house' (X.); rare δεκατόω 'id.' (*Ep. Hebr.*); δεκατός 'sentenced to a fine of one tenth of one's property' (Cyren.), haplological for δεκα[τω]τός or δεκα[τευ]τός; δεκάτη (scil. ἡμέρα) 'the tenth day of the month or after the birth of a child, when the name was given' (IA) with δεκαταῖος (Pl.) and δεκατισταί (Bithynia; see Chantraine 1933: 318f.). δεκάς, -άδος [f.] 'decade, group of ten, especially soldiers', δεκαδεύς 'member of a decade' (X.) also 'president of a college of ten men' (Troezen), δεκαδικός (Herm. Alex. in *Phdr.*), δεκαδιστής, -ίστρια (Delos) = δεκατιστής; Thphr. *Char.* 27, 11. δεκανός 'decurio, surveyor' with δεκανία, δεκανικός (pap., cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 88), Macedonian (von Wilamowitz 1932:

401²). Isolated denominative ►δεκάζω 'to bribe (the judges)' (Att.) whence δεκασμός (D. H.). Uncertain OAtt. δεκᾶν (*IG* 1², 919).

•ETYM Gr. δέκα, Lat. *decem*, Skt. *dáśa*, Go. *taihun*, etc. derive from IE **déḱm*. Besides this, there is a collective formation in *-t-* (Sommer 1950: 21¹; also on δεκάκις, -ιν), seen in Skt. *daśát*, Lith. *dẽšimt*, OCS *desętь*, and Alb. *dhjetë* 'ten', as well as in the ordinals δέκατος, Lith. *dešiñtas*, OCS *desętъ*, Go. *taihunda*, etc., IE **déḱmto-*. Lat. *decimus*, OIr. *dechmad*, and Skt. *daśamá-*, however, derive from **deḱmHo-*. The collective δεκάς is a Greek innovation: on the suffix (= Hitt. *-ant/d-*), see Sommer *MSS* 4 (1954): 1ff. See also ►εἴκοσι and ►ἑκατόν.

δεκάζω [v.] 'to bribe (a judge)' (D. H.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM From δέκομαι, in the sense 'to make accept'? See Oldfather in *PW* 13: 2398 and Szemerényi 1964: 126-8.

δέκομαι ⇒ δέχομαι.

δεκτή [f.] · χλαῖνα, χλανίς 'upper-garment' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. von Blumenthal 1930: 25¹ implausibly assumed dissimilation of *τεκτή, which would then be related to Lat. *tegō*, *toga*.

δέλεαρ, -ατος [n.] 'decoy, bait' (IA). ◅IE? **g^{w}elh$_{1}$-ur*▻

•VAR Plur. δείλατα, also δέλευρα (see below).

•DER Denominative δελεάζω 'entice' (IA) with δελέασμα (Ar.), δελεασμάτιον (Philox.), δελεασμός (Arist.) and the instrument names δελεάστρα 'baited trap' (Cratin.), δελέαστρον 'id.' (Nicoph.); with δελαστρεύς 'fisher with baited trap' (Nic.; metri causa for *δελεα-, see Boßhardt 1942: 68). With the same mg. δείλατα [pl.] (Call. *Fr.* 458), δελήτιον (Sophr.; δελῆτι· δελέατι H.), δέλετρον (Numen. *apud* Ath., Opp.; after the instr. names in -τρον), δέλος (*PMagPar.* 1, 939, Eust.; innovated after the neuters in -ος).

•ETYM The plural δέλευρα (Ath.) suggests that δέλεαρ goes back to an original *r/n*-stem *δέλε-ϝαρ; cf. the plur. ἄλευρα to *ἄλε-ϝαρ. The root form δελε- also occurs in δελήτιον < *δελεάτιον and in recent δέλετρον (see Chantraine 1933: 332f.). Late δείλατα, the only deviating form, may derive from *δέλ-ϝατα. Besides δελε-, we find the root form βλη- in βλῆρ (Alc.), from *βλῆ-(ϝ)αρ or *βλέ-(ϝ)αρ. The pair βλῆρ ~ δέλεαρ points to **g^{w}(e)lh$_{1}$-ur* with initial **g^{w}-*, but further cognates are unknown. Any connection with ►βιβρώσκω (s.v.; allegedly with ρ > λ dissimalation) can be excluded because that word has a root-final *h*$_{3}$ instead. Hardly better is the suggestion to connect Arm. *klanem*, aor. *ekul* 'to devour', Ru. *glotát'* 'to swallow', Lat. *gula*, *gluttio* 'to devour'. On the basis of the similarity in form, one might consider a connection with ►βάλλω instead (p.c. M. de Vaan).

δέλετρον 1 ⇒ δέλεαρ.

δέλετρον 2 [n.] 'torch' (Timach. *apud* Ath. 15, 699e, H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Osthoff *ZONF* 13 (1937): 6 connects the word with Skt. *jválati* 'to burn fiercely, blaze'; this is correctly rejected by Hofmann (ibid.).

δελκανός [m.] an unknown fish (Euthyd. *apud* Ath. 3, 118b). ◅GR▻

•ETYM From the river Δέλκων? Cf. Δέλκος· λίμνη ἰχθυοφόρος περὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην 'a creek rich in fish around Thracia' (H.); cf. Strömberg 1943: 85.

δέλλιθες [f.] · σφῆκες, ἢ ζῷον ὅμοιον μελίσσῃ 'wasps, or an animal similar to a bee' (H., Hdn. Gr. 1, 89). ◁PG?▷

•DER δελλίθια· ἀνθρήνια. οἱ δὲ κηρία 'wasp's nests; others honeycombs' (H.).

•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of ὄρνῑ-θες. There seem no reason to connect it with ►βελόνη. The geminate λλ could continue a phoneme *l'*, in which case the word would be Pre-Greek. Forms from Lower Italy are mentioned in Rohlfs 1930: 520.

δέλτα [n.] 'the letter delta, delta of a river'. ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR Gen. δέλτατος Democr. 20; further uninflected.

•DER δελτωτός 'formed like the δέλτα' (Arat., Eratosth.).

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *dāleth*, properly 'gate'; see Schwyzer: 140 γ.

δέλτος [f.] 'writing tablet' (IA). ◁LW Sem.▷

•DIAL Cypr. δάλτος.

•DER δελτίον (Hdt.), δελτάριον (Plb.). Denominative δελτόομαι 'write on a tablet' (A. *Supp.* 179). See ►ἀδεαλτωhαιε.

•ETYM Note that βύβλος 'papyrus' is also fem. (Schwyzer 1950: 34⁴). The old idea to connect δαιδάλλω, Lat. *dolāre* (and even e.g. OHG *zelt* 'tent' < PGm. **teldá-* [n.]), which takes Cypr. δάλτος as an old zero grade variant, is obsolete; the difference in meaning is too large. Semitic origin is mostly accepted now (Lewy 1895: 171, E. Masson 1967: 61-65). The Cypriot form confirms this. Hebr. has *delet* 'gate', plur. 'columns of writing', as well as 'tablet' (Lachish); cf. also Ugar. and Phoen. *dlt*. Were δάλκιον· πινάκιον, οἷον γραμματίδιον both 'small tablet' (H.) formed after πινάκιον? Latte corrects it to δάλτιον, which is better.

δέλφαξ, -ακος [f.] ([m.]) 'mother swine', as opposed to χοῖρος 'young pig' (IA). ◁IE **g*^{w}*elb*^{h}*u-* 'womb'▷

•DER Diminutive δελφάκιον (Att.) and δελφακίς (pap. and Ostr.); also δελφακίνη 'id.' (Epich. 124, 2; Chantraine 1933: 204), adjective δελφάκειος (Pherecr.). Denominative δελφακόομαι 'become a δ.' (Ar. *Ach.* 786).

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. κόραξ, σκύλαξ (Schwyzer: 497, Chantraine 1933: 377ff.), but otherwise the exact origin is unclear. Probably from a word for 'womb' (δελφύς, *δέλφος? See ►ἀδελφός). Cf. ►δελφίς, ►Δελφοί.

δέλφιξ ⇒ Δελφοι.

δελφίς, -ῖνος [m.] 'dolphin' (Il.). ◁IE **g*^{w}*elb*^{h}*u-* 'womb'▷

•VAR Late nom. -ίν.

•DIAL Lesb. βέλφινες (*EM*).

•DER δελφινίσκος (Arist.) and δελφινάριον (Hero). Δελφίνιος "dolphin-god", epithet of Apollo (*h. Ap.*); Δελφίνιον temple of Ap. Delphinios in Athens (Att.); also Δελφίδιος (Knossos). δελφίνιον and δελφινιάς (Ps.-Dsc.) plant name (after the form

of the leaves, Strömberg 1940: 42); δελφίνειος (Cyran.) and δελφινίς (Luc.). Denominative δελφινίζω 'to dive like a dolphin' (Luc.).
•ETYM Cf. ἀκτίς, γλωχίς, etc. for the inflexion. Connected to a word for 'womb'; see ►δελφύς and ►ἀδελφεός. Thus, the dolphin was named after its anatomical characteristics.

Δελφοί [m.pl.] name of the inhabitants of Delphi (also attributive) and of the town itself (*h. Hom.*). ◅IE *$g^{w}elb^{h}u$- 'womb'▻
•DIAL Aeol. Βελφοί; secondary dialectal forms are Δαλφοί, Δολφοί, Δερφοί (Schwyzer: 205, 213, 275).
•DER Fem. Δελφίς 'Delphian' (Delph., S.), adjective Δελφικός (S.); δέλφιξ, -ῖκος 'table made after the Delphic tripod' (Plu., *EM*), = Lat. (*mensa*) *Delphica*.
•ETYM Acc. to Lundahl *Namn och bygd* 31 (1943): 42ff., the place was originally called *Δελφύς 'womb' after the shape of the land. The inhabitants were called *Δελφϝ-οί > Δελφοί (cf. *ἀστϝ-ός to ἄστυ); this form was then later used for the place as well.

δελφύς, -ύος [f.] 'womb' (Hp.). ◅IE *$g^{w}elb^{h}u$- 'womb'▻
•VAR Dor. δελφύα [f.] (Greg. Cor.; after μήτρα 'womb'?).
•DER Also δολφός· ἡ μήτρα 'id.' (H.).
•ETYM Beside the feminine word for 'womb', there is the zero grade neuter Av. *gərəbuš-* 'young animal'; therefore, for δελφύς an *s*-stem may be considered as well (Schwyzer: 516). δολφός corresponds to Skt. *gárbha-*, Av. *garəβa-* [m.] 'womb'. The Greek form with a labiovelar (*$g^{w}elb^{h}u$-, *$g^{w}olb^{h}o$-) does not accord well with the *k- in Gm. forms like OHG *kilbur* [n.] 'ewe lamb', OHG *kalb* '*calf*', etc., which therefore have to remain apart, unless we assume dissimilation $g^{w} > g$.

δέμας ⇒ δέμω.

δεμελέας [acc.pl.f.] 'leeches' (Epid.). ◅?▻
•DER Also δεμβλεῖς· βδέλλαι 'leeches' (H.; with -μβλ- from -μλ-). But the gloss stands between δέμει and δέμνια, so perhaps with Bücheler and Latte for (*)δεμελεῖς?
•ETYM Unexplained. There are attempts to connect the word with Lat. *lumbrīcus* 'intestinal worm' in Bq and WH. Connection with Alb. *dhemjë* 'maggot' is doubtful.

δέμνια [n.pl.] 'bed' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Rarely sing. -ιον.
•ETYM If δέμνια originally indicated the connective elements of the bed, we can consider a connection with κρή-δεμνον 'headband'. Then δέμνια could be a derivation in -ιο- to an *n*-stem *δέμα (see ►δέω 'bind'). δέμω 'to build' has also been adduced (Meister *BB* 11 (1886): 176).

δέμω [v.] 'to build' (Il.). ◅IE *$demh_{2}$- 'build'▻
•VAR Aor. δεῖμαι, perf. med. δέδμημαι, Dor. δέδμᾱμαι.
•DIAL Myc. *de-me-o-te* /deme^{h}ontes/ ptc. fut. *to-ko-do-mo* /toik^{h}o-domos/, *na-u-do-mo* /nau-domos/, *e-te-do-mo* /entesdomos/?

•COMP Old compounds νεό-δμᾱτος, νεό-δμη-τος (Pi.). See also ►μεσόδμη. Agent noun οἰκοδόμος, to which οἰκοδομέω 'to build'; adjectival ναο-, πυργο-δόμος 'building of temple, fortifications'.

•DER δέμας (only nom. and acc.) 'bodily shape, outward appearance' (Il.) with analogical -ας, δομή 'id.' (A. R.), also = 'τεῖχος, οἰκοδομή' (H., uncertain J. *AJ* 15, 11, 3) with δομαῖος 'useful for building' (A. R.); see also on ►δόμος, ►δῶμα, ►δῶ.

Deverbative aor. δωμῆσαι, -ήσασθαι (A. R.; δωμήσουσιν· οἰκοδομήσουσι H.), from *δωμάω (or *δωμέω?, Schwyzer: 719), with δώμημα (Lycia), ἐνδώμησις (Smyrna I^{P}, etc.), δώμησις, δωμητύς H., δωμήτωρ (Man.). A short vowel appears in some late forms: δομέοντι· οἰκοδομοῦντι H., δεδομημένος (J., Aristid.) with δόμησις, δόμημα (J.), δομήτωρ (Anon. *Prog.* in Rh.); from οἰκο-δομέω (IA)?

•ETYM The present δέμω has a parallel in the Gm. verb Go. *ga-timan*, OS *teman*, OHG *zeman* 'to befit'. Dor. νεόδμᾱτος, δέδμᾱμαι are hyperdorisms, as the root had *-h_1-*: see Beekes 1969: 291 add. to p. 202, who adduces spellings with η in Pindar; likewise Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 316, who points to Myc. *de-me-o-te*. Further connected is HLuw. *ta+mi-ha* 'I built'.

Different from the reconstruction that the Greek data require (in my view), is that of LIV^{2} with *-h_2 (s.v. 1. *$demh_2$-). See further ►δεσπότης.

δέν [n.] 'something' (Democr. 156). ◅GR▻

•VAR Gen. δενός (Alc. 76; uncertain).

•ETYM From οὐδέν, μηδέν; cf. Leumann 1950: 108^{68}.

δενδαλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'kind of barley-cake' (Nicopho, Eratosth.); δενδαλίδας· οἱ μὲν ἄνθος τι, ἄλλοι τὰς λευκὰς κάχρυς, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐπτισμένας κριθὰς πρὸ τοῦ φρυγῆναι, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐκ κριθῶν μάζας γενομένας 'flower; white parched barley; winnowed barley corns for roasting; cake produced from barley corns' (H.). The α is short in Nicophon. ◅PG?(O)▻

•VAR Also δανδαλίς H., Pollux.

•ETYM Cf. σεμίδᾶλις 'fine wheat flour'; further unknown. Nevertheless, the last word is probably from Akkadian *samīdu*. One may consider a reduplication *da/e-n-dali-* with prenasalization, in which case δενδαλίς could be Pre-Greek.

δενδίλλω [v.] 'to turn the eyes to, glance quickly' (I 180, A. R. 3, 281, S. *Fr.* 1039). ◅?▻

•DER δενδίλλει· σκαρδαμύττει, διανεύει, σημαίνει, ἀτιμάζει, σκώπτει 'he blinks, winks; nods, beckons; indicates; does not respect; jeers at' (H.). Here Δένδιλος, Decourt 1995: n° 50, 40?

•ETYM Although δενδίλλω certainly has intensive reduplication, its etymology is unknown. For suggestions, see Wood *Class. Phil.* 9 (1914): 145, Charpentier *KZ* 47 (1915): 183, Fraenkel *Gnomon* 22 (1950): 239, and Grošelj Živa Ant. 2 (1952): 66f. δενδίλλω has nothing to do with δα(ν)δαίνω, which may be Pre-Greek (from *$da(n)$-dan-$yω$).

δένδρεον [n.] 'tree' (Hom., Pi.). ◅IE? *$doru$, $dreu$- 'tree'▻

•VAR Also δένδρον (Att.); δένδρος [n.], also [m.], (Ion. Dor.; see below); gen. δενδρεος (Hdt.), see Schwyzer: 583.

•COMP 1. substantives like καρυό-, λιθό-, ῥοδό-, σταφυλό-δενδρον; 2. many bahuvrīhis in -δενδρος.

•DER δενδρ-ύφιον (Thphr.; see Schwyzer: 471), δενδρίον (Agathocl.). δενδρώδης 'rich in trees' (Hp.), δενδρήεις 'rich in trees' (Od.), δενδρίτης, -ῖτις 'belonging to the tree', also name of a stone (Thphr.), rare δενδρώτης, -ῶτις 'grown with trees' (Hdn., E.); δενδρικός 'belonging to a tree' (Thphr.), δενδριακός 'id.' (*AP*), δένδρινος 'id.' (gloss.), δενδραῖος 'from trees' (Nonn.), δενδράς [f.] 'id.' (Nonn.). δενδρών and δένδρωμα 'thicket' (Aq.). Denominative δενδρόομαι, -όω 'to grow to a tree, change into a tree' (Thphr.) with δένδρωσις (Thphr.). On δενδρυάζω see ►δενδρύω.

•ETYM The form δένδρος is modelled after the plural forms δένδρεα, -έων (to δένδρεον). The usual Attic form δένδρον is also secondary (cf. ἀδελφός from ἀδελφεός?); see Wackernagel 1916: 109f., Shipp 1967: 21f., 55. δένδρεον < *δένδρεϝον agrees with the Gm. word for 'tree': Go. *triu*, OE *trēow* 'tree', etc., PGm. **trewa-* < IE **dreu-o-*. But the form of the Greek reduplication is rare (not comparable with ►γάγγραινα, as per DELG). See further ►δόρυ, ►δρῦς. Janda 1997 assumes **dem-dreu̯-om* 'tree planted near the house', and similarly Strunk 1995: 357-63. However, a compound with such a meaning strikes me as utterly strange.

δενδρύω [v.] 'to dive into the water' (Epid.). ◅?▻

•DER Lengthened δενδρυάζειν· τὸ καταδύνειν καὶ κρύπτεσθαι, κυρίως εἰς τάς δρῦς, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁπλῶς δύνειν καὶ κρύπτειν 'duck and hide, mainly in the woods, but also misused for diving and hiding in general' (*EM* 255, 55); similar H. and Paus. Gr. *Fr.* 119: τὸ δρυσὶ σκέπεσθαι καὶ τὸ καθ' ὕδατος δύεσθαι κτλ. 'to hide among trees, also to dive under water, etc.'.

•ETYM Intensive reduplication of δρύεται· κρύπτεται 'hides', δρυάσαι· κατακολυμβῆσαι 'dive down' (H.; not shortened from <δεν>δρύεται, <δεν>δρυάσαι, as per Latte). δρύεται is often considered to go back to *νρύεται, which would make a connection possible with Lith. *neriù*, *nérti* 'to dive, slip into', CS *vъ-nьrǫ*, *vъ-nrěti* 'παρεισδύεσθαι', etc. (which require a *seṭ*-root **nerH-*). See Frisk *Eranos* 40 (1942): 81ff.

δέννος [m.] 'reproach' (Hdt., probably also Archil. 65 [cod. δεινοῖς]). ◅?▻

•DER Further δεννάζω (cf. κυδάζω) 'abuse, revile' (Thgn.); δεννόν· κακολόγον 'slanderous'; δενναστόν· καταγέλαστον, λοιδορούμενον μετά καταγέλωτος 'ridiculous, reproached with absurdity' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Untenable suggestions are contained in Bq., Pok. 466. The geminate is not expressive; see Hoffmann 1898: 583.

δεξαμενή ⇒δέχομαι.

δεξιός [adj.] '(to the) right (side)' (Il.). ◅IE **deḱs-* 'right'▻

•DIAL Myc. PN *de-ki-si-wo* /deksiwos/; also Pamphyl. δεξιϝος (Masson *Glotta* 39 (1960): 111f.).

•COMP With ἀ-, ἀμφι-, ἀμφοτερο-, etc.

•DER δεξιά, Ion. -ιή 'the right hand' (Il.); δεξιτερός 'on the right side' (Il.). δεξιότης 'dexterity, cleverness' (IA). δεξιόομαι 'to take by the right hand, welcome, greet, etc.'

(*h. Hom.*, Att.) together with δεξίωσις 'greeting' Ph.), δεξιωτικός 'welcome' (Eust.), δεξίωμα 'id.' (S.; v.l. δεξίαμα); δεξιάζομαι 'to welcome' (LXX, pap.) after ἀσπάζομαι.
•ETYM If it is from *δεξιϝός (Wackernagel 1897: 11; cf. ▸λαιός, ▸σκαιός), the word is identical with Gaul. *Dexsiva dea* (see Porzig 1954a: 138). Celt. and Gm. have forms with a suffix *-u̯o-*, but without *-i-*, e.g. OIr. *dess*, Go. *taihswa*, OHG *zeso*, *zesawer* 'right', IE **deḱs-uo-*. IIr. and BSl. have a derivative in *-n-*, e.g. Skt. *dákṣiṇa-* (*dakṣiṇá-*), Lith. *dẽšinas*; Albanian has *djath-(t)ë*, etc., perhaps from **deḱs(i)-* (see Demiraj 1997 s.v.). δεξιτερός = Lat. *dexter*. Further, see ▸δέχομαι.

δέομαι ⇒ δέω 2.

δέος [n.] 'fear' (Il.; on the mg. Schadewaldt *Herm.* 83 (1955): 129ff.). ◂IE **duei-* 'fear'▸
•DER As a second member e.g. in ἀ-δεής 'fearless' (Il.), θεουδής 'godfearing' (Od.) from *θεο-δϝεής, Att. PN Θουδῆς.
•ETYM From *δϝεῖος, a verbal abstract of ▸δείδω.

δέπας, -αος [n.] 'goblet' (Il.; on the meaning see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 357f., 364f.). ◂PG▸
•DIAL Myc. *di-pa* /dipas/, *di-pa-e* /dipa^{h}e/ [du.].
•DER Poetical lengthening δέπαστρον 'id.' (Antim.) with δεπαστραῖος (Lyc.), see Chantraine 1933: 333f.
•ETYM Pre-Greek, like many other words for cups, etc. The interchange ε/ ι is frequent (Fur.: 353ff., Hester *Minos* 6 (1958): 24-36). On -θρον/-στρον, see Fur.: 302[37] and 303[39]. Perhaps the same word as HLuw. *tipas-* 'heaven'.

δέρη [f.] 'neck, throat' (Att.). ◂?▸
•VAR Ion. δειρή (since Il.). Poetical innovation δείρεα [pl.] (Euph.), after μέλεα 'limbs', μήδεα 'genitals', χείλεα 'lips', etc.; also δέρις (Alciphr., H.), cf ῥάχις 'spine', etc.
•DIAL Arc. δερϝα, Lesb. δέρα (Sapph.).
•COMP Several poetical bahuvrīhis only with -δειρος, as a first member only δειραχθής (*AP*), δειροκύπελλον (Luc.), δειρόπαις (Lyc.). Epic compound (ἀπο)δειροτομέω 'to cut off the neck', as if from *δειρο-τόμος.
•DER Diminutive δειράδιον (Poll.); δέραιον 'necklace' (E.), from περιδέρ-αιον 'id.' (Ar.); δέριον 'id.' (Charis.); δειρητής = στρουθός (Nic. *Fr.* 123), δερβιστήρ [= δερϝ-] (*EM*), δερ[ρ]ιστήρ· περιδέραιον ἵππου 'collar of a horse', δερ[ρ]ιστής· κυνάγχη περιαυχένιος 'dog's collar' (H.); cf. βραχιονιστήρ s.v. ▸βραχίων.
•ETYM δέρη and δειρή, which reflect PGr. δερϝᾱ (= Arc.), have been compared with Skt. *grīvā-*, Ru. *gríva* (originally 'neck'; cf. Ru. *grívna* 'collar'), Latv. *grīva* 'mouth of a river'. Apart from the highly problematic 'extension' with *-ī-*, this etymology requires a reconstruction **g^{w}er-ueh$_2$-*, but Aeol. δερα (instead of the expected *βερα) excludes original **g^{w}-*. For the same reason, ▸βιβρώσκω cannot be related. A much better etymology is offered by ▸δειράς, which fits the meaning well.

δέρκομαι [v.] 'to look, cast the eye (on)' (Il.). ◂IE **derḱ-* 'see'▸
•VAR Aor. δρακεῖν, with "passive" forms ἐδράκην (Pi.), ἐδέρχθην (A.), perf. (with present mg.) δέδορκα.

•COMP Prefixes ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, etc.

•DER δέργμα 'glance' (A.), δεργμός 'id.' (H.), δέρξις 'sense of sight' (Orac. *apud* Plu., H.); with zero grade δράκος [n.] 'eye' (Nic. *Al.* 481). Verbal adjective as a PN Δέρκετος (Crete), δυσ-δέρκετος (Opp.). Cf. also ►δράκων, ►ὑπόδρα. Lengthened verbal form δερκιόωνται (Hes. *Th.* 911 at verse end; artificial?); innovation to δέδορκα (Schwyzer: 735): δορκάζων· περιβλέπων 'looking about' (H.). See also ►δορκάς.

•ETYM The perfect δέδορκα 'I see' is morphologically identical with Skt. *dadárśa*, Av. *dādarəsa*. The aorist ἔδρακον, with the old athematic form δρακέντ- (Pi.; Forssman *MSS* 17 (1964): 17-19), is matched by Skt. *á-dṛś-an* [3pl.], etc. Since Indo-Iranian has a suppletive present, Skt. *páśyati*, Av. *spasiieiti* (related to ►σκέπτομαι), δέρκομαι is probably a Greek innovation (on which δερχθῆναι, δέρξομαι, etc. were built; see Schwyzer: 758). The verbal adj. Δέρκετος may be compared with Skt. *darśatá-* 'visible'. Further related forms are e.g. OIr. *ad-con-darc* 'I have seen', Go. *ga-tarhjan* 'σημειοῦν, characterize', OE OS *torht*, OHG *zoraht* 'light, clear', Alb. *dritë* 'light' (< IE **dṛ́k-teh₂-*). More forms are recorded in LIV² s.v. **derḱ-*.

δέρω [v.] 'to skin, flay' (Il.). ◅IE **der-* 'flay'▻

•VAR Also δείρω, aor. δεῖραι, fut. δερῶ, pass. δαρῆναι, δαρθῆναι, perf. δέδαρμαι.

•COMP With prefixes ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.

•DER δέρμα '(slayed) skin, leather' (Il.) with diminutive δερμάτιον (Pl.); adjective δερμάτινος 'of leather' (Od.), δερματικός 'of skin' (Arist.) with δερματίκιον a cloth (pap.), δερματώδης 'skinlike' (Arist.), δερματηρός in δερματηρά [f.] 'tax on hides' (pap.), δέρμητες· οἱ ἐξ ἐφήβων περίπολοι (cod. περισσοί) 'the patrolmen out of the epheboi' H., cf. γυμνῆτες, κούρητες, etc. Rare denominative ἀπο-δερματόω 'to flay' (Plb.; δεδερματωμέναι as an explanation of ἰσχαλωμέναι H.), ἀπο-δερματίζω (medic.), δερμύλλει· αἰσχροποιεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἐκδέρει 'to act filthily; strip the skin off from' (H.), Sch.; see Schwyzer: 736. Further δάρμα (Delph.; from δέρμα, Schwyzer: 274; but ἀποδάρματα Hdt. 4, 64 with ablaut?).

δέρος [n.] = δέρμα (S.); also δέρας 'id.' (Chios, E.); δάρος· τὸ βουτύπιον 'ox-butcher' (H.). δορά 'flayed skin' (IA); with δορεύς 'flayer', also a throw with the dice (Herod.), δορίς 'sacrificial knife' (Com.), δορικός 'of skin' (Hp.), δορόω 'smear' (inscr.) with δόρωσις, δορώσιμος (pap.), ἐνδόρωμα (inscr.). δορός 'leather sack' (β 354; 380). δέρρις [f.] 'skin', especially as a technical term for screens, etc. used in a siege (Th.), from *δέρ-σις; here δέρριον· τρίχινον σακίον 'small bag of hair' (H.), δερρίσκος (Att.).

Regular zero grade δάρσις (Gal.). δέρτρον 'caul, membrane' (λ 579, etc.), and δέτρον (H., *Et. Gud.*). δερτον (accent unknown) 'flayed sheep' (Mykonos). δάρτης 'flayer' (gloss.). Verbal adj. δρατός (Ψ 169), δαρτός (Milete V[a]); with δάρτινον· πέπλον λινοῦν 'linen cloth' (H.). See also on ►δῆρις 'battle' and ►δόρκαι.

•ETYM δέρω is related to e.g. Go. *dis-, gatairan* 'to tear up, destroy', OHG *(fir-)zeran* 'id.', MoHG *(ver)zehren*; Lith. *derù, dìrti* (*dìrti*) 'to flay', OCS *derǫ, dьrati* 'to flay', and further Sanskrit with a root aor. *dárt* [3sg.inj.] 'to split' and a *nā*-present *dṛṇáti*. For the formation, we may compare the aorist ἔδειρα < *ἔδερσα with Skt. *dárṣat* [subj.]. Also, δάρσις is matched by Skt. *dṛ́ti-* 'sack', Go. *ga-taurþs* 'destruction', and

Ru. *dert'* 'newly cleared land'; and likewise, δρατός, δαρτός with Skt. *dr̥tá-*. A yod-present (cf. δείρω) is found in Lith. *diriù* 'flay' and Skt. *dī́ryate*. Further forms are in LIV² s.v. **der-*.

δεσπότης, -ου [m.] 'master (of the house), lord' (Pi.; on its absence in Homer [δέσποινα Od.] see Wackernagel 1916: 209 A. 1). ◁IE **dems-pot-* 'lord of the house'▷

•COMP In compounds with first member αὐτο-, οἰκο-, φιλο-.

•DER δέσποινα 'mistress of the house, lady' (Od.); δεσποινικός 'in service of the queen' (*PMasp.* 88, 10, VI^{p}); also δεσπότις 'id.' (S.), rare δεσπότειρα (S. *Fr.* 1040), δεσπότρια (sch. E. *Hec.* 397); on the feminine forms Fraenkel 1912: 27; on MoGr. δεσποινίς Schwyzer: 133. Rare diminutive δεσποτίσκος (E.), δεσποτίδιον (Aristaenet.). Adjective δεσπόσυνος 'belonging to the lord' (Tyrt., *h. Cer.*), with δεσποσύνη 'lordship' (Hdt.); δεσπόσιος 'id.' (A.), δεσποτικός (Pl.), δεσπότειος (Lyc.). Denominatives: 1. δεσπόζω 'to be lord, rule' (IA); δέσποσμα (Man.). 2. δεσποτέω 'id.', mostly pass. 'to obey a δ.' (A.). 3. δεσποτεύω 'id.' (LXX); δεσποτεία (Pl.).

•ETYM Cf. Skt. *dámpati-* (also, in two words, *pátir dán*), Av. *dąŋg paitiš* 'lord'. In Greek, it became a fixed compound, which changed its flexion from an *i*-stem (see ►πόσις) to that of an *ā*-stem (cf. ἀγκυλο-μήτης beside μῆτις; Schwyzer: 451). δέσποινα is from *δεσ-ποτ-νι̯α. The first part, IE **dems* (whence Gr. δεσ-, Skt. *dam-*), is the genitive of a word for 'house' (see ►δόμος).

δεταί ⇒ δέω 1.

δευκής ⇒ ἀδευκής.

δεύομαι •VAR δεύω. ⇒ δέω 2.

δεῦρο [adv.] '(to) here', also as interj. and imperative ('come here'). ◁IE **de-u-ro*? '(to) here'▷

•VAR Here belongs the plur. δεῦτε (Il.); rare sing. δεῦρε (Att. inscr.; after the imperatives in -ε); also δευρί (Ar., And.) with deictic -ῑ; Aeol. δεῦρυ (Hdn.) like ἄλλυ-(δις) 'from elsewhere', δεύρω Γ 240 (Hdn.) after πρόσ(σ)ω 'forwards'.

•DIAL Myc. *de-we-ro-(a$_3$-ko-ra-i-ja)*, perhaps containing /dewero-/, a part of the kingdom of Pylos.

•ETYM The Greek word starts with the demonstrative adverb *δε (cf. the postposition -δε). Cf. further Lacon. πέδευρα· ὕστερα 'later' (H.).

Regarding the second part analyzed as *-u-ro*, the Greek form recalls the synonymous Lith. *aurė* and Av. *auuarə* (see Nyberg in Boëthius 1932: 237ff.). Compare further Arm. *ur* '(to) where?', from **ure* (cf. *ure-k'* 'to some place'), and U *uru* 'illo'. See Ruijgh *Minos* 12 (1972): 441-50 for a Greek derivationas **de-u* + **-(e)ro-*, which is taken up by DELG *Supp.*

δεύτερος [adj.] 'second', in order and time, also in status (Il.). ◁GR▷

•DER δευτεραῖος 'belonging to the second day' (Hdt.; from ἡ δευτέρα [ἡμέρα], cf. Schwyzer: 596); δευτερεῖα (sc. ἄθλα) [n.pl.], later also -ον and as an adjective (Hdt.; after ἀριστεῖα); δευτερίας (οἶνος) 'bad wine, made from the draff (στέμφυλα)'

(Nicopho [?], Dsc.; after the wine names in -ίας, Chantraine 1933: 94f.; also δευτερίναρ (Lacon.) (H.); δευτέριον 'afterbirth' (Aq.). Denominative δευτερεύω 'to be second' (Plb.), δευτεριάζω 'id.' (Ar. *Ec.* 634); δευτερόω 'to repeat' (LXX) with δευτέρωσις (LXX) and δευτέρωμα (Eust.). Beside δεύτερος rarely the superlative δεύτατος (T 51, Mosch.).

•ETYM Although δεύτερος is usually analyzed as a comparative of δεύομαι (see ▸δέω 2), so originally 'who stays behind, the following', Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 317f. argues that it is improbable that -τερος should have been added to a verbal stem, and suggests that it was added to an adverbial stem *δευ instead (perhaps seen in δεῦτε).

δεύω 1 [v.] 'to make wet' (Il.). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. δεῦσαι.

•COMP δευσοποιός 'steeped in color, fast', metaph. 'imperishable' (Pl.).

•DER δεύσιμος (τόπος Sch. M 21), from *δεῦσις (Arbenz *Die Adj. auf* -ιμος), or directly from δεῦσαι; uncertain δεύματα κρεῶν (Pi. *O.* 1, 50); also δευτήρ 'kettle' (auct. *apud* Poll. 10, 105). δευσοποιέω and δευσοποιία (Alciphr., Poll.); δευσορούσιος (*PMasp.*VI^{p}; cf. ῥούσιος [from Lat. *russeus* 'reddish']). πηλοδευστέω 'to make mortar' (Att.) from *πηλο-δεύστης.

•ETYM Unexplained; ▸διαίνω has been compared. Could the word be connected with δύω 'to dive, enter' as 'to immerse' (Van Beek p.c.)?

δεύω 2 ⇒ δέω 2.

δέφω [v.] 'to soften (with the hand), masturbari' (Ar., Eub.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Also med.; aor. ἐδέψατο (Hippon.)? See Scheller *MSS* 6 (1955): 88ff. Present δέψει (-εῖ?) [3sg.] (Hdt. 4, 64); aor. ptc. δεψήσας (μ 48).

•DER δεφιδασταί [m.pl.] members of a guild of fullers (Argos), with -αστής, -ιστής denoting membership (Chantraine 1933: 317ff.), otherwise unclear; via *δεφίς, *-ιδος? δέψα 'tanned skin' (Suid.); ἀδέψητος (υ 2; 142, etc.).

•ETYM The present δέψω (cf. ἔψω) beside δέφω seems to have an *s*-enlargement, but the other instances in Schwyzer: 706 are not completely comparable. Petersson *KZ* 47 (1918): 285 compared the Arm. denominative *top'em* 'to beat' and SCr. *dépati* 'to butt, slay', Pol. *deptać* 'to tread', which, however, are semantically rather distant and do not correspond phonologically. ▸διφθέρα has also been compared, which, if connected, certainly points to Pre-Greek origin, as does, in fact, the variation between -φ- and -ψ- (cf. especially δέψα; Fur.: 263, etc., who also connects διφάω). Lat. *depsō, -ĕre* is borrowed from Greek.

δέψω ⇒ δέφω.

δέχομαι [v.] 'to take, accept, receive, etc.' (Att.). ◂IE **deḱ-* 'take, accept'▸

•VAR δέκομαι (Ion. Aeol. Cret.), aor. δέξασθαι (Il.). 3pl. δέχαται (M 147), epic aor. ptc. δέγμενος, 1sg.ind. ἐδέγμην, etc. (metrically conditioned), προτί-δεγμαι· προσδέχομαι 'I am received' (H.; cf. Debrunner 1956: 77ff.; on the analogical voiced aspirated and voiced stop see Schwyzer: 772 and 769).

•DIAL Myc. *de-ka-sa-to* /deksato/, *de-ko-to* /dekto/; *ra-wo-do-ko* /lāwo-dokos/, cf. Λαόδοκος (Il.).

•COMP With prefixes: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, εἰσ-, etc.

•DER Numerous derivatives, especially with prefix: 1. -δόκος as a second member in compounds (Il.; also Att.), e.g. ἰο-δόκος 'receiving arrows' (epic), δωρο-δόκος 'accepting presents, corruptible' (Att.); also the simplex ►δοκός 'beam'; δοχός 'container' (Thphr., H.). 2. δοκάν· θήκην 'case' (H.); also in ἀν-δοκά 'surety' (Cret.), ἐσ-δοκά 'contract' (Arc.), etc., (ἀνα-, ἐκ-, etc.) δοχή (Att.) with δοχαῖος (Nic.), δοχικός (pap.); ἀνδοκεύς 'guarantor' (H.; Dor., cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 91); (ἐκ-, ὑπο-, etc.) δοχεύς 'receiver, etc.' (Hell. and late); πανδοκεύς 'innkeeper' (retrograde formation); to δοχεύς: (ἐκ-, ὑπο-, etc.) δοχεῖον 'container' (Hell. and late). 3. (ἀπό-, ἔκ-, etc.) δέξις 'reception' (Hdt.) with δέξιμος 'acceptable' (pap.). 4. (ἐκ-, δια-, etc.) δέκτωρ 'who accepts' (A.). 5. (ἀπο-)δεκτήρ 'collector', an official (X.) with the fem. δέκτρια (Archil.). 6. δέκτης 'beggar' (δ 248); ἀπο-, ὑπο-δέκτης 'collector' (Att., Hell. and late); with (ἀνα-, ὑπο-, etc.) δεκτικός 'fit for accepting' (Arist.); ὑποδέξιος 'id.' (Hdt.), ὑποδεξίη 'friendly reception' (I 73). 7. ἀρι-►δείκετος s.v.; 8. ►δεξαμενή 'water collector' (ptc. δεξαμένη with oppositive accent).

See also on ►δόκιμος, ►δόχμη; for δόκανα, δοκάνη see on ►δοκός.

Deverbative verbs: δοκέω, δοκάζω, προσ-δοκάω, etc., see on ►δοκεύω. On δεκανᾶται· ἀσπάζεται 'welcome, salute' (H.) see ►δειδίσκομαι. See further ►δεκάζω (from δεκάς) and ►δέκα.

•ETYM There are several forms from IE **dek̑-, dok̑-* which can be compared with δέκομαι: Lat. *decet* 'it is fitting' with *decus* [n.] (~ Skt. **dáśas-* in *daśas-yáti* 'honor', MIr. *dech* 'the best'; cf. also δεξιός), *dignus*, *doceō*, etc. Therefore, δέκομαι may originally have meant 'to consider something appropriate'.

From Armenian, compare *tesanem*, aor. *tesi* 'to see' (cf. δοκεύω for the meaning), but the appurtenance of Arm. *ənkay* 'gift' and Slavic and Germanic words like OCS *dešǫ, desiti* 'to find' (see ►δήω), OHG *gi-zehōn* 'to order' is uncertain.

Skt. *dāśnóti, dā́ṣṭi, dā́śati* 'to bring a sacrifice, honor' also belongs here, being an originally reduplicated present **de-dk̑-* (there is no need to assume an old lengthened grade). From within Greek, we can connect the word with ►δεξιός, from **dek̑s-* with a zero grade *s*-suffix (cf. Lat. *decus*), with an adverbial loc. **dek̑si* 'right'. See also δοκεύω under ►δοκέω.

δέω 1 [v.] 'to bind' (Il.). ◁IE **deh₁-* 'bind'▷

•VAR Aeol., etc. δίδημι (see below), aor. δῆσαι, perf. med. δέδεμαι (Il.), with δέδεκα (Att.), aor. pass. δεθῆναι (Att.).

•COMP Often with prefixes like ἀνα-, κατα-, ὑπο-, συν-, etc.

•DER Verbal nouns: 1. -δημα (as a simplex [= Skt. *dā́man-*, see below] only sch. A. R. 2, 535) notably in ὑπόδημα 'shoe, sandal' (Od.) with ὑποδημάτιον (Hp.), ὑποδηματάριος 'shoemaker' (Hypata II^{p}), διάδημα 'band, diadem' (X.) with διαδηματίζομαι (Aq.); secondary zero grade in δέμα (Plb.). 2. δεσμός, plur. also δεσμά, δέσματα 'band, fetter' (Il.) with several derivatives: δέσμιος 'fettered' (trag.), δεσμίης· μαστιγίας, ὅς ἄξιός ἐστι δεσμῶν 'a worthless slave, who deserves imprisonment' (H.), δεσμίς (Hp.), δεσμίδιον (Dsc.), δεσμάτιον (sch.), δεσμώματα [pl.] 'fetters' (A.); δεσμώτης 'prisoner' and δεσμωτήριον 'prison' (IA); denominative δεσμεύω 'bind, fetter' (Hes.) with rare δεσμευτής (sch.), δεσμευτικός (Pl.),

δεσμευτήριον (pap.), δέσμευσις (pap.); δεσμέω 'id.' (Hell. and late) with δέσμημα (Tz.); ἀναδέσμη 'band for the hair of women' (X 469), δέσμη 'bundle' (Att.). 3. δέσις 'binding, etc.' (Pl.), especially ὑπό-δεσις 'binding of shoes, sandals' (IA). 4. δεταί [pl.] 'torch, fire' (Λ 554, Ar. *V.* 1361, H.); rather verbal noun 'binding, bundle' than from δετός (Opp.); diminutive δετίς (Gal.). 5. δητοί [pl.] 'bundle' (*Sammelb.* 1, 5, III^{P}). 6. -δετήρ, -δέτης in ἀμαλλο-δετῆρες 'binders of sheaves' (Σ 553, 554; see Chantraine 1933: 323), ἀμαλλο-δέται (Theoc., *AP*) as ἱππο-δέτης (S.), κηρο-δέτας (E. [lyr.]), etc. On ▶δέμνια, ▶κρήδεμνα, see s.vv.

•ETYM Gr. δετός (in διά-δετος A., δετός Opp.) and Skt. *ditá-* 'bound', correspond directly, just as δῆμα (ὑπό-δημα, etc.) and Skt. *dā́man-* 'band', although they could as well be parallel formations. Of the Greek presents, δίδημι (Λ 105) is probably an innovation on the basis of δήσω, δῆσαι, etc. after θήσω: τίθημι (but, according to LIV^{2} s.v. **deh$_1$-*, following Rasmussen and Tucker, a relatively old innovation). The ε-vowel in δέω, δέσις, δετός, etc. (like that in τί-θε-μεν, θέσις, etc.) must be the zero grade **dh$_1$-* beside the full grade **deh$_1$-* in δήσω, etc. Furthermore, we have Skt. pres. *-dyati* (*ā́-dyati*) 'bind' from **dh$_1$-i̯e-ti* and perhaps Hitt. *tiia* [impv.] (Melchert apud Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

δέω 2 [v.] 'to miss, lack, be in need of', med. also 'to ask'. ◁IE **deu(s)-* 'miss, want, need'▷

•VAR δέομαι (IA), δεύω, δεύομαι (Aeol., epic Il.), impersonal δεῖ, δεύει, aor. δεῆσαι, δειηθῆναι, epic ἐδεύησεν (ι 483 = 540; δῆσεν Σ 100 is, if correct, an innovation to δεῖ), fut. δευήσομαι.

•DER δέησις 'need, request' (Att.) with δεητικός (Arist.), δέημα 'request' (Ar. *Ach.* 1059). To ἐπιδέω, -ομαι, ἐπιδεύομαι 'need': ἐπιδεής, ἐπιδευής 'in need of' (Schwyzer 513); to ἐνδέω, ἐνδεῖ, ἐνδέομαι 'need': ἐνδεής (IA) with ἔνδεια (Att.) < **ἐνδέεια*, ἐνδέημα (pap.).

•ETYM δέω, δεύω may derive from **δέϝ-ω*, but are probably also the regular development of **δεύσ-ω*. In the latter case, we could directly connect Skt. *doṣa-* 'lack' < IE **douso-*, although this is doubted by LIV^{2} s.v. **deu̯s-* and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 749 s.v. *doṣ-*. Perhaps ▶δυσ- belongs here; on δεῖ, see Goodell *Class. Quart.* 8 (1914): 91ff. and Bernardette *Glotta* 43 (1965): 285ff.

δή [interj.] 'even, indeed, right', emphatic pcl. (Il.). ◁IE? **de*▷

•VAR Like δέ, mostly in the second position of the sentence; also in more or less fixed connections like ἦ-δη, ἐπει-δή, δῆ-θεν, δῆτα, etc.; see Schwyzer 1950: 562f.

•ETYM Perhaps a case form (instrumental?) of a demonstrative; it would be identical with Lat. *dē*, OIr. *dí* 'away from'. See de Vaan 2008 s.v. *dē*. δέ arose by weakening of δή. See also ▶δαί.

δηαί [f.pl.] 'barley corns' (*EM* 264, 13: δηαὶ προσαγορεύονται ὑπὸ Κρητῶν αἱ κριθαί). ◁PG?▷

•VAR δητταί· αἱ ἐπτισμέναι κριθαί 'winnowed barley' (H.).

•ETYM Schulze 1892: 288^{4} (p. 289) interprets the word as διαί, i.e. ▶ζεαι, which would indeed be possible in Cretan, according to DELG. Latte mentions δατῶναι· ζειαί H.;

therefore, Pre-Greek origin remains a serious possibility as well (thus also Fur.: 337, etc.).

δηδέχαται ⇒ δειδίσκομαι.

δηθά ⇒ δήν.

Δηϊάνειρα ⇒ δήϊος.

δήϊος [adj.] 'inimical, terrible', of πῦρ 'fire', also of πόλεμος 'war', ἀνήρ 'man' (Il.); by false connection with δαῆναι: 'able, experienced' (*Apl.*). ◁?, PG?▷

•DIAL Dor. δάϊος, δᾱ́ος.

•DER δηϊοτής, -τῆτος [f.] (on the oxytonesis, cf. Schwyzer: 528) 'battle, struggle, death' (Hom.); partly as if from δηϊόω (Trümpy 1950: 136ff.). Denominative δηϊόω, δῃόω 'slay, kill' (Il.), 'destroy' (IA); isolated δηϊάασκον (A. R. 2, 142) after epic -αασκ-. Thence δηϊοῦσα epithet of κώνειον "the killing" (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 64). Instead of δηϊόω, Wackernagel 1916: 170f. proposes to read in the epic δῃΐω (δήϊον for δῄουν E 452, etc.), as A. R. 3, 1374 and H. have δήειν· πολεμεῖν, φονεύειν 'to make war, murder', which can be a denominative of *δηΐς in Δηΐ-φοβος, etc. (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 49f.). Among the PNs in Δηϊ- note Δηϊ-άνειρα (S., etc.), formed after ▸ἀντιάνειρα, κυδι-άνειρα, etc., with verbal reinterpretation of the first member: 'killing the man'; cf. Sommer 1934: 41.

•ETYM The frequent epic expression δήιον πῦρ (verse end) and πυρὸς δηίοιο (combined with θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ [M 177, etc.]) suggests a meaning 'burning', which makes a connection with δαίω 'burn' likely. However, Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 318 observes that Myc. *Da-i-qo-ta* (cf. Δηιφόντης) has no -ϝ-, so it must have had an -*h*-, /Dā^{h}i-/, which shows that the word is non-IE (see Chantraine 1942: 107 and Leumann 1950: 129).

***δηκανόωντο** •VAR *δηκνύμενος. ⇒ δειδίσκομαι.

δηλαυγῶς [adv.] · ἄγαν φανερῶς 'very conspicuous' (H.), *Ev. Marc.* 8, 25 (v.l.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM For *τηλαυγῶς, influenced by δῆλος. See Blass-Debrunner-Funk 1961 §119, 4.

δηλέομαι [v.] 'to hurt, damage' (Il.). ◁?, PG?▷

•VAR Aor. δηλήσασθαι (δᾱλ- Theoc. 9, 36; 15, 48); El. κα-δαλέοιτο, κα-δαλέμενοι (κα-ζαλ-), perf. δεδήλημαι.

•DER δήλημα 'damage, destruction' (Od.; on the mg. Chantraine 1933: 183), and δηλήμων 'damaging, ruin' (Hom.); δήλησις 'damage' (Ion., Thphr.); δηλήεις 'destructing' (Nic.), after nominal αἰγλήεις, etc.; δηλητήριος 'id.' (Teos V^{a}, etc.), -ιον 'poison' (Hp. *Ep.*); δηλητήρ only Hom. *Epigr.* 14, 8; δηλητηριώδης (Dav. *Proll.*).

•ETYM Schwyzer: 720 took δηλέομαι as an iterative-intensive deverbative. A root variant with short α is found in φρενο-δᾰλής 'destroying the mind' (A. *Eu.* 330 lyr.), δάλλει· κακουργεῖ 'does evil' (H.), as well as in παν-δάλητος 'destroyed' (Hippon. 2); and further, but with unknown quantity, in ἀδαλές· ὑγιές 'healthy', δάλαν· λύμην 'maltreatment', δαλῇ· κακουργῇ, δαλήσασθαι· λυμήνασθαι, ἀδικῆσαι 'maltreat, do injustice' (H.). Coversely, the connection with ▸ζά-δηλος (Alc., s.v.) is doubtful. Under the assumption of an original meaning 'split', δηλέομαι was connected with

δαιδάλλω, δέλ·τος and derived from IE **del-* (cf. Lat. *doleō*, *dolor*). However, the ablaut forms are incompatible, and long **ā* can hardly be derived from PIE (a hyperdorism in Theoc. is improbable); therefore, the verb is probably non-IE, i.e. Pre-Greek. Hackstein 2002: 219f. implausibly argues that the long α is a secondary lengthened grade, created within the history of Greek.

δήλομαι •VAR Dor. for ►βούλομαι. ⇒βούλομαι.

δῆλος [adj.] 'clear' (Od.; ἔκδηλος E 2). ◅IE? **deih₂-* 'shine'▻
•VAR Besides δέελος 'visible' (K 466).
•DER Denominative δηλόω 'make clear' (IA) with δήλωσις, δήλωμα (Att., etc.), διηλωτικός (Hp.). Often with prefix: ἀρί-δηλος (with, through inverted writing [cf. ζα- = δα-], ἀρί-ζηλος), ἔκ-, ἔν-, ἐπί-, κατά-δηλος, etc. with ἐκδηλόω, etc. See Strömberg 1946 (index). δεϝαλῶσαι (BCH 1988, 283f., Mantinea IV[a]) has hypercorrect ϝ (*RPh.* 71 [1997] 156).
•ETYM The glosses δίαλον· φανερόν and διάλας· τὰς δήλας καὶ φανεράς H., dialectal for δεα-, show that δῆλος continues **δέαλος* < **deih₂-(e)lo-*, cognate with ►δέατο < **deih₂(-e)-to*. This also fits ἔκδηλος in E 2 (Bechtel 1914: 98). Differently, Schulze 1892: 244 A. 2 and Chantraine 1933: 242. See also ►δέελος and ►εὐδείελος.

Δημήτηρ [f.] the Greek mother goddess (Il.). See further Schwyzer: 567f., Sommer 1948: 147. ◅?▻
•VAR Gen. -τερος and -τρος.
•DIAL Though one might expect the name in Mycenaean, it happens not to have been found so far. Δαμάτηρ (Dor., etc.), also Δωμάτηρ, Δαμμάτερι (Thess.).
•DER Δημήτριος 'belonging to Δ.' (A.), also as a PN; thence the month name Δημητριών (Attica); Δημητρίεια [pl.] 'festival for Demeter' (Samos [IV[a]], after Ἀσκληπίεια, etc.), Δημήτρια [pl.] also 'festival for Demetrios'; Δημητριασταί name of the worshippers of Demeter (Ephesus), cf. Ἀπολλωνιασταί, etc.; Δημητριακός 'belonging to Demeter or Demetrios' (D. S.); Δημήτρειοι [pl.] name of the dead (Plu.). Denominative δαματρίζειν· τὸ συνάγειν τὸν Δημητριακὸν καρπόν. Κύπριοι 'to collect the harvest belonging to Δ.' (H.). Short form Δηώ (*h. Cer.*, etc.), whence Δηῷος and Δηωΐνη 'daughter of Δ.'.
•ETYM Taken as "Mother Earth" (Kretschmer *Wien. Stud.* 24 (1902): 523ff., Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 240), and consisting of δᾶ, assumed to be a Pre-Greek word for 'Earth', and ►μήτηρ. However, there is no indication that ►δᾶ means 'earth', although it has also been assumed in the name of Poseidon. Derivation from **Δασ-μάτηρ* < IE **dm̥s-*, a supposed genitive of **dem-* 'house' (cf. ►δεσπότης) by Ehrlich 1912: 62ff., should be rejected.
Pisani *IF* 53 (1935): 28ff. and Georgiev 1937: 9ff., 20ff. both consider the word to be Illyrian (like Δαμία, Δμία, etc.) and compare Alb. *dhe* 'earth' (see ►χθών); rejected by Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 31.
Cf. Messap. *damatura*, probably name of a goddess (Krahe 1955: 82); the Messapian word must be an adaptation of the Greek name; cf. Δειπάτυρος s.v. ►Ζεύς.
Heubeck 1961: 75-8 starts from 'Phrygian' Γδαν-μανα/ Γδανμαα, and sees in the first element a cognate of Gr. χθών; he suggests that the form Δωμάτηρ goes back on

*$d^hg^hōn$-. However, his further connection with his Minoan-Minyan hypothesis (which would be a separate IE language) is unconvincing.

δημιουργός [m.] 'handicraftsman' (Att.). On the mg. Bader 1965. Originally a creator, in the Dorian world it designated a magistrate. See further Palmer *TPS* 1954: 18-53. ◁IE? *deh_2-mo-* 'people'▷

•VAR δημιοεργός (Od., Hdt.).

•DIAL δημιοργός (Ion.), δαμιοργός (Dor., NWGr., Arc., Boeot.), δαμιωργός (Astypal.), δαμιεργός (Astypal., Nisyr.) name of an official.

•DER δημιουργίς, δημιούργιον, δημιουργία, δημιουργικός, δημιουργεῖον; δημιουργέω with δημιούργημα.

•ETYM From *δημιο-ϝεργός, in turn from δήμια ἔργα with verbal reinterpretation of the second member after the types ψυχο-πομπός; partly from -ϝοργός. Further, see ▶δῆμος.

δῆμος [m.] 'land, territory' (as opposed to the town), 'people' (Il.); in Athens also a part of the phylai, a deme. ◁IE *deh_2-mo-* 'people'▷

•DIAL Dor. δᾶμος.

•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. δημοκρατία 'government of the people' (IA), after ὀλιγαρχία, μοναρχία (δημαρχία = 'the office of δήμαρχος'); further see Debrunner 1947: 11ff.

•DER Doric forms are not mentioned separately:

Substantives: δημίδιον, diminutive δημακίδιον (Ar.); δημότης, Dor. also δαμέτας (Carpathos) 'man of the people' (IA, Dor.) with two normal adjectives: δημόσιος 'belonging to the people, state, public' (IA) with δημοσιεύω intr. 'serve the state', also trans. 'make public' and δημοσιόω 'confiscate, make public' with δημοσίωσις. δημοτικός 'belonging to the people, useful for the people, democratic'; on the difference between δημόσιος and δημοτικός Chantraine 1933: 392; fem. δημότις; denominative δημοτεύομαι 'be δημότης, belong to a demos' (Att.).

Adjectives: δήμιος 'belonging to the people, public' (Od.), ὁ δήμιος (euphemistic) 'executioner' (Att., Benveniste *Sprache* 1 (1949): 121), δημώδης 'according to the people' (Pl.), δημόσυνος epithet of Artemis (Athens IV-III^a), δημότερος 'belonging to the people' (Call.; after ἀγρότερος).

Denominative δημεύω [v.] 'to make public, confiscate' (Att.) with δήμευσις and δημεῖαι· αἱ τῶν δήμων συστάσεις 'meetings of the people' (H.); δημόομαι 'sing or explain publicly' (Pi.) with δαμώματα· τὰ δημοσίᾳ ᾀδόμενα 'which is sung publicly' (Ar. *Pax* 797); δημίζω 'act as friend of the people' (Ar. *V.* 699). Adverb δημόθεν 'from the people, on communal costs' (Od.).

•ETYM A morphological match is offered by Celtic: OIr. *dám* 'followers, crowd', OW *dauu* 'cliens', W *daw(f)* 'son-in-law', OCo. *dof* 'gener'; but since these are *ā*-stems, PIE *deh_2mos was perhaps originally feminine (Pedersen 1938: 52). If the word is an *m*-derivative of the verb 'divide' (see ▶δαίομαι), which requires the analysis *deh_2-*mo-*, it must originally have meant 'part'. On ▶δημιουργός, see s.v.

δημός [m.] 'fat of animals and men' (Il.). ◁?▷

•DER No derivatives or compounds (probably because of the identity with δῆμος).

•ETYM The word has been compared with Alb. *dhjamë* 'fat, pork, tallow', but Demiraj 1997: 161 thinks it may be non-IE. It hardly means just 'fluidity, wetness' (as per Frisk s.v.), so the connection with the IIr. word for 'fluid', e.g. Skt. *dā́-nu-* 'drip, dew', Av. *dā-nu-* 'river, stream', Oss. *don* 'water, river', is not convincing either.

δήν [adv.] 'long', also 'far' (Il.). ◅IE **dueh₂-m* 'long'▻

•DIAL Dor. δάν, δοάν (see below).

•DER δηναιός, Dor. δᾱν- 'living, lasting long' (Il.) with δηναιότης (Democr.) and Δηναιών month name (Erythrai) (not containing an element *αιϝος to αἰών).

•ETYM Like ►πλήν, Dor. πλᾱ́ν prop. *'near', δήν is the old accus. of a root noun *δϝᾱ-, also seen in ►δηρός, ►δηθά. The notation δοάν (Alcm. 135) just renders δϝάν. The form δαόν· πολυχρόνιον 'lasting a long time' (H.) can be *δϝᾱ-u̯όν, perhaps also *δαϝόν, and belonging directly to OCS *dav-ьnъ* 'old' (Latte gives δα<ναι>όν). For further cognates, see ►δηρός.

δήνεα [n.pl.] 'counsels, plans' (Il.). ◅IE? **densos-* 'counsel, skill'▻

•VAR δῆνος (H.).

•COMP Several compounds, mostly only known from lexicographers: ἀδηνής· ἄκακος 'guileless' H., *EM* (from where Semon. 7, 53 for traditional ἀληνής), ἀδηνέως (Chios, H.), ἀδανές· ἀπρονόητον 'unpremeditated', ἀδηνείη· ἀπειρία 'lack of skill', πολυδηνέα· πολύβουλον 'of many counsels' (H.).

•ETYM Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 49 (1897): 187 (also Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 518) assumed *δάνσεα, with analogical α from ►δαῆναι, ►δαΐφρων for older *δένσεα, *δένσος = Skt. *dáṃsas-* [n.] 'wonderful craft', Av. *daŋhah-* [n.] 'dexterity', IE **dénsos-* beside **dn̥s-* in δα-ῆναι, δα-ί-φρων. However, one would rather expect replacement by *δάος; see the objections in Bechtel 1914: 99 and Lasso de la Vega *Emerita* 22 (1954): 92, who also sees semantic problems. Wackernagel *KZ* 29 (1888): 137 prefers connecting δήω, which is nothing better. Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 319f. considers the word Mycenaean, with **dens-* giving δην- (comparing τελη-(ϝ)εντ- < *τελεσ-ϝεντ-). See also R. Schmitt 1967: 161.

δῆρις, -ιος [f.] 'battle' (Il.; cf. Trümpy 1950: 141ff.). ◅IE? **der-* 'split'▻

•DER Denominative δηρῐ́ομαι (Pi.), aor. δηρῐ́σαντο (θ 76), act. δηρῖσαι (Thgn.), pass. δηριν̄θήτην (Π 756) as if from *δηρίνω; perhaps for δηρῑθήτην (Schwyzer: 761; see Chantraine 1942: 404), δηριν̄θῆναι (A. R.), present metrically reshaped in δηριόωντο, δηριάασθαι, etc. (Hom.; Schwyzer: 727, Chantraine 1942: 359); ptc. act. δηριώντων (Pi. *N.* 11, 26; for -όντων acc. to Schulze 1892: 384 A. 3), δηριόωντες (A. R. 1, 752; see Schwyzer 1950: 234, partly metrically determined). δηρίττειν· ἐρίζειν 'to contend with' (H.). Privative adjective ἀ-δήρῑ-τος 'without battle' (P 42; ἄ-δηρις *AP*); as a verbal adj. to δηρίομαι 'indomitable' (A. *Pr.* 105), 'undisputed' (Plb.).

•ETYM Formally, δῆρις seem to correspond to Skt. *-dāri-* 'splitting' (as a second member in epic), but the Skt. word is attested only rather late, which makes the comparison uncertain. See also ►δέρω.

δηρός [adj.] 'lasting long' (Il.). ◅IE **dueh₂-* 'long'▻

•VAR Dor. δᾱρός, mostly δηρόν, δᾱρόν [adv.] 'long'. On the use Björck 1950: 126, 208, 210.
•ETYM Related to δήν, δ(ϝ)ᾰ́ν, from *δϝᾱ-ρός. The same root occurs in Hitt. *tuu̯a* [adv.] 'far', *tuu̯ala-* [adj.] 'far from' (Benveniste *BSL* 33 (1932): 142f.), OP *duvaištam*, Av. *dbōištəm* 'diutissime', Arm. *tev-em* 'to hold out' (cf. Kortlandt 2003: 102: derivation of *tew*), and Skt. *dū-rá-* 'far', Lat. *dū-dum* 'for a long time', etc. Not related to Arm. *erkar* 'lasting long', according to Kortlandt 2003: 92f.

δῆτα ⇒ δή.

δήω [v.] 'I shall find' (Il.); the future mg. is based on the perfective aspect of the verb (Schwyzer 1950: 265). ◁IE? **des-* 'find, look after'▷
•VAR Only present (except ἔδηεν· εὗρεν H.) with future meaning.
•ETYM Remarkable lengthened grade thematic root present. It has been compared with OCS *dešǫ*, *desiti* 'find' (Pedersen *IF* 5 (1895): 47) and Alb. *ndesh* 'meet' (Jokl *Wien. Ak. Sb.* 168: 1: 60ff, Pok. 190). See also Vasmer 1953 s.v. *desitь*. Narten *KZ* 78 (1963): 63 compared Skt. *abhi-dāsati* (the subj. aor. of ^{5}*dā-* 'be hostile').

διά [adv., prep.] 'in two, apart, through' (Il.), as a prep. 'through' (Il.); on the mg. Schwyzer 1950: 448ff. ◁IE **dis* 'apart'▷
•VAR Thess. διέ, Lesb, ζά (< δι̯α). Epic ►δα-; also διαί (A.; after καταί 'downwards', παραί 'beside', ὑπαί 'under').
•COMP Note διαμπερές, διάνδιχα; διαπρό, διέκ.
•ETYM Probably from *διh-α; related to Lat. *dis-*, OS, OE *te-*, OHG *zi-*, *ze-* (whence *zir-*, *zer-* through contamination with *ir-*, *er-*), Alb. *ç-* 'apart'. Greek has added -α after μετά, παρά, etc. Cf. ►δίς.

διαβήτης [m.] 'circle' (Ar.), 'compass' (Pl., Plu.), later 'siphon' (Colum., Hero) because of the formal similarity. ◁GR▷
•ETYM From διαβαίνειν, 'spread the legs' (see Kalbfleisch *PhW* 64 (1944); *contra* Strömberg 1944: 89). The meaning 'diabetes' is modern. See ►βαίνω.

διάγγαρον [adj.] · δικέφαλον 'two-headed' (H.; alphabetically at the wrong place). ◁?▷
•ETYM Schmidt and Latte consider this word corrupt. von Blumenthal 1930: 24 attempted to identify it as Illyrian.

διάζομαι ⇒ ἄττομαι.

διαίνω [v.] 'to make (the eyes) wet, cry' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. διῆναι.
•DER διαντός (Arist.), διαντικὸς (Arist.); δίανσις (Gal.). On ►διερός (Hes.), see s.v.
•ETYM Unknown. See Bechtel 1914 s.v.

δίαιτα [f.] 1. 'mode of life, prescribed way of life, dwelling' (Pi., Ion., also Att.; on the mg. 'ornaments' in LXX Del Medico *ByzZ* 44, 413ff.); 2. 'arbitration' (Att.). ◁GR▷
•DER διαιτάομαι 'feed onself, live somewhere, be somewhere' (IA), -άω 'treat as a physician' (Hp.); 2. διαιτάω 'to distinguish, be arbitrator' (Pi., Att.). διαίτημα (mostly plur.) 'way of life' (Hp.) with διατηματώδης; διαίτησις 'way of life' (Hp.); διαιτητήρια

[pl.] 'living room' (X.); διαιτητικός 'belonging to the food' (Hp.), and 'belonging to the arbitration' (Str.); uncertain διαιτί[α = διαίτησις (epist. Hadr.; *Hesperia* 3, 41). διαιτητής 'arbiter' (Hdt.), διαιτατ̄ρ (Olympia VI[a]) and διαιτήσιμος 'belonging to the arbiter' (Is.; after ἐφέσιμος; cf. Arbenz 1933: 69f.); τὸ διαιτητικόν 'decision of an arbiter' (pap.). διαίτωμα (Delph. II[a]) = δίαιτα, see Chantraine 1933: 187.

•ETYM Like ἀρτάω from *ά(ϝ)ερτάω beside primary ἀείρω, so δι-αιτάομαι, -άω stands beside primary ἄνυμαι (see Schwyzer: 705f.); thus, it originally meant 'take out, divide', whence 'divide food, feed oneself, live' and, on the other hand, 'decide' (with reference to jurisdiction, like ►αἴτιος; cf. also ►αἶσα). δίαιτα is a retrograde formation from the verb. Only in the medical sense of 'treat as physician' is διαιτάω a denominative of δίαιτα.

διάκονιν [m.] · δυσκίνητον. Κρῆτες 'difficult to move (Cret.)' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

διακόνιον [n.] · μάζα ἢ ζωμὸς, καὶ ἡ κρηπὶς τοῦ πλακοῦντος 'barley-cake or soup or sauce; bottom of a type of flat cake' (Pherecr. fr. 156), οἱ δὲ πέμματα ἑξαπτόμενα τῆς εἰρεσιώνης 'sweetmeats fastened on a wreath' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

διακονίς [f.]? · ἐπὶ ὑφῆς ἱματίου ἀνωμάλου, ὅ φαμεν κονίζειν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ μὴ πυκνός 'a coarsely-woven tunic; also a man who is not shrewd' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Latte *Mnem.* 3:10 (1942): 82 recalls the gloss κεκονισμένος· συνπεπλεγμένος from a sch. on Theoc. 1, 30, but this remains unclear.

διᾰ́κονος [m.] 'servant, diaconus' (IA, etc.). ◄IE **ken-* 'hasten'►

•VAR Ion. διήκονος; secondary διάκων (pap.).

•DIAL Myc. perhaps *ka-si-ko-no* if /kasi-konos/ 'worker, companion'.

•DER Fem. διακόνισσα (late; see Chantraine 1933: 110). διακονία 'service' (Att.), διακονικός (Att.). διακονέω (διη-) 'to serve, be servant' (IA) together with διακόνημα 'service' (Pl.), διακόνησις 'service' (Pl.), διακονητικός (Alex. Aphr.).

•ETYM If the formation is to be compared with that of ►ἀμφίπολος, διᾰ́κονος derives from a verb lost otherwise, or else it could be deverbal derivation of διακονέω, which would be an iterative-intensive deverbative like ►ἐγκονέω 'hurry'. δια- may have meant 'from all sides, completely'; its long vowel might have to be explained from lengthening in compounds, were it not that according to Ruijgh *Lingua* 25 (1970): 320 only the first vowel of the second member can be lengthened. On the meaning, see Lidén 1906: 52. Cf. also ►διηνεκής.

διᾰκόσιοι [num.] 'two hundred' (collective τὴν διακοσίαν ἵππον 'two hundred horse' Th. 1, 62). ◄IE **dui-dḱmt-* 'two hundred'►

•VAR Ion. διηκόσιοι, Dor., etc. διακάτιοι.

•DER διακοσιοστός 'the twohundredth' (D. H.), ἡ διακοσιοστή name of a half percent tax in Ptolemaic Egypt (pap.); διακοσιάκις (Herod. Med.); διακοσιάπρωτοι name of the highest class of taxpayers (Aphrodisias; after δεκά-πρωτοι); διακοσιοντά-χους 'twohundredfold' (Str.; after ἑκατοντά-χους, etc.), cf. διακοσιοντάκις (Alex. Aphr.).

•ETYM The original form of the second member is -κάτιοι, which became -κόσιοι with regular assibilation τ > σ and analogical -ο- after -κοντα, -κοστός; διᾱ-, διη- is for δι- (see δίς) after τριᾱ-, τριη-κόσιοι, etc. See ▶εἴκοσι, ▶ἑκατόν.

διακουράζεσθαι [v.] · ἀτενὲς βλέπειν 'to behold intently'· διὰ τὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κόρας λέγεσθαι 'because the eyes were called κ.' (Suid., EM 267,24). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Unknown.

διάκτορος [adj.] epithet of Hermes (Hom.); by later poets, who understood it as 'messenger', also used for Iris, Athena, the Eagle of Zeus, etc. (Call.); finally also as adjective (διάκτορα ... ἔγχεα 'swords' Nonn.). Secondary διάκτωρ (*AP*, H.; cf. διάκων = διάκονος). ◁?▷
•ETYM The meaning was lost at an early date; it was used as 'διάκονος' by A. *Pr.* 941, and later simply interpreted as 'messenger': ἀπὸ τοῦ διάγειν τὰς ἀγγελίας 'because they carry over messages' (H.). The gloss continues, however: ἢ οἷον διατόρως καὶ σαφῶς διαλεγόμενος 'or like: said loudly and clearly'. Bechtel 1914 relates it as διάκτορος to κτέρας: "one who disposes of treasure"(?); Östergaard *Herm.* 37 (1902): 333ff. takes it as god of death, based on connection with κτέρες· νεκροί 'the dead' (H.), but this is probably a guess by grammarians to explain κτέρεα as 'honors of the dead' (Solmsen *IF* 3 (1894): 98). Thieme 1952: 52f. objects to these explanations, and analyzes *δια-ακτ-τορος as "transmitting to the other side [of Persephoneia]"; Frisk deems this "mehr kühn als überzeugend". Janko *Glotta* 56 (1978): 192-195 follows Hesychius in assuming that the form was thematicized secondarily and that it meant ἡγεμών 'leader'.

διαμευστάς [acc.pl.] · ἁλαζόνας 'charlatans, cheats'; διαμευτής· ψεύστης, ἀπατεών 'liar, cheat' (H.). ◁GR?▷
•ETYM From *δι-αμεύομαι; see ▶ἀμεύσασθαι.

διαμμοιρηδά ⇒μοῖρα.

διαμπάξ [adv.] 'right through, through and through' (trag., X). ◁GR▷
•ETYM From διά, ἀνά and -πάξ in ἅπαξ; perhaps modelled after ▶διαμπερές.

διαμπερές [adv.] 'through and through, right through', local and temporal (Il.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Also with tmesis: διὰ δ'ἀμπερές (Schwyzer 1950: 426).
•DER διαμπερής [adj.] 'piercing' (Hp.); διαμπερέως (Hp.), from there ἀμπερέως· διαμπάξ 'right through' (H.).
•ETYM From διά and ἀμπείρω; cf. ἀμπείραντες 'having pierced' B 426 (διαμπείρω [Q. S.] is a secondary formation after διαπείρω). The root vowel is the same as in διαπεράω, περόνη, etc., as well as in the adj. in -ής (Schwyzer: 513). The combination δι(ά)-ἀνά, or rather -ἀN-, occurs also in διάνδιχα (Hom.); see ▶δίχα. Cf. Strömberg 1946: 140f. and Luther 1935: 154f. See also synonymous ▶διαμπάξ (A.).

διαπρύσιον [adv.] 'going through, piercing', especially of sounds, 'far stretching' (Hom.). ◁IE? *δια-πρ-υ-τ-?▷
•VAR Also -ίως [adv.] (D. S.).

•ETYM διαπρύσιος arose from διαπρό 'through and through', to which *-*tyo*- was added (see Forssman *KZ* 79 (1965): 14[4]). For the unclear υ-vocalism, Aeolic origin has been proposed (Chantraine 1942: 25; for other suggestions, cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v.; Schwyzer 1950: 505; Schwyzer *KZ* 63 (1936): 60[1]).

διάραμα ⇒ἐξεράω.

διαττάω [v.] 'to sieve' (Att.). ◁IE **kieh*$_2$- 'sieve'▷

•VAR Perf. ptc. pass. διεττημένος (διηττημένος Thphr. as if from δι-αττάω); as a simplex σῶσι [3pl.pres.] (Hdt. 1, 200), ἐττημένος (Pherecr., Att. inscr.), ἐσσημένος (Delos III[a], with Ionic -σσ-). A present in -θ- is ▶ σήθω.

•COMP ἀλευρό-ττησις 'flour-sieve' (Poll.), 'sieved flour' (Suid.).

•DER Verbal noun διάττησις (Plu.), also (deverbal) δίαττος· ἡ ἀλευρότ<τ>ησις, τὸ κόσκινον 'flour-sieve, sieve' (H.).

•ETYM Formerly, *(δια-)τϝαίω was posited, and the word implausibly compared with Skt. *titaü-* 'to sieve'. Puhvel has connected Hittite *kinae-*^{zi} 'to assort', which fits excellently both formally and semantically (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. for a critical note, though). We have to reconstruct a root **kieh*$_2$- 'to sieve' (thus LIV[2]), from which Greek probably formed a *yod*-present (see also most recently*RPh.* 72 (1998) 124).

δίβολος [adj.] 'with double point', of a halbert or a cloth. ◁GR▷

•DER διβολία 'halbert' (Ar.), 'cloth' (Plu.); διβολέω 'harrow' (pap.).

•ETYM DELG compares βάλλω.

δίβος [m.] name of a square on the draughtboard (*AP* 9, 482). ◁LW Lat.▷

•ETYM Loan from Lat. *dīvus*; however, the ι is short.

διδάσκω [v.] 'to teach, instruct' (Od.). ◁IE **d(e)ns*- 'teach'▷

•VAR Aor. διδάξαι (like ἁλύσκω : ἀλύξαι), perf. med. δεδιδάχθαι; post-Hom. διδασκῆσαι (Hes.), διδάξω (A.), δεδίδαχα (Pl.).

•DER διδάσκαλος [m.] ([f.]) 'teacher' (IA, *h. Merc.*) with διδασκαλία 'lesson, education' (Pi.), διδασκάλιον 'knowledge' (Hdt.), late in plur. 'tuition fee', διδασκαλικός 'ptng. to the teacher', διδασκαλεῖον 'school' (IA). διδαχή 'education' (IA), δίδαξις 'id.' (E.), δίδαγμα 'id.' (IA), for which cf. ταράξαι: ταραχή, τάραξις, τάραγμα; διδαγμοσύνη 'id.' (astrol.). δίδακτρα [pl.] 'teacher's fee' (Theoc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 332); διδακτήριον 'proof' (Hp.); διδακτικός 'suitable for teaching' (Ph., NT).

•ETYM Reduplicated σκ-present of ▶δαῆναι with factitive meaning < *δαh-ῆναι. Since the root was obscured, the reduplication (and partly also the σκ-suffix) spread to the non-presentic forms. See Debrunner 1937: 251ff.

δίδημι ⇒δέω 1.

διδρᾱ́σκω [v.] 'to run away' (ἀποδράς Od.; but see Ἄδρηστος below). ◁IE **dreh*$_2$- 'run'▷

•VAR Aor. ἀπ-έδρᾱν, perf. ἀποδέδρακα. Also ἐκ-διδράσκω; the simplex is hardly attested, see DELG.

•DER ἀπόδρᾱσις 'escape' (Hdt.), δρᾱσμός 'flight' (Hdt.). ἄδρᾱστος 'who does not run away' (Hdt.), also as a PN Ἄδρηστος, -δραστος (Il.); fem. Ἀδρᾱ́στεια, name of Nemesis: 'from whom one cannot flee' (A.); also Ἀδρηστίνη. Lengthened verbal form δρασκάζω = ἀποδιδράσκω (Lex *apud* Lys. 10, 17; Zen.), ἀποδρασκάζω (Tz.); δράσκασις (H.).

δρᾱπέτης [m.] 'runaway (slave)' (Hdt.), with unclear -π- (cf. DELG), whence several derivatives like δραπετεύω [v.] 'to run away'. Note δρᾱ́ψ (Ar. *fr.* 768).

•ETYM The athematic root aorist ἔ-δρᾱ-ν corresponds morphologically to Skt. *drāntu* [3pl.impv.] 'run', from a root **dr-eh*$_2$- beside **dr-em*-, seen in ►δραμεῖν, ►δρόμος. See ►ἀποδιδράσκω.

δίδυμος [adj.] 'double', substantivized plur. 'twins' (Il.), 'testicles' (LXX). ◅IE **dui-du-*▻

•DIAL Myc. PN *Di-du-mo* /Didumōi/.

•DER διδυμᾶονε [du.], -οσιν [dat.pl.] 'twins' (Hom.), as an adj. in Nonn., both plur. and sing., = δίδυμος; built on δίδυμος after ὀπάων (Chantraine 1933: 163, Schwyzer: 521); διδύμιος = δίδυμος (*Sammelb.* 1068); medical terms διδύμια, διδυμαῖα [pl.] 'testicles, etc.' (Hp.); διδυμωτός 'forked' (Cyran.); Διδυμών month name in Alexandria (Ptol.). διδυμότης 'duality' (Pl.). Denominative διδυμεύω 'to bear twins' (LXX). διδυμᾱ-τόκος (-η-) 'bearing twins' (Theoc.) with compositional (metrical) lengthening for διδυμο-τόκος (Arist.); from the former διδυμη-τοκέω (-ο-).

•ETYM Reduplication from δύο with a suffix -μο- (ἔτυμος); cf. ἀμφί-δυμος 'double' (δ 847). Analogical formations like τρί-δυμος (D. H.) show that δίδυμος was connected with δίς 'twice', at least at a later date. Cf. also Gonda 1953: 48.

δίδωμι [v.] 'to give' (Il.). ◅IE **deh*$_3$- 'give'▻

•VAR Fut. δώσω (διδώσω ν 358, ω 314), aor. ἔδωκα, δοῦναι (see below), pass. δοθῆναι, perf. δέδωκα, δέδομαι. Cypr. opt. δώκοι from δώκω (from the aor.).

•DIAL Myc. *di-do-si* /didonsi/ 'they give', *di-do-to* /didontoi/ [3pl.ind.pass.], *do-se* /dōsei/ 'he will give', *jo-do-so-si* /jō-dosonsi/, *o-do-ke* /hō-dōke/ [ind.aor.], *a-pu-do-ke* /apu-dōke/, *a-pe-do-ke* /ap-edōke/, *de-do-me-na* /dedomena/ [perf.ptc.pass.]; *a-pu-do-si* /apu-dosis/, *do-so-mo* /dosmos/, *do-so-mi-jo* /dosmios/ 'consisting of contributions', *do-ra* /dōra/ 'gifts'; PN *te-o-do-ra* /t^{h}e^{h}odōra/.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἀπο-, δια-, etc. As a first member δωσι- in Δωσί-θεος, etc.; cf. Knecht 1946: 11; see also below.

•DER δώς [f.] 'gift' (Hes. *Op.* 356 < δώ-ς or *δώτ-ς, see below); (ἀνά-, ἀντί-, ἀπό-, etc.)δόσις 'gift' (Il.) with δοσίδιον (inscr.) and δόσιμος, often from compounds with ἐπι-, ἐν-, παρα-; δῶτις, uncertain; acc. to Fraenkel 1910: 105 twice in the Amphiktyon-law of 380^{a} for λωτις; also δῶττις· δώς, φερνή 'gift, dowry' (H.), probably a mistake, see Latte; δωτίνη, -ᾱ, 'gift, present, rent' (Hom., also Argolis; but cf. Leumann 1950: 279f.), with δωτινάζω 'collect gifts' (Hdt. 2, 180); ἀπυ-δοσμός 'selling' with ἀπυδόσμιος (Arc.); -δομα in ἀπό-, διά-, πρό-δομα, etc.; cf. Wilhelm *Glotta* 14 (1925): 70f.; on ►δῶρον see s.v. Further (ἐκ-, ἐπι-, etc.)δοτήρ 'giver' (Il.), fem. δότειρα (Hes.); δώτωρ 'id.' (Od.); on δοτήρ : δώτωρ see Benveniste 1948: 46 and 49; δωτήρ 'id.' (θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων θ 325, etc.; see below); δότις = δοτήρ (LXX); first

only in compounds, e.g. προδότης, fem. -τις 'traitor' (IA) with προδοσία 'treason' (IA); δώτης (Hes. *Op.* 355, beside ἀ-δώτης; cf. δώς above and Fraenkel 1910: 118, Frisk 1948: 20), ἐπιδώτης epithet of Zeus in Mantinea and other gods (Paus.) with Ἐπιδώτειον name of a tempel (Epidauros); Δωτώ name of a Nereid (Il., Hes.; see below). δοτικός, often prefixed with ἐπι-, μετα-, etc. (Arist.). Desiderative deverbative (παρα-, ἐν-, etc.)δωσείω (Th.), iterative preterite δόσκον (epic).

•ETYM δίδωμι goes back to the widespread PIE root **deh$_3$-/dh$_3$-*. Except for the reduplication vocalism, δίδω-μι corresponds to Skt. *dádāti*, Av. *dadāiti*; *i*-reduplication is also seen in Italic, e.g. Osc. *didest* 'he will give', Vest. *didet* 'dat', and perhaps also in Lat. *reddō*, if < **re-di-dō*. Other correspondences are with the medial root aorists ἔδοτο, Skt. *ádita*, Venet. *zo-to* < **dh$_3$-to*; and with the participles (-)δοτός, Lat. *dătus*, Skt. *-dāta-*, Av. *dāta-* (but zero grade in Skt. *-tta-* < **-dh$_3$-to-*; as a simplex it has new *dattá-*). The active aorist ἔ-δω-κ-α (with -κ- after ἔθηκα, ἧκα, acc. to Schwyzer: 741) replaces the root aorist **ἔ-δω-ν* (cf. ἔ-στη-ν), seen in Skt. *á-dā-t*, Arm. *et* 'he gave' < **h$_1$é-dō-t*. Cypr. δοϝεναι is often equated with Skt. *dāváne* [inf.] 'to give' (see Benveniste 1935: 129); however, an element **u̯* is also found in Cypr. opt. δυϝάνοι, Lat. *duim* 'dem', Lith. *dovanà* 'gift', *dāvė* 'he gave', and other forms (see LIV^2 s.v. **deh$_3$u-*). Hom. Att. δοῦναι is from **δο-έναι*. Among the nouns, compare δώτωρ = Skt. *dātar-*, with zero grade Lat. *dător*; δοτήρ : Skt. *dātár-*; δόσις = Lat. *dăti-ō*; δώς, if < **δώτ-ς* = Lat. *dōs*, *-tis* (if the latter is from IE **deh$_3$-t-* and not **deh$_3$-ti-*). As a first member, Δωσι- = Skt. *dāti-vāra-* 'who loves giving, liberal'.

δίεμαι [v.] trans. 'to hunt, pursue' in δίεσθαι (Μ 276, etc.), intrans. 'to run' in δίενται (Ψ 475) and δίεσθαι (Μ 304). ◁?▷

•VAR Subj. δίωμαι, δίηται, δίωνται (Ο 681, etc.), opt. δίοιτο (ρ 317); act. ἐνδίεσαν (see DELG). Active preterite forms δίον 'I fled' (Χ 251; on δίε see Chantraine 1942: 388), ἐνδίεσαν 'they pursued' (Σ 584); note περὶ γὰρ δίε (Ε 566, etc.) 'he was afraid', see below. Rare forms in A.: δίομαι with inf. 'I feared' (*Pers.* 700f. [lyr.] bis), διόμενος 'driven away' (*Supp.* 819, *Eu.* 357 and 385 [lyr.]); in Gortyn ἐδδίηται (< ἐσδ- = ἐκδ-), ἐπιδίεθθαι, -διόμενος 'to chase away, pursue' (*SGDI* 4997-8). See on ▶διώκω.

•ETYM δίε 'was afraid' rather belongs to δέδοικα, ▶δείδω. Since the only active forms remaining are the *hapax legomena* δίον and ἐνδίεσαν, these may be secondary after ἵενται, ἵεσαν; moreover, a PIE **dih$_1$-* could hardly have become διε-, which also suggests that these two forms are analogical. Consequently, the verb was thematic. Cf. further ▶διερός 'quick'. The appurtenance of Skt. *dī́yati* 'fly' is not certain. From other languages have been compared OIr. *dían* 'quick' and Latv. *diêt* 'to dance' (LIV^2 s.v. **deih$_1$-* 'dahinjagen'). See ▶δῖνος, ▶δίζημαι, ▶ζητέω.

διεράω [v.] 'to filter through' (Plu.). ◁?▷

•DER διέραμα 'funnel, strainer' (Plu.); in the papyri often used as a technical term of Egyptian transport, mg. not quite clear and probably influenced by διαίρειν 'transport', cf. the notation διαίρεμα; thence διεραματίτης name of an official of transportion. Note διάραμα next to διερᾶν; thence διαραμιατία name of a liturgy.

•ETYM Beside διέραμα, διέρασις (pap.), also διαίρασις. See Frisk 1931: 28ff.; also, Redard 1949: 242, who adduces διάρημα = λέμβος 'kind of ship' (Procop.). See ►ἀπεράω and ►ἐξεράω.

διερός in Hom. a qualification of ἀνήρ 'man' (ζ 201 ἀνήρ διερὸς βροτός), and of πούς 'foot' (ι 43); in Diog. Laert. (*AP* 7, 123) epithet of φλόξ 'flame, fire'. In Anaxag. 4, 12 the opposite of ξηρός 'humid' (A.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The meaning was unknown even in antiquity, as is clear from the incompatible translations in H.: διερός· λαμπρός, ζῶν, περιφανής 'brilliant, alive, apparent'. Connection with δίεμαι is only possible if the word is from **dih₁-ero-*. Schulze (see Bechtel 1914 s.v.) reads ζ 201 as *δϝιερός 'to be feared', related to ►δείδω; semantically, this is not convincing (cf. DELG). The word has also been connected with διαίνω (Frisk); this is also not convincing (as it is not from an *r/n*-stem).

δίζα [f.] · αἴξ. Λάκωνες 'goat (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅LW? Illyr.▻

•ETYM The word has been compared with δίζα < *διγ-ϳα, with Arm. *tik* 'sack' from IE **digeh₂-*, related to OHG *ziga* 'goat'. Schmitt-Brandt *Kratylos* 13 (1968): 3 compared Alb. *dhi* 'goat' (rejected by Demiraj 1997). Latte thought the word was Illyrian. Perpillou *BSL* 67 (1972): 115-122 supposes that the word was originally *αἴζα, perhaps seen in Myc. *a₃-za* (see now DELG *Supp.*).

δίζημαι [v.] 'to search, seek out, desire' (Il.). ◅IE **ieh₂-* 'pursue'▻

•VAR διζησόμεθ' (π 239; subj. aor., cf. Chantraine 1942: 455), fut. διζήσεαι (Parm. 8, 6), aor. ἐδιζησάμην (Heraclit. 101); new present δίζομαι (Herod.; see Schwyzer: 689).

•DIAL Att. has ζητέω.

•DER δίζησις (Parm.), cf. Porzig 1942: 197.

•ETYM It was thought that δίζημαι goes back to *δι-δϳᾱ-μαι, reflecting a verbal stem further occurring in ►ζῆλος and ►ζητέω. However, García Ramón (see ►Ζητήρ) has shown that the basic root is **ieh₂-* 'to pursue, avenge, etc.'.

δίζω ⇒δίς.

διηγανές ⇒γάνυμαι.

διηνεκής [adj.] 'uninterrupted, definite, exact' (Il.; on the mg. Luther 1935: 64f.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Artificially Attic (Dorianized) διᾶνεκής (Schwyzer: 190), -έως.

•ETYM From δι(α)-ενεκ-ής with compositional lengthening (cf. ποδ-ηνεκής) to ἐνεγκεῖν, ἐνεχ-θῆναι; see Schwyzer: 513. The simplex ἠνεκής (Emp.) arose by decomposition. See also δουρηνεκής (s.v. ►δόρυ). On the long -η-, see Bonfante *Riv. fil. class.* 97 (1969): 189.

διητανές [adj.] · λιτόν, διατεταμένον 'simple, stretched (out)' (H.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM From διά and τείνω, τανύω with lengthening of the α (cf. διηνεκής).

διθύραμβος [m.] name of a song at the festival for Dionysus (Archil.), also said of the god (E. *Ba.* 526 [lyr.]). ◅PG▻

•VAR διθυραμιφος on a vase (*SEG* XVI (1959) no. 40).

•DER διθυραμβώδης (Ph.), -ικός (Arist.), -ιος month name (Gonni), διθυραμβέω 'to sing dithyrambs' (Hell.).
•ETYM Like ἴαμβος and θρίαμβος, δῑθύραμβος is Pre-Greek (thus also Frisk and DELG). See also Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 219f., *contra* Brandenstein *IF* 54 (1936): 34ff., who connects the word with Skt. *áṅga-* 'member'.

διῑπετής [adj.] 'fallen from heaven', then 'heavenly' (*h. Ven.* 4, οἰωνοί 'birds', perhaps from the root **peth₂-* 'fly'), 'light, clear' (Emp.); see Leumann 1950: 311. ◁GR▷
•VAR Hom. only in διῑπετέος ποταμοῖο (verse end).
•ETYM The older form for διῑπετής may have been διειπετής (as also suggested by ancient sources such as sch. Od. 4, 477), like Διειτρέφης (inscr.) after Διϝεί-φιλος (epic διΐφιλος), where the dative was correct. See Bechtel 1914 s.v. On the verbal second member, cf. Fraenkel 1910: 63, Risch 1937: 82. See also Schmitt 1968: 221f.

δικασπόλος [m.] 'judge' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•DER Rare and late δικασπολία and δικασπολέω.
•ETYM Formation like ▶αἰπόλος, ▶βουκόλος, but here with a remarkable acc.pl. as the first member. δικασκόπος (Mytilene, Cyme, IV-III[a]) is formed after δικασπόλος. There is no relationship with Go. *spillon* 'to proclaim', etc. (pace e.g. Lagercrantz 1938: 59). See ▶δίκη.

δικεῖν [v.] 'to throw' (Pi.) also 'to aim (on high)' (E. *HF* 498) with ἄνδικε· ἀνάρριψον 'throw!', ἀνδικά· ὁ βόλος 'throw, cast', ἀνδίκτης· τὸ ἀναριπτόμενον τῆς μυάγρας ξύλον 'the sprung holding bar of a mousetrap' (Call.; H.). ◁PG▷
•DER ▶δίκτυον and ▶δίσκος.
•ETYM Connection with ▶δείκνυμι is defended by Brugmann *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 144ff. and Gonda 1929: 216ff., but this is semantically problematic. See under ▶δίκτυον and ▶δίσκος. Fur.: 297 compares λιχάξαι· ῥῖψαι, βαλεῖν. Κρῆτες 'throw (Cret.)' (H.), which points to a Pre-Greek word. LIV² s.v. 2. **deiḱ-* 'werfen' connects the word with Khot. *dīśś-* 'werfen'.

δίκελλᾰ [f.] a two-pronged fork (trag., Delos III[a]). ◁PG▷
•DER δικελλίτης (Luc.).
•ETYM A technical term without established etymology. A connection with μάκελλα, μακέλη (Il.) requires an analysis as δί- and μά-κελλα, which is possible only for δί-κελλα: a prefix μα- (allegedly from IE **sem-*) does not exist. The variation -ελλα/-ελη, as displayed by μάκελλα, μακέλη, is best explained from Pre-Greek **-alʾa* vel sim. Therefore, μάκελλα, μακέλη is probably of Pre-Greek origin, and we can reasonably assume the same for δίκελλα.

δίκη [f.] 'custom, right, judgement, justice, lawsuit, trial, punishment' (Il.). ◁IE **deiḱ-* 'show'▷
•COMP ▶δικασπόλος 'judge' with an acc. pl.
•DER Diminutive δικίδιον (Ar.; see Fournier 1946: 116). δίκαιος 'just, lawful' (Il.); with δικαιότης 'justice' (X.) and δικαιοσύνη 'id.' (IA; see Porzig 1942: 225), secondary δικαιόσυνος (of Zeus); denominative δικαιόω 'consider to be right, claim, sentence' (IA) with δικαίωμα 'act of right' and δικαίωσις 'lawsuit, punishment'; also

δικαιωτήριον 'place of punishment' (Pl. *Phdr.* 249a; like δεσμωτήριον, etc.) and δικαιωτής 'judge' (Plu.). δικανικός 'belonging to trials', often depreciative (Att.); the base form only in H.: δικανούς· τοὺς περὶ τὰς δίκας διατρίβοντας 'those who occupy themselves with justice' (H.). The long ᾱ (Ar. *Pax* 534) is from νεᾱνικός acc. to Chantraine *Anales de filología clásica* 6 (1952): 45ff.; see also Björck 1950: 256f., 279f. δικαϊκός 'rightly' (M. Ant.). Denominative δικάζω 'to judge', med. 'to go to law' (Il.; διαδικάζω Att.); from it δικαστής 'judge' (IA) with δικαστικός 'belonging to a judge/justice' (Pl.) and δικαστεία 'office of δικαστής' (inscr.); rare δικαστήρ 'id.' (Locr., Pamph., etc.), fem. δικάστρια (Luc.), with δικαστήριον 'law court' (IA) with the diminutive δικαστηρίδιον (Ar.) and δικαστηριακός (Phld.); from δικάζω also δικαστύς (Epigr. Samos; Fraenkel 1910: 32[2]), δικασμός (Ph.), δικασία (Aq.; διαδικασία Att.), διαδίκασμα (Lys.), δίκασις (sch.). Privative compound ἄδικος 'unjust' with ἀδικία and ἀδικέω, whence ἀδίκημα (all IA). On the hypostasis ἀδικίου 'because of unjustice' see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 288; on ἀδίκιον Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 190f.

•ETYM Although it is morphologically identical with epic Skt. *diśā-* 'direction, part of heaven', δίκη is an independent formation. It is probably an extension of the root noun seen in Skt. *díś-* 'cardinal point' and preserved in Lat. *dicis causā* (Wackernagel in WH 1: 860). Pace Kretschmer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 2, the association with 'right' must be old, as it is also found in Lat. *dicis causa*, *iūdex*, and in Germanic; see δείκνυμι.

δικλίδες [f.pl.] 'double folding' (θύραι 'doors', πύλαι 'gates', etc.) (Il.); also substantivized (Theoc.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Late also sing.

•ETYM Compound of δι- (see ▶δίς) and κλι- in ▶κλίνω, κλί-σις. Cf. δίκλεις, s.v. ▶κλείς.

δίκροος [adj.] 'forked, cloven' (IA; cf. Ilberg *Arch. f. Pap.* 4, 281f.). ◁IE *(*dui*)-*ḱr-ou-o-* 'two-horned'.▷

•VAR Gen. δίκρους. Also δικρόος, gen. δικροῦς, or (with hyphaeresis) δίκρος.

•ETYM δίκροος goes back to *δί-κροϝ-ος 'two-horned', from δι- (see ▶δίς) and a word for 'horn'. Nussbaum 1986: 2-18, assumes that there were forms without laryngeal (e.g. Skt. *śṛ́ṅga-*, κάρνος H.) to explain the discrepancy between δίκροος without reflex of *h_2 and κερα[ϝ]-ός 'horned' (beside Lat. *cervus* 'deer', Av. *srū-* 'horn') from *$ḱerh_2$-uo-* with *h_2. Note that κόρυς, κόρυμβα, etc. are not related, but rather of Pre-Greek origin.

δίκταμνον [n.] plant name, 'Origanum Dictamnus' (Arist.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Also δίκταμον (Arist.).

•DER δικταμνίτης (οἶνος, Dsc.); cf. Redard 1949: 96. Note the town Δίκταμ(ν)ον on the north coast of Crete.

•ETYM Formation like σφένδαμνος, κάρδαμον, etc. (Schwyzer: 524 and 494), and therefore Pre-Greek (Fur.: 396). Chantraine 1933: 216 hypothesizes that the word is from Δίκτη, mountain on Crete, which is possible; cf. Strömberg 1940: 126.

δίκτυον [n.] 'net, strick' (Od.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DIAL Myc. *de-ku-tu-wo-ko* /dektuworgos/.
•COMP δικτυ-βόλος (*AP*, Opp.) beside δικτυο-βόλος (Poll.) after δικτυ-αρχέω (inscr.) with elided *-o-*?
•DER Diminutive δικτύδιον (Poll.); δικτυεύς 'fisher (with a net)' (Str.) with δικτυεία 'fishing' (Ael.); also δικτυΐα, see Scheller 1951: 41. - δικτυώδης 'like a net' (Hp. *Ep.*), δικτυωτός 'forming a net' (LXX); from δικτυόομαι? (LXX). PN Δίκτυς.
•ETYM Usually derived from an older *u*-stem derivative of ►δικεῖν 'throw' (δίκτυ only *EM* 275, 27; from the plural δίκτυα, Schwyzer: 460f.). However, the verb need not be related, and the Mycenaean form has *-e-* as a variant of *-i-*, which points to Pre-Greek origin (see Bader 1965: §23; Chadwick 1964: 19-21; see under ►δίσκος; on Pre-Greek *u*-stems, see Heubeck 1961: 36). Not with Chantraine *REGr.* 80 (1967): 1-5 or Ruijgh 1988: 450 should we explain the Mycenaean form from **deiktu-*. The connection of Van Windekens *KZ* 100 (1987): 311f. with Hitt. *ekt-*, *ikt-* '(catching) net', which the initial δ- to be from δικεῖν, is implausible.

δίκτυς 1, -υος [m.] name of an unknown Libyan animal (Hdt. 4, 192). ◅LW Libyan▻
•ETYM Unexplained. See Gsell 1913: 128 and Gsell 1915: 97f.

δίκτυς 2 [m.] · ὁ ἰκτῖνος ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'kite (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown. Fur.: 392 connects ἰκτῖνος, assuming a Pre-Greek word with δ/zero. However, ►ἰκτῖνος is rather an IE word. ►δίκτυς 1 probably refers to a different animal.

δίλαξ · ἡ ἁρία, τὸ φυτὸν. Λάκωνες (H.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR With prothetic vowel in MoGr. άζίλακες 'querens' (Fur.: 374).
•ETYM The word is Pre-Greek on account of the variant with a prothetic vowel.

δίλασ(σ)ον [n.] name of an article of clothing (*BGU* 814, 25; 816, 27 [II^{p}]). ◅GR▻
•DER τετρά-λασ(σ)ον as attribute of λέντι<ο>ν (*PSI* 8, 971, 17 [III-IV^{p}]), of flax (*Ed. Diocl.* 28, 61).
•ETYM The second member is perhaps connected to λάσιος 'hairy'; cf. τετρά-βιβλος from ►βιβλίον, s.v.

δινάκω [v.] 'to change, correct'? ◅?▻
•VAR Opt. δινακοι (*Del.*^{3} 412, Elis).
•ETYM Unknown. See Bechtel 1921, 2: 863 and Schwyzer l.c.

δῖνη [f.] 'whirlpool, eddy' (Il.). ◅PG?▻
•DIAL Myc. *qe-qi-no-to* /g^{w}eg^{w}inōtos/, *qe-qi-no-me-no* /g^{w}eg^{w}inōmenos/ 'endowed with life'.
•COMP βαθυδίνης (Il.).
•DER δινήεις 'whirling' (Il.), Dor. δινάεις, Aeol. διννάεις (Alc.); δῖνος [m.] 'id.', also 'round vessel' (IA, etc.) with δινώδης 'eddying' (D. C.) and δινωτός 'with δ., rounded, covered with circles' (Hom.; δινόω only Eust.).
Verb δῑνέω, aor. δινῆσαι, etc., also δῑνεύω, (δίννηντες ptc. pl. Sapph. 1, 11; cf. below) 'turn around' (both trans. and intr., Il.) with δίνησις (Arist.), δίνημα (Man.), δίνευμα (conj. in Ar. *Th.* 122 and X. *Eq.* 3, 11; Orph.); rare δινέμεν (Hes. *Op.* 598), δινομένην

(Call.), ἀπο-δινωντι [subj.] 'thresh' (*Tab. Heracl.*; uncertain, to be changed to ἀποδιδῶντι?); Aeol. δίννω (Hdn.; Διννομένης Alc.), δινάζω (Artem. *apud* Ath.). Perhaps Δινών month name (when the corn is threshed).

•ETYM Perhaps an old nasal present **di-n-eu-* (cf. κῑνέω beside κῑνυμαι < **ki-n-(e)u-*), of which the nasal was generalized (cf. κλίνη : κλίνω); the Aeolic form δίνν- is from -νϝ-.

According to García Ramón 1999b: 237-248, the Mycenaean forms are not related, but belong to ►βίος instead, because they mean 'endowed with life' and because δι- is not the expected reflex of **g^{w}i-*. The Homeric form δινωτός does not derive from the verb δινόω; it simply meant 'ornamented, enlivened' and belongs to βίος as well, acc. to García Ramón (with replacement of the reflex of the initial **g^{w}-* to avoid association with βινέω 'futuere').

The initial element δι- has nothing to with ►δίεμαι, because the connection is evident "ni pour la forme, ni pour le sens" (DELG). In view of the lack of a good etymology, we should rather consider the possibility of Pre-Greek origin.

δίξοος •VAR διξός. ⇒δίς.

δίον ⇒δείδω.

Διόνῦσος [m.] name of a god (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Dialectal Διώνυσος (epic, lyr.), Διόννυσος (Thess., Cret.), Ζόννυσος (Aeol.), ΔιΕνυσος (Amorgos), Δεύνυσος (Anacr.). Hypocoristic vocative Διονῦ (Phryn. Com. 10); cf. διον(ν)ύς· ὁ γυναικίας καὶ παράθηλυς 'weakling, effeminate' (H., *EM*); διοννύς· ἡ γυναικεία καὶ θῆλυς ἐσθής 'womanish clothing' (Eust.).

•DIAL Myc. *di-wo-nu-so-jo* [gen.?] /Diwo^{h}nusoio/, *di-wo-nu-so* [dat.].

•DER Διονύσιος PN, fem. Διονυσιάς; τὰ Διονύσια [n.pl.] 'festival for Δ.' (Att., etc.), Διονυσιακός (Th.); diminutive Διονυσίσκος, denomination of a person with bone-like outgrowths on the temples (medic.); denominative διονυσιάζω [v.] 'to celebrate the Δ.' (Luc.), Διονυσιασταί [m.pl.] worshippers of Δ. (Nisyros, etc.), cf. Ἀπολλωνιασταί s.v. ►Ἀπόλλων.

•ETYM The forms seem to point to **Διοσ-νυσος*. Acc. to the tradition, Dionysus would have come from Thrace, and his father would be Zeus, his mother ►Σεμέλη. As the first member seemed to be the genitive of the Thracian Zeus, Kretschmer 1896: 241f. assumed in the second member a Thracian word for 'son' (found in Thracian names like Νῦσα; further Νῦσαι, Νύσιαι the nymphs who cared for him) and *Nusatita* (PN). This interpretation finds no support, however (see on ►νυός). Dunkel 1995: 1-21 assumed that the name contains **suH-nu-* 'son', of which *s* and *n* were metathesized; this is improbable too.

García Ramón *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 183-200 concludes that Διεννυσία can represent an old genitive **diu̯es*, whereas Διοννυσιαν continues **diu̯os*. For the variants Δινυσος and Δινυσος, no definitive interpretation can be given.

Fur.: 250 recalls the PN Διονυτᾶς (beside -σᾶς on a coin from Teos; see Meyer 1896: 381) and stresses that the variation τ/σ points to a non-IE = Pre-Greek word. Since all attempts to find an IE etymology have failed, we have to accept that it is a foreign name.

δίοπος •ETYM From διέπω; see ►ἔπω.

δῖος [adj.] 'belonging to heaven, godlike' (Il.), also 'belonging to Zeus' (trag.); often as a month name (Thessaly, Macedonia, etc.). ◄IE **dieu-* 'heaven'►
•DIAL Myc. *di-wi-jo, di-u-jo* /diwjos/; *di-wi-ja, di-u-ja* /diwja/.
•ETYM Old adjective, identical with Skt. *divyá-* /div$_{(i)}$yá-/ 'heavenly', Lat. *dīus* 'godlike', IE **diu-iHo-*; see ►Ζεύς. The adjective may replace the genitive of the basic word; see Schwyzer 1950: 176ff. The feminine was δῖα < *δίϝ-ι̯ᾰ, which first appeared in the substantival function 'daughter of heaven, goddess', e.g. δῖα γυναικῶν 'goddess among women'; thence, δῖα θεάων, etc.; see Schwyzer 1950: 116. The meaning 'belonging to Zeus' is preserved well in tragedy, and probably in I 538 (DELG).

διοσκέω [v.] 'to spy around constantly' (Anacr. 3, 3; not quite certain); acc. to H., διαβλέπειν συνεχῶς τήν ὅρασιν μεταβάλλοντα, τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαφορεῖσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ 'to stare at sth. which continuously changes its appearance; to be weakened in the body and the soul'. ◄GR►
•ETYM See Schwyzer: 541[7]. DELG proposes **-ok^{w}-sk-*.

Διόσκουροι [pl.] 'sons of Zeus', name of the young gods Castor and Polydeuces (Ion. Hell.). ◄GR►
•VAR Att. Διοσκόρω [du.]; also Διόσκοροι.
•DER Διοσκο(ύ)ρειον, -ριον 'temple of the Δ.' (Att., etc.), τὰ Διοσκο(ύ)ρ(ε)ια 'festival of the Δ.' (inscr.), also -ήϊα (after βασιλήϊα, etc.), Διοσκουριασταί name of the worshippers (pap.), cf. Διονυσιασταί; Διοσκουριάς TN.
•ETYM Univerbation of Διὸς κοῦροι (or κόρω), cf. Schwyzer: 427 and 445. See on ►Ζεύς and ►κόρος 2. The Dioscuri are the sons of Tyndareos and parallel to the Indic Aśvins. They are saviors and rescuers from danger, both at sea and in battle. In Lithuanian, they are called *Diẽvo sunẽliai*, sons of God. See the most recent treatment of the Dioscuri in West 2007: 186ff.

διόσπυρον [n.] 'fruit of the nettle-tree', name of the cherry-like fruit of the Celtis australis (Thphr.). ◄GR►
•VAR Also διόσπυρος [m.] = λιθόσπερμον 'gromwell' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Univerbation of Διὸς πυρός with transition to the neuter gender, as in bahuvrīhi compounds like βούγλωσσον. Semantic parallels are recorded by Strömberg 1940: 128.

δίπλαξ, -κος [adj.] 'in two layers, double' (Il.); as a fem. substantive 'a mantle' (Hom., A. *Pers.* 277 [lyr.], Lyd.). ◄IE **dui-plḱ-* 'two-fold'►
•DER Cf. τρίπλαξ 'threefold' (Il.).
•ETYM Identical with U *tuplak* [n.] 'duplex' = 'furca', Lat. *du-, tri-plex* 'two-, three-fold'. The word is a bahuvrīhi compound, the second member of which was considered unclear by Frisk, who compared πλάξ 'flatness', πληγή 'hit' (cf. ἀ-πληγίς 'single mantle' [Herod.], δι-πληγίς 'double mantle' [Poll.]). However, the word is more probably connected with πλέκω 'to twine'; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *duplex*. Cf. ►δίπλος and ►διπλάσιος.

διπλάσιος [adj.] 'twofold, double' (Thgn.). ◁IE **dui-pl-to-* 'two-fold'▷
•VAR Also διπλασίων (Arist.); Ion. διπλήσιος.
•DER διπλασιάζω [v.] 'to double, reduplicate' (Att., etc.), whence διπλασιασμός and διπλασίασις, διπλασιαστικός.
•ETYM From a verbal adjective *δί-πλατος, extended after the adjectives in -ιο- (like ἀμβρόσιος from ἄμβροτος, διφάσιος from δίφατος, etc.; Schwyzer: 466, Chantraine 1933: 41). The basis is a verb meaning 'to fold' (IE **pel-*; cf. ►ἁπλόος, etc.). Additionally, Go. *ain-falþs* 'one-fold > simple' and other Gm. formations also contain a word for 'fold', e.g. ON *faldr* < PGm. **fálþa-* < IE **pól-to-*. Ion. διπλήσιος is an innovation after παραπλήσιος, etc.; Hell. διπλασίων, after the comparatives in -ίων (Schwyzer: 598, 536); and διπλάδιος (*AP*, pap.), after διχθάδιος, etc. (Schwyzer: 467). Cf. ►δίπλαξ.

διπλόος •VAR διπλοῦς. ⇒ἁπλόος.

διρκαία [f.] = κιρκαία, 'Vincetoxicum nigrum' (Dsc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR δίρκαιον [n.] (Ps.-Dsc.) = ►δαῦκος and στρύχνον ὑπνωτικόν, 'Withania somnifera'.
•DER δίρκος [m.] 'seed of pine' (Paus. Gr.).
•ETYM According to Dsc. 4, 75, the plant was named after the sorceress Circe, ἐπειδή δοκεῖ ἡ ῥίζα φίλτρων εἶναι ποιητική 'because the root seems to produce philtres'. We do not know which of the two forms is original. διρκαι- may derive from the source Δίρκη. See Strömberg 1940: 93 and 152. Fur.: 255 points to Pre-Greek names in -αιο-.

δίς [adv.] 'twice' (Od.). ◁IE **dui-s-* 'twice'▷
•VAR As a first member δι- 'two-' (Il.).
•COMP As a first member διχο-.
•DER Denominative δίζω 'hesitate' (Π 713, Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 65). Further διξός (Ion.), δισσός, Att. διττός 'twofold, double' with δισσαχοῦ, -ττ-, etc. (see below); δίχα [adv.] ([prep.]) 'apart, separated' (Il.) with διχῇ, διχοῦ, etc.; διχάς [f.] 'half, middle' (Arat.; after μονάς, etc.) and the denominative διχάζω 'distribute' (Pl.) with διχασμός, δίχασις (Hell.), διχαστῆρες ὀδόντες 'the cutting teeth' (Poll.); also διχάω (Arat.), διχαίω (Arat.). διχθά 'apart, in two' (Hom.) with διχθάδιος 'twofold, double' (Hom.), διχθάς [f.] (as an [adj.]) 'double' (Musae.). Isolated δισκάζεται· διαφέρεται 'quarrels [or: carries over, vel sim.]' (H.); for *διξάζεται, or dissimilated from διστάζεται?
•ETYM In its formation, δίς is identical with Skt. *dvíḥ*, Lat. *bis* (OLat. *duis*), MoHG *zwir* 'twice'; as a first member, **di-* = Skt. *dvi-*, Lat. *bi-* (cf. on ►δύο), Go. *twi-*, Lith. *dvi-*. Examples include δί-πους, Skt. *dvi-pád-*, and Lat. *bi-pēs*. The velar derivation is unclear; beside Gr. δίχα, we have Skt. *dví-dhā* 'twofold', the *dh* of which might be found in δι-χ-θα. διξός and δισσός also presuppose velar derivatives: *διχθ-ι̯ο-, διχ-ι̯ο-? See Schwyzer: 598. After δίχα, διχθά were formed τρίχα, τριχθά, etc. (Schwyzer ibid.). See further ►διά, ►δοιοί.

δίσκος [m.] 'discus' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP Compound δίσκ-ουρα [n.pl.] (Ψ 523) 'throwing distance', from δίσκου οὖρα (Ψ 431), see ►οὖρον 2.

•DER Diminutive δισκάριον (Orib.); further δισκεύς name of a comete (Lyd.; see Scherer 1953: 107). Denominative δισκέω 'to throw the discus' with δίσκημα 'throw, what is thrown' (cf. the nouns in -(η)μα in tragedy, Chantraine 1933: 184ff.); also δισκεύω 'id.' with δισκευτής (Arist. comm.). Unclear δίσκελλα· σπυρίς 'large basket' (H.), for which a Latin suffix (Frisk: cf. synonymous *fiscella*) seems improbable.

•ETYM Fur.: 297 pointed out that the traditional derivation of *δίκ-σκος from δικεῖν 'throw' (Frisk, DELG) is hardly possible: the suffix -σκο- is rare in nominal derivation, and an σκ-present from which it could have been taken is not attested. Therefore, Furnée concluded that we have to start from *δικσ-, a variant of δικ-εῖν, which has Pre-Greek origin. See under ►δίκτυον.

δισσός •VAR διττός. ⇒δίς.

δισταζω [v.] 'to hesitate, be uncertain, doubt' (Pl.). ◅IE **dui-s-* 'double'▻

•VAR Fut. δισταάσω.

•DER Analogical δισταγμός (Agatharch.), δίσταγμα (Phld.), διστακτικός (A. D.), διστάξιμος (Ptol.), διστασμός (Thphr.).

•ETYM Since Solmsen *KZ* 37 (1904): 20f. and Solmsen *IF* 14 (1903): 437, the word has been considered to be a denominative of *δι-στ-ος = Skt. *dvi-ṣṭh-a-* 'double', ON *tvi-st-r* 'sad', properly *'split in two', from IE **dui-sth₂-o-*, containing **dui-* (see ►δίς) and **steh₂-* 'stand' (see ►ἵστημι); cf. ►δύστηνος. However, it could also be a derivation of δίζω; cf. ἐρπυστάζω beside ἐρπύζω, κλαστάζω beside κλάω, etc. (Schwyzer: 706).

δίστροπον [n.] name of a vase for libations (pap.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unclear.

διττάμενον [n.]? · ἀρνούμενον. Κρῆτες 'refusing, denying (Cret.)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. See Bechtel 1921(2): 783.

δίφακος [m.] · εἶδος βοτάνης 'kind of plant' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Fur.: 326 connects the word with δίψα 'thirst', but this is uncertain.

διφάσιος [adj.] 'twofold, double' (Hdt.); cf. τριφάσιος 'threefold' (Hdt.), also explained by H. as τρίφωνος 'three-voiced'. ◅?▻

•DER δίφατον· διφάσιον, διττῶς λεγόμενον 'said ambiguously' (H.) and τρίφατος 'threefold' (Nic. *Th.* 102).

•ETYM Based on δί-, τρί-φατος (cf. ►διπλάσιος), but the second member is uncertain. On the basis of διττῶς λεγόμενον and τρίφωνος in H., a connection with φημί could be suggested (e.g. von Skutsch *IF* 14 (1903): 488ff., who refers to Lat. *bifāriam*), whereas Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 367 and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 186 rather connected πεφνεῖν, φόνος, θείνω, as in ἀρηῖ-φατος 'killed in battle', i.e. 'slayed twice' (cf. on δίπλαξ). However, in either case are the semantics compelling. No better is the connection with φαίνω as 'twice visible' (Walde 1910: 90,

Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 2, 71) since one would rather expect *δίφαντος, like ἄφαντος (Il.).

δῑφάω [v.] 'to search after' (Π 747). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Only present, except δ[ε]ιφήσαντες· ψηλαφήσαντες 'one who searched after' (H.).
•DIAL Also διφέω (*AP*).
•DER διφαλέος 'searching' (*Hymn. Is.* 10), διφήτωρ (βυθῶν) 'who explores (the depths)' (Opp.), άστρο-δίφης 'astronomer' (Herod.). Denominative διφαδεύ<σ>ει· ἐξελεῖται 'will take out, choose' (H.), from *διφάς? Cf. φυγαδεύειν : φυγάς.
Further δίφας 'a snake' (Artemid. 2, 13), δίφα<ν>· τόν ὄφιν. Κρῆτες 'serpent (Cret.)' (H.); δίφατον ὄφιν (cod.; corr. Salm.); Latte comments ad loc.: "scil. a rimas scrutando appellatus". Also δίβαν· ὄφιν. Κρῆτες (H.); cf. the snake name παρείας and the other names of animals in -ᾱς, -ης in Chantraine 1933: 30f.
•ETYM δῑφάω has no established etymology. The restoration of the H. entry to δίφα<ν> is uncertain: Fur.: 325 prefers to maintain δίφατον of the manuscript. Rather than being a mistake, the β of δίβαν is to be taken at face value; the variation between β and φ suggests Pre-Greek origin. However, a connection with δέφω (as suggested by Fur.: 315, 355) lacks semantic justification, whereas the appurtance of ►δίφακος remains in any event uncertain.

διφθέρα [f.] 'prepared skin, hide, leather', also of leather objects (IA). ◁PG(V)▷
•DIAL Myc. *di-pte-ra* (also *di-pte-ra*$_3$) 'leather' /dip^{h}t^{h}era(i)/; *di-pte-ra-po-ro* /dip^{h}t^{h}era-p^{h}oros/(?).
•DER Diminutive διφθέριον (Theognost.); διφθερίς = διφθέρα (*AP*); διφθέρωμα 'id.' (Thd.); διφθερίας 'man dressed in leather, farmer, etc.' (Com.); fem. διφθερῖτις (Poll.); διφθεράριος 'parchment maker' (*Edict. Diocl. Asin.*); διφθέρινος 'made of δ., of leather' (X.). Denominative διφθερόομαι 'to be dressed in hides' (Str.). Note διψάρα· δέλτος, οἱ δὲ διφθέρα 'writing-tablet; piece of leather' (H.). (cf Schwyzer: 326).
•ETYM Possibly, διφθέρα is with De Saussure *MSL* 7 (1892): 91 related to ►δέφω and δέψω, but the alternations ε ~ ι and φθ ~ ψ, typical for Pre-Greek, are proven by the variant δίψαρα in any case (Fur.: 308, 326). On Iranian loans from διφθέρα, like MoP *daftar* 'office', see Bailey *TPS* 1933: 50. Lat. *littera*, too, ultimately derives from the Greek, perhaps via Etruscan (cf. διφθεραλοιφός· γραμματοδιδάσκαλος παρὰ Κυπρίοις 'teacher of writing in Cypr.' [H.]).

δίφρος [m.] 'seat, chair, chariot-board, chariot' (Il.). ◁IE **dui-b^{h}r-o-* 'two-bearer'▷
•DER Diminutives: διφρίσκος (Ar.), διφρίον (Tim. *Lex.*), διφρίδιον (*EM*). δίφραξ 'chair' (Theoc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 379), δίφρακον 'id.' (Samos IV^{a}; see also Chantraine 1933: 384); δίφρις· ὁ ἑδραῖος, καὶ καθήμενος ἀεί, οἷον ἀργός 'sedentary, sitting all the time, as in idle' (H.).; cf. τρόχις 'runner', etc. Adjective δίφριος (*AP*). Denominative διφρεύω 'to drive in a car' (E.) with διφρευτής 'chariot-driver' (S.), διφρευτικός (Ephor.), διφρεία 'driving a chariot' (X.); more common διφρ-ηλάτης (Pi.) with διφρηλατέω and διφρηλασία.

•ETYM Properly meaning "two-bearer" (from δίς and φέρω), the δί-φρ-ο-ς was originally a chair with two handles carried by two people (one on each side); later it came to be used for the box of a chariot (cf. Fraenkel 1923: 282). The initial δι- (< *δϝι-) of δίφρος never makes position in Homer (Solmsen 1901: 211f.), which may be due to dissimilation from the following labial φ, or to the fact that as a vernacular word, δίφρος (like ἱδρώς; Schwyzer: 222[5]) originally was not part of the epic language.

δίχα •VAR διχθά. ⇒δίς.

δίψᾰ, -ης [f.] 'thirst' (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Rarely δίψη (A. *Ch.* 756), also δίψος [n.] (Th.), after πνῖγος 'stifling', ῥῖγος 'frost', etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 420).
•DIAL Myc. *di-pi-si-jo* and *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* (from *διψιευς?).
•COMP πολυ-δίψιος 'very thirsty, arid', of Argos (Hom.); metrical for *πολύ-διψος.
•DER δίψιος 'thirsty, dry' (trag.), διψηρός 'id.' (Hp.; after αὐχμηρός), διψώδης 'id.' (Hp.), διψαλέος 'id.' (Hell. and late; after ἀζαλέος, etc.), διψάς [f.] 'id.' (Thphr.), also name of a snake, whose bite caused a strong thirst (cf. Chantraine 1933: 354f.).
δίψακος [m.] the name of diabetes (medic.), because of the drinking of the patients, Strömberg 1944: 89; also the plant name 'Dipsacus silvestris' (Dsc., Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 78, with διψακερός 'thirsty' (*EM*), acc. to H. = ταλαίπωρος 'suffering'; διψοσύνη = δίψα (Orac. *apud* Porph.).
Verbal forms: ptc. διψᾰ́ων (λ 584), inf. διψῆν (Hdt.), 3sg. διψῇ (Pi., Pl.), Hell. also διψᾶν, -ᾷ; also διψέω (Archil.) and διψώω (Tryph.); with δίψησις (Ath. 1, 10b; doubtful) and διψητικός (Arist.).
Beside these, there are forms with διφ-, like δίφας 'a kind of snake' (Artemid. 2,13), δίφατον and δίβαν· ὄφιν. Κρῆτες 'serpent (Cret.)' (H.); see ▸διφάω.
•ETYM For διψᾰ́ων, διψῆν, compare πεινᾰ́ων, πεινῆν, which are close in meaning; the forms διψᾰ́ων, πεινᾰ́ων might be (Aeolic?) analogical formations based on the normal epic ending -ᾰ́ων, whereas διψῆν and πεινῆν are unexplained (Chantraine 1942: 21 and 362, Leroy 1954: 288f.; improbably, Meister 1921: 89 on διψῆν, πεινῆν; cf. further Fraenkel 1937: 376f.). Under an analysis δίπ-σα, the final element can hardly be IE. Therefore, it is probably a Pre-Greek word, which is further made likely by the variants with φ and β (Fur.: 326).

δῖψαι [v.] · βλάψαι 'to damage' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM DELG suggests that the form was coined by grammarians to explain δίψιον, which was explained as βλαπτικόν (H.) or βλαβερόν (Ap. Soph.); Chantraine adds: "cf. encore Hsch. sous δίψιον Ἄργος avec S. *fr.* 296."

δίω ⇒δείδω and δίεμαι.

διώκω [v.] 'to pursue, drive away, prosecute' (Il.). ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. διῶξαι, διωχθῆναι, fut. διώξω, etc. (post-Hom.).
•COMP Compounds with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, etc.
•DER δίωγμα 'pursuit, what is pursued' (trag., Pl.), διωγμός 'pursuit' (trag., X.) with διωγμίτης 'policeman' (inscr. II[P]; cf. Redard 1949: 45), διωγμιτικά = *persecutiones*

(Cod. Just.); δίωξις 'persecution' (Att.), διωκτύς 'id.' (Call.; cf. Benveniste 1948: 72). Agent noun διώκτης 'pursuer' (NT), in γνωμιδιώκτης (haplological for γνωμιδιο-δι- Cratin. 307), see Fraenkel 1912: 81[1]; διωκτήρ 'id.' (Babr.). διωκτός (S.), διωκτικός (Iamb.). Lengthened διωκάθειν (-εῖν?), ἐδιώκαθον (Att.); cf. Schwyzer: 703[6] (διωκαθεῖν?).

•ETYM διώκει stands beside δίεμαι as ϝιώκει (Cor.) beside ϝίεμαι (see ►ἴεμαι). The origin of the ω is unclear (unconvincingly, Meillet *MSL* 23 (1923): 50f.). A κ-enlargement is also found in ἐρύ-κω, ὀλέ-κω, etc.; see Schwyzer: 702[5].

διωλύγιος [adj.] uncertain (Pl. *Tht.* 162a, *Lg.* 890e); διωλύγιον 'immense', acc. to H. = ἠχοῦν ἐπὶ πολύ, μέγα, καὶ σφοδρόν, διατεταμένον 'resounding much, heavily, etc.'; acc. to the sch. on Pl. = περιβόητος 'much discussed' and σκοτεινός 'dark, obscure', i.e. connected with ὀλολυγή 'loud cry' and ἠλύγη 'shadow'. ◄?►

•ETYM The occurrences in Plato (διωλύγιος φλυαρία and μήκη διωλύγια) are ambiguous.

δμώς, -ώός [m.] 'slave, servant' (Il.; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 71f.), ◄IE **dem-* 'house', **dm-ōu-*►

•VAR Also thematicized δμῶος (Hes. *Op.* 430; also Call. *Hec.* 1, 4, 15 acc. to Gomperz); δμω-ιαί (δμῳαί) [f.pl.] 'slave-women' (Il.), secondary sing. δμῳή (Q. S.), for *δμῶ-ι̯ᾰ, *δμῷα? For the accent, cf. ἄγυια : ἀγυιαί and Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 118f.; also δμωΐς (A.) and δμωϊάς, δμφάς (Q. S.).

•COMP On the compound ὑπο-δμώς δ 386 see Sommer 1934: 26.

•DER Adjective δμώ-ϊος (*AP*). Abstract μνώ-ια (μνο-ΐα, μνῴα) serfs in Crete (Str.) with μνωΐτης, μνοΐτης, μνῴτης (Hermon *apud* Ath. 6, 267c, Poll.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 790); on δμι > μν cf. μεσό-μνη < μεσό-δμη; see Schwyzer: 208.

•ETYM Related to δόμος 'house', with the same formation as in πάτρως (*ōu*-stem; Schwyzer: 479f.). See also Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 23 and De Vaan 2008 s.v. *domus, dominus.*

δνοπαλίζω [v.] 'to shake, fling down' (Δ 472, ξ 512, etc.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Fut. δνοπαλίξω.

•DER δνοπάλιξις (sch. Opp.).

•ETYM The word has been analyzed as formed from the roots of δονέω and πάλλω, respectively, but the type of formation required is very improbable (see Schwyzer: 645[1]). Rather, I take the group δν- as typical of Pre-Greek words; perhaps we have to analyze as δνοπ-αλ- instead. See also Chantraine 1942: 340.

δνόφος [m.] 'darkness' (Simon.). ◄PG►

•VAR In Hell. times ►γνόφος, etc. with δν > γν (Schwyzer: 208, Niedermann *WuS* 8 (1923): 64[1]; Bq. s.v.; Lejeune 1972: 78[4]).

•COMP Compound δνοφο-είμων 'in dark clothes' (Attica II[P]).

•DER δνοφερός 'dark' (Il.), also δνόφεος (B.), δνοφόεις (Emp.), δνοφώδης (E.), cf. S. Schmid 1950: 48.

•ETYM A form *δνέφος [n.] is presupposed by ἰο-δνεφής 'violet-dark' (δ 135, ι 426; cf. Porzig 1942: 300), but it is further isolated. The word recalls ►ζόφος as well as

►κνέφας and ►ψέφας, but these words have not been explained (see Güntert 1914: 112ff.; Petersen *AmJPh.* 56: 57ff.). Note δνόψ· χιτῶνος εἶδος βαθέος 'kind of depth (?) mantle', thus Latte (H.) As in ►δνοπαλίζω, the group δν- seems to point to Pre-Greek origin.

δοάν ⇒δήν.

δοάσσατο ⇒δέατο.

δοθιήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'small abscess' (Hp.). ◄PG►
•VAR Also δοθιών, -όνος (medic., Hdn. Gr.).
•DER δοθιηνικόν 'medicine against δ.' (Paul. Aeg.).
•ETYM Cf. λειχήν, άδήν, πυρήν, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 166f., Schwyzer: 487) and βουβών, μυών (Chantraine 1933: 162, Schwyzer: 488); the word is further unclear. See Solmsen 1909: 137f. The retention of θι (as opposed to the development in e.g. μέσ(σ)ος < *μέθιος) suggests borrowing. Fur.: 172[118], 355 plausibly points out that -ην is frequent in Pre-Greek words, and compares δολεών· ὁ δοθιήν (as a variant deriving from *δοδ-).

δοίδυξ, -ῦκος [m.] 'pestle' (Ar.). ◄PG(S)►
•COMP As a first member in δοιδυκο-ποιός (Plu.) and in parodizing δοιδυκο-φόβα (Luc.).
•DER Denominative διαδοιδυκίζω 'clench the fist like a pestle' (*Com. Adesp.*), ἀναδοιδυκίζειν· ἀναταράσσειν 'to disturb' (H., *EM*).
•ETYM No etymology. The suffix -ῡκ- is typical of Pre-Greek (*Pre-Greek*, suffixes).

δοιοί [pl.] 'two, both' (Il.). ◄IE **duoi-* 'twofold, double'►
•VAR δοιώ [du.].
•DIAL Myc. PN *du-wo-jo* /dwoios/.
•DER δοιός [sg.] 'double' (Emp.). δοιάς [f.] 'group of two' (gloss.; after μονάς, etc.) and denominative δοιάζω, -ομαι, aor. δοιάξαι, also δοάσσαι (through blending with δοάσσατο) 'linger, deliberate', also (after δοάσσατο) 'imagine, believe' (B.). Fixed expression ἐν δοιῇ 'in dubio, in hesitation' (I 230), whence ἐνδοιάζω 'hesitate' (Th.) with ἐνδοιαστός, -ῶς 'doubtful' (Ion., Th.) and late derivations ἐνδοίασις, -άσιμος, -ασμός, -αστής, -αστικός.
•ETYM δοιοί is an old derivative of ►δύο (related to ►δίς), in its formation identical to Skt. *dvayá-*, OCS *dъvojь* 'twofold', OHG *zweiio*, Go. *twaddje*, ON *tveggja* [gen.pl.], IE **duoiHó-*. The retention of the intervocalic ι in Greek, the short *a* of the Skt., and the Germanic "Verschärfung" (Go. *ddj*, ON *ggj*) point **-iH-*.

δόκανα •VAR δοκάνη. ⇒δοκός.

δοκέω [v.] 'to seem, be of the opinion' (Il.). ◄GR►
•VAR Aor. δοκῆσαι, fut. δοκήσω (Od.), δόξαι, δόξω (Pi., *h. Merc.*; see below), perf. δεδόκημαι (Pi.), δέδογμαι (Hdt.), δοκεῖ μοι 'it seems to me' (Il.); δοκεύω [v.] 'watch, observe' (Il.); προσ-δοκάω, aor. προσδοκῆσαι 'await' (Hdt.).
•DER δόκησις 'belief, opinion, appearance' (Hdt.), δοκησι-δέξιος, -νους, -σοφος 'appropriate [etc.] in one's own opinion' (Com.). δόκημα 'image, delusion' (E., see

Chantraine 1933: 184ff.), 'decision' (Argos). δόγμα 'opinion, decision' (Att., Hell.; to δόξαι, δόξω after τάξαι, τάξω : τάγμα, etc.) with δογματικός 'dogmatic', δογματίας 'who pronounces δόγματα', δογματίζω 'give an opinion' (Hell. and late). Further δόξα 'opinion, consideration, excellence, glory', δόξις = δόξα (Democr.; after γνῶσις, Schwyzer: 505). δοκώ [f.] 'id.' (E. *El.* 747; Chantraine 1933: 116), δόκος [m.] 'id.' (Xenoph.), δοκή 'id.' (Hdn.). δόκιμος 'reliable, approved, distinguished, etc.' (IA, Dor.); compounds εὐ-, ἀ-δόκιμος ; with δοκίμιον, δοκιμεῖον 'proof' (Pl.) and the denominatives δοκίμωμι (Aeol.), δοκιμόω (Parm.) 'to believe', δοκιμάζω 'to try, approve' (IA) with δοκιμασία 'test' (Att.), δοκιμαστής, δοκιμαστήρ, -ήριον, δοκιμαστός, -ικός (Att., etc.); also deverbal δοκιμή 'test, proof' (*Ep. Phil.*, *Ep. Cor.*). εὐδοκιμέω 'to have a good reputation' (Thgn.) with εὐδοκίμησις (Pl.). δοκικῶ = δοκῶ (Hermipp. 12) humorous extension, cf. Bechtel *Glotta* 12 (1923): 211. From προσδοκάω : προσδοκία 'expectation' also προσδόκημα (Pl. *Phlb.* 32c), προσδόκιμος (IA).

•ETYM δοκέω (and προσδοκάω) are deverbative derivations of primary (προσ-)δέκομαι (see ►δέχομαι). Like all secondary verbs, it originally occurred only in the present; for the other tenses, the primary verb was used. δόξαι, δόξω could belong to that primary verb if they have their -o- after δοκέω and derive from older *δέξαι, *δέξω (Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 37; further, Schwyzer: 718). Because of their meaning, δοκεύω and δοκάζω 'to await' (Sophr., S. *Fr.* 221, 23) might alternatively rather belong together with -δοκάω, ►δέχομαι. The semantic relations are difficult to account for in detail. δοκέω agrees with Lat. *doceō* 'learn' (causative IE **doḱ-éie-*). On δοκέω in general, see Fournier 1946 passim, especially 166f. For other IE cognates, see ►δέχομαι and ►δοκός.

δοκός [f.] 'bearing-beam' (Il.). ◄GR, PG?►

•VAR Late also msc.

•DER δοκίς (Hp.), δοκίον (Arist., Delos IV[a]), δοκίδιον (Harp.). δοκίας (Phlp.), δοκεύς (Heph. Astr.) name of a comete (like δοκός, δοκίς; Scherer 1953: 107). δοκώδης 'like a beam' (gloss.). δοκόομαι 'to be fitted with beams' (pap., S. E.) with δόκωσις (LXX). From δοκός also δόκανα [n.pl.] name of two upright beams constructed with a cross-beam (Plu.), δοκάναι· αἱ στάλικες, αἷς ἵσταται τά λίνα, ἢ κάλαμοι 'stakes on which hunting nets are fastened, or reeds' (H.); cf. tool names in -ανον, -άνη in Schwyzer: 489f., Chantraine 1933: 198f.

•ETYM Connected to δέκομαι as an agent noun, so properly "which takes on [the covering]". Benveniste *RPh.* 58 (1929): 127, thinks that δοκός and δόκανα are Pre-Greek.

δολιχός [adj.] 'long' (Il.). ◄IE **d(o)lh₂g[h]ó-* 'long'►

•DIAL Myc. PN *do-ri-ka-o* /Dolik[h]āōn/, *do-ri-ka-no* /Dolik[h]-ānōr/.

•COMP Often as a first member of compounds; note δολιχό-σκιος (Hom.) 'with a long shadow', of ἔγχος 'lance'.

•DER With regular accent change (Schwyzer: 420) δόλιχος [m.] 'the long course' (Att., etc.) with δολιχεύω 'run a long course', δολιχεύς 'long course runner' (Sparta II[P]); on δόλιχος as a plant name (Thphr.) see Strömberg 1937: 107[1], Strömberg 1940:

24. Poetical form with metrical lengthening δουλιχόεις (*AP*); TN Δολιχίστη, island before Lycia, properly a superlative, and Δουλίχιον island in the Ionic Sea (Hom.), cf. Seiler 1950: 101.

•ETYM Within Greek, we may further compare ἐνδελεχής 'continuous' (Att., etc.), together with ἐνδελέχεια, ἐνδελεχέω, -ίζω, -ισμός (like ἐν-τελής, ἐμ-μελής, etc.). δολιχός is related to Skt. *dīrghá-*, Av. *darəya-*, OCS *dlъgъ*, Serb. *dȕg*, Lith. *ilgas* (with unexplained loss of *d-*), Hitt. *talugi-* (on the vocalism see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. **taluki-*), which derive from PIE **d(o)lH-gʰo-*. Further related are e.g. Lat. *indulgeō* 'be kind, indulgent', Go. *tulgus* 'firm, steadfast', and Alb. *glatë, gjatë* 'long' (with secondary *-të*?).

δόλος [m.] 'bait, any trick or device for catching, trick' (Il.). ◅PG?▻

•DER δόλιος 'deceiving, tricky' (Od.) with δολιότης (LXX), δολιεύομαι 'deceive' (LXX) and δολιόω 'id.' (LXX); δολερός 'id.' (IA), δολόεις 'cunning' (Od.). Lengthened δόλευμα 'trick' (Aen. Tact.; see Chantraine 1933: 186f.). Denominative δολόω 'to beguile' (Hes.) with δόλωσις (X.) and δόλωμα (A.; Chantraine 1933: 186f.); also δολίζω 'to falsify' (Dsc.). Here also δολία = κώνειον 'hemlock' (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 64; cf. Latte ad loc.; δολάνα· μαστροπός. <Λάκωνες> 'pimp (Lacon.)' (H.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 199); also δόλοπα· κατάσκοπον, μαστροπόν 'spy, pimp' with δολοπεύει· ἐπιβουλεύει, ἐνεδρεύει 'plots, lies in wait for' (H.). On δολεών· ὁ δοθιήν 'small abscess' (H.), see ▶δοθιήν.

•ETYM The identity of δόλος and Lat. *dolus*, Osc. *dolom, -ud* [acc., abl.] seems evident; yet the Italic word might have been borrowed from Greek. A group of Germanic words, ON *tál* [f.] 'deception, trick', OE *tǣl* [f.] 'blame, slander, derision', OHG *zāla* [f.] 'danger', which would require a lengthened grade **dēlā-* (see Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 153f.) is rather not related. Likewise, a connection with ▶δαιδάλλω is quite hypothetical. Given its concrete basic meaning, it could well be a Pre-Greek word. The gloss δόλος· πάσσαλος 'stake, penis' (H.) is unclear (cf. Specht 1944: 157 and 219); cf. further ▶δόλων.

δόλπαι [f.] · πλακούντια μικρὰ. Κῷοι 'little flat cake (Coan)' (H.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Cf. δολβαί· θύματα· οἱ δὲ μικτὰ πλακούντια '[sacrificial] cake; mixed, little flat cake' (H.).

•ETYM Neumann 1961 compares Hitt. *turpa* 'kind of cake' (for offering); Anatolian or Pre-Greek origin thus seems likely.

δόλων, -ωνος [m.] 1. name of a front sail (Plb., D. S.) or the spar on such a sail (Poll.), Lat. loan *dolō* (Liv.); adj. δολωνικός (pap.). 2. 'secret weapon, stiletto' (Plu. *TG* 10). ◅GR/?▻

•DER Diminutive δολίσκος· δόλων, παραξιφίς 'dirk' (H.); Lat. *dolō* 'id.' (Varro).

•ETYM In the meaning 'secret weapon', δόλων (2) could be derived from ▶δόλος. In the meaning 'sail', the origin is unclear; in any event, the connection with ▶δέλτος, MoHG *Zelt* 'tent' is very weak. DELG unconvincingly argues that δόλων 1. and 2. are actually the same word. Cf. Rougé 1966: 59.

δόμος [m.] 'house, living, room' (Il.), also 'layer' (Hdt.). ◅IE **dōm, *domo-* 'house'▻

•COMP Compounded substantives like ὀπισθό-, πρό- and adjectives like ἀγχί-, ἰσό-.
•DER δομόομαι 'be supplied with a house' (pap. VI^{P}).
•ETYM δόμος is related to Skt. *dáma-* [m.] 'house' and Lat. *domus*. Beside this obviously secondary *o*-stem, an old *u*-stem is found in Skt. *dámū-nas-* [m.] 'roommate' and Arm. *tanu-tēr* 'house-lord'. However, the *u*-stem inflexion of Lat. *domus* replaces older *o*-stem inflexion because of its feminine gender (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). See also ►δμώς. The root noun **dōm*, gen. **dems*, found in ►δεσπότης, ►δάπεδον (but less certainly in ►δάμαρ), is archaic. Originally, δόμος (just like ►δῶμα) is an adaptation of this root noun rather than a verbal abstract from ►δέμω. Δ(α)μία, Μνία s.v. ►Δημήτηρ are unclear.

δόναξ [m.] 'pole-reed, what is made of it, shaft of an arrow, pipe' (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also δῶναξ, δοῦναξ, gen. -ακος (see below).
•DER δονακεύς 'thicket of reeds' (Σ 576 -κῆα, lengthening at verse end?; cf. Boßhardt 1942: 21f.), also 'bird-catcher' (Opp. *K.* 1, 73), deverbal to δονακεύομαι 'catch birds with a lime-stick' (AP); δονακών 'thicket of reeds' (Paus.); δονακήματα· αὐλήματα 'compositions for the flute' (H.); see Chantraine 1933: 178. δονακώδης 'rich in reed' (B.), δονακόεις 'id.' (E.), δονάκινος (H. s.v. κερκίδας; uncertain); δονακῖτις 'made of reed', also plant name (*AP*; Strömberg 1940: 36); δονακηδόν 'reed-like' (A.D.). Uncertain Δονάκτας epithet of Apollo (Theopomp. Hist. 281), perhaps for Δονακίτης (Redard 1949: 208).
•ETYM Frisk (with lit.) explains the variants δῶναξ (Theoc. 20, 29 beside δόναξ *Ep.* 2, 3 and Pi. *P.* 12, 25) and δοῦναξ (*AP*) as hyperdialectisms (for δοῦναξ, Schulze 1892: 205 has proposed metrical lengthening as an alternative). However, this can hardly be correct: more plausibly, they all are variants of a Pre-Greek word (see *Pre-Greek* 6.1 on vowels, where we find o/ ου and ου/ ω). Pre-Greek origin is further confirmed by the suffix -αξ. Non-Greek origin was already advocated by Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 181. A connection with δονέω 'to shake' (see the parallels in Strömberg 1940: 76f.) is most doubtful, whereas Latv. *duonis* 'reed' cannot be compared because it require long **ō* (incompatible with δόναξ, which cannot have its short o from δονέω). Nor is Go. *tains* 'twig', etc. related. As a semantic variant, δόναξ may also refer to the fish σωλήν (Ath.).

δονέω [v.] 'to shake' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Aor. δονῆσαι.
•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἁλί-δονος 'driven around on sea' (A.).
•DER δόνημα (Luc.).
•ETYM No etymology.

δόξα [f.] 'opinion, glory, splendour' (Il. since K 324). ◅IE? **dek̑-* 'accept', PG?▻
•DER Diminutive δοξάριον (Arr.); denominative δοξάζω 'to deem, praise' (trag., Th.) with δόξασμα, δοξασμός, δοξαστής, -αστός, -αστικός (Att., etc.), also δοξασία (D. C.) and δόξασις (Simp.); δοξόομαι 'to have the name' (Hdt.).
•ETYM The word is connected with δοκέω, but of unclear formation. Leumann 1950: 173ff. rejects the older proposals **δόκ-τι̯ᾰ*, **δόκ-σᾱ*, but his own theory is also

improbable (see Fraenkel *Gnomon* 23 (1951): 374). With its short final -α, the word could be Pre-Greek (cf. *Pre-Greek*: C 3.1). Cf. Szemerényi 1964: 376[4].

δορά [f.] = δοκός 'beam' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM The gloss Cret. δορά = δοκός (*EM*, H.) is considered uncertain; see Latte. Derivation from δόρυ is difficult to maintain.

δορίαλλος [m.] (Ar. *Fr.* 367) ἔστι δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον ἐφ' ὕβρει τραγῳδοποιοῦ Δορίλλου 'female genitals with reference to the insolence of the tragic poet Dorillos' (*Et. Gen.*, *Et. Gud.* 375,8, *EM* 283, 46). H. has δορύαλλος. ◁?▷

•VAR Also δόριλλος.

•ETYM Unexplained. See Maas *KZ* 58 (1930): 127f. and Taillardat 1962: §105. The name of the poet is given as Δοριλᾶος in the life of Euripides of Satyros (*P.Oxy.* 9, 1176).

δόρκαι [f.] · κονίδες 'eggs of lice, fleas and bugs, nits' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk compared δερκύλλειν· αἱμοποτεῖν 'suck blood' (H.; beside δερμύλλειν from δέρμα).

δορκάς, -άδος [f.] 'a kind of deer, roe, gazelle' (Hdt. 7, 69). ◁LW Celt.▷

•DER Other forms: δόρξ (Call.; acc. δόρκᾰν E. *H. F.* 376 [lyr.]; δόρκα Dindorf), δόρκος (Dsc.), δόρκων (LXX); also ζορκάς (Hdt. 4, 192), ζόρξ (Call.); ἴορκος (Opp.), ἴορκες, ἴυρκες (H.). Diminutives: δορκάδιον (LXX, Delos III[a]), also a plant (André 1958 s.v.); δορκαλίς (Call.; on -αλ-ιδ- Chantraine 1933: 251f., 344); δορκαλῖδες 'dice from the bones of δ.' (Herod.; on -ῑδ- see Chantraine 1933: 346f.); δορκαλίδες· ὄργανόν ἐστι κολαστικόν τε· ἢ μάστιγες αἱ ἀπὸ ἰμάντων δορκάδων 'a corrective instrument; whips from the leather straps of deer' (Suid.); δορκάδε(ι)ος 'made from the bones of δ.' (ἀστράγαλος, Thphr., inscr., pap.; see S. Schmid 1950: 52), δόρκειος (Theognost.), δόρκιος (Edict. Diocl.). PN Δορκεύς, etc., see Boßhardt 1942: 130.

•ETYM Like δόρκος and δόρκων, δορκάς (built like κεμάς, etc.) was derived from the root noun δόρξ. If we start from the forms with ζ-, it agrees with a Celtic word for 'roe', Co. *yorch*, Bret. *iourc'h* 'roe', MW *iwrch* 'caprea mas', which points to IE **iork-o-*. The δ-forms are perhaps folk-etymological, after δέρκομαι; ἴορκος, etc. may be a Celtic (Galatic) LW. See Sommer 1905: 147f.

δόρπον [n.] 'evening-meal' (Il.). ◁LW?▷

•VAR Hell. and late also -ος [m.].

•DIAL Myc. *do-qe-ja* /dork[w]eja/?

•DER δόρπιον 'time for dinner' (Hp. *Epid.* 5, 22 v.l.), δόρπιος 'p'tng. to the δ.' (Nonn.); δορπήϊα [n.pl.] 'food, meal' (Nic.; cf. ξεινήϊα), Δορπία [f.] 'evening before a festival, especially the Apaturia' (Hdt.). Denominative δορπέω 'take the evening meal' (Hom.), δορπιάζειν· δειπνεῖν 'to take a meal' (H.; cf. συμποσι-άζειν). δορπηστός [m.] (scil. καιρός) 'time for dinner' (Hp.), cf. δειπνηστός s.v. ▶δεῖπνον.

•ETYM δόρπον could be combined with Alb. *darkë* 'evening (meal)' as a hypothetical **dork[w]-o-* (Mann *Lang.* 26 (1950): 384f., Porzig 1954a: 178). Further connections are unknown. The limited distribution of the word (only Albanian and Greek) suggests that it is a borrowing of some sort.

δόρυ [n.] 'wood, tree (trunk), spear' (Il.; on the epic use Trümpy 1950: 52ff.). ◁IE **doru* 'tree, wood'▷

•VAR Gen. δόρατος (Att.), δορός (trag.), δουρός and δούρατος (Hom.); dual δοῦρε (Hom.), plur. δόρατα, δοῦρα, δούρατα.

•COMP As a first member in several compounds (many PNs), beside δορυ- (δορατο-, δουρο-) also δο(υ)ρι-; as a dative (instrumental) in δουρι-κλειτός, etc., also analogical without case function. Note δορυ-σσόος 'throwing a spear' (Hes. *Sc.* 54; to σείω), δουρηνεκές < *δορϝ-ηνεκές [adv.] 'a spear's throw distant' (K 357, to ἐνεγκεῖν, cf. διηνεκής). Also δωρι- in PNs, e.g. in Δωρί-μαχος (Dor., Boeot.), Δωρι-κλῆς (Arc., Dor.); also ▸ἀσχέ-δωρος, s.v.; (-)δωρ- is regular for -δορϝ-ος in some Doric dialects, and these names were probably borrowed by the other dialects.

•DER Diminutives δοράτιον (Hdt.), δορύδιον (auct. *apud* Orib. 47, 17, 5), δορύλλιον (Suid.); adjectives δουράτεος 'wooden' (Od.; of ἵππος, etc.), also δούρειος (E. *Tr.* 14), δούριος (Ar. *Av.* 1128), δορήϊος (*AP* 15, 14); epic reminiscences, see Schulze 1892: 102[516].

Denominative verb δορατίζομαι 'fight with the spear' (H.) with δορατισμός (Plu.). Uncertain ▸δορά (< *δορϝ-ά) = δοκός. PNs Δορύλαος, Δορίμαχος; with Doric lengthening upon loss of ϝ: Δωρίμαχος, Δωρικλῆς (see above). Short names: Δοῦρις, Δορίης, etc.

•ETYM δόρυ is related to Skt. *dā́ru*, Av. *dāuru* 'wood', Hitt. *tāru* 'wood' and ToAB *or* 'id.' (with loss of **d-* in forms with **dr-*), which reflect PIE **doru*, gen. **dreus*. Beside this old neuter originally denoting only 'wood', there was a feminine word for 'tree, oak': ▸δρῦς. Cf. also ▸δρυμά and ▸δένδρεον.

δορύκνιον [n.] plant name, 'Convolvulus oleofolius', etc. (Dsc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Diminutive δορυκνίδιον (Gal.).

•ETYM No etymology. Fur.: 183 compares ▸στρύχνον, ▸τρύχνον (Nic., Gal.; see s.v), -ος (Theocr.). He remarks that, after σ-, we often find the voiceless variant. On the epenthesis, cf. (σ)κόνυζα/ κνύζα, κολυμβάς/ κλύβατις (ibid. 183[9]); thus he assumes that this word stands for *δρυκ(χ?)νιον.

δοῦλος [m.] 'slave, servant', also as an adjective with compar. δουλότερος (Hdt.); δούλη [f.] 'slave-woman, maid' (Il.); on the spread see E. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 74f. ◁PG?▷

•VAR δῶλος Cret.

•DIAL Myc. *do-e-ro, do-e-ra* /dohelos/, /dohelā/.

•COMP Many substantival and adjectival compounds.

•DER δουλίς [f.] (Hyp.; cf. Schwyzer: 127 and 465) with δουλίδιον (H.), δουλάριον (Ar.). δουλοσύνη 'servitude' (Ion., Od.) with δουλόσυνος (E. *Hec.* 448 [lyr.]); see Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 220. δούλιος, -ειος 'slavish, of a servant' (Hom.), δούλεος 'id.' (A. R.), δουλικός 'id.' (Att., etc.), δουλικά (σώματα) [n.pl.] 'slaves' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, pap.).

Denominative verb δουλεύω 'to be a slave, serve' (IA) with δουλεία, Ion. -ηΐη 'servanthood', δούλευμα 'id.' (trag.; see Chantraine 1933: 186), δουλεύτρια 'female

servant' (Eust.); δουλόομαι, -όω 'to be made servant' (IA) with δούλωσις (Th.) and δουλωτικός (Plu.).

•ETYM The Mycenaean forms point to *δόελος, probably from *δοhελος. δοῦλος is certainly not inherited (pace e.g. Neumann 1986: 489-496), although a borrowing from Carian or Lydian (as argued by Lambertz *Glotta* 6 (1915): 1ff.; Benveniste *RELat.* 10 (1932): 438f.) is difficult to account for chronologically, since the word appears already in Mycenaean (Risch *Kratylos* 29 (1984): 96f.). Conversely, Pre-Greek origin is a good possibility.

δοῦμος [m.] an Anatolian religious community, connected with the Magna Mater (Hippon., inscr., *AP*). ◁LW Phr.▷

•ETYM A Phrygian word; it has been connected with Gr. θωμός 'heap' and Gm. words like Go. *doms* 'judgement', but without further confirmation. Cf. Wikander 1946: 1ff. Masson found the word in Hipponax (ed. 123). Cf. bibliogr. *Bull. Ep.* 1992 n° 202. The idea of Neumann 1999: 345-353 that the word primarily indicated the building in which the meetings are held is rejected by Lubotsky 1997a: 124-125.

δοῦπος [m.] 'dull, heavy sound' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP In ἐρί-δουπος, also ἐρί-γδουπος 'thundering loud' (Il.); anlaut γδ- also in ἐγδούπησαν (Λ 45) and μασίγδουπον βασιλῆα· μεγαλόηχον 'with heavy sound', ... (H.), and also in άλί-, βαρύ-, μελί-γδουπος. Other compounds have -δουπος.

•DER δουπέω, aor. δουπῆσαι, perf. ptc. δεδουπότος [gen.sg.] (Ψ 679; innovation, see Schwyzer: 771) 'sound heavily', secondarily (through misunderstanding δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, Leumann 1950: 217) 'fall in battle' (Il.).

•ETYM δουπέω is an intensive like βρομέω, etc. It shows some resemblance to Latv. *dupêtiês* 'sound dead', SCr. *dȕpiti* 'slay (with sound)', and ToAB *täp-* 'give a loud sound, announce', but the initial **gd-* (found in the compounds) is not known from PIE. Therefore, the word is probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ▶κτυπέω, ▶κτύπος.

δοχμός [adj.] 'oblique, slanted' (Il., Delphi II[a]). ◁IE **dh₃ǵʰmo-* 'oblique'▷

•DER δόχμιος 'id.' (Ar.), also in metre 'versus dochmius' (Choerob.) together with δοχμιακός, δοχμικός, δοχμαικός, δοχμιάζω (sch.). δόχμη or δοχμή 'breadth of the hand', from 'oblique'. Denominative δοχμόομαι (δοχμωθείς) 'to turn sideways' (Hes., *h. Merc.*), aor. act. and med. δοχμῶσαι, -ώσασθαι (Nonn.). δοχμαλόν· χαμαίζηλον, ταπεινόν 'low' (H.), after χθαμαλός.

•ETYM In its formation, δοχμός is identical to Skt. *jihmá-* 'oblique', from PIE **dh₃ǵʰmo-*. In Skt. *jihmá-*, the *j-* from *d-* must be due to assimilation to the velar (PIIr. **jíǰʰmá-* < **díǰʰmá-*; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *jihmá-*).

δραγατεύω [v.] probably 'to oversee a land with cereals or a vineyard' (Thess. III[a]). ◁?▷

•ETYM From δραγάτης *"cutter, laborer in the fields', MoGr. 'id.' (ἀρχιδραγάτης, Ankyra II[p]); connected by Zingerle *Glotta* 15 (1927): 7off. to ▶δράσσομαι after ἐργατεύομαι : ἐργάτης. Zingerle adduces δραξών· ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἱερόν ..., εἰς ὃ οἱ γεωργοὶ εὐχὰς ἔπεμπον, ὅθεν καὶ δραξόνες (δρασοντες cod.) ἐκλήθησαν 'temple in

Sicily, to which farmer sent prayers; because of that, they were called δ.' (H.); see Latte ad loc. See Georgacas *Orbis* 4 (1956): 91ff.

δραϝεῦς [acc.pl.f.] name of something dedicated to Athena (*SGDI* 1537, Phocis [VI^a]). ◁?▷

•ETYM The word has been compared with δραιόν· μάκραν, πύελον 'bath tub, trough' (H.) and ▶δροίτη, but this is quite hypothetical.

δράκων, -οντος [m.] 'dragon, serpent' (Il.), also a fish, 'Trachinus' (Epich., cf. Strömberg 1943: 121f.). ◁IE **drḱ-* 'look at'▷

•VAR Fem. δράκαινα 'female dragon' (*h. Ap.*, A.) with δρακαινίς a fish name (Com.); see below.

•DER Diminutive δρακόντιον (Delos III^a), also a plant 'Arum dracunculum' (Hp.; after the color, Strömberg 1940: 38); δρακοντίς name of a bird (Ant. Lib.; see Thompson 1895: 91); δρακοντία a plant (Ps.-Dsc.); δρακοντίας (πυρός, σίκυς, πελειάς, Thphr.); ·δρακοντίτης (λίθος; Ptol. Chenn., see Redard 1949: 54). δρακόντειος and δρακοντώδης 'like a dragon' (E.). δρακοντίασις name of a disease (Gal.) as if from *δρακοντιάω, after the words in -ίασις, cf. Holt 1941: 137[3].

•ETYM On the assumption that the dragon was named after his paralyzing sight (despite doubts by Fick *BB* 18 (1892): 99), δράκων is probably related to δέρκομαι. It could then be an original *n*-stem (cf. δράκαινα) of a root noun *δρά(κ) = Skt. *dṛ́ś-* 'view' (cf. ▶ὑπό-δρα s.v.), whereas the *nt*-stem was formed after the participles (Schwyzer: 526; Chantraine 1933: 268).

δράλαινα [adj.] ·λαμυρά. Κῷοι 'full of abysses (Coan)' (H.). ◁?▷

•DER PN Δραλᾶς (Maeonia) and Δράλιος (Ceos, Schwyzer: 764).

•ETYM Unknown.

δραμεῖν [v.aor.] 'run' (Il.). ◁IE **drem-* 'run'▷

•VAR Fut. δραμοῦμαι (IA), perf. δέδρομα (Od.), δεδρόμᾱκα (Sapph.; see below), δεδράμηκα (IA); aor. to τρέχω.

•DER ▶δρόμος 'course' with δρομή (Hdn.), δράμημα 'id.' (Hdt.), also δρόμημα (*APl.*). Deverbative δρομάασκε (Hes. *Fr.* 117 v.l.); δρομήσασα (Vett. Val.); δεδρόμᾱκε [perf.] (Sapph., fr. 31 *LP*; Aeolic zero grade?), δρομάσσειν· τρέχειν 'to run' (H.); also δρωμᾷ· τρέχει and δρωμίσσουσα· τρέχουσα (H.); see Schwyzer 718f.

•ETYM The aorist and perfect stem δραμ-, δρομ- are found beside δρᾱ- in ἔ-δρᾱ-ν, etc. (see ▶ἀπο-διδράσκω), just as the present stem βαν- < *βαμ- in βαίνω is found next to βᾱ- in ἔ-βη-ν. Outside Greek, a good match is offered by Skt. pres. *dramati* (gramm.), intensive ptc.med. *dandramyamāṇa-* 'run'. However, the connection with OE *trem* 'footstep', etc. is uncertain. Thus, we have IE **drem-* : **dreh$_2$-* like **g^{w}em-* : *g^{w}eh$_2$-*; see ▶βαίνω. A third variant is seen in Skt. *drávati* 'run' < **dreu-*. As a present of δραμεῖν, Greek has τρέχειν; on the aspect, see Benveniste 1935: 120.

δράμις [f.] kind of bread, Macedonian acc. to Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 3, 114b. ◁?▷

•ETYM The word is reminiscent of ▶δαράται; further details are unknown. Cf. Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 11, and Kalléris 1954: 158f.

δραπέτης ⇒διδράσκω.

δράσσομαι [v.] 'to grasp, take handfuls' (Il., IA). ◁IE? **dreg^{h}-* (LIV^{2} 126)▷

•VAR Att. δράττομαι; aor. δράξασθαι, perf. δέδραγμαι.

•COMP Compounds with δια-, ἐν-, κατα-.

•DER δράγμα 'handful, especially of corn stalks' (Il.), together with δραγμεύω 'collect sheaves' (Σ 555) as if from δραγμός (E. *Cyc.* 170) for metrically impossible δραγματεύω (Eust. 1162, 17); also δραγμίς 'small handful' (Hp. *Morb.* 2, 55, v.l. of δραχμίς), δραγμή 'id.' (*EM*); on ▶δραχμή s.v.; δράγδην 'grasping with the hand' (Plu., Q. S.). Retrograde formation δράξ, -κός [f.] 'handful' (LXX); with metathesis δάρκες· δέσμαι 'handful' (H.). On ▶δραγατεύω (δραξών), see s.v. Unclear δρακτόν 'small vase' (inscr.).

•ETYM δράσσομαι is a yod-present from a root **δρακ-* or **δράχ-*, of which the zero grade was generalized throughout the paradigm. A relationship with Arm. *trc'-ak* 'Reisigbündel' has been considered, where the original word-final *-c'* is supposed to continue a sequence of velars; an IE *ē* or *ō* (PArm. *i* or *u*) must have disappeared between *t-* and *r* (or between *r* and *c'*). OCS *po-dragъ* 'edge, border of cloth' is not related (rather, to Ru. *dërgat'* 'pull, tug' and OE *tiergan* 'annoy', etc.). LIV^{2} s.v. **dreg^{h}-* connects the word with Av. *dražaite* 'holds', etc., and analyzes the Greek as a formation **dr-n-g^{h}-i̯e-* or **dr̥g^{h}-i̯e-*. The latter solution seems the most attractive. See under ▶δραχμή.

δραχμή [f.] 'drachm', weight and coin (IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR δαρχμα (Arc., El., Cnossos), δαρκνα (Gortyn, */-k^{h}nā/*, < -χμά Schwyzer: 215f.).

•DER δραχμιαῖος 'worth a δ.' (Att., etc.; after ἡμιωβολιαῖος, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 49), also δραχμαῖος, -ήϊος (Nic.); Diminutive δραχμίον (Aristeas).

•ETYM Usually taken as a verbal noun in -(σ)μη/ᾱ from ▶δράσσομαι, properly meaning 'grasp of the hand, handful' (of oboles), based on comparison with σπιθαμή, πυγμή, etc., with δραχ- and δαρχ- in the zero grade. However, the two variants δραχ- and δαρχ- suggest that this is not a zero grade from PGr. **drk^{h}-*, and therefore, that it is a Pre-Greek word (cf. also δάρκες s.v. ▶δράσσομαι); this is not noted in Fur.: From δραχμή comes Arab. *dirham*, Arm. *dram*, etc.; see Bailey *BSOAS* 13 (1949-1950): 128f.

δρᾰ́ω [v.] 'to make, do' (Od.; Att. prose has πράττω and ποιέω). ◁?▷

•VAR Aeol. 3sg. δραῖσι, aor. δρᾶσαι, etc.

•COMP Compounds with ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συν-, ὑπο-.

•DER δρᾶμα 'action, spectacle, drama' (A.) with diminutive δραμάτιον (Plu.) and δραματικός 'dramatic' (Arist.); with analogical σ (cf. δρηστήρ below): δρασμάτων· πανουργημάτων 'tricks, villanies' (H.) and δρασματικός = δραστήριος (Cat. Cod. Astr.); lengthened form δραμοσύνη 'holy service' (Attica IV^{a}), beside δρησμοσύνη 'id.' (*h. Cer.* 476) from **δρήσμων*, cf. Chantraine 1933: 174. δρᾶσις 'action, strength' (A. D.) with τὸ δράσιμον (A. *Th.* 554). Wwith analogical σ (Schwyzer: 531): δρηστήρ, fem. δρήστειρα (Od.), δρήστης, δράστης, δράστας (Archil., Pi.) 'servant (maid)' (Fraenkel 1910: 167f.) together with δραστήριος 'active' (A.), δραστηριότης (Eust.) and δραστηριώδης (Gal.), δραστικός 'active' (Pl.), δρηστοσύνη 'obligingness' (ο 321);

denominative δρηστεύω 'to serve (at a sacred act)' (Lesbos). Desiderative δρᾱσείω 'want to do' (S.). Beside δράω, we find δραίνω (formed after βαίνω, φαίνω, etc.) 'want to do, can do' (K 96, Herod.; an Ionism acc. to Bechtel 1914, Chantraine 1942: 343) with ὀλιγο-δρᾰνέων 'who can do little' (Il.; from ὀλίγα δραίνειν to ὀλιγηπελέων, cf. Schwyzer: 724, Chantraine 1942: 349; different analysis in Bechtel 1914 s.v. ὀλιγοδρανέω), with ὀλιγοδρᾰνία (A.), ὀλιγοδρᾰνής (Ar.); innovation ἀδρᾰνής (LXX, Arr.) with ἀδράνεια (Hdn.), ἀδρανίη (A. R.), ἀδρανέω 'be inactive' (Arat.), ἀδρανίζω 'id.' (sch.); as backformation δράνος· ἔργον, πρᾶξις, ὄργανον, ἄγαλμα, κατασκεύασμα, δύναμις 'work, action, tool, sculpture, work of art, ability' (H.; also MoGr. δράνα 'tendril'?, Bogiatzides Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 27 (1888): 115ff.), δρανεῖς· δραστικοί 'active' (H.).

•ETYM If δραίνω is a younger form, then the root was δρᾱ- (cf. κρᾱ-, τλᾱ-, etc.). Connection with Baltic words like Lith. *daraũ*, *darýti*, Latv. *darît* 'do, make, build' is quite uncertain (cf. Schwyzer: 675): Fraenkel 1955 (s.v.) considers *darýti* to be a causative of *derù*, *dereti* 'be useful', and further connects Skt. *dhár-ma-*, *dhārāyati* 'hold', etc. On δράω, δρᾶμα, see Snell *Phil. Suppl.* 20:1 (1928): 1ff. and Snell *Phil.* 85 (1930): 141ff.

δράω 2 [v.] 'to see' (A.D. *Adv.* 139, 8, *EM* 287,7). ◂GR▸

•DER δρᾶσις = βλέψις; οἱ δρατοί = ὀφθαλμοί.

•ETYM These forms were invented by grammarians to explain ὑπόδρα.

δρέπω [v.] 'to pluck, cut off' (Od.). ◂IE? **drep-* 'pluck'▸

•VAR Aor. δρέψαι (also δραπών Pi., δρόπωσιν [subj.] Alc.); pres. δρέπτω (Mosch.).

•COMP Compounds with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-. In composition often -η- for -ο-, e.g. δρεπανη-φόρος 'sickle-carrying' (X.); cf. Schwyzer: 438f.

•DER δρεπάνη (Il.), δρέπανον (Od.) 'sickle' (δράπανον epigr.) together with δρεπανηΐς 'id.' (Nic.; Chantraine 1933: 346), δρεπάνιον (Seleuc. *apud* Ath.); δρεπανίς the bird 'Alpine swift' (Arist., after the shape of the wings, Thompson 1895 s.v.; H. also has δραπανίδες· εἶδος ὀρνέου 'a kind of bird'), δρεπανώδης 'sickle-shaped' (Agath.). δρέμμια· κλέμμια ("about stealing fruit?", von Blumenthal 1930: 35, unless for κλῆμια), οἱ δὲ κλάσμα 'fragment' (H.). δρεπτεῖς (H.), δρεπεῖς (*EM*) = τρυγηταί, 'vintagers', see Boßhardt 1942: 81. Beside δρέπω stands (with lengthened grade) δρῶπαξ [m.] 'ichthyol', together with δρωπακίζω 'apply a depilatory' and δρωπακισμός, -ιστής, -ίστρια (medic.). Also δρώπτης· πλανήτης, πτωχός 'wanderer, beggar' (H.) ?

•ETYM The lengthened grade of δρωπ- is matched by a Slavic word for 'scratch, tear', e.g. Ru. *drápat'* (secondary *drjáp-*), Pol. *drapać*, SCr. *drâpām*, *drápati*, etc. (the *ō*-grade points to an old root noun, which may be secondary in Slavic); the zero grade (δραπών, etc.) occurs in Bulg. *dŏ́rpam*, SCr. *dr̂pām*, *dŕpati*. Very uncertain is the relation with ON *trǫf* [n.pl.] 'fringes', etc. (< IE **drop-*) and Gallo-Rom. *drappus* 'cloth, linen', etc. δρέπω might be an extension of δέρω as **dr-ep-*; compare ▸τρέπω, ▸κλέπτω. A parallel of δρεπάνη is Arm. *artevan*, *-anac'* 'eyebrow' (named after its shape); see De Lamberterie *REArm.* 17 (1983): 21f. and discussion in Clackson 1994: 109-112 (an old loan from Greek?). Alb. *drapën* 'sickle' is a loan from Greek.

δρηστεύω •VAR δρηστήρ, etc. ⇒ δράω.

δρῖλος [m.] 'circumcised man', = *verpus* in Latin glosses (*AP*, Amphissa; on the mg. Diels & Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 4-6). ◅?▻
•DER δρίλακες· βδέλλαι 'leeches' (H.; Chantraine 1933: 380).
•ETYM No etymology. M. Scheller (in Pok. 208) adduces δριάουσαν· θάλλουσαν 'flourishing' (H.), which, like δριάεντα· χλωρά, is based on δρίος, plur. δρία 'bush, shrubs'; the supposed meaning 'swelling' (whence both 'circumcised man' [: 'penis'] and 'leech') is a mere guess. See Kretschmer *Glotta* 14 (1925): 229, *contra* H. Petersson (Arm. *titern* 'crocodile') . Other suggestions can be found in von Loewenthal *WuS* 10 (1927): 186 and Sapir *Lang.* 15 (1940): 185. See also ▶κροκόδιλος.

δρῖμύς [adj.] 'sharp, sour, bitter' (Il.). ◅PG?▻
•COMP δριμυλέων as a philosophical nickname (Gal.).
•DER δριμύλος 'piercing' (Mosch.; diminutive, cf. ἡδύλος, etc., Chantraine 1933: 250); δριμύτης, -ητος [f.] 'sharpness, etc.' (IA). Denominative δριμύσσω 'cause a biting pain' (especially medic.; Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 243) with δρίμυξις 'smarting' and δριμυγμός 'pungency'; also δριμεύω 'to itch' (Anon. in *EN*).
•ETYM The old interpretation (Persson 1912(2): 779) as 'splitting, cutting', from *δρῐ̆σ-μύς (replacing *δρῐ̆σ-μός), is not convincing. Since the word has no etymology, we might consider Pre-Greek origin.

δρίος [n.] 'bush, shrubs' (ξ 353; cf. ἄλσος 'grove', τάρφος 'thicket', etc.). ◅?▻
•VAR Plur. δρία; δρισι [dat.pl.] (*IG* 14, 217: 43).
•DER Perhaps δριών 'δενδρών ("thicket")' in ἐν δριῶνας (Meineke; cod. ἐνδριώνας)· δρόμος παρθένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι 'maidens' race in Laconia' (H.).
•ETYM Pedersen 1909: 80 compared OIr. *driss* 'vepres' (suffix *-st-*); this is unclear. The word is often combined with ▶δρῦς, etc.; the formation remains unclear in any case. Not connected here (as per Osthoff 1901: 156ff.) is δρίς· δύναμις 'potential' (H.). Also unclear are δράεντα· χλωρά 'green' and δριάουσαν· θάλλουσαν 'flourishing' (H.).

δροίτη [f.] 'bathtub' (A.), also 'cradle' (Alex. Aet.), 'coffin' (Parth.), name of a dance (H.; see Lawler *AmJPh.* 71 (1950): 70ff.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Cf. δοῖτρον· πύελον 'trough', σκάφην 'trough, tray' (H.), dissimilated from *δροῖτρον?
•ETYM Although the word has no good etymology, its suffix -ιτα suggests Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 238[45]). Not attractive is the connection with OE *trīg*, MoE *tray* 'flat trough, dish' (from PGm. **trau-ja-*, IE **drou-io-* of 'wood'); indeed, any relationship with ▶δρῦς) is probably due to secondary association. For example, the younger form δρύτη could be due to the pronunciation υ for οι, or else result from influence of δρῦς. Lat. *durēta* 'wooden bath tub' is probably borrowed from the Greek (Schwyzer *KZ* 62 (1935): 199ff.).

δρόμος [m.] 'run, race, course' (Il.); = γυμνάσιον 'school' (Crete; cf. on δρομεύς below). ◅IE **drem-* 'run'▻

•DER δρομεύς 'runner' (Att.), ἔφηβος' (Cret.); δρομάς [f.] (also [m., n.]) 'running' (S., cf. Schwyzer: 507, Chantraine 1933: 354), also used for the camel (D. S.), as a loan Lat. *dromas* with *dromedārius*, whence δρομεδάριος, δρομαδάριος 'dromedary' (pap.); δρομαῖος 'running' (S.), δρομικός 'for running, quick' (Pl.) with δρομικότης (Simp.); Δρόμιος epithet of Hermes (Crete), Δρομήϊος month name (Crete); late and rare δρομίας name of a fish and a crab (Eratosth.; see Strömberg 1943: 51f., Thompson 1947 s.v. δρόμων); δρομαλός epithet of λαγωός 'hare' (H.), δρόμων 'light ship' (Procop.), = ὁ μικρὸς καρκίνος 'the small crab' (H.), cf. on δρομίας; δρόμαξ 'good at running' (of κάμηλος 'camel', *Gp.*); δρόμιον 'running match' (*Tab. Defix. Aud.*, Rome IV-V^{P}). δρομή = δρόμος 'run, race, course' (Hdn. Gr.).
•ETYM Derived from ▶ δραμεῖν.

δρόξιμα [n.pl.] 'uncooked, raw fruits' (pap. V-VI^{P}). ◀?▶
•ETYM = τρώξιμα 'id.' (from τρώγω), via a folk-etymological reshaping after δρόσος 'dew', δροσερός 'fresh' (e.g. of λάχανα 'vegetables' Ar. *Pl.* 298)?

δροόν [adj.] · ἰσχυρόν. Ἀργεῖοι 'strong (Arg.)' (H.). ◀IE **drou-* 'wood'▶
•ETYM From *δροϝ-όν, properly 'made of heartwood', from the word for 'wood' in ▶ δόρυ, ▶ δρῦς. Compare OE *trīg* 'tray' < IE **drou-io-* (see ▶ δροίτη); also, Go. *trauan*. The same word is supposed in PN Δρούθου [gen.], Telos II^{a}. ἔνδροια· καρδία δένδρου καὶ τὸ μέσον 'heart of the tree, the middle part' (H.) may stand for ἔνδρυα. See Osthoff 1901: 145ff.

δρόσος [f.] 'dew', often of several fluids (Hdt., Pi.); in A. *Ag.* 141 (lyr., pl.) = 'young animals' (λεόντων), thus Call. *Hec.* 1, 2, 3; acc. to Bechtel 1914: 139 and Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 102^{1} metonymic; different Leumann 1950: 258^{11}; cf. on ▶ ἔρσαι. ◀PG▶
•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 32^{4}, 34^{1}.
•DER Adjectives mg. 'dewy, fluid': δροσόεις (Sapph.), δροσώδης (com.), δροσερός (E.), δροσινός (*AP*), δρόσιμος (Plu.). Abstract δροσία (Orac. *apud* Luc. *Alex.* 53, *Cat. Cod. Astr.*, also MoGr.; on the mg. see Scheller 1951: 54f.). Hypocoristic δροσαλλίς name of a Bithynian wine (*Gp.*); see Chantraine 1933: 252. Denominative δροσίζω 'to sprinkle, make dew' (Ar.) with δροσισμός (Olymp. Alch.); δροσόομαι 'to be sprinkled with dew' (Anacreont.).
•ETYM The word is probably of Pre-Greek origin (note the intervocalic -σ-; for older views, cf. Bq; Sapir *Lang.* 15 (1940): 185).

***δροτῆτα** (Π 857, etc.) ⇒ ἀνήρ.

δρυάσαι ⇒ δενδρύω.

δρῠμά [n.pl.] 'wood, forest' (Il.). ◀IE **dru-* 'wood, tree'▶
•VAR Late also δρῡμά, see below.
•DER δρυμός 'bush, thicket' (*SIG* 57, 28 [V^{a}]); δρυμώδης 'forested', δρύμιος 'who passes a forest' (Cyprus); δρυμίους· τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κακοποιοῦντες (i.e. 'brigands living in the woods'); δρυμεῖτις (read -ῖτις?) scil. γῆ 'forested country' (pap.); δρυμών -ῶνος 'forest' (J.). δρυμίς -ίδος = δρυάς (*An. Ox.* 1, 225).

•ETYM Neutral collective of *δρῦμός = Skt. *druma-* [m.] 'tree', Ru. *drom* 'thicket, forest', an IE derivation in *-m-* of the word for 'wood, tree'; see ▸δόρυ and ▸δρῦς. The length of the vowel, seen in the sing. δρῦμός and the masc. plural forms only, is taken from δρῦς; see Wackernagel 1916: 184ff. On the ntr. plur., see Schwyzer: 581. Differently, Machek *Listy filol.* 72 (1948): 71.

δρυμάσσω [v.] 'to tear up, crush', intrans. 'to creak' (= ληκεῖν Poll. 5, 93), also obscene uses; cf. H.: δρυμάξεις· κυρίως μὲν σπαράξεις. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ συνέσει καὶ προσομιλήσεις 'commonly: retching; also used for coition and sexual intercourse' (*Com. Adesp.* 986); δρυμάσσειν καὶ δρυμάξαι· τὸ τύπτειν ξύλοις 'to beat with clubs'. ἐδρύμαξεν· ἔθραυσεν, ἔσφαξεν 'he shattered, slayed'. ἀδρύμακτον· καθαρόν 'clear, clean'. ◂PG?▸

•VAR Att. -ττω; aor. δρυμάξαι, fut. δρυμάξω.

•ETYM Expressive formation. Nevertheless, a cross of δρύπτω with another verb (e.g. μάσσω, ἰμάσσω, as suggested by Frisk) does not seem probable. Rather, a derivation in -ακ- from δρύπτω, with -μ- for -π- (see Fur.: 224f., and cf. 326 on δρυφ-, δρυψ-). The explanation of 'τύπτειν ξύλοις' (H.) is probably folk etymological (based on δρυμός?).

δρῦμός ⇒ δρῦμά.

δρυπεπής [adj.] 'having ripened on the tree', about black olives (Ar. *Lys.* 564). ◂GR▸

•ETYM From δρυ- and πέπων. δρύπτιος, said of ἄγρος (*IG* 9(1), 61), is unclear; so too is δρύπεπα (*AP* 6, 191), which may be an isolated innovation. The same holds for δρύπτα (*AP* 6, 299); can it be a Latin form? Note that Ath. 56 said that the accus. plur. δρυππας is Roman. Δρυπετής would be a later change in the form; it may have existed because of δρυπετεῖς· ἀπὸ δένδρου πεπτωκυίας 'fallen from the tree' (H.).

δρύπτω [v.] 'to scratch', especially as a sign of mourning (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Aor. δρύψαι, opt. ἀπο-δρύφοι (Ψ 187 = Ω 21), probably pres., cf. δρυφόμενοι· ῥθειρόμενοι (H.).

•DER ἀμφι-δρυφής, ἀμφί-δρυφος 'scratched on both sides (cheeks)' (Il.); δρυπίς [f.] name of a thorn-bush (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 76. Only lexical δρυφή· ἀμυχή, καταξυσμή 'scratch', δρυφάδες· ὄνυχες, καταξύσματα 'talons, scratchings'. λῦπαι, ὀδύναι 'pains'. ἢ τὰ ἀπὸ πληγῶν πελιώματα 'livid spots from blows', δρύφη· ξέσματα 'abrasion' (H.). δρυφάξαι· θακεῖν 'to sit' (H.). With *-s-*: δρύψαλα 'leaves', δρύψελα· πέταλα δρυώδη 'tree-like leaves' (H.), δρύψια 'shavings'; δρυψόπαιδα· τὴν λαμυράν 'impudent female'· οἱ δὲ ἁπαλόπαιδα ἢ ἐλεεινόν 'delicate child; pitiable' (H.); δρυψογέροντας· τοὺς ἀτόπους πρεσβύτας καὶ οἱονεὶ ἀτίμους 'remarkable seniors, as if dishonored' (H.).

•ETYM Expressive form, usually connected with ▸δέρω, ▸δρέπω. However, the word was hardly reshaped after ▸θρύπτω. The variants δρυφ-, δρυψ-, and ▸δρυμ-άσσω clearly point to a Pre-Greek word (and therefore it is improbable that it derives from IE δέρω); see Fur. 326, 348, etc. Neither is the word Iranian (Schwarz 1970: 386).

δρῦς, -υός [f.] 'tree', especially 'oak' (Il.). ◂IE **doru*, gen. **dreus* 'wood, tree'▸

•DIAL Dialectal sometimes also [m.], see Schwyzer 1950: 37[2]; Myc. *du-ru-to-mo* /drutomoi/ 'woodcutters'.
•COMP ►ἄδρυα 'upright pieces', ►ἁμάδρυα 'sloe', ►γεράνδρυον 'old tree or stump', ἔνδρυον· καρδία δένδρου, καὶ τὸ μέσαβον 'heart of the tree; leathern strap' (H.), also Hes. (see below); μελάνδρυα 'hearts of oak', also 'slices of tunny'.
•DER δρύϊνος 'oaken' (Od.), δρυΐνᾶς name of a snake living in oaks (Nic.); δρυΐτης kind of cypress (Thphr.), name of a precious stone (Plin.); Δρυάς 'Dryad, tree-nymph' (Plu.), also name of a snake (Androm. *apud* Gal.; cf. δρυΐνας); them. lengthening in δρύου [gen.] 'bush' (*POxy.* 7, 1044, [7]; 8; 12, II-III^{P}); but the them. endings in μελάν-δρυ-ον 'heart-wood', ἔν-δρυ-ον 'oaken peg' (Hes. *Op.* 469) belong to δόρυ. The same holds for δρύ-οχοι [m.pl.] 'ribs of a ship' (Od.; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 186), δρῠ(ο)-κολάπτης 'woodpecker' (Ar.), etc.; parallel mgs. in Schwentner *KZ* 73 (1956): 112f.; short form (after animal names in -οψ) δρύοψ (Ar. *Av.* 304); also as a PN (Y 455) and as a people's name, see von Wilamowitz 1931: 52[1]. On ►δρύφακτοι, see s.v.
•ETYM Apart from the vowel length, which can be explained as from the feminine gender (Wackernagel l.c.), δρῦς is identical with Skt. *dru-* 'wood', found e.g. in *dru-ṣád-* 'sitting on wood (on a tree)', *su-drú-* 'of good wood'. Other cognates are OCS *drъva* [n.pl.] 'wood', Alb. *dru* [f.] (< **druu̯ā*) 'wood, tree', and Go. *triu* < PGm. **trewa-* < IE **dreu-o-*. The feminine δρῦς (gender after other tree names; cf. Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 17) arose from the oblique case forms of the word for 'wood', Gr. δόρυ, Skt. *dā́ru-* (gen. *drú-ṇ-aḥ* next to *dró-ḥ*). Janda 1997 assumes a collective **druh$_2$-* (with *-s* in the nom.). The meaning 'firm, strong', found in Greek in ►δροόν· ἰσχυρόν, is frequent in Gm., e.g. OE *trum* 'firm, strong, healthy' (formally = δρῦμά 'wood', Skt. *druma-* 'tree'), Go. *triggws* (< **trewwa-*, IE **dreu(u)-o-*) 'true, faithful'.

δρύφακτοι [m.pl.] 'railing or latticed partition, balcony, bar (in court)' (Ar.). ◅GR▻
•VAR Rarely sing. -ος; also δρύφρακτοι (Lib.) with restored ρ, and τρύφακτοι (Hell. and late inscr., Hdn. Gr.), with τ- acc. to Schwyzer: 257 from regressive assimilation, but alternatively (Frisk) after τρυφή 'delicacy' by folk etymology; doubtful.
•DER Denominative δρυφάσσω 'fence in' (Lyc.), δρυφάξαι· ++ δακεῖν 'to bite' (H.; at wrong alphabetical position). Also δρυθακτόω.
•ETYM Generally taken as a combination of δρῦ- (in ►δόρυ) and ►φράσσω with a suffix -το- (cf. e.g. ἀκμό-θε-τον). However, the τ- is hard to understand as assimilation.

δρωπάζειν [v.] · ἐμβλέπειν 'to look in the face' (H.), A. D. *Adv.* 139, 8; δρώπτειν· [διακόπτειν ἢ] διασκοπεῖν. Αἰσχύλος Ψυχαγωγοῖς '[cut through]; examine well [in Aeschylus's *Psychagogoi*]' (*Fr.* 278) (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Frisk suggests a cross of δέρκομαι, δρακεῖν and ὄπωπα, ὄψομαι, which is not very convincing. Comparable is δρωκτάζεις (δροκ-)· περιβλέπεις, for which Latte adduces the PN Δροκυλος (Argolis), but this may stand for Δρακυλος. See ►δράω 2 = ὁράω.

δρῶπαξ ⇒δρέπω.

δρώψ [m.] · ἄνθρωπος 'man' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Thought to be a compound *νρ-ώψ 'with manly face' (see ►ἀνήρ), but the absence of ἀ- is strange. Acc. to Latte, it is a creation of the grammarians. Kuiper 1956: 224f. accepts the gloss as Pre-Greek, explaining ἄνθρωπος as arising through prenasalization and prothetic vowel. His solution is supported by Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 13-5. Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 11f. considers δρώψ to be Macedonian (connected to ►τρέφω).

δύβρις [?] · κατὰ γλῶσσαν ἡ θάλασσα 'sea [gloss]', sch. Theoc. 1, 118c. ◁?▷

•ETYM If the word is Illyrian, one could connect Latv. *dubra* 'pit, marshy place', OCS *dъbrъ* 'abyss', as well as MIr. *dobur* 'water' and other words for 'deep', like Lith. *dubùs*, Go. *diups*, etc. See Krahe 1955: 47. Acc. to Szemerényi *Archiv. Linguist.* 5 (1953): 77, also Lat. *Tiberis* (as Illyrian) is related. Cf. ►δύπτω.

δύη [f.] 'misery, anguish' (Od.). ◁?▷

•VAR Dor. δύα.

•COMP As a first member in δυη-παθής (A. R.).

•DER δύϊος 'unhappy, painful' (A. *Supp.* 829 [lyr.]), δυερός 'id.' (metr. inscr., Attica); causative present δυόωσι [3sg.] 'cause misery' (υ 195), perf. ptc. δεδυημένη· κεκακωμένη 'distressed' (H.), with derivations.

•ETYM If it originally meant 'burning pain', δύη might derive from a zero grade of the root *deh_2u- 'burn', seen in Skt. *dunóti* 'burn (trans.), torment' and OHG *zuscen* 'burn'. In Greek, this root is perserved in ►δαίω < *dau-$i̯e/o$- and ►δήϊος. However, this remains uncertain, of course.

Myc. *du-ma*

•ETYM Probably the name of an official, on which see Fauth *KZ* 102 (1989): 187-206.

δύναμαι [v.] 'to be able, be equal to; to signify' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. δυνήσασθαι, δυνασθῆναι (Il.), δυνηθῆναι (trag.), fut. δυνήσομαι (Od.), perf. δεδύνημαι (Att.).

•DER δύναμις [f.] 'strength, power' (Il.; cf. θέμις and below) with δυναμικός 'powerful, effective' (Hell. and late), δυναμερός 'id.' (medic.), δυναμοστόν a fraction (Dioph.); δυναμόω 'make strong' (Hell. and late), with δυνάμωσις, δυναμωτικός, δύνασις 'id.' (Pi.). δυνάστης [m.] 'lord, master' (IA) with δυναστικός (Arist.), δυναστεύω (IA), with δυναστεία, δυνάστευμα, δυναστευτικός; fem. δυνάστις (Demetr. *Eloc.*), δυνάστειρα (*Tab. Defix. Aud.* III^{p}). δυνάστωρ 'id.' (E. *IA* 280 [lyr.]). Verbal adj. δυνατός 'able; possible' (Sapph.) with δυνατέω 'be strong' (2 *Ep. Cor.* 13, 3); δυνητικός 'potential' (A. D.).

•ETYM Probably to be analyzed as δύ-ν-α-μαι, a present with generalized nasal infix (δυ-ν-ά-σθην for *δυά-σθην, cf. λίναμαι : λιάσθην), δυ-ν-ήσομαι for *δυή-σομαι, etc., as well as in nouns like δύναμις, etc. An -σ- was added in δυνά-σ-θην, δυνά-σ-της. LIV^{2} reconstructs *$deuh_2$- 'zusammenfügen' and connects the word with ToB *tsuwa* [3sg.pret.] 'join, adjust' and Go. *taujan* 'make'. This disyllabic root formally agrees with that of ►δήν and ►δηρός but, semantically, a connection is difficult. Cret. νύναμαι (Gortyn) must be the same word. The ν- may simply be due to assimilation.

δυνδεκάτῃ [num.] · ἡμέρᾳ δωδεκάτῃ 'on the twelfth day' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM According to Schulze 1892: 178, δυνδέκατος was formed after ἑνδέκατος, but Latte implausibly corrects to δυοδεκάτῃ, contrary to the alphabetical order.

δύο [num.] 'two'. ◁IE **duu̯o*, **duu̯-eh₃* (?) 'two'▷

•VAR Epic eleg. also δύω, Lacon., etc. also δύ(ϝ)ε (after κύν-ε, etc.), oblique forms δυοῖν (Att. δυεῖν since IV-III[a]), δυῶν, δυοῖσ(ι), δυσί; also indeclinable (Il.); see Schwyzer: 588f.

•DIAL Myc. *dwo*; *du-wo-u-pi* /dwōup[h]i/.

•COMP As a first member (beside usual δι-, see ▸δίς) e.g. in δυο-ποιός 'making two' (Arist.), and in univerbations like δυο-καί-δεκα (Il., etc.).

•DER δυοστός 'half' (sch.), after εἰκοστός 'twentieth', etc.

•ETYM The final short vowel of δύο is also seen in Arm. *erko-tasan* 'twelve' and in the Skt. derivative *dva-ká-* 'in pairs' (Lat. *duo* is due to iambic shortening). **duu̯o* is also found in Go. *twa* and *wit* 'we two', as well as in OIr. *da*; see Cowgill *MSS* 46 (1985): 13-28, who demonstrates that the **duu̯o* originally was an indeclinable next to the dual δύω (= Skt. *duvā́*, OCS *dъva* [m.]). A monosyllabic **du̯ō(u)* is reflected in δ(ϝ)ώ-δεκα, Skt. *dvā́(u)*, Hitt. *dā-* in *dā-yuga-* 'two years old', *dān* 'a second time'.

δυοχοῖ [v.] · πωματίζει παρὰ Δημοκρίτῳ (*Fr.* 136), ἤτοι πωμάζει, σκεπάζει 'to cover (with a lid) [Democr.], to protect or shelter'; δυοχῶσαι· πωμάσαι (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM The explanation as from **δυοχος 'lid' is rejected by DELG, both because the meaning would not fit and because a compound with δυ(ό)- instead of δω- is improbable. Chantraine suggests reading **δρυοχοῖ* from δρύοχος, which is 'the props or shores upon which the frame of a new ship is laid', or (LSJ *Supp.*) 'the ribs of a ship' (DELG s.v. δρῦς); it is then the same as δρύακες (H.). However, this does not seem to fit well for the present gloss.

δύπτω [v.] 'to dive in', mostly intr. (Antim. [?], Lyc., A. R.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. δύψαι.

•DER δύπτης [m.] 'diver', especially as a bird name (Call.); cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM From ▸δυω, perhaps modelled after ▸κύπτω; cf. also βύπτω (s.v. ▸βάπτω).

δύρομαι [v.] 'to lament, bewail' (trag.). ◁?▷

•DER πάν-δυρ-τος 'wailing about everything' (trag. [lyr.]).

•ETYM A variant of ὀδύρομαι, perhaps as a rhyme with μύρομαι (Güntert 1914: 150).

δυσ- [pref.] inseparable prefix, 'mis-, un-, etc.' (Il.). Details in Schwyzer: 432, Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 295ff. ◁IE **dus-* 'wrong, mis-'▷

•COMP E.g. δυσμενής, see DELG.

•ETYM Old element, also seen in Indo-Iranian (Skt. *duṣ-*, *dur-*, Av. *duš-*, *duž-*). Some compounds are found in both branches, like δυσ-μενής = Skt. *dur-mánas-*, Av. *duš-manah-*; see also under ▸δύστηνος. The element is also found in other branches, e.g. in Germanic (Go. *tuz-werjan* 'hesitate', ON OE *tor-*, OHG *zur-*), Celtic (OIr. *du-*, *do-*), and Armenian (*t-*, e.g. *t-gēt* 'unknowing'). The Slav. word for 'rain', OCS *dъždь*, Ru. *dožd'*, etc. is often connected with it (from "bad daylight" vel sim.); see Derksen

2008 s.v. *dózdjь (dъ́ždjь). IE *dus- is mostly connected with δεύομαι 'lack' (see ►δέω 2).

δυσ-ᾱής [adj.] 'blowing violently, stormy' (Il.). ◅GR▻
•VAR Ntr. -ές.
•ETYM From δυσ- and ἄημι with metrical lengthening. Cf. ὑπερᾱής (of ἄελλα, Λ 297).

δυσβήρης [adj.] · ὁ δύσβατος 'impassable' (*EM* 291, 43); δυσβιηρές· δύσβατον, δυσχερές 'impassable, intractable' (H.); δυσβῆρες· οἱ δύσβατοι τόποι 'inaccessible places' (Suid.). ◅GR▻
•ETYM Acc. to *EM*, the form is syncopated from δυσβατήρης; however, it is rather directly from βῆναι after the adjectives in -ήρης. Otherwise, is it a mistake for δυσῆρες· δυσχερές (Suid.)? Such a solution is not in accord with von Blumenthal 1930: 3 (that the word is Illyrian, connected to φέρειν).

δύσγω ⇒δύω 2.

δύσεα [n.pl.] · τοῦ τοίχου τὰ πέριξ. Κύπριοι 'that which is around the wall (Cypr.)' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unexplained. See Solmsen 1909: 245.

δυσηχής [adj.] of πόλεμος 'war' and θάνατος 'death', so perhaps 'that which causes great pain, grief' to ἄχος 'distress', ἄχνυμαι 'to be distressed' (with Ap. Soph.). In *h.Ap.* 64 'of bad reputation'. Later mg. 'that which causes great noise'. ◅GR▻
•ETYM From ►ἄχος or from ►ἠχή.

δύσκηλος [adj.] 'unquiet, agitated'? Of χθών 'earth' (A. *Eu.* 825 hapax), opposite to εὔκηλος 'still' (see ►ἔκηλος). ◅IE *ueḱ- 'want'▻
•ETYM See ►ἔκηλος. Not connected with κηλέω 'to bewitch'; see sch.

δύσκολος [adj.] 'discontented, troublesome' (Hp., Att.). ◅?▻
•DER δυσκολία 'discontentedness'. Opposite εὔκολος 'content' with εὐκολία.
•ETYM Unknown. Unconvincing are connections with ►κέλομαι, ►πέλομαι, etc.

δυσκρᾱής ⇒εὐκραής.

δυσοίζω [v.] 'to wail, be in fear' (A. *Ag.* 1316, E. *Rh.* 724 and 805). ◅?▻
•VAR δυσοίζει· δυσχεραίνει, ὑπονοεῖ. Λάκωνες 'be unable to endure; suspect (Lacon.)' (H.), δυσοίζειν· φοβεῖσθαι, ὑποπτεύειν 'be afraid; be suspicious' (H.); δυσοίζοντος· οἰωνιζομένου καὶ ἄγαν ὑποπτεύοντος 'who takes [things] as omens and is very suspicious'; δύσοικτος· δυσθρήνητος 'loud-wailing'; ἐδύσοιξα· ὑπενόησα 'he suspected' (H.).
•ETYM Perhaps the explanation in H. with ὑπονοεῖν, ὑποπτεύειν, οἰωνίζεσθαι is based on an erroneous connection with οἴομαι. Because of the nominal prefix and the augmented aorist, we should start from δύσοικτος, which comes either from οἶκτος or from *οἰκτός to οἴζω (A. D.). See Debrunner *GGA* 172 (1910): 7 and Fraenkel 1950 ad 1316.

δυσπέμφελος [adj.] of the sea (Π 748, Hes. *Th.* 440), sailing (Hes. *Op.* 618), a man (Hes. *Op.* 722), etc., perhaps 'stormy, rough, raw'. ◁?▷
•ETYM Expressive word without etymology. The word recalls πέμφιξ, πομφός, πομφόλυξ, which are also semantically relatable. Further suggestions are found in Bechtel 1914 s.v. and in Schwyzer: 423, who assumes reduplication.

δύστηνος [adj.] 'unhappy, wretched' (Il.; cf. von Wilamowitz 1889 ad 1346); δυστηνία· μοχθηρία 'bad condition' (H.). ◁IE? **steh₂-* 'stand'▷
•VAR Dor. δύστανος.
•DER ►ἄστηνος 'miserable', s.v.
•ETYM Probably 'who has a bad standing', from δυσ- and *στῆ-ν-, *στᾶ-ν-, corresponding to Skt. *sthāna-* [n.], Av. OP *stāna-* [n.] 'stand, position'. Slavic has an old *u*-stem, e.g. CS *stanъ* 'lair', Ru. *stan* 'stature, standplace, camp'; other forms are mentioned in Derksen 2008 s.v. *stânъ. The form δύστος = δύστηνος, given by Hdn. Gr. 1, 217, may derive from **dus-sth₂-o-*. See Osthoff 1901: 126, Bechtel 1914 s.v. δύστηνος.

δυσχερής [adj.] 'discontent, annoying, vexatious, unpopular' (IA). ◁IE **gʰer-* 'desire'▷
•DER δυσχέρεια 'annoyance, disgust' (Att., Hell.), denominative δυσχεραίνω 'to be displeased with, be disgusted at' (Att., Hell.; see Leumann 1950: 111) with δυσχέρασμα (Pl.), δυσχερασμός (Phld.), δυσχέρανσις (Hell. and late), δυσχεραντικός (M. Ant.). - Opposite εὐχερής 'tractable'.
•ETYM Not related to χείρ; see Leumann *Phil.* 96 (1944): 161ff., who correctly connects the word with ►χαίρω. We must depart from a form with -ε-, like *χέρος (cf. δυσ-μενής to μένος), or from a full grade of the verb, which is not preserved in Greek.

δυτη [f.] mg. uncertain, 'pit'? ◁IE? **deu-* 'enter'▷
•VAR Accentuation unknown. Also δυτᾶ (Thebe, Troezen IV-III[a]).
•ETYM Perhaps the word must be connected with ἄ-δυτον 'place one may not enter, most sacred', from δύω, δύομαι 'enter'. See Frisk 1938: 16f. This contradicts the hypothesis of von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 154, who relates it to θύω as an Illyrian word for "place for sacrifice".

δύω 1 ⇒δύο.

δύω 2 [v.] 'to enter, dive', trans. 'to plunge', intrans. 'to get into, slip into, put on' (Il.). ◁IE **deu-* 'go in, enter'▷
•VAR δύομαι, δύνω, aor. δῦσαι, δύσασθαι, δῦναι, perf. δέδῡκα, aor. pass. δυθῆναι, fut. δύσω, δύσομαι, δῡθήσομαι, unclear epic pret. δύσετο (cf. Chantraine 1942: 416f.); if trans. (δύω, δῦσαι, δύσω) mostly with prefix ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα-δύω; otherwise intrans. (δύομαι, δύνω), often with prefix ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ὑπο-δύομαι, -δύνω, etc. (but rarely -δύω).
•COMP Often with nominal first member in compounds like τρωγλο-δύτης 'cave-dweller' (Hdt.) with -δυτικός, -δυτέω, λωπο-δύτης 'one who goes in other people's clothes, thief (of clothes)' (Att., etc.) with -δυτέω, -δυσίου (δίκη), -δυσία; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 225f.

•DER δύσις 'setting of sun and stars, West' (Hecat.) with δυτικός; often to the prefixed verbs ἔκ-, ἔν-, κατά-δυσις, etc. in different mgs.; δῦμα (*POxy.* 6, 929, 8; 15, II-III^{P}) = ἔνδυμα 'garment' (V^{a}), also ὑπόδυμα. δύτης 'diver' (Hdt. 8, 8); in different mgs. ἐν-, ὑπεν-, ἐκ-δύτης, etc. with ἐκδύσια [pl.] name of a festival in Crete (Ant. Lib.); ἐνδυτήρ 'for putting on' (S. *Tr.* 674 of πέπλος) with ἐνδυτήριος (S.), also ὑποδυτήρια [pl.] (Str. 14, 5, 6; v.l. ὑποδεκτ.). δυσμαί [pl.] (rarely [sg.], see Schwyzer 1950: 43) 'setting of sun and stars, West' (IA) with δυσμικός (Str.); also δυ-θμαί, -θμή 'id.' (Call.; on the suffix Chantraine 1933: 148f.). Cf. further ▸δυτη. δυτῖνος name of a waterbird (Dionys. *Av.*; like ἰκτῖνος, κορακῖνος, etc.). δυτικός 'suitable for diving, westerly' (Arist.). Verbal forms with extension: ▸δύπτω; δύσγω· ἀποδύω 'to put off' (H.), after μίσγω 'to mix' (Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 39); cf. also φύσγων (Alc., *POxy.* 18, 2165; see Specht *KZ* 68 (1943): 150).

•ETYM δύω is related to the rare Sanskrit verb *upā-du-* 'to put on' (only gerundive Ved. *upādútya-*); see von Schroeder *WZKSM* 13 (1899): 297f. and Brugmann *IF* 11 (1900): 274. The same root is possibly found in ▸δείελος, etc. On the intransitive nasal present δύνω, see Schwyzer: 696 and Schwyzer 1950: 230. Cf. also ▸ἁλιβδύω.

δῶ [n.] 'house' (Il.). ◂IE **dōm* 'house'▸

•VAR In Hom. always at verse end, always as accus. (ἡμέτερον δῶ, ἐμὸν ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ, etc.) except α 392 δῶ / ἀφνειόν, where it has the nominative; further Hes. *Th.* 933 χρύσεα δῶ 'golden houses' [acc.pl.] (innovation).

•ETYM The ancients saw the word as a shortened form of δῶμα (δῶ· δῶμα, οἴκημα, σπήλαιον H.). Schmidt 1889: 222ff. derived it from **dōm*, the root noun belonging to ▸δόμος, etc.; thus, Schwyzer: 569 and (hesitantly) Chantraine 1942: 230, as well as Bartholomae 1895: 214 (**dōm* = Av. *dąm* as an old locative). Fick 1874-1876(1): 458 and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916: 1, 136, as well as Risch 1937: 359f., thought it was a local particle (adverb); cf. ἡμέτερόν δε = ἡμέτερον δῶ), thus **dō* 'to(wards)', seen in OS *tō*, OHG *zuo*, and perhaps even in Lat. *en-do*. In Greek, it is simply a substantive. Cf. ▸δῶμα.

δώδεκα [num.] 'twelve' (Il.). ◂IE **duoHdeḱm* 'twelve'▸

•VAR Epic Ion. Dor. also δυώδεκα, Arc. δυōδεκο; Hell. also δεκαδύο.

•COMP δυωδεκά-βοιος 'worth twelve cows' (Il.), etc.

•DER δωδέκατος (δυω-; on ▸δυνδεκάτη s.v.) 'the twelfth' (Il.) with δωδεκαταῖος 'of twelve days' (Hes.) from δωδεκάτη (ἡμέρα), and δυωδεκατεύς (μήν) 'the twelfth month' (Tauromenion); δωδεκάς (δυω-) [f.] 'group of twelve, the twelfth part' (Pl.) with δυωδεκαδικός; δωδεκαΐς, -ηΐς (δυω-) 'sacrifice of twelve animals', also name of a festive deputation (Delphi V^{a}, etc.; cf. Ιυθαΐς); δωδεκεύς· χοεύς a measure, 'twelve cotylae' (H.); δωδεκάκις 'twelve times' (Ar.).

•ETYM From **δϝώ-δεκα* = Skt. *dvā́-daśa*. It also appears as δυώδεκα, as in Lat. *duodecim*. See ▸δύο.

δῶμα [n.] 'house, home, temple', often plur., see Schwyzer 1950: 43 (Il.; also Arc. [Tegea V^{a}] as 'temple'). ◂IE **dem-* 'house'▸

•DER δωμάτιον 'small house, room, chapel' (Att.); δωματίτης, fem. -ῖτις 'belonging to the house' (A.); δωματόομαι 'provide with houses' (A. *Supp.* 958).

•ETYM Derived from IE **dem-*, also seen in ►δεσπότης. The nearest cognate is the Arm. *n*-stem *tun* 'house' < **dōm*, gen. *tan*. See also ►δῶ.

δωμάω =δέμω.

δωράκινον 'kingstone', a kind of peach (Gp. 3, 1, 4). ◅LW Lat.▻
•ETYM From Lat. *dūracinum*. See André 1956 s.v. MoGr. has ῥωδάκινον.

Δωριεῖς [m.pl.] 'Dorians', since τ 177 -ιέες, which is *metri causa* acc. to Debrunner 1923: 33[1]. ◅?▻
•VAR Att. -ιῆς. Sing. Δωριεύς, as a PN (Hdt.) and as an adjective 'Dorian' (Pi.); thence Δωρίεια (Cnidos), Δώρεια (Cos) [n.pl.] names of festivals.
•DIAL Myc. *do-ri-je-we* /Dōriēwes/.
•DER Δώριος (Pi.), δωρικός (Hdt.), δωριακός (Orac. *apud* Th. 2, 24, metrically determined), see Chantraine 1956a: 107; fem. Δωρίς (Hdt.); δωρίζω 'to speak Dorian' (Theoc.), δωρισμός, δωριστί; δωριάζω 'to clothe oneself like the Dorians'
•ETYM Some older proposals started from the IE word **doru* for 'wood, tree', or (in Greek) 'spear' (see Frisk s.v.), but this may be doubted.

δῶρον 1 [n.] 'gift, present' (Il.). ◅IE **deh$_3$-ro-* 'gift'▻
•COMP δωρο-δόκος 'accepting presents, corruptible' (see ►δέχομαι) beside δωροδοκέω 'accept presents, be corruptible' (IA) with δωροδόκημα, δωροδοκία 'corruption'.
•DER Diminutive δωρύφιον (pap.). Denominative δωρέομαι, δωρέω 'give presents' (Il.; on the diathesis Schwyzer 1950: 234) with δώρημα 'present' (Hdt.) and δωρηματικός (D. H.), δωρητής 'giver, benefactor' (Nesos IV^a) and δωρητικός (Pl.), δωρητήρ 'id.' (*AP*), δωρητός 'prepared to accept presents' (I 526), 'presented' (S.). Also δωρύττομαι (Theoc. 7, 43; ad hoc formation; Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 242f.); perhaps also Thess. δούρραντα = δωρήσαντα like Hom. φίλατο beside φιλεῖν (Fraenkel *Glotta* 35 (1956): 91f.)? Beside δῶρον and δωρέομαι stands δωρεά, older -ειά (Attica V^a), Ion. -εή 'gift, present' (Hdt.) with unclear formation; thence δωρεακός 'official of a fief' (pap. III^a), δωρεαστικός, -ρετικός 'concerning presents' (pap. VI^p).
•ETYM Old word, identical with Arm. *tur*, OCS *darъ* 'gift', from PIE **deh$_3$-ro-*. It also appears with a suffix *-no-*: Lat. *dōnum* = Skt. *dā́na-* [n.]. For further details, see ►δίδωμι.

δῶρον 2 [n.] 'breadth of the hand' (Nic., Milete). ◅?▻
•COMP As a second member in ἑκκαιδεκά-δωρος 'sixteen hands long' (Δ 109), δεκά-δωρος (Hes. *Op.* 426), ὀρθό-δωρον 'length of a hand' = 'the distance between the root of the hand and the finger ends' (Poll., acc. to H. also = σπιθαμή 'span between thumb and pinky').
•DER δάριν· σπιθαμήν. Ἀρκάδες (*i*-stem) and ►δάρ[ε]ιρ.
•ETYM The word has been compared with Alb. *dorë* (see La Piana *IF* 58 (1942): 98), which is, however, rather related to ►χείρ (see Demiraj 1997). Further Celt. words, like OIr. *dorn*, as well as Latv. *dùre*, *dûris* 'fist', have been connected, but both branches point to PIE **u*, which excludes any relationship with δῶρον.

E

ἔ ἔ [interj.] expressing pain (trag., com.). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Also repeated ἔ ἔ, ἔ ἔ

•ETYM Onomatopoeic formation. Cf. Schwyzer 1950: 600.

ἐ- [pref.] the augment (Il.). ◁IE *h_1e- augment▷

•VAR Rarely ἠ- (see below).

•DIAL Rare in Mycenaean, only *a-pe-do-ke /ap-e-dōke/*.

•ETYM Old element indicating the past tense, also found in Indo-Iranian *a-*, *ā-* (< **a* + root-initial **H-*), Armenian *e-* and Phrygian *e-*, e.g. ἔ-φερε = Skt. *á-bharat*, Arm. *e-ber*; cf. further OPhr. *e-daes*, NPhr. ε-δαες 'ἔθηκε'. See Schwyzer: 651ff.; on the variant ἠ-, see Rix 1976: 226ff. Greek often gets a long vowel by contraction: **h_1e-h_2eg-e-t* > ἦγε. From cases like ἤθελον < **h_1e-h_1d^hel-* next to pres. (ἐ)θέλω, long augments arose analogically, e.g. in ἠβουλόμην. Probably all long augments are analogical; see Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 166.

ἕ, ἑ [refl. pron.] 'se', epic also 'eum, eam, id', 3sg. accus. of the reflective (and enclitic) anaphoric pronoun (Il.). ◁IE **se, sue* 'himself'▷

•VAR Lesb. ϝε, Pamph. ϝhε, epic also ἑέ; gen. οὗ (οὑ), epic ἕο (εἷο), εὗ (ἑο, εὑ), ἕθεν, Lesb. ϝέθεν, Locr. ϝέος; dat. (and gen.; Schwyzer 1950: 189 with lit.; cf. Latte *Glotta* 35 (1956): 296) οἷ (οἱ), epic also ἑοῖ, Lesb., etc. ϝοῖ, Cret. (Gortyn), etc. ϝιν, Boeot. (Corinna) ἑίν. For the plur. see ▸σφεῖς.

•DER Hence the possessive ὅς, epic also ἑός, Dor., etc. ϝός 'suus, one's own' (also referring to the first and second person), 'eius'.

•ETYM The epic forms ἑ, εὑ, ἕθεν, οἱ, where we find no trace of a digamma (Chantraine 1942: 146ff.), have been supposed to derive from an IE reflexive stem **se-*, as seen in Lat. *sē*, OCS *sę* 'se', and Go. *si-k*. Additionally, it was thought that οἱ < **soi* corresponds to OP *-šaiy*, Av. *hē*, Prakr. *se*; on the other hand, ἑο would be from **se-so* (cf. τέο < **k^we-so* to ▸τίς).

However, it is now maintained that IE had only **sue*; see Petit 1999: 126-8. In Greek, we find ϝhε, ϝοῖ < **sue*, **suoi* = Skt. *sva-* 'himself' (only in derivations and in compounds, e.g. *sva-já-* 'born from himself'). A disyllabic full-grade variant seems to be found in ἑέ < **seue*. Adjectivized **sue*, **seue* gave rise to the possessive **su-o-*, **seu-o-*, which yielded ϝός, ἑός = Skt. *svá-* 'suus', OLat. *sovos* > Lat. *suus*.

Further details are in Schwyzer: 600ff. Cf. ▸ἑαυτοῦ, ▸ἑκάς, ▸ἕκαστος, ▸σφεῖς and ▸σύ.

ἔα [interj.] expressing surprise and rejection (trag.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Originally just the 2sg. ipv. of ἐάω, but later taken as an independent interjection. See Schwyzer *KZ* 60 (1933): 141f.

ἐάν [conj.] 'if' (Att.), Hell. and late also modal pcl. = ἄν. ◁GR▷

•VAR With crasis ἢν (Att.), ἤν (epic Ion.; also Att.?).

•ETYM From univerbation or crasis of ►εἰ and ►ἄν. The long vowel in ἐᾶν can be due to a contamination of ἐἄν and ἄν; see Lejeune 1972: 323.

ἐᾶνός 1 [m.] a woman's cloth (Il.). ◁IE **ues-* 'wear clothes'▷

•VAR Verse-initially εἰανός (Π 9); late also ἐᾱνός.

•DIAL Myc. *we-a_2-no-i* /wehanoi^{h}i/ [dat.pl.].

•ETYM From *ϝεσ-ανός, a verbal noun of ►ἕννυμι; for the suffix, cf. στέφανος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196ff.).

ἐᾱνός 2 [adj.] of clothes (λιτί, πέπλος, ἱμάτιον), also of tin (Il., inc. auct. *apud* Greg. Cor., see Sapph. *fr.* 156). Mg. uncertain: 'supple'? Or 'fine'? ◁?▷

•ETYM No etymology. Cf. ►ἰανογλέφαρος.

ἔαρ 1, -ρος [n.] 'blood', metaph. 'sap' (Call.; Cyprian acc. to H.). ◁IE **h_1esh_2-r* 'blood'▷

•VAR Also εἶαρ, ἦαρ.

•COMP As a first member in εἰαροπότης· αἱμοπότης, ψυχοπότης 'blood-drinker, breath-drinker' (H.); acc. to sch. T, εἰαροπῶτις is v.l. for ἠεροφοῖτις (Ἐρινύς) T 87 (Fraenkel 1910: 114).

•DER None

•ETYM Old word for blood: Hitt. *ešḫar*, gen. *išḫanāš*, Skt. *ásṛk*, gen. *asnáḥ*, Lat. *aser* (gloss., Paul. Fest.; form uncertain), ToA *ysār*, ToB *yasar*, Latv. *asins*. An extended form occurs in Arm. *ar-iwn* (Kortlandt 2003: 131f.: < **esar-*). The original *r/n*-stem is maintained in Hitt. and Skt. The length in εἶαρ, ἦαρ is metrical (but archaic, acc. to Schulze 1892: 165f.). Like in Greek (s.v. ►αἷμα), the word was replaced in Latin and Sanskrit (*sanguis*, *rudhirám*; cf. under ►ἐρυθρός), though Lat. *san-guis* probably contains the oblique stem **h_1sh_2-en-* as its first element (cf. De Vaan 2008).

ἔαρ 2 [n.] 'spring' (Il.; cf Schwyzer: 251). ◁IE **ues-r-* 'spring'▷

•VAR Gen. ἔαρος, also ἦρος, dat. ἦρι (Att., also Ion. and Alc.), with new nom. ἦρ (Alcm.).

•COMP As a first member in ἐαρί-δρεπτος 'plucked in spring' (Pi.), ἐαρο-τρεφής (Mosch.), etc.

•DER ἐαρινός (also εἰ-, ἠ- like εἴαρος through metrical lengthening), poet. also ἠρινός 'belonging to the spring' (Il.); likewise ἐάρτερος (Nic. *Th.* 380, with contrasting -τερος, Schwyzer 1950: 183); ἐαρίδας· τὰς κανθαρίδας 'beetles' (H.); on the semantics Strömberg 1944: 13. Denominative verb ἐαρίζω 'to bloom as in spring, etc.' (Pl.).

•ETYM Both the form γέαρ· ἔαρ (H.) and Homeric prosody (Chantraine 1942: 128) point to older ϝέαρ, from PGr. **wéhar*, an old *r/n*-stem: Av. loc. *vaŋri* < **vasr-i* 'in spring', Arm. *gar-un* 'spring', Lith. *vasar-à* 'summer'; OCS, etc. *vesn-a* 'spring', Skt. *vasan-tá-* 'id.' (cf. *heman-tá-* 'winter'; see ►χειμών). On the Celtic forms, see Matasović 2008 s.v. **werr-* / **wesn-*. Beside IE **ues-r-*, **ues-n-*, we have Lat. *vēr* and

ON *vár* [n.] (*o*-stem). Porzig 1954a: 110f. suggests that Lat. and Gm. created **uēr-* after the word for 'year', IE **ieh₁r-* (see ►ὥρα). The formation of ἐαρινός is mirrored in Lith. *vasarìnis* 'of the summer' and Lat. *vernus* (like *hibernus, hornus*).

ἔαρα [pl.]? Mg. unknown (*IG* 12(3), 450: a1 [Old Theraean]). ◅?▻

•VAR Cf. ἐαρόν· λουτῆρα ἢ πρόχουν 'washing-tub or vessel for pouring out' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. See Sommer 1905: 119, who connects the word to U *vestikatu* 'libato'.

ἑᾱυτοῦ [refl. pron.] 'himself' (IA), 3rd sing. and plur. (but also referring to the first and second persons). ◅GR▻

•VAR Fem. -τῆς; dat. -τῷ, -τῇ, etc., Ion. ἑωυτοῦ (ἑωτοῦ), ὡύτοῦ, Att. also ᾱὑτοῦ, etc., Hell. also ἑατοῦ, ἀτοῦ, Cret. ϝιαυτοῦ.

•DER ἑαυτότης 'being oneself' (Procl.).

•ETYM A univerbation of the reflexive ►ἕ, ἑοῖ, etc. and ►αὐτός, -τόν, etc.: ἕο αὐτοῦ > Ion. ἑωυτοῦ, Att. ἑᾱυτοῦ, ἑοῖ αὐτῷ > Ion. ἑωυτῷ, Att. ἑᾱυτῷ, etc.; thus also ἐμεωυτοῦ, σεωυτοῦ, ἐμᾱυτοῦ, σ(ε)ᾱυτοῦ, etc. (Hom. ἕ αὐτόν, ἔμ' αὐτόν, ἕο αὐτοῦ, ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ, etc.). Details are included in Schwyzer: 607 and 402 and Schwyzer 1950: 193ff. A remarkable parallel is found in Phrygian: OPhr. *ven avtun*, NPhr. οε αυται.

ἐάφθη [v.aor.] Mg. uncertain (of ἀσπὶς καὶ κόρυς N 543, I 419). ◅IE? **seng^{wh}-* 'sing'▻

•ETYM The word was already unknown in antiquity: it was explained as 'ἤφθη' by Tyrannion (ap. sch. A); Aristarchus connected it with ἔπομαι; acc. to H. = ἐκάμφθη, ἐβλάβη. All of these are just speculations. Modern scholars proposed different explanations: that the word is connected to ►ἰάπτω (Meister 1921: 110[2]), to Go. *sigqan* 'to sink', etc. (Schmidt 1895: 62ff.). Meier-Brügger *MSS* 59 (1989): 91-96 explains the forms from the root **seng^{wh}-* in ►ὀμφή 1 'song'. So it meant 'they sang', said of a shield and helmet. In a similar vein, ►ἄαπτος would mean 'unsingbar'. None of these proposals is very convincing.

ἐάω [v.] 'to let (go), allow, leave alone' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Ipf. εἴων, aor. ἐᾱσαι (ind. εἴασα), fut. ἐάσω (originally ἐᾱσ(σ)αι, resp. ἐᾱσ(σ)ω?, see below); younger perf., etc. εἴᾱκα, εἴαμαι, εἰάθην (D., Isoc.).

•COMP Rarely παρ-, εἰσεάω.

•DER None.

•ETYM The glosses ἔβασον· ἔασον. Συρακόσιοι (H., *EM*; Συρακούσιοι <καὶ Λάκωνες> Latte) and εὔα· … ἔα (H.) assure a digamma for ἐάω; the diphthongal augment points to an initial consonant (so probably σ-), but the absence of aspiration is unexplained (cf. Lejeune 1972: 93[4]). We have to assume a disyllabic root **(σ)εϝᾰ-*, like ἐλᾰ-, τελᾰ-, etc., within the aorist **(σ)εϝᾰ̄σαι* > ἐᾱ̄σαι, or ἐᾱ̄σσαι with analogical -σσ- (like ἐλάσ(σ)αι, etc., after τελέσ-(σ)αι, etc.), fut. ἐᾱ̄σ(σ)ω, forms that can be found in Hom. (ἐᾱ̄σουσιν φ 233, εἴᾱσεν K 299 as v.l.); thus, one could read ἐάσσαι for ἐᾱσαι (Δ 42), etc., like ἐάσσω (v. l.) in Parm. 8, 7. Additionally, ἐάσομεν, ἔασον in Hdt. are understandable (cf. ἔησον· ἔασον H.). The length in ἐᾱσαι, etc. would then be from the denominatives in -άω. Therefore, the unique form ἔᾰ (E 256) would be the 3sg. of an athematic Aeolic ἔᾰ-μι. Previously, ἐάω was traced to IE **seuH-*, with

Skt. *savi-* in *savi-tár-* 'impeller, etc.', pres. *suváti* 'impel', but the semantics do not really fit. Now Nussbaum 1998 reconstructs a root *$*h_1ueh_2$- and connects the word with Lat. *vānus* 'devoid', Gr. εὖνις 'bereft' (although the latter seems phonetically difficult). He explains forms with initial εἰα- as renditions of older *EA-, with metrically long E; cf. θείομεν for ΘΕΟΜΕΝ, from older *θήομεν (> Att. θέωμεν). Cf. on ►εἰαμένη.

ἑβδομήκοντα [num.] 'seventy' (Hdt.). ◄IE *$*septm-dḱmt-$ 'seventy'►
•VAR Dor. (Delphi, Tab. Heracl. IV[a]) ἑβδεμ-.
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἑβδομηκοντ-άρουρος (pap.), etc.
•DER ἑβδομηκοστός 'the seventieth' (Hp.), ἑβδομηκοντάκις 'seventy times' (LXX).
•ETYM From *ἑβδμήκοντα, in turn from IE *$*sebdm-dkmt-$, where the vocalic *-m-* followed by the (glottalic element of the) preglottalized *-d-* yielded -μη-, just like *$-m̥h_1-$. See Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104. See further under ►ἑβδομος. Cf. ►ἐνενήκοντα and ►ἑκατόν.

ἕβδομος [num.] 'the seventh' (Il.). ◄IE *$*s(e)ptm-os$ 'seventh'►
•VAR OCor., Delph. ἑβδέμᾱ(ν).
•COMP ἑβδομ-ᾱγέτης 'leader of the seven'; ἑβδομᾱ-γενής 'born on the seventh day', epithet of Apollo (Plu. 2, 717d).
•DER ἑβδομαῖος (ἑβδεμ- Epid.) 'appearing on the seventh day, seventh-day fever' (Hp., etc.), -αῖον [n.] name of a festival for Apollo (Chios, Milete); ἑβδόμειος 'honoured on the seventh day' (of Apollo, *IG* 2, 1653), ἑβδομεύομαι 'to receive a name on the seventh day' (Lys.). ἑβδόματος (Il.) after δέκατος, ἑβδεμάται [dat.f.] (Argos; Herzog *Phil.* 71 (1912): 6). ἑβδομάς [f.] 'number of seven (days, etc.)' (Sol., Hp.) with ἑβδομαδικός 'belonging to the week' and ἑβδομάζω 'to keep the sabbath', ἑβδομάκις 'seven times' (Call.).
•ETYM The ordinal ἕβδομος, ἕβδεμος is from earlier *$*sebdmos$ with a Greek prop-vowel; the cluster *-bd-* arose by assimilation from *$*s(e)ptmos$ to *$*septm$ 'seven'. The same form is reflected in OCS $sedmъ$ 'seventh'. With influence of the cardinal, we have Lat. *septimus*, Skt. *saptamá-*, and Hitt. *šiptamiia-* (a drink, < *$*septm-io-$; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); with loss of the *$*t$ and *pm > km OLith. *sẽkmas*. Cf. ►ἑπτά.

ἔβενος [f.] 'ebony (tree)' (Hdt.). ◄LW Eg.►
•VAR Also msc.; rarely also ἐβένη [f.].
•COMP ἐβενό-τριχον = ἀδίαντον (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 38, 158).
•DER ἐβένινος 'of ebony' (Str.), ἐβενῖτις 'kind of germander, πόλιον τὸ ὀρεινόν' (Ps.-Dsc.; see Redard 1949: 71).
•ETYM From Eg. *hbnj* 'ebony', ultimately perhaps Nubian (Spiegelberg *KZ* 41 (1907): 131); thence, Hebr. *hobnīm* (Lewy 1895: 35f.). From ἔβενος comes Arab. *'abnūs* and Lat. *ebenus*, whence OHG *ebenus*, MoE *ebon(y)*.

ἐβρατάγησεν [v.] · ἐψόφησεν 'produced a sound' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Cannot be separated from ῥάθαγος· τάραχος … ψόφος (H.), but further details are unclear.

ἔβρος [m.] · τράγος βάτης· καὶ ποταμὸς Θρᾴκης 'a he-goat that treads; a river of Thrace' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM No etymology. Cf. Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 186f.

ἐγγαρεύω •VAR Also -έω, -ία. ⇒ἄγγαρος.

ἐγγαροῦντες [v.] mg. uncertain (*Inscr. Olymp.* 335). ◂?▸

•ETYM Acc. to Dittenberger = ἐπιδημοῦντες, as a denominative of *ἔγγαρος = ἔγγειος; thus, Schwyzer: 482. Bechtel *Gött. Nachr.* 1920: 247f. prefers to identify -γαρος with Ion. (Att.) γεηρός 'earthly'. DELG holds that the meaning was 'transporting' and supposes it could be from the verb ἐγγαρεύω, as do Ernaut-Hatzfeld *REA* 14 (1912): 279-82.

ἔγγραυλις, -εως [f.] kind of anchovy (Ael., Opp.), also called ἐγκρασίχολος. ◂?▸

•ETYM Unexplained. Strömberg 1943: 68 starts from a verb *ἐγ-γραυλίζειν , beside γρυλίζειν 'grumble';. thus, ἔγγραυλις would mean "the grumbling one" (several examples of such fish names are found in Strömberg 1943: 63ff.). However, the variation αυ ~ υ is not convincing. The MoGr. name is γαῦρος; see Hatzidakis *Glotta* 2 (1910): 298.

ἐγγυαλίζω ⇒γύαλον.

ἐγγύη [f.] 'surety, guarantee; nuptial contract' (Od.). ◂IE? *$g^{(w)}ou$- 'hand'▸

•COMP In ὑπ-έγγυος 'under surety, responsible' (A., Hdt.), προ-έγγυος, πρώγγυος 'guarantee' (Heraclea, etc.) with προ-εγγυάομαι, πρωγγυεύω, προεγγύησις and in φερ-έγγυος 'giving surety, guaranteeing' (Hdt.), ἐχ-έγγυος 'giving surety, reliable' (S.).

•DER ἐγγυάω, -άομαι 'give surety, be surety, guarantee marriage, get engaged' (Od.), also δι-, ἐξ-εγγυάω, etc., with ἐγγύησις (δι-, ἐξ- ~) 'surety, engagement, etc.' (D., Is.), ἐγγύημα (δι- ~) 'id.' (pap.), ἐγγυητής 'surety' (IA; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 183 and 226f.), fem. ἐγγυήτρια (pap.); ἐγγυητή 'engaged' (Att.); ἐγγυητικός 'ptng. to the surety' (Heph. Astr.); deverbal ἔγγυος [m.] 'guarantor' (Thgn., inscr.), as an adjective 'guaranteed' (Them.; see below). Beside ἐγγυάω also ἐγγυεύω (Delph.).

•ETYM It is usually assumed that ἐγγύη and ἐγγυάω contain the preposition ἐν and a lost word for 'hand', which is preserved in YAv. *gauua-* 'hand', as well as in ὑπόγυ(ι)ος 'imminent, sudden', prop. 'under the hands, at hand?' (IA). The YAv. form is ambiguous, however, as it can also continue *gab^ha- and be related to Skt. *gábhasti-* 'hand, forearm'. This makes the etymology doubtful. Further, Greek has ▸γύαλον, ▸γύης, ▸γυῖα, and from other languages, we may adduce Lith. *gáuti* 'get, obtain'. On the meaning of ἐγγύη, ἔγγυος, ἐγγυητής, cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 89f. and Gernet 1937: 395. See also ▸ἐγγύς.

ἐγγύς [adv.] 'near', both spacial and temporal (Il.). ◂?▸

•VAR Compar. and superl. ἐγγυτέρω, -τάτω (-ύτερον, -ύτατα), also ἔγγιστα, ἔγγιον (see Seiler 1950: 107ff.); late adjective ἐγγύτερος, -τατος (LXX).

•DER ἐγγύθι 'nearby' (Il.), ἐγγύθεν 'from nearby' (Il.); ἐγγύτης [f.] 'proximity' (A. D.); ἐγγύδιον· ἔγγιον, πλησίον, προσῆκον 'nearer, near, at hand' (H.) after the

diminutives in -ύδιον; denominative ἐγγίζω [v.] 'come near', trans. 'bring closer' (Arist., Hell.).

•ETYM Adverb in -ς like εὐθύς, ἄλις, etc. (Schwyzer: 620). In view of Lat. *comminus*, scholars often see in ἐγγύς an old word for 'hand' (in accordance with Bezzenberger *BB* 4 (1880): 321[1]), also attested in ἐγγύη, -άω. The first syllable seems to be the preposition (adverb) ἐν, but further interpretation is uncertain. Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 47 connected the word with βαίνω as "colui che va innanzi". This may chiefly be correct, but the second element is rather the neuter (= absolutive) of the root **g^{w}eu-* 'to go', "en allant vers, au milieu"; cf. De Lamberterie 1990: 326-37, who compares ►με(σ)σηγύ(ς).

ἐγείρω [v.] 'to awaken, rouse, raise'. ◄IE **h$_1$ger-* 'awake'►

•VAR Aor. ἐγεῖραι, fut. ἐγερῶ, late perf. ἐγήγερκα; med. ἐγείρομαι, aor. ἐγρέσθαι 'rise' with new present ἔγρομαι, ἔγρω (E.), perf. ἐγρήγορα 'I am awake' with epic forms ipv. ἐγρήγορθε, inf. -θαι, 3pl.ind. -θᾶσι, ptc. -ορόων (see Chantraine 1942: 429 and 359; Schwyzer: 800[8] and 540[4]); new pres. γρηγορέω (Hellenistic; Schwyzer: 768), also ἐγρηγορέω (Debrunner *IF* 47 (1929): 356).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, etc. As a first member in ἐγρε-κύδοιμος (Hes.), ἐγρε-μάχᾱς (S.), etc.; cf. ἐγερσι- below.

•DER ἔγερσις 'awakening' (IA) with ἐγέρσιμος (ὕπνος Theoc. 24, 7; Arbenz 1933: 102), often with prefix ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-έγερσις; also as a first member in late compounds like ἐγερσι-μάχᾱς (*AP*); ἐγερτήριον 'awakening' (Ael.); ἐξ-εγέρτης 'who rises' (pap.); (δι-, ἐπ-)ἐγερτικός 'raising' (Pl.); ἀν-εγέρμων 'vigilant' (*AP*); ἐγερτί [adv.] 'id.' (Heraclit.). From the perfect: ἐγρήγορσις 'watch' (Hp., Arist.), ἐγρηγορικός 'watching' (Arist.), ἐγρηγορότως [adv.] 'id.' (Plu., Luc.), ἐγρήγορος 'id.' (Adam.), ἐγρηγορτί [adv.] 'awake' (K 182). Enlarged present ἐγρήσσω 'to be awake' (πάννυχοι ἐγρήσσοντες Λ 551) after the verbs in -σσω like πτήσσω, κνώσσω; see Chantraine 1942: 335 (doubtful Schwyzer: 648[3]).

•ETYM The perf. ἐγρήγορα is an old formation, parallel to Skt. *jāgā́ra*, YAv. *jayāra* 'is awake', from **h$_2$g(r)e-h$_1$gor-* (perhaps -γρ- from the aorist ἐγρέσθαι?). Uncertain is Lat. *expergīscor*. The word has also been connected with Alb. *ngre* 'rise'. See LIV[2] s.v. **h$_1$ger-* 'erwachen'.

ἔγκαρ [?] = φθείρ 'louse' (Eust. 757, 27). ◄GR?►

•ETYM Uncertain. From the word for 'head'?

ἔγκαρος [m.] 'brains' (*AP*, Lyc.). ◄GR►

•ETYM Scholarly hypostasis from ἐν and ►κάρᾱ, κάρη 'head', after ἐγκέφαλος : κεφαλή. Cf. ►ἴγκρος.

ἐγκάρσιος ⇒ἐπικάρσιος.

ἐγκάς [adv.] 'deep inside' (Hp., Gal.). ◄?►

•VAR Also ἔγκας.

•ETYM Related to ►ἔγκατα; formation like ἀγκάς, ἐντυπάς, etc. (Schwyzer: 631). DELG considers an analysis in ἐν- and -κας, as in ἔ-κας, ἀνα-κάς.

ἔγκατα [n.pl.] 'intestines' (Il.). ◁GR?▷
•VAR Dat.pl. ἔγκασι (Λ 438); as a back-formation later sing. ἔγκατον (LXX, Luc.).
•DER ἐγκατόεις 'containing intestines' (Nic.), ἐγκατώδης 'like intestines' (sch.).
•ETYM Uncertain. Leumann 1950: 158[1] derives it from *ἔγκατος 'interior', which contains ἐν- just as ἔσχατος contains ἐξ-; ἔγκασι would then be an innovation based on γούνασι, etc. Lacon. ἔγκυτον· ἔγκατον (H.) is folk-etymological, based on ►κύτος 'skin, trunk, body'.

ἐγκίλλαφον [?] · οὐρά 'tail', also ἔγκιλλον· οὐράν (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM The word has been compared with ►κιλλός 'grey' (κίλλος 'donkey, i.e. the grey one'), or ►κίλλ<ο>υρος· σεισοπυγίς 'wagtail' (H.). On -φος, see Chantraine 1933: 264.

ἐγκλίς [f.] · ἡ καγκελλωτὴ θύρα 'entrance furnished with a railing', (*EM* 518, 22). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Related to ἐγκλίνω, with the same formation as in δικλίς; see ►δικλίδες. Cf. also Strömberg 1944: 15.

ἐγκοακίσαι [?] · ἐγχέαι λάθρα 'pour in secretly' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 169 compares κοία· κλέψημα (H.).

ἐγκοιωταί [f.pl.] scil. δαρκναί, 'deposited money' (Gortyn).
•ETYM Derived from *ἐγκοιόω, -όομαι, which is probably a denominative from *ἔγκοιος, which belongs to κοῖον· ἐνέχυρον 'pledge' (H.). See there for further etymology.

ἐγκονέω [v.] 'to hurry, be quick and active in service' (Il.). ◁IE **ken-* 'be active'▷
•DIAL Perhaps here Myc. *ka-si-ko-no.*
•DER ἐγκονητί [adv.] 'quickly' (Pi.), ἐγκονίς 'servant' (Suid.). Beside ἐγκονέω stands διακονέω (with ►διάκονος, s.v.); further perhaps ἀγκονέω 'hurry' in Ar. *Lys.* 1311; thence ἀγκόνους· διακόνους, δούλους 'servants, slaves' (H.). The simplex only in H. κόνει· σπεῦδε, τρέχε 'hasten, run [ipv.]' and κονεῖν· ἐπείγεσθαι, ἐνεργεῖν 'to hurry oneself, be in action' with κονηταί· θεράποντες 'attendants'. Note κοναρόν· … δραστήριον and κοναρώτερον· δραστικώτερον 'more efficient' (H.). Uncertain is ἀ-κονῖτί (Olympia, Th.); cf. on ►κόνις.
•ETYM Iterative-intensive verb, mostly connected with Lat. *cōnor, cōnārī* 'exert onself, try' (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Tremblay *Sprache* 38 (1998): 14-30, connects these words with the root **ḱen-* 'to rise', assuming a lengthened grade adjective for Latin. Other comparanda come from Celtic, e.g. MW *digoni* 'to make', W *dichon, digon* 'can' (Pok. 564).

ἐγκρασίχολος [m.] 'kind of anchovy' (Arist.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM So called because the intestines are attached to the head? See Thompson 1947 s.v.

ἐγκρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cake made of oil and honey' (Stesich., com.). ◁?▷
•COMP ἐγκριδο-πώλης 'seller of è.' (com.).

•ETYM A back-formation from ἐγκεράννυμι, ἐγκεράσαι 'mix in' is formally impossible. Neither is it connected to ἐγκρίνειν (Strömberg 1944: 15).

ἐγκυτί [adv.] 'to the skin' (Archil., Call.). ◁A compound of ἐν and κύτος, formed after other adverbs in -(τ)ί-(ς).▷
•VAR ἐγκυτίς (Hdn.). ⇒ κύτος.

ἐγρήσσω ⇒ ἐγείρω.

ἔγχελυς, -υος [f.] 'eel' (Il.). ◁PG(O)▷
•VAR Att. plur. -εις (to which nom.sg. -λις [Arist.]?).
•COMP ἐγχελυο-τρόφος 'nourishing eels' (Arist.), ἐγχελυ-ωπός 'with eyes like eels' (Luc.).
•DER Diminutive ἐγχελύδιον (middle com.), ἐγχελεών, -υών 'eel-trap' (Arist.), ἐγχέλειος 'of an eel', mostly substantivized -εια [n.pl.], scil. κρέα, τεμάχη, etc. (com.).
•ETYM Gr. ἔγχελυς recalls other words for 'eel', like Lat. *anguilla*, Lith. *ungurỹs*, etc., but no IE pre-form can be reconstructed. Acc. to an old interpretation, ἔγχελυς is a cross between ἔχις and a word like Lat. *anguis* (whence *anguilla*) 'snake'. Katz 1998 assumes taboo transformations. Note further Lesb. ἴμβηρις· ἔγχελυς. Μηθυμναῖοι H., beside which there is λέβηρις 'skin of a snake'. The words are no doubt non-IE. Cf. further Pok. 43ff. and Thompson 1947 s.v., as well as Strömberg 1943: 10ff.

ἐγχεσίμωρος [adj.] usually understood as 'famous for his spear' (Il.). ◁IE *meh_1-ro- 'great'▷
•DER Cf. ἰό-μωρος, epithet of the Ἀργεῖοι (Δ 242, Ξ 479). Imitation in ὑλακό-μωρος, of κύνες (ξ 29, π 4; cf Porzig 1942: 239); see also ▸σινάμωρος.
•ETYM The second member is usually connected with Celt., Gm. and Slav. PNs like Gaul. *Nerto-mārus*, OHG *Volk-mār*, Slav. *Vladi-měrъ*, from IE *-moh_1-ro-, *-meh_1-ro-. Further one compares a denominative Gm. verb for 'proclaim', Go. *merjan*, etc. with *waila-mereis* [adj.] 'εὔφημος', OHG *māri* 'famous', etc., and a Celt. adjective for 'great', e.g. OIr. *már*. The *ō*-vocalism in Greek and Celt. agrees with the type ἄ-φρων : φρήν (Schwyzer: 355). The form of the first member may be metrically conditioned (cf. ἐγχέσπαλος s.v. ▸ἔγχος). Ruijgh 1957: 93 wonders whether this compound could contain μωρός 'foolish'. Cf. Leumann 1950: 37 and 272[18].

ἐγχίδιον [?] · ἔγγιον 'nearer'; ἐγχόδια· ἀθρόα 'crowded together' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM The former word could be a cross of ἐγγύς and ἀγχίδιος, the latter that of ἐγγύς and ἄγχοῦ, -όθι, acc. to Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 379f., but this does not explain much. Latte considers these forms to be mistakes.

ἔγχος [n.] 'spear, lance' (Il.), also 'weapon' in general (Pi., S.); on the mg. Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 11, Trümpy 1950: 52ff. ◁PG?(O)▷
•COMP As a first member in ἐγχέσ-παλος 'spear drilling' (Hom.), -φόρος 'carrying a spear' (Pi.); ▸ἐγχεσίμωρος; after it ἐγχεσί-μαργος· ἔγχει μαινόμενος 'raging with a spear' (H., *EM*), ἐγχεσί-χειρες [pl.] 'weaponed with a spear' (Orph. *Fr.* 285, 18).

•DER Also ἐγχείη (Hom.), probably formed after ἐλεγχείη : ἔλεγχος, ὀνειδείη : ὄνειδος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 86f.). Different Tovar *Emerita* 11 (1943): 431ff. Unclear is Ἐγχώ· ἡ Σεμέλη οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο.

•ETYM No etymology. See Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 10ff. (to ἀκαχμένος), as well as Tovar *Emerita* 11 (1943): 431ff. The word is possibly Pre-Greek.

ἐγω [pers. pron.] 'I'. ◂IE **h₁eǵ- + -e/oH, -h₁-om* 'I'▸

•VAR Lesb. epic Dor. also ἐγών, Lacon. Tarent. ἐγώνη, Boeot. ἰώ(ν), ἰώνει (ἰ-?).

•ETYM Beside ἐγώ = Lat. *egō*, we find Venet. *exo* (length of the *-o* uncertain), Lat. *egŏ* with secondarily short final vowel, as in the Gm. forms, e.g. ON *ek* (but see below); neither is there vocalic auslaut in the Balt., Armen. and Hitt. forms: OLith. *eš*, Arm. *es*, Hitt. *uk* (though in Armenian, *-ŏ* may have been lost). Indo-Iranian and Slavic have forms in IE **-h₁-om*, e.g. Skt. *ahám* (aspiration from **-ǵ- + -H-*), OP *adam*, OCS *azъ* (lengthening by Winter's Law); enclitic ON *-(i)ka* (like proclitic *ek, ik*?), perhaps from IE **h₁eǵom*. Were the variants **h₁eǵō*, **h₁eǵh₁om* reshaped after the 1sg. verbal endings *-ō* (thematic), *-om* (secondary), or is *-om* a particle which is frequent in Old Indic (cf. *tuvám* 'thou', etc.)? Gr. ἐγών seems to be a compromise between *-ō* and *-om* (or is it shaped after ἔγνων, *ἔδων, etc.?); in ἐγών-η (or ἐγώ-νη? Cf. τύνη), -νη is a deictic element; cf. ἔγω-γε. See ▸ἐμέ.

ἑδανός [adj.] of ἔλαιον Ξ 172 (ἐλαίῳ / ἀμβροσίῳ ἑδανῷ). ◂?▸

•ETYM De Lamberterie 1999 adduces a second attestation in Nic. *Alexiph.* 162, 181, where ἑδανός qualifies two kinds of wine, and the gloss ἑδανός· εἶδος ἀμπέλου, perhaps to be corrected to ἑδανός. The meaning 'sweet' is quite possible for these contexts. De Lamberterie then proposes a reconstruction **sueh₂d-no-* with IE loss of laryngeal before voiced (= glottalic) stop plus resonant (cf. Lubotsky's Law in Indo-Iranian). A parallel case in Greek would be ▸κεδνός < **keh₂d-no-*.

ἔδαφος [n.] 'ground, bottom' (ε 249; see Richel 1936: 212ff.), also 'text' (Gal.) as opposed to the commentary. ◂?▸

•COMP ἐδαφο-ποιέω 'equalize the ground' (J.).

•DER Late: ἐδάφιον 'text' (Arist.); ἐδαφικός 'belonging to the ground' (pap.), ἐδαφιαῖος 'id.' (sch., Tz.), ἐδαφίτης (Tz.). Denominative verbs: ἐδαφίζω 'to equalize, give a foundation' (Arist., Hell.); ἐδαφόω in ἠδάφωται· κατῴκισται 'has been established' (H.).

•ETYM For the nouns in -(α)φος, see Chantraine 1933: 262ff. and Schwyzer: 495. Is the word to be connected to ἕδος (see ▸ἕζομαι)?

ἐδέατρος [m.] 'seneschal at the Persian court, steward'. ◂?▸

•VAR Also accented -τρός?

•COMP ἀρχ-εδέατρος 'upper seneschal at the Ptolemeian court' (Hell.)

•ETYM Reformation of ἐλέατρος (see ▸ἐλεόν) after ἔδω. See Güntert 1914: 155 and Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 272ff.

ἔδεθλον [n.] 'ground, bottom, foundation' (Antim.; probably also A. *Ag.* 776 instead of ἐσθλά; or ἔσθλα, from *ἐδ-θλα?). ◂GR▸

•DER Also ἐδέθλιον 'id.' (Call.).

•ETYM From the verb for 'sit' (see ►ἕζομαι), with a suffix -εθλο- (Schwyzer: 533, Chantraine 1933: 375) and breath dissimilation.

ἕδνα [n.pl.] 'dowry' (Il.; on the mg. Köstler *Wien. Ak. Anz.* 81 (1944): 6ff., Theiler *Mus. Helv.* 7 (1950): 114). ◄IE **h₁ued-* 'dowry'.►
•VAR Hom. also ἔεδνα (see below), rarely sing. ἕδνον (Pi., Call.).
•COMP ἀνάεδνος 'without ἕ.' (Il.; on the prefix Schwyzer: 432, Chantraine 1942: 182).
•DER Also ἄεδνον· ἄφερνον ἢ πολύφερνον 'without dowry; richly dowered' H.; ἐδνοφορέω 'bring dowry' (Eust.). Old denominative ἐδνόομαι (ἐεδν-), -όω 'to give dowry to one's daughter' (β 53) with ἐεδνωτής 'bride's father' (Ν 382). Several glosses in H.: ἔδνιος χιτών· ὃν πρῶτον ἡ νύμφη τῷ νυμφίῳ δίδωσιν 'first thing the bride gives to the bridegroom'; ἐδνάς· ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἕδνων ἐδητύς 'food from the wedding-gifts', ἐδνεύειν· ἐνεχυράζειν 'to take a pledge from'.
•ETYM ἔδνα, ἕδνον, from IE **h₁ued-no-* (on the aspiration, see Schwyzer: 227), can be compared with a Slav. and WGm. word for 'bride-price', e.g. ORu. *věno* < **h₁ued-no-* (lengthening due to Winter's Law); OE *weotuma*, OHG *widomo* m., from PGm. **wet-man-*, IE **h₁ued-mon-* (the Gr.-Slav. suffix *-no-* may reflect *-mno-*, thematization of *-mon-*). This old word for 'bride-price' is often derived from a verb meaning 'to take home, to marry (of the man)', seen in Lith. *vedù*, Ru. *vedú* (from **ued^h-* because of the short *e*), and OIr. *fedid*, and to which Skt. *vadhū-* 'bride, young woman, daughter-in-law' also belongs. However, this is impossible because of the **d^h*. It is clear that ἔδν- is the younger and ἔεδν- the older form. The 'prothesis' (from **h₁-*) must be old, while the -α- in ἀνάεδνος is somehow secondary (vowel assimilation is impossible).

ἕδος ⇒ἕζομαι.

ἕδρᾱ [f.] 'seat, abode (of the gods), temple' (Il.). ◄GR►
•COMP Many compounds: καθέδρα 'seat, chair' (Hp.); also ἐφέδρα, Ion. ἐπέδρη 'siege' (ἐφ-ἕζομαι), ἐνέδρα 'ambush, postponement' (ἐν-ἕζομαι, ἐν-ιζάνω), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 45f.; but ἐξ-έδρα 'seat outside the house' (E., Hell.). Bahuvrīhi with adverbial first member ἔφ-εδρος 'who sits by the side, reserve' (Pi.); thus πάρ-εδρος 'assistance' (παρ-ἕζομαι), ἔν-εδρος 'inhabitant', σύν-εδρος 'id.'; ἔξ-εδρος 'far from his residence' (S.); πολύ-εδρος 'with many seats' (Plu.).
•DER From ἕδρα: ἑδραῖος 'sedentary, fixed, steady' (IA) with ἑδραιότης and ἑδραιόω, ἑδραίωμα, -ωσις; ἑδρικός 'belonging to the anus' (medic.), ἑδρίτης 'fugitive' (Suid., *EM*); πρωτοκαθεδρίτης 'president' (Herm.). Denominative verbs: ἑδρ-ιάομαι 'to sit down' (Hom.), -ιάω 'id.' (Theoc.); see Schwyzer: 732, Chantraine 1942: 359; ἑδράζω 'to set, fix' (Hell. and late) with ἑδρασμός, ἑδραστικός, ἀν-έδραστος; ἔδρασμα = ἕδρα (E.), after στέγασμα (see Chantraine 1933: 177). But ἐφ-, ἐν-, παρ-, συν-εδρεύω from ἔφ-εδρος. In H.: ἑδρήεσσα· βεβαία 'steady', after τελήεσσα; see Schwyzer: 527, ἑδρίας· ἀεὶ πνέων 'always blowing', after wind names in -ίας; ἕδρια· συνέδρια, ἑδρίς· ἑδραῖος. After words in -ᾰνον arose ἕδρᾰνον = ἕδρα (Hes.); ἑδρανῶς = στερεῶς (Eust.).
•ETYM Derivative in -ρᾱ of ►ἕζομαι (**sed-reh₂-*); cf. χώρα. No exact parallel formations.

ἔδω [v.] 'to eat' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁ed-* 'eat'▷

•VAR Athem. inf. ἔδμεναι (Hom.), fut. ἔδομαι (Il.), perf.ptc.act. ἐδηδώς (P 542), med. ἐδήδοται (χ 56; after πέποται), with act. ἐδήδοκα (Att.); aor. pass. ἠδέσθην, perf. med. ἐδήδε(σ)μαι (Att.); new pres. ἔσθω (Il.), ἐσθίω (Od.).

•COMP With prefix κατ-έδω, -εσθίω (-έσθω), -έδομαι 'to eat up' (Il.), ἀπ-εσθίω, -έδομαι 'id.' (Att.).

•DER εἶδαρ < *ἔδ-ϝαρ 'food' (Il.; on ἔδαρ· βρῶμα H. see below). ἐδωδή 'food, meal' (Il.), ἐδώδιμος 'edible' (Hdt.; see Arbenz 1933: 50f.), ἐδωδός 'usable as food' (Hp.). ἐδητύς [f.] (only gen. -τῦος) 'food' (Hom.); -η- unclear, but cf. βοητύς, ἀγορητύς; see Porzig 1942: 183f., Benveniste 1948: 67. ἔδεσμα 'food' (Att.) with ἐδεσμάτιον (Procl.); ἐδεστής 'eater' (Hdt.). ἐδηδών· φαγέδαινα 'cancer' (H.), cf. ἐδηδώς.

•ETYM The old athematic present, seen in the inf. ἔδμεναι, in the fut. = subj. ἔδ-ο-μαι, and perhaps also in the ipv. ἔσθι (ρ 478?; see Chantraine 1942: 292), is found in several languages: Hitt. *edmi* [1sg.] 'eat', Skt. *ádmi* 'id.', 3sg. *átti*, Lat. *ēst*, Lith. *ẽsti*, OCS *jasti* 'to eat'; all of these are from IE **ed-mi, -ti*, with lengthening in BSl. acc. to Winter's Law. On younger thematic forms (cf. Go. *itan*, 3sg.pres. *it-iþ*), see Chantr. l.c. Acc. to Schwyzer: 713[6], the secondary presents ἔσθω and ἐσθίω developed from the ipv. ἔσθι (= Skt. *addhí*), but Hamp *Glotta* 59 (1981): 155f., simply derives ἔσθω from ἔδ-θ-. The other forms are Greek innovations: ἠδέσθην, ἐδήδε(σ)μαι (after ἐτελέσθην); thence ἔδεσμα, ἐδεστής (cf. ὠμηστής), ἐδεστός. As a suppletive aorist, Greek used φαγεῖν. The *r/n*-stem εἶδαρ < *ἔδϝαρ, plur. εἴδατα can be compared with Skt.*vy-advar-á-* m. 'rodent' and *agrādvan-* 'eating first' (*agra-ad-van-*). See also ▶ἄριστον and δείπνηστος (s.v. ▶δεῖπνον). Further, ▶ὀδούς (ὀδών), ▶ὀδύνη, and ▶ὠδίς are traditionally connected with ἔδω, which is incorrect.

ἑδώλια [n.pl.] 'seat (especially of rowers in a ship); thwart, habitat' (Hdt.). ◁IE **sed-ōl* 'seat'▷

•VAR Rare sing. -ιον.

•DER Backformation ἔδωλα 'thwarts' (Lyc.). Reshaped after the nouns in -ωλή is ἑδωλή (Naucratis). Denominative ἑδωλιάζω [v.] 'to provide seats' (Delos III[a], Lycurg.). Also ἑδωλός· λόχος Λακεδαιμονίων οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο 'name of the Spartan camp' (H.).

•ETYM An *l*-derivative from the verb 'sit' (see ▶ἕζομαι) is known in several languages: Lat. *sella* (< *sed-leh₂-) 'chair' = ἕλλα· καθέδρα. Λάκωνες H.; Gaul. *caneco-sedlon* (unknown first member); Go. *sitls*, OHG *sezzal* 'seat' (PGm. **set-la-*); cf. also Arm. *etł* 'place, position' (the Slavic word, e.g. ORu. *sedъ-lo*, Ru. *sedló* 'saddle', is a borrowing from Germanic; cf. Derksen 2008: 443). The basis is an ablauting *l*-stem **sed-ōl*, oblique **sed-l-* (Schwyzer: 483), of which Greek has preserved both ablaut grades.

ἐέλδομαι [v.] 'to desire, want, long for' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁ueld-* 'wish, desire'▷

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Compound ἐπι-έλδομαι (A. R. 4, 783).

•DER ἐέλδωρ [n.] (only nom.acc.) 'desire, wish' (Il.; ἔλδωρ Hdn., H.), also ἐέλδω [f.] (Ibyc. 18; if correct).

•ETYM From ἐ(ϝ)έλδομαι (Chantraine 1942: 133 and 182). No cognates outside Greek. Homer has ἔλδ- only three times (Ε 481, Ψ 122, ψ 6); these may have undergone influence by ►ἔλπομαι. The form with 'prothesis' is the original one, as is proven by ἐέλδωρ; see Beekes 1969: 63f.

ἕζομαι [v.] 'to sit (down)' (Il.). ◅IE **sed-* 'sit down'▻

•VAR With terminative prefix (see Brunel 1939: 83ff., 257ff.) καθ-έζομαι (Il.) 'to sit (down)'. Fut. καθεδοῦμαι (Att.), later καθεσθήσομαι (LXX), καθεδήσομαι (D. L.); aor. καθεσθῆναι (Paus.); other presents ἵζω, ἱζάνω (Schwyzer 700) 'to make sit, set', with ἵζησα, ἵζηκα (late), prefixed καθ-ίζω (Il.), Ion. κατ-ίζω, καθ-ιζάνω, Aeol. κατ-ισδάνω 'to put down, sit down', med. καθ-ίζομαι 'sit down', with fut. καθιῶ (D.), καθίσω (Hell.), κατίσω (Ion.), καθιξῶ (Dor.), med. καθιζήσομαι (Att.), καθιοῦμαι (LXX), καθίσομαι (NT., Plu.); aor. καθίσ(σ)αι, καθίσ(σ)ασθαι (X., wrong for καθέσ(σ)αι in Hom., see below), κατίσαι (Hdt., for κατέσαι), καθίξαι (Dor.), καθιζῆσαι (late.); late perf. κεκάθικα, late aor. ptc. pass. καθιζηθείς.

Beside these present forms and the aorists, there is a sigmatic aorist εἷσα 'I set', inf. ἕσ(σ)αι, med. εἰσάμην, ἔσ(σ)ασθαι, καθ-εῖσα, καθ-έσ(σ)αι (thus also in Hom. to be read for καθίσ(σ)αι; and also κατέσαι for κατίσαι in Hdt.); also fut. καθέσω (Eup.); see Wackernagel 1916: 63ff.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συν-, etc.; these were also prefixed to καθέζομαι, καθίζω, which were considered simplices (see Schwyzer: 656, Schwyzer 1950: 429).

•DER ἕδος [n.] 'seat' (see on ►εὐρυόδεια). The verbal nouns are largely independent from the verb, see on ►ἕδρα, ►ἑδώλια, ►ἕλλα; also ►ἔδαφος and ►ἕδεθλον; note ἕσμα 'stalk, pedicle' (Arist.) < **sed-sm-*. Probably unrelated is ►ὄζος. Cf. also ►ἱδρύω.

•ETYM Both ἕζομαι and ἵζω are IE formations; ἕζομαι is a thematic yod-present **sed-ie/o-*, also found in Gm., e.g. ON *sitia*, OS *sittian*, OHG *sizzen* 'to sit'; ἵζω derives from reduplicated **si-sd-e/o-* = Lat. *sīdō*, U *sistu* 'sidito', Skt. *sīdati*. As the preterite ἑζόμην is often an aorist in Homer, it might derive from a reduplicated aorist **se-sd-*; it could even represent zero grade **h₁e-sd-* with an augment and secondary aspiration. In Homer, a present is furnished only by ἕζεαι (κ 378). Cf. Schwyzer: 652[5] and 716[3] and Chantraine 1942: 336. The aorist εἷσα from IE **h₁e-sed-s-m* (with secondary aspiration) agrees with Skt. *ní … ṣátsat* [subj.]. As a resultative perfect of (καθ-)ἕζομαι, (καθ-)ἵζω, Greek uses ►ἧμαι, κάθ-ημαι (see Schwyzer 1950: 258).

ἔθειραι [f.pl.] 'manes of a horse, crest' (Il.), 'hair on the head', also sing. (*h. Ven.*, Pi.); 'manes of a lion, bristle of a boar', etc. (Theoc.). ◅?▻

•COMP χρυσο-έθειρος 'with golden hair' (Archil.), εὐ-έθειρα [f.] (Anacr.), etc.

•DER ἐθειράδες 'hair of the beard' (π 176 v.l. for γενειάδες); ἐθειράζω 'to have long hair' (Theoc.); also ἐθείρεται 'is covered (with scales)' (Orph. *A.* 929; see Schwyzer: 722f.).

•ETYM Uncertain. Taken with ►ἔθων 'pushing, tossing' vel sim. as "that which waves", formally like πίειρα to πίων. Frisk s.v. assumed a connection with the *r*-stem found in ►ἔθρις, and further connected ὄθη· φροντίς, ὦρα, φόβος, λόγος 'worry,

care, fear, consideration' (H.), comparing Lat. *iuba*, *crista*, *crīnis* for the meaning. This is very unlikely. Perhaps the word is rather from **ued^h-*, as per Chantraine 1942: 151 and DELG s.v.

ἐθείρω [v.] Mg. unknown, mostly taken as 'to care for' (see H.: ἐθείρῃ· ἐπιμελείας ἀξιώσῃ 'deem worthy of care'), or 'to work, cultivate'. ◁?▷
•VAR only Φ 347 χαίρει δέ μιν (sc. ἀλωήν) ὅστις ἐθείρῃ.
•ETYM Etymology unknown. On ἐθείρεται 'is covered', see ►ἔθειραι. See also Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 203.

ἐθέλω [v.] 'want, wish' (Il.). ◁IE **h$_1$g^{wh}el-* 'wish'▷
•VAR With aphaeresis θέλω (Aeol. Ion. Hell.; in Hom. only o 317), aor. (ἐ)θελῆσαι, fut. (ἐ)θελήσω (Il.), perf. ἠθέληκα (X.), τεθέληκα (Hell.).
•COMP As a first member in ἐθελο-κακέω 'to play the coward, resign to the enemy' (Hdt.), 'to deliberately do wrong' (Ph.) with ἐθελοκάκησις (Plb.), cf. μνησι-κακέω, etc.; ἐθελό-δουλος 'voluntary slave' with -δουλεία (Pl.), ἐθέλ-εχθρος (Crat.), etc. PNs Ἐθελο-κράτης, etc. (inscr.).
•DER (ἐ)θελημός 'voluntary' (Hes.), (ἐ)θελήμων 'id.' (Pl.) with ἐθελημοσύναι [pl.] (*PMag. Par.*); θέλημα 'will' (Antipho Soph.; θελήμη Theognost.) with θελημάτιον; -τικός, θέλησις, -ητής, -ητός (LXX, etc.). From the ptc. stem ἐθελοντ-: ἐθελοντής 'volunteer' (Hdt.) with -τήν [adv.] (Hdt.); rarely θελοντής (Hdt. v.l.); Hom. has ἐθελοντῆρας (β 292); ἐθελούσιος 'voluntary' (X., after ἑκούσιος). Adverbs ἐθελοντί, -τηδόν 'voluntarily' (Th.), ἐθελόντως (sch.). Isolated: θέλεος ἀθέλεος 'volens nolens' (A. *Supp.* 862 [lyr.]), poetic formation after the adjectives in -εος.
•ETYM (ἐ)θέλω is a primary thematic present indicative, which was extended by -η- in all non-presentic forms. It corresponds to OCS *želéjǫ*, *-ěti* 'wish, desire', from **h$_1$g^{wh}el-*. The gloss φαλίζει· θέλει (H.) is unclear.

ἐθμή [f.] · ἀτμός, καπνὸς λεπτός, ἀτμή 'vapor, fine smoke' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM No etymology.

ἐθμοί [m.] · πολλοί, δεσμοί, πλόκαμοι 'multitudes, bonds, locks (of hair)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Lagercrantz *KZ* 35 (1899): 273 assumed **ued^h-mo-*, related to Go. *ga-widan* 'συζευγνύναι, to connect', etc.

ἔθνος [n.] 'group, crowd, swarm' (of people, animals; Hom., Pi.), 'class, people' (Hdt.), 'foreign people' (Arist.), τὰ ἔθνη 'the pagans' (NT); on the mg. Chantraine *BSL* 43 (1946): 52ff. ◁?▷
•COMP As a first member in ἐθν-άρχης 'governor, prince' (LXX, J., NT), as a second member in ὁμο-εθνής 'belonging to the same people' (Hdt.), ἀλλο-εθνής (Hell.), etc.
•DER ἐθνικός 'belonging to a (foreign) people, national, traditional, heathen' (Hell.), cf. γενικός το γένος; ἐθνίτης 'belonging to the same people' (Eust., Suid.), ἐθνισταί· οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔθνους 'those who are from the same tribe' (H.); ἐθνυμών mg. unknown (Hdn. Gr.; after δαιτυμών?); ἐθνηδόν [adv.] 'per people' (LXX).
•ETYM Etymology unclear. If -νος is a suffix (cf. ἔρνος, σμῆνος; see Chantraine 1933: 420 and Schwyzer: 512), we may compare ►ἔθος and reconstruct **sued^h-nos-*, which may be based on the reflexive **sue* (see ►ἑ, ἑ). The word has also been connected

with ►ὀθνεῖος 'foreign, alien' (Democr., Pl.) as 'belonging to the ἔθνος' (Fraenkel *Gnomon* 22 (1950): 238); but in this case, it can hardly be from **sue-*. The word could be of foreign origin.

From ἔθνος (pronounced ἔθνος) comes Copt. ηεθνος, Arm. *het'anos*, and also Go. *haiþno* 'heathen' (whence the other Gm. words).

ἔθος [n.] 'custom, usage' (IA). ◅IE? **sued^{h}-* 'custom, character'▻

•DER Old only ἐθάς [m., f.] 'used (to)' (Hp., Th.); late ἔθιμος 'usual' (Amorgos I^{a}, D. S., etc.; after νόμιμος, Arbenz 1933: 99), ἐθικός 'usual' (Plu.), ἐθήμων 'id.' (Musae.) with ἐθημο-λογέω 'to collect as usual' (*AP*), ἐθημοσύνη (H., Suid.). Denominative verb ἐθίζω (not with Schwyzer 716 from *ἔθω, see ἔθων and εἴωθα) with ἔθισμα 'usage' (Pl.), ἐθισμός 'custom' (Arist.).

•ETYM If we assume *ϝέθος, from IE **sued^{h}os* (with dissimilation by Grassmann's Law), the word can be compared with Skt. *svadhā-* 'custom, nature'. Further, there is the Gm. word for 'custom', Go. *sidus* [m.], etc., which goes back to IE **sed^{h}u-*. Additionally, Lat. *sodālis* 'comrade' has been compared as a reflection of **sued^{h}-* with an Italic suffix *-ālis*. The basis of *sued^{h}-*, *sed^{h}-* may be the reflexive **s(u)e* (see ►ἑ, ἑ); the enlargement **d^{h}* may derive from the root **d^{h}eh$_{1}$-* 'to put, situate' (see ►τίθημι). See ►εἴωθα, ►ἦθος; also ►ἔτης and ►ἔταρος.

ἔθρις [adj.] · τομίας, κριός 'castrated ram' (H.). ◅?▻

•VAR Cod. ἐθρίς; cf. ἴθρις· σπάδων, τομίας, εὐνοῦχος 'eunuch' (H.) and ἄθρις (Suid.), ὄθρις (Zonar.).

•ETYM Traditionally, the word has been compared with Skt. *vádhri-* 'castrate'. Some suppose an *r/n*-stem, seen in Skt. *vádhar-*, Av. *vadar-* [n.] the weapon of Indra, but Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 498 rejects the connection with *vádhri-*.

Frisk assumed that the fluctuating vocalism was due to the non-literary character of the word. He thinks ἐ- is old, while ὀ- was created after ►ὠθέω, and ἀ- by association with privative ἀ-. Finally, ἰ- is explained away by vowel harmony. This is hardly credible. Given the variation of the initial vowel, it seems conceivable that the word stems from Pre-Greek. Both ε/ ι and α/ ο are frequent in such words. See ►ἔθων.

ἔθων [adj.] in χλούνην σῦν ἄγριον ... ὅς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλωήν (I 540), plur. σφήκεσσιν ἐοικότες ..., οὕς παῖδες ἐριδμαίνουσιν ἔθοντες (Π 260). ◅?▻

•ETYM Acc. to sources from antiquity, it means βλάπτων 'damaging', φθείρων 'destructive', or ἐρεθίζοντες 'annoying'; additionally, there is the gloss ἔθει· φθείρει, ἐρεθίζει (H.). Others analyzed it as a present ptc. of ►εἴωθα 'to be used to'. Contrary to the last interpretation, it can be stated that the old perfect εἴωθα, indicating a situation, has no present form; moreover, a present in the same meaning would be rather strange. Also, the construction conflicts with that of εἴωθα, and the translation 'acting in conformity with one's character' is a bit strange in these passages (of a swine and wasps).

The hypothesis of Schmidt *KZ* 45 (1913): 231ff., which connects ἔθων as a primary present to ►ὠθέω, is doubtful. Cf. also Leumann 1950: 212f. Bechtel 1914 s.v. connected ἔθω to εἴωθα, ἔθος.

DELG prefers the interpretation βλάπτων (which seems, however, to conflict with ἐριδμαίνουσι). Not related to ►ἔθρις.

εἰ [pcl.] 'if', introducing a wish, condition, or question (IA, Arc.). ◄?►
•VAR Aeol. Dor. αἰ, sometimes εἰκ, αἰκ (after οὐ : οὐκ); Cypr. Dor. ἠ.
•ETYM Uncertain. For interjective origin of αἰ (partly also of εἰ), see Schwyzer 1950: 557 and 683. Perhaps a demonstrative εἰ 'then' also existed (Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 616), with which compare εἶ-τα, and which would originally be a locative of the demonstrative *h_1e-, h_1o- (Schwyzer: 550). See Schwyzer 1950: 557 and 683.

εἶα [interj.] adhortative 'hey, come on' (Att.). ◄ONOM►
•VAR See Hdn. Gr. 1, 495, 14.
•DER εἰάζω 'call εἶα' (E. *Fr.* 844; cf. αἰάζω).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic; comparable with Lat. *(h)eia* and other cries. Cf. ►εἶέν.

εἰαμενή [f.] 'lowlands, humid pasture' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR ἴαμνοι [pl.] 'id.' (Nic., H.). Cf. ἰαμενή, -αί, also εἰαμένον· νήνεμιον, κοῖλον, βοτανώδη 'without wind, hollow [valley], herbaceous' (H.).
•ETYM Frisk s.v. and others assume a participle, with accent shift as in ►δεξαμενή. Is initial εἰ- for ἰ- metrical? The word is probably Pre-Greek, given the variation -μεν-/-μν-, which could not occur in a participle.

εἴβω [v.] 'to drip, spill', med. 'to trickle down' (Il.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Mostly κατ-είβω, -ομαι; only present.
•DER Beside this (itacism or ablaut?) ἰβάνη· κάδος, ἀντλητήριον 'vessel for water or wine, bucket'; ἴβανον· κάδον, σταμνίον, χαλκίον 'id., wine-jar, copper vessel' with ἰβανεῖ (for -ᾱ̃?)· ἀντλεῖ 'draw water' and ἰβανατρίς· ἰμητήριον 'rope of a draw-well' (all H.); also ἴβδης 'peg to let out the water' (Eust.).
•ETYM Frisk suggests a cross of λείβω and ►ἰκμάς with *ἔϊκω. See Güntert 1914: 148, Walleser *WuS* 14 (1932): 165f. All of these are rather improbable guesses. ἴβδης may be unrelated, given the meaning. Is εἴβω Pre-Greek, with its β, interchange ει/ ι, and suffix -αν-?

εἰδάλιμος ⇒εἶδος.

εἰδαλίς [?] · ὄρνις ποιός 'kind of bird' (H.). ◄?►
•VAR Also ἰδάλιος.
•ETYM Unexplained.

εἶδαρ ⇒ἔδω.

εἴδημα •VAR εἴδησις. ⇒οἶδα.

εἴδομαι [v.] 'to appear, seem, resemble' (Il.). ◄IE **ueid-* 'see'►
•VAR Aor. εἴσασθαι (ptc. also ἐ-(ϝ)εισάμενος, Chantraine 1942: 182).
•COMP δια-είδομαι with factitive fut. δια-είσομαι 'make appear' (Θ 535; see Chantraine 1942: 442).

•DER εἶδος 'appearance, species, form, etc.', εἰδύλλιον 'poem, single song', εἰδάλιμος 'with beautiful appearance'; εἴδωλον 'picture, image', -λάτρης 'who reveres idols', εἰδάλλεται· φαίνεται 'appears' (H.).

•ETYM Beside (ϝ)είδομαι and the *s*-aorist, there is the thematic aorist ►ἰδεῖν and the perfect ►οἶδα, both of which are old. There is no exact equivalent of εἴδομαι in other branches; comparable are Celt. and Gm. forms like OIr. *ad-féded* 'narrabat', Go. *fraweitan* 'to revenge', both from IE **ueid-*, but with rather different meanings. Semantically, εἴδομαι agrees well with inherited εἶδος, by which it may have been influenced (or is it a back-formation from εἶδος?). εἶδος itself corresponds exactly to BSl. forms like Lith. *véidas* 'face' and OCS *vidъ* 'appearance', as well as to OHG *wīsa* 'way, manner' and other Gm. words, which were built on the IE *s*-stem **ueid-s-*. Formally identical, but semantically farther off is Skt. *védas-* 'knowledge, insight'. The form ἐεισάμενος is found only in the formula (verse initial) τῷ μιν ἐ. προσέφη; it is therefore probable that an accident led to this unusual form: the formula must have had τῳ δε ϝε ϝεισάμενος. See Beekes 1969: 59f. Incorrect analysis in *RPh.* 71 (1997): 157. Cf. also ►ἰνδάλλεται.

εἴδωλον ⇒ εἴδομαι.

εἶἐν [interj.] 'okay, alright!' (Att.). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR On the interaspiration, indicated by grammarians and the cod. Rav. of Ar., Schwyzer: 219 and 303.

•ETYM Froehde *BB* 10 (1886): 297 connected the word with Skt. *evám* 'okay', but perhaps this rather belongs to ►εἶα; was the ending taken from μέν? Differently, von Wilamowitz 1889: 320; cf. Barrett 1964: 297.

εἶθαρ [adv.] 'immediately' (Il.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Was the word originally a neuter noun in -αρ? It is difficult to connect it with ἰθύς, which has a long ἰ-; see Schwyzer: 350 and 519 and Schwyzer 1950: 70. Incorrectly, Pok. 892; there is no etymology.

εἴθε [pcl.] 'utinam, o that', in wishes (Il.). ◁IE **(h₁)e(i)* dem. pron. + **gʷʰe* pcl.?▷

•VAR Also αἴθε (see ►εἰ).

•ETYM From εἰ, αἰ (see ►εἰ) and a particle -θε; however, the latter has no clear etymology. Meillet *MSL* 8 (1894): 238 compared the particles Skt. *gha* and OCS *že*; thus, is it from IE **gʷʰe*? Further, see Schwyzer 1950: 561².

εἰκάζω [v.] 'to picture, compare, suspect' (IA); on the mg. cf. Brunel 1939: 71, 155, 174, 184. ◁IE **ueik-* 'resemble'▷

•VAR Lesb. ἴκάσδω; aor. εἰκάσαι, fut. εἰκάσω, perf. pass. εἴκασμαι (ἴ-).

•COMP Prefixed especially with ἀπ-; also with ἐξ-, ἐπ-, προσ-, etc.

•DER (ἀπ-)εἰκασία 'picture, comparison, conjecture' (IA; on the formation Schwyzer: 469) with εἰκάσιμος 'aestimabilis' (gloss.; Arbenz 1933: 99), (ἀπ-)εἴκασμα 'representation' (A., Pl.), (ἀπ-, ἐπ-)εἰκασμός 'supposition' (D. H., Str.); εἰκαστής 'conjecturer, diviner' (Th. 1, 138; see Fraenkel 1912: 73f.), 'who represents' (D. H.); εἰκαστός 'comparable' (S., etc.), εἰκαστικός 'ptng. to portraying' (Pl., etc.).

•ETYM Like the synonymous Hom. (ϝ)ε(ϝ)ίσκω, tetrasyllabic ἐϊκάσδω presupposes an original *ϝεϝικάζω. Both formations are recent factitive presents of the perf. (ϝ)ὲ-(ϝ)οικ-α 'be like, resemble', with zero grade in (ϝ)ὲ-(ϝ)ικ-τον [du.], (ϝ)ὲ-(ϝ)ικ-το [plpf.med.] (Schwyzer: 735). See ►ἔοικα on the etymology.

εἰκάς ⇒ εἴκοσι.

εἰκῇ [adv.] 'just so, without deliberation', late also 'in vain' (IA). ◅IE **ueik-* 'resemble, seem'▻

•COMP As a first member in εἰκο-βολέω 'shoot just so' (E.) with εἰκοβολία (Phld.).

•DER εἰκαῖος 'without plan, at random' (S.) with εἰκαιότης (Phld.) and εἰκαιοσύνη (Timo). Cf. σπουδῇ, κομιδῇ, etc.; so a nominal dative (Schwyzer: 622).

•ETYM Incorrectly, Wackernagel 1916: 137[1] who, based on Indic parallels, assumes *ἐ-ϝεκῇ 'arbitrarily' from ►ἑκών; this is impossible because of the prothetic vowel assumed. Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 169 starts from **ueik-* 'resemble, seem', which seems possible.

εἴκοσι [num.] 'twenty'. ◅IE **dui-dkmt-i(H)* 'twenty'▻

•VAR Hom. also ἐείκοσι (see below), Dor. ϝίκατι.

•COMP As a first member often εἰκοσα-, e.g. ἐεικοσάβοιος 'worth twenty cows' (Od.; after ἑπτα-, τετρα-, etc.). On εἰκοσινήριτος (X 349) see ►νήριτος.

•DER εἰκοσάκις 'twenty times' (Il.), εἰκοσάς [f.] 'twenty pieces' (late; cf. εἰκάς below), (ἐ)εἰκοστός (Boeot. ϝικαστός) 'the twentieth' (Il.); fem. εἰκοστή 'the twentieth' with εἰκοσταῖος 'belonging to the twentieth day' (Hp.; like δευτεραῖος, etc.); also εἰκάς [f.], Dor. ἰκάς, Ther. ηικάς 'the number twenty, the twentieth day of the month' (Hes.), after δεκάς, τριακάς, etc. (not an original formation to (ἐ)ΐκατι, as per Schwyzer: 597); from here εἰκαδεῖς the members of a society that met on the 20th, eponymous founder Εἰκαδεύς (Athens; Fraenkel 1912: 71 and 180, von Wilamowitz 1932: 368[1]), εἰκαδισταί epithet of the Epicureans (Ath.), cf. δεκαδισταί to δεκάς (see ►δέκα).

•ETYM Hom. ἐείκοσι stands for ἐ(ϝ)ΐκοσι (the prothetic vowel derives from the glottalic feature of the **d-*; see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104). It was graphically influenced by contracted εἴκοσι; likewise, Heracl. ϝείκατι. The o-vowel in εἴκοσι is difficult to account for: it may have been taken from εἰκοστός (differently, Meillet *MSL* 16 (1910-1911): 217ff.; see Schwyzer: 344), which itself took it from τριακοστός, etc., with -o- as in τριάκοντα, etc.

PGr. [(?)]ϝῖκατι, [(?)]ϝῖκαστός gave Dor., Boeot. ϝῖκατι after the loss of the first laryngeal by dissimilation; see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104. The word is identical with Av. *vīsa[i]ti*, as well as with Skt. *viṃśatí-* [f.], which has secondary nasalization and *i*-flexion, as well as secondary stress. The *-g-* in Lat. *vīgintī* is difficult to explain; see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 101, who states that it results from voicing after a nasal in the words for '70' and '90', and subsequent analogical introduction in the other decades.

The dual IE **dui-dḱmt-i(H)* properly meant 'two decades', from IE **dui-* 'two' and ►δέκα. See also under ►ἑκατόν.

εἴκω [v.] 'to give way, yield'. ◅IE **ueig-* 'give way, yield'▻

•VAR Aor. εἶξαι (ἔ(ϝ)ειξε Alcm., γῖξαι [i.e. ϝεῖξαι]· χωρῆσαι 'to give way' H.), fut. εἴξω, -ομαι (Il.; cf. Trümpy 1950: 229f.), perf. ptc. ἐεικώς (*Chron. Lind.*).
•COMP With prefix: ὑπ(ο)-, παρ-, συν-είκω, etc. Lengthened form (ὑπ-, παρ-)εἰκάθειν or -θεῖν (S., Pl.; Schwyzer: 703[6]).
•DER ὕπειξις 'yielding' (Pl.; cf. Holt 1941: 164; εἶξις Plu.) with ὑπεικτικός (Arist.; εἰκτικός Phld.).
•ETYM Among the many verbs based on IE **ueik-*, there is no semantically convincing connection. Semantically, however, Skt. *vijáte* (younger *vejate*) 'flee, give way' and the Gm. pres. OS *wīcan*, OHG *wīhhan* 'give way, etc.' agree very well with (ϝ)είκω. As the former must go back to PIE **ueig-*, not to **ueik-*, we should assume that the different velar was generalized from forms with consonantal endings (cf. the Skt. aorist forms *vik-thās*, *vik-ta*) or from the σ-aorist. Thus, Frisk s.v. and LIV[2] s.v. **u̯eig-*. ToAB *wik-* 'disappear; abstain from' belongs here as well. See also ►ἐπίεικτος.

εἰκών, -όνος [f.] 'representation, picture, resemblance' (IA). ◄IE **ueik-* 'resemble'►
•VAR Cypr. ϝεικονα, Ion. also εἰκώ, -οῦς [f.].
•COMP As a first member in εἰκονολογία 'speaking in resemblances, figuratively' (Pl.).
•DER Diminutive εἰκόνιον (Hell.) and -ίδιον (late); εἰκονικός 'picturing' (Hell.), εἰκονώδης (gloss.). Denominative verb (ἐξ-)εἰκονίζω 'imitate, record in documents' (LXX, pap., Plu.; cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 146) with εἰκόνισμα = εἰκών (S. *Fr.* 573; cf. Chantraine 1933: 188), εἰκονισμός 'picture; description of persons' (pap., Plu.), εἰκονιστής name of an official, 'registrator' (pap.).
•ETYM Formation in -ών (Chantraine 1933: 159f.) as an agent noun related directly to ►ἔοικα, with the same vocalism as in εἰκώς, -ός, εἴκελος. On the innovation εἰκώ, see Schwyzer: 479[4].

εἰλαμίδες [f.pl.] name of two cerebral membranes (Poll. 2, 44). ◄IE **uel-* 'turn, wind'►
•DER Diminutive of *εἴλαμος (as πλόκαμος, etc.).
•ETYM The word is related to εἰλέω 'turn, wind', "ὅτι περὶ μυελὸν εἰλοῦνται" 'because they were wrapped around the marrow', with εἰ- (for *ϝέλ-αμος) as in ►εἰλεός.

εἰλαπίνη [f.] 'drinking-bout, festive eating' (Il.; Ael. ἐλ(λ)απίνα Hoffmann 1893: 487). ◄PG(S,V)►
•DER εἰλαπινάζω 'to feast' (Il.; only present) together with εἰλαπιναστής (P 577).
•ETYM No etymology. A cultural word that may well be of Pre-Greek origin; cf. under ►δεῖπνον. Initial εἰ- is perhaps due to metrical lengthening; a suffix -απ- can hardly be IE.

εἶλαρ [n.] probably 'parapet, protective wall', εἶλαρ νεῶν [νηῶν Leaf] τε καὶ αὐτῶν 'shelter of the ships and of themselves' (H 338 = 437; Ξ 56 = 68, of πύργοι, and τεῖχος), κύματος εἶλαρ 'protection of a foetus' (ε 257, ῥῖπες οἰσύϊναι 'mat of wicker-work'); in H. also ἔλαρ· βοήθεια 'aid'. ◄IE? **ueru-* 'defend'►
•VAR Only nom. and acc.
•ETYM Often considered to be an action noun *ϝέλ-ϝαρ (with dissimilation to *ἔλ-ϝαρ?). Perhaps from ►εἰλέω 1, aor. (ϝ)έλσαι 'press together', but this does not fit very

well. Note βήλημα· κώλυμα, φράγμα ἐν ποταμῷ 'impediment, defence in the river' (H.). Neither is it related to ►εἰλέω 2 'roll, wind'. See Schulze 1892: 121, Bechtel 1914 s.v., Chantraine 1942: 131, and Porzig 1942: 348. Blanc *RPh.* 70 (1996): 115f. proposes to derive the word from ϝερϝ-αρ, to ἔρυ-μα, etc.; however, the dissimilation to λ would then be difficult to account for. Cf. also Blanc *BAGB* 1 (1996): 4-5.

Εἰλείθυια [f.] name of the goddess(es) of birth, often in plur. (IA). Also Ἐλείθυια (Pi., inscr.), Εἰλήθυια (Call., Paus.), Ἐλεύθυια (Cret.), Ἐλευθίη (Paros), Ἐλευθία, with assibilation Ἐλευσία (Lacon.), and other variants. Short form Ἐλευθώ (*AP*) and (quite different) Εἰλιόνεια (Plu. 2, 277b; is it correct?). On the forms see Kalén 1918: 8. ◄PG(S)►

•DIAL Myc. *E-re-u-ti-ja.*

•DER Εἰλειθυ(ι)αῖον 'temple of E.' (Delos), Ἰλύθυιον (ibid.).

•ETYM It has been assumed, starting from the assumption that Ἐλεύθυια is the old form, that Ἐλείθυια would have arisen by dissimilation and thence Εἰλείθυια with metrical lengthening. Schulze 1892: 260f. then connected ἐλευθ- with ἐλεύσομαι, ἤλυθον. Wackernagel too started from Ἐλεύθυια, but he considered it to be Pre-Greek because of the PN Ἐλευθέρνα. Güntert 1919: 38³, 258 also takes E(i)λείθυια as Pre-Greek, with secondary adaptation to ἐλεύθω 'to bring' (Dor.), in the sense 'she who brings forth'.

Beekes 1998: 24f. shows that the suffix -υια is Pre-Greek.

εἰλεός [m.] 1. as a medical expression 'intestinal obstruction, *Bauchgrimmen*' (Hp.; Lat. *ileus*); 2. (rarely) name of a vine (Hippys Rheg. [V^a?]); 3. 'den, hole of animals, especially of snakes' (Theoc. 15, 9, Arc., Poll.). ◄IE? **uelu-* 'turn, wind, cover, protect'►

•VAR ἰλεός.

•DER From 1: εἰλεώδης 'ptng. to intestinal obstruction' (Hp.).

•ETYM Formation like φωλεός, κολεός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 51). An original meaning 'winding' (cf. H.: εἰλεός· ἡ τοῦ θηρίου κατάδυσις καὶ στρόφος 'lair of a wild animal, cord'), from εἰλέω 'to roll, wind', explains meanings 1. and 2. Also, the 'den' can be combined with 'winding'; however, note that εἰλυός (A. R.), like synonymous εἰλυθμός, is based on εἰλύω 'to envelop, cover'.

εἰλέω 1 [v.] 'to press together, draw together, fence in' (Hom.). ◄IE **uel-* 'press together'►

•VAR Epic Delph. also εἴλομαι in εἰλόμενος, εἰλέσθω(ν), Dor. El. ϝηλέω, Att. sometimes ἵλλω, εἴλλω (cf. below), aor. ἔλσαι, ἐέλσαι (Ep.), med.-pass. ἀλήμεναι, ἀλῆναι, ἀλείς, perf. med. ἔελμαι, -μένος (Ep.), perfect preterite ἐόλει? (Pi., see below); thence the new forms εἰλῆσαι, εἰλήσω, εἴλημαι, εἰλήθην (Ion. Hell.).

•COMP With prefix ἀπ(ο-), e.g. ἀπο-ϝηλέω (El.); ἐξ-, e.g. ἐγ-ϝηληθίωντι (Her.) = ἐξ-ειληθῶσι; κατ(α)-, e.g. κατα-ϝελμένος (Cret.); also προσ- (προτι-), συν-ειλέω, -(ε)ίλλω, etc. with various shades of mg.

•DER Most of the derivatives have become formally and semantically independent: ►ἅλής, ►ἀολλής, ►ἕξουλή, ►ἴλη (εἴλη), ►οὐλαμός. Further: βήλημα· κώλυμα, φράγμα ἐν ποταμῷ 'impediment, defense in a river' (H.), i.e. ϝήλημα; Mess. ἤλημα,

κατ-, συν-είλησις 'pushing together, what is pressed' or 'what is drawn together' (Epicur. or Ael.), εἰληθμός (εἰδ- cod.) συστροφή, φυγή 'mass [of people], flight' (H.). From (ϝ)ίλλω probably ϝιλσιυος [gen.] 'adversity' (Pamph. IV^{a}); unclear ἰλλάς 'pressed together (?)' (S. *Fr.* 70, E. *Fr.* 837), cf. on ►εἰλέω 2; lengthened ἰλλίζει, see ibid. See also ►εἴλαρ.

•ETYM A nasal present *ϝελ-νέω can be posited on the basis of εἰλέω, ϝηλέω, and also on account of ἀπελλεῖν (?, cod. -ειν) ἀποκλείειν 'shut out (Aeol.)' (H.). This *ϝελ-νέω may be a variant of εἴλω < *ϝέλ-νω (Schwyzer: 720, see also 693, and Chantraine 1942: 130). Moreover, there is reduplicated ἴλλω < *ϝί-ϝλ-ω (mostly from ►εἰλέω 2, like ἰλλόμενος A. R. 2, 27). For εἴλλω, a prothetic vowel used to be assumed (so *ἐ-ϝέλ-νω or ἐ-ϝέλ-ιω), but this is no longer possible. It is probable that there was simply (graphical) influence by εἰλέω. Originally, the non-presentic forms were primary, as is to be expected: aor. (ϝ)έλ-σαι, perf. *(ϝ)έ-(ϝ)ολα in ἐόλει '(op)pressed' (Pi. *P.* 4, 233; a conj. by Boeckh)?, middle with secondary full grade (ϝ)έ-(ϝ)ελ-μαι, intrans. aor. with zero grade (ϝ)αλῆ-ναι; these forms were replaced by the innovations εἰλῆσαι, etc. Within Greek, it is not always possible to distinguish εἰλέω 'press (together)' from εἰλέω 'wind'. On the whole group of words, see Solmsen 1901: 224ff., 285ff. Many IE words contain an element **uel-*, but there is no obvious counterpart to εἰλέω 1. For example, Balto-Slavic formations like Lith. *veliù*, *vélti* (Ru. *valjáť* 'to felt, full', Ru. *válom* [ins.] 'in mass' (from a noun **valъ*), Lith. *su-valýti* 'to collect (grain), reap (together)' require a set root, for which there is no evidence in Greek. LIV^{2} s.v. 1. *u̯el-* 'einschließen, verhüllen' remarks that "Eine detaillierte Untersuchung aller **u̯el-*Wurzeln wäre hilfreich". They connect Skt. *var-* [2] 'to cover, enclose, ward off', but Lubotsky 2000a pleaded against this connection because the Indo-Aryan evidence points to an initial laryngeal.

εἰλέω 2 [v.] 'to roll, turn, wind, revolve' (mostly Hell.). ◅IE **uel-* 'turn, wind, revolve'▻

•VAR ἴλλω, εἴλλω (Att.; see below). The non-presentic forms, most of which are compounds, are based on the presents: εἰλῆσαι, εἰλήσω, εἴληκα, etc.; from ἴλλω only ἰλλάμην (*IG* 5(2), 472: 11; Megalopolis II-III^{p}).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἐν- and περι-εἰλέω (X., Hell.), -(ε)ίλλω (Th. 2, 76; codd. Ar. *Ra.* 1066), also ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, παρ-εἰλέω (Hell.), ἐξ-, κατ-ίλλω (X., Hp.).

•DER From εἰλέω : ►εἰλεός (s.v.; secondarily adapted?); further (ἐν-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, περι-)εἴλησις 'winding, etc.' (Pl.), (ἐν-, περι-)εἴλημα 'id.' (J., Poll.), προσείλημα (κεφαλῆς) 'turban' (Creon Hist.); εἰλετίας kind of reed (Thphr.), εἰλητάριον 'winding, roll' (Aët.), εἰληδόν [adv.] 'in windings' (*AP*). From ἴλλω: ►ἰλλός 'squinting' with many derivations; ἰλλάς [f.] 'snare, rope' (N 572; Chantraine 1933: 351) with ἰλλίζει· δεσμεύει, συστρέφει, ἀγελάζει 'fetters, presses together, drives together' (H.). (also to ►ἴλλω 1); unclear ἰλλάδας γονάς· ++άγελειὰς καὶ συστροφάς 'herds; dense masses' (H.: S. *Fr.* 70 and E. *Fr.* 837); probably to ►εἰλέω 1. Here also belong several nouns that have become independent from the verb: see ►ἕλιξ, ►ὅλμος, ►οὖλος 2; further perhaps ►ἁλινδέω, ►ἑλάνη, ►εἰλιγγος; finally the *u*-enlargement ►εἰλύω with many derivatives. Not here ►ἕλμις, ►εὔληρα, ►λῶμα, ►εὐλή, ►αἰόλος.

•ETYM As in ►εἰλέω 1 and (ἐ)ίλλω 'press', a nasal present is also continued in εἰλέω 'roll, turn' < *ϝελ-νέω; a reduplicated formation *ϝί-ϝλ-ω is found in ἴλλω. The formal coalescence often led to semantic interference as well; for example, ἰλλόμενος, in A. R. 2, 27 λέων ... ἰλλόμενός περ ὁμίλῳ, must have been identical with the ptc. in 1, 129 δεσμοῖς ἰλλόμενος, even if it originally did not mean 'surrounded', but 'pressed'. In the other branches, there are many words that go back to the unstable notion 'turn, wind, revolve', etc.: e.g., OIr. *fillim* 'to turn, bend' (see Matasović 2008 s.v. **wel-n-o-*). A special group are the *u*-enlargements; see ►εἰλύω and LIV² s.v. 2. **u̯el-* 'drehen, rollen'. Further, cf. Arm. *gelum*, aor. 3sg. *egel* 'turn' < **u̯el-*.

εἴλη 1 =ἴλη.

εἴλη 2 [f.] 'warmth, heat of the sun' (Ar. *Ve.* 772 [v.l. ἔλη], Luc.). ◅IE **suel(H)-* 'burn, singe'▻

•VAR Also εἴλη, ἔλη; βέλα (=ϝέλα)· ἥλιος, καὶ αὐγή, ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'the sun; sunlight (Lacon.)' (H.; likewise to ἔλα); unclear is the appurtenance of γέλαν (=ϝέλαν?)· αὐγὴν ἡλίου 'light of the sun', because of γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν 'to shine, to bloom' (H.), perhaps rather to ►γελάω, ►γαλήνη; but γελοδυτία· ἡλιοδυσία 'sunsets' (H.) belongs to ϝέλα.

•COMP As a first member in εἰλη-θερής 'warmed by the sun' (Hp., Gal.), ἐλαθερές· ἡλιοθαλπές 'warmed by the sun' (H.), rather to θέρομαι then to θέρος (see Schwyzer: 513); from there εἰληθερέω, -έομαι 'warm (oneself) in the sun' (Hp.); ►εἰλικρινής, ►εἰλόπεδον. As a second member in πρός-ειλος 'exposed to the heat of the sun, sunny' (A.), εὔ-ειλος 'id.' (Ar.), ἄ-ειλος 'sunless' (A. *Fr.* 334).

•DER εἰλῄϊον· ἐν ἡλίῳ θερμανθέν 'heated in the sun' (H.; false explanation of Ἰλῄϊον Φ 558 ?); denominative verb εἰλέω 'warm in the sun' (Eust.), pass. aor. ptc. εἰληθέντες; also ἐλᾶται· ἡλιοῦται 'is exposed to the sun', fut. βελ[λ]άσεται· ἡλιωθήσεται (H.).

•ETYM From PGr. **hϝέλα*, whence *ϝελᾶ, ἔλᾶ*, beside which a form with a prothetic vowel used to be assumed (**ἐ-ϝhélᾶ* > εἴλη, εἰλη), which however is impossible. These belong as a verbal noun to a verb 'to singe (intr.), burn without flame', which still exists in Gm. and Balt., e.g. OE *swelan*, MoHG *schwelen* (with full grade), Lith. *svìlti* (with zero grade of a root **suelH-*), with many derivatives. The Greek forms exhibit εἰλ- beside ἐλ-. There is no explanation for this, as a by-form **h,uel-* from a root **suel-* is hardly possible. Unless there is an unknown phonetic development, the problem cannot be solved. Could there have been an analogical spread of εἰλ-? From Greek, ►ἀλέα 1 (ἀλ-) 'heat of the sun' can also be connected. OHG *swelzan* 'to burn', OE *sweltan* 'to die', and ON *svelta* 'to starve, die' belong to an independent root IE **sueld-* (also Arm. *kʻałcʻ*).Cf. also ►ἥλιος 'sun' and ►ἐλάνη 'torch'.

εἴλιγγος [m.] 'dizziness', often plur. (Hp., Pl.), 'whirl(pool)' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, A. R.). ◅?▻

•VAR εἴλιγξ, -γγος [m.] (D. S., etc.); also ἴλ-, ἵλ-.

•DER Denominative verb εἰλιγγ-ιάω (ἰλ-) 'get dizzy' (Ar.); with εἰλιγγιώδης 'dizzy' (gloss.).

•ETYM Form in -ιγγ(ο)- (Schwyzer: 498, Chantraine 1933: 398ff.), either directly from ►εἰλέω 2 'to turn, wind' or via an unknown noun. Initial εἰ- was taken from the present (cf. ►εἰλέω 2); it is superfluous to assume a prothetic ἐ-. On ἰλ- for εἰλ-, cf. ►ἴλη. ToB *wai walau* 'vertigo' (cited by Frisk s.v.) is a mistake for *waipalau*, from *wip-* 'shake'. On account of the suffix, one could separate the word from εἰλέω as Pre-Greek.

εἰλικρινής [adj.] 'pure, absolute, genuine' (Hp., Att.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also εἰ-.

•DER εἰλικρίνεια 'purity', εἰλικρινέω 'purify' (Hell.), εἰλικρινότης (gloss.).

•ETYM Expressive word without a convincing etymology. It is mostly taken as a compound of κρίνω and εἴλη (with compositional -ι? Schwyzer: 447f.), in which case it would properly mean "distinguished in/by the sun" (Frisk); one should then take εἴλη not as 'heat of the sun', but as 'sunlight'. However, such a meaning is only known for Dor. ϝέλα and cannot be old. This makes the proposal highly improbable. Connection with εἰλέω (1 or 2) seems to make no sense either. DELG s.v. offers a difficult hypothesis.

εἰλίονες ⇒ἀέλιοι.

εἰλίπους [adj.] mg. uncertain, in Hom. only dat. and acc.pl. -πόδεσσιν, -ποδας of βόες; later (Anacr., Eup.) also of other nouns. ◅?▻

•VAR εἰλιπόδης (Nonn.); on the formation see Schwyzer: 451.

•ETYM Because the meaning is unclear, the proposed etymologies are uncertain, as well. As ἀερσίποδες ἵπποι (Σ 532) 'foot-lifting horses' suggests a contrastive use as 'dragging the feet', Osthoff *BB* 22 (1897): 255ff. assumed that the first member contained an element related to Lith. *selù, selĕti* 'drag', Skt. *tsárati* 'to sneak, steal'; thus, εἰλίπους would mean 'with sneaking feet'. This interpretation, however, is not as convincing as the inner-Greek connections. There seems to be no trace of digamma (Chantraine 1942: 132); however, see Shipp 1967: 60 (who suggests that it is a late formation without an old tradition). One might think of 'pressing the feet' (from εἰλέω 'press') as 'turning the feet' (from εἰλέω 'to turn'; thus also H.: διὰ τὸ ἑλίσσειν τοὺς πόδας κατὰ τὴν πορείαν 'because of their turning the feet in their mode of walking'). εἰ- can be metrical or taken from the present. On the -ι in compounds, see Schwyzer: 447f. and Knecht 1946: 31. The unclear gloss ἀνελλίπους· ὁ τοῖς ποσὶ μὴ ἀλ<λ>όμενος, ἤτοι χωλός 'not leaping with his feet, limping' (H.) does not help. See also ►εἰλιτενής.

εἰλιτενής [adj.] said of ἄγρωστις (i.e. 'dog's tooth grass'), mg. unknown (Theoc. 13, 42). ◅?▻

•ETYM Poetic formation, modelled after εἰλι-κρινής, -πους; the second member is probably related to ►τείνω (cf. ἀτενής), while the first member has been connected with εἰλέω 'turn, wind' (Frisk), but "die sich windend ausdehnende" is just a guess. Differently, Osthoff; see ►εἰλίπους.

εἰλόπεδον [n.] in η 123 ἀλωή ... 'vineyard' / τῆς ἕτερον μέν θ' εἰλόπεδον ... / τέρσεται ἠελίῳ 'dry up in the sun', read by Doederlein (details in Bechtel 1914, Leumann 1950: 44), for traditional θειλόπεδον. ◂?▸

•ETYM Analyzed in antiquity as 'sunny spot', with εἴλη 'heat of the sun' as a first member. The reading θειλόπεδον (thought to be false; see Frisk) was already accepted in antiquity (*AP*, Dsc.); thence θειλοπεδεύω 'to wither in the sun' (Dsc.). See also Ure *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 227. Nonetheless, an inscription in Mylasa has θειλοπε[, which rather suggests that θειλόπεδον was the correct reading after all; see Dubois *RPh.* 71 (1997): 162. See ▸εἴλη.

εἰλυσπάομαι [v.] 'to sneak like a snake or a worm' (Hp., Pl.). ◂GR▸

•VAR Also ἰλ-.

•DER εἰλύσπασις and -σπαστικός (Arist.).

•ETYM Expressive verbal dvandva-compound from εἰλύομαι and σπάομαι (Schwyzer: 645).

εἰλῠφάω [v.] 'to roll, whirl about' (Il.). ◂?▸

•VAR Only ptc. -φόων, -φόωντες (Λ 156, Hes. *Th.* 692, trans.; Nonn. *D.* 30, 81 intr.), -ῡφάζω only present (Υ 492 trans.; Hes. *Sc.* 275 intr.).

•ETYM Iterative-intensive formation in -άω with lengthening to -άζω (Schwyzer: 734, Chantraine 1942: 337), from εἰλύω, though unclear in detail (εἰλύω : *εἰλύπτω : εἰλυφάω like ἅπτω : ἀφάω?). Schwyzer 1937: 66² incorrectly believes that it consists of εἰλύω and ὑφάω; neither did it arise via an intermediate noun in -φος, -φη (Solmsen 1901: 235, Bechtel 1914). The varying length of the -υ- is metrically conditioned (Chantraine 1942: 360).

εἰλύω [v.] 'to wrap around, envelop, cover' (Il.). ◂IE **uel-u-* 'envelop, cover'▸

•VAR (Arat. 432; καταείλυον Ψ 135 v.l. for -νυον, -νυσαν), perf. med. εἴλῡμαι, fut. κἀδ δέ ... / εἰλύσω Φ 319, aor. κατ-ειλύσαντε (A. R. 3, 206); εἰλύομαι 'to wind itself and curl, crawl forward' (S. *Ph.* 291 and 702), 'to swarm' (Com.), aor. pass. ἐλύσθη 'rolled', ἐλυσθείς 'ducking' (Il.; Theoc. 25, 246 has εἰλυθείς instead; A. R. 3, 296 εἰλυμένος).

•COMP Some prefixed compounds: κατ-ειλύω (Hdt.), δι-ειλυσθεῖσα 'sneaking through' (A. R. 4, 35), ἐξ-ειλυσθέντες (Theoc. 24, 17), συν-ειλύω (*EM* 333, 42).

•DER From ἐλῠ-: ἔλῠ-τρον 'envelope, shell, container' (IA) with ἐλυτρόομαι (Hp.); ἔλῡμα 'plough-beam' (Hes., secondary length, see below), in H. also = νύσσα 'turning point' καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον 'mantle', cf. εἴλυμα; ἔλῠμος a Phrygian pipe (S., Com.), in H. also 'envelope'; ἔλυστα· ἄμπελος μέλαινα 'dark vine' (H.; -σ- like in ἐλύσθη, see below); deverbative ἐλύσσει· εἰλεῖται 'draw oneself up' (H.). From εἰλῡ-: εἴλῡμα 'envelope' (ζ 179, etc., cf. ἔλυμα); εἰλυθμός 'hiding-place, hole' (Nic.), in H. = ἕλκος, τρόμος 'wound, trembling', to εἰλύομαι; εἰλυός = ▸εἰλεός s.v.; εἴλυσις 'sneaking forward' (sch. on εἰλύομαι); εἰλύτας, ἐλλύτας name of a cake' (inscr., H., ἐλύτης gramm.; see Fraenkel 1910: 171f.); deverbative εἰλύσσεται· εἰλεῖται (H.), cf. ἐλύσσει above, with εἰλυστήριον (gloss.). From ἀλῠ- (zero grade): ▸ἄλυσις, ▸ἀλύτας. See also ▸πέλλυτρον and ▸γολύριον.

•ETYM The gloss γέλουτρον· ἔλυτρον, ἤγουν λέπυρον 'pod' (H.) points to PGr. ϝέλυτρον, identical with Skt. *varu-tra-* [n.] 'over-garment' (gramm.). Theoretically, εἰλύω could derive from PGr. *ϝελ-ν-ύ-ω and agree with Skt. *vṛṇóti* 'envelop, cover' < IE **ul-ne-u-ti*, but the Greek word is late and rare, which makes the identification less probable; even less so, when we consider that the Skt. root contains an initial laryngeal (see Lubotsky 2000a). Disyllabic ϝελυ- in (ϝ)ελύ-σ-θη, etc. (with analogical -σ-; Schwyzer 761) is also found in Arm. *gelu-m* 'to turn' (formation uncertain) and in Lat. *volvō*; an iterative formation in Go. *walwjan*, OE *wealwian* 'to revolve' < **uolu-eie-*. Note (ϝ)έλῦ-μα, with the same secondary long vowel as in Lat. *volūmen*; further, Arm. *gelumn* 'turning'. In the formation of the Greek system, the perfect εἴλῦμαι < *ϝέ-ϝλῦ-μαι (with long vowel; initial ϝ- is uncertain, on which see Chantraine 1942: 131 and Schwyzer: 649e) played an important role; the late forms εἰλῦσαι and εἰλυσθεὶς and the many nouns in εἰλῦ- are derived from it. See LIV² s.v. 1. and 2. *u̯el-*.

εἴλω ⇒εἰλέω 1.

εἶμα ⇒ἕννυμι.

εἱμάδες [pl.?] · ποιμένων οἰκίαι 'houses of shepherds' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Formation like δειράς, etc.; is the word derived from *ϝεῖμα = Lat. *vīmen* 'rod, wickerwork'?

εἶμι [v.] 'to go' (perfective; cf. Schwyzer 1950: 265). ◂IE **h₁ei-* 'go'▸

•VAR Only present active; inf. ἰέναι.

•DIAL Myc. *i-jo-te* /iontes/.

•COMP Very often with prefix: ἄν-, ἀπ-, δί-, εἴσ-, ἔξ-, etc.

•DER From the simplex: ἴ-θματα [pl.] 'step, pace' (E 778 = *h. Ap.* 114, of doves), = 'feet' (Call. *Cer.* 58); on the formation Schwyzer: 492[12], 523); ►ἰσθμιός, also ἰταμός, ►ἴτης; cf. οἶτος, οἶμος. From the compounds: εἰσ-ί-θμη 'entry' (ζ 264, Opp.; cf. ἴθματα and Porzig 1942: 283); ἐξ-ί-τηλος 'perishable' (IA), acc. to H. ἴτηλον· τὸ ἔμμιονον, καὶ οὐκ ἐξίτηλον 'abiding, not going' (A. *Fr.* 42); εἰσ-ί-τημα 'revenue' (Delos, Delphi); εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-ι-τήριος (D.); δι-, συν-ι-τικός (Arist.). On ►ἀμαξ-ι-τός, see s.v.; on the univerbation ἀταρπιτός see ►ἀτραπός. Iterative ἰτάω in ἰτητέον· 'eundum est' (Att.) and ἐπανιτακώρ = ἐπανεληλυθώς (Elis); thence εἰσ-ιτητήρια [n.pl.] 'initiation sacrifice for an official' (Att.; also εἰσ-ιτήρια, see above), εἰσ-ιτητός 'accessible' (Alciphr.) and ἰτητικός = ἰταμός (Arist.). As a verbal noun to εἶμι, especially to the compounds, serves ὁδός (ἄν-οδος, etc.), Schwyzer 1950: 75, Porzig 1942: 201. See also ►φοιτάω.

•ETYM Old athematic root present with exact correspondences in several languages: εἶ-μι, εἶ (< **εἶ-hi*), εἶ-σι = Skt. *é-mi*, *é-ṣi*, *é-ti*, Lith. *ei-mì*, *ei-sì*, *eĩ-ti*, Hitt. *pāi-mi*, *pāi-ši*, *pāi-zi* (with preverb *pe-*, *pa-*), Lat. *ī-s*, *i-t* (replacement of 1sg. with *eō* < **ei-ō*), all of which are from IE **ei-mi*, *-si*, *-ti*. 1pl. ἴ-μεν : Skt. *i-más*; ipv. ἴ-θι = Skt. *i-hí* : Hitt. *i-t*; impf. Hom. ἤϊα = Skt. *āyam* from IE **h₁e-h₁ei-m*. Iterative ἰτάω = Lat. *itāre*, MIr. *ethaim*. Further details are in Schwyzer: 674, etc. On the relation between εἶμι - ἔρχομαι - ἦλθον and other verbs of going, see Bloch 1940: 22ff.

εἰμί [v.] 'to be'. ◁IE **h₁es-* 'be'▷

•VAR Inf. εἶναι (IA), Dor. ἦμί, inf. ἦμεν, Aeol. ἔμμι, inf. ἔμμεν, -αι; only present stem (with future).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἄπ-, ἔν-, ἔξ- (ἔξεστι), ἔπ-, πάρ-, σύν-, etc.

•DER ἐστ-ώ [f.] (to ἐστί) = οὐσία (to ὤν) 'substance' (Archyt. Philos.), ἀπ-εστώ 'absence' (Hdt. 9, 85; συν-εστώ 6, 128 v.l. to συνεστίη), see Schwyzer: 478 , Chantraine 1933: 117; cf. also on εὐεστώ; ἀπεστύς· ἀποχώρησις 'retreat; voidance' (H.; Chantraine 1933: 291). From the ptc. ὤν, ὄντ-ος : οὐσία (see above) with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, παρ-, συν-ουσία, etc. from ἀπ-ών, etc.; thence e.g. συνουσιάζω with συνουσιαστής, -αστικός, etc.

•ETYM Old athematic root present with exact correspondences in several languages: εἰμί, εἶ (epic and Dor. ἐσσί), ἐστί = Skt. *ásmi, ási, ásti*, OLith. *esmì, esì, ēsti*, Hitt. *ešmi, ešši (eši), ešzi*, Go. *im, is, ist*, Lat. *es(s), est* (*sum* is an innovation), IE **es-mi, *esi* (< **es-si*, sometimes restored by analogy), **es-ti*; 3pl. with zero grade εἰσί, Myc. *e-e-si* /e^{h}ensi/, Dor. ἐντί (with psilosis after εἰμί, etc.) = Skt. *sánti*, U *sent*, Go., etc. *sind*, all of which are from IE **h₁s-enti*. Hom. ἦα [ipf.1sg.] = Skt. *ā́sam*, IE **h₁e-h₁es-m*, Dor. Aeol. Arc. Cypr. ἦς [3sg.] = Skt. (Ved.) *ā́s*, IE **h₁e-h₁es-t*. Further forms are mentioned in Schwyzer: 676ff.

εἰνατέρες, -έρων [f.pl.] 'wife of the husband's brother' (Il.) ◁IE **(H)ienh₂-ter-* 'wife of husband's brother'▷

•VAR Also sing. ἐνατηρ, -τρι, -τερα (late Anatolian inscr.), voc. εἴνατερ, gen. -τερος (Hdn.).

•ETYM Old, disappearing kinship term denoting a member of the extended family (see Risch *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944): 117). Epic εἰν- is a metrical lengthening of psilotic ἐν-. The acc. ιανατερα is not Phrygian, but Greek.

The etymon is also seen in Lat. *ianitrīcēs* (after *genetrīcēs*, etc.; the vocalization *-a(n)-* in the root is not quite clear), OLith. *jentė*, CS *jatry* (ending after *svekry* 'mother-in-law'), and in Skt. *yātar-* (with zero grade of the root: **iŋh₂-ter-*). Arm. *ner* (also *nēr*), gen. *niri* is difficult to explain; see Kortlandt 2003: 120 and 163 on this word.

εἰνοσίφυλλος ⇒ἔνοσις.

εἶπον [v.aor.] 'say, speak' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁e-ue-uk^{w}-om* 'I said'▷

•VAR Epic ἔειπον, Ion., etc. also εἶπα, inf. εἰπεῖν, εἴπαι, Cret. ϝεῖπαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e. g. ἀπ(ο)-, ἐξ-, μετ(α)-, παρ-, προ-(ϝ)ειπεῖν, -(ϝ)εῖπαι

•ETYM The Skt. aorist *á-vocam* 'I spoke', from **h₁e-ue-uk^{w}-om*, points to a Greek preform **e-weuk^{w}om*, whence by dissimilation **eweik^{w}om* > ἔ(ϝ)ειπον. On an uncertain trace of the digamma in an antique edition of Homer, see Kretschmer 1923: 190ff. Further, see ▸ἔπος. On the meaning, use and inflexion, see Fournier 1946: 3ff., 99f., 227ff.

εἴργω [v.] 'to fence in, shut out' (on the mg. Brunel 1939: 27f., 122). ◁IE **h₁uerg-* 'shut in, press'▷

•VAR Also εἴργω; εἴργνυμι, epic ἐέργω, ἐέργνυμι, epic Ion. ἔργω, ἔργνυμι, *s*-aor. εἶρξαι (also εἶρ-, ἔρ-, ἔρ-), them. aor. κατ-Εϝοργον (Cypr.), pass. εἰρχθῆναι (εἰρ-,

etc.), fut. εἴρξω (εἴρξω, Heracl. ἀφ-, ἐφ-έρξοντι, συν-hέρξοντι), perf. med. εἶργμαι, ἔεργμαι (ἔργμαι), epic 3pl. ἔρχαται, -ατο with artificial extension ἐρχατόωντο ξ 15 (see Leumann 1950: 179ff.), lengthened pret. εἰργαθεῖν (-άθειν?; Schwyzer: 703).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπ(ο)-, ἀφ-, δι-, εἰσ-, ἐφ-, ἐξ-, κατ- (καθ-), συν-, etc.

•DER εἱρκτή (ἐρ-), often plur. 'enclosure, prison, women's apartments' (IA); εἱργμός 'prison' (Pl.); (σύν-, κάθ-, ἔξ-)εἵρξις 'shutting in, etc.' (Pl.) with -ειρκτικός; ἄφερκτος 'shut out' (A. *Ch.* 446 [lyr.]).

•ETYM Except for the zero grade thematic aorist Cypr. κατ-Ἔϝοργον (-έ- or -ή-; Schwyzer 653 β), all forms, including the nouns, go back to a full grade ἐ-(ϝ)έργω, εἴργω; acc. to Sommer 1905: 127f., the aspiration in εἶρξαι, ἔρξω, εἴργω, etc. arose before voiceless ρ in ἐρκτ-, ἐρξ-(?). Details are included in Solmsen 1901: 221ff. There are no directly comparable formations in the other languages. Av. *vərəziiąn* [opt.] 'they should fence in' is perhaps cognate; Lith. *veržiù*, *veržti* 'to narrow in, string' is not, but rather from **uerǵʰ-* (see LIV² s.v. **u̯erǵʰ-*). Further, there are some related Indo-Iranian nouns: Skt. *vr̥jána-* [n.] 'enclosure' = Av. *vərəzāna-*, *varəzāna-* 'community', OP *vardana-* 'town'; Skt. *vrajá-* [m.] 'fence' (as if from **hₓu̯reǵ-o-*). It is unclear whether to connect it with an Irish word for 'wall, etc.': OIr. *fraig*, MoIr. *fraigh* 'wall of wickerwork, roof, fence'. Within Greek, the word has been compared with Myc. *we-re-ke* /wreges/ 'fences'; see Tichy 1983: 286 with fn. 163. This would presuppose that the prothetic ἐ- is secondary.

εἴρερον [acc.] 'imprisonment, servitude' (θ 529). ◁?▷

•ETYM Etymology uncertain. Frisk *Eranos* 50 (1952): 6ff. argues against the connection with Lat. *servus*, instead suggesting a basis **ϝερϝερον, and connecting the word with Arm. *gerem* 'to take prisoner'. It is probably not related to ►εὑρίσκω 'to find' or ►ἀρύω 'to draw water', although based on the meaning the word has been compared with Skt. *gráha-*, *gráhaṇa-* 'taking, emprisonment, scooping'. Other suggestions are in Bechtel 1914 and Brugmann *IF* 19 (1906): 382ff.

εἰρεσία ⇒ἐρέτης.

εἰρεσιώνη [f.] 'an olive or laurel twig adorned with red and white bands and decorated with fruits', as a symbol of fertility (Ar.), 'a song when carrying this twig around' (Hom. *Epigr.*, Plu.), 'wreath (of honour)' (Hell.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also εἰρυσιώνη (Delos I[a]), folk-etymological reshaping after εἰρύομαι 'protect'.

•ETYM For the formation, cf. the plant names in -ώνη in Chantraine 1933: 207f.; Strömberg 1940: 81 points to ἰασιώνη, but further comparanda are unknown. The word is often derived from εἶρος, but without much reason. Chantraine thinks of Ἐρέσιος epithet of Apollo (H.); cf. Myc. *We-we-si-je-ja* /Werwes-/. Differently, Schönberger *Glotta* 29 (1942): 85ff. and Grošelj Živa Ant. 1 (1951): 122f.; cf. Meid *IF* 62 (1956): 277[22].

***εἴρη** [f.] taken as 'place of speaking or gathering', acc. to H. = ἐρώτησις, φήμη, κληδών 'questioning, speech, omen', acc. to *EM* 483, 3 = ἐκκλησία 'assembly' and μαντεία 'prophesying'. ◁?▷

•VAR Only εἰράων Σ 531 (verse-initial), also εἰρέας Hes. *Th.* 804 (conj. εἴραις, εἴρας).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ἐρῶ, εἴρηκα (εἴρω) 'say', but with an unclear base form; is the nom. *εἶρα < *ϝέρ-ᵢα? See also ►εἰρήνη.

εἰρήν [m.] name of the full-grown youths in Sparta, 'κόρος τέλειος' 'full-grown boy' (H., *IG* 5(1), 279, Plu. *Lyc.* 17, etc.; on the mg., etc. Solmsen *IF* 7 (1897): 37ff.). ◄?►
•VAR Also εἴρην, ἴρην, -ήν; gen. -ένος.
•COMP As a second member in μελλ-είρην 'a youth becoming εἰρήν' (Plu. *Lyc.* 17) together with μελλειρενεια (Sparta), τριτιρενες [pl.] 'third-year εἰρένες' (Messen.).
•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Solmsen *IF* 7 (1897): 37ff., the word is from *ἐρσήν, and therefore differs from Ion. ►ἔρσην 'man, male' only in accent; the loss of *s with compensatory lengthening would be due to the oxytone accent (Wackernagel *KZ* 29 (1888): 127ff.). However, as a strictly Laconian form, one would expect *ἠρήν, as Bechtel 1921, 2: 370f. notes. Neither related to ►ἦρι 'early', nor to ►εἰρήνη.

εἰρήνη [f.] 'peace, time of peace' (Il.), cf. Trümpy 1950: 183ff., later 'peace treaty', in the LXX also '(wish) of blessing' as a Hebraism (Wackernagel *IF* 31 (1912/13): 263f.); as a goddess, daughter of Zeus and Themis (Hes.). ◄PG?►
•VAR ἰράνα (Dor., Boeot., Arc., etc.), also ἰρήνα (Gort. II^{a}: χ[ι]ρήνας [gen.] with secondary aspiration), ἰρείνα (Thess.), εἰρήνα (Delph. IV^{a}, Pi., B.), εἰράνα (NWGr., etc.), εἴρηνᾰ̈ (Aeol., gramm.), Εἰρήνα, -άνη (PN, Lycia).
•COMP As a first member in εἰρηνο-ποιός (X.), etc.
•DER εἰρηναῖος 'peaceful' (Hdt.), εἰρηνικός 'belonging to peace' (Att., Hell.; after πολεμικός; Chantraine 1956a: 151); denominative εἰρηνεύω [v.] 'keep peace, live in peace' (Pl.) with εἰρήνευσις (Iamb.), εἰρηνέω 'id.' (Arist., after πολεμέω). On the Lacon. PN ϝειράνα see Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 332, Bechtel 1923: 155.
•ETYM The many dialectal forms cannot be combined under one form, but must be loans with incomplete adaptation (Leumann 1950: 277). The original anlaut is perhaps, according to the hesitant suggestion of Wackernagel *IF* 25 (1909): 327[1], open ἰρ- in Ionic and elsewhere, which was first rendered in Attic by ἐ-, later by εἰρ-; the Attic orthography became dominant. The occurrence of -ρήνη (also Att.) versus -ρᾱ́νᾱ was explained by Whitney Tucker *TAPA* 93 (1962): there was an early dissimilation of *ᾱ̆ to *ᾱ before *ᾱ̆ in one of the following syllables. This prevented the so-called Attic Rückverwandlung of *rᾱ̆ to ρα. No etymology; Pre-Greek origin is very probable, principally because of the ending (cf. Ἀθήνη, Μυκήνη, etc.); thus also Chantraine 1933: 206.

εἴρομαι [v.] 'to ask' (Il.). ◄IE *$h_1r(e)u$- 'ask, inquire'►
•VAR Also ἐρέομαι, ἐρέω (epic), subj. (with short vowel) ἐρείομεν, imp. med. ἔρειο (from *ἐρευο? Chantraine 1942: 297), aor. ἐρέσθαι (Od.), fut. εἰρήσομαι (Od., Ion.), ἐρήσομαι (Att.). See Chantraine 1942: 394.
•DIAL Myc. *e-re-u-te-re* /ereutēres/.
•COMP With prefix: ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-.
•DER Agent noun ἐρευταί 'ζητηταί, inquirers', name of the state exactors on Crete (inscr.); secondary presents ►ἐρεείνω, ►ἐρευνάω, ►ἐρωτάω.
•ETYM The verbal noun ἐρευ-ταί beside ἔρευε· ἐρεύνα 'search (Aeol.)' (H.) and the subjunctive ἐρείομεν (A 62, from *ἐρέϝ-ο-μεν) lead to the reconstruction ἐρέ(ϝ)-ω,

athematic *ἔρευ-μι. Therefore, εἴρομαι is derived from zero grade *ἔρϝ-ομαι; for the aorist ἐρέσθαι, one also supposes *ἐρϝ-έσθαι (with Attic development): both of these are from IE *h₁ru-e-. The shifting accentuation (ἔρεσθαι beside ἐρέσθαι, but also ἐπ-ειρέσθαι) shows the uncertainty of the speakers regarding the function of the zero-grade forms.

There are no direct cognates outside Greek. The form is perhaps seen in ON *raun* [f.] 'attempt, test', IE *h₁rou-neh₂-; further, see ▸ ἐρευνάω and ▸ ἐρεείνω.

εἶρος [n.] 'wool' (Od.), also a plant name = γναφάλλιον 'cotton weed' (Ps.-Dsc.; on the name Strömberg 1940: 105) and name of a fever (Hp. *apud* Erot.; because of the temperature?, cf. Strömberg 1944: 74ff.). ◂IE *ueru-os- 'wool'▸

•DIAL Myc. *we-we-si-je-ja* /werwesieiai/ 'women who work the wool', from *we-we-si-jo(-)* /werwesios/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in εἰρο-πόκος 'with woollen fleece', -κόμος 'preparing wool' (both Il.). As a second member in εὖ-ειρος (Hp., *AP*), Att. εὖ-ερος (with εὐερία [Pl. Com.]) 'with beautiful wool', ἔπ-ερος 'sheep' (*Del.*³ 644, 15, appr. 300ᵃ, Aeolic Asia Minor); on the phonetics Schulze 1933a: 367f., Forster 1950: 41; on the second member (for *εὐ- and *ἐπ-ειρής) see Sommer 1948: 112; on uncertain εὔειρας acc. pl. f. (S. *Fr.* 751, v. k.) Fraenkel 1910: 130.

•DER εἴριον (epic Ion.), Att. Cret. ἔριον 'wool', ἔρι (Hell. poet) with artificial abbreviation (Schwyzer: 584⁶); thence εἰρίνεος 'of wool', Att., etc. ἐρεοῦς, ἐρειοῦς (for -ιοῦς) 'id.', with cross ἐρεινοῦς (pap. V-VIᵖ); ἐρέα 'wool' (Hell.; after αἰγέα et al.; Chantraine 1933: 91); on the derivations Schwyzer: 468.

•ETYM Most interesting among the words compared with εἶρος is Lat. *vervēx, -ēcis* 'wether', a derivation in *k-* of *ueru-* (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). εἶρος ultimately continues *ϝέρϝος, a form now proven by Myc. *we-we-*. See further ▸ ἀρήν.

εἶροψ ⇒μέροψ.

εἴρω 1 [v.] 'to string, attach' (Pi.). ◂IE *ser- 'string together'▸

•VAR Mostly present; aor. εἶραι, ἔρσαι (IA; cf. Schwyzer: 753), perf. med. ptc. ἐερμένος, εἰρμένος (Ion., etc.), plpf. ἔερτο (Hom.), perf. act. δι-εῖρκα (X.).

•COMP Mostly with prefix, especially συν-είρω 'connect'; also with ἐν-, ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, etc. (IA).

•DER ἕρματα [pl.] 'earrings' (Od.), 'sling' (Ael.), also καθέρματα (Anacr.); ἔνερσις (ἐνείρω) 'insertion, fitting' (Th. 1, 6), δίερσις 'sting through' (Hell.); from the present εἰρμός 'connecting' (Arist.; on the spiritus asper see below), συνειρμός (Demetr. *Eloc.* 180); with *o*-grade ▸ ὅρμιος 'chain, collar', whence ὁρμιά, ὁρμαθός.

•ETYM Beside the full grade *yod*-present εἴρω (as a simplex only in Pi. and Arist.), Latin has a thematic present *serō*, and Arm. *y-erum* 'to tie, link, string together', which probably derives from *ser-s- or *ser-nu- (Martirosyan 2010 s.v.). This etymology presupposes that εἴρω lost the spiritus asper; this can be understood from the fact that the simplex is rare in comparison with συν-είρω, etc. An aspirated εἵρω is mentioned by *EM* 304, 30 (see Solmsen 1901: 292²); the verbal nouns may also have the old aspiration. Further traces of the verbal root and nouns are found in Italic (Osc. *aserum* 'asserere'), in Celtic (OIr. *sern(a)id* 'serit', a nasal present which

coincided with *sern(a)id* 'sternit'; see Thurneysen 1946: 133), and in OLith. *sėris* 'thread'; further, ON *sørvi* [n.] 'collar' < PGm. **sarwija-*, which belongs to the old Gm. word for 'weapon, equipment', e.g. Go. *sarwa* [n.pl.] < PGm. **sarwa-*, IE **sor-uo-*. ἔνερσις and Lat. *insertiō* are due to parallel innovation.

εἴρω 2 [v.] 'to say'. ◁IE **uerh$_1$-* 'speak (solemnly)'▷

•VAR only 1sg. pres. (Od.) and 3sg. εἴρεν as an aorist (B. 16, 20; 74), but εἴρετο (A 513), -οντο (λ 342) rather mean 'asked' (cf. Chantraine 1942: 341[3]), εἴρεται (Arat.) for εἴρηται like sporadic Hell. εἴρεκα for εἴρηκα (to ἐρρέθην), fut. epic Ion. ἐρέω, Att. ἐρῶ, perf. med. εἴρηται (Il.; Arg. ϝεϝρημένος, Cret. ϝερημένος), with fut. pass. εἰρήσομαι (epic Ion. Il.), perf.act. εἴρηκα (A., Ar.), aor. pass. ptc. ῥηθείς (Od.), εἰρέθην (Hdt.), rather after εἴρηται (Lejeune 1972: 157[4]) than from **ἐϝρέθην* (Schwyzer: 654); Att. ἐρρήθην, Hell. innovation ἐρρέθην, fut. ῥηθήσομαι (Att.). As an aorist, εἶπον is used, as a present, φημί, λέγω, Hell. also ἐρῶ (Schwyzer: 784[4]) with ipf. ἤρεον (εἰ-) 'said' (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix: προ-, προσ-, κατ-, also ἀν-, ἀπ-, δι-, ἐπ-, συν-, ὑπ-ερῶ, etc.

•DER Action nouns: ῥῆσις (IA φ 291), Arc. ϝρῆσις 'pronunciation, speech' (on the mg. Chantraine 1933: 283, further Holt 1941: 87f.), often to the prefixed verbs: ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά-, ἐπί-, κατά-, παρά-, πρό-, πρόσ-ρησις (cf. Holt, see index); ῥῆμα 'statement, word, story' (Ion. Archil.), as a grammatical term 'predicate, verb', also ἀπό-, ἐπί-, πρό-, πρόσ-ρημα; ῥήτρα, -η (ξ 393, X., Dor.), El. ϝράτρα (Schwyzer: 679), Cypr. with dissimilation ϝρήτα (from where εὐϝρητάσατυ) 'agreement, treaty, law, pronunciation' (Chantraine 1933: 333), with ῥητρεύω 'pronounce' (Lyc.); on the suffix -τρᾱ- cf. ῥητήρ, ῥήτωρ.

Agent nouns: ῥητήρ 'speaker' (I 443), ῥήτωρ 'speaker', especially 'orator' in state affairs (trag., Att.).

Verbal adj. ῥητός 'agreed, settled' (Φ 445) < **urh$_1$-to-*; cf. Ammann 1956: 20, 'what can be said' (A., S.), often opposed to ἄρρητος (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 4), ἀπό-, ἐπί-, πρό-ρρητος; παρα-ρρητός 'convincing' (Il.; to παρά-φημι, -ειπεῖν). Adverb δια-ρρήδην 'expressly' (*h. Merc.*, etc.; Schwyzer 1950: 450), ἐπι-ρρήδην 'open' (Hell.), ῥήδην only A. D., *EM* (from δια-ρρ.).

Note the juridical and official mg. of many of the nouns (cf. the outer-Greek cognates below); see Porzig 1942: 265f., Fournier 1946: 5ff., 94ff., 224ff.

•ETYM All forms derive from a disyllabic root **u̯erh$_1$-*, including (ϝ)είρω < **uerh$_1$-i̯e-* by Pinault's rule (loss of laryngeal in the sequence **CHi̯V*), to which we may compare the Hitt. yod-present *u̯eri̯e/a-zi* 'to call, name, order'. Hitt. also has the particle *-wa(r)-* that indicates direct speech, properly 'said (he)'; additionally, Ru. *vrat'*, 1sg. *vru* 'to lie' (< **vъrǫ*, **vъrati*) has been connected. Among the nouns, compare Av. *uruuāta-* [n.] 'pronouncement, order', from IE **ureh$_1$-to-*? See also ▶εἴρων.

εἴρων [m., f.] 'who suggests not to know what he does' (Ar., Arist.; cf. the description in Thphr. *Char.* 1, 1). ◁?▷

•DER εἰρωνικός 'like an εἴρων' (Pl.; cf. Fournier 1946: 88); denominative εἰρωνεύομαι [v.] 'simulate' (Att., Arist.) with εἰρωνεία 'irony' (Att., Hell.; cf. Büchner *Herm.* 76

(1941): 339ff.), εἰρωνεύματα [pl.] 'id.' (Max. Tyr.), εἰρωνευτής = εἴρων (Timo) and εἰρωνευτικός (sch.); also εἰρωνίζω 'id.' (Philostr. *VS* 7, 1; v.l.).
•ETYM Substantivizing and individualizing fomation in -ων (Chantraine 1933: 161; see also Hoffmann *MSS* 6 (1955): 35ff.) from an unknown basis. Solmsen 1901: 263 connected the word with ►εἴρω 'say' as "one who only says sth. (but does not mean it)"; is it derived from the present? Taken by Prellwitz 1892 as "one who asks", from εἴρομαι 'ask'.

εἰς [prep., adv.] 'towards' (epic Il., IA, Lesb.). ◅IE **h₁en* 'in'▻
•VAR Epic Ion. also ἐς < ἐνς (Cret., Arg.); details in Schwyzer 1950: 455f.
•ETYM Exists beside ἐν as ἐξ beside ἐκ, and was perhaps formed based on this opposition. Hence εἴσ-ω, ἔσ-ω [adv.] 'towards' (Il.), with added -ω (cf. ἄνω s.v. ►ἀνά).

εἷς [num.] 'one'. ◅IE **sem-* 'one'▻
•VAR Dor. ἧς; fem. μία, ntr. ἕν, gen. ἑνός, μιᾶς, etc.
•DIAL Myc. *e-me* dat. /ʰemei/.
•ETYM The pre-form *ἔνς (still visible in Gort. εν[δ] δ- < ἔνς δ-) derives from *ἔμ-ς, IE **sem-s*, beside which is a zero grade fem. ►μία < **sm-ih₂*. The gen. ἑν-ός replaced *ἑμ-ός after *ἔνς, ἕν. An old numeral, found in Lat. *sem-per* 'in one stroke, ever' and (though unclear in detail) in ToB *ṣe(me)*, A *sas* [m.], etc.; in Gm., it probably occurs in Go. *sin-teins* 'daily', etc., as well as in Arm. *mi* 'one' (generalized from the feminine). An ablauting variant is ►ὁμός, ἁμός, ►ἅμα with derivatives; note further ἴγγια· εἷς. Παφιοι H., with a velar suffix as in Lat. *singulī*.

ἐΐσκω ⇒ἔοικα.

εἴσομαι 1 ⇒οἶδα.

εἴσομαι 2 ⇒εἴδομαι.

εἴσομαι 3 [v.fut.] 'set oneself in movement, hurry'. ◅IE **uei(H)-* 'track down' (?)▻
•VAR Aor. (ἐ)είσατο.
•COMP Also with prefix: ἐπι- 'hasten against', κατα- 'hasten down', μετ- 'drive inbetween' (Hom.).
•ETYM Originally from (ϝ)ἴεμαι, acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v., so perhaps the word must be understood as (ϝ)ἴσομαι, ἐ(ϝ)ἴσατο, (ϝ)ἴσατο; the loss of the digamma facilitated the (semantic) connection with εἶμι 'go' (Chantraine 1942: 293 and 412). See ►ἵεμαι and LIV² s.v. **u̯eiH₁-* 'sein Augenmerk richten auf, trachten nach'.

εἴσω •VAR ἔσω. ⇒εἰς.

εἶτα [adv.] 'then, thereupon'. ◅IE **h₁e(i)-* dem. pron.▻
•VAR Ion. Mess. Boeot. εἶτεν; also ἔπ-ειτα, Ion. Dor. ἔπ-ειτε(ν).
•ETYM From ►εἰ and an adverbial element -τα, -τε(ν); there are no direct parallels outside Greek. Cf. Schwyzer: 629.

εἴτε 'sive – sive, whether – or', etc. (Il.).◅IE **h₁e(i)-* dem. pron.▻
•VAR Dor. αἴτε; often repeated εἴτε – εἴτε.

•ETYM From ►εἰ (Dor. αἰ) and enclitic ►τε < *k^we.

εἴωθα [v.] 'to be used to, use' (Il.). ◅IE *$sue\ d^heh_1$- 'character, custom'▻

•VAR ἔωθα (see Wissmann *MSS* 6 (1955): 124ff.), Lesb. εὔωθα, plpf. εἰώθειν, Ion. ἐώθεα.

•ETYM Old intransitive perfect of state. The denominative ἐθίζω (from ►ἔθος) functions as a transitive present with a complete inflexion (aor. ἐθίσαι, etc.); on supposed intr. *ἔθω, see ►ἔθων. H. offers the unclear glosses εὐέθωκεν· εἴωθεν (from *ἐθόω?, Bechtel 1921, 1: 88; 369; from *ϝϝεθ-), ἐθώκατι· εἰώθασιν; cf. Schwyzer: 775. The unexplained long vowel in *σέ-σϝωθ-α, whence εἴωθα (with Grassmann's dissimilation), etc., is also found in γέ-γων-α 'I can be heard', which is old, too. The long vowel also appears in ►ἦθος beside ►ἔθος. Cognate verbs are unknown, but the same univerbation of **sue* 'self' and *d^heh_1- 'to posit' is found in nominal formations: Lat. *sodālis* 'member of a fraternity' and Skt. *svadhā́*- [f.] 'custom, peculiarity, etc.'.

ἐκ ⇒ἐξ.

ἑκάεργος [adj.] epithet of Apollo (Il.), also of Artemis (Ar. *Th.* 972 [lyr.]). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Interpreted by the ancients as 'protecting at distance' or 'working at distance' (ἑκάς and εἴργω or ἔργον), but the word rather means 'freely working': i.e., it is a bahuvrīhi compound of *ἕκα < *ϝέκᾰ, an adverb in -ᾰ (σάφα, etc.) of ►ἑκών, and ἔργον. See Bechtel 1914 s.v., as well as Schwyzer: 439[8]. Cf. ►ἑκηβόλος. ἑκα- appears in a few PNs, such as Ἑκα-μήδη (Hom.) and Ἑκά-διος (Teos) (but Boeot. ϝεκά-δᾱμος, together with Thess. ϝεκέ-δᾱμος and Att. ►Ἀκάδημος is rather Pre-Greek).

ἑκάς [adv.] 'far, far away', both local and temporal (Il.); βεκάς· μακράν 'far' (H.). ◅IE *sue-$\acute{k}ns$?▻

•COMP Compar. ἑκαστέρω, superl. ἑκαστάτω.

•DER ἔκᾰ-θεν 'from afar' (Il.; cf. ἑκά-τερος), ἀφ-εκάς 'far off' (Nic.).

•ETYM Cf. ἀνδρα-κάς 'man for man' (ν 14); the word is from the reflexive/anaphoric pronoun ►ἕ, ἑ, so properly 'on itself? The same distributive suffix also occurs in Sanskrit, e.g. *parva-śás* 'limb by limb', *śata-śás* 'in hundreds, hundred by hundred' (AV+); cf. Schwyzer: 630 and Klingenschmitt 1975. The word εκαδι [dat.] (Dura, Hell.), name of an estate, is unclear; see Cumont *RPh.* 48 (1922): 104.

ἕκαστος [pron.] 'every one' (Il.). ◅GR▻

•VAR ϝέκαστος (Gort., El., NWGr., Arc.).

•DER Several adverbial derivatives: ἑκάστοτε 'every time' (IA), ἑκάστοθι 'in every place' (γ 8), ἑκασταχοῦ 'everywhere' and several formations with a suffix -χ-, further ἑκαστάκις 'on every occasion' (Corc.), etc.

•ETYM The solution of Wackernagel *KZ* 29 (1888): 144ff. is probably correct (see also Schwyzer: 630[4]): viz., that the word is from *ἑκάς τις 'every one for himself' (cf. εἷς τις 'unusquisque'). From *ἑκάς τεο > ἑκάστου, *ἑκάς τῳ > ἑκάστῳ, the other cases (like ἕκαστος, etc.) were formed, along with the superlative in -ιστος. When ἕκαστος was analyzed as ἕκα-στος, this led to the creation of ἑκάτερος (IA), ϝεκάτερος (Gort., Delph.) 'each of both' (based on ἄτερος, πότερος, etc.), with several adverbial derivatives like ἑκατέρωθεν, -ωθι, -ωσε (IA, etc.); note the form ἑκάτερθε(ν) 'on both

sides' (Il.), based on ὕπερθεν, ἔνερθεν, etc., for metrically awkward ἑκατέρωθεν. See Schwyzer: 627f., Lejeune 1939: 223f., Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 27 (1956): 8, and Lazzeroni *Ann. Pisa* 2:25 (1956): 136ff.

Ἑκάτη [f.] popular goddess originating from Anatolia (Hes. *Th.* 411ff.; *h. Cer.*), more specifically from Caria, and identified with Artemis (E. *Supp.* 676 [lyr.]); cf. Nilsson 1941: 722ff. ◁PG▷

•DER Ἑκαταῖος 'belonging to H.' (S., D.), also Ἑκατήσιος and Ἑκατικός 'id.' (late); Ἑκάταιον [n.] effigy of Hecate, which was put up in front of houses or on three-forked roads (Ar.), Ἑκατήσιον 'id.' (Plu.), Ἑκατήσια [n.pl.] festival in Cos. Several Anatolian PNs: Ἑκαταῖος, Ἑκατήνωρ, Ἑκατᾶς, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 150f.).

•ETYM Originally an epithet, assumed to have resulted from a cross of ▶ἑκατηβόλος or ▶ἑκηβόλος. However, I see no reason to assume that it had an initial digamma. More probably, of Pre-Greek origin.

ἑκατηβελέτης [adj.] epithet of Apollo (A 75, Hes. *Sc.* 100, *h. Ap.* 157; always in gen. -έτāο). ◁GR▷

•VAR After this ἑκατηβελέτις (*Theol. Ar.*).

•ETYM Either from the old full-grade aorist stem *$g^{w}elh_{1}$- of ▶βάλλω, or (better) for older *ἑκατη-βελής, with enlarging -της as in αἰει-γενέτης, for *αἰει-γενής, etc. after the example of cases like ἀκαλα-ρρεϝέ-της (> ἀκαλαρρεῖτης), νεφελ-ηγερέ-τα, etc.; cf. Schwyzer: 451f. The synonymous ἑκατη-βόλος, Dor. -ᾱ- (Il.) is a compound with βάλλω. The word ἑκατηβελέτης was already compared with ἑκη-βόλος by the ancients, and interpreted as 'hitting from afar' or as 'with a hundred shots'. Contrary to the latter sense – which was proposed by Wackernagel *IF* 45 (1926): 314ff., who translated 'hitting hundreds' – it must be objected that one would rather expect ἑκατομ- as a first member; cf. the old word ἑκατόμ-βη. The attractive connection with ἑκη-βόλος suggests that ἑκατη-βελέτης, -βόλος are metrically lengthened "Streckformen", perhaps adapted to ἑκατόν. The word ἑκατη-βόλος could be a cross of ἑκη-βόλος and the Apollonian epithet Ἕκατος (Il.); compare e.g. Ἰφι-τος for Ἰφι-κράτης, -κλῆς, etc. Acc. to von Wilamowitz 1931: 325, Ἕκατος, Ἑκάτη are from an Anatolian language and adapted by the Greeks to ἑκατηβόλος, ἑκηβόλος; however, ἑκά-εργος is certainly Greek. See further Schwyzer: 439[8] and Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 235f.

ἑκατόμβη [f.] name of a large, official festive sacrifice (Il.). ◁IE *$d\acute{k}mtom$-$g^{w}u$-eh_{2}- 'sacrifice of hundred cows'▷

•DER Ἑκατόμβαια [n.pl.] (Delph., Arg.) with the month name Ἑκατομβαιών, -ῶνος (Att., etc.), also Ἑκατομβεύς (Lacon.); Ἑκατόμβαιος epithet of Zeus and Apollo (H., *EM*).

•ETYM Collective bahuvrīhi of ἑκατόν and the zero grade of βοῦς, gen. βο(ϝ)ός, with a suffix -ᾱ- (Schwyzer: 450, Sommer 1948: 76); originally, *ἑκατόμ-βϝ-ᾱ. A counterpart is found in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt. *śata-gu-* 'possessing hundred cows', possibly through **śata-gv-a-*, *śata-gv-ín-* 'id.'; counterparts with a thematic vowel are the PNs *Dáśa-gv-a-*, *Náva-gv-a-* 'having ten (nine) cows'. The word is traditionally explained as the 'sacrifice of a hundred cows'; cf. Oettinger 2008b. Differently,

Thieme 1952: 62ff., who translates it as 'winning a hundred cows' (scil. δαίς). On the form, see Wackernagel *IF* 45 (1926): 319. After ἑκατόμβη was built the late (Jul.) χιλιόμβη.

ἑκατόν [num.] 'hundred'. ◁IE **dḱmtom* 'hundred'▷

•VAR Arc. ἑκοτόν.

•COMP As a first member in many compounds, like ἑκατόμ-πεδος 'measuring one hundred feet' (Ψ 164; see Sommer 1948: 28ff.); also ἑκατοντα- (after -κοντα-), e.g. ἑκατοντα-έτης 'one hundred years old' (Pi.).

•DER ἑκατοστός 'the hundredth' (IA) with ἑκατοστύς 'the hundred' (X.); ἑκατοστή [f.] 'contribution of one percent' with ἑκατοστ-ήριος, -ηρία, -ιαῖος, -εύω (Att.).

•ETYM Based on the comparison with Skt. *śatám*, Av. *satəm*, ToB *kante*, Lat. *centum*, OIr. *cét*, Go. *hund*, Lith. *šimtas*, and OCS *sъto*, we arrive at IE **ḱmtóm*. It is likely, however, that this had an initial **d-* because of the relationship with **deḱm*, etc. 'ten' (see ▸δέκα), so properly **dḱmtóm*. This **d-* was a preglottalized stop (**ˀd-*), which was reflected as ε- in Gr. ἑκατόν (on Arc. ἑκοτόν, see Schwyzer: 88, 344); see Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104. The aspiration was then taken from ἕν 'one' (see ▸ἑβδομήκοντα).

ἐκεῖ [adv.] '(over) there, to there' (Hdt.). ◁IE **(h₁)e-ḱe(i)-* 'there'▷

•VAR κεῖ (Archil., Herod.), κῆ (Sapph.), an old instrumental. From there (ἐ)κεῖθι, κῆθι 'id.', (ἐ)κεῖθεν 'from there', (ἐ)κεῖσε 'to there'.

•ETYM Ending as in πεῖ, πῆ 'where?', τεῖ-δε, τῆ-δε 'here', etc. (Schwyzer: 549f.) and, like these, probably an old locative/instrumental. The basis is a deictic particle, IE **ḱe*, **ḱi*, seen e.g. in Lat. *ce-do*, *hi-c*, *ci-s* and with pronominal function in Hitt. *ki* 'this', Lith. *šis* 'this', etc. (see also ▸τήμερον); the 3rd person deixis must then be a Greek innovation (cf. ▸ἐκεῖνος). The initial ἐ- (cf. ἐ-κεῖνος, ἐ-χθές) is an inherited demonstrative particle, as well: Oskc. *e-tanto* 'tanta', Ru. *é-tot* 'this', Skt. *a-sáu* 'that' (see ▸οὗτος).

ἐκεῖνος [dem. pron.] 'that one (over there), *ille*' (Il.), on the use Schwyzer 1950: 208f. ◁IE **h₁eno-* 'that'▷

•VAR Also κεῖνος (Il.), κῆνος (Aeol., Dor.; Dor. also τῆνος); with added deictic pcl. ἐκεινοσ-ί (Att.).

•DER ἐκείνως, -νη; κήνο-θεν (Alc.), τηνῶθε(ν) (Dor.) 'ἐκεῖθεν', material adjective ἐκείν-ινος 'from that material' (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation consists of several demonstrative elements: **ἐ-κε-ενος* (or **ἐ-κεῖ-ενος*, acc. to Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 169); the last element **h₁eno-* also occurs in the frozen form ▸ἔνη 'the third day', OCS *onъ* 'that', the Hitt. demonstr. pron. *aši-*,, *uni-*, and Lat. *enim* 'for' (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). On ἐ-κε-, see ▸ἐκει.

ἐκεχειρία [f.] 'truce, festive time' (Th., Att. inscr., etc.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Dor. ἐκεχηρία.

•DER Hence ἐκεχειρο-φόρος 'who transfers an ἐκεχειρία, mediator' (Max. Tyr., Poll.). Backformation (cf. ▸βίβλος) ἐκέχειρον, -χηρον [n.] 'travel permit when transferring

a truce' (Hell.), also ἐκεχείριον (Hell.); also ἐν-εκέχειρον, -χηρον 'id.' (Hell.); and μετ-εκέχηρον 'period between two festive times' (Olympia 24[a]).
•ETYM From ἔχειν χεῖρας, with the suffix -ία (cf. Schwyzer: 441; on the dissimilation, 261). Cf. Sommer 1948: 118f.

ἑκηβόλος [adj.] epithet of Apollo (Il.), later also of Artemis (S.), again later of objects. ◁IE **ueḱ-* 'wish, want'▷
•VAR Boeot. ϝεκαβόλος.
•DER ἑκηβολίη, -α (E 54 in plur.; Call., Str.) and denominative ἑκηβολέω (Max. Tyr.). Also ἑκηβελέτης 'id.' (Orph. *Fr.* 297, 11; cf. ἑκατηβελέτης).
•ETYM Metrical lengthening for *ἑκᾰ-βόλος, taken with ἑκάς in antiquity and interpreted as 'shooting/striking from afar' (thus Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 203f.). It is rather from ἑκών, as 'striking at will' (see ▶ἑκάεργος); ἑκηβολίη means 'accuracy, precision', but was probably already taken as 'shots from afar' by the poet of E 54 (Trümpy 1950: 114; see also Porzig 1942: 204 and 210).

ἕκηλος [adj.] 'untroubled, at one's ease, quietly'. ◁IE **ueḱ-* 'wish, want'▷
•VAR Dor. ἔκᾱλος.
•DER Also εὔκηλος, εὔκᾱλος (Il.). From it ἑκηλία· φιλοτησία 'of friendship', εὐκαλία· ἡσυχία 'quietness', εὐκαλεῖ· ἀτρεμίζει 'keeps quiet' (H.).
•ETYM Uncertain. The word is best taken, as per Buttmann 1825:1: 141, as *ϝέκᾱλος (= γέκαλον· ἥσυχον H.; on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 129f.), from *ϝέκᾰ in ▶ἑκάεργος, etc., with suffixal -ᾱλος, -ηλος (Chantraine 1933: 241f., Schwyzer: 484). Thus, it would properly mean "at will". εὔκηλος was formed after the numerous compounds with εὐ-; ▶δύσκηλος was modelled after it. The semantically attractive connection with Skt. *úcyati* 'to find pleasure, be used to', *ókas-* [n.] 'abode, residence', etc. would be fine for εὔκηλος (root **h₁euk-* 'get used to', see LIV[2]), but does not explain the form ἔκηλος.

ἔκητι [adv.] 'by the will of, for the sake of' (Od.). ◁IE **ueḱ-* 'wish, want'▷
•VAR Also ἔκᾱτι.
•COMP ἀέκητι 'against the will' (Hom.).
•ETYM Related to ἑκα-, ἑκών and ἀέκων, but the formation is unclear. See Leumann 1950: 251ff., who states that it was created after (θεῶν) ἰότητι for (θεῶν) ἀεκόντων.

ἔκπαγλος [adj.] 'terrible, surprising, tremendous' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•DER ἐκπαγλέομαι 'be surprised' (Hdt., trag.).
•ETYM Both ἔκπαγλος and ἐκπλαγότητα· ἐξαισιότητα (H.) are usually derived from *ἔκπλαγ-λος, related to ἐκπλαγ-ῆναι 'frighten' with dissimilatory loss of the first λ; this is quite possible.

ἐκποδών [adv.] 'out of the way, away, far' (IA). ◁GR▷
•ETYM From ἐκ ποδῶν with a shift of accent (Schwyzer: 389 and 625). Cf. ▶ἐμποδών.

ἐκτικός [adj.] 'regarding the ἕξις, i.e. the situation, the state of the body, regarding the state, usual, skillful' (Hell.); also name of a continuing (literally "hectical") fever (medic.; cf. Strömberg 1944: 85f.). ◁GR▷

•DER ἐκτικεύομαι 'suffer from ἐκτικός (πυρετός)' (Alex. Trall.).
•ETYM From ἕξις, related to ►ἔχω.

ἐκτός [adv.] and [prep.] 'outside, far from' (Il.). ◅IE **h₁egʰ-s* 'out'▻
•VAR ἐχθός (Locr., Delph.), [ἐ]κθός (Arg.).
•DER ἔκτο-θι 'id.' (Il.), ἔκτο-θεν (Od.), ἔκτοσ-θε(ν) (Il.) 'from outside', ἔκτο-σε '(to) outside' (ξ 277); ἐχθο-δαπός 'foreign, inimical' (Pergam. II^{p}, after ἀλλο-δαπός; associated with ἔχθος, ἐχθρός?), ἐχθόσ-δικος δίκα 'trial against a foreigner' (Arc. III^{a}; cf. Schwyzer 1950: 538); ἔχθοι 'outside' (Epid.; after οἴκοι, etc.), ἔχθω = ἔξω (Delph.). ἐκτό-της, -ητος [f.] 'absence, being far away' (Gal.).
•ETYM From ἐκ, shaped after ἐν-τός; ἐχθός derives from *ἐκσ-τός. See Schwyzer: 326 and 630 and Lejeune 1939 (see index). Cf. ►ἐξ and ►ἐχθρός.

Ἕκτωρ, -ορος [m.] son of Priamos and Hekabe, the greatest hero of the Trojans (Il.). ◅IE **segʰ-* 'hold'▻
•DER Ἑκτόρεος 'regarding Hektor' (Il.), perhaps Aeolic for -ριος (see e.g. Wathelet 1970: 159ff.). Patronymic Ἑκτορίδης = Astyanax (Il.).
•ETYM Derived from the root of ►ἔχω, and identical with the agent noun ἕκτωρ (see on ►ἔχω). The root originally meant 'to overpower, keep in check', thence 'to hold' in Greek.

ἑκυρός [m.] 'father of the husband, father-in-law' (Il.). ◅IE **sueḱuro-* 'father-in-law'▻
•DER ἑκυρά, -ή 'mother of the husband, mother-in-law' (Il.). Denominative Boeot. ἑκουρεύω 'be father-in-law' (Corinn.).
•ETYM Old kinship term, preserved in many languages: Skt. *śváśura-* (assimilated from **svaś-*), YAv. *xᵛasura-*, Lat. *socer*, OHG *swehur*, Lith. *šẽšuras* (assimilated from **seš-*), all of which are from IE **suéḱuro-*; the original anlaut can still be seen in the meter: φίλε (ϝ*h*)ἑκυρέ Γ 172 (cf. Schwyzer: 304 and Chantraine 1942: 146). The oxytonesis must be a Greek innovation (after ἑκυρά; cf. also πενθερός). To ἑκυρά corresponds Arm. *skesur* (< **ḱueḱurā-* with assimilation from **sueḱ-*), with the *ā*-stem replacing an older *ū*-stem; cf. Skt. *śvaśrū-*, MoP *xusrū*, Lat. *socrus*, MW *chwegr*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, and IE **sueḱrúH-* [f.]. Another innovation is Go. *swaihro* = ON *sværa* (*ōn*-stem), whence the new msc. Go. *swaihra*. In other languages, as well, the word for 'father-in-law' is sometimes derived from that for 'mother-in-law': thus clearly in Arm. *skesr-ayr*, lit. 'husband of the mother-in-law', MW *chwegr-wn*, MoHG *Schwiegervater* from *Schwieger(mutter)*; and probably in OCS *svekrъ*. This explains the oxytonesis in ἑκυρός. The word probably contains the reflexive **sue* (cf. ►ἀέλιοι); however, the ending is obscure. On ὑκερός, -ά with vowel metathesis (Lydia), see Schulze *KZ* 52 (1924): 152.

ἐκ-φλῆναι [v.aor.] 'bubble forward' (E. *Fr.* 470). ◅IE?? **bʰleu-* 'flow'▻
•ETYM Cf. the opposite ἀπο-σκλῆναι 'dry up', related to ►σκέλλω; further forms are unknown. The word has been connected with ►φλέω, ►φλύω 1. See also ►φελλός, φληνύω s.v. ►φληναφάω and ►ἐκ-φλυνδάνω.

ἐκ-φλυνδάνω [v.] 'to break out, burst up' (Hp.). ⇒φλύω 1.

ἑκών [ptc.] 'deliberate(ly)'. ◁IE **ueḱ-* 'wish, want'▷

•VAR Cret., Locr. ϝεκών; fem. ἑκοῦσα (Cyren. IV[a] ἑκασσα, Cret. ϝεκαθ<θ>α in γεκαθὰ· ἑκοῦσα 'willing' H.), ntr. ἑκόν; opposite ἀέκων, Att. ἄκων, ἀέκουσα, ἄκουσα (Dor. ἀέκασσα in <ἀέ>κασσα· ἄκουσα H.), ἀέκον, ἄκον 'involuntary, unwittingly' (Il.).

•DER ἑκούσιος [adj.] 'voluntary' (IA) with ἑκουσιότης (late), ἑκουσιάζομαι '(be) sacrifice(d) voluntarily' with ἑκουσιασμός 'voluntary sacrifice' (LXX); ἀεκούσιος, ἀκούσιος 'unvoluntary, reluctant, forced' (IA); ἑκοντ-ί, -ήν, -ηδόν 'voluntarily' (post-classical), ἑκοντής [m.] 'volunteer' (Epict.), like ἐθελοντής; Denominative ἀεκαζόμενος [ptc.] (Od., *h. Cer.*), after ἀναγκαζόμενος (Wackernagel *IF* 45 (1926): 314[2]).

•ETYM Old participle (cf. Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 283 and 286), identical with Skt. *uś-ánt-*, fem. *uś-at-ī́* (cf. Cyren. ἑκασσα < *ϝεκ-ϙτ-ι̯α) except for the root vocalism (on the spiritus asper, see Schwyzer: 227). The Greek full grade must originate from the lost indicative *ϝέκ-μι = Hitt. *u̯ekmi*, Skt. *váśmi* 'want, desire'. The origin of ἔκα- (**ueḱ-nt-*?) is unclear. Cf. ▸ ἑκάεργος and ▸ ἔκητι.

ἐλαία [f.] 'the olive (tree)' (Od.), rare ἔλαιος [m.] '(wild) olive' (Pi. *Fr.* 46, S. *Tr.* 1197). ◁PG▷

•VAR Att. also ἐλᾶα, Ion. ἐλαίη; Cypr. ἔλαιϝον (*Kadmos* 3, 1965, 148).

•DIAL Myc. *e-ra-wa*, *-wo* /elaiwa/, /-won/.

•COMP Many compounds, especially since Hellenistic times. As a first member ἐλαιο- does not only refer to ἔλαιον, but also to ἐλαία, e.g. ἐλαιό-φυτος 'planted with olives' (A.). As a second member in bahuvrīhis like ἄν-ελαιος 'without oil (olives)' (Thphr., Str.); in determinative compounds like ἀγρι-έλαιος = ἄγριος ἔλαιος (Thphr., etc.), χαμι-ελαία 'Daphne oleoides' (Nic.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257, Strömberg 1940: 110; γλυκ-έλαιον 'sweet oil', ὑδρ-έλαιον "water-oil", i.e. 'oil mixed with water' (late).

•DER ἔλαιον [n.] 'olive oil, oil in general' (Il.); on the pair ἐλαία (-ος) : ἔλαιον (distinguishing the tree from the product), see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 17, Schwyzer 1950: 30. Substantives: ἐλαῖς [f.], ἐλᾶδας [acc.pl.] 'olive trees' (Att.; see Chantraine 1933: 344), diminutive ἐλάδιον (-ίδιον) 'small olive tree', also (from ἔλαιον) 'a little oil' (Com., pap.); ἐλαιών, -ῶνος [m.] 'thicket of olives' (LXX, pap.), 'the olive mountain' (NT, J.), diminutive ἐλαιωνίδιον (pap.); ἐλαιεύς 'id.' (Chalkis; see Boßhardt 1942: 21f.). Adjective ἐλαΐνος, ἐλάϊνος 'of olive wood, belonging to the olive' (Il.), 'of olive oil' (Orph. *L.* 717); -ίνεος 'of olive wood' (ι 320 and 394; metrically convenient contamination of -ινος and -εος, Risch 1937: 122, S. Schmid 1950: 38); ἐλαϊκός 'of olive' (Aristeas, pap.); ἐλαιηρός 'regarding oil' (Hp., Pl., pap.; see Chantraine 1933: 232); ἐλαιώδης 'oily' (Hp., Arist.); ἐλαιήεις 'belonging to the olive' (S.; on the formation Schwyzer: 527). Denominative verbs: ἐλαΐζω 'to cultivate olives' with ἐλαιστήρ, -τής 'collector of olives' (Poll.) and ἐλαιστήριον 'olive press' (Mylasa); ἐλαιόομαι 'to be oiled' (Arist.) with ἐλαίωσις (Zos. Alch.).

•ETYM Lat. *olīva*, which was borrowed from Greek, proves a basic form *ἐλαίϝᾱ, with ἔλαιϝον (which is now found in Cypriot) corresponding to Lat. *oleum*. All other

European forms derive from Latin (see WH 2, 205f.). The word is no doubt Pre-Greek. Arm. *ewł* 'oil' may derive from the same source.

ἐλαίαγνος [m.] name of a shrub, *Salix Capra* (Thphr. *HP* 4, 10, 1; 2; Boeot.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Also ἐλέ- (H.).
•ETYM Perhaps a determinative compound from ▶ἐλαία and ▶ἄγνος; cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 305 and Strömberg 1937: 72.

ἐλάνη [f.] 'torch from reed, reed bundle' (Hell.). ◁PG(S,V)▷
•DER Also ἐλένη· λαμπάς, δετή 'torch, reed' (H.), also a twisted basket containing the sacred utensils for a festival of Artemis Brauronia, the so-called Ἑλενηφόρια (Poll.); to this ἐλένιος· ἀγγεῖον χωροῦν τέταρτον 'vessel containing a quarter' (H.).
•ETYM The plant name ἐλένιον is uncertain; see ▶Ἑλένη. For the instrument suffix -άνη, cf. σκαπάνη, πλεκτάνη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 199). Since -ένη is very rare (only in ὠλένη and Aeol. φερενα), assimilation from ἐλάνη was assumed (Schwyzer: 255f.). Because of the meaning 'reed-bundle, twisted basket', ἐλάνη, -ένη is usually related to ▶εἰλέω 'turn, wind', which can also account for the meaning 'torch' (cf. δεταί 'λαμπάδες, δράγματα'). Nevertheless, this etymology must be wrong, as ἐλάνη is most probably a Pre-Greek word (suffix -αν-, variation α/ε, meaning).

ἔλανος [m.] · ἰκτῖνος 'kite' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unknown. It is hardly related to ἐλαύνω, thus probably Pre-Greek.

ἐλάργει [v.] · ἔλαβεν, ἐπόρ<θ>ησεν, καθεῖλεν 'took, destroyed, reduced' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 35, the word is a denominative of *λαργός = Lat. *largus* (?). Unknown.

ἐλασᾶς [m.] "chaser", name of an unknown bird (Ar. *Av.* 886). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Accus. -ᾶ.
•ETYM Acc. to W. Petersen *Class. Phil.* 32 (1937): 129, the word is a formation in -ᾶς from ἐλάσαι, just as τρεσᾶς, χεσᾶς; it is hardly from *ἔλα-σος (Solmsen 1909: 245, Fraenkel 1912: 15f., Schwyzer: 461). Possibly Pre-Greek. DELG thinks that the word was coined by Aristophanes. See ▶ἐλέα.

ἐλάτη 1 [f.] 'pine, fir', metonymical 'rudder, ship', etc. (Il.). ◁?▷
•DER ἐλάτινός (metrical lengthening εἰλ-) 'made of fir' (Il.), ἐλατηΐς [adj., f.] 'like fir' (Nic.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 345f.).
•ETYM No certain etymology. If we reconstruct *$h_1l̥teh_2$, ἐλάτη might be connected with OHG *linta* 'linden', Lith. *lentà* 'board, plank', Lat. *lentus* 'pliant, flexible', etc. (cf. De Vaan 2008: 335).

ἐλάτη 2 [f.] 'the fruit enclosed by the spathe of the palm' (Dsc. 1, 109, 5). ◁?▷
•ETYM Etymology unknown. See DELG, Supp.

ἐλατίνη 'cankerwort, Linaria spuria' (Dsc. 4, 40). ◁?▷
•ETYM Etymology unknown.

ἐλαύνω [v.] 'to drive, push, forge (metal)', intr. 'to drive, ride' (on the mg. in the Epic see Trümpy 1950: 95f., 115f.). ◁IE *h_1elh_2- 'drive, move'▷

•VAR Also ἐλάω in ἐλάᾶν [inf.], ἐλάων [ptc.]; impf. ἔλων (Hom.), ipv. ἔλα (Pi.), ἐλάτω, -άντω, -άσθω (Dor. inscr.), etc. (further Schwyzer: 681f.); aor. ἐλάσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, fut. ἐλάω, perf. med. ἐλήλαμαι (Il.), -ασμαι (Hp., etc.), act. ἐλήλακα (Hdt.), aor. pass. ἐλα(σ)θῆναι (Hdt.).

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπ-, δι-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, περι-, προσ-, etc.

•DER Action nouns: ἔλασις 'march (of an army), ride, expulsion, etc.' (IA), often to the prefixed verbs: δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, περι-έλασις, etc.; rare ἐλασία 'ride, march' (X.) with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-ελασία (Hell.), after βο-ηλασία, etc. (from βο-ηλατέω, -άτης), cf. Schwyzer: 468f., Chantraine 1933: 83f.; ἔλασμα 'chased metal, tin, (medic.) probe' (Ph. *Bel.*, Gal.) with ἐλασμάτιον (Delos II^{a}, Dsc.); ἐλασμός = ἔλασμα, ἔλασις (Aristeas); ἔλατρον 'flat cake' (Milete V^{a}), cf. ἐλατήρ. Agent nouns: ἐλατήρ 'driver' (Il.) with ἐλατήριος 'driving off' (A. *Ch.* 968 [lyr.]), normally 'carrying away, purging', ntr. 'purgative' (Hp.; see Andre *Les ét. class.* 24, 41); ἐλατήρ 'flat cake' (Com.); ἐλάτης 'driver' (E. *Fr.* 773, 28 [lyr.]) from βοηλάτης (with βοηλατέω, -σία, see above), ἱππηλάτης, Fraenkel 1912: 31f.; ἐλάστωρ 'id.' (*App. Anth.* 3, 175); ἐλαστής 'id.' (*EM*); ἐλατρεύς· ὁ τρίτην πύρωσιν ἔχων τοῦ σιδήρου παρὰ τοῖς μεταλλεῦσιν 'thrice-forged iron' (H.); see Boßhardt 1942: 82f.; also as a PN (θ 111); see Boßhardt 1942: 120. Verbal adjective: ἐλατός 'malleable, beaten' (Arist.), ἐξ-ήλατος 'beaten' (M 295; several compounds like ἱππ-ήλατος, θε-ήλατος (IA); ἐλαστός 'id.' (pap.). Desiderative ἐλασείω (Luc.), iterative pret. ἐλάσασκεν (B 199). Cf. also ►ἐλασᾶς and '►Ελάστερος.

•ETYM The verbal root is ἐλᾰ- < *h_1elh_2-; ἐλαύνω derives from a verbal noun *ἐλα-ϝαρ, ἐλα-υν-ος (related to ἐλά-ω like *ἁλε-ϝαρ, ἀλέ-(ϝ)ατα to ►ἀλέω; s.v.). A secondary formation is ἐλαστρέω (see ►'Ελάστερος). There are no certain cognates; connection with Arm. *elanim* 'to become' is improbable, whereas Arm. *elanem* 'to go out, go up' belongs to the verbs in *-anem* = Gr. -άνω. The Celtic *nā*-present OIr. *ad-ellaim* 'to go to, visit' could belong to ►πίλναμαι. Other Celtic forms point to *(*p*)*el*-.

ἔλαφος [m., f.] 'deer, deer cow' (Il.). ◅IE *h_1el-*en*- 'deer▻

•COMP Note ἐλαφη-βόλος (with rhythmically preferable -η- for -ο-, Schwyzer 438f.) 'killing deer' (Σ 319, etc.) with ἐλαφηβολία 'deer hunt' (S.), ἐλαφηβόλια (sc. ἱερά) [n.pl.] name of a festival for Artemis (Phocis), whence the month name Ἐλαφηβολιών (treaty in Th. 4, 118). As a second member in determinative compounds like τραγ-έλαφος 'buck deer' (Ar., Pl.; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 56), also ἱππ-, όν-, ταυρ-έλαφος (Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ἐλάφιον (Ar. *Th.* 1172), ἐλαφίνης 'young deer, deer calf' (Aq., H.; see Chantraine 1933: 203); ἐλαφῆ 'deerskin' (Poll.); ἐλαφίαι· οἱ τῶν ἐλάφων ἀστράγαλοι 'the neck vertebrae of the deer' (H.); ἐλαφίς name of a water bird (Dionys. *Av.* 2, 11); see Thompson 1895 s.v.; ἐλάφειος 'of a deer' (X., Arist.); ἐλάφειον and ἐλαφικόν as plant names (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 118, Strömberg 1944: 50. On *Elaphe* as a name of a kind of snake and on MoGr. dialectal forms λαφιάτης, etc., see Georgacas 1956: 119f., 124f.

•ETYM The by-form ἐλλός 'deer-calf' (τ 228, Ant. Lib. 28, 3), which (with Aeolic development?) may stand for *ἐλ-νος (Lejeune 1972: 153, Schwyzer: 284), can be connected with a widespread name for 'deer': Arm. *elń*, gen. *elin*, Lith. *élnis*, OCS

jelenъ, MW *elain*, the Gaulish month name *Elembiu* (:Ἐλαφηβολιών?), ToA *yäl*, ToB *yal* 'gazelle'. Note also ἔνελος· νεβρός (H.) (if metathesized from **elen-*); the *n*-stem is probably also in ἔλαφος < **h₁elh₂-bʰo-* (cf. Skt. *vṛ́ṣan-* : *vṛṣa-bʰá-* and see Schwyzer: 495 and Chantraine 1933: 263).

ἐλαφρός [adj.] 'light, nimble, quick, small' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁leng^{wh}-ro-* 'light (of weight, movement)'▷

•COMP As a first member in ἐλαφρο-τοκία 'low rate of interest' (Pergamon II^{a}).

•DER ἐλαφρότης 'lightness, speed' (Pl., Plu.); ἐλαφρία 'lightness' (NT); Ἐλάφριος (μήν) month name (Cnidos); denominative verbs: ἐλαφρίζω 'enlighten, lessen', intr. 'be quick' (Archil., E.); ἐλαφρύνω 'enlighten' (late; after βαρύνω; Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 84); ἐλαφροῦται H. as an explanation of ἀλεγύνεται.

•ETYM Identical with a Gm. word: OHG *lungar*, OS *lungor* 'quick', OE *lungre* [adv.] 'quickly, soon' < IE **h₁lng^{wh}-ro-*. The root is also found in Skt. *rārahāṇa-* < **h₁le-h₁lng^{wh}-* (García Ramón *Sprache* 34 (1988-90): 30); see further ▶ἐλαχύς. Krahe 1955: 94 connects the Illyrian HN *Lambros* (Upper Italy) = ἐλαφρός.

ἐλαχύς [adj.] 'small' (Call. *Hec.* 3 K.). ◁IE **ĝʰlng^{wh}-u-* 'light, quick'▷

•VAR ἐλάχεια *h.Ap.* 197 (on the accent Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 115f., Schwyzer: 379; ι 116, κ 509 as a v.l. to λάχεια; cf. Leumann 1950: 54), ἐλαχύ (*AP*); msc. also ἔλαχος (Call., see Leumann 1950: 54).

•COMP As a first member in ἐλαχυ-πτέρυξ, [ἐλα]χύ-νωτος (Pi.).

•DER Grades of comparison: ἐλᾶσσων, -ττων [compar.] (Il.), ἐλᾰ́χιστος [superl.] (IA). From ἐλάσσων, -ττων (Schwyzer: 731f.): denominative ἐλασσόομαι, -ττόομαι 'to become smaller, be inferior, be damaged' (IA), -όω 'to diminish, damage' (Lys., Isoc.) with ἐλάττωσις 'diminution, disadvantage, want, loss' (Antipho Soph., Pl. *Def.*, Arist.) and ἐλαττωτικός 'not insisting on his rights, diminishing' (Arist.), ἐλάσσωμα, -ττωμα 'id.' (D.). From ἔλασσον-, -ττον- : ἐλαττον-άκις 'less often' (Pl., Arist., after πλεον-άκις), ἐλαττον-ότης 'be inferior' (Iamb.; beside μειζον-ότης); ἐλασσον-έω, -ττονέω 'have or give less, to be defective' (LXX, pap.), ἐλαττον-όω 'diminish' (LXX). From ἐλάχιστος: ἐλαχιστ-άκις 'very rarely' (Hp.), ἐλαχιστ-ιαῖος 'of smallest size, infinitesimal' (Diog. Oen. 2).

•ETYM Old adjective, identical with Skt. *laghú-*, *raghú-* 'quick, light, small', YAv. *rəuuī-* [f.] 'agile, fast, quick' (< **rayu̯ī-*), all of which are from an IE zero grade **h₁lng$^{(w)h}$-ú-*. The full grade of the root **h₁leng^{wh}-* is found in Av. *rəŋjiiō* [compar.], in Lith. *lengvas*, in Go. *leihts* 'light, easy' (if it derives from PGm. **linχta-* [IE **h₁leng^{wh}-to-*]), and in ToB *lańk$_{u}$tse* 'light'. A form without the nasal and with short *e* is Lat. *levis* 'light, small, quick'; with problematic root vocalism, OCS *lьgъ-kъ* 'light'; with *a*-vowel, Celt., e.g. OIr. *laigiu* 'smaller, worse' [compar.] < PCl. **lag-i̯ōs*. There is no uniform explanation for all these forms, although it seems that the nasalless root is the oldest (cf. De Vaan 2008). We then have to assume that the forms with nasal were influenced by the old nasal present seen in Skt. *rámhate* 'hastens', OIr. *-ling* 'to leap'. In Greek, the long vowel in ἐλᾶσσων is secondary; see Schwyzer: 538 and Seiler 1950: 43f.

ἐλάω ⇒ ἐλαύνω.

ἔλδομαι ⇒ ἐέλδομαι.

ἐλέα [f.] kind of singing bird, perhaps 'reed warbler, Salicaria arundinacea' (Arist. *HA* 616b 13). See Thompson 1895 s.v. ◁PG?▷
•VAR ἔλεια (Call. *Fr.* 100c 14), ἐλεᾶς [m.] (Ar. *Av.* 302; on the formation Schwyzer: 461, Chantraine 1933: 31); also ἔλαιος [m.] (Alex. Mynd. *apud* Ath. 2, 65b).
•ETYM Formation and origin unclear. Compared with the Italo-Celtic name of the swan, Lat. *olor*, OIr. *elae*, as well as MoSw. *al(l)a*, *al-fågel* 'Fuligula glacialis' (Lidén *Arkiv f. nord. Fil.* 13 (1897): 30f.). Other European words for 'swan' have also been adduced, such as Ru. *lébed'* and OHG *albiz*, of which the analysis is unclear. If the latter really contained an element **al-*, one may assume European substrate origin (acc. to De Vaan 2008 s.v. *olor*). However, the word is probably Pre-Greek (note ε/ ει/ αι).

ἐλέατρος ⇒ ἐλεόν.

ἐλεγαίνειν [v.] = παραφρονεῖν, ἀσελγαίνειν, ἀκολασταίνειν 'to be beside oneself, behave licentiously, be licentious', *EM* 152, 51; 327, 6. ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Reminiscent of λέγαι, an attribute of γυναῖκες (Archil. 179), which was connected with λάγνος by Solmsen 1901: 111. The word was subject to folk-etymological influence by ἔλεγος; cf. *EM* 327, 6: καὶ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον μέτρον ἀπὸ τούτου κληθῆναι τινὲς νομίζουσιν 'the elegiac meter was also named after this, according to some', but this is a mere guess. The word is probably Pre-Greek because of the prothetic vowel (Fur.: 376).

ἔλεγος [m.] 'mourning song (accompanied by flute)' (E., Ar.). ◁PG?▷
•COMP Compounds ἰαμβ-έλεγος and ἐλεγ-ίαμβος, names of verses (gramm.); see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 284f.
•DER ἐλεγεῖον a verse, 'distichon', and a poem following this scheme; poetical 'inscription' (Att., etc.) with ἐλεγειο-ποιός, -γράφος (Arist.); diminutives ἐλεγ(ε)ίδιον and ἐλεγ(ε)ιδάριον (late); adj. ἐλεγειακός (D. H., Ath.); also ἐλεγεία (Str., Plu.) and, as an adjective, ἐλεγεῖον (δίστιχον, Ael.); also a fish, ἐλεγῖνος (Arist. *HA* 610b 6), named after its sound? See Strömberg 1943: 74.
•ETYM Anatolian (Phrygian?) origin was considered by Hommel *RhM* 88 (1939): 194. Incorrectly, Theander *Eranos* 15 (1915): 98ff. (who believes the word is related to ἐλελεῦ, ὀλολύζω); cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 9 (1918): 228 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 220. From ἐλεγεῖον was borrowed Lat. *ēlogium* (influenced by λόγος); see WH s.v. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

ἐλέγχω [v.] 1. 'to revile, disgrace' (Hom.); 2. 'to cross-examine, bring to proof, accuse, question' (Hdt., Pi., Att.); on the mg. Daux *REGr.* 55 (1942): 252ff. ◁IE? **h₁leng^{h}-* 'revile'?▷
•VAR ἐλέγξαι (Il.), fut. ἐλέγξω, aor. pass. ἐλεγχθῆναι with ἐλεγχθήσομαι, perf. ἐλήλεγμαι, 3sg. -γκται (Att.).
•DER To 1. ἔλεγχος [n.] (like ὄνειδος) 'revile, disgrace' (Hom., Hes., Pi.), plur. also of persons, 'coward'; msc. ἐλεγχέες (Δ 242, Ω 239; but see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἐλεγχής, Frisk 1935: 19f., Sommer 1948: 137); superlative ἐλέγχιστος (Hom.; Seiler 1950: 83f.);

from ἔλεγχος also ἐλεγχείη 'id.' (Il.). To 2. ἔλεγχος [m.] (like λόγος) 'proof, refutation, examination' (Hdt., Pi., Att.); ἔλεγξις 'id.' (LXX, NT, Philostr.) together with jocular ἐλεγξῖνος (D. L.); ἐλεγμός 'id.' (LXX, NT); ἐλεγκτήρ 'who proves' (Antipho; Ionic? See Fraenkel 1912: 52); ἐλεγκτικός 'fit for ἐλέγχειν' (Att., etc.).

•ETYM The word used to be connected with ἐλαχύς, which is possible semantically (MoHG *schmähen*, 'disgrace', OHG *smähen* 'make small', from *smāhi* 'small'), but phonetically, the etymology would imply that ἐλέγχω (for **ἐλέμφω < IE *h_1leng^{wh}-) has its -χ- from ἐλαχύς, ἐλάσσων (< *ἐλάχ-ι̯ων), ἐλάχιστος. This is not very likely. Nowadays, it is mostly accepted that Hitt. *li(n)k-^{zi}* 'to swear' is related (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), as well as OHG *ant-lingen* 'to answer' (Tischler).

ἐλεδώνη [f.] a kind of octopus (Arist. *HA* 525a 17), cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. ◁PG▷

•VAR Also ἐλ-. Further δελεδώνη· ὁ μύλλος ἰχθύς 'the fish Sciaena umbra'.

•ETYM Formation in -ώνη (seen in plant names; cf. χελώνη, γογγρώνη, etc.); further unknown. "Ohne Zweifel Mittelmeerwort" (Frisk).

ἑλεῖν [v.aor.] 'to take, seize', med. 'to take for oneself, pick out, choose' (Il.). ◁IE *$selh_1$- 'take'▷

•VAR Iterative preterite ἔλεσκον.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀφ-, ἀν-, ἐξ-, προ-, etc. As a first member in ἑλέ-π(τ)ολις 'conquering cities', epithet of Helena (A. *Ag.* 689 [lyr.]); also name of a siege machine (Ph. *Bel.*); ἑλέν<υ>ς (A. ibid.) with reference to Helena.

•DER ἕλωρ [n.] (only nom.acc.sg. and pl.) 'plunder, capture, booty' (Il.); also ἑλώριον 'id.' (Schwyzer: 470[4]).

•ETYM As some attestations suggest an initial ϝ- (differently, Solmsen 1901: 251[1]), Chantraine 1933: 219, Chantraine 1942: 152 has proposed an alternation *$s\u̯el$-/ *sel*- and connection with ἁλίσκομαι, Lat. *vellō*, but this is impossible since the aor. ἑάλων points to *-h_3 (see LIV[2] s.v. *$\u̯elh_3$-). Beside ἑλεῖν, Gm. has a yod-present in Go. *saljan* 'to offer, sacrifice', ON *selja* 'to render, sell', OHG *sellen* 'to render, give up', etc. with the deverbal nouns ON *sal(a)* 'rendition, sale', OHG *sala* 'rendering', etc. Because of its meaning, this Gm. word is generally considered a causative of ἑλεῖν ("nehmen machen"), but this is unnecessary; cf. ►αἴνυμαι 'to take' next to related ToA *e*-, ToB *ai*- 'to give', and also e.g. ON *fá* (= Go. *fahan*) 'to take' and 'to give'. The appurtenance of OCS *sъlati* 'to send' and Lat. *cōn-silium* 'counsel' is possible; see Derksen 2008 s.v. *sъlàti and De Vaan 2008 s.v. *cōnsulō*, as well as LIV[2] s.v. *$selh_1$- 'nehmen'. As a suppletive verb of ἑλεῖν, Greek has ►αἱρέω. Acc. to Schrijver 1995: 437[1], OIr. *selb* and W *helw* 'possession' are perfect cognates of Gr. ἑλεῖν. De Vaan (ibid.) also mentions OIr. *ad-roilli*, *do-slí* 'to earn', MW *dyrllid* 'to earn', Co. *deleth* 'to be appropriate', and MBret. *dellit* 'to earn' (< *tu-ari/ro-) < PCl. *-*sli̯e/o*- (<< *$s(e)lh_1$-*e/o*-).

ἐλειός [m.] 'a kind of dormouse, Myoxus glis' (Arist. *HA* 600b 12); also = εἶδος ἱέρακος 'kind of hawk' (H.) (?). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also ἐλ-.

•DER Beside it ὄλιος· σκίουρος, ἐλειός 'squirrel, è.' (H.), together with lower Ital. *oḍḍío*, etc. 'id.'; Rohlfs 1930: Nr. 621.

•ETYM Unknown. Probably Pre-Greek.

ἐλελεῦ [interj.] cry of pain (A. *Pr.* 877), battle cry (Ar. *Av.* 364: ἐλελελεῦ), cry in general (Plu. *Thes.* 22). ◁ONOM▷

•DER ἐλελίζω, aor. ἐλελίξαι 'raise a cry of pain or of war (ἐλελεῦ)' (Ar., E.); also ἐλελύσδω (Sapph. 44, 31 LP; v.l. ὀλολύσδω).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic interjection; cf. ἁλαλά, -άζω, and ὀλολύζω. See Schwyzer 716 and Schwyzer 1950: 600f.

ἐλελίζω [v.] 1. 'to shake', med.-pass. 'to tremble, be shaken', 2. 'to turn round (trans. and intr.)' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁leiǵ-* 'tremble'▷

•VAR Aor. ἐλελίξαι, pass. ἐλελιχθῆναι, 3sg.pret. ἐλέλικτο, perf. med. ἐλέλιγμαι (Hell.).

•COMP As a first member (cf. Schwyzer: 444: 3) in ἐλελί-χθων 'shaking the earth' (Pi. *P.* 2, 4), 'earth-shaker', epithet of Poseidon (Pi. *P.* 6, 50), of Dionysus (S. *Ant.* 153); also in ►ἐλελίσφακος, -ον.

•ETYM To be distinguished from ἐλελίζω 'to raise a cry' (see ►ἐλελεῦ). Two verbs seem to have merged in the aorist forms ἐλέλιξα, ἐλελίχθην: 1. a reduplicated present ἐλελίζω 'to shake'; 2. an augmented *ἐ-ϝέλιξα from the present (ϝ)ελίσσω 'to turn' (see ►ἕλιξ). The pret. ἐλέλικτο refers to a snake in A 39 and therefore belongs to 2. as *ϝεϝέλικτο 'twisted itself'; the expression ἔγχος ... σειόμενον ἐλέλικτο N 558 may represent the turning or whirling, as well as the shaking movement. It is no longer possible to distinguish the two. Cf. Chantraine 1942: 132, as well as Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἐλελίζω. In the meaning 'to shake', ἐλελίξαι, ἐλελίζω is connected with Skt. *réjate* 'to tremble, shake', *réjati* 'to make tremble', Khot. *rrīys-* 'to tremble', Go. *laikan* 'to jump', etc.; it presupposes that -ίξαι, -ίζω is part of the root, on which see Risch 1937: 298ff.

Formerly, a reduplicated aorist ἐ-λέ-λιξ-α was reconstructed, to which the passive aorist ἐ-λελίχ-θην was formed, but the ἐ- in the present ἐ-λελίζω cannot be explained in this way; the root had an initial laryngeal, **h₁leiǵ-*. The reduplication may be a Greek innovation. Note the similarity in the formation of Skt. *rejata kṣā́ḥ* 'the earth quaked' (RV) with Gr. ἐλελί-χθων.

ἐλελίσφακος [m.] kind of sage, 'Salvia triloba' (Thphr.). ◁GR▷

•VAR ἐλελίσφακον [n.] (Dsc.). On the gender see ►διόσπυρον.

•DER ἐλελισφακίτης (οἶνος; Dsc., Plin.; Redard 1949: 96).

•ETYM Properly "trembling sage-apple", related to ►ἐλελίζω, because of the trembling fruits (Strömberg 1940: 76). On the apocopated form λελίσφακος (Dsc.) and MoGr. ἁλισφακιά (after ἅλς 'sea'), etc., see Strömberg 1944: 44.

ἔλεμος ⇒ἔλυμος.

Ἑλένη [f.] daughter of Zeus and Leda, sister of the Dioskouroi, wife of Menelaos (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Ἑλένεια· ἑορτὴ ἀγομένη ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'a festival celebrated by the Laconians' (H.).

•ETYM Nilsson 1941(1): 315 assumes that Helena is an old Minoan goddess of vegetation, who was connected with the tree-cult. The plant name ἐλένιον (Thphr.,

Dsc.) was derived from this use, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 130. Connection with the appellative ἑλένη (see ►ἑλάνη) is rather uncertain. See e.g. Linsay 1974: 209ff. De Simone *Glotta* 56 (1978): 40-42 argues that the form had a ϝ- and goes back to **suel-* (Skt. *svarati* 'lights'), with a variant with **s-*.

ἑλεόν [n.] 'table on which the roasted meat was put' (I 215, ξ 432 ἐλεοῖσιν, Ar. *Eq.* 152, 169 τοὐλεόν). ◄?►

•COMP ἐλεο-δύτης 'cook at the Delian sacrifices' (Ath. 4, 173a: διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐλεοῖς ὑποδύεσθαι διακονοῦντες ἐν ταῖς θοίναις 'because they dive under the ἐλεοί when serving at the meals'.

•DER ἐλέατρος 'seneschal, steward' (pap. III[a]), εἰλέατρος (Pamphil. in Ath. 4, 171b, metrically lengthened?), or oxytone -τρός as in δαιτρός, etc.

•ETYM Technical word without etymology. On the formation, cf. κολεόν, στελεόν, θυρεός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 51); on the meaning, Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 272ff.

ἔλεος 1 [m.] 'compassion, pity' (Il.); acc. to Schadewaldt *Herm.* 83 (1955): 131ff. rather 'pain, lament, commotion' than 'compassion'; criticism by Pohlenz *Herm.* 84 (1956): 49ff. ◄IE? **h₁leu-* 'compassion'?►

•VAR Hell. also ntr., see Schwyzer 1950: 38.

•COMP As a second member in νηλ(ε)ής, -ές 'without compassion, merciless' (Il.) < **n̥-h₁leu-es-*; beside it ἀν-ηλεής 'id.' (And., Hell.).

•DER ἐλεόν [adv.] 'pitiful' (Hes. *Op.* 205), ἐλ(ε)εινός 'rousing compassion, plaintive' (Il.), (after ἀλ(ε)γεινός and the adjectives in -εινός (Chantraine 1933: 195f.) rather than from late τὸ ἔλεος; ἐλεήμων 'compassionate, pitiful' (ε 181, Att., Hell.), from ἐλεέω (cf. Chantraine 1933: 173), with ἐλεημοσύνη 'compassion' (Call.), 'alms' (LXX, NT); with internal shortening ἐλεημο-ποιός 'giving alms' (LXX); ἐλεητικός = ἐλεήμων (Arist.; from ἐλεέω). Denominative verbs: ἐλεέω, aor. ἐλεῆσαι 'show compassion' (Il.) with ἐλεητός = ἔλεος (ξ 82, ρ 451; Porzig 1942: 182; on the semantics Benveniste 1948: 66); ἐλεήμιων, ἐλεητικός see above; ἐλεαίρω 'id.' (Il.; ἐλέηρα A. R. 4, 1308) after ἐχθαίρω etc. (Risch 1937: 286; not from *ἐλε-ϝαρ as per Benveniste 1935: 112 and Schwyzer: 724); βλεερεῖ· οἰκτείρει. Βοιωτοί 'to pity (Boeot.)' (H.), mistake for ἐλεαίρει?

•ETYM No etymology. Origin as an interjection (cf. ►ἐλελεῦ, ►ὀλολύζω, etc.) is possible (see Pok. 306).

ἐλεός 2 [m.] an owl (Arist. *HA* 592b 11, see Thompson 1895 s.v.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unexplained. Onomatopoeic? Cf. e.g. Lat. *ulula* and ►ἐλελεῦ, ►ὀλολύζω.

ἑλεσπίδας [acc.pl.] of πίσεα, perhaps 'marsh-lands, swamp lands' (A. R. 1, 1266). ◄?►

•ETYM The analysis in ἕλος 'swamp' and a root noun *σπίς (*ἑλε[σ]-σπίδ-), which would be cognate with ►σπίδιος, ►ἀσπιδής, and even with ►ἀσπίς, is morphologically far from convincing. See Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀσπίς and Schwyzer: 507. The connection with the gloss λέσπιν· μεγάλην, ὑδρηλήν 'large, moist' remains unclear. Δίδυμος τὴν καταδυομένην εἰς πέλαγος πέτραν. οἱ δὲ τὴν νοτεράν 'In D. a rock submerged into the sea, others: a wet [rock]'. ἄλλοι δὲ σπίδα (leg. λέσπιδα?) βαθεῖαν 'a deep cave[?]'. οἱ δὲ λόχμην 'a lair' (H.). See Taillardat *REGr.* 73 (1960): 13.

Perhaps -πιδ- is the same element as contained in πίδαξ 'source, geyser' (Van Beek p.c.). See ►ἔλος.

ἐλεύθερος [adj.] 'free, free man', opposed to δοῦλος 'slave' (Il.). ◄IE *h_1leud^h- 'grow up, come out'►

•DIAL Myc. *e-re-u-te-ro* /eleut^{h}eros/.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. ἐλευθερό-στομος 'with free mouth' (A.); as a second member e.g. in ἀπ-ελεύθερος 'freed man' (Att.), mostly taken as deverbal to ἀπ-ελευθερόω 'liberate, make into a freed man' (Pl., Arist.); Schwyzer: 421, Strömberg 1946: 39f. with litt.

•DER ἐλευθερία 'freedom' (Pi.) with ἐλευθεριωτικός 'proclaiming freedom' (Him.); denominative verbs: ἐλευθερόω 'liberate' (IA) with ἐλευθέρ-ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής; ἐλευθερεσθείς (Thess., Schwyzer 736 with lit.); ἐλεύθέριος 'as a free man' (IA), also as an epithet of Zeus (Pi., Hdt., because of the victory on the Persians) with Ἐλευθεριών month name (Halicarnassus); ἐλευθεριότης 'open-heartedness, liberality' (Pl.) and the denominative ἐλευθεριάζω 'speak and act as a free man' (Pl.); ἐλευθερικός 'belonging to a free man' (Pl. *Lg.* 701e beside δεσποτικός; 919e beside the bahuvrīhi ἀν-ελεύθερος; cf. Chantraine 1956a: 146). Cret. ἐλούθερος with secondary voalism (Schwyzer: 194).

•ETYM An adjective in the meaning 'free' is also found in Lat. *līber*, *-era*; as a theonym = Venet. *Louzera*, Pelign. *loufir*, Osc. (*Iúveis*) *Lúvfreis* = (*Iovis*) *Līberī*; cf. Falisc. *lōferta* = *līberta*, OLat. *loebertāt-em* = Falisc. *loifirtat-o*. The starting point was an old word for 'people', which is found in Gm. and BSl.: OHG *liut* 'people', *liuti* [pl.], OE *lēod* 'people', Lith. *liáudis* 'lower people', OCS *ljudije*, Ru. *ljúdi* [pl.] 'men, people', all of which are from IE *h_1leud^h-o-, *-i-*; from the same root with different suffixes are also Burgund. *leudis* 'a free man', OCS *ljudinъ* 'free man', so that ἐλεύθερος, *līber* (< IE *h_1leud^h-ero-*) must originally have meant 'belonging to the tribe', as opposed to subjected peoples. The root is probably the same as that of ►ἐλεύσομαι; see LIV^2 s.v. *$h_1leu̯d^h$- 'steigen, wachsen', who assume a development 'frei' ← 'rechtsmündig' ← *'erwachsen' for ἐλεύθερος. A reflex of the initial laryngeal is also seen in Skt. *vī-rúdh-* 'plant', *anū-rúdh-* 'growing along' (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 467ff.). Of foreign origin, but perhaps reshaped after ἐλεύθερος and with oppositive accent, is the PlN Ἐλευθεραί, whence Ἐλευθερεύς as an epithet of Dionysus; cf. on Εἰλείθυια and Ἐλευσίς. On the semantics, see Benveniste 1969:1: 321ff.

ἐλεύθω ⇒ἐλεύσομαι.

ἐλεύσομαι [v.fut.] 'come, go' (epic Ion., trag.). ◄IE *h_1leud^h- 'grow up, come out'►

•VAR Aor. ἦλυθον, perf. εἰλήλουθα ('Attic reduplication' from *h_1le-h_1loud^h-, with metrical lengthening), ptc. ἐ(ι)λελουθώς (epic), ἐλήλυθα (post-Hom.), plur. also ἐλήλυμεν, -τε (Att. Com.), Cyren. ptc. κατ-ελελευθυῖα (Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 88f.). Rare trans. (factitive) forms in Doric: ἐλευσίω· οἴσω 'I shall carry' (H.), 3pl.aor. ἐλεύσαν (Ibyc.), ἐπ-ελευσεῖ, ἐπ-ελεῦσαι (Gortyn) 'bring'. As a present, ►ἔρχομαι is used.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀν-, ἀπ-, δι-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.

•DER ἔλευσις 'arrival' (*Act. Ap.* 7, 52), also from the compounds (mostly rare, all late), e.g. συν-, ἐπ-έλευσις. Older the common noun ἴλυσις 'walk, way' (E.), ἐξ-, περι-ήλυσις (Hdt.), etc. (cf. Holt 1941: 58 and 149) with compositional lengthening (ἴλυσις after the compounds), and the same vowels as in the compounds νέ-ηλυς, -δος 'newly arrived' (Il.), ἔπ-ηλυς 'immigrated, foreigner' (Hdt., ἐπ-ηλύ-της Th.), etc.; προσ-ήλυ-τος 'newly arrived, proselyte' (LXX, NT), etc.; further the abstracts ἐπ-ηλυσίη (*h.Hom.*), κατ-, συν-ηλυσίη (Hell.).

•ETYM The best agreement (semantically and formally) to this old ablauting verb is found in Celtic, with the OIr. preterite *lod, luid* 'I, he went' (< **h₁lud^{h}-om, -et* : ἤλυθον, -ε); formally as good, but semantically less convincing, is the further comparison with Skt. *ró(d)hati*, Go. *liudan* 'to grow, rise' (whence the old word for 'people', OHG *liut*, etc.; see ►ἐλεύθερος). One must assume that -θ- (IE **-d^{h}-*) disappeared analogically in ἤλυσις, ἐλήλυμεν, -τε as well as in (νέ)-, (προσ)-ήλυτος (in other words, these are built secondarily on ἐλεύσομαι); cf. Schwyzer: 704^{2}, 769^{7}. It seems less probable that the dental of Celtic, etc. was a secondary enlargement. Connection with Arm. *eluzanem* 'extract' is further possible. Cf. also ►ἐλθεῖν.

ἐλεφαίρομαι [v.] 'to deceive' (Ψ 388, τ 565), also 'to damage, destroy' (Hes. *Th.* 330). ◅?▻

•VAR Aor. ptc. ἐλεφηράμενος.

•DIAL Myc. PN *e-re-pa-i-ro* /Elep^{h}airōn/?

•ETYM In H. there are also active forms (ἐλεφαίρειν, ἐλεφῆραι), explained with (ἐξ)απατᾶν, βλάπτειν, ἀδικεῖν 'deceive, damage, do injustice'. Old, rarely occurring epic expression with unstable meaning, of unclear formation und uncertain etymology. The ending -αίρω seems to point to an *r*-stem (*ἔλεφαρ?), but could also be suffixal. The stem recurs in PN Ἐλεφ-ήνωρ, but possibly stands for *Ελεφηρ-ήνωρ with dissimilatory shortening (Sommer 1948: 170^{2}). Within Greek, it is compared to ὀλοφώϊος 'deceitful, noxious', which itself is unclear.

An acceptable connection would be with Lith. *vìlbinti* 'allure, befool'. Cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Schwyzer: 724. Gotō 1995: 365-370 suggests that it be connected with Skt. *upa-valhate* 'to puzzle, confuse by means of riddles', if Skt. *-valhate* goes back to **-valbhate*. However, if the Mycenaean PN is related, the comparisons with Skt. and Lith. are impossible (Myc. has no initial *u̯*-).

ἐλέφᾱς, -αντος [m.] 'ivory, elephant tusk' (Il.), 'elephant' (Hdt.), also as the name of a disease = ἐλεφαντίασις, see Strömberg 1937: 193. ◅LW Eg.▻

•DIAL Myk. *e-re-pa, e-re-pa-to, e-re-pa-te /elep^{h}ans/*, etc.

•COMP As a first member in both mgs., ἐλεφαντό-πους 'with ivory feet' (Pl. Com.), ~ -μάχος 'fighting elephants' (Str.).

•DER Diminutive ἐλεφαντίσκιον 'young elephant' (Ael.); adjectives ἐλεφάντινος 'of ivory' (Alc., Att.), -ίνεος 'id.' (inscr.; on the formation cf. Chantraine 1933: 203), ἐλεφάντ-ειος 'belonging to an elephant' (Dsc., Opp.), -ώδης 'elephant-like' (medic.), -ιωδής 'suffering from [the disease] ἐ-.' (medic.); substantives ἐλεφαντιστής 'elephant driver' (Arist.), also 'shield from elephant skin' (App.), ἐλεφαντεύς 'ivory worker' (pap.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἐλεφαντ-ιάω 'suffer from [the disease] ἐ-.'

(Phld., medic.) with -ίασις, also -ιασμός (*EM*); 2. -όω 'inlay with ivory' with -ωτός (inscr.).

•ETYM Like Lat. *ebur*, ἐλέφας is a foreign word. Except for the ντ-suffix, the final part recalls Eg. *āb(u)*, Copt. εβ(ο)υ 'elephant, ivory'; the beginning recurs in Hamit. *eḷu* 'elephant' (whence through Egyptian mediation [article *p-*] MoP *pīl*, Arab. *fīl*); the details remain unclear. From ἐλέφας comes Lat. *elephās, elephantus*, whence the Gm. and Romance forms. See Lokotsch 1927: Nr. 605 and Mayrhofer *EWAia*(3): 28.

ἐλθεῖν [v.aor.] 'to come, go' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Ind. ἦλθον, epic lyr. also ἤλυθον (see ►ἐλεύσομαι), subj. ἔλθω, etc.

•DIAL See also on Dor. ►ἐνθεῖν.

•COMP Often with prefix ἀν-, ἀπ-, δι- εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.

•ETYM Because of their semantic and functional identitity, ἤλυθον and ἦλθον can hardly be separated from each other. As ἤλυθον is limited to the epic and lyrics, and has an acceptable IE etymology, it is generally regarded to be the original form. Improbable suggestions about the origin of ἦλθον are given in Frisk s.v. (by Johansson, Wackernagel, Schulze). Szemerényi 1964: 3 takes ἐλθεῖν to be syncopated from ἐλυθεῖν. It is often believed that the υ was lost in the imperative ἐλθέ, which had oxytone accent. The form ►ἐνθεῖν probably arose by a dialectal Doric development, but it has also been connected with Skt. *ádhvan-* 'road', OAv. *aduuan-* (both from **h₁ŋd*ʰ*-uen-*).

ἑλίκη 1 [f.] 'willow' (*IG* 1², 864: ορος ηελικης Att.); acc. to Thphr. *HP* 3, 13, 7, Arcadian for ἰτέα. ◅?▻

•DIAL Myc. *e-ri-ka* /helikā/.

•DER Ἑλικών, -ῶνος (Hes. *Op.* 639, ϝελ- Corinna) "willow-mountain, Viminalis" (Boeotia) with Ἑλικών-ιος, [f.] -ιάς, -ίς (Υ 404 Ἑλικώνιος ἄναξ of Poseidon, s.v. von Wilamowitz 1931: 213 and 336², Nilsson 1941(1): 447⁶) Hes., Pi.; on Ἑλικωνιάς as a plant name Strömberg 1940: 126.

•ETYM Boeot. ϝελικών precludes the connection with Lat. *salix*. Furthermore, the comparison with an old WGm. word for 'willow', OE *welig*, OS *wilgia*, MHG *wilge*, is impossible because of the Mycenaean form. DELG reconstructs **su̯el-* / **sel-*, which solves nothing.

ἑλίκη 2 ⇒ἕλιξ.

ἑλίκωψ [adj.] said of the Ἀχαιοι (Il., verse-final). ◅GR?▻

•VAR Always plur. nom. or acc. -ωπες, -ωπας, fem. ἑλικῶπις, -ιδος (Α 98 κούρη, Hes. *Th.* 298 νύμφη; also Sapph., Pi.).

•ETYM From ►ἕλιξ and ὠπ- (on the second member, see Schwyzer: 426⁴ and Sommer 1948: 1), so properly 'with eyes that constitute a winding', i.e. 'with winding eyes', formed like ἑλικο-βλέφαρος (*h. Hom.* 6, 19, etc.) and expressing beauty (cf. H. ἑλικοβλέφαρος· καλλιβλέφαρος)? See Bechtel 1914, Düntzer *KZ* 12 (1863): 17.
Differently, Prellwitz *Glotta* 15 (1927): 128ff. reads "with curls" (comparing H. ἑλίκωπες· οὐλότριχες 'curly-haired').

On the basis of ἑλίκωπες as μελανόφθαλμοι 'black-eyed' in H., an adjective ἑλικός = μέλας was coined; thus not only H., but also Call. *Fr.* 299, etc., on which see Leumann 1950: 152[126].

ἕλῐνος [m., f.] 'tendril, vine' (Hell.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR ἑλενοί· κλήματα τὰ τῶν ἀμπέλων 'twigs of vines' (H.).
•ETYM The word has been connected with ἕλιξ, ἕλμις, ἑλένη, etc. and ►εἰλέω 2 'turn, wind', from an ι-stem; cf. γέλιν (= ϝ-) ὁρμιὰν 'fishing line of horse hair' (H.). However, the interchange ε/ι rather points to a Pre-Greek word.

ἑλῑνύω [v.] 'to rest, pause, stop doing something' (Ion.). ◅PG?(V)▻
•VAR Aor. ἑλινῦσαι, fut. ἑλινύσω. Cf. ὀλινύει· λήγει, ἀργεῖ 'to stop, be idle' (H.).
•DER ἑλινύες [f.pl.] (scil. ἡμέραι) 'festive days' (Plb. 21, 2, 1, = Lat. *supplicatio*).
•ETYM Etymology unknown. All earlier proposals are impossible or highly questionable. The variant in Hesychius may point to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 376).

ἕλιξ, -κος [f.] 'convolution, volute, tendril, curl, spiral' (Il.); also as an adjective of βόες et al. (ποταμός, δρόμος), see below. ◅PG?▻
•COMP As a first member in ►ἑλίκωψ, ἑλικ-ἀμπυξ (Pi.), ἑλικο-στέφανος (B.) et al., also (referring to ἑλίσσω) ἑλι- in ἑλί-τροχος 'turning a wheel' (A. *Th.* 205 [lyr.]); cf. further ►ἑλίχρυσος. As a second member in τετρα-έλιξ kind of thistle (Thphr., H.), also in ἀμφι-έλισσα, epic adj. of νηῦς (Hom.), later also of other things (e.g. ἱμάσθλη), properly 'forming a ἕλιξ on both sides'.
•DER ►ἑλίκη 1 'willow' s.v.; ἑλίκη 2 'spiral, turning' (Arist.), also name of the Great Bear (because of its turning movement; cf. Scherer 1953: 133, but not as an adjective); 3. εἰλικόεις 'provided with coils' (Nic., Opp.; metrically lengthened). Denominative verb ἑλίσσω, -ίττω, Ion. also εἰλίσσω after εἰλέω (not with Solmsen 1901: 230ff. from *ἐ-ϝελίσσω), aor. ἑλίξαι, εἰλίξαι 'make a turning, wind, turn' (Il.); also with prefix ἐν-, περι-, etc.; from there ἑλιγμός (εἰ-) 'turning, whirl' (Hdt.), ἕλιγμα (εἵ-) 'bracelet, curl' (Sapph. [?], Com.), ἕλιξις 'turned binding, turning' (medic.), ἑλικτήρ 'ear-pendant' (Att.), -ελίκτης in compounds like ἱμαντ-ελίκται 'turner of straps' (Democr.), see Fraenkel 1910: 244; ἑλίγδην (εἰ-) [adv.] 'turning'. Cf. ►ἑλελίζω in its second mg.
•ETYM Formation like ἧλιξ, χόλιξ, δέλφιξ et al. (Chantraine 1933: 382f.), so probably from a noun, which was perhaps derived from ►εἰλέω (*ϝελ-νέ-ω) 'turn, wind'. The epic epithet ἕλιξ is probably (cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Risch 1937: 162) a shortened compound (*ἑλικό-πους, -κραιρα?). Note that the suffix -ικ- mostly makes Pre-Greek words (like -υκ-; cf. on κῆρυξ).

ἑλίτροχος ⇒ἕλιξ.

ἑλίχρυσος [m.] plant name 'Heliochrysum siculum, goldflower' (Alcm., Ibyc.); also ἑλειόχρυσος (Thphr.). ◅GR?▻
•VAR Also -ον [n.] (see on ►βούτυρον).
•ETYM Named after its golden yellow flower (Strömberg 1940: 25). Like e.g. ἑλειοσέλινον, ἑλειόχρυσος is understandable as a compound of ἔλειος and χρυσός (related to ἔλος?), after the compounds in ἀγρι(ο)-, e.g. ἀγρι-έλαιος = ἄγριος ἔλαιος (see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257). The form ἑλι- is a further shortening after ἄγρι-, αἰγι-,

καλλι-, etc. Strömberg 1940: 153 thinks it is a loan. The locus in Alcman (16) has no digamma; cf. Solmsen 1901: 146. DELG considers the variant ἑλειό- either a mistake or an 'étymologie populaire déraisonnable'.

ἕλκος [n.] 'wound, ulcer' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁elḱ-os* 'ulcer'▷

•COMP As a first member in ἑλκο-ποιός 'making wounds' (A.) with ἑλκοποιέω (Aeschin.).

•DER Diminutive ἑλκύδριον (Hp., Ar.; on the suffix Chantraine 1933: 72f.); ἑλκώδης 'ulcerated' (Hp., E.), ἑλκήεις 'id.' (Man.); denominative verbs: ἑλκόομαι 'to fester', -όω 'to wound' (Hp., E.; also with prefix: ἀν-, ἀφ-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, προ-); thence (ἀφ-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-)ἕλκωσις 'festering' (Hp., Th.) together with ἑλκωτικός, ἕλκωμα 'wound, ulcer' (Hp., Thphr.) with ἑλκωματικός; from ἐφελκόομαι also ἐφελκίς 'scab of a wound' (medic.); ἑλκαίνω 'fester' (A. *Ch.* 843) with deverbal ἕλκανα· τραύματα 'wounds' (H.); also ἑλκανῶσα· ἡλκωμένη ἢ ἡλκοποιημένη ὑπὸ πυρός 'wounded by fire' (H.; Schwyzer: 700).

•ETYM Old noun, identical with Lat. *ulcus, -eris* (< **h₁elḱos-*) 'ulcer', Skt. *árśas-* [n.] 'haemorrhoids'. Is the spiritus asper from ἕλκω 'draw'?

ἕλκω [v.] 'to draw, drag' (Il.). ◁IE **selk-* 'draw'▷

•VAR The non-presentic forms show three stems: 1. a lengthened stem ἑλκη-: ἑλκήσω, ἑλκῆσαι, ἑλκηθῆναι (Hom.), with ipf. εἵλκεον (P 395; cf. Chantraine 1942: 348; see also below); 2. ἑλκυ- (after synonymous ἑρῦσαι): ἑλκύσαι (Pi., Att.), ἑλκυσθῆναι, εἵλκυσμαι (IA), ἑλκύσω (Hp.), εἵλκυκα (D.); 3. ἑλκ-: fut. ἕλξω (A.) and late aor. ἕλξαι, ἑλχθῆναι; details in Schwyzer 721.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀν-, ἀφ-, ἐξ-, παρ-, etc. As a first member in the epithets ἑλκε-χίτωνες, ἑλκεσί-πεπλος, and ἑλκε-τρίβων (Pl.), ἑλκεσί-χειρος (*AP*); on ἑλκε(σι)- Knecht *Τερψίμβροτος* 29.

•DER From ἑλκ-: (ἐφ-)ἕλξις 'drawing, dragging' (Hp., Pl.) with (ἐφ-)ἑλκτικός (Pl.) and the plant names ἑλξίνη, ἑλξῖτις 'bindweed' (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc., Redard 1949: 71), also ἑλκίνα [acc.?] (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 85), ἕλκιμος 'what can be drawn' (Olymp.; cf. Arbenz 1933: 76, directly from ἕλκω); with o-vocalism ▸ὁλκός, ὁλκή, see s.v. From ἑλκη- (old but rare) ἑλκηθμός 'the drawing' (Z 465; cf. Benveniste 1935: 201, Porzig 1942: 236f.), ἕλκημα 'what was dragged, booty' (E. *HF* 568; Chantraine 1933: 178), ἕλκηθρον 'coulter' (Thphr. *HP* 5, 7, 6; Strömberg 1937: 170); ἑλκητήρ 'drawer' (*AP* 6, 297); ἑλκηδόν [adv.] 'drawing' (Hes. *Sc.* 302). From ἑλκυ-, mostly late: (ἀφ-, ἐφ-, παρ-)ἕλκυσις 'the drawing' (LXX, Aret.), ἕλκυσμα = ἕλκημα (Man.), also 'dross (of silver)' (Dsc., Gal.), (ἐξ-, ἐφ-, δι-)ἑλκυσμός 'attraction, etc.' (Chrysipp., medic., pap.); ἑλκυστήρ 'drawer', 'instrument for drawing out, etc.' (Hp.), ἕλκυστρον 'id.' (Apollod. *Poliorc.*); ἑλκύσιμος, ἑλκυστήριος; secondary verb ἑλκυστάζω 'draw' (Ψ 187 = Ω 21), expressive form after ῥυστάζω (Schwyzer: 706, Risch 1937: 298).

•ETYM A cognate verb is ToB *sälk^{ā}-* 'to draw out' (pret. *sälkāte*; innovated nasal present *slaṅktär*); nominal formations are found in Arm. *helg* 'slow' (*a*-stem), Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow' (see ▸ὁλκός), and OE *sulh* 'furrow, plow'. An old iterative is perhaps reflected in Alb. *helq, heq* 'draw (off)', if from IE **solk-e̯ie-*; cf. Porzig 1942: 236f. Not related to ▸ἄλοξ.

ἔλλα ⇒ἐδώλια.

ἑλλέβορος [m.] 'hellebore, Helleborus, Veratrum album' (Hp., Ar.; on the mg. Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 3f.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Ion. ἑλ-.
•COMP As a first member in ἑλλεβοροποσία 'drinking ἑ.' (Hp.); ἑλλεβορο-σήματα plant name = λειμώνιον (Ps.-Dsc. 4, 16), an original bahuvrīhi: 'plant that shows symptoms of Helleborus', Strömberg 1944: 51.
•DER ἑλλεβορίνη 'Herniaria glabra' (Thphr., Dsc.), ἑλλεβορίτης 'κενταύρειον τὸ μικρόν' (Ps.-Dsc.), also name of a wine (Dsc., Plin.), cf. Redard 1949: 71 and 96; denominative verb ἑλλεβορίζω 'treat with hellebore, bring to sense' (Hp., D.) with ἑλλεβορισμός (Hp.).
•ETYM Taken as "eaten by deer", from ἑλλός (ἐλλός) and βιβρώσκω (see ▶βορά); see Strömberg 1944: 48ff. (full discussion). The compositional -ε- remains problematic. Amigues *RPh.* 72 (1998): 125, stresses that the plant is fatally poisonous. It has been suggested that the first element be identified with ἐσθλός; Girard 1988 assumes original ἑλλο-, which is hardly correct. The traditional etymology seems very doubtful; the word could well be non-IE, i.e. Pre-Greek. The double -λλ- may then represent the phoneme -*l*ʸ-, which at the same time explains the two first ε's: */a/* was pronounced [ä] in contact with the palatalized *l*, and [ä] is reproduced by ε; after the β, it may have been realized as ο, which gives us a pre-form */al*ʸ*abar-/*.

ἑλλεδανοί [pl.m.] 'band for binding corn sheaves' (Σ 553, *h. Cer.* 456, Hes. *Sc.* 291). ◁IE? **uel-* 'press'▷
•VAR Or -ά [n.]? All attestations have dat.pl. ἐν ἑλλεδανοῖσι, but H., Suid. have -οί, -ός.
•ETYM From Aeol. *ἑλλέω < *ϝελνέω 'turn, wind' (see ▶εἰλέω 2) with suffixal -δανός, possibly via *ἑλλεδών (cf. τυφεδών beside τυφεδανός). See Solmsen 1901: 244 and Schwyzer: 530. Chantraine 1942: 131 objects that there is no evidence for ϝ-.

ἔλλερα [adj.] said of ἔργα (Call. *fr.* 434); acc. to Hes. ἐχθρά, πολέμια, ἄδικα 'unfriendly, ptng. to war, unjust', acc. to Suid. φόνια, χαλεπά, κακά 'murderous, troublesome, bad'; details in Pfeiffer 1949-1953 ad loc. ◁?▷
•ETYM Unexplained. DELG adds that the etymologists explain the word as ὄλλυρα or ὁλλύντα.

ἔλλετε = ἔρρετε (Call. *fr.* 1, 17 [Pf]). ⇒ἔρρω.

ἑλλός 1 ⇒ἔλαφος.

ἑλλός 2 ⇒ἔλλοψ.

ἔλλοψ, -οπος [m.] 1. poetical epithet of ἰχθῦς (Hes. *Sc.* 212), in this function also ἔλλοπος (Emp. 117) and ἑλλός (S. *Aj.* 1297, Ath. 277d); also of κούρα (Theoc. *Syrinx* 18); 2. poetical for 'fish' in general (Lyc.); 3. name of a large, rare and expensive fish, which is compared (and identified) with the sturgeon (Arist.); in this mg. usually written ἔλοψ (Epich., Archestr., Plu.), Lat. *(h)elops*; 4. name of a snake (Nic. *Th.* 490). ◁PG▷

•DER Denominative ἐλλοπιεύω [v.] 'fish' (Theoc. 1, 42); note ἐλλόπιδας [acc.pl.] (Crat. 408 acc. to H.; -οδες *EM* 331, 53), acc. to H. and others = τοὺς στρουθοὺς ἢ νεοττοὺς ὄφεως 'sparrows or the young of a snake'; unclear is ἀλλοπίης, epithet of τράχουρος (Numen. *apud* Ath. 7, 326a).

•ETYM The ancients explained the word either as 'dumb' or as 'scaly', the former by means of impossible etymological connections. The meaning 'scaly' is interpreted as ἔλλοπος < *ἔν-λοπος, a prepositional bahuvrīhi of λοπός 'scale'; the shortened form ἔλλοψ would have been adjusted to animal names in -οψ (metri causa?); a second analogical shortening (cf. αἴθοψ : αἰθός) would then have given ἐλλός. Then the single λ in ἔλοψ, Lat. *(h)elops* remains; as this notation seems to indicate a special fish, ἔλοψ could be of foreign origin. Acc. to Frisk, this could point to a cross of a foreign fish name with an inherited adjective. Cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. and Strömberg 1943: 30f. However, the interchange λ/ λλ is frequent in Pre-Greek (Fur.: 387); further, we find ε/α and π/β in ἁλ(λ)άβης (Str. 17, 2, 4; Ath. 7, 312b; PTeb.) and ἔλαψ (Gp.). An interchange of the suffix -αβ-/ -οπ- is well known in Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 107. In a similar vein, ἀλλοπίης can be understood. Therefore, we probably have a pre-Greek word for a great fish. In *Pre-Greek*, I reconstruct **alʸa/op-*.

ἐλλύτας [m.] name of something baked, a kind of cake, 'pretzel' vel sim. (Thera). ◁PG?▷

•VAR ἐλλυτίς (for -της?)· πλακοῦς τις 'a flat cake' (H.), εἰλύτας [acc.pl.] (Boeotia), ἐλῦτης (gramm.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected (see Frisk) with ▶εἰλύω, either from the verbal stem (ϝ)ελυ- or from the present stem *ϝελνυ- or the perfect stem *ϝεϝλῡ-. Other attempts to accomodate the different forms by Solmsen 1901: 240, as well as Bechtel 1921, 1: 304. The connection with εἰλύω may well be wrong, however; the interchange λ/λλ rather points to a Pre-Greek word, in which case the word had initial **elʸ-*.

ἔλμις [f.] 'intestinal worm, parasitic worm' (Hp., Arist.); MoGr. forms in Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 56f. ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Gen. ἔλμινθος (to which a new nom. ἔλμινς Hp.), also ἔλμιγγος, etc.; further acc. ἔλμιθα (epid.); nom.pl. ἔλμιεις (Dsc.); λίμινθες· ἔλμινθες. Πάφιοι (H.).

•COMP As a first member in ἐλμινθο-βότανον 'herb used against worms' (medic.).

•DER Diminutive ἐλμίνθ-ιον; -ώδης [adj.] 'worm-like', -ιάω [v.] 'suffer from worms' (Hp., Arist.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with two other names for 'worm', Skt. *kŕ̥mi-*, Lith. *kirmìs*, OIr. *cruim*, etc. < IE **kʷrmi-*, on the one hand, and Lat. *vermis*, Gm. **wurma-* on the other. Greek would have innovated its form by folk-etymologically adjusting it to the root **uel-* 'turn, wind' (see ▶εἰλέω 2), which gave two further forms for 'worm', ▶εὐλή and ϝάλη (spelled ὐάλη). It seems obvious, however, that the latter forms are clearly unrelated to ἔλμις. Our word is not IE, as per Fur.: 290. It is unclear why Fur.: and DELG hesitate to take the -νθ- as an indication of Pre-Greek origin. Note that the form ἔλμιγγος also shows typical Pre-Greek prenasalization (cf. acc. ἔλμιθα *IG* 4²(1), 122: 10], Epidauros). The form λίμινθες also suggests a Pre-Greek variant. Was it **lʸmi(n)t-*, with prothetic vowel *a-* which became *e-* before the palatal

l (see Beekes 2008)? Note that the MoGr. forms λεβίθα, -ίδες confirm the vowel after the *l* (see DELG).

ἑλξίνη •VAR ἐλξῖτις. ⇒ ἕλκω.

ἕλος [n.] 'marsh meadow, marshy ground' (Il.). ◁IE **selos-* 'marsh'▷
•VAR ἕλη· σύνδενδροι τόποι 'thickly-wooded places' (H.); cf. the etymology below.
•COMP As a first member thematically lengthened in ἐλεό-θρεπτος 'grown on marshy meadows' (B 776), ἐλεο-σέλινον 'celery from marshy meadows' (Thphr., Dsc.), also ἐλειο- by contraction from ἕλειον σέλ.; also in ἐλειο-βάτης 'traversing (living in) marshes' (A. *Pers.* 39 [anap.]), from τά ἕλεια or with metrical lengthening; with elision in ἐλεορέω 'be a surveyor of marshes' (Erythrae IV[a]; or 'forester'? See below), from *ἐλεο-(ϝ)όρος. Unclear ▸ ἐλεσπίδας; cf. also ▸ ἐλίχρυσος.
•DER ἕλειος 'marshy' (IA), Ἑλεία epithet of Artemis (Cos), ἐλώδης 'id.' (Hp., Th.), ἐλείτης 'growing in marshes' (Dion. Byz.), also an epithet of Apollo (Cyprus; cf. Redard 1949: 12, 24, 208; on the formation see Schwyzer: 500); ἐλει-ήτης (λέων, Call. *fr.* 748).
•ETYM Inherited word, identical with Skt. *sáras-* [n.] 'pond', IE **sélos-*; Gr. ἕλειος = Skt. *sarasíya-*. Not related to Lat. *silva* or ὕλη, in spite of H. and Thess. ὑλορέων exists beside Erythr. ἐλεορέων; see Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 165.

ἕλοψ ⇒ ἕλλοψ.

ἕλπομαι [v.] 'to expect, hope, suppose' (Il.). ◁IE **uelp-* 'expect'▷
•VAR Act. ἔλπω 'make hope' only β 91 = ν 380 πάντας μὲν (ϝ)έλπει. Epic also ἐέλπομαι (see below), perf. (with present mg.) ἔολπα, plpf. ἐώλπει (for *(ϝ)ε(ϝ)όλπει, see below and Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 199, Chantraine 1942: 479f. with Add. et corr.).
•COMP As a second member in ἄ-ελπ-τος 'unexpected, unhoped for' with ἀελπτ-ία, -έω (Il.), also ἀ-ελπ-ής (ε 408); as a first member in Ἐλπ-ήνωρ (Od.; on the formation Schwyzer: 441, Sommer 1948: 175 with lit.).
•DER ἐλπωρή 'hope' (Od.; for -ωλή?; cf. Porzig 1942: 235); ἐλπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (π 101 = τ 84; cf. Porzig 353; on the mg. Martinazzoli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* N.S. 21 (1946): 11ff.) with εὔ-, ἄν-ελπις, etc.; denominative ἐλπίζω [v.] 'id.' (IA) with ἐλπιστικός, ἐλπισμός, ἔλπισμα (Arist.). On ἐλπίς, ἔλπομαι see Myres *Cl. Rev.* 63: 46.
•ETYM There is no counterpart to (ϝ)έλπομαι (see Chantraine 1942: 133 and 182) and the old perfect with present meaning (ϝ)έ(ϝ)ολπα in the other languages; Homer has a few forms from ἐέλπομαι, after ἐέλδομαι (Beekes 1969: 64). A verbal adjective connected with Gr. ἐλπίς is supposed in Lat. *volup est* 'it is pleasant to me' (whence *volup-tas*); IE **u(e/o)lp-i-*.

ἔλπος [n.]? · ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία 'olive oil, rendered fat, abundance'; ἔλφος· βούτυρον. Κύπριοι 'butter (Cypr.)' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•DER On ▸ ὄλπη 'oil-bottle', see s.v.
•ETYM The word has been compared with an IE word for 'fat', **selp-*: Skt. *sarpíṣ-* [n.] 'molten butter, lard', ToB *ṣalype* 'fat, oil', PGm. **salba-* 'salve', as well as Alb. *gjalpë* 'butter'. Nevertheless, one would expect a spiritus asper in Greek. The variation π/φ

rather points to a Pre-Greek word. Cypr. ἔλφος is unexplained; see DELG. The word ►ὅλπη indicates a bottle, and therefore has nothing to do with the word for 'oil, fat'.

ἐλύδριον [n.]? = χελιδόνιον, 'celandine' (pap.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Formation in -ύδριον (Chantraine 1933: 72f.). It has been connected with ►ἕλος 'marsh' ("somit nach dem Standort benannt", acc. to Frisk), but this has spiritus asper.

ἔλυμος 1 [m.] 'millet' (Hp., Ar.). ◅?▻

•VAR In H. also ἔλεμος· σπέρμα ὅπερ ἕψοντες Λάκωνες ἐσθίουσιν 'seed which the Laconians boil and eat'. Frisk (s.v. εἰλύω) notes that the word also means 'container': καὶ ἡ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τοῦ τόξου θήκη 'case for the kithara and the bow' (H.; s.v. ἔλυμοι).

•ETYM Unknown (see Schwyzer: 494). Connection with ὄλυραι 'rice-wheat' and οὐλαί 'barley groats' is uncertain. Fur.: 246 suggests connection with ἐλίμαρ· κέγχρῳ ὅμοιον [ἐλινή] ἢ μελίνῃ ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'millet (Lacon.)' (H.), assuming ϝ- > μ-; however, this is very unclear. Perhaps Pre-Greek. See ►εἰλύω.

ἔλυμος 2. [f.(m.)] name of a Phrygian pipe (S.). ◅?▻

•ETYM There appears no reason for connection with ►εἰλύω.

ἔλωρ ⇒ἑλεῖν.

ἐμβάδες ⇒βαίνω.

ἔμβρυον ⇒βρύω.

ἐμέ [pron.] 'me'. ◅IE **h₁me* 'me'▻

•VAR Encl. με [acc.] 'me', ἐμοί (Dor. Phoc. ἐμίν), encl. μοι [dat.] (also gen.) 'to me' ('mine'); varying genitive forms: Ion., etc. ἐμέο (Hom. also ἐμεῖο), ἐμεῦ, μευ, Att. contr. ἐμοῦ, μου; Dor. also ἐμέος, ἐμεῦς, etc.; Lesb. Hom., etc. ἐμέθεν; more in Schwyzer: 602.

•ETYM Old pronoun: for με, cf. Lat. *mē*, Skt. *mā*, Go., etc. *mi-k* (after *ik* 'I'; not = *μέ γε), IE **mĕ*; μοι = Skt. *me*, Lat. *mī* (used as vocative), OLith. *-mi*, etc.; ἐμίν after ἄμίν, etc. The genitives are all innovations: ἐμέο (whence ἐμεῖο analogically or with metrical lengthening), modelled after τέο, etc. (gen. of ►τίς), whence ἐμέο-ς, ἐμέ-θεν (like οἵκο-θεν, etc.). Adjectivized ἐμέ gave the possessive ἐμός 'meus'; likewise, Av. *ma-*, Hitt. *-miš*, Lat. *meus*. On the acc. **h₁me*, see Beekes, *Sprache* 33 (1987-9): 7-12; it is also seen in Arm. *im* [dat.] 'mei'.

ἐμέω [v.] 'to vomit'. ◅IE **uemh₁-* 'vomit'▻

•VAR Aor. ἐμέσ(σ)αι (Il.), perf. ἐμήμεκα (Hp., Luc.), fut. ἐμέσω (Hp.), ἐμῶ, ἐμιοῦμαι (Att.), pres. ἐμέθω (Hdn.).

•COMP Prefixed with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐν-, ὑπερ-, etc.

•DER Verbal nouns: ἔμετος 'vomiting' (Ion., Arist.) with the bahuvrīhis ἀν-, δυσ-, εὐ-έμετος, -ήμετος (Hp. et al.; also, directly from ἐμέω, δυσ-, εὐ-εμής, -ημής), κοπριήμετος (Hp.); to ὑπερεμέω: ὑπερέμετος (Hp.). From ἔμετος: ἐμεσία 'qualm, inclination to vomit' (Hp.), ἐμετ-ικός, -ώδης, -ήριος, -ιάω (Hp., Arist. et al.); ἔμεσις

and ἔμεσμα 'id.' (Hp.); ἐμίας "spitter" (Com.; see Chantraine 1933: 93). See also ►ἐμύς and ►περιῃμεκτέω.

•ETYM In Skt., there is the athematic *vámi-ti*; additionally, Lat. *vomit*, *vomimus* (beside *vomi-tus*), which were reinterpreted as thematic forms, with which compare *reg-i-mus*. The disyllabic root is also represented in Lith. *vémti* (new yod-present *vemiù*). The root also occurs in North Gm., but only in metaphorical meaning, e.g. OSw. *vami* [m.] 'disgust'. Schwyzer: 222[5] sees an element of the living language in ἐμέω, which would explain why the verb does not show a ϝ- in Homer (a similar explanation exists for lack of ϝ in ►ἰδρώς, as well as in ►δίφρος).

ἔμμᾱνις ⇒μῆνις.

ἐμμιαπέως 'immediately' (epic since Il.).

•ETYM From *ἐμμαπής 'grasping', to *ἐμ-μαπεῖν. See ►μαπέειν.

ἐμματέω ⇒ματεύω.

ἔμμιοτος ⇒μιοτός.

ἐμπάζομαι [v.pres.] 'care about something, for something' (Il.; mostly with negation). ◅IE? *peh_2- 'protect, feed'▻

•COMP Act. κατ-εμπάζω 'take hold of' (ὁπόταν χρειώ σε κατεμπάζῃ Nic. *Th.* 695).

•ETYM No good etymology. Connection with ►ἔμπης 'in any case' is semantically difficult. In view of the MoSw. expression for 'care for something', *fästa sig vid något*, properly "to attach yourself to", one may consider (as Frisk does) an original *ἐμ-πάγ-ιομαι, to ἐμ-πᾰγῆναι (Ion. πᾰκ-τός, πᾰκτοῦν). The gloss ἐμπαστῆρας μύθων· πιστωτάς, μάρτυρας 'confirmers, witnesses' (H.) is unclear; Latte corrects it to *ἐμπιστῆρας. Blanc *RPh.* 70 (1996): 1996 connects it with *peh_2- 'protect' (Beekes 1969: 173); however, cf. Pok. 787 *peh_2k/g- 'fit together'.

ἔμπαιος 1 [adj.] 'bursting in, sudden' (A. *Ag.* 187 [lyr.], also Emp. 2, 2?). ◅GR?▻

•ETYM From ἐμπαίω 'burst in' (S. *El.* 902; see ►παίω); cf. Schwyzer: 452: 2.

ἔμπαιος 2 [adj.] 'experienced, skillful' (υ 379, φ 400; Lyc. 1321). ◅GR?▻

•ETYM Not well explained. Schwyzer: 467[6] and 620 derives it from ἔμπης as *'fully master of' (related to ἐμ-πάομαι; see ►πάομαι). Differently, Lagercrantz *KZ* 34 (1897): 395; see also Sommer 1905: 80f.

ἔμπεδος ⇒πέδον.

ἔμπειρος ⇒πεῖρα.

ἔμπης [adv.] 'in any case, really, all the same, nevertheless' (Il.). ◅GR?▻

•VAR Dor. ἔμπᾱς, also ἔμπαν, ἐμπᾰ́.

•ETYM Origin uncertain. Acc. to Brugmann *IF* 27 (1910): 274ff., prop. a nom.-acc.ntr. 'validity, reality, truth', related to El. ἐμπάω (ἐμπῷ, ἐπ-εμπήτω) 'execute (a fixed punishment), realize', πέπᾱμαι, πᾱ́ς, etc. It is improbable that ἐμ- is from IE *sem- in εἷς (Schwyzer: 620). The ending of ἔμπᾰ́ is like ἡρέμᾰ́, ἀτρέμᾰ́; ἔμπαν (ᾱ́ or ᾰ́), as in

ἅπαν (Brugmann *IF* 27 (1910): 274ff.); see also Björck 1950: 123f. Radt 1958: 200-208 suggests ἐν πᾶσιν 'in all cases'.

ἐμπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'gnat' (Ar., Arist.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Popular derivation from ἐμπίνειν 'to drink oneself full (of blood)'; cf. e.g. δικλίδες from κλίνειν. See Strömberg 1944: 14 for full argumentation. Older interpretations, all wrong, are recounted in Strömberg and Bq. Cf. Gil Fernández 1959: 26. Differently, Szemerényi 1964: 143[1].

ἐμπλατία [f.] name of a kitchen (*IG* 5(2), 4 [IV[a]]). ◁?▷

•VAR Only Arc. ἰμπ-.

•ETYM Perhaps related to πλάτος 'breadth', from ἐμπλατής (only Anon. *in Tht.* 30, 1) or to ἐμπλατύνειν 'broaden' (LXX). It has been compared with ἐπίπλατορ· πλακοῦντος εἶδος 'kind of flat cake' (H.), but is this really useful? Cf. on ►πέλανος.

ἔμπλην ⇒πλήν.

ἐμποδών ⇒πούς.

ἐμπολή [f.] 'trade, trade goods, purchase, profit' (Pi., Att.). ◁IE? *$k^{w}el$- 'turn, move'▷

•VAR Arc. ἰνπολα (IV[a]).

•COMP Compounds: on ἀπεμπολή see below. Also with prefix: ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ-, παρ-, προσ-.

•DER Note ἐμπέλωρος· ἀγορανόμος 'clerk of the market' (H.; probably for ἐμπολ-; for Chantraine's opinion, see below). ἐμπολαῖος 'belonging to trade, etc.', epithet of Hermes (Ar.), ἐμπολεύς 'buyer' (*AP*). Denominative verb ἐμπολάω, -άομαι 'trade, buy, sell, win' (Od.), with impf. ἠμπόλων, aor. ἠμπόλησα (ἐνεπόλησα Is.), ἠμπολήθην, perf. ἠμπόληκα (ἐμπεπόληκα Luc.), med. ἠμπόλημαι. ἐμπόλημα 'goods, profit' (S.), (ἀπ-)ἐμπόλησις (Hp., Poll.), ἀπεμπολητής 'seller' (Lyc.); deverbal ἀπεμπολήν· ἀπαλλαγήν, πρᾶσιν, ἐμπορίαν 'deliverance, sale, trade' (H.).

•ETYM Also (ἐξ-)ἐμπολέω 'id.' (Herod., J.). Cf. ἐντολή, ἐντομή, etc.; based on a verb *ἐμπέλω, -ομαι. It has been compared with the iterative (with lengthened grade) πωλέω 'sell'. ἐμπολάω is a denominative, as appears from the augmented and reduplicated forms. Connection with πέλομαι, -ω 'turn, move' (root *$k^{w}el$-) is semantically possible; ἐμπολή would then be 'traffic'. However, IE also has an old root **pel*- 'sell, earn, etc.' in several nominal derivatives, e.g. Skt. *paṇa*- [m.] 'salary' (with *paṇate* 'trade, buy'), Lith. *pel̃nas* 'wages, salary', OHG *fāli*, ON *falr* 'sal(e)able'; it has been connected with πωλέω, as distinct from ἐμπολή. See Schwyzer: 720[8]. On ἐμπολή, ἐμπολάω, see Chantraine *RPh.* 66 (1940): 11ff. with various suggestions (πελάζω, πέλας, etc.). Recently, De Lamberterie has argued for connection with *$k^{w}el$- and πωλέομαι (see DELG *Supp.* s.v. πωλέω).

ἔμπορος [m.] 'who travels on a ship, passager' (Od.), 'traveller' in general (B., trag.), usually 'merchant' (IA; on the mg. beside κάπηλος, ναύκληρος Finkelstein *Class. Phil.* 30 (1935): 320ff.). ◁GR▷

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. συν-, οἰν-, μικρ-έμπορος.

•DER ἐμπορία 'sea-trade, wholesale trade' (Hes.), ἐμπόριον 'commercial town' (IA), ἐμπορικός 'belonging to a merchant (to trade)' (Stesich., IA; see Chantraine 1956a: 115); denominative verb ἐμπορεύομαι 'be ἔμπορος, travel, trade' (IA), also 'be (more) cunning' (2 *Ep. Pet.* 2, 3), with ἐμπόρευμα, -εῖον, -ευτικός.

•ETYM Hypostasis from ἐν πόρῳ (ὤν), "being in transit"; see ►πόρος and Porzig 1942: 258. See De Lamberterie *RPh.* 71 (1997): 159.

Ἔμπουσα [f.] name of a popular phantom (Ar., D.). ◄PG?(S)►

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek figure, see Fur.: 197[55]; for the use of the suffix, cf. αἴθουσα, ἄγχουσα, κάδουσα, νήθουσα, Ἀκίδουσα; Κηλοῦσα = Κήλωσσα.

ἔμπροσθε(ν) •VAR ἔμπροσθα. ⇒πρόσθεν.

ἐμπυριβήτης, -ου [m.] 'which goes into the fire', of a τρίπους Ψ 702. ◄GR►

•ETYM Compound of the prepositional phrase ἐν πυρί and βῆ-ναι, with suffix -τη-; cf. Schwyzer: 452. Cf. πυριβήτης Arat. 983, a false archaizing form. On the matter, see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 366f.

ἐμύς, -ύδος [f.] 'freshwater tortoise' (Arist.) (in LSJ only in Suppl.) ◄PG?►

•VAR Also ἐ- (LSJSuppl.), msc. and fem. Also ἀμύς 'id.' (Archig. *apud* Gal. 12.575).

•ETYM See Chantraine 1933: 126 and 347; origin unknown. Sommer 1905: 100 derives it from ἐμέω because the animal, when breathing out below the surface of the water, continuously releases air bubbles. However, *-*ud*- is not an IE suffix, so the word is probably Pre-Greek; see Chantraine 1933: 348: πηλαμύς "sans doute préhellénique", χλαμύς "arrangement d'un mot emprunté." Cf. also *Pre-Greek* on the suffix -υδ-. It has apparently escaped researchers that there are two forms; this probably points to Pre-Greek origin (cf. Fur.: 346f.), where the variants ἀ-/ ἐ- are different reflexes of a single Pre-Greek phoneme. There is no support for the suggestion that πηλαμύς contains ἐμύς as a second member, but this makes no difference for our interpretation.

ἔμφωτον ⇒φῶς.

ἔν [adv., prep.] 'in, within' (Il.), as a preposition usually with the dat. (loc.) to indicate the rest at the attained goal; in NWGr., El., Arc., Cypr., Thess., Boeot. also with accus. indicating the direction, for which the other dialects have ἐν + ς, see ►εἰς. ◄IE *h_1*en*(*i*) 'in'►

•VAR Also ἔνι; as a preposition ἐν, poetic ἐνί, metrically lengthened εἰν(ί), Arc. Cypr. Cret. ἰν.

•ETYM Old adverb, also seen in OLat. *en* (> *in*), Osc.-U *en*, Gm. (e.g. Go.) *in*, OIr. *in*, OPr. *en*, Arm. *i*, etc., all from IE *h_1*en*, *h_1*eni* (identical with the loc. in *-i*, like ἔπι, πέρι, etc.?). On ἔνι as a copula (certainly since V-VI[P]), whence MoGr. εἶναι (εἶνι, ἔνι, etc.) 'is, are', see Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954): 57ff.

ἔναγχος ⇒ἄγχι.

ἐναλίγκιος ⇒ἁλίγκιος.

ἔναντα •VAR ἔναντι, ἐναντίως. ⇒ἄντα and ἀντί.

ἐναντίβιον ⇒βία.

ἔναρα [n.pl.] 'the weapons of a fallen opponent' (Il., Hes. *Sc.* 367). ◁?▷
•COMP As a first member in ἐναρο-κτάντας, of death (A. *Fr.* 151 [lyr.]), ἐναρη-φόρος 'carrying the ἔ.' (*APl.*); also ἐναρσ-φόρος epithet of Ares (Hes. *Sc.* 192), also name of a hero (Alcm.) with σ in the compound after ἐγχεσπάλος (Leumann *Glotta* 15 (1927): 155f., Schwyzer: 336).
•DER Denominative verbs: ἐναίρω, aor. ἐναρεῖν (ἐξ- Hes. *Sc.* 329) 'take away the ἔ.', euphemistic for 'kill' (Il.); also ἐναρί-μβροτος 'killing men' (Pi.; after φθεισί-μβροτος); (younger) ἐναρίζω, aor. ἐναρίξαι (Il.; in Hom. often ἐξ-; also ἀπ-, ἐπ-, κατ-) 'id.'.
•ETYM Unknown. Schwyzer *IF* 30 (1912): 440f. compared Skt. (1x) *sánara-* (RV 1, 96, 8), of uncertain meaning. Connection with Skt. *sanóti* 'win' (cf. ►ἄνυμι) would impart ἔναρα the original meaning 'gain, booty'; one would have to accept psilosis. Hardly an *r/n*-stem, as per Schwyzer: 518. On the meaning, see Trümpy 1950: 86ff. See also ►ἔντεα.

ἐναργής, -ές [adj.] 'clear, visible, recognizable, living' (Il.); on the mg. Mülder *RhM* 79 (1930): 29ff. ◁IE **h₂erǵ-* 'shining, white'▷
•DER ἐνάργεια 'clearness' (Pl., Hell.), ἐνάργημα 'outward appearance', also in plur. -ήματα 'recognizable facts' (Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 190); ἐναργότης (Poll.); also ἐναργώδης (Aret.).
•ETYM Formations like ἐν-τελής from τέλος demonstrate for the second member of ἐν-αργής an *s*-stem *ἄργος 'shining', which is also found in ἀργεστής and ἀργεννός (see ►ἀργός 1 and Schwyzer: 512). Further details are difficult to ascertain, but it is probably a bahuvrīhi with adverbial first member: 'having ἄργος, having splendor'. See Strömberg 1946: 118f.; differently, Sommer 1948: 108.

ἐνάτηρ ⇒εἰνατέρες.

ἐναυλίζομαι ⇒ἔναυλος 3.

ἔναυλος 1 [m.] 'bed of a stream, torrent' (Il.); post-Hom. 'hole, grotto, ravine' (Hes., *h. Ven.* 74, 124, E. [lyr.]), also in sea (Opp.). ◁IE **h₂eulo-* 'tube, longish hole'▷
•ETYM Properly 'with ►αὐλός', so 'hollow area', from αὐλός 'hole, tube'. For the meaning 'torrent', cf. the analogous development of χαράδρα (properly related to ►χέραδος 'gravel').

ἔναυλος 2 [adj.] 'accompanied by the flute' (Att.). ◁IE **h₂eulo-* 'tube, longish hole'▷
•ETYM Bahuvrīhi compound of ►αὐλός and adverbial ►ἔν.

ἔναυλος 3 [adj.] 'sleeping in the open air' (E.). ◁IE **h₂eu-* 'pass the night'▷
•DER Also ἐναύλιος with the substantive ἐναύλιον 'abode' (Hell.).
•ETYM Hypostasis of ἐν αὐλῇ (ὤν) 'living in the open air'; also, of λέοντες (E. *Ph.* 1573 [lyr.]).

ἐνδάπιος [adj.] 'indigenous' (Hell.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From ἔνδον, modelled after ἀλλοδαπός, τηλεδαπός, etc., and reshaped after the adjectives in -ιος (ἐντόπιος, etc.). Cf. Schwyzer: 625.

ἐνδελεχής ⇒δολιχός.

ἔνδινα [n.pl.] 'intestines'. ◁IE? **h₁endo-* 'in(side)'?▷
•VAR Only ἐνδῖνων [gen.pl.] (Ψ 408).
•ETYM Derived from ἔνδον with a suffix -ινο-. Metrical lengthening (as per Schulze 1892: 253)? Cf. Chantraine 1933: 204 and Meid *IF* 62 (1956): 275[16]. Vendryes *MSL* 15 (1908/09): 358 accentuates ἐνδῖνος like ἀγχιστῖνος, etc.; differently, Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 176 (accent as in ἔντερα).

ἔνδιος [adj.] 'in (of) the afternoon' (Il.), as a substantive -ον [n.] (-ος [m.]) '(after)noon' (Call., A. R.); rarely 'belonging to heaven, coming from heaven' (ὕδωρ, Arat. 954), 'in the air' (*AP* 9, 71); in Hom. ῑ, later (from εὔδῑος?) also ĭ, see Sommer 1948: 75[5] with litt. ◁IE **dieu-* 'bright sky'▷
•ETYM Hypostasis of *ἐν διϝί (: ἔν-διϝι-ος, cf. ἐν-νύχι-ος), locative of the word for 'bright sky, day' (see ▶δῖος, ▶Ζεύς). Whether the expression ἔνδιον ὕδωρ (Arat.), etc. contains a trace of 'heaven' is doubtful; it rather arose by blending with δῖος.

ἐνδεδιωκότα ⇒βίος.

ἐνδοιάζω ⇒δοιοί.

ἔνδον [adv.] 'inside, at home' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁endon* 'inside'▷
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐνδο-μάχᾱς 'fighting at home' (Pi.), ἐνδό-μυχος 'who has his hiding place inside' (S.), -μενία, ἐνδουχία 'furniture, movables' (Plb.; ἐνδυμενία Phryn., pap.; after δύομαι 'enter'?).
•DER ἔνδο-θεν (like οἴκο-θεν, etc.) 'from inside, from the house' (Il.), ἔνδο-θι = ἔνδον (Hom.); on ἐνδοθίδιος see below; ἐνδοσε (acc.?) = εἴσω (Keos), ἔνδω (Delph.; after ἔξω). Compar. and superlative ἐνδοτέρω (Hp., post-classical), -τάτω (postclassical); late ἐνδότερος, -τατος (VI[p]). By confusion with ἐντός arose ἐνδός (Dor.; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939):11) with ἐνδοσθίδια [pl.] 'intestines' (Epidaur.), with Cretan development ἐνδοθίδιος 'living at home' (Gort.), ἐνδόσθια (LXX) = ἐντόσθια. After οἴκοι et al. ἔνδοι (Lesb. Dor.; see Solmsen 1909: 114); on ▶ἐνδάπιος s.v.; unclear is ἐνδύλω· ἔνδοθεν (H.), like μικκύλος, δριμύλος? See Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 383. On ▶ἔνδινα, see s.v.
•ETYM ἔνδον is identical with Hitt. *andan* 'within'; also, *anda* 'id.' = Lat. *endo*. Often explained as 'indoors', from ἐν and an endingless locative of the root noun for 'house' found in ▶δάπεδον, ▶δεσπότης, ▶δόμος; the expression Διὸς ἔνδον ἀγηγέρατο (Υ 13) has been adduced, but the genitive can just as well be elliptic, on which see Vendryes *MSL* 15 (1908/09): 358ff. See Schwyzer: 625f., Schwyzer 1950: 546f., Lejeune 1939 (see index), and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:2, 723.
DELG rejects this view: it fits neither the form nor the meaning. Cf. Meid *AAHG* 27 (1974): 54. Leumann 1977: 562 assumes that *endo* was borrowed from Greek: *indigena* would be a calque on Gr. ἐνδογενής, after which *endo* became separated. Acc. to De

Vaan 2008 s.v. *endo*, this "seems unlikely in view of the recent date of *indigena*, and because of the generally archaic look of the words *indi/u-* is combined with."

ἔνδορα [n.pl.] properly 'what is wrapped in the skin [when sacrificing]' (*SIG* 1025, 48; 1026, 8); Cos: ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται. ◅IE **der-* 'flay'▻

•ETYM From ἐνδέρομαι 'wrap in the skin', referring also to δορά; note the explanation of ἔνδρατα (after ἔγκατα?) in H.: τὰ ἐνδερόμενα σὺν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τοῖς ποσί 'what is wrapped in the skin together with the head and the feet'. Stengel *Herm.* 54 (1919): 208ff. explained it as σπλάγχνα 'internal organs'; however, his connection with δέρτρον 'retina' is correctly rejected by Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 220f. The word is a hypostasis of ἐν δορᾳ, acc. to Jones *Class. Rev.* NS 9 (1959): 132. See ►δέρω.

ἔνδρυον ⇒δρῦς.

ἐνδυκέως [adv.] 'careful' (Il.), explained in Hp. as 'continuously'. ◅?▻

•DER Also ἐνδυκές (Nic. *Th.* 263, H. [beside ἐνδύκιον]; probably also A. R. 1, 883 for metrically impossible -έως).

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►ἀδευκής with uncertain analysis; both a verb *ἐν-δυκεῖν and a noun *δύκη are possible. Cf. Strömberg 1946: 90; on the meaning, see Leumann 1950: 311f., who explains its use in Hp. as from a false interpretation of Homer.

ἐνεγκεῖν [v.aor.] 'bring', resultative (Att., Pi., B., Hp.). ◅IE **h₁neḱ-* 'bring' and **h₂neḱ-* 'attain, reach'▻

•VAR Also ἐνέγκαι; aor. pass. ἐνεχθῆναι with fut. ἐνεχθήσομαι, perf.act. ἐνήνοχα, med. ἐνήνεγμαι; as a present there is φέρω, as a fut. οἴσω.

•COMP Often with prefix: ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, προσ-, etc.; As a second member with compositional lengthening in δι-, δουρ-, ►ποδηνεκής, etc. (cf. also ►δόρυ).

•DER Verbal noun ►ὄγκος, s.v.

•ETYM Beside ἐγκ- (old zero grade **h₁nḱ-*), there is also ἐνεκ- (old full grade **h₁neḱ-*). With old *o*-grade, Attic reduplication, and aspiration, we have ἐνήνοχ-α < **h₁ne-h₁noḱ-* (but no reduplication in κατ-ήνοκα H.). The crossing of ἐγκ- and ἐνεκ- yielded ἐν-ήνεγκται; influence of ἐνεῖκαι resulted in ἐν-ήνειγκ-ται, ἤνειγκαν, etc. (Att. inscr.). There are no exact parallels in other languages: Skt. has the reduplicated perf. *ān-áṃś-a* 'I have attained' (**He-Hno(n)ḱ-*); however, an additional problem is that there were probably two roots, **h₁neḱ-* 'carry' and **h₂neḱ-* 'reach, attain' (see LIV² s.vv. for various forms in the separate branches).

There is a fundamental discussion of the separation of these two different roots and their respective semantics in García Ramón 1999a: 47-80. The Greek verb derives from **h₁neḱ-* 'bring, carry', like a BSl. verb (Lith. *neš-ù*, OCS *nes-ǫ* 'I bring'), while most Indo-Iranian forms (Skt. *náśati* 'attains' < IE **h₂neḱ-*, *aś-nó-ti* 'reaches' < **h₂nḱ-*) derive from the second root meaning 'reach, attain', as do Go. *ga-nah* 'ἀρκεῖ, it suffices, "es reicht"', OIr. *t-ānac* 'I came' < **(-)h₂e-h₂noḱ-*, Lat. *na-n-c-īscor* (nasal infix present), *nactus sum* 'attain', and Arm. *has-anem*, aor. *has-i* 'reach'. ToB *eṅk-*, ToA *ents-* 'take' (LIV² s.v. **h₁neḱ-*) have also been included with the etymon **h₁neḱ-*, although the semantics are not straightforward. Gr. ►διᾶνεκής probably belongs to

*$h_2ne\acute{k}$-. The aorist ἐνεγκεῖν is most difficult. A basic form *h_1ne-$h_1n\acute{k}$-o- would develop into ἐνεγκ- with shortening of the vowel by Osthoff's Law; cf. Beekes *MSS* 38 (1979): 18ff. See LIV² s.v. for further litt.

ἐνεῖκαι [v.] 'to carry (off)' ◁IE *$h_1ne\acute{k}$- 'take away'▷

•VAR Aor. ind. ἤνεικα (Il.), also ἤνικα (Lesb. Dor.; partly = ἤνῑκα for ἤνεικα) subj. with short them. vowel ἐνίκει (Cyren.); sigmatic 3pl. εἴνιξαν (Boeot. for ἤνειξαν); aor. pass. ἐν(ε)ιχθῆναι, perf. med. ἐνήνειγμαι. Also συν-ενείκομαι (Hes. *Sc.* 440).

•COMP Also with prefix: ἀν-, ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, etc.

•ETYM Derived from ἐν-εῖκαι (related to ▶ἵκω) by Frisk et al.; see also Chantraine 1942: 395. However, ἐνεῖκαι is discussed by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 100 (1987): 313-322. He concludes that ἐνεγκ- is the original form, and ἐνεικ- a secondary development, pointing out that nominal derivations are from ἐνεγκ-. The root is now reconstructed as *$h_1ne\acute{k}$- 'to take away', and the Greek form reconstructed as a reduplicated aorist *h_1ne-$h_1n\acute{k}$- > *$en\bar{e}nk$-, in which the long vowel was shortened by Osthoff's Law. On demarcation against *$h_2ne\acute{k}$- 'to reach', see García Ramón 1999a: 47-80.

ἕνεκα [postp.] 'because, because of' (Il.), with gen. On the mg. in Hom. see Porzig 1942: 169; on the final -α cf. εἶτα: εἶτεν, ἔπειτα: ἔπειτε(ν); ἕνεκον after ἔνδον et al.; by crossing ἕνεκο, -καν, see Schwyzer: 627, 406, Schwyzer 1950: 552. ◁?▷

•VAR ἕνεκεν (especially postclassical); εἵνεκα, -κεν (Ion.), ἔννεκα (Aeol.; see below); Hell. also ἕνεκε, -κο(ν), -καν.

•DIAL Myc. *e-ne-ka*.

•ETYM The analysis as ἕν-ϝεκα, related to ▶ἑκών, etc., is refuted by the Mycenaean form. Note the interchange ἕν-, ἔιν- (is ἔνν- hyperaeolic? or a metrical lengthening?). See Schwyzer: 228, Chantraine 1942: 161, and Bolling *Lang.* 30 (1954): 453f. The form οὕνεκα = ἕνεκα especially in Att. poets, by reanalysis of a preceding genitive in -ου: τούτοὕνεκα was conceived of as τούτου οὕνεκα (Schwyzer: 413). Since it is Mycenaean, there is no etymology; connection with *$h_1ne\acute{k}$- has been suggested.

ἔνελος [m.] · νεβρός 'young of the deer, fawn' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM From ἔνελος comes Lat. *inuleus* 'young deer' (WH s.v. *hinuleus* with lit.); further uncertain. Niedermann *IF Anz.* 18: 78f. thought it was a metathesized form of *ἔλενος, related to ▶ἐλλός, ▶ἔλαφος.

ἐνενήκοντα [num.] 'ninety' (B 602). ◁IE *h_1neun-▷

•COMP On the η see ▶ἑβδομήκοντα.

•DER ηενενηκοντα (Heracl.; like ηογδοηκοντα after ηεβδεμηκοντα), ἐνηκοντα (Delos, Phocis [III or II^a]; probably haplological); uncertain ἐννήκοντα (τ 174); innovation after ἐννέα, ἐννῆμαρ, etc.; gen.pl. ἐνενηκοντων (Chios; Aeolizing).

•ETYM Acc. to Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 99, a pre-form *$h_1neu\underline{n}$-$d\acute{k}omt$- regularly developed into *ἐνεϝνήκοντα, in which the -ϝ- was lost at an early stage. See ▶ἐννέα.

ἐνεός [adj.] 'speechless, dumb, stupid' (IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also ἐννεός.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐνεο-στασίη 'speechlessness' (A. R. 3, 76).

•DER ἐνεότης 'dumbness' (Arist.).
•ETYM The form recalls κενεός, but has no etymology. Acc. to Brugmann 1912: 1ff., it is related to εὖνις, etc.; this is correctly rejected by Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 305. Fur.: 392 recalls νενός· εὐήθης 'meek, silly' (H.), and further νενίηλος (also ἐνίηλος), but does this prove Pre-Greek origin?

ἔνερθε(ν) [adv., prep.] '(from) below, below'. ◅IE **ner-(ter-o-)* 'the lower one'▻
•VAR Also νέρθε(ν) (Hom.), ἔνερθα (Dor. Lesb.).
•COMP Also ὑπ-, ἐπ-ένερθε(ν). See Lejeune 1939, especially 341ff.
•DER ἔνεροι 'those below, those below the earth', of the dead below the earth and the chthonic gods (Hom.), compar. ἐνέρτερος, νέρτερος 'below (the earth)' (Hom.), superl. ἐνέρτατος 'the lowest' (Emp.).
•ETYM Cf. the opposites ὕπερ-θε(ν), ὑπέρ-τερος, -τατος, from ►ὑπέρ; also, ὕπερον, ὑπέρα. A good formal agreement with νέρτερος is found in Italic: U *nertru* 'sinistro', Osc. *nertra-k* 'a sinistra'. It has been cmopared with further Gm. words for 'north', e.g. ON *norðr* [n.], which require zero grade: PGm. **nŭrþra-*, IE **nr-tro-*, with basic meaning 'region where the sun is below [the earth]', or 'left side of someone who turns to the east when praying'. Another formation in Arm. *ner-k'-in* 'the one below' (cf. *i nerk'oy, i nerk'ust* '[from] below'). Also different is Skt. *naraka-* 'hell' (Wackernagel-Debrunner 1954: 150). Without consonantal suffix, there is ToB *ñor* 'below' < **nēr-* (see Adams 1999). As Armenian has no **e-*, this is probably a Greek innovation. Further, one connects Lith. *neriŭ, neŕti* 'plunge, slip into', etc. (see ►δενδρύω); see also ►νειρός. The Gr. ἐ- may be compared with that of ἐκεῖ.

ἐνετή [f.] 'pin, brooch'. ◅IE **(H)ieh$_1$-* 'throw; make, do'▻
•VAR ἐνετήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'clyster syringe'.
•ETYM Verbal noun of ἐν-ίημι; see ►ἵημι.

ἐνέωρα [adv.] acc. to Baunack *Phil.* 65 (1906): 637f. 'in the air' (inscr. Milete), comparing μετέωρα (cf. ►μετέωρος). ◅GR▻
•ETYM Hypostasis of ἀερ-?

ἔνη [f.] sc. ἡμέρα, only in adverbial expressions mg. 'the day after tomorrow'. ◅IE **h$_1$eno-* 'that one'▻
•VAR e.g. ἔς τ' αὔριον ἔς τε ἔνηφιν (Hes. *Op.* 410), with surprising hiatus; ἔνης, εἰς ἔνην, τῇ ἔνῃ (Att.), ἔνας (Theoc.), ἔναρ (Lacon.)· ἐς τρίτην 'on the third day', ἐπέναρ· εἰς τετάρτην. Λάκωνες 'on the fourth day (Lacon.)' (H.).
•ETYM Old pronoun, seen in ►ἐκεῖνος.

ἐνηής [adj.] 'mild, soft, benevolent' (*IG* 14, 1648: 8; metrical tomb inscription). ◅IE? **h$_2$eu-* 'enjoy, desire', or **h$_1$euH-* 'help, assist'▻
•VAR Gen. and acc.sg. ἐνηέος, -έα (Hom., Hes.), nom.pl. -ῆες, -έες (Opp.).
•DER ἐνηείη 'mildness, benevolence' (P 670, Opp.).
•ETYM Uncertain. Formations like ἐν-τελής (from τέλος) point to a second member **ἦος*, which can be PGr. **ἄϝος* or **ἦϝος*, the latter of which would differ only in ablaut from Skt. *ávas-*, Av. *auuah-* [n.] 'favor, benevolence, help' (**h$_1$euH-os-*), in which case ἐνηής would properly mean "having benevolence". However, it is rather

perhaps related to Lat. *aveō* 'be eager', Skt. *āvay-* 'consume', etc. with initial *ᾱ-. For the ablaut, it has been compared with ἄγος beside Skt. *ágas-* (from decomposition?). It has additionally been compared with ἀΐτης (s.v. ►ᾱ῎ϊτᾱς), from *ἄ(ϝ)ος with short α-.

ἐνήνοθεν ⇒ἐνθεῖν.

ἐνηρόσιον [n.] 'rent on ploughed land' (Delos, Halic.; since IV[a]) ◅IE *h_2erh_3- 'plough'▻
•VAR In the same mg. ἐναράτιον (Rhodos III[a]).
•ETYM Hellenistic technical term, hypostasized from ἐν ἀρότω or ἀράτω (cf. on Ἀράτυος) by means of a suffix -ιο-: "[rent] on the ploughed land"; the -η- is from compositional lengthening. Likewise, προ-ηρόσιος 'before the time of ploughing' (Hell.).

ἔνθα [adv.], demonstrative and relative 'there, here, where', first local, but secondarily also temporal; also 'to there, to here; where to' (on the use Hom. see Bolling *Lang.* 26 (1950): 371ff.); ◅IE *h_1eno- 'there'▻
•VAR ἔνθεν 'from there, from where' (Il.). On the difference between ἔνθα and ἔνθεν see Lejeune 1939: 375ff.
•DER ἐνθά-δε 'to there, here', ἐνθέν-δε 'from here' (Il.); also ἔνθινος 'from here' (Megar.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 204), ἐνθάδιος· ἐντόπιος 'local' (H.). From crossing of ἔνθα and αὐτά (with elision or shortened from *ἐνθᾱυτα) arose Ion. ἐνθαῦτα (cf. τοῖα : τοιαῦτα); with transfer of aspiration after ἔν-θα, ἔν-θεν arose Att. ἐνταῦ-θα (and ἐντεῦ-θεν) 'there, (to) here' (since I 601; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 23; Att. inscr. also ἐνθαῦθα, -θοῖ); secondary loss of aspiration (after ν) in Arg. ἐντάδε, El. ἐνταῦτα. Ion. ἐνθεῦτεν, Att. ἐντεῦθεν 'from here, from there' (τ 568) is cross of ἔνθαῦτα and ἔνθεν (Wackernagel *IF* 14 (1903): 370[1]); different Schwyzer: 628[7]: *ἐνθᾱυτα > *ἐνθηυτα > *ἐνθευτα: ἐνθεῦτεν. After τοῦτο, etc. ἐντοῦθα (Cyme, Oropos).
•ETYM No parallel formations in other languages. For ἔν-θεν, cf. πό-θεν, etc. An old suffix -θα is found in ►ἰθαγενής, but other material (Arm. *and* 'there', OIr. *and* 'there', Lat. *inde*, OCS *kǫdu* 'from where?') is doubtful; see WH s.v. *inde* and *ēn*. It has been compared with the deictic element *h_1eno-; see ►ἔνη.

ἐνθεῖν [v.] 'to come, go' (Dor., Delph., Arc). ◅IE? *h_1ned^h- 'come about'▻
•VAR Aor. ind. ἦνθον, ptc. ἐνθών, etc. Compare the epic perf. and plpf. forms: ἀνήνοθεν (Λ 266), of αἷμα; ἐνήνοθεν (ρ 270), of κνίση (v.l. ἀν-); ἐπ-ενήνοθε (Β 219, Κ 134 of λάχνη; θ 365 of ἔλαιον), κατ-ενήνοθεν (Hes. *Sc.* 269 of κόνις; *h. Cer.* 279 of κόμαι [pl.]), παρ-ενήνοθε (A. R. 1, 664 of μῆτις); the mg. is perhaps 'to bubble up, spring' or 'to spread out'.
•ETYM Since ἐνθεῖν is widespread in Doric, it is not from ἐλθεῖν (with a limited dialectal development λτ > ντ). There is no good verbal connection for ἐνθεῖν outside Greek. The forms ἐν-, ἀν-ήνοθε have been compared with ἐνθεῖν (ablaut ἐνεθ- : ἐνοθ- : ἐνθ-); ἀνήνοθεν could go back to *ἀν-ενήνοθεν by haplology. Formally, we may reconstruct a root *h_1ned^h- 'to come about' vel sim. The Indo-Iranian group of Skt. *ádhvan-* 'road', OAv. *aduuan-* [m.] 'id.' < *h_1nd^h-*uen-* is

probably related. The connection with ON *ǫndurr* 'snowshoe' seems more dubious. Not related to ►ἄνθος.

ἔνθινος 1 ⇒ἔνθα.

ἔνθινος 2 [adj.] 'godlike', ἔνορκόν τε … καὶ ἔνθινον (Hierapytna, Crete). ◅GR▻
•ETYM Contaminated from ἔνθεος (Cret. *ἔνθιος) and θέϊνος (Cret. *θί-ινος > θῖνος; built after ἀνθρώπινος). Cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 724.

ἐνθουσιάζω [v.] 'to be possessed by a god' (Pl., Hell.). ◅GR▻
•VAR -ιάω (A., E.), aor. ἐνθουσιάσαι, -ᾶσαι.
•DER ἐνθουσίασις (Pl., Ph.), ἐνθουσιασμός (Democr., Pl.), ἐνθουσία (Procl.; deverbal); ἐνθουσιαστικός 'possessed' (Pl., Arist.), -αστής 'somebody who is possessed' (Ptol.); ἐνθουσιώδης [adj.], -δῶς [adv.] 'possessed' (Hp.).
•ETYM From ἔνθεος, after the verbs in -σιάζω (θυσιάζω, etc.) and the verbs of illness in -ιάω (Osthoff *MU* 2 (1879): 38); on εο > ου, see Schwyzer: 251. On ἔνθεος, properly "in whom is a god", see Schwyzer: 429 and 435 and Strömberg 1946: 115.

ἐνθύσκει [v.] · ἐντυγχάνει 'meets with'; ἀποθύ<σ>κειν· ἀποτυγχάνειν 'to miss'; συνθύξω· συναντήσω 'I shall meet with' (H.). ◅IE *d^heug^h- 'fit'▻
•ETYM From *θύχ-σκ-ει to τυχεῖν (see ►τυγχάνω). See Schwyzer: 708; doubts in Brugmann *IF* 9 (1898): 348[1].

ἔνι ⇒ἔν.

ἐνιαυτός [m.] 'anniversary, year' (Il.; Risch *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946): 254). ◅?▻
•DER ἐνιαύσιος, Delph. Coan -τιος '(one) year, a year long, every year' (π 454), ἐνιαυσιαῖος 'a year long' (Arist.; see Chantraine 1933: 49); denominative verb ἐνιαυτίζομαι, -ίζω 'pass a year' (Pl. Com.).
•ETYM A new expression for 'year', properly 'anniversary' (cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v.). For the formation, cf. κονι-ορ-τός, βου-λυ-τός, etc. (Schwyzer: 501); it seems to contain a word ἔνος 'year' (H., Sch. Theoc. 7, 147), seen in several compounds : δίενος 'two years old' (Thphr.), ἑπτάενον· ἑπταετῆ H., τετράενος (Call.); as an *s*-stem, in τετράενες [n.] (Theocr. 7, 147), ὕπενες· εἰς τετάρτην H.; see also ►ἥνις. The same word also perhaps occurs in Baltic and Gm., e.g. as a second element in Lith. *pér-nai* 'last year' (**per-h_1n-*, with acute from the laryngeal), perhaps in Ru. *loní* < **ol-ni* 'of the past year', Go. *fram fair-nin jera* 'from the past year'. The second member seems to contain ἰαύω, either the present-stem ἐν-ιαυ-τός (Meillet *MSL* 23 (1923): 274f.) or the verbal root (cf. κονι-ορ-τός, etc. above), in which case -ι- would be a compositional vowel: ἐν-ι-αυ-τός (Schwyzer: 424[5], 448). This is hardly probable; neither are the semantics (*"pause of the year"?) evident. Acc. to Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 87ff., Brugmann *IF* 1 (1892): 319f.), and many others, it belongs to ἐνιαύω as *"Rast-, Ruhestation der Sonne, Jahreswende"; a το-formation from a present would, however, be remarkable.

ἔνιοι [adj.] 'some, a few'. ◅IE? *$h_1$eno- 'that'▻

•DER ἐνίοτε 'sometimes', ἐνιαχῆ, -οῦ 'in some places, sometimes', originally Ionic words (only in prose), that were taken up in Attic; late Dorianizing reshaping ἐνίοκα (Archyt.), also ἐνιάκις 'sometimes' (Sor.; after πολλάκις, etc.).
•ETYM Uncertain. The explanation by Ebel (*KZ* 5, 70f., taken over by Schwyzer 614), starting from ἔνι οἵ, ἔνι ὅτε = ἔστιν οἵ, ἔσθ' ὅτε, must be given up: ἔνι in the function 'is, are' is ascertained only since V-VI^{P} (see ►ἔν). The best solution seems to be the hypothesis of Benfey, further advocated by Wackernagel 1907: 6, assuming ἔν 'one' (like HG *einige* to *eins* and MoE *some* to **sem*); the psilosis would be Ionic. For the ending, cf. μύριοι, χίλιοι; then ἐνίοτε, ἐνιαχῆ, -οῦ would be formed after ὅτε, πότε, πολλαχῆ, -οῦ, etc. Improbably, Brugmann *IF* 28 (1911): 355ff. connects it with the demonstrative *ἐνος in ἔνη 'the third day', ἐκεῖνος, etc.

ἐνῑπή [f.] 'reproach, menace, threat' (Il.). ◅IE? **h₁eni-h₂k^{w}-* 'reproach'▻
•DER Beside it the *yod*-present ἐνίσσω, aor. ἐνένῑπον, ἠνίπαπον (Schwyzer: 648 and 748, Chantraine 1942: 398), new present ἐνίπτω (Il.; ἐνίπτω also A. *Ag.* 590, cf. on ►ἐννέπω) 'reproach, revile'; lengthened present ἐνιπτάζω (A. R.). Here also the river name Ἐνιπεύς (Hdt.) as "rager" (Boßhardt apud Frisk)?
•ETYM As a verbal noun of ἐνίσσω, ἐνῑπή must have had a labiovelar *k^{w}. Brugmann connected it with ►ὀπῑπεύω, Skt. *īkṣate* 'see', etc. (root **h₃k^{w}-* 'see'), which he substantiated (*IF* 12, 31) by referring to ὄπις 'reverential look', also 'retribution, punishment'. Likewise, Porzig 1942: 228: ἐνιπή as 'malign look'. Brugmann further connected it (in a rather unclear way) with ἴψαο, ἴψεται (see ►ἵπτομαι) 'to oppress, punish' vel sim. This in turn has been connected with ►ἰάπτω 'shoot, hurt, etc.' < **h₂i-h₂ek^{w}-i̯e/o-*; thence ἵπτομαι from **h₂i-h₂k^{w}-* (Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 282ff; Kuiper *MKNAW* 14: 5 (1951): 25[1]), and ἐνῑ-πή from **h₁eni-h₂k^{w}-*.

ἐννέα [num.] 'nine' (Il.). ◅IE **h₁n(e)un* 'nine'▻
•VAR Also ηεννέα (Heracl.; after ἑπτά, ὀκτώ), ἐννῆ or -ή (Delph., Cyren., etc.; cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 88).
•COMP As a first member beside ἐννεα- (e. g. Hom. ἐννεά-βοιος) also older ἐνα-, Ion. εἰνα-, e.g. Hom. εἰνά-ετες [adv.] 'nine years long', εἰνά-νυχες 'nine nights long', ἐνα-κόσιοι (εἰνα-) 'nine hundred'.
•DER In derivatives: ἔνα-τος 'the ninth', Ion. εἴνατος, Argiv. Cret. ἤνατος, Aeol. ἔνοτος; εἰνάς [f.] 'the ninth day' (Hes. *Op.* 810) beside ἐννεάς 'set of nine' (Theoc.); ἐνάκις (εἰ-) 'nine times' et al.; but ἐννῆμαρ 'nine days long' (A 53), see Sommer 1950: 28f., 33 with details, e.g. Boeot. ἐνακηδεκάτη and ἐνναετήρω (Hes. *Op.* 436). On ►ἐνενήκοντα, see s.v.; on ἔνατος cf. δέκατος s.v. ►δέκα.
•ETYM The Greek form exists beside Skt. *náva*, Lat. *novem* (with *-m* after *decem*, *septem*), Go. *niun*, Lith. *devynì*, OCS *devętь* (with *d-* by dissimilation from *-n-* or after *dẽšimt*, *desętь*), etc., all from IE **h₁neun*. The **h₁-* is reconstructed because both Gr. ἐννέ(ϝ)α, *ἐνϝα- (**h₁n̥un̥*, whence εἰνα-, ἐνα-, etc.) and Arm. *inn* (= *inən*, disyllabic) show forms with initial vowel. Thrac. ενεα is unclear (von Blumenthal *IF* 51 (1933): 115). A special problem is presented by the geminate in ἐννέα. Acc. to Ward *Lang.* 24 (1948): 50ff., it was caused by the syllable length in ἑπτά, ὀκτω (improbable); acc. to Sommer 1950: 27, *ἐν|ϝα- changed *ἐ|νέϝα to *ἐν||νέϝα (which

is improbable). Differently, Wackernagel *KZ* 28 (1887): 132ff.); see Schwyzer: 591. Connection with ►νέος 'new' is impossible in view of the *h_1-. Incorrectly, Szemerényi 1964: 107-118 (who does not accept the laryngeal).

ἐν(ν)έπω [v.] 'to say, recount, announce' (Il.). On the mg. Fournier 1946: 47f. ◄IE *sek^w- 'say'►

•VAR Aor. ἐνισπεῖν, ipv. pl. ἔσπετε (epic), fut. ἐνισπήσω (ε 98), ἐνίψω (H 447; for *ἐνέψω? Chantraine 1942: 443), new present ἐνίπτω (Pi. *P.* 4, 201; cf. s.v. ►ἐνῑπή).

•COMP Also with preverb: ἐξ-, προσ-, παρ-, etc.

•DER ►ἄσπετος; also ►θεσπέσιος, ►θέσπις. Note προσ-εψία (cod. -ιᾶ; leg. -ις?)· προσαγόρευσις 'greeting' (H.). On ►ἐνοπή, see s.v.

•ETYM The imperative ἔννεπε is identical with Lat. *inseque, insece* 'say, recount' (with *inquam, inquit*); -νν- in this form is attributable to metrical lengthening (Solmsen 1901: 35, Chantraine 1942: 100f.), or rather to Aeolic assimilation from -νσ- (e.g. Schulze 1892: 128 A. 2, 173 and Lejeune 1972: 128; also, Schwyzer: 300)? The zero grade of (σ)επ- (IE *sek^w-) is found in the aorist ἐνι-σπ-εῖν (ipv. ἔσπετε < *ἔν-σπ-ετε). On the preverb ἐν-, see Chantraine *RPh.* 68: 117 and Schwyzer 1950: 457. A verbal noun appears in OIr. *insce* 'discourse' < IE *$en(i)$-sk^w-$iā$; Celtic has other forms like OW *hepp* 'inquit'. In Lith., there is only dialectal *sekù, sèkti* 'say', but otherwise this formation was replaced in Balto-Slavic by Lith. *sakaũ, -ýti* 'say', Ru. *sočít'* 'indicate' < caus. *sok^w-*eie*-, which is also found in Gm., e.g. ON *segja*, OS *seggian*, etc., PGm. pres. *$sagje$- < IE *sok^w-*éie*-. OHG *sagên* is an innovation. The future ἐνίψω arose from *h_1eni-sk^w-*s*-$ō$, with dissimilation of the first *s* (not from *ἐνέψω, which is not authentic); see Waack-Erdmann *MSS* 41 (1982): 199-204.

ἐννεσίαι [pl.] 'counsels, plans' (Il.), only dat. -ῃσι(ν) (E 894) except A. R. 3, 1364 (gen. -ἀων). ◄IE *$Hieh_1$- 'send, throw; make, do'►

•ETYM Prop. 'inspirations' ("in-givings"), from ἐν-ίημι with metrically necessary double -ν- (Chantraine 1942: 100). On the suffix -σίη (instead of -σις), see Schwyzer: 469, Risch 1937: 124, and Porzig 1942: 99. Likewise, ἐξεσίη (Hom.) 'sending out, message', from ἐξ-ίημι. See ►ἵημι.

ἐννότιος [adj.] 'humid' (Call. *Fr.* 350). ◄GR►

•ETYM Acc. to Leumann 1950: 51f., the form arose by false division from Λ 811 κατὰ δὲ νότιος ῥέεν ἱδρώς. However, other explanations are possible: that it is a cross of νότιος and ἔν-υγρος vel sim.; or a bahuvrīhi of ἐν and νοτία, on which see Strömberg 1946: 124.

ἕννυμι [v.] 'to clothe, dress (oneself)' (Il.). ◄IE *ues- 'cloth'►

•VAR Med. -μαι; Ion. εἵνυμι, -μαι, impf. κατα-είνυον Ψ 135 (v.l. -νυσαν, -λυον; cf. εἰλύω), aor. ἔσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, fut. ἕσ(σ)ω, -ομαι, Att. ἀμφιῶ, -οῦμαι, perf. med. εἷμαι, ἔσσαι, εἷται or ἕσται, εἱμένος, plpf. ἕστο, ἕεστο (Il.; cf. below), Att. ἡμφίεσμαι, ἡμφιεσμένος, poet. ἀμφεμμένος, aor. pass. ptc. ἀμφιεσθείς (Hdn.).

•COMP Often with preverb, especially ἀμφι- (always in Attic); also ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-, ἀπαμφι-, etc. New presents: ἀμφι-έζω, ►ἀμφιάζω.

•DER ▸ἑανός name of a woman's cloth s.v.; εἵματα [pl.] (rarely sing.) 'clothes, cover' (Il.), Aeol. (ϝ)έμματα (γέμματα· ἱμάτια 'clothes' H.), Cret. ϝῆμα (γῆμα· ἱμάτιον H.), also ϝήμας [gen.sg.] to ϝήμᾱ [f.] (cf. γνῶμα ~ γνώμη et al.); often as a second member, e.g. εὐ-, κακο-είμων. Diminutive εἱμάτια [pl.], Att. ▸ἱμάτιον, often plur. -ια, with ἱματίδιον, -ιδάριον, ἱματίζω, ἱματισμός, etc. Further ἔσθος [n.] 'clothes, dress' (Ω 94, Ar. [lyrical and Dor.]), formation like ἄχθος, πλῆθος, etc. (Schwyzer: 511, Benveniste 1935: 199); denominative perfect ἧσθημαι, mostly in ptc. ἠσθημένος (ἐ-) 'clothed' (Ion.) with ἐσθήματα [pl.] 'clothes' (trag., Th.), ἐσθήσεις 'id.' (Ath.); cf. Fraenkel 1910: 106f. More usual than ἔσθος is ἐσθής (Pi. ἐσθάς), -ῆτος [f.] 'id.' (Od.); attempts at an explanation by Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 527, Schwyzer *IF* 30 (1912): 443; lengthened dat.pl. ἐσθήσεσι (Hell.). γέστρα (= ϝέστρα; cod. γεστία, see below)· ἔνδυσις, στολή, ἱμάτια 'putting on, apparel, clothes' (H.); see Latte; to ἐφ- resp. ἀμφι-έννυμι: ἐφεστρίς [f.] 'upper garment, coat' (X.), ἀμφι-εστρίς [f.] 'coat, sleeping garment' (Poll.); on the formation Schwyzer: 465, Chantraine 1933: 338. From ἀμφι-έννυμι further ἀμφίεσμα (IA), -ίεσις (sch.), -ιεσμός (D. H. 8, 62; v.l. -ιασμός, from ▸ἀμφιάζω).

•ETYM The present ἔννυμι, εἵνυμι < *ϝέσ-νυ-μι (Att. -νν- from restored -σν-; Schwyzer: 284, 312, 322, Lejeune 1972: 123) is identical with Arm. *z-genum* 'to put on' (aor. *z-gec'ay*, med.). Beside this *nu*-present, there is also an athematic root present in Indo-Iranian and Hittite: Skt. *vás-te* 'clothes himself', Hitt. impv.act. 2pl. *ụeš-ten*, ind.pres.med. 3sg. *ụeš-ta*. Exactly parallel are the Greek perfect forms 1sg. εἷμαι < *ϝέσ-μαι (to which belongs analogical 3sg. εἵται), 2sg. ἕσ-σαι (Od.), 3sg. ἐπί-εσται (Hdt. 1, 47 = Skt. *vás-te*); these are perhaps reinterpreted old presents (cf. ptc. εἱμένος); see Chantraine 1942: 297, Schwyzer: 767. For the Greek σ-aorist, cf. ToB pret. *wässāte* 'he put on'. The nominal derivatives could be old: ἑανός [m.]: Skt. *vás-ana-* [n.] 'cloth'; εἷμα = Skt. *vás-man-* [n.] 'cloth'; ϝέστρᾱ : Skt. *vás-tra-* [n.] 'id.', MHG *wes-ter* 'christening dress'. Except for uncertain γεστία (see above), Greek does not have the normal derivative in *-t-* seen in Lat. *ves-ti-s*, Arm. *zges-t* (*u*-stem), Go. *wasti*. The idea that IE **ues-* 'dress, wear' is a derivative of **h₁eu-* 'put on', seen in Lat. *ind-uō*, etc., is impossible because of the initial **h₁-*.

ἐνόπαι [f.pl.] 'ear pendant' (S. *Fr.* 54). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Hypostasis from ἐν ὀπαῖς, properly "in the holes"; in the same meaning, διόπαι (Attica, Ar.), from δι' ὀπῶν "(fitted) through the holes". With oppositive accent, δί-οπος 'with two holes' (Epid., Ath.), a bahuvrīhi. See further ▸μετόπη and ▸ὀπή.

ἐνοπή [f.] 'cry, battle cry, sound(s), voice(s)' (Il.; on the mg. Trümpy 1950: 154f., but hardly all correct). ◂IE **sekʷ-* 'say' or **uekʷ-* 'speak'▸

•ETYM A connection with ἐν(ν)έπω 'say' (cf. Schwyzer: 460) is perhaps better than that with ▸ἔπος, etc. as *ἐν-ϝοπ-ή (Brugmann *KZ* 25 (1881): 306²) for semantic reasons; however, DELG holds that a connection with ἐννέπω is impossible, and prefers the other etymology. This presupposes a verb with ἐν-; cf. Lat. *in-vocō*, OPr. *en-wackēmai* 'we invoke'. Cf. Porzig 1942: 251.

ἐνοργείας [f.] · τὰς νεοσσείας. Κρῆτες 'breedings, nestlings (Cret.)' (H.). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 784 (who writes ἐνοργία), it is abstracted from ἔνοργος 'who is ἐν ὀργῇ, i.e in the rutting season'. See ►ὀργή.

ἔνος [adj.] 'old' as opposed to 'new', only in fixed expressions about fruits and officials of the past year, also of the last day of the preceding month, indicating the new period (Hes.; ἔνη the first day of the month, with Ion. psilosis?); in the last sense mostly ἔνη καὶ νέα (sc. σελήνη; Att. since Solon). ◄IE **seno-* 'old'►

•ETYM The common IE word for 'old', **sénos*, is still found in most branches, in opposition to 'new': Gr. ἔνος, Arm. *hin*, Skt. *sána-*, Lith. *sẽnas*, OIr. *sen*; here also ON *sina* [f.] 'withered grass of last year' (cf. ἔνος βλαστός, etc.). Some languages also use it in opposition to 'young': thus e.g. Celtic and Lithuanian, but also Gm., e.g. Go. *sineigs* 'πρεσβύτης', as well as Iranian, Av. *hana-* 'old, grey'; nevertheless, Skt. *sána-* is not used in this way. The latter meaning became dominant in Italic: Lat. *senex*, Osc. *senateís* '*senātūs*'. In the Eastern languages, **sénos* was replaced in this meaning by derivatives from the root of ►γέρων. Cf. Porzig 1954b: 343ff.

ἔνοσις [f.] 'shaking, quake' (Hes., E. [lyr.]). ◄?►

•DIAL Myc. *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*, with a difficult *-e-*.

•COMP As a first member in the epic compounds ἐνοσί-χθων, ἐννοσί-γαιος 'earth-shaker', epithets of Poseidon; in the same mg. ἐννοσίδᾶς (Pi.; with δα- in Δα-μάτηρ (see Δημήτηρ and von Wilamowitz 1931: 203); after this εἰνοσί-φυλλος 'shaking off foliage' (Hom.; ἐνν-, εἰν- with metrical lengthening; cf. Chantraine 1942: 100); cf. Knecht 1946: 26.

•DER ἐνοσιζεται· τρέμει, σείεται 'tremble, shake' (Cyr.).

•ETYM Uncertain. The explanation as *ἔν-ϝοθ-τις from ►ὠθέω (see also ►ἔθων, ►ἔθειρα) by Pott, followed by many scholars, meets with several objections: the sequence -θ-τ- should have given -στ- (cf. e.g. πύσ-τις beside πεῦ-σις); the *o*-grade as in ἄ-φρων: φρήν is not expected in a τι-derivative (and refuted by Mycenaean anyway); finally, a prefix ἐν- is not well explained ("bump against"?). If ἔνοσις is indeed a primary τι-derivative (cf. Holt 1941: 94f.), we would rather expect a formation like ἄρο-σις; however, ἔνοσις may have been derived from the compounds. Incorrectly, Janda 1999: 183-203 (followed by Stüber 2002: 88), who assumes a root **h₁enh₃-* 'to move', with which he connects Skt. *ánas*, Lat. *onus* 'burden'). However, no such root is attested: the Lat. *o*-grade points to **h₃en-* and the apparent lack of Brugmann in Skt. is explained by Lubotsky 1990: 132. Kloekhorst 2008: now connects *aniie/a-*^{zi} 'work, produce, etc.' with these words as **h₃n-ie/o-*. Finally, the root meaning of **h₃en-* would rather be 'carry on a cart or an animal', which does not seem adequate for Greek; neither does it solve the problem posed by Mycenaean. Thus, the Greek words remain without etymology.

ἐνσχερώ ⇒ἐπισχερώ.

ἐνταῦθα •VAR ἐντεῦθεν. ⇒ἔνθα.

ἔντε ⇒ἔστε.

ἔντεα [n.pl.] 'equipment', especially 'defensive weapons' (Il.; cf. Trümpy 1950: 79ff.). ◅?▻

•VAR ἔντος [sg.] (Archil. 6).

•COMP As a first member in ἐντεσι-μήστωρ (also ἐντεο-)· ἔμπειρος ὅπλων 'experienced with tools/weapons' (H.), further in ἐντεσι-εργούς [acc.pl.] 'working harnessed'(?), epithet of ἡμιόνους (Ω 277).

•ETYM Beside ἔντεα, there is ἐντύνω, -ομαι, ἐντύω, aor. ἐντῦναι 'to equip, prepare' (Il.). As it recalls ἀρτύ(ν)ω, it may have been built after this verb (Porzig 1942: 338). A basic noun *ἐντύς could be assumed. Connection with ►ἄνυμι, ἀνύω is impossible (see Frisk). Compare ►ἔναρα and ►αὐθέντης (on the psilosis, see Chantraine 1942: 186).

ἐντελέχεια [f.] philosophical notion created by Aristotle, 'completion, fullness' (opposed to δύναμις). ◅GR?▻

•ETYM Compound from ἐντελὲς ἔχειν (cf. συνέχεια, νουνέχεια, etc.), hardly from the rare and doubtful ἐντελεχής; the resemblance to ἐνδελεχής, -εια has led to mistakes in the mss.

ἔντερα [n.pl.] 'intestines, bowels', also sing. 'gut' (Il.). ◅IE *h_1*entero-* 'inside part'▻

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐντερο-κήλη 'breach of the intestines, hernia' (Dsc., Gal.; see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 285, Strömberg 1944: 69).

•DER Diminutive ἐντερίδια (Com.); also ἐντέριον (M. Ant. 6, 13?; form and mg. uncertain); ἐντεριώνη 'inside of a fruit, heartwood of a plant or tree' (Hp., Thphr.; Strömberg 1937: 127f.); formation like ἰασιώνη, εἰρεσιώνη (Chantraine 1933: 208); ἐντερόνεια (Ar. *Eq.* 1185) mg. unclear; acc. to H. and Suid. = ἐντεριώνη 'innermost part'; adjectives ἐντερικός 'of the ἔ.' (Arist.), ἐντέρινος 'made from bowels' (sch.); denominative verb ἐντερεύω 'gut fishes' (Com.).

•ETYM Old word for intestines, identical with Arm. *ənder-kʿ* [pl.], *-acʿ* [gen.pl.] and with ON *iðrar* [pl.] < PGm. **inþerōz*. Hübschmann 1897: 447f. suggested that the Arm. word was borrowed from Greek. The original adjectivial meaning is preserved in Skt. *ántara-*, Av. *antara-* 'being inside', with Osc. *Entraí* [dat.sg.] *'Interae', name of a goddess; in Latin, it was replaced by *interior*. IE *h_1*enter-o* is an adjective derived from an adverb **enter*, preserved in Skt. *antár* 'inside', Lat. *inter* 'between'. Besides OHG *untar*, there is also Osc. *anter* 'under' = 'amongst' from the zero grade **h_1*n̥*ter*. At the basis is the adverb **h_1*en* (see ►ἔν) with the comparative suffix *-ter*; see Benveniste 1948: 120f.

ἐντολή ⇒τέλλω 1.

ἔντος [n.]⇒ἔντεα.

ἐντός [adv.] and [prep.] 'inside' (Il.). ◅IE **h_1*en-tos* '(from) inside'▻

•DER ἔντοσθε(ν), rare ἔντοθεν (after ἔνδοθεν, ἔκτοθεν, etc.) '(from) inside' (epic Ion., Il.;) with ἐντόσθια and ἐντοσθίδια [n.pl.] 'intestines' (Hp., Arist.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 39), with the adjective ἐντόσθιος, -ίδιος 'of the intestines' (medic.); cf. below. Compar. ἐντότερος 'inner' (LXX).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *intus* '(from) inside'; IE formation in *-tos* (e.g. Skt. *i-táḥ* 'from here', Lat. *peni-tus* '[from] inside') from the adverb **h₁en*; see ►ἔν. Cf. also ►ἐκτός. ἐντόσθια is not (as per Vendryes *REGr.* 23 (1910): 74) from *ἐντόστια (after ἔντοσθε) = Skt. *antastya-* [n.] 'intestines'; the word belongs to Skt. *antár* 'inside' (see ►ἔντερον) with regular replacement of *-r* by *-s-* in sandhi before the suffix *-tya-*.

ἐντροπαλίζομαι [v.] 'to turn around (often), turn back' (Il.). ◅IE **trep-* 'turn'▻
•VAR Only ptc. -όμενος. In the same mg. also μετατροπαλίζεο [impv.med.] (Y 190).
•ETYM Expressive formation from τροπέομαι, τρέπομαι, modelled on these like στροφαλίζω on στροφέω, στρέφω and κροταλίζω on κροτέω. The original starting point was a noun in -αλ(ο-); cf. κρόταλον, στροφάλιγξ. Chantraine 1942: 340. An adjective ἐντροπαλός 'shameful, afraid' is attested in MoGr.; cf. Schwyzer: 32. Differently, Bechtel 1914: 318f.

ἔντυβον [n.] 'andive' (Gp.). ◅LW Lat. (Sem.)▻
•VAR ἴτυβος (Edict. Diocl.); ἴντουβος (Ps. Dsc.).
•ETYM The Latin word seems to be a loan from Semitic (see André 1956: 170, Hiltbrunner 1958: 174-177, and Hiltbrunner *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 197 (1960): 22f.).

ἐντύνω •VAR ἐντύω. ⇒ἔντεα.

ἐντυπάς [adv.] uncertain, but probably 'wrapped in' (Ω 163 ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι γεραιὸς || ἐντυπὰς ἐν χλαίνῃ κεκαλυμμένος; later A. R., Q. S.). ◅IE? **tup-* 'squat'?▻
•DER ἐντυπαδία H; ἐντετύπασται 'is wrapped (in)' (*BSA* 16, 107 [Pisidia]).
•ETYM The meaning was already uncertain in antiquity, as appears from the explanations in Hesychius: ἐντυπάς· ἐντετυπωμένος. ἐγκεκαλυμμένος τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ ἱματίῳ, τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου. ἢ κεκυφώς 'formed, molded. With the face wrapped in the mantle, holding the hand before the face. Or with the head down (in shame)'. Mostly (with the schol.) connected with ►τύπτω, τύπος and taken as 'well enveloped in', i.e. in such a way that the outline of the bodily members and the head could be distinguished. Taken by Kurschat *apud* Prellwitz as 'squatting', related to Lith. *tūpti*, *tupėti* 'id.'. On the adverbs in -ας, see Schwyzer: 631 and Chantraine 1942: 251.

ἐνώδιον 'earring' (Att. inscr. since 399[a]; Meisterhans 1900: 65 and 79), often dual (Schwyzer 1950: 47).
•ETYM Hypostatic diminutive formation from *ἐν-ου(σ)-ίδιον, with transfer of the ω from ὦτα, etc. (Wackernagel *Phil. Anz.* 15 (1885): 199ff.; see also Schulze 1892: 38[1]). Since Hellenistic times, it has instead been ἐνώτιον, fully adapted to ὦτα (inscr. Delos 279[a], etc.) with the new diminutive ἐνωτίδιον (inscr. Delos, Tanagra); further, ἐνωτάριον after ὠτάριον (H. s.v. βοτρύδια). Beside it exists a formation in -άδιον in ἐξωβάδια· ἐνώτια. Λάκωνες (H.), from *ἐξ-ωυh-άδια; cf. Schwyzer: 520). See ►οὖς.

ἐνῶπα [adv.] 'in the face, openly; against' with gen. (O 320, Orph. *L.*, Epigr.). Univerbation of ἐν ὦπα, cf. ►ἔναντα and Schwyzer: 619. ◅IE **h₃ekʷ-* 'eye'▻
•VAR Only in κατενῶπα (κατ' ἐνῶπα, κατένωπα).

•DER ἐνωπα-δίως 'face to face, in the flesh' (ψ 94), -δίς (A. R. 4, 351), -δόν (Q. S. 2, 84) 'id.'.

•ETYM The form ἐνώπ-ιος 'in the face, visible' arose by hypostasis, mostly in its neuter form ἐνώπιον as an adverb and preposition (with gen.) 'in person, face to face' (Hell.), κατενώπιον 'id.' (Hell.). Additionally, there is ἐνώπια [n.pl.] 'front wall, outside wall, front of a house' (Hom.), also in sing. (Delos II[a]); 'face' (A. *Supp.* 146 [lyr.]). The form ἐνωπῇ 'in the face, openly' (E 374), an isolated dative, is from ἐνωπή 'look, face' (only in ἐνωπῆς γλήνεα Nic. *Th.* 227; simplex ὠπή A. R.), if not a reformation of ἐνῶπα after the adverbial datives in -ῇ (σπουδῇ, etc.; Schwyzer: 622); cf. Chantraine 1942: 249. See ►ὤψ, and cf. ►πρόσωπον and ►μέτωπον.

ἐνώτιον ⇒ ἐνῴδιον.

ἐξ [adv., prev., prep.] 'out' (Il.). Details in Schwyzer 1950: 461ff. ◄IE *h_1eg^h-s* 'out' (or *h_1ek-s*)►

•VAR Before consonant ἐκ (ἐγ, ἐχ), dialectally ἐς (Boeot. always ἐ(σ)ς).

•DER ἔξω [adv., prep. with gen.] 'outside' (cf. ἄνω, εἴσω); thence ἔξωθεν 'from outside' (IA), etc. Variants: ἐξεῖ· ἔξω (H.) with locative ending, Cret. εξοι, Delph. εξος; on ἔξουθα, ἔξεσα see Lejeune 1939: 329, 355. Cf. ►ἐχθός (Locr., Delphi) from ἐξ.

•ETYM Exact agreements with ἐξ are found in Italic and Celtic, e.g. Lat. *ex* (*ē*, *ec*-), MW *ex*-, OIr. *ess*-; further, in Baltic and Slavic forms with unclear *i*-, e.g. Lith. *iš*, *iž*, OCS *is*, *iz*; doubtfully, Arm. *i*, *y*- 'out, from' (beside *i*, *y*- 'in'). Because of the aspirates in ἔσχατος, ἐχθός (= ἐκτός), etc., one has posited an IE pre-form *h_1eg^h-s* instead of *h_1ek-s*. This assumption is unnecessary for ►ἐχθός, but seems unavoidable for ►ἔσχατος. Cf. also ►ἐχθρός.

ἕξ [num.] 'six'. ◄IE *$sueks$* 'six'►

•DIAL Myc. *we-pe-za* /[h]wekspeza/, see Viredaz *SMEA* 23 (1982): 310-313; Dor., etc. ϝέξ.

•COMP As a first member, beside rare ἑξ-, ἑκ-, usually ἑξα- (ἑξά-μετρος, ἑξα-κόσιοι, etc.) after ἑπτα-, τετρα-; ἑξή-κοντα after πεντή-κοντα; on second members -κοντα and -κόσιοι see on ►διᾱκόσιοι.

•DER ἑξίτης (scil. βόλος) 'throw of six in the game of dice' (Epigr., Poll.); ἑξᾶς, -ᾶντος [m.] (Sicil.) formed after Lat. *sextans*, together with ἑξάντιον (Epich.). Ordinal ἕκτος, Cret. ϝέκτος; adverb ἑξάκις (after πολλάκις, etc.); collective ἑξάς [f.] 'number of six' (Ph.) with ἑξαδικός.

•ETYM The IE numeral 'six' has two variants: Lat. *sex*, Germ., e.g. Go. *saihs*, Lith. *šeš-i*, OCS *šes-tь*, Alb. *gjash-tē*, ToA *ṣäk* seem to go back to IE **seks*. On the other hand, Gr. ϝέξ, Arm. *vec'*, Celt., e.g. MW *chwech*, Skt. *ṣáṣ*-, Av. *xšuuaš* point to **sueks*. However, although some details remain unclear, the form with *-u̯-* is certainly original, while the loss of *-u̯-* may have been triggered by 'seven', **septm*. Gr. ἕξ (Dor. ϝέξ) continues **sueks* with loss of the digamma or the aspiration; on Boeot. ἕξ (beside ϝικαστῆ), see Schwyzer: 226.

The ordinal ἕκτος, ϝέκτος is probably from **su̯ek-to-s*, as **su̯eks-to-s* would give **-χθ-. An original sequence **-kt-* also seems necessary for certain Germanic forms, OHG *sehto* (beside *sehsto*), ON *sétti*. Other forms, however, show *-s-*: Lat. *sextus*, Go. *saihsta*, ToA *ṣkäṣt*. Yet other forms are ambiguous: Skt. *ṣaṣṭhá*-, Lith. *šẽštas*, OCS

šesto; note Gaul. *suexos*. On unclear ξέστριξ κριθή· ἡ ἑξαστιχος. Κνίδιοι H., see Schwyzer: 269, 590. See Lubotsky 2000b on the IIr. and IE reconstruction.

ἔξαιτος ⇒αἴνυμαι.

ἐξαίφνης ⇒ἐξαπίνης.

ἔξαλος [adj.] 'out of the sea, far from the sea' (λ 134 = ψ 281), weakly attested v.l. for ἐξ ἁλός; also Emp. 117 (ἰχθύς; from ἐξάλλομαι?) and Hell. ◁GR▷
•ETYM Hypostasis of ἐξ ἁλός. Hardly correctly, Leumann 1950: 55[24].

ἐξάντης ⇒ἄντα.

ἐξαπίνης [adv.] 'suddenly' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Dor. -ᾱς; Hell. ἐξάπινᾰ (after the adverbs in -ᾰ).
•DER ἐξαπιναῖος, together with the adverb -αίως 'id.' (Hp., Th.).
•ETYM Formation like ἐξαίφνης. These words clearly have something to do with ▶ἄφαρ, ▶ἄφνω: Fur.: 158, etc. recognized that the whole group is Pre-Greek (π/φ). The variants -ιφ-/-πι- show that the *i* is part of the consonant, so we may assume a PG phoneme **p^{y}* for these forms (*Pre-Greek*: B 1). For the same Pre-Greek phenomenon, cf. ▶κνωπεύς / ▶κινώπετον, ▶πινυτός; also, ▶ἀκραιφνής / ▶ἀκραπνής. See further ▶αἶψα, ▶αἰπύς.

ἔξαστις, -ιος [f.] 'hem of a fabric' (Samos IV[a]), plur. 'threads coming out of a fabric', especially 'selvage of linen' (medic.). ◁IE? **h$_2$et-ti-* 'stitching'▷
•VAR Also ἔξεστις (Gal.).
•ETYM Derived by Schmidt 1895: 89[1] from **ἔξ-αν-στ-ις*, a verbal noun from ἐξανίστημι, for which he assumed apocope and loss of the nasal like in Epid. ἀ-στάς = ἀν(α)-στάς. However, apocope is unmotivated in a Ionic word, and the ending -ις is unexpected.
Boisacq considered connection with ▶ἄττομαι 'to set the warp in the loom', ἄσμα 'warp', etc. Given the new etymological proposal for ▶ἄττομαι, this is quite attractive, as ἔξαστις may simply mean 'what sticks out'.

ἐξαυστήρ ⇒αὔω 2.

ἐξαυτῆς [adv.] 'immediately' (Hell.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Probably from ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδου; see Wackernagel 1916: 41[4].

ἐξεράω ⇒ἀπ-εράω.

ἐξετάζω ⇒ἐτάζω.

ἑξῆς [adv.] 'in a row, one after the other' (Od., Att.). ◁GR▷
•COMP ἐφ-εξῆς, Ion. ἐπ- ~ 'id.', καθ-εξῆς 'id.' (*Ev. Luc.* 1, 3, Plu., Ael.).
•DER Also ἑξείης (Hom.), ἐφ-, καθ-εξείης (Orph., Opp.); ἑξαν (Dor., accentuation?) 'id.'.
•ETYM The adverbial genitive ἑξῆς must derive from a nominal formation of ἔχεσθαι 'connect, follow', but the details are uncertain. Schulze 1892: 293 detects in ἑξῆς and ἑξαν forms of a noun **ἕξᾰ* with the same inflexion as μίᾰ, μιᾶς, μίᾰν; Bechtel 1914 s.v.

starts from an adjective *ἑξός. Solmsen 1909: 240[1]) supposes that ἑξῆς was contracted from earlier ἑξείης (metrical lengthening for *ἑξέης?); however, this does not explain Dor. ἐξαν. ἑξε(ί)ης is from an adjective *ἑξε(ι)ος (cf. ἑξεῖα· τα ἑξῆς H.); is this in turn from ἕξις? The synonymous ἐπεχές (Arg.), ἐπεχεῖ (Delph.), and ποτεχεῖ (Heracl.) are from ἐπ-, ποτ-ἔχεσθαι. See ►ἔχω.

εξιστων [adj.] 'fringed'? Adjunct of χιτωνίσκον [acc.], together with κτενωτόν (*IG* 2², 1514: 30, 1516: 9 [middle IV[a]], in lists of clothes given to Artemis, containing several technical words). ◄GR►

•ETYM Without a doubt for ἓξ ἱστῶν 'consisting of six woven pieces'; on the matter, see Preisigke 1925 s.v. ἱστός.

ἐξονομακλήδην [adv.] 'by name' (Hom.). ◄IE *$\acute{k}lh_1$- 'call'►

•ETYM Also ἐκ δ' ὀνομακλήδην, a hypostasis of the expression ὄνομα καλεῖν (τινα) 'to call (sbd.) by name' with κλήδην (I 11) and ἐξ as in ἐξονομαίνω (-άζω). See ►καλέω.

ἐξουλή [f.] 'ejectment, dispossession' (Att.), almost only in ἐξουλῆς δίκη; rarely ἐξουλήν and -άς. ◄IE *uel-(*H*)- 'press together'►

•ETYM Juridical term, from *ἐκ-ϝολνᾱ́ from *ἐκ-ϝελνέω 'push out' (see ►εἰλέω 1); cf. also on ἅλής and ►οὐλαμός. On the oxytonesis, see Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 178f.

ἔξω ⇒ἐξ.

ἐξωφάκαι [pl.] 'a kind of outward Haemorrhoid knots, resembling lentil fruits' (Cyran.). ◄EUR?►

•ETYM Related to ►φακός 'lentil'; cf. ►ἀφάκη.

ἔοικα [v.] 'to resemble' (Il.); see Chantraine 1942: 424f., 479f., Schwyzer: 769, 773, 541. ◄IE? *$ueik$- 'be fitting'?►

•VAR Epic du. ἔϊκτον, Att. pl. ἐοίκαμεν, pret.sg. ἐῴκειν, epic du. ἐΐκτην, Att. pl. ἐῴκεσαν, epic med. ἔϊκτο, ἤϊκτο, ptc. εἰκώς (Φ 254, Att., beside ἐοικώς), fem. ἐϊκυῖα, ntr. εἰκός; 1sg. οἶκα, ptc. οἰκώς (Hdt.).

•COMP Also with prefix ἐπ-, ἀπ-έοικα, etc.

•DER Innovation factitive ►εἰκάζω and ἔΐσκω (Il., only present stem, ipf. ἴσκε(ν), ptc. ἴσκοντ-) 'to equate, compare, suppose'.

•ETYM The old intransitive perfect ἔοικα (whence by hyphaeresis οἶκα, etc.; differently, Schwyzer: 766f.) continues *ϝέ-ϝοικ-α, du. *ϝέ-ϝικ-τον, plpf. *(ἐ-)ϝε-ϝοίκ-ει (> ἐῴκει), which is shown by the meter (Chantraine 1942: 129). Innovations were *ϝε-ϝίκ-σκ-ω (> ἔΐσκω), *ϝε-ϝικ-άζω > ἐϊκάζω, ►εἰκάζω. A form *ϝίκ-σκ-ω without reduplication is supposed in ἴσκε(ν), ἴσκοντ' (e.g. Schwyzer: 708; Chantraine 1933: 317). No reduplication in ►εἰκών; for εἰκώς, however, a reconstruction *ϝε-ϝικ-ϝώς instead of *ϝεικ- is also possible. On εἴκελος, see ►ἴκελος; on ►ἐπιεικής see s.v. There are no certain cognates outside Greek. The comparison with the Baltic root of Lith. *įvýkti* 'to occur, happen, get real', *pa-véikslas* 'example', etc. is doubtful.

ἐόλει [v.3sg.] 'oppressed' (Pi. *P.* 4, 233, conj. Boeckh). ◄IE *uel- 'press together'►

•DER Hence ἐόλητο 'be surrounded, oppressed' (A. R.).
•ETYM See ►εἰλέω 1.

ἔορ [f.] · θυγάτηρ, ἀνεψιός 'daughter, cousin' (H.). ◅IE **suesor-* 'sister'▻
•VAR ἔορες· προσήκοντες, συγγενεῖς 'kinsmen, relatives' (H.).
•ETYM Old relic of the IE word for 'sister', seen in Skt. *svásar-*, Lat. *soror*, Germ., e.g. Go. *swistar*, all from IE **suésor-*. The Greek forms must come from a psilotic dialect; ἔορ seems to be a vocative. In Greek, the word was replaced by ἀδελφή, like φράτηρ by ἀδελφός.

ἔοργα ⇒ἔρδω.

ἐόργη [f.] 'τορύνη, stirrer, ladle'. ◅IE **uerǵ-* 'work'▻
•DER Denominative ἐοργῆσαι· τορυνῆσαι 'to stir' and ἐοργίζεται· τορυνᾶται (Poll., H., Eust.). Further εὐέργη, εὐεργέτις (Poll., H., *EM*). Semantically and formally close is ὀργάζειν 'to weaken, knead, tan' (Att.), cf. εὐεργής of ἄρτος 'well-kneaded loaf' in Andromachos (*apud* Gal. 14, 38, 9).
•ETYM The formation ἐόργη (accent for *ἐοργή like δείλη, δέρη? See below), like ἐδ-ωδ-ή, etc., may derive from reduplicated *ϝε-ϝοργ-ιη. The variants εὐέργη, -έτις seem to be folk-etymological reshapings (cf. εὐεργής above). The form ὀργάζω replaced original ὀργάω (Schwyzer: 718). The words belong to ►ἔργον, ►ἔρδω; for the meaning, cf. HG (*Teig*) *wirken* = 'knead'.

ἑορτή [f.] 'feast, religious festival' (Od.). ◅?▻
•DIAL Ion. ὁρτή (with hyphaeresis).
•COMP As a second member in φιλ-έορτος (Ar. [lyr.]), etc.
•DER Adjectives ἑορταῖος 'ptng. to the festival' (D. H.), ἑορτώδης 'festive' (J., Ph.) and denominative ἑορτάζω, ὁρτάζω 'celebrate a festival' (IA) together with ἑόρτασις (Pl.), -ιμος (J.), ἑόρτασμα (LXX), ἑορταστής (Poll., Max. Tyr.), ἑορταστικός 'appropriate for a festival' (Pl. *Lg.* 829b, etc.).
•ETYM Traditionally analysed as a verbal noun in -τή (e.g. *ϝε-ϝορ-τή), but without further cognates. Also taken as related to ►ἔροτις, ►ἔρανος; not, however, to ►ἥρα.

ἑός ⇒ἕ, ἑ.

ἐπαινή [adj.] adjunct of Persephone (Hom.), late also of other goddesses (Hecate, Demeter). ◅?▻
•ETYM Perhaps arisen by false split (in I 457?) from ἐπ' αἰνὴ Π. 'and also the terrible P.'. See Buttmann 1825:2: 101, Leumann 1950: 72, and Schwyzer: 102.

ἐπᾰλής [adj.] epithet of λέσχη (Hes. *Op.* 493 ἐπαλέα λέσχην). ◅?▻
•ETYM Connected with ►ἀλέα 'heat of the sun', or (alternatively) with ►ἅλής as 'pressed together'. Chantraine rejects the latter interpretation for a number of reasons: ἁλής is said of persons or things, not of places; the prefix ἐπ- is difficult to understand; and a reading ἐπ' makes no sense. However, this does not mean that the other interpretation is correct. See Bechtel 1914: 129.

ἔπαλπνος [adj.] 'pleasant' vel sim. (Pi. *P.* 8, 84, from νόστος). ◅?▻

•ETYM One hypothesis derives it from ▶ἀρπαλέος < *ἀλπαλέος, and connects it with *ἄλπιστος (see ▶ἄλπνιστος), which would derive from an *r/n*-stem *ἄλπαρ, gen. ἄλπνος. The word would then be a bahuvrīhi with adverbial prefix; this is improbable.

ἐπάντης, -ες [adj.] 'steep' (Th. 7, 79). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Like ἀν-, κατ-άντης, etc., from a noun ἀντ- 'front', seen in ▶ἄντα, ▶ἀντί, with adjectivial *s*-stem inflexion; thus, it properly means 'facing frontally, head-on'.

ἐπαρετέω [v.] 'to take in service, in use' (*PTeb.* 5, 182; 252; II[a]; κτήνη, πλοῖα, of officials, etc.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From ἀρετή in the sense of 'service', with ἐπί as in ἐπι-χειρ-έω, ἐπι-θυμ-έω, etc.

Ἐπάριτοι [pl.] name of the soldiers of the Arcadian League (X., Ephor.), originally = ἐπίλεκτοι 'those selected' (D. S. 15, 62). ◁IE **h₂ri-* 'count'▷

•ETYM Compare the PNs Ἰεδ-άριτος (Arc., Lac.), Ἐπ-ήριτος (ω 306), Μετ-ήριτος (Ion.), and further the adj. ▶νήριτος from **n̥-h₂ri-* 'uncoountable, countless', from a verbal root **h₂ri-* 'count', seen in ἀρι-θμός, and prefixed with ἐπι- as in ἐπι-λέγειν 'to select'. See Leumann 1950: 247, Schwyzer: 502.

ἐπασσύτεροι [pl.] 'one after the other, as a group' (epic since Il.). ◁IE **ki-eu-* 'set in motion'▷

•VAR Also sing. -ος.

•COMP As a first member in ἐπασσυτερο-τριβής 'following one another quickly' (A. *Ch.* 426 [lyr.]).

•ETYM Uncertain. Some (see Frisk) derived it from an adverb *ἐπ-αν-(σ)σύ of *ἐπ-αν(α)-σσεύομαι 'hurry after one another', comparing ἀνά-σσυτος 'rising' (Hp.), ἐπί-σσυτος 'urging' (A., E.), and παν-συ-δίῃ 'full of impulse'; Ehrlich *RhM* N.F. 63 (1908): 109 proposed haplological shortening from ἐπασσυ[τό]-τερος. Acc. to Risch 1937: 95 and Seiler 1950" 44, however, it is a contamination of *ἀγχύτερος and ἀσσοτέρω; thus also Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 387, who asserts that it is a contamination of ἀσσοτέρω and ἐγγύτερος.

ἐπαυρίσκω [v.] 'to touch, participate, enjoy' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Mostly med. -ομαι; ἐπαυρεῖ (H. *Op.* 419), aor. ἐπαυρεῖν, -έσθαι, fut. ἐπαυρήσομαι.

•DER ἐπαύρεσις 'pleasure, gain' (Hdt., Democr., Th.).

•ETYM No etymology. Schwyzer: 709[3] proposes *ἐπ-ᾱ-ϝρ-, related to ▶εὑρίσκω. A form with another prefix occurs in ἀπαυρίσκομαι 'derive nourishment' (Hp. *Nat. Puer.* 26).

ἔπαφος 2 [adj.] adjunct of ἄμπελος; meaning unknown (*PAvrom.* 1 *A* 26, 1 *B* 27; I[a]). ◁?▷

•VAR Also -ον.

•ETYM Perhaps 'with ἀφή, i.e. grip', 'supported, bound up' (Moulton *JHS* 35 (1915): 55).

ἐπεί [conj.] 'as, when, because' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁ei* 'when'▷
•VAR Also with added particles, e.g. ἐπεί τε (epic Ion.), ἐπεὶ δή, ἐπειδή (Il.), epic also ἐπεὶ ἥ (ἐπειή); with ἄν: ἐπεὶ ἄν, ἐπεάν (Ion.), ἐπήν (IA), ἐπάν (Hell.); ἐπεὶ δ' ἄν, ἐπειδᾶν (Att.).
•ETYM From ἐπ-εί (see ►εἰ); probably originally a demonstrative, like εἶτα, ἔπ-ειτα. Details in Schwyzer 1950: 658ff.; also, Chantraine 1953: 258f.

ἐπείγω [v.] 'to press, urge; hurry' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also med.; impf. ἔπειγον (Od.), ἤπειγον (Pi., S.); the non-presentic forms are a minority: aor. ἤπειξα (Hp. *Ep.* 17), pass. ἠπείχθην (Th., Pl.), fut. ἐπείξομαι (A.), perf. med. ἤπειγμαι (J.). Hdn. Gr. 2, 436 notes ἐποίγω as Aeol.
•COMP Also with prefix, notably κατ-επείγω (Att.).
•DER ἔπειξις 'pressure, hurry' (J., Plu.) with ἐπείξιμος 'urgent' (*POxy.* 531, 9, II^{p}); ἐπείκτης 'who urges, urgent' with ἐπεικτικός 'urgent' (*EM*, Sch.); ἐπειγωλή 'hurry' (*EM*);Ἐπειγεύς PN (Π 571).
•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Brugmann *IF* 29 (1911-1912): 238ff., it is related to οἴγνυμι 'open' (from *ϝο-(ε)ιγ-?, Lesb. ὀείγην).

ἔπειτα •VAR ἔπειτε(ν). ⇒εἶτα.

ἐπενήνοθε ⇒ἐνθεῖν.

ἐπενπέτω [v.impv.] uncertain, perhaps 'put upon'? Elis, see Schwyzer: 409. ◁?▷
•VAR ἐπένποι [opt.].
•ETYM Unknown. Cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 864.

ἔπερθα [adv.] 'above' (Alc.). ◁IE **h₁epi* 'upon'▷
•VAR κατ-έπερθεν.
•ETYM From ►ἐπί, modelled on ►ἔνερθε(ν), -θα, ὕπερθε(ν), -θα. Cf. also ἐπέρτερα· μείζω καὶ ὑψηλότερα 'more and higher', which is analyzed by Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 27-28 (1956): 272ff. as ἐπερ-τερα, but which may also be a mistake for ὑπέρ-τερα (DELG).

ἔπερος [m.] 'ram' (Aeol., Asia Minor, Schwyzer: 644, 15). ◁IE? **ueru-os-* 'wool'▷
•ETYM Not related to κάπρος, Lat. *aper*, etc. (as per Meillet *Rev. ét. slav.* 5 (1925): 9). Neither, as per Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 27 (1956): 1ff., relatd to ἐπέρτερα· μείζω, καὶ ὑψηλότερα 'more and higher' (H.), Alb. *epërë* 'what is up high'. DELG translates 'who has wool on him', and connects it with ►εἶρος.

ἐπεσβόλος [adj.] 'throwing words, reviling' (B 275, A. R., *AP*). ◁IE **uek^{w}-os-* 'word'▷
•DER also ἐπεσβολίη 'slander' (δ 159) and ἐπεσβολέω 'revile' (Lyc., Max.).
•ETYM Compound of ἔπος and βάλλειν, with ε-vocalism of the *s*-stem and *o*-vocalism of the second member (Schwyzer: 440 and 449).

ἐπέτοσσε [v.aor.] = 'ἐπέτυχε, hit, reached'. ◁?▷
•VAR ἐπιτόσσαις [ptc.sg.m.] (Pi. *P.* 4, 25; 10, 33).
•ETYM Unexplained; cf. Schwyzer: 755^{2}.

ἔπεφνον ⇒θείνω.

ἐπήβολος [adj.] 'who gets something, participates, has possession of' (Od.), also 'attainable' (A. R.). ◁IE *$g^{w}elh_{1}$- 'throw'?▷
•VAR επαβολα [f.] 'share' (Gortyn), ἐπηβολή· μέρος 'share' (H.).
•DER Cf. ἐπηβολία· συνηβολία 'occurrence' (*EM* 357,29). κατηβολή· τὸ ἐπιβάλλον 'which is put upon' (E. *Fr.* 614, 750).
•ETYM Verbal nouns from ἐπι-, κατα-βάλλω, with -η- after ἐπ-, κατ-ήκοος, ἐπ-ημοιβός, etc. (lengthening in compounds). See Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 53 (1901): 103.

ἐπηγκενίδες [f.pl.] 'part of a ship' (ε 253). ◁IE *$h_{2}enk$- 'bend'▷
•ETYM Acc. to Doederlein (see Bechtel 1914 s.v.), "what rests on the ἀγκόνες 'ribs of a ship'?", i.e. 'the planks', thus a noun in -ίδ-ες with compositional lengthening, for which σανίδες has been compared (cf. ἄγκοιναι). The factual meaning remains unclear.

ἐπηετανός [adj.] probably 'sufficient, rich, everlasting' (Od.). ◁IE? *uet-os- 'year'▷
•VAR ἐπητανός *h. Merc.* 113, Hes. *Op.* 607.
•ETYM Properly 'lasting the whole year' (like ἐπ-έτ-ειος, ἐπ-ετ-ήσιος), with -η- as in ▶ἐπήβολος, etc., and suffixal -ανος as in ▶σητάνιος. It is unnecessary to suppose haplology from *-ϝετι-τανος or *-ϝετο-τανος. Acc. to Benveniste 1935: 45, an old suffixal interchange with ▶ἔταλον, s.v.

ἐπηλυγάζομαι •VAR ἐπῆλυξ. ⇒ἠλύγη.

ἔπηλυς ⇒ἐλεύσομαι.

ἐπήρεια [f.] 'bad treatment, offence, threat' (Att.). ◁?▷
•DER ἐπηρεάζω 'to treat presumptuously, revile, threat' (Hdt., Att., Arc.), also -ει- in *IG* 5(2), 6: 46 (Tegea [IV^{a}]) ἐπηρεασμός (Arist.), -αστής (Sm., pap.), -αστικός (*Com. Adesp.* 202, etc.).
•ETYM Abstract of an adjective *ἐπ-ηρής, for which relationship with ▶ἀρειή, ▶ἀρή is suggested. However, if the form from Tegea is genuine Arcadian, this connection is impossible because it presupposes PGr. *-*ēr*-, not *-*ār*-. Acc. to Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 57, it belongs to *ἔρος, which he finds in ▶ἐρεσχηλέω. Blanc *RPh.* 71 (1997): 159 thinks the basic meaning is 'to look for problems' and connects it with ▶ἐρέθω, ἐρεθίζω, but gives no further details.

ἐπήρετμος ⇒ἐρέσσω.

ἐπητής, -οῦ [adj.] 'sedate, behaving well, benevolent' vel sim. (ν 332, σ 128; A. R. 2, 987; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 32^{2}). ◁IE? *sep- 'care, honour'▷
•VAR ἐπητέες [f.pl.].
•DER ἐπητύς [f.] (φ 306) 'good behaviour, benevolence'.
•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 42^{2}, it is from ▶ἔπω in the meaning of Skt. *sápati* 'care, honor', with η-enlargenent as in ἐδ-η-τύς, as well as psilosis. Teffeteller Dale *Glotta* 60 (1982): 207-214 suggests that the word is derived from ἔπος and ἐπετύς 'conversation, good at speaking'.

ἐπήτριμοι [adj.] 'near one another, in heaps' vel sim. (Il., A. R., only plur.; in Q. S. and Opp. sing. 'prominent, powerful'). ◂?▸

•ETYM Connected with ἤτριον 'warp' by the ancients, which is further explained by Bechtel 1914 s.v. Doubts to this are expressed by Arbenz 1933: 25f. Comparable meaning in ▸ἐπασσύτεροι.

ἔπι [adv.] 'on it, at it' (Il.). ◂IE **h₁epi* 'on'▸

•VAR ἐπί [prep.] 'on, at, by, at the same time, because' with gen., dat. and acc.

•DIAL Myc. *e-pi*.

•ETYM IE adverb **h₁épi*: Skt. *ápi*, Av. *aipi*, OP *apiy* 'also, at it; by, in', Arm. *ew* 'also, and'. Ablauting ὄπι- occurs in ▸ὄπιθεν, also dialectal. *πι- (Lith. *-pi*) is supposed in ▸πιέζω and ▸πτυχή, but this seems improbable, as a zero grade **h₁pi* would also have given ἐπι in Greek. On the different forms, see the extensive discussion by Hamp *MSS* 40 (1981): 39-60.

Ἐπίασσα [f.] epithet of Demeter (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Old ptc.with zero grade = ἐπ-ιοῦσα (like ἔασσα = (ἐ)οῦσα, ἔκασσα = ἐκοῦσα) from the root **h₁ei-* 'go', parallel to Skt. *yatī́* 'going' < IE **h₁i-ŋt-ih₂* beside **h₁i-ont-* in ἰόντος, etc. This etymology is doubtful, as it finds no support on the semantic side.

ἔπιβδᾰ̆ [f.] 'the day after the festival' (Pi. *P.* 4, 140); mostly in plur. ἔπιβδαι or ἐπίβδαι (Cratin. 323, Aristid., *EM* 357, 54); in H. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπι<βι>βάζεσθαι ταῖς ἑορταῖς οὐκ οὔσαις ἐξ αὐτῶν (meaning unclear to me). ◂IE **ped-* 'foot'▸

•ETYM Properly 'following the trace', with assimilated zero grade of the word for 'foot' (see ▸πούς, as well as ▸πεδά), like in Skt. *upa-bd-á-* 'trampling', Av. *fra-bd-a-* 'front foot'. The formation of ἔπιβδα is not clear: Schwyzer: 475 pleads for a suffix -ι̯α- with lost yod; Solmsen 1909: 269 thinks that ἔπιβδᾰ̆ is a secondary shortening for *ἐπί-βδ-ᾱ̆.

ἐπιεικής [adj.] 'proper, fitting, suitable; solid' (Il.). ◂IE **ueik-* 'be fitting'?▸

•DER also ἐπιείκεια 'equity, reasonableness' (IA) and ἐπιεικεύομαι (LXX 2 *Es.* 9, 8 [v.l.], H.).

•ETYM Opposite ἀ-εικής (see ▸ἀϊκής), related to ἐπέοικα; full grade as in ▸εἰκών. Beside this also exists ἐπι-είκελος 'comparable' (Hom., Hes.) after εἴκελος; cf. Strömberg 1946: 91 and Schwyzer 1950: 466.

ἐπίεικτος [adj.] mostly with negation, οὐκ ἐπίεικτον (μένος, σθένος, πένθος) = 'invincible, unindulgent' (Hom.); also = ἐπιεικής 'fitting, suitable' (θ 307, late). ◂IE **ueik-* 'give way'▸

•ETYM As there is no compounded verb *ἐπι-(ϝ)είκω 'yield', Schulze 1892: 495[1] connected the adjective with Lat. *vincō* 'conquer', Go. *weihan*, OIr. *fichim* 'battle', for which he compared *EM* 638, 39: οὐκ ἐπίεικτον = οὐ νικώμενον. However, there is ▸εἴκω (DELG).

ἐπι-είσομαι ⇒εἴσομαι 1.

ἐπιζαρέω [v.] 'to rush upon, press on' (E. *Ph.* 45, *Rh.* 441 [codd. here -ζάτει]), Arcadian acc. to Eust. 909, 28. ◂?▸

•ETYM No convincing etymology.

ἐπιζάφελος [adj.] 'vehement, violent', of fury (χόλος I 525). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also adverbial -ῶς (χαλεπαίνειν, μενεαίνειν, ἐρεείνειν I 516, ζ 330, *h. Merc.* 487; on the shift of accent Schwyzer 618), -ον (κοτέουσα A. R. 4, 1672).

•DER With archaising suppression of the prefix ζάφελος (Nic. *Al.* 556, *EM*), ζαφελές, -ῶς (H.), -ής (Suid.).

•ETYM Expressive word without etymology. ζα- is probably the Aeolic form of δια-; it is further unclear. Not better, Strömberg 1946: 89. Fur.: 176 suggests connection with ►ζάψ 'surf', and takes it as Pre-Greek.

ἐπιήρανος 1 'welcome'. ⇒ἐπίηρος.

ἐπιήρανος 2 'ruling, governing'. ⇒ἤρανος.

ἐπίηρος [adj.] 'graceful, pleasant' (Emp., Epich., etc.).

•VAR ἐπίηρον [n.sg.] Marc. Sid. (*Glotta* 19, 176); otherwise ἐπίηρα [n.pl.].

•DER Compar. ἐπιηρέστερος; as an adverb = χάριν (Antim. 87, etc.), ἐπίηρα δέχθαι (*AP* 13, 22), φέρεσθαι (A. R. 4, 375), φέροντα (S. *OT* 1094 [lyr.]).

•ETYM From ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρων (A 572, etc.) by univerbation; thence ►ἐπιήρανος 1 'charming, welcome' (τ 343). See Sommer 1948: 139 with litt. See further ►ἦρα.

ἐπίθυμβρον ⇒θύμβρα.

ἐπικάρσιος [adj.] 'transverse, crosswise, at a right angle' (ι 70, of ships, Hdt., Plb., etc.). ◁IE *(*s*)*ker*- 'cut'▷

•ETYM Also occurs as ἐγκάρσιος (Th.), after ἐναντίος? Secondary simplex κάρσιον· πλάγιον 'athwart, sideways' (H.), -ίως Suid. Ultimately related to κείρειν, ἐπικείρειν 'cut', but unclear in detail. Strömberg 1946: 92 starts from a verbal adjective *ἐπίκαρτος, whence ἐπικάρσιος like ἀμβρόσιος from ἄμβροτος (see also on διπλάσιος). Derivation from the root IE *kers- (in κορσόν· κορμόν H., ἀ-κερσε-κόμης; see ►κόρση) seems less likely. The overall resemblance with Lith. *skeršas* 'transverse', OPr. *kirscha* 'across', Ru. *čérez* 'through, across' can be explained as parallel formations of the root (*s*)*ker*- 'cut'. Not from *ἐπὶ καρσί, a plur. of ἐπὶ κάρ (Π 392) 'on its head', as supposed by Bechtel 1914 s.v. See ►κείρω.

ἐπίκερας [n.] plant name = τῆλις, 'Trigonella' (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 99). ◁IE **ḱerh₂s*- 'horn'▷

•ETYM Called 'horn-like' or 'with horn', after its long sickle-shaped shell. See Strömberg 1944: 33. On the retained ending -ας, cf. πάγκρεας (s.v. ►κρέας) and ►ἐρυσίπελας.

ἐπικοκκάστρια [f.] adjunct of ἠχώ, 'mimicking, reverberating' vel sim. (Ar. *Th.* 1059). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR ἐπικοκκαστής (uncertain conj. in Timo 43).

•ETYM Formation in -τριᾰ (frequent in the language of comedy; Chantraine 1933: 106) as if from *ἐπικοκκάζω (Ar. Byz. *apud* Eust. 1761, 26); onomatopoeic.

ἐπικόκκουρος [m.] · ὁ παρατηρητὴς ἐν σταδίῳ παρὰ Λάκωσιν 'spectator at the race-course (Lacon.)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. There seems no basis for Latte's "an ἐπικομμιατωρός, scl. pugilatus legitimi custos?".

ἐπίκουρος [adj., m.] 'helper', 'support; helping, protecting'; plur. 'auxiliary troops' (Il.). ◅IE **kr̥s-* 'walk'▻

•DER ἐπικουρικός 'consisting of auxiliary troops' (Th., Pl.), ἐπικούριος 'coming to help' (Paus.), ἐπικουρία, -ίη 'help, support' (IA), denominative ἐπικουρέω [v.] 'to come to help, support' (E 614; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 98f.) with ἐπικούρησις, -ημια, -ητικός.

•ETYM The word stands completely isolated within Greek. Probably for *ἐπίκορσος, from a lost verb equivalent to Lat. *currō* 'walk, run' (< **kr̥s-e/o-*). Cf. the related Celtic word for 'car', OIr. *carr*, MW *carros* (whence Lat. *carrus*, Arm. *kaṙ-kʿ* [pl.] 'wagon'; from Galatic). Further perhaps related is σάρσαι· ἅμαξαι as Illyrian (Lagercrantz *IF* 25 (1909): 367); doubtfully, MHG *hurren* 'move quickly'.

ἐπιλᾱΐς, -ίδος ⇒ὑπολᾱΐς and λᾶας.

ἐπιμήδιον [n.] a plant (Dsc., Gal.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Named after the plant ▸μήδιον. The parasitic nature of the plant may also have given rise to the name; cf. synonymous ▸ἀμαμηλίς and ▸ὁμομηλίς.

ἐπιμηλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'medlar, *mespilus germanica*' (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM Derived from μῆλον, because of the similarity with the apple tree (Strömberg 1944: 32f.). See ▸μῆλον, ▸ἐπιμήδιον.

ἐπίνητρον ⇒νέω.

ἐπίξενος 1 'foreigner'. ⇒ξένος.

ἐπίξενος 2 [m.] · ἐπιχθόνιος 'upon the earth' (H.). ◅IE **dʰǵʰem-* 'earth'?▻

•ETYM Unclear. Acc. to Hoffmann 1921: 80, it is from χθών with a special development; cf. Schwyzer: 326. Because of ξενῶνες· οἱ ἀνδρῶνες ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν 'men's appartments (Phrygian)' (H.), Pisani *AnFilCl* 6 (1953-54): 213 considered it to be Phrygian, which is rejected by DELG.

ἐπίξηνον [n.] 'chopping block, hangman's block' (A., Ar., Eust., H.). ◅IE? **ḱes-* (**kses-*) 'cut, split'▻

•DER Cf. ξηνός = 'κορμός, trunk' (Suid.) from ▸ξέω 'carve, polish'.

•ETYM ἐπίξηνον is rather from ▸ξαίνω, modelled on ἐπικόπανον 'chopping-block' (Hell.), than from ἐπι-ξέω.

ἐπίορκος, -ον [adj.] 'perjurious' (T 264), later msc. 'perjurer' (Hes., Gortyn, etc.). ◅GR▻

•VAR In Hom. only in ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσαι 'to swear a false oath'.

•DER ἐπιορκέω [v.] 'to break an oath, perjure' (since T 188), together with ἐπιορκία 'perjury' (D., X.), ἐπιορκοσύνη 'id.' (*AP*).

•ETYM As the verb ἐπιορκέω is frequent, it is obvious to consider the much rarer ἐπίορκος 'breaking the oath' as a back-formation from the verb (thus Strömberg 1946: 86ff.). The form ἐπιορκέω derives directly from ὅρκος, with ἐπι- like ἐπιθυμέω from θυμός, ἐπιχειρέω from χείρ, etc.; ἐπιορκέω then properly means 'act against the oath' (opposite εὐορκέω 'keep the oath' from εὔορκος [since Hes.]); on the preservation of the -ι-, see Fraenkel 1910: 237. Differently, Leumann 1950: 79ff. (with discussion): the expression ἐπίορκον ὄμοσσαι 'perjure' (whence ἐπιορκέω) would be due to a false analysis of epic ἐπὶ ὅρκον ὄμοσσαι 'swear an oath on top'; against this view, Luther 1954: 86ff. with a different explanation; see also Fraenkel *Gnomon* 23 (1951): 373 and Bolling *AmJPh.* 76 (1955): 306ff., who start from (ὁ) ἐπὶ ὅρκῳ (βάς). Leumann 1950: 88 is similarly inclined to see ἐπίορκος as a back-formation from ἐπιορκέω. See ►ὅρκος.

ἐπίουρος ⇒ὄρομαι.

ἐπιούσιος [adj.] of ἄρτος (*Ev. Matt.* 6, 11, *Ev. Luc.* 11, 3), translated with 'quotidianus' in the vulgate, afterwards as 'daily'; also ἐπιουσι[ων (*Sammelb.* 5224, 20; economic message), meaning unknown. ◁GR▷

•ETYM The most obvious interpretation as ἡ ἐπιοῦσα (ἡμέρα) suggests 'for the coming day', but this seems improbable. If we start (just as Debrunner *Glotta* 4 (1913): 249ff.) from ἐπι τὴν οὖσαν (ἡμέραν), we get the more acceptable translation 'for the day in question'. See Blass-Debrunner-Funk 1961 §123 and Koerster in Kittel 1935: 587-595.

ἐπιπακτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'rupture wort, Herniaria glabra' (Dsc. 4, 108); Pliny has *epicactis* (13,114), see André 1956 s.v. ◁?▷

•ETYM From *ἐπίπᾰκτος 'fixed, closed', related to ἐπιπήγνυμι (cf. ἐπιπᾰκτόω 'to close'), because of its healing function. Cf. the plant name πηκτή = σύμφυτον and Strömberg 1940: 89. On the short α in (ἐπι)πακτόω, see Wackernagel 1916: 11.

ἐπιπατρόφιον [n.] 'father's name' (Schwyzer: 462 rem. 28, Tanagra III[a]). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Univerbation of *ἐπὶ πατρόφι with a suffix -ιο-; cf. Schwyzer: 551 and 451. See Morpurgo Davies *Glotta* 47 (1970): 46f.

ἔπιπλα [n.pl.] 'movable goods, utensils' (IA). ◁IE *$k^{w}el$- 'turn'▷

•VAR Rarely -ον.

•ETYM Old expression, probably as ἔπι-πλ-α, properly "what has been added" as opposed to fixed possessions, from ἐπι-πέλομαι; for the formation, cf. δί-φρ-ος and Schwyzer: 449. Because the word was not transparent, reshapings like ἐπίπλοα (Hdt. 1, 94, pap.; modelled on ἐπιπλεῖν, for which cf. on ►ἐπίπλοον) and ἐπίπολα (Dodona; modelled on ἐπιπολή, for which see ►ἐπιπολῆς) occurred.

ἐπίπλοον [n.] 'fold of the peritoneum, omentum' (Ion., Hell.). ◁IE *pleu- 'swim'▷

•VAR Also -οος [m.].

•ETYM The word has been compared with Lith. *plėvė̃* 'fine, thin skin' (on milk, below the egg-shell, etc.), Ru. *plevá* 'id.', Sln. *plę́va* 'eyelid'; however, the prefix then remains unexplained. So it is probably a purely Greek creation: a verbal noun from

ἐπι-πλεῖν 'swim upon' (see Strömberg 1944: 65f.); ἐπίπλοον is then 'the organ that floats on top'. The form ἐπιπόλαιον (Eub. 95, 3) arose from connection with ἐπιπόλαιος; see ►ἐπιπολῆς.

ἐπιπολῆς [adv.] and [prep.] 'on top of, above' (IA). ◅?▻
•DER ἐπιπόλαιος 'on top of' (Hp., D.), ἐπιπολάζω 'be on top, have the upper hand, be usual' (Hp., Att., Arist.) with ἐπιπόλασις, -ασμός, -αστικός; also ἐπιπολή [f.] 'surface' (Argos III[a], Aret., Gal.) with ἐπιπολεύω 'be at the surface' (Ael.).
•ETYM Probably from *ἐπὶ πολῆς (Schwyzer: 625), thus from a noun *πολή. A connection with πέλομαι, πόλος, τέλος is not semantically evident: *πολή like τέλος (γονή : γένος) would then properly be the 'turning point' > 'culminating point' or 'walking around, place where one walks'? Better connections seem to be with MoSw. *fala* [f.] '(treeless) plain, heathe', OCS *polje* 'field' from ORu. *polъ* 'open, free' (Persson 1912(1): 228); additionally, Ἐπιπολαί [pl.] name of the heights near Syracuse (Th.).

ἐπίρροθος [m.] and [f.] 'helper, helping' (Δ 390, Ψ770; Hes. *Op.* 560); 'abusive language' (S. *Ant.* 413, *Fr.* 583, 10), as an adjunct of ὁδός = 'where the cars rage' (*AP* 7, 50). ◅?▻
•VAR As an adj. also -ον [n.].
•DER ἐπιρροθέω 'shout in answer, rage against' (trag., D. H.). Not to be separated from ῥόθος 'noise', ῥοθέω 'rage'; in the epic 'come with noise to somebody' = 'coming to help with noise', cf. Brugmann *BPhW* 39 (1919): 136ff.
•ETYM Acc. to Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 15f., ἐπίρροθος 'helper' is wrong for usual ►ἐπιτάρροθος in Hom.

ἐπίσιον [n.] = ἐφήβαιον, euphemistic designation of the pubic region (Hp., Arist.). ◅?▻
•VAR ἐπείσιον.
•ETYM Unknown.

ἐπισκύνιον [n.] 'skin of the brows' (Il.), metaph. 'proud, severity' (Plb. 25, 3, 6). ◅IE *sku(H)- 'cover'▻
•ETYM If the simplex σκύνια [n.pl.] 'eyebrows' (Nic. *Th.* 177, 443, Poll. 2, 66) was not derived from ἐπισκύνιον, the word would come from *ἐπι-σκύνιος 'upon the brows'. In any case, we have to start from a nominal stem *σκυν-, which belongs together with OHG *scūr* 'protecting roof', Lat. *ob-scūr-us* *'covered', dark', so that an *r/n*-stem is supposed. With a suffix *-l-*, there is σκύ-λος [n.] 'flayed skin of an animal', σκῦλα [n.pl.] 'spolia'. Perhaps the root is seen in Skt. *sku-nā-ti*, *sku-no-ti* 'cover'. Differently on *obscūrus*, De Vaan 2008 s.v.

ἐπίσκυρος 1 [m.] name of a ball-game (H. = ὁ μετὰ πολλῶν σφαιρισμός 'playing ball with many people', Poll. 9, 103, sch. Pl. *Tht.* 146a); also called ἐπίκοινος. ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown. Identical with ►ἐπίσκυρος 2?

ἐπίσκυρος 2 [?] uncertain word in Call. *Fr.* 231 (see Pfeiffer 1949-1953: 567) and *Fr. anon.* 135; explained by H. with ἄρχων, βραβευτής, βοηθός, ἐπίσκοπος, ἔφορος, ἐπήκοος 'ruler, arbiter, assistant, guardian, overseer, witness'. ◁?▷
•ETYM No etymology.

ἐπισμύγερος ⇒σμυγερός.

ἔπισσαι [f.pl.] 'later born daughters' (Hecat. 363 J.); H. also ἔπισσον· τὸ ὕστερον γενόμενον 'the later-born'. ◁?▷
•ETYM For the formation, cf. μέτασσαι [f.pl.] 'lams of middle age' (ι 221); perhaps also the geographical names Ἄμφισσα, Ἄντισσα. Derivation uncertain; perhaps suffixes -τ-i̯o- or -κ-io-. Acc. to Giles *Class. Rev.*3 (1889): 3f., ἔπι-σσαι would be analogical after μέτ-ασσαι = μετ-οῦσαι with archaic disappearance of the zero grade of the fem. ptc. See Schwyzer: 472.

επισσοφος [m.] name of an official (Thera, Schwyzer: 227, 199). ◁?▷
•DER Perhaps [επι]σοφευω (*IG* 9(1), 691: 15 [Corcyra]).
•ETYM Unknown.

ἐπίσσωτρον [n.] 'metal hoop upon the felloe, tyre of a wheel' (Il., Poll.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Derived from σῶτρον 'felloe' (Poll.), also in ἐῦ-σσωτρος (Hes. *Sc.* 273; v.l. Ω 578); further σωτρεύματα· τὰ τοῦ τροχοῦ ξύλα. καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τούτοις σίδηρος ἐπίσωτρον (H.); on the enlargement -(ευ)μα see Chantraine 1933: 186f.
Usually derived from ▸σεύομαι, ἔσσυτο 'to hurry', but the long root vowel that has to be assumed in the reconstruction **kḭ̄ō(u)-* is problematic. One compares Skt. *cyautná-* [n.] 'enterprise, deed' = Av. *šyaōθna-* 'deed', which are then taken as thematicized enlargements of a noun in **-tr, -tn-*. Doubtful.

ἐπίσταμαι [v.] 'be assured, know how' (Il.), also 'believe' (Heraclit., Hdt.), first intr. as in ἐπιστάμενος μὲν ἄκοντι Ο 282. ◁IE **si-steh₂-* 'stand'▷
•VAR Fut. ἐπιστήσομαι (Il.), aor. ἠπιστήθην (Hdt., Att.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐξ-, συν-επίσταμαι.
•DER ἐπιστήμων 'knowing about, expert' (Od.) with ἐπιστημονικός 'of the ἐπιστήμων', usually 'ptng. to knowing, to knowledge' referring to ἐπιστήμη (Arist.), ἐπιστημοσύνη (Xenocr.); also ἐπίστημος (Hp.; Chantraine 1933: 152); denominative verbs, both rare and late: ἐπιστημονίζομαι (Al.), ἐπιστημόομαι (Aq.) 'become ἐπιστήμων'. ἐπιστήμη 'understanding, knowing, knowledge' (IA); the -η- of the derivatives was favored by the adjectives in -ήμων, or by μνή-μη, φή-μη respectively (Chantraine 1933: 173, 148; Schwyzer: 522); likewise in the verbal adjective. ἐπιστητός 'what can be understood' (Pl., Arist.).
•ETYM From **ἐπι-hίσταμαι* with early loss of the breath and vowel contraction (hyphaeresis). Through the semantic development **'stand before something' > 'be confronted with sth., take knowledge of sth.'; likewise, OHG *firstān*, OE *forstandan*. The word ἐπίσταμαι was also formally separated from ἵσταμαι, which already in Homer had lead to a new verb ἐφ-ίσταμαι 'stand at'. Acc. to others, it is an old fomation without reduplication (litt. in Schwyzer: 675²); acc. to Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:3, 160, it is a recent formation from an aorist ἐπι-στάμενος, -σταίμην.

ἐπίστης [?] 'prop' (inscr. Delos 340, 11, II[a]). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Probably from ▶ἵστημι.

ἐπίστιον [n.] 'staple-town, slip or shed for a ship' (ζ 265). ◁?▷
•ETYM Term from shipbuilding, explained by Aristarchus as κατάλυμα and identified with ἐφέστιος, -ον as Ionic; from ἱστίον, acc. to the sch. on the passage. Schwyzer: 425 suspects enlargement of a root noun *ἐπι-στᾱ (comparing OP *upa-stā* 'help'). The phrase πίνουσα τὴν ἐπίστιον (Anacr. 90, 4), the joking name of a drink, is unclear.

ἐπισχερώ [adv.] 'in a row, one after the other, uninterrupted, gradually' (Il., Simon.). ◁IE **seǵʰ-* 'hold'▷
•DER Besides ἐνσχερώ (A. R. 1, 912) and, in two words, ἐν σχερῷ (Pi.) 'id.'; so a compound of ἐπί and an instrumental σχερώ (Schwyzer: 550 and 625).
•ETYM From the middle voice of the noun *σχ-ερός (on the formation, see Schwyzer: 482 and Chantraine 1933: 224; *σχερόν [n.] 'continuum'), i.e. σχ-έσθαι, ἔχεσθαι 'join, follow'; cf. ἑξῆς from the same stem. With an *s*-stem, there is ὁλο-σχερής 'complete' (Hell.; Schwyzer: 513); thence a derivation Σχερ-ίη, "uninterrupted coast, continent" vel sim., name of the land of the Phaeacians (Od.).

ἐπιτάρροθος [m.] and [f.] 'helper' (Hom.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Resembles the synonymous ἐπίρροθος; is it a cross from this and another word, or a "Streckform" (cf. on ▶ἑκατηβελέτης, -βόλος)? Acc. to Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 15f., a compound of *ἐπι-τάρρο-θος = ταρσῷ (-οῖς, -οῦν) ἐπιθέων, -θέουσα [meaning?]; however, -ρρ- for -ρσ- remains to be explained. The solution of Brugmann *BPhW* 39 (1919): 136ff. is no better: *ἐπ-ιθά-ρροθος, from ἰθα- in ἰθα-γενής. The form τάρροθος (Lyc.) is secondary.

ἐπίτεξ, -εκος [f.] 'close to delivery' (Hp., Hdt., Gortyn). ◁IE **tek-* 'give birth, bring forth'▷
•VAR Acc. ἐπίτοκ-α (Andania, Hdt. 1, 108 as a v.l.).
•ETYM From ἐπί (ἔπι) and an unattested second member, probably a root noun *τέξ, either as a hypostasis of ἐπὶ *τεκ-ί [dat.] (Schwyzer: 424), or as per Sommer 1948: 111 and 115 as a bahuvrīhi of the type ἔνθεος: "with the delivery approaching". Modelled on this form is late ἀγχί-τεξ 'id.' (Theognost.). The o-vowel in ἐπίτοκ-α is rather from later ἐπί-τοκος than old ablaut. Further, see ▶τίκτω.

ἐπιτηδές [adv.] probably 'of set purpose, deliberately' (A 142, o 28); on the proparoxytonon Schwyzer: 380. ◁?▷
•VAR ἐπίτηδες (IA), ἐπίτᾱδες (Theoc. 7, 42).
•COMP ἐξεπίτηδες 'id.' (IA).
•DER Adjective ἐπιτήδειος (Att.; Ion. -εος) 'appropriate, suitable, fitting' with ἐπιτηδειότης (IA); denominative verb ἐπιτηδεύω 'do sth. on purpose' (IA) with ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐπιτήδευσις 'profession, action' (Att.; on the meaning Röttger 1937: 22ff.), Cret. ἐπιτάδουμα; ἐπιτηδευ(μα)τικός (Hell.).
•ETYM Presupposes a noun *τῆδος, *τᾶδος; no further connection.

ἐπιτηλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'horned poppy, Glaucium flavum' (Nic. *Th.* 852). ◁?▷
•ETYM So called because of the resemblance to τῆλις 'Trigonella'; see Strömberg 1944: 33. Cf. on ▶ἐπιμήδιον.

ἐπίτυρον [n.] 'confection of olives', only as a Lat. LW *epityrum* in Cato *RR* 119, Plaut. *Mil.* 24; acc. to Varro *LL* 7: 86, a Sicilian delicacy. ◁GR▷
•ETYM From τυρός, because it was eaten together with or after the cheese.

ἐπιωγαί [f.pl.] 'places of shelter for ships' (ε 404, A. R. 4, 1640 [sg.], Opp. *H.* 1, 602). ◁IE *uh_2g- 'break'▷
•ETYM As a verbal noun from ἐπι-(ϝ)άγνυμαι 'break against sth.', so properly 'place where wind and waves are broken'; compare κυματωγή < *κυματο-ϝαγή (Hdt.), and βορέω ὑπ' ἰωγῇ (ξ 533), properly "under the breaking of Boreas", i.e. 'protected against Boreas'. The latter has the reduplication *ϝι-ϝωγ-η, **ui-uoh$_2$g-*; thus, ἐπιωγή is probably from *ἐπιϝιϝωγή. Bechtel 1914 s.v. prefers *ἐπι-ϝωγή without reduplication, beside ϝαγή. On the formation, see Jacobsohn *Gnomon* 2 (1926): 384.

ἕπομαι [v.] 'to follow, accompany'. ◁IE **sek^{w}*- 'follow'▷
•VAR Ipf. εἱπόμην, fut. ἕψομαι, aor. ἐσπόμην, inf. σπέσθαι (Il.); ἐσπ-ἐσθαι, -όμενος, -οίμην certain only since A. R., who also has the innovated present ἕσπεται (see Braswell *Glotta* 58 (1980): 205-213).
•DIAL Myc. *e-qe-ta* /hek^{w}etās/, *e-qe-si-jo* /hek^{w}esios/, see Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 91-94.
•COMP Also with prefix ἐφ-, παρ-, συν-, μεθ-.
•DER ἑπέτᾱς 'who accompanies' (Pi.) = Myc. *e-qe-ta*; -τις [f.] (A. R.); further derivatives ▶ἀοσσέω, ▶ὀπάων, ▶ὀπάζω; cf. ▶ὀπηδός.
•ETYM Identical with Skt. *sácate*, Av. *hacaitē* (= ἕπεται, IE **sek^{w}-e-toi*); further, to Lat. *sequor* = OIr. *sechur*, Lith. *sekù*, *sèkti* 'follow'. The Gm. word for 'to see', Go. *saihvan*, etc. deviates semantically – perhaps 'to follow with the eyes'? See LIV^{2} s.v. **sek^{w}*- 'sich anschliessen'. It has mostly been assumed that the aorist ἐσπόμην stood for *ἐ-σπ-, with secondary aspiration after ἕπομαι (like εἱπόμην), and that the form ἐσπέσθαι, which was considered certain only for Hell. times, was secondary. However, Braswell (l.c.) shows that Pindar has some non-indicative forms with ἐσπ-, so Frisk and Chantraine mistakenly reject the form .

ἐπομμιάδιος ⇒ὦμος.

ἔπος [n.] 'word, speech' (Il.). ◁IE **uek^{w}*- 'speak'▷
•VAR Plur. also 'song, epic poem' (Pi., Hdt.; on meaning and use Fournier 1946: 212ff.).
•DIAL El. Cypr. ϝέπος.
•COMP As a first member in ▶ἐπεσβόλος, ἐπο-ποιός (with analogical compositional vowel); as a second member e.g. in ▶ἀπτοεπής.
•DER ἐπύλλιον 'small song, small verse' (Ar.; after this other diminutives in -ύλλιον, Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 214 and 225); ἐπικός 'belonging to epic poetry' (D. H.).
•ETYM El. and Cypr. ϝέπος is identical with Skt. *vácas-*, Av. *vacah-* 'word'; IE **uék^{w}-os-* [n.]. Greek further has the root noun *ὄψ (in ▶ὄπ-α [acc.], etc.), in addition to

►ὄσσα and probably ►ἐν-οπή, as well as the aorist ►εἶπον. A primary athematic verb is preserved in Skt. *vák-ti* 'he speaks'.

ἔποψ, -οπος [m.] 'hoopoe, Upupa epops' (Epich., Ar.), also ἔποπος· ὄρνεον 'bird', ἔπωπα· ἀλεκτρυόνα ἄγριον 'wild cock', ἄπαφος· ἔποψ τὸ ὄρνεον 'hoopoe', after the animal names in -φος (H.). ◁ONOM▷

•ETYM Formation like δρύοψ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 259) on an onomatopoeic basis; cf. ἐποποῖ, πόποπο of the call of the bird (Ar. *Av.* 58 resp. 227). Parallel names exist in other languages: Arm. *popop*, Lat. *upupa*, Latv. *pupukis*, etc. The word probably cannot be called Indo-European. On ἔποψ, see further Thompson 1895 s.v.

ἑπτά [num.] 'seven' (Il.). ◁IE **septm* 'seven'▷

•COMP As a first member in copulative ἑπτακαίδεκα, in ἑπτακόσιοι (cf. on διᾱκόσιοι) and in several bahuvrīhis like ἑπτα-βόειος.

•DER ἑπτάκι(ς), -ιν 'seven times' (Pi.), ἕπτᾰχᾰ 'in seven parts' (ξ 434), ἑπτάς [f.] 'a group of seven' (days, years; Arist.); ἑπταδεύω 'belong to the ἑπτά' (Olbia III[a]).

•ETYM Gr. ἑπτά, Skt. *saptá*, Lat. *septem*, Arm. *ewt'n*, Gm., e.g. Go. *sibun*, etc. go back to IE **septḿ* (accent after IE **oktṓ[u]* > ὀκτώ, *aṣṭáu*). Cf. also ►ἑβδομήκοντα, ►ἕβδομος.

ἔπω 1 [v.] 'to care for, occupy onself' (Il., Ion., Hell.); in the epic sometimes confused with ἕπομαι, or semantically influenced by it (Chantraine 1942: 309[1], 388). ◁IE **sep-* 'occupy with, care for'▷

•VAR ἔποντα Z 321; further only with prefix (adverb): ἀμφ(ι)-, δι-, ἐφ-, μεθ-, περι-ἐπω, mostly present stem, further future and aorist forms like ἐφ-ἑψω, ἐπ-ἐσπον, ἐπι-σπεῖν, μετα-σπών.

•DER ►ὅπλον, ►δίοπος, probably also ►ἐπητής, -τύς.

•ETYM Old thematic root present, identical with Skt. *sápati* 'care, honor'; Iranian features athematic forms, viz. Av. *haf-šī* [2sg.], *hap-tī* [3sg.] 'hold (in the hand), support'. An old enlargement is Lat. *sepeliō* 'bury' = Skt. *saparyáti* 'honor'.

ἔπω 2 [v.] 'to name'. ◁GR▷

•VAR in ἔπουσιν (Nic.).

•ETYM Artificial present of ►εἶπον.

ἐπωτίδες [f.pl.] 'catheads of warships, beams projecting like ears on each side of a ship's bows' (E., Th., Str.). ◁IE **h₂ous-* 'ear'▷

•ETYM Forms based on οὖς, ὠτός, like ἐπωμίς 'upper part of the shoulder' on ὦμος and ἐπιδορατίς 'point of a lance' on δόρυ, etc. (Strömberg 1946: 99). Thus it is properly 'tips of the ear', because of their projecting position. Differently, Forster 1950: 70.

ἐπώχατο [v.] only in M 340 πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐπώχατο (scil. πύλαι) 'they were all closed'. ◁IE **h₃ueig-* 'open'▷

•ETYM Perhaps a 3sg.med.plpf. to ἐπ-οιγνύναι in the meaning 'close', with aspiration of the velar. For the meaning, cf. especially (τὴν θύραν) προσέῳξεν 'they shut (the door)' (LXX *Ge.* 19, 6). Wackernagel 1955(1): 127ff. also discusses the analysis as a

plpf. ἐπώχατο (the inferior reading in the mss.) derived from ἐπέχω. See also Bechtel 1914 s.v. ►οἴγνυμι.

ἔρα [f.] explained by Erot., Str., etc. with γῆ 'earth', in ἔραζε, Dor. ἔρασδε 'on the earth' (Il.); ἔρας· γῆς (H.). ◄IE? *h_1er- 'earth'►

•COMP The word is further assumed in compounds, e.g. as a second member in πολύ-ηρος· πολυάρουρος, πλούσιος 'with many fields, rich' (H.), as a first member in ἐρεσι-μήτρην· τὴν γεωμετρίαν 'geometry' (H.); on the last Hoffmann 1921: 82ff., who wants to read in H. ἔρας· γῆ and takes the word as a neuter; ἔραζε then from *ἔρασ-δε.

•DER ἐράναι· βωμοί 'altars' (H.; Schwyzer: 489; very doubtful); denominative verb in ►ἀπ-εράω, etc. Cf. also on ►ἔνεροι.

•ETYM A general resemblance is shown by a few Gm. and Celt. expressions for 'earth, etc.': OHG *ero* 'earth', ON *jǫrvi* 'sand(bank)', MW *erw* 'field', all with a suffix *-u̯-* (old *u*-stem?); with a suffix *-t-*, Go. *airþa*, ON *jǫrð*, MIr. *ert* 'earth'. Arm. *erkir* 'earth' is unclear.

ἔραμαι [v.] 'to desire, love' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Lengthened form ἐράασθε Π 208 (cf. Chantraine 1942: 83); IA ἐράω; aor. ἐράσ(σ)ασθαι, ἐρασθῆναι, fut. ἐρασθήσομαι (epic Ion.).

•DER Verbal adj. ἐρατός 'desired, loved' (Il.), with Ἐρατώ [f.] name of one of the Muses (Hes.) and ἐρατίζω 'desire' (Λ 551); lengthened form ἐρατεινός 'lovely' (Il.; after the adjectives in -εινός, e.g. ἀλγεινός; ποθεινός; Pi.); on ἐραστός see below.

Further ἔρως (Il.), gen., etc. -ωτος [m.] (Hdt., Pi.), epic also ἔρος [m.] '(carnal) love, the god of Love', with several derivatives: beside the hypocoristics Ἐρώτ-ιον, -άριον, -ίσκος, -ιδεύς also ἐρωτικός 'ptng. to love' (Att.), ἐρωτύλος 'lovely, darling', ἐρωτίς [f.] 'id.' (Theoc.); ἐρωτ-ιάδες (Νύμφαι; *AP*); ἐρωτίδια (-εια, -αια) 'festival for Eros' (Ath., inscr.); denominative verb ἐρωτ-ιάω 'be sick of love' (Hp.). From ἔρος: ἐρόεις (Hes., *h. Hom.*); cf. Treu 1955: 245. From a stem ἐρασ-: Aeol. ἐραννός 'lovely, charming' < *ἐρασ-νός (Il.), ἐράσμιος 'id.' (Semon., Anacr.; cf. Schwyzer: 493[10], Chantraine 1933: 43), ἐραστής 'lover' (IA), also in compounds, e.g. παιδ-εραστής, fem. ἐράστρια (Eup.); ἐραστός = ἐρατός (Att., etc.); denominative verb ἐραστεύω = ἐράω (A. *Pr.* 893 [lyr.]). The frequent formations in -σ-, which can hardly all be analogical, point to an original *s*-stem ἔρως, ἔρασ- (like γέλως, γέλασ-), which was subsequently enlarged by -τ- or thematicized.

•ETYM No etymology. Thus Pre-Greek?

ἔρανος [m.] 'meal on joint account, meal of friends' (Od., Pi.); 'contribution, benefactory society' (Att., Hell.). ◄PG?►

•COMP Compounds: ἐραν-άρχης 'president of an ἔρανος' together with -έω [v.] (pap., etc.), also ἀρχ-έρανος = ἀρχ-ερανιστής together with -ίζω [v.] (inscr.).

•DER ἐρανικός 'regarding an ἔρανος' and denominative ἐρανίζω, -ομαι 'collect contributions' (Att., Hell.) with ἐράν-ισις (Pl.), -ισμός (D. H.), ἐρανιστής 'participant or member of an ἔρανος' (Att., Hell.), also ἐρανεστής (Achae.) after κηδεστής, etc.

•ETYM Uncertain. Traditionally grouped together with ►ἔροτις 'feast' (Cypr., etc.) and ►ἑορτή, and combined with ►ἦρα 'service'; the latter connection is phonetically

improbable, however. We should assume the basic forms *ϝέρα-νος, *ϝέρο-τις, but their origin is unknown: so is the word Pre-Greek?

ἔραχος [?] · τὸ δράγμα· Βοιωτοί 'handful (Boeot.)' (H.); also ἐραχάται· οἱ δεσμεύοντες 'the fettering ones'. ◁?▷

•ETYM See Bechtel 1921, 1: 305f.

ἐράω 1 ⇒ἔραμαι.

***ἐράω 2** ⇒ἀπ-εράω.

ἔργον [n.] 'work, labour, work of art' (Il.). ◁IE **uerǵ-* 'work'▷

•DIAL Myc. *we-ka-ta* /wergatās/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἐργο-λάβος 'undertaker'; further PN Ἐργα-μένης (Bechtel 1917a: 23f.; cf. ἐργά-της but also Ἀλκαμένης); very often as a second member -εργός (or -οργός), e.g. γεωργός 'farmer' (see ▶ γῆ), ▶ δημιουργός.

•DER ἐργώδης 'laborious, heavy' (Hp., X.). ἐργάτης [m.] (from the plur. ἔργα; Schwyzer 500; cf. ἐργάζομαι) 'labourer', especially 'farmer'; also adj. 'laborious' (IA), fem. ἐργάτις, with ἐργατικός 'ptng. to an ἐργάτης, laborious', ἐργατίνης = ἐργάτης (Theoc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 203, Schwyzer: 490), διεργάτινος (Mytilene), ἐργατήσιος 'profitable' (Plu. *Cat. Ma.* 21; uncertain; cf. Chantraine 1933: 42); ἐργασία, to ἐργάζομαι, see below; denominative verb ἐργατεύομαι, -εύω 'work hard' with ἐργατεία (LXX, pap.). Ἐργάνη, Delph. ϝαργάνα epithet of Athena (Delphi VI-V^{a}, etc.), also = ἐργασία (pap., H.); ἔργανα, ϝέργανα (written γέργ-)· ἐργαλεῖα (H.); ἐργαλεῖον, usually plur. -εῖα, Cret. ϝεργ- 'tool, instrument' (IA); there is no *ἔργαλον (cf. Chantraine 1933: 60). Denominative verb ἐργάζομαι 'work' (Il.; Schwyzer 734), Cret. ϝεργάδδομαι, often with prefix ἀπ-, ἐν-, etc.; several derivatives: ἐργαστικός 'busy, productive, labourer' (IA); ἐργασία, Cret. ϝεργ- '(heavy) labour, fieldwork, profession' (IA) with ἐργάσιμος 'in business, cleared (land)' (also to ἐργάζομαι; cf. Arbenz 1933: 44f.); ἐργαστήρ 'field labourer' (X.), ἐργαστής 'id.', also 'negotiator' (A. D., Rom. inscr.); ἐργαστήριον 'workshop' (IA; cf Chantraine 1933: 62f.; thence [after *vinculum*] Lat. *ergastulum*, though acc. to Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207^{11}, from ἔργαστρον) together with ἐργαστηριακός 'labourer' (Plb.), diminutive ἐργαστηρίδιον (pap.); ἔργαστρα [pl.] 'wages' (pap.; Chantraine 1933: 332). Desiderative ptc. ἐργασείων 'who wants to do' (S.).

•ETYM Dor. ϝέργον (thence regularly El. ϝάργον) is identical with Av. *varəzəm* [n.], OHG *werc*, ON *verk* [n.] 'work'; IE **uérgo-* [n.]; with secondary *o*, Arm. *gorc* 'id.' (from deverbative *gorcem* 'work'). Connecion with W *vergo-bretus* 'highest official of the Aeduans' is uncertain. Primary verbs from this root are ▶ ἔρδω and ▶ ῥέζω; see LIV^{2} s.v. 2. **u̯erǵ-* 'wirken, machen'. See further ▶ ὄργανον, ▶ ὄργια, ▶ ἐόργη.

ἔργω ⇒εἴργω.

ἔρδω [v.] 'to do, make, finish', also 'to sacrifice'. ◁IE **uerǵ-* 'work'▷

•VAR Aor. ἔρξαι (Cypr. ἔϝερξα), perf. ἔοργα (Il.), med. ἐ]ργμένος (B. 12, 207; uncertain), fut. ἔρξω (Od.).

•DIAL Myc. *wo-ze* /worzei/ continues the original zero grade.

•COMP Rarely with prefix ἀπ-, προσ-, συν-. In prose replaced by ποιέω, πράττω, ἐργάζομαι, etc.
•DER ἔργμα 'deed' (*h.Hom.*, Archil.), ἕρκτωρ 'perpetrator' (Antim.).
•ETYM The present (ϝ)έρδω (Cret. βέρδηι; cf. Schwyzer: 224; on the digamma, see also Chantraine 1942: 135; on the secondary aspiration in ἔρδω, ibid.1, 187f.) can go back to *ϝέργ̯ω via *ϝέρzδω, and differs only in ablaut grade from the zero grade yod-presents Av. *vərəziieiti* = Go. *waurkeiþ*, OHG *wurchit*, all from IE **urǵ-ie-*. The full grade could be taken from (ϝ)έργον; likewise, OS *wirkiu* after *werk*; cf. Schwyzer: 716². The non-presentic forms show the expected full grade, with regular *o-* in the perfect. Cf. ▸ ῥέζω.

ἐρέα ⇒εἶρος.

ἐρέας · τέκνα. Θεσσαλοί 'children (Thess.)', ἐρέεσφι· τέκνοις (H.). ◂IE? **h₁(e)r-* 'arise'▸
•VAR ἐρέων [gen.pl.], ἔρεσσι [dat.pl.] (Puchstein *Epigr. Gr.* p. 76).
•ETYM With the exception of ἐρέας, all forms can be explained from **ἔρος* [n.], which together with ἔρνος 'sprout' may belong to ▸ ὄρνυμι. So it is probably to be corrected to ἔρεα. Note that one expects generalized ὀρ- from **h₃er-*, however, so that the *e*-vocalism of the *s*-stem nouns must be secondary. A msc. **ἐρής* would be difficult, in spite of Bechtel 1921, 1: 205.

ἐρέβινθος [m.] 'chickpea' (Il.). ◂LW Eastern Mediterranean?▸
•DER Diminutive ἐρεβίνθιον (pap.) and ἐρεβινθ-ώδης (Thphr.), -ειος (Zen.), -ιαῖος (Dsc.), -ινος (H., Phot., Suid.).
•ETYM Related to ▸ ὄροβος 'id.' with the Pre-Greek suffix -ινθος. Further related to Lat. *ervum* 'a kind of vetch', to which some Celt. and Gm. words for 'pea, etc.' are compared: OHG *araweiz*, *arwiz* 'pea', MIr. *orbaind* 'grain', etc. The word may come from the eastern Mediterranean area; see WH s.v. *ervum*. Skt. *aravinda-* [n.] 'lotus flower' does not belong here; cf. Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v.

ἔρεβος [n.] 'the dark of the underworld' (Il.). ◂IE **h₁reg^w-os-* 'darkness'▸
•DER ἐρεβεννός, Aeol. < **ἐρεβεσ-νός* properly 'belonging to ἔρεβος, dark' (Il., Hes.); more common ἐρεμνός < **ἐρεβ-νός* (cf. Risch 1937: 99; see also on ▸ δεινός) 'id.' (Il.); ἐρεβώδης 'id.' (late).
•ETYM Old word for 'darkness, etc.', also found in other branches: Skt. *rájas-* [n.] 'dark (lower) air, dust', Arm. *erek*, *-oy* 'evening', Go. *riqiz*, ON *røkkr* [n.] 'dark, dusk', all from IE **h₁rég^w-os-* [n.].

ἐρέγματα ⇒ἐρείκω.

ἐρεείνω [v.] 'to interrogate, hear out' (epic since Il.).
•VAR Only present.
•ETYM Like in the similar case of ἁλεείνω (see ▸ ἁλέα 2), a denominative formation has been assumed: an *r/n*-stem **ἐρεϝ-εν-*. The form ▸ εἴρομαι is a primary present. Cf. also ▸ ἐρευνάω, ▸ ἐρωτάω.

ἐρέθω [v.] 'to stir, provoke' (Il.) ◂?▸

•VAR Also pres. ἐρεθίζω, with aor. ἐρεθίσαι (A.), pass. ἐρεθ-ισθῆναι, -ισθεῖς (Hdt.), -ίξαι (*AP*), perf.pass. ἠρέθ-ισμαι, -ισμένος (IA), act. ἠρέθικα (Aeschin.), fut. -ίσω, -ιῶ (Hell.).
•COMP With prefix ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, προσ-ερεθίζω, etc., also ἐξ-, κατ-ερέθω.
•DER From ἐρεθίζω: ἐρεθισμός (Hp.), ἐρέθισμα (Ar.) 'provocation, irritation', ἐρεθιστής 'agitator' (LXX), -ιστικός 'irritating' (Hp.) From ἐρέθω perhaps *ὄροθος in ►ὀροθύνω.
•ETYM The present ἐρέθω may have a formantic -θ-, like θαλέθω, φλεγέθω, etc. (Schwyzer: 703, Chantraine 1942: 327ff.); the primary verb from which it is derived is unknown. Note the forms in H., ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη, ἔρσεο· διεγείρου, and ἔρσῃ· ὁρμήσῃ, that might have formed the basis of ἐρέθω.

ἐρείδω [v.] 'to prop, support'. ◅?▻
•VAR Also med. -ομαι; aor. ἐρεῖσαι, -είσασθαι, pass. ἐρεισθῆναι (Il.), perf. med. ἐρήρεισμαι (Il.), 3pl. ἐρηρέδαται, -έδατο (Hom.) for -ίδαται, -ίδατο (Aeolism?, cf. Schwyzer: 106), ἐρήρεινται, ἠρήρειντο (A. R.; Schwyzer: 671), act. συν-, προσ-ήρεικα (Hp., PIb.), (προσ-)ἐρήρεικα (Dsc., Plu.), fut. ἐρείσω, -ομαι (Arist.).
•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀντ-, ἀπ-, ἐπ-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπ-, etc.
•DER (-)ἔρεισις, (-)ἔρεισμα, (-)ἐρεισμός, (-)ἐρειστικός. Cf. ἀντηρίς, Szemerényi 1964: 143[2].
•ETYM No certain correspondences outside Greek. Connected with Lat. *ridica* [f.] 'stake, wine prop' by Froehde *KZ* 22 (1874): 263, which is deemed 'very uncertain' by De Vaan 2008 s.v. One could mechanically reconstruct **h₁reid-*.

ἐρείκη [f.] 'heather, Arica arborea' (A., Eup.). ◅?▻
•COMP As a second member probably in ὑπ-έρεικος [f.] (Nic.), -ον [n.] (Hp., Dsc.; written ὑπερικόν) 'Hypericum'; Strömberg 1944: 42.
•DER ἐρείκια [n.pl.] 'heather plants', ἐρείκινος 'made of heather' (pap.), ἐρεικηρός 'id.' (medic.), ἐρεικαῖον (scil. μέλι) [n.] 'honey from heather' (Plin.). PN Ἐρείκεια with Ἐρεικειεύς (Attica IV[a]; written Ἐρικ-, probably itacistic; cf. Meisterhans 1900: 42 and 53), Ἐρεικοῦς λόφος (Asia Minor IV[a]), Ἐρεικοῦσσα island near Sicily (Str. et al.).
•ETYM Celtic and Balto-Slavic designations of heather resemble ἐρείκη (supposing that this derives from **ϝερείκᾱ*), but they do not agree completely: OIr. *froech*, MW *grug* < IE **uroiko-*; Latv. *virši* [pl.], Lith. *viřzis*, Ru. *véres*, *véresk*, etc. with unclear final velar. Acc. to Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 158f., ἐρείκη and *véres*, etc. were borrowed from a common source.

ἐρείκω [v.] 'to break, bruise, crush, burst' (Il.). ◅IE **h₁reiḱ-* 'break, tear off'? (cf.)▻
•VAR ἐρεικόμενος intr. (N 441), aor. ἤρϊκε (P 595, intr.), ἐρεῖξαι (IA), perf.pass. ἐρήριγμαι, -μένος (Hp., Arist.).
•COMP Rarely with prefix κατ-, δι-, ὑπ-.
•DER ἐρεικίδες [pl.] (Gal.), ἐρεικάς (H.) 'pounded barley, groats', ἐρείκιον 'crumbly pastry' (Gal.; formation like ἐρείπια), ἐρεικίτας (ἄρτος, Ath.; Redard 1949: 89), all often itacistically written ἐρικ-; thus ἐρίγματα [pl.] (Hp.), ἐρίγμη (sch.) 'bruised beans' instead of ἐρειγ-; in the same meaning with unexplained ε: ἐρέγματα (Thphr., Erot.), ἐρεγμός (pap., Gal., Erot.) together with ἐρέγμινος (Dsc., Orib.).

•ETYM With the full grade root present ἐρείκω and the clearly old weak grade aorist ἤρικε, there are no formal and semantic agreements in other branches. The nearest relations are Skt. *rikháti, likháti* 'scratch' (with aspirated velar), Lith. *riekiù, riẽkti* 'cut loaf, plough for the first time', Skt. *riśáti, liśáti* 'pluck, tear away'. One might consider connection of nominal forms like OHG *rīga*, MHG *rīha* 'row, line', Lat. *rixa* 'quarrel', and perhaps also *rīma* 'cleft, crack' (see De Vaan 2008: s.vv.).

ἐρείπω [v.] 'to ruin, tear down' med. 'to collapse' (Il.). ◁IE? **h₁reip-* 'throw down, dash'?▷

•VAR Aor. ἐριπεῖν (Il., intr.), ἐρεῖψαι (Hdt., Pi.), ἐριπέντι [ptc.dat.] = ἐριπόντι (Pi. *O.* 2, 43), pass. ἐρειφθείς (S. *Aj.* 309), perf. ἐρήριπε (Ξ 55, intr.), plpf. ἐρέριπτο (Ξ 15); ἐρήριμμαι, ἠρίφθην (Arr.); fut. ἐρείψω (S.).

•COMP With prefixes ἐξ-, κατ- et al.

•DER ἐρείπια [pl.] 'ruins' (Hdt., Arist.; on the formation Schwyzer: 470, Chantraine 1933: 55), adjectivized ἐρείπιος (οἰκία Ph.; ἐρείπιος γῆ· ἡ χέρσος 'dry land' Suid.); ἔρειψις of unclear meaning (Att. inscr.) with ἐρείψιμος 'ruined' (E. *IT* 48), ἐρειψιπύλᾱς [m.] (B.), -τοιχος (A. *Th.* 883 [lyr.]) 'tearing down towers, especially walls'; with zero grade ἐρίπναι [pl.] 'broken cliff, steep ascent' (E., A. R.; sg. Nic.); on the suffix cf. κρημνός, κραιπνός and Chantraine 1933: 192.

•ETYM Beside full grade ἐρείπω, we have ON *rífa* 'to tear down' (trans.), like ἐρείπω also of buildings; with verbal noun, Lat. *rīpa* 'steep border, shore' (cf. ἐρίπναι and ἐρείπιος γῆ = χέρσος, i.e. 'shore'); additionally, ON *rím* 'upper side of a boat', EastFris. *rip(e)* 'shore', MoHG *rīf* 'id.'. Analysis of ἐρείπω and ἐρείκω as IE **(h₁)rei-p-*, **(h₁)rei-k-* (Pok. 857ff.) is too far-fetched. See LIV² s.v. **(h₁)reip-*.

ἐρέπτομαι [v.] 'to devour, eat', of animals and men, properly 'tear away, snatch away'. ◁IE **h₁rep-*? 'catch, snatch away'▷

•VAR Only ptc. ἐρεπτόμενος (Hom., *AP*; ἐρέπτων Nonn.). With ἀν- the aor.3pl. ἀνηρέψαντο (Hom.; codd. everywhere -ρειψ-; corrected by Fick; thus also A. R. [beside -ρεψ-], Orph.), ptc. ἀναρεψαμένη (Hes. *Th.* 990, cod. Ven.). ἀνερεψάμενοι (*AB* 401, 27); ἀνερέψατο (Pi. *Pae.* 6, 136) 'snatch away'.

•COMP With ἀν-.

•ETYM The yod-present ἐρέπτομαι resembles Lith. *ap-rẽpti* 'take, catch' (which mechanically requires **(H)reh₁p-*) and Alb. *rjep* 'tear off, rob'; cf. Lat. *rapiō, -ere* 'tear, snatch' with *a*-vocalism, on which see De Vaan 2008 s.v. It has also been compared with ▶ ἁρπάζω. See Szemerényi 1964: 203-5 and Beekes 1969: 35-7; LIV² s.v. **(h₁)rep-*.

ἐρεσχηλέω [v.] 'to joke, tease' (IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Only present; also -χελέω v.l.

•DER From the verb: ἐρεσχηλία, -χελία (pap., *EM* 371, 1, Suid.). Also ἐρίσχηλος· λοίδορος 'slanderous' (*EM*, Parth. *Fr.* 18).

•ETYM Like ▶ βλασφημέω, probably from a nominal first member and a verbal second member; further derivation unclear. Acc. to Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 57, ἐρεσ- is a neuter synonymous with ἔρις and is also found in ἐπήρεια; he compares the second member with χηλεύειν· ῥάπτειν, πλέκειν 'sew, stitch; braid' (H.); ἐρεσ-

χηλεῖν would then mean 'start a feud'. Fur. (index) considers ε/η Pre-Greek; note also the form with ἐρι-, though this could also be analogical based on ►ἔρις.

ἐρέτης [m.] 'rower' (Il.). ◅IE *h_1erh_1-, h_1reh_1- 'row'▻

•VAR Myc. *e-re-ta* /eretās/; inf. *e-re-e* /ere^{h}en/ (Perpillou *Minos* 9:2 (1968): 208-212).

•COMP As a second member in ►ὑπηρέτης.

•DER ἐρετικός 'concerning the rowers' (Att.); collective abstract εἰρεσίη, -ίᾱ 'the rowers' (Od.), where the metrical lengthening εἰ- was maintained in prose); denominative verb ἐρέσσω, rare Att. ἐρέττω, aor. ἐρέσ(σ)αι 'row' (Il.).

Further the instrument noun ἐρετμόν [n.] 'oar' (Il.) with ἐρετμόω [v.] 'to equip with oars' (E.), PN Ἐρετμεύς (θ 111), also the TN Ἐρέτρια as "the rowing (town)". Formally isolated are the nouns in -ηρης and -ερος, -ορος, like τρι-ήρης 'trireme' (IA), ἁλι-ήρης 'rowing the sea' (κώπη E. *Hec.* 455 [lyr.]), πεντηκόντ-ερος, πεντηκόντ-ορος 'ship with fifty oars' (IA), etc., see below.

•ETYM The agent noun ἐρέ-της points to a disyllabic primary root *h_1erh_1-/ *h_1reh_1- 'row', like synonymous Skt. *ari-tár-* (which would be Gr. *ἐρε-τήρ, perhaps in Ἐρέτρ-ιᾱ). In Greek, this verb was replaced by the denominative ἐρέσσω (uncertain Myc. *e-re-e*), but it is still present in other languages: Lith. *irìu, ìrti* (from zero grade *h_1rh_1-), Gm., e.g. ON *róa*, Celt., e.g. OIr. *imb-rá* 'row, sail' (both from *$rō$-, as opposed to *$rē$- in Lat. *rēmus*, and go back to *h_1reh_1- versus *h_1roh_1-). Traces of the verb in Greek occur in τρι-ήρης, etc. (with compositional lengthening and ending after the *s*-stems), πεντηκόντ-ερος, -ορος, etc. (after the o-stems, with root vocalism -ο- after -γονος, -φορος, etc.; there is no vowel harmony, as per Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 327). Perhaps, with a suffix -το-, (Lesb.) τέρρητον· τριήρης H., if haplological for *τερρ-έρητον < *τρι-έρητον as per Brugmann *IF* 13 (1902-1903): 152f. The form ἐρετμόν is reminiscent both of Skt. *arí-tr-a-* 'oar', Lith. *irklas* 'oar' < *h_1rh_1-*tlo-* and of Lat. *rēmus*, which perhaps has *-*smo-*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.

ἐρεύγομαι 1 [v.] 'to belch out, disgorge, discharge, vomit', also metaph., e.g. of the sea (Il.). ◅IE *h_1reug- 'belch'▻

•VAR Pres. also ἐρυγγάνω (Hp., Att.); aor. ἤρυγον (Ar., Arist.), ἠρευξάμην (Procop.), fut. ἐρεύξομαι (*Ev. Matt.* 13, 35).

•COMP Also with prefix ἀν-, ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, προσ-, etc.

•DER ἔρευξις, ἐρευγμός, also ἔρυξις, ἐρυγμός, ἔρυγμα together with ἐρυγματώδης (also ἐρευγματώδης); ἐρυγή 'belching out, etc.' (Hp.).

•ETYM The word ἐρεύγομαι (the nasal present ἐρυγγάνω like πυνθάνομαι beside πεύθομαι, etc.) belongs to an expressive group of words found in several languages, e.g. Lat. *ē-rūgō*, Lith. *riáugmi, riáugėti*, Ru. *rygát'* (iter.) 'have belches, ruminate'; with zero grade as in ἤρυγον: OHG *ita-ruchjan* 'ruminate', OE *rocettan* (< PGm. **rukatjan-*) 'belch', Arm. *orcam* (< *o-ruc-am* < *erucam*, corresponding to Gr. ἐ-); also, MoP *ā-rōy* 'belch'. Cf. ►ἐρεύγομαι 2.

ἐρεύγομαι 2 [v.] in Hom. only of the sea ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς (P 265), κῦμα ... δεινὸν ἐρευγόμενον (ε 403), (κύματα) ἐρεύγεται ἤπειρόνδε (ε 438); to be translated with 'roar' in the last two passages (cf. Ξ 394 κῦμα ... βοᾷ ποτὶ χέρσον), but here, like in P 265, a translation 'belch out' (= ►ἐρεύγομαι 1) is also possible. The sense of

'roaring' seems certain in the aorist ἤρυγεν (Υ 403f.): ἤρυγεν ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος ἤρυγεν, 406 τόν γ' ἐρυγόντα λίπε ... θυμός; thus also in Theoc. 13, 58. The present and future are also used in the meaning 'roar' in LXX (σκύμνος ἐρευγόμενος, λέων ἐρεύξεται). ◁IE *$h_1$reug- 'belch' (also 'roar'?)▷

•DER ἐρύγμηλος Σ 580 (from ἐρυγμή H. or *ἐρυγμεῖν) is also used as an adjunct of ταῦρος 'bull'; differently, *EM* 379, 27 ἐρυγμήλη (H. ἐρυγηλή)· ἐπίθετον ῥαφανίου, ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρυγῆς 'epithet of the radish, perhaps called after the belch'. H. mentions also ἐρυγμαίνουσα· ἡ βοῦς ('ruminator'? Cf. on ►ἐρεύγομαι 1). καὶ ὁ ταῦρος ἐρυγμαίνων, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρυγμῆς 'also the bull, after è., and ἐρυγήτωρ· βοητής 'clamorous'.

•ETYM Clearly, ἐρεύγομαι 1 and 2 are not always kept apart in Greek, e.g. ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα (LXX *Ps.* 18 [19], 2), ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα (*Ev. Matt.* 13, 35), where 'to belch out' is used expressively for 'to cry', etc. Nonetheless, ►ὀρυμαγδός and ὠρῡγή, ὠρυγμός (see ►ὠρῡόμαι) clearly refer to 'roaring'.

Other languages have comparable words in the meaning 'roar': Lat. *rūgiō* 'to roar'; with a different auslaut (IE *-*k*-), OCS *rykati* 'roar', OE *rȳn* 'id.' (PGm. **rūhjan*-), OHG *rohōn* < PGm. **ruhōn*-; in Latin, the expected form would be **rucāre*, but we instead have *runcāre* 'to snore' (s.v. ►ῥέγκω).

ἐρεύθω [v.] 'to make red, paint red' (Il.). ◁IE *$h_1$reud^h- 'red'▷

•VAR Aor. ἐρεῦσαι.

•COMP Also with prefix συνεξ-, κατ-.

•DER ἔρευθος [n.] 'redness' (Hp., Ph.) with ἐρευθής 'red-colored' (Str., Arat.), furthermore the poetical ἐρευθήεις (-ιόεις) 'id.' (A. R.), ἐρευθαλέος 'id.' (Nonn.), probably innovation, like PN Ἐρευθαλίων (Hom.; cf. Δευκαλίων, Ιυγμαλίων et al.), Ἐρευθαλία town in Argos (sch.; cf. Οἰχαλία). Denominative verbs: ἐρευθέω 'get red' (Luc., pap.) with ἐρεύθημα (Gal.), ἐρευθιάω 'id.' (Hp.; after the verbs of disease). On the plant name ἐρευθέδανον [n.] 'red dye, Rubia tinctorum' (Hdt., Thphr.), also ἐρυθρόδανον, see ►ἐρυθρός.

•ETYM The word ἐρεύθω is identical with ON *rjóða* 'to make bloody', OE *rēodan* 'to paint red'; ἔρευθος may also have an equivalent outside Greek, i.e. in Lat. *rōbus, rōbur, -oris* 'heartwood' (with *ō* < **eu*, a non-Roman dialectal trait; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), as heartwood is more red or brown than sapwood. Forms from an *s*-stem have been assumed in Greek, but see discussion on ►ἐρυσίβη 'rust'. An old formation is ►ἐρυθρός.

ἐρευνάω [v.] 'to search for (after), inquire' (Il.). ◁IE *$h_1$reu- 'search, inquire'▷

•VAR Hell. (LXX, pap., NT, etc.) also ἐραυνάω with ευ > αυ (cf. Schwyzer: 126 and 198); aor. ἐρευνῆσαι.

•COMP Also with prefixes ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, κατ- et al.

•DER (δι-)ἐρευνητής 'inquirer' (X.) with ἐρευνήτρια [f.] (Corn.), (δι-)ἐρεύνησις 'inquiry' (Str.), (δι-, ἐξ-)ἐρευνητικός (Str.). Also the back-formation ἔρευνα [f.], late also ἔραυνα (cf. above) 'id.' (S., E., Arist.).

•ETYM Like ►ἐρεείνω, ἐρευνάω is derived from a verb εἴρομαι, ἐρέ(ϝ)-ω 'ask' via a noun *ἐρεϝ-(ε)ν-, and modelled on the verbs in -νάω. A transformation of this noun

could be seen in ON *raun* [f.] 'attempt, test, inquiry', from IE **h₁rou-n-eh₂-*. Further see ►εἴρομαι, ►ἐρωτάω.

ἐρέφω [v.] 'to cover, provide with a roof' (Pi., Ar.). ◄IE **h₁reb^{h}-* 'cover, roof'►
•VAR Also ἐρέπτω (Pi., B., Cratin.); aor. ἐρέψαι (Il.), fut. ἐρέψω (A., E.).
•COMP Sometimes with prefix ἀμφ-, ἐπ-, κατ-; as a second member e.g. in ὑψ-όροφος 'with high roof' (Hom.); also ὑψ-ερεφής, -ηρεφής 'id.' (Hom.), κατ-ηρεφής 'with a roof, vaulted' (Il.), πετρ-ηρεφής 'vaulted with rocks' (A., E.) et al.
•DER ἔρεψις 'roofing' (Thphr.) with ἐρέψιμος (Pl.); with ablaut ὄροφος [m.] 'cover, roof' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 7, 140, A.), also 'thatch for a roof' (Ω 451), ὀροφή [f.] 'roof', especially 'ceiling' (IA, Od.) with ὀροφίας name of a snake (Ar. *V.* 206), = ὄφις τῶν κατ' οἰκίαν H.; cf. Georgacas 1956: 126; ὀρόφινος 'covered with thatch' (Aen. Tact.), ὀροφ-ιαῖος, -ιος, -ικός 'ptng. to the ὀροφή (ὄροφος)' (Att., Hell.); denominative verb ὀροφόω 'roof, cover' (Hell.) with ὀρόφωμα, ὀρόφωσις.
•ETYM The only correspondences are the second member in OHG *hirni-reba* 'skull' (properly "brain-cover") and the Gm. word for 'rib' (as "cover of the breast"): OHG *rippa*, *rippi*, OE *ribb*, ON *rif* [n.], IE **h₁reb^{h}-io-*, and also Ru. *rebró* 'id.' < **h₁reb^{h}-ro-*. Both ὀροφή and ὄροφος contain two *o*-grades, the first of which must be secondary (double ablaut?); there is no vowel assimilation.

Ἐρεχθεύς ⇒Ἐριχθόνιος.

ἐρέχθω [v.] 'to rend, break' (Ψ 317, ε 83, *h.Ap.* 358). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Only present.
•DER Plant name ἐρεχθῖτις = ἡριγέρων (Ps.-Dsc.); see André *RPh.* 45 (1971): 216f.: 'the one that breaks'. On ►Ἐρεχθεύς, Att. vases Ερεχσες, etc. see ►Ἐριχθόνιος.
•ETYM Connected with Skt. *rákṣas-*, Av. *rašah-* 'destruction, damage', YAv. *rāšaiieṇte* [3pl.pres.] 'damage'. Semantic objections are voiced by Kretschmer *KZ* 31 (1892): 432f. The connection is 'unglaubhaft' to Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 423 and Gunnarsson *NTS* 24 (1971): 64ff. Improbable analysis of -χθ- from **-ḱs-d^{h}-* by Lipp, followed by LIV² s.v. **(h₁)reḱs-*.

ἐρέω 1 'ask'. ⇒εἴρομαι.

ἐρέω 2 [v.fut.] 'say'. ⇒εἴρω 2.

ἐρῆμος 'lonely, uninhabited, deserted', of places and things, people and animals (Il.). ◄IE **h₁r(e)h₁-* 'loose, rare, separate'►
•DIAL Myc. *e-re-mo* /erēmos/ describing land. Younger Att. ἔρημος.
•COMP Also in compounds, e.g. ἐρημο-νόμος 'living in loneliness' (A. R.), late. As a second member in παν-, φιλ-, ὑπ-έρημος et al.
•DER Poetical derivatives ἐρημ-αῖος (Emp., A. R.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 49), -εῖος (Mykonos); fem. ἐρημάς (Man.; Chantraine 1933: 354f.). Abstract ἐρημία 'loneliness, solitude, lack' (IA) with ἐρημίτης, ἐρημικός 'id.' (LXX). Denominative verbs ἐρημόομαι, -όω 'to become or make desolate, destroyed or looted' (Pi., IA), together with ἐρήμωσις (LXX), ἐρημωτής (*AP*); also with prefix ἀπ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, with ἀπέρημος (sch.). ἐρημάζω [v.] 'to live in solitude' (Thphr.).

•ETYM The Greek form mechanically requires *h_1reh_1-mo- (zero grade would have given two short vowels, cf. ὄνομα < *h_3nh_3-mn-); the root would agree with Lith. *irti* 'disintegrate', 1sg. *yrù*. It has been connected with Lat. *rārus*, which would have to be from *$h_1r̥h_1$-ro- (Schrijver 1991: 310f. is undecided between zero grade and full grade, but the latter would require *Hreh$_2$- which would not be compatible with the Greek evidence); Lat. *rēte* 'net' could be from *h_1reh_1-t- (Beekes 1969: 36), but is now also connected with Lith. *rētas* 'rare, thin, slow' et al. (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Skt. *r̥-té* 'with exception of, without' is unclear; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.

ἐρητύω [v.] 'to keep back, hinder'. ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. ἐρητῦσαι (Il.; rare S., E.), ἐρατύει S. *OC* 164 (lyr.), ἐράτοθεν (= ἐρήτυθεν B 99)· ἀνεπαύσαντο 'they stopped' (H.), on which cf. Schwyzer: 182, Hoffmann 1891: 166; 283, Bechtel 1921, 1: 401; DELG thinks it is not Cyprian.

•COMP Also with ἀπ-, κατ-.

•ETYM No etymology. Cf. on ▸ἐρωή, ▸ἐρωέω. If the -α- is reliable, we could reconstruct *h_1reh_2-tu-.

ἔρθει [v.] · φθέγγεται 'utters' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

ἐρι- [pref.] 'very, high' (Il.). ◂IE *ser- 'high'▸

•DIAL Perhaps in Myc. *e-ri-* /eri-/.

•COMP Especially in bahuvrīhis like ἐρί-(γ)δουπος, -σθενής, -τιμος, -αύχην; also ἐριβρεμέτης, -δμᾶτος (A. *Ag.* 1461 [lyr.]) et al.; cf. Chantraine *REGr.* 49: 406.

•ETYM Willi *KZ* 112 (1999): 87-100 follows Heubeck in connecting Hitt. *šēr* 'high, up', and separates ▸ἀρι-. Some semantic traces of this etymology may be found, e.g. ἐριαύχην 'with the neck high, in height', etc. (ibid.: 96f.).

ἐρίηρες [adj.] perhaps 'faithful'. ◂IE *ueh$_1$r- 'true'▸

•VAR Acc.pl. -ας; secondary sing. ἐρίηρος, said of ἑταῖρος (Hom., formulaic), also of ἀοιδός (α 346, θ 62 = 471).

•ETYM A bahuvrīhi compound of ▸ἦρα and ἐρι-. It has also been compared with βρίηρον· μεγάλως κεχαρισμένον (H.).

ἐριθάκη [f.] 'bee bread' (a kind of wax) (Arist. Varr. Plin.). ◂PG?▸

•ETYM Hesychius comments: ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν μελισσῶν παρατιθεμένη τροφὴ καὶ τὸ ἐγκοίλιον τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν μαλακῶν· καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑῶν ἔμβρυα, 'the food provided by bees; the intestines of fish; the young of swine'. DELG remarks: "The gloss gives two informations: on the one hand the meaning 'interior of crustaceans', which arose from the resemblance between the two materials, explains the adjective ἐριθακώδης 'full of ἐριθάκη', epithet of γραῖαι 'crabs' (Epich. 61); on the other hand, it appears that the 'bee-bread' was (be it wrongly) considered as food of the bees [in reality they use it to close openings in the walls of the bee-hive], which would explain the connection with ἔριθος." The latter remark is not very clear; perhaps Chantraine refers to the fact that ἐριθακίς means 'drone'. Pre-Greek, acc. to Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 183. See ▸ἔρῑθος.

ἐρίθακος [m.] name of a bird, probably 'robin redbreast, Erithacus rubecula' (Arist.), see Thompson 1895 s.v. ◁PG?▷
•VAR ἐριθεύς (Thphr.), ἐρίθυλος (sch.).
•DER Adj. ἐριθακώδης (γραῖαι Epich. 61; meaning unclear; see ▶ἐριθάκη).
•ETYM Connection with ▶ἔριθος suggested by Frisk, but DELG does not understand why. See Boßhardt 1942: 67ff. and Thompson 1895 s.v.

ἔρῑθος [m., f.] 'day-labourer', of reapers, sheaf-binders (Σ 550, 560), 'spinner' (S., D. with folk-etymological connection with ἔριον), 'servant, etc.' in general (*h.Merc.* 296, etc.). ◁PG▷
•COMP Comp. συν-έριθος [m., f.] 'helper, labourer' (Od.), φιλ-έριθος 'who loves spinning' (Theoc., *AP*). With the familiarizing suffix -κ-: ἐριθακίς [f.] (Theoc.).
•DER Denominative verb ἐριθεύομαι (rare -εύω, also with ἐξ-) 'to be a day-labourer, work for wages, try to obtain a favour or a job' (LXX, Arist.) with ἐριθεία 'trying to get a position' (Arist.), ἐριθευτός 'bribed' (Creta, Delphi). Unclear Ἐριθάσεος epithet of Apollo (Attica IV[a]).
•ETYM No etymology; in the same semantic sphere as δοῦλος, thus Pre-Greek? Cf. the suffix -ιθ- (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes).

ἐρῑνεός [m.] 'wild fig-tree, Ficus caprificus' (Il., Hes., Arist.), opposed to συκῆ; cf. Strömberg 1937: 166[1]. ◁PG▷
•VAR ἐρινός [m.] (Stratt., Theoc., Delos, etc.; cf. ἀδελφεός : -φός), Att. also ἐρινεώς (Delos, Com.; after other tree-names in -εώς).
•DIAL Myc. *e-ri-no-wo*, *-wo-to* /erinwos, -otos/.
•DER ἐρινεόν, -νόν 'wild fig' (com., Arist., Thphr.); ἐρινάς [f.] = ἐρινεός (Nic.; like κοτινάς, etc.; Chantraine 1933: 353); adjective ἐρίνεος, -νοῦς 'belonging to a fig-tree' (Epich., E.), ἐρινεώδης 'full of fig-trees' (Str.); denominative verb ἐρινάζω 'to caprificate', with ἐρινασμός (Thphr.): to hang branches of wild fig near the cultivated one, so that insects will bring over pollen (see Thphr. s.v. ψήν; Perpillou *RPh.* 71 (1997): 160 adds: "le figuier sauvage serait alors le figuier-bouc, fécondateur considéré le mâpe de l'espèce", but this is hardly understandable as an etymology).
•ETYM Recalling Messen. τράγος = ἐρινεός (Paus. 4, 20, 2) and Lat. *caprificus*, Prellwitz *BB* 22 (1897): 284f. compared an old word for 'he-goat', which is also found in ▶ἔριφος. This is now accepted by Perpillou. Acc. to Chantraine 1933: 203 and Schwyzer: 491, however, the word is Pre-Greek (cf. κότινος 'wild olive'; ὄλυνθος 'wild fig').

ἔρῑνος [m.] plant name (Nic., Ps.-Dsc.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unexplained. See André 1956 s.v. *erineos*.

Ἐρῑνύς, -ύος [f.] name of an avenging goddess; as an appellative 'revenge, curse' (Il.), name of Demeter in Arcadia (Antim., Call., Paus. 8, 25, 6). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR On the length of the υ see LSJ. Ερινυυς is rejected by LSJ.
•DIAL Myc. *E-ri-nu*.
•DER ἐρινυώδης 'like the E.' (Plu.); ἐρινύω = θυμῷ χρῆσθαι (Arc., Paus. l.c., *EM*), cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 390.

•ETYM A connection with the mythical stallion Ἐρίων (Ἀρίων, Ὀρίϝων; Bechtel 1921, 1: 349) requires further demonstration. Pre-Greek origin can be expected, cf. Herter *Lexis* 3 (1954): 232 and Arena *Helikon* 6 (1966): 144f.
Neumann *Sprache* 32 (1986): 43-51 proposes an IE reconstruction **eri-snh₁-u-* 'who provokes struggle', from **sneh₁-* as in νεῦρον. This would give, however, **eri-san-u-* > **eri-(h)anu-*; this could be avoided by assuming that the laryngeal was lost in the compound. However, does 'provoke struggles' fit the Erinyes? Heubeck *Glotta* 64 (1986): 164 states that such a meaning "zwar nicht restlos geschwunden, aber doch... weitgehend zurückgedrängt worden ist".
In sum, there is no good IE etymology and the word is probably Pre-Greek. For an Indo-European etymology, the ending -ῡς would have to be from *-uH-s*, i.e. *-u-h₂-*, but a "Motions-femininum" of this type is not known in Greek. Thus, the ending seems to be Pre-Greek. Moreover, the variation ν/νν may represent a palatalized phoneme *nʸ* (cf. *lʸ* in Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς; for the phenomenon see *Pre-Greek*: B 1).

ἔριον ⇒εἶρος.

ἐριούνης [adj.] of Hermes (Υ 34, θ 322), late of θεοί (Ant. Lib. 25, 2), νόος (Orph. *L.* 199). ◅?▻
•VAR ἐριούνιος (Il., *h.Merc.*, Ar. *Ra.* 1144).
•ETYM The ancient scholars wrongly associated this word with various simplicia, connecting it with different qualities of Hermes: e.g., οὔνης· κλέπτης, οὔνιος· [εὔνις,] δρομεύς, κλέπτης 'runner, thief' (H.); cf. Leumann 1950: 123. Better glosses are οὔνον· [ὑγιές.] Κύπριοι δρόμον 'course' and οὔνει (for οὔνῃ?)· δεῦρο, δράμε. Ἀρκάδες 'Over here! Run! (Arc.)'. Here further belongs the Cypr. PN Φιλουνίου [gen.], cf. Φιλόδρομος. Would Ἐρι-ούνης, -ούνιος then be the quick messenger of the gods? Thus Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 192ff., but doubted by O. Masson 1961: 256¹. See also Ruijgh 1957: 136, 142.

ἔρις, -ιδος [f.] 'strife, quarrel, contention' (Il.); on the mg. in Hom. Trümpy 1950: 139ff. ◅?▻
•VAR Acc. also -ιν.
•COMP As a second member in δύσ-ερις (Att.), also with compositional lengthening δύσ-ηρις (Pi.) 'arousing [bad] struggle'.
•DER Denominative verbs: ἐρίζω 'to fight, wrangle, quarrel' (Il.; enlarged from **ἐρί-ω*?), whence ἔρισμα 'quarrel' = 'object of the quarrel' (Δ 38), ἐρισμός 'id.' (Timo), ἐριστικός 'quarrelsome' (Pl., Arist.), ἐριστής 'quarreler' (LXX *Ps.* 138 [139], 20; v.l.). ἐριδαίνω 'id.' (Il.; only present beside unclear ἐρῑδήσασθαι Ψ 792; cf. Chantraine 1942: 416). ἐριδμαίνω 'to provoke, irritate' (Π 260), = ἐριδαίνω (Hell.); after the verbs in -μι-αίνω like πημι-αίνω; see Schwyzer: 724.
•ETYM Unknown etymology. Because of the PNs Ἀμφ-, Ἀν-ήρι-τος (Bechtel 1917a: 7; also -ιστος), ἔρις must be an original ι-stem; therefore, connection with ἐρείδω 'prop, support' is excluded. Neither is there evidence for relation to ►ὁρίνω, ►ἐρέθω, ►Ἐρινύς. Hardly related to Skt. *ári-*, *arí-* [m.] 'stranger, enemy, etc.'.

ἐρίσφηλος [adj.] epithet of Heracles (Stesich. 82). ◅?▻

•DER Beside it ἄσφηλοι· ἀσθενεῖς. σφηλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρόν 'weak, for σφηλὸν means strong' (H.), but the mg. does not fit.
•ETYM Unexplained; ▸σφάλλω has an entirely different meaning.

ἔριφος [m. f.] 'young goat, kid' (Il., Crete); in plur. name of a constellation of stars (Democr., Theoc.; see Scherer 1953: 124f.). ◂?▸
•DER Hypocoristic diminutive ἐρίφιον (Athenio Com.) with ἐριφιήματα· ἔριφοι. Λάκωνες 'kids (Lacon.)' (H.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 178, Schwyzer: 523); adj. ἐρίφειος 'belonging to ἔριφος' (Com., X.); Ἐρίφιος epithet of Dionysus in Metapontum (Apollod.; cf. on Εἰραφιώτης); ἐριφέας (for *ἐριφίας?)· χίμαρος 'he-goat' (H.).
•ETYM Formation like ▸ἔλαφος 'deer' et al. Resembles a word for 'goat, deer' in OIr. *erp* (*erb*), probably < PCl. **erbā-*; see Matasović 2008 s.v.; Arm. *oroj* 'agnus, agna' < **er-oǰ*, also *erinǰ* 'young cow' (unclear) and Lat. *ariēs*, *-ētis*, U *erietu* 'arietem' are much farther away. In ▸ἐρῖνεός 'wild fig', an old word for 'buck' has also been supposed.

Ἐριχθόνιος [m.] name of a hero and king of Athens, son of Ge, father of Pandion (A., E.); also name of a Trojan, son of Dardanos, father of Tros (Υ 219, 230). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Cf. Ἐρεχθεύς (B 547, η 80), which is also an epithet of Poseidon (inscr.); on Attic vases Ἐρεχσες, together with Ἐρεχθηΐς [f.] name of an Att. phyle (D., inscr.), Ἐρεχθεῖδαι [pl.] name of the Athenians (Pi.). These names were taken to mean 'who tears apart, shaker [of the earth]', but see below. Also Ἐριχθευς (Pape and Benseler 1911: 379). Note the soothsayer Εριχθώ in Thessaly (Luc. *Phars.*, see also Ov. *Her.* 15, 139), which confirms (Pre-)Greek origin.
•DIAL Att. vases Ερεχσες (Schwyzer 326) a hero and king of Athens (B 543, η 81).
•DER οἱ Ἐριχθονίδαι = Ἐρεχθεῖδαι (*IG* 3, 771; poet., Roman times).
•ETYM Probably a very old name; already the fact that Erichthonios is called the son of the Earth, points to Pre-Greek origin. There is no good explanation for the coexistence of Ἐρεχθεύς and Ἐριχθόνιος, cf. the by-form in -ων of Hermes, and cf. Ἐρυσίχθων. Is the form with -χσ- an Atticism, or does it have a wider spread? Connection with ἐρέχθω is improbable. Ἐρεχθεύς, etc. are rather short forms of Ἐριχθόνιος, and were later connected with ▸ἐρέχθω by folk-etymology. Ἐρεχθεύς / Ερεχσες is clearly a Pre-Greek name; more forms are given by Fur.: 263. It continues a pre-form **Erekʰ'eu-*, cf. the alternation in μόροχθος / ▸μόροξος.

ἐριώλη [f.] 'whirlwind, hurricane' (Ar. *Eq.* 511, A. R.). ◂?▸
•VAR On the accent see Hdn. Gr. 1, 324.
•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps from *ϝελι-ϝωλη (from εἰλέω 'roll, turn, wind'), with intensive reduplication and dissimilation λ-λ > ρ-λ?

ἕρκος [n.] 'fence, enclosure, courtyard; net' (Il.). ◂IE? **serk-* 'twine'▸
•COMP As a second member e.g. in εὐ-ερκής 'well-fenced' (Il.); as a first member in ἑρκο-θηρ-ικός 'ptng. to the hunt with a net' (Pl. *Soph.* 220c).
•DER ἑρκίον 'fence' (Il., cf. τειχίον: τεῖχος et al.); ἕρκειος, ἑρκεῖος (after οἰκεῖος et al.) 'belonging to the ἕρκος, court-yard', especially as an epithet of Zeus protecting the

house, whose altar is in the courtyard (χ 935); ἐρκίτης 'a slave belonging to the place' (Amer. *apud* Ath. 6, 267c, H.).

Further ἐρκάνη 'fence' (late) from cross with ὀρκάνη 'id.' (A., E.), which has *o*-grade like ►ὅρκος; cf. Chantraine 1933: 198. Glosses ἔρκατος· φραγμός 'fence', ἐρκάτη· φυλακή 'watch, guard' (H.), Ὄρκατος locality in Calymna (inscr. II[a]; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 147); on the suffix cf. ὄρχατος; see also ►ἔρχατος.

•ETYM Apparently a verbal noun (like τέλος, γένος, etc.), but there is no corresponding verb. Meringer *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 157f. connected it as *'wicker-work' with Lat. *sarciō*, *-īre* 'to twine, restore', properly *'to sew together'; cf. *sartum tectum* 'unviolated, complete', properly *'twined and covered', *sarcina* [f.] 'bundle'. Lat. *sarciō* belongs to Hitt. *šar-nin-k-* (nasal infix present) 'to restore damage, make amends'. On ἔρκος ὀδόντων, see Humbach *MSS* 21 (1967): 24ff. (it denotes the lips, not the teeth).

ἔρμα 1 [n.] 'prop, support', of the stones or beams put under the ships when drawn ashore (in plur., Il. and *h.Ap.* 507); metaph. of men, 'support, column' (Il.); 'underwater cliff on which a ship gets stuck' (Alc. *Supp.* 26, 6, Hdt. 7, 183, Th. 7, 25); 'stone (or any other weight) that can serve as ballast' (Ar., Arist.); 'heap of stones' (S. *Ant.* 848 [lyr.], *AP* 9, 319). ◂?▸

•DER ἐρμῖς (or -ῖν), acc. ἐρμῖνα, dat.pl. -ῖσιν 'post of a bed' (θ 278, ψ 198, Hdt. 3, 16; cf. ῥηγμῖν- from ῥῆγμα, σταμῖν-, etc.); cf. Hdn. Gr. 2, 431 with etymological speculations. ἔρμαξ [f.] 'heap of stones' (Nic. et al.), MoGr. ἐρμακιά (ἀρ-) 'wall of dry stones', many derivatives in the dialects of lower Italy, see Rohlfs 1930: 78f.; ἔρμακες· ὕφαλοι πέτραι 'rocks under the sea' (H.: cf. λίθαξ, μύλαξ, etc.). ἐρμεών· σωρὸς λίθων 'heap of stones' (H.), cf. βολεών s.v. βάλλω, etc. ἐρματίτης πέτρος 'stone serving as ballast' (Lyc. 618). ἐρματικός 'fixed' (κράββατος, *PGen.* 68, 10; IV[p]). ἐρμαῖος λόφος 'heap of stones' (π 471; uncertain, cf. on Ἑρμῆς). Denominative verbs: ἐρμάζω 'to support, make stable' (Hp.) with ἔρμασμα, -σμός (Hp.), ἔρμασις (Erot., also Troezen IV[a] [-σσ-]; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 149); ἐρματίζω 'id.' (Hp.). See ►Ἑρμῆς (Ἑρμείας, Ἑρμάων).

•ETYM Formally, ἔρμα seems to be a verbal noun in -μα with regular *e*-vocalism of the root. For an etymology, one might think of Lith. *sveriù* 'weigh' and relatives, in which case it would originally mean 'heavy weight, stone', from IE **suér-mn.* However, because of the divergent meanings, two or three different words have been assumed: thus, ἔρμα 'cliff' was considered a separate word and connected with Skt. *várṣman-* [n.] 'height, hill, top, point' (e.g. in WP 1, 267). However, this etymology disregards the fact that cliffs *under the sea surface* are denoted. On the other hand, ἔρμα has been connected as ballast of a ship with Lith. 1sg. *sveriù* 'to weigh', *svarùs* 'heavy', OHG *swār(i)* 'heavy'. In the meaning 'support, prop', words for 'pole, etc.' have been connected, e.g. Skt. *sváru-* 'sacrificial post', OE *swer* 'post, column', Lat. *surus* 'twig, sprout, pole'. However, it is doubtful whether ἔρμα ever meant 'pole'. An attempt to combine all meanings was made by Porzig 1942: 266: the original meaning would be 'stone [for supporting a ship]', whence 'stones for ballast', and on the other hand, sarcastically, also 'cliffs under the sea'. Kretschmer *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1927): 4 thinks that ἔρμα is Anatolian, pointing to the Lydian river

Ἕρμος (πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἕρμον Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 55) and to Lycian PNs in *Erm-*, *Arm-*. Chantraine *Ant. class.* 22 (1953): 69 is also in favor of non-IE origin. There seems no reason, however, to assume foreign origin.

ἕρματα 2 ⇒εἴρω 1.

ἕρμαιον ⇒Ἑρμῆς.

ἑρμηνεύς [m.] 'interpreter, translator' (Pi. *O.* 2, 85), also 'interpreter' in general (IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR ἑρμανεύς (Pi.).

•DER Denominative verb ἑρμηνεύω (-μαν- Epid.), also with prefix δι-, ἐξ- et al., 'interpret, translate', also 'explain' (IA) with several derivatives: ἑρμηνεία 'interpretation, explanation, way of expression, style' (Pl., X., Arist.); ἑρμήνευσις 'id.' (D. C., Longin.); ἑρμηνεύματα [pl.] 'id.' (E., Ph.); ἑρμηνευτής = ἑρμηνεύς (Ph *Plt.* 290c, LXX *Ge.* 42, 23, Poll. 5, 154; cf. Fraenkel 1912: 63) with ἑρμηνεύτρια [f.] (sch.); ἑρμηνευτικός 'ptng. to interpretation' (Pl.), cf. Chantraine 1956a: 134 und 137.

•ETYM Technical expression without etymology, probably of Anatolian origin (so possibly Pre-Greek); cf. Boßhardt 1942: 36f. and Krahe *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 181. Wrong attempts at an IE explanation, connecting it with to εἴρω 'string, attach', εἴρω 'say', Lat. *sermō*, are found in old dictionaries like Bq. See also ►Ἑρμῆς.

Ἑρμῆς, -οῦ [m.] Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia; also 'herm, head of a herm' (Il.). ◁PG▷

•DIAL Myc. *E-ma-a*$_2$ (dat.), Ἑρμείας, -έας, Ἑρμείης (Call.), Ἑρμᾶς (Dor. Boeot.), Ἑρμάων (Hes.), Ἑρμάν, -ᾶνος (Lac. Arc.), Ἑρμάου, -άο, -ᾶ (Thess. dat.), Ἕρμαον (Cret. acc.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἑρμο-γλυφεῖον (Pl.) with backformation ἑρμογλυφεύς, -ικός, -ος (Luc. et al.), see ►γλύφω.

•DER Hypocoristic diminutive Ἑρμίδιον (Ar.), -άδιον (Luc.; also 'small herm' [Lydia]), after the nouns in -ίδιον, -άδιον. Ἑρμαῖος 'belonging to H., of H.', also as a month name (A., S.), probably also Ἑρμαῖος λόφος (π 471), if not from ►ἕρμα; ntr. Ἕρμαιον 'temple of Hermes' (Ephese), on the accent Hdn. Gr. 1, 369; plur. Ἑρμαια (ἱερά) 'festival for Hermes' (Att.); as an appellative ἕρμαιον [n.] "gift of Hermes", i.e. 'chance find, unexpected advantage' (Pl., S.); also a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 129); fem. Ἑρμαΐς (Hp.); Ἑρμαιών name of a month (Halicarn., Keos); Ἑρμαϊσταί [pl.] name of the worshippers of H., *Mercuriales* (Rhodos, Cos, Delos), cf. e.g. Ἀπολλωνιασταί and Chantraine 1933: 317; Ἑρμαϊκός (late). Ἑρμεῖα [pl.] mg. uncertain (Str. 8, 3, 12).

•ETYM Ἑρμῆς derives from epic Ἑρμέας < Ἑρμείας; cf. Αἰνείας. Myc. *e-ma-a*$_2$ /Hermāhās/ shows the original form, and excludes an old form with the suffix *-ᾱϝων, which has been suggested for e.g. Ἑρμάν and Ἑρμάων (Hes.). Thus, connection with ►ἕρμα 1 should be rejected, since the model for a suffixation in *-āhās* is unclear. The Mycenaean form shows that it is an unanalysable Pre-Greek name. See Ruijgh *REGr.* 80 (1967): 12.

ἔρνος [n.] 'sprout, offshoot', originally of trees, also of men (Il.). ◁IE? **h$_1$er-* 'go'?▷

•VAR Also ἕρνος with secondary aspiration.

•COMP As a first member in ἐρνεσί-πεπλος (Orph. *H.* 30, 5; after ἑλκεσί-πεπλος), ἐρνοκόμων· παραδεισαρίων 'gardener' (H.). As a second member in εὐ-ερνής 'with good offshoots' (E., Str.), δυσ-ερνής (Poll.).

•DER Diminutive ἐρνίον (Hell.); ἐρνώδης [adj.] 'like a sprout' (Dsc.), ἐρνόομαι [v.] 'to sprout' (Ph.); two glosses in H.: ἔρνατις· ἀναδενδράς 'vine that grows up trees' (see Schwyzer 464) and ἔρνυτας· ἔρνη, βλαστήματα, κλάδοι 'sprouts, offshoots, shoots broken off', wrong for ἔρνυγας (Arist. *Po.* 1457b 35; after πτέρυξ, etc.; Schwyzer: 498).

•ETYM Formation in -νος (Schwyzer: 512, Chantraine 1933: 420), commonly derived from the root of ►ὄρνυμι, etc. (to which belongs synonymous ὄρμενος), but this had h_3- (and not h_1-), which means that the initial ε- would have to be secondary. Alternatively, simply from *$h_1$er- 'go', for the semantics of which one might compare MoNw. *run(n)e* 'twig' to *renna* 'to run, shoot up, grow'. On the separation of *$h_1$er- and *$h_3$er-, see ►ὄρνυμι. One is further reminded of ►ἐρέθω and ►ἐρέας. For the suffix -νος, cf. ►τέρχνος. Formally, ἔρνος agrees with Skt. *árṇas-* [n.] 'flood, stream', but the reminiscence is probably secondary.

ἔρος ⇒ἔραμαι.

ἔροτις [f.] 'festival' (Aeol. acc. to H., Cypr. acc. to Eust.), epigraphically of king Nicocreon (Kaibel 1878: 846); perhaps in Chalcedon (*SIG* 1009); E. *El.* 625; ἑροτή (*P.Oxy.* 2084); on the use Bechtel 1921, 1: 119 and 447. ◅?▻

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►ἔρανος and ►ἑορτή. "Aeolic" in Hesychius may mean "Arcado-Cypriot".

ἔρπις [?] 'wine' (Hippon. 79, 18, Lycophr.). ◅LW Eg.▻

•ETYM As the scholia indicate, this is the same word as Egyptian *irp* 'wine'. See Masson *RPh.* 88 (1962): 46-50.

ἕρπω [v.] 'to crawl, slink, go on all four', in Dor. also 'go' in general (Il.). ◅IE *serp- 'crawl'▻

•VAR Aor. ἑρπύσαι (Att.; cf. ἑρπύζω below), ἕρψαι (LXX), fut. ἕρψω, also ἑρπύσω, Dor. ἑρψῶ.

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, προσ-. As a first member in ἑρπ-άκανθα = ἄκανθος (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER ἑρπετόν [n.] 'animal that goes (or crawls) on all fours' as opposed to birds (πετεινά) and men (IA, δ 418; Aeol. ὄρπετον with zero grade, on the formation see Vine 1998: 73f., who thinks the zero grade is secondary in this form); ἕρπης, -ητος [m.] 'shingles' (Hp.), ἑρπήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'id.' (Ph.; after λειχήν, etc.; also ἑρπήνη *EM*) with ἑρπηνώδης (Ph.); ἕρπηλα a shell-fish (Ath.; form uncertain); ἑρπηδών, -όνος [f.] 'crawling' (Nic.; Chantraine 1933: 360f.); ἑρπηστής 'crawling animal' (Nic., *AP*; rare like τευχηστής et al.; Chantraine 1933: 317); ἕρπυλλος [m., f.] 'tufted thyme' (Com.; after this Lat. *serpullum*) with ἑρπύλλ-ιον, -άριον 'id.' and ἑρπυλλίς 'grasshopper' (H.); uncertain ἑρπυξή (Dsc. 3, 69). ἕρψις 'crawling' (Pl., Arist.). An expressive enlargement is ἑρπύζω 'to crawl' (Il.; cf. Chantraine 1942: 336), to which belongs the Attic aorist ἑρπύσαι (after ἑρύσαι, ἑλκύσαι?); thence ἑρπυστικός (Hp.,

Arist.) and rare and late ἔρπυσις, -υσμός, -υστήρ, -υστής, -υστάζω. See also ►ὄρπηξ 'sprout, twig'.

•ETYM The word ἕρπω is identical with Skt. *sárpati* 'id.', Lat. *serpō* 'id.'. Several languages have derived the name of the snake from this root: Skt. *sarpá-* [m.], Lat. *serpens*, Alb. *gjarpër*. On meaning and spread of ἕρπω, see Bloch 1940: 71ff.

ἔρραος [m.] 'ram' (Lyc. 1316), 'wild boar' (Call. *Fr.* 335). ◅?▻

•VAR H. has ἐρρα<ο>ς· κριός 'ram'.

•ETYM No etymology. See Meid *AAHG* 27 (1974): 53-55.

ἐρρεντί [adv.] unknown (Alc. *Fr.* 407 L.P.); cf. Hdn. Gr. 1, 505, 7 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρρω ἢ ἐρρῶ περισπωμένου ἡ μετοχὴ ἐρρείς, ἐρρέντος ὡς παρὰ τὸ ἐθέλοντος ἐθελοντί 'from ἔρρω or ἐρρῶ, with perispomenon, the participle ἐρρείς, ἐρρέντος, and like ἐθελοντί to ἐθέλοντος'. ◅?▻

•VAR Cf. ἐρόντι· μάλα, λίαν, πάνυ 'very, much, certainly' (H.).

•ETYM See Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 11 and Schwyzer: 623.

Ἐρρηφόρος ⇒ἀρρηφόρος and ἔρση.

Ἔρρος [m.] · ὁ Ζεύς (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unclear. Earlier proposals: to **uorso-* in ►οὐρανός; or 'the god of Dew', an Att. msc. corresponding to Ἔρση 'Sister Dew'. Cf. also Ἐρσαῖος· ἄκριος Ζεύς (H.).

ἔρρω [v.] 'to go (away), disappear, go to ruin', mostly perfective 'to sod off, get lost' (Il.), mostly ipv. and in imperatival expressions. ◅IE **uert-ie/o-* 'turn'▻

•VAR Locr. ϝερρέτω [ipv.], El. ϝάρρεν [inf.] (in imperatival function); non-presentic forms are rare: fut. ἐρρήσω (*h.Merc.* 259, Com.), aor. ἤρρησα (Com.), perf. εἰσ-ήρρηκα (Ar. *Th.* 1075).

•COMP Also with prefix ἀν-, ἀπ-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, περι-.

•ETYM Expressive word of the common and the poetic language, unknown to prose. The geminate -ρρ-, common to all dialectal forms, excludes derivation from **uers-*. A reconstruction **ϝέρσ-ιω* and connection with Lat. *verrō* 'sweep', OCS *vrъchǫ, vrěšti* 'thresh', Hitt. *u̯arš-[i]* 'reap, harvest, wipe' is semantically and formally difficult. Forssman 1980: 180ff. therefore proposes a pre-form **uert-ie/o-*, together with a new proposal for the development of the cluster **-rti̯-* (as opposed to **-rs-*).

ἔρσαι [f.pl.] 'young animals, small lambs' (ι 222).

•ETYM Probably simply metonymic for ►ἕρση 'dew'; cf. the use of ►δρόσος in A. and Call. Cf. also μητέρες ψακαλοῦχοι (S. *Fr.* 793) to ψάκαλον (Ar. Byz.), from ψακάς 'fine rain, drops'; more details in Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἕρση. Acc. to Leumann 1950: 25[11], δρόσος in the meaning 'young animal' in A. and Call. stems from imitation of ι 222; ἔρσαι would be a homonym of ἕρση 'dew'.

ἕρση [f.] 'dew', plur. 'dewdrops' (Il.). ◅IE **h₁uers-* 'rain'▻

•VAR Epic poet. ἐέρση, Dor. ἔρσᾱ, Pi. *N.* 3, 78 ἔερσᾰ (see Solmsen 1909: 240[1]); with different anlaut ἄερσαν· τὴν δρόσον. Κρῆτες 'dew (Cret.)' (H.), ἀέρσην (*PLit. Lond.* 60 [Hell.]).

•COMP As a second member perhaps in ►Λιτυέρσης, s.v.

•DER ἐρσήεις, ἐερσήεις 'dewy' (Il., *AP*), ἑρσαῖα· ἐαρινά, νέα, ἁπαλά, δροσώδη 'vernal, young, tender, dewy'; ἐρρήεντα· δροσώδη, καταψυκτικά 'dewy, cooling' (H.) with Att. -ρρ-, as against the hieratic Ionicism in Ἕρση, name of the daughter of Cecrops; ἑρσώδης 'dewy' (Thphr.).

•ETYM The name Ἐρρηφόροι is unclear; acc. to H., οἱ τῇ Ἕρσῃ ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰ νομιζόμενα 'who give to E. what is due', together with ἐρρηφορέω; also, ἑρσηφόροι, -ρία beside ἁρρη-φόροι; s.v.; see Nilsson 1941(1): 441. The normal form is ἑ(ϝ)έρση < **h₁uers-*; forms like ἀέρση cited above are unexplained, as is ἔρσαι. Sanskrit has *varṣá-* [n.] 'rain' and *várṣati* [v.] 'it rains', IE **h₁uérs-e-*. Beside it exists the iterative-intensive **h₁uors-eíe-* > Gr. οὐρέω 'urinate' (euphemistically), with deverbal οὖρον; the laryngeal may have been lost here before the *o*-vocalism (Saussure effect); see also on ►οὐρανός. Because of the accent and because of the ε-vowel, ἕρση cannot be a verbal noun (one would expect *οὐρά < **u̯orsā*); rather, it is a collective deriving from a neutral noun **h₁uer-os-, h₁uer-s-*, and further cognates in e.g. MIr. *frass* 'rain'. The words ►ἄρσην and Skt. *vṛ́ṣan-* 'masculine, man, bull, stallion' are not to be connected (T. Pronk fthc.). Cf. DELG Supp.

ἔρσην ⇒ἄρσην.

ἔρτις [?] · κρημνός 'overhanging bank' (H.). ◅?▻

•VAR Acc. to DELG, the plant is meant in H.: κριμνούς· λευκάς τινας βοτάνας 'any pale grass'.

•DIAL Myc. *e-ti-we* /ʰerti-went-/ and *a-e-ti-to* /a-ʰerti-to-/.

•ETYM See the discussion in DELG *Supp.*, referring to Duhoux 1993: 103, and in *RPh.* 74 (2000): 257.

ἐρυγγάνω ⇒ἐρεύγομαι 1 and ἐρεύγομαι 2.

ἐρυθρός [adj.] 'red' (Il.). ◅IE **h₁reudʰ-* 'red'▻

•VAR Myc. *e-ru-to-ro, e-ru-ta-ra* /erutʰros, -ā/.

•COMP As a first member, e.g. ἐρυθρό-πους 'with red feet' (bird-name, Ar.); ἐξ-έρυθρος 'reddish' as a sign of illness (Hp., Arist.), λευκ-έρυθρος 'white-red, flat-red' (Arist.; Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 60).

•DER ἐρυθρίας [m.] "the red one", epithet after the red color (Arist.), cf. ὠχρίας, etc. and Chantraine 1933: 93; ἐρυθρῖνος, also ἐρυθῖνος (with dissimilation or after ἐρυθαίνομαι, see below) name of a fish (Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 21); Ἐρυθῖνοι [pl.] name of a town (B 855; cf. Ἐρυθραί below); ἐρυθρόδανον, -ος plant (Dsc.), also ἐρευθέδανον, see ►ἐρεύθω; ἐρυθραῖος = ἐρυθρός (D. P.); ἐρυθρότης 'red color' (Gal.). Ἐρυθραί [f.pl.] town in Ionia (Hdt.; after the red-colored rocks inside the town), together with Ἐρυθραϊκὸν σατύριον plant-name (Dsc., Plin.), also ἐρυθρόνιον (Ps.-Dsc.; after Ἰόνιον and other nouns in -όνιον); Ἐρυθραϊκός also from ἡ Ἐρυθρά (θάλασσα; adjunct of κυβερνήτης, inscr. I^{P}).

Denominative verbs: ἐρυθριάω 'to become red' (Att.; after the verbs of disease in -ιάω; Schwyzer: 732) with ἐρυθρίασις, -ησις (Hp., H.); ἐρυθραίνομαι, -ω 'to become, make red' (X.). Also ἐρυθαίνομαι, -ω, aor. ἐρύθηνα 'id.' (Il.) together with ἐρύθημα 'becoming red, redness' (Hp., Th.); see below.

•ETYM Old adjective in *-ro-*, a suffix also encountered in Lat. *ruber*, CS *rъdьrъ*, ToA *rtär*, ToB *ratre*, Skt. *rudhirá-* (reshaped after *rudhi-* in *rudhikrā́-* name of a demon); ON *roðra* [f.] 'blood'. Other languages have a different stem: ON *rjóðr*, OE *rēod* have the same vowel as the verbs *rjōða* resp. *rēodan* (= ►ἐρεύθω, s.v.) and may therefore be secondary. Lith. *raūdas*, (dialectal) Lat. *rūfus*, *rōbus*, OIr. *rúad*, Skt. *lohá-* 'reddish' [m./n.] 'red metal, copper, iron' probably continue IE **h₁roud^{h}o-* rather than **h₁reud^{h}o-*, because of the vocalism found in most Gm. forms: Go. *rauþs*, ON *rauðr*, OE *rēad*, OHG *rōt*. Together with ἐρυθρός, the old denominative ἐρυθαίνομαι points to an original *r/n*-stem **rud^{h}-r-*, **rud^{h}-n-*. Perhaps a neutral *s*-stem **h₁réud^{h}-os-* (= ἔρευθος) existed, as well as a verb **h₁réud^{h}-e/o-* (= ἐρεύθω). Cf. also ►ἐρυσίβη.

ἐρῦκω [v.] 'to hold back' (Il.). ◄IE **ueru-* 'ward off, defend'►

•VAR Aor. ἐρῡξαι, epic also ἠρύκακον, ἐρυκακέειν (Chantraine 1942: 398).

•COMP Also with prefix, notably ἀπ-, κατ-.

•DER κατερυκτικός 'holding back' (pap.). Enlarged presents ἐρυκάνω, -ανάω (Chantraine 1942: 316 and 360).

•ETYM Enlargement with -κ- like in ὀλέ-κω, διώ-κω et al. (Schwyzer: 702, Chantraine 1942: 329), from ἔρυμαι, ἐρύομαι 'ward off' rather than from ἐρύω 'draw'.

ἔρυμαι [v.] 'to keep off, protect, save' (Il.). ◄IE **ueru-* (or **uruH-*) 'ward off, defend'►

•VAR Inf. ἔρυσθαι; impf. ἔρῡ-το, -σο; them. ἐρύομαι (ἐρύεσθαι, ἐρύετο), also ῥύομαι, inf. ῥῦσθαι, aor. ἐρύσ(σ)ασθαι, ῥύσασθαι, fut. ἐρύσσομαι, ῥύσομαι; also with anlauting εἱ-: εἴρῡτο, εἰρῦ́αται, -ατο, -ντο, perhaps reduplicated perfects with present-meaning (inf. εἴρυσθαι); thence, or through metrical lengthening, εἰρύσσασθαι, εἰρύσσονται, εἰρύομαι; cf. also below; aor. pass. ἐρρύσθην (*Ev. Luc.* 1, 74, 2. *Ep. Ti.* 4, 17, Hld. 10, 7).

•DIAL Myc. *-u-ru-to* /-wru(n)toi/ or /-wrust^{h}ōn/.

•COMP As a first member: ἐρυ- in'Ερύ-λαος,'Ερύ-μας, -μηλος (also Εὐρυ-, either after εὐρύς or from ϝερυ- (?); see below); ἐρῡσι- in ἐρυσίπτολις 'protecting the town' (Z 305 et al.), ►'Ερυσίχθων; Aeol. Εὐρυσί-λαος (cf. above). ῥῡσί- e.g. in ῥῡσί-πολις (A. *Th.* 129 [lyr.] et al.).

•DER ἔρῡμα [n.] 'defence' (Il.), diminutive ἐρυμάτιον (Luc.); from there ἐρυμν-ός 'for defence, protected' (IA) with ἐρυμνότης 'defensive force' (X., Arist.), ἐρυμνόω 'defend' (Agath.). ἐρυσμός 'defence, protection' (*h.Cer.* 230). ἐρῦσιμον (εἰ- by metrical lengthening), name of a kind of mustard (Thphr., Dsc.), because of its protection (Strömberg 1940: 81); from **ἔρῡ-σις* or directly from the verb. ῥῡτήρ [m.] 'protector, watcher' (ρ 187, 223), ῥῦτωρ 'id.' (A. *Th.* 318 [lyr.], *AP*). ῥῦσιος 'saving' (A. *Supp.* 150 [lyr.], *AP*), after the adjs. in -σιος (Chantraine 1933: 41) or from ῥῦσις 'saving' (*Epigr. Gr.* 200 [Cos], LXX). ῥῦμα 'defence' (Hp., trag.).

•ETYM The Skt. nouns *varū-tár-* [m.] 'protector', *várū-tha-* [n.] 'defense, protection' (with *vṛṇóti* 'avert', Go. *warjan* 'ward off', etc.) speak in favor of the assumption of original **ϝέρυ-μαι*. Doubts arise because of the absence of a trace of the digamma in Homer; attempts at a solution are in Solmsen 1901: 245ff. Therefore, we have two ablaut grades, ϝερυ- and ϝρῡ-, the latter of which is certainly in εἴρῦται < **ϝέ-ϝρῡ-ται*, etc. (cf. above), but with otherwise unclear distribution. The initial vowel in the Ionic

present εἰρύομαι and in Εὐρυσί-λαος form an unsolved problem. Hackstein 2002: 123-131 offers a new interpretation. He derives the forms from the root **su̯erh$_3$-*, which he reconstructs for ὁράω. Essential to him is the assumption that the zero grade **su̯rh$_3$-* became **sruh$_3$-* > **srū-*, according to the rule that in some cases, *-ur-* was metathesized to *-ru-* (like in **k^{w}etu̯r-* > *k^{w}etru-*). I suppose that he assumes that **seru-* arose secondarily from **sru-*. In Myc. *-u-ru-to* /-wruntoi/, *sru-* was restored to *wru-*. Myc. *o-ro-me-no* would represent an athematic **su̯rh$_3$-*, which according to him gave **su̯oro-* (but he also speaks of *o*-vocalism in this form, p. 128). This hypothesis is difficult to assess.

ἐρυσῑ́βη [f.] 'rust in plants' (Pl., X., Arist.; long *ī* in Orph. *L.* 600). ◁PG▷

•DER ἐρυσιβώδης 'eaten by rust' (Arist., Thphr.), ἐρυσίβιος epithet of Apollo in Rhodos (Str.). Denominative verb ἐρυσιβάω, -όομαι 'suffer from rust', also factitive -όω (Thphr.). There is an epithet of Apollo 'Ερυθῑ́βιος (Str. 13,1,64, v.l. 'Ερεθίβιος; with ἐρεᾰ́ζω),'Ερεθῑ́μιος,'Ερεδῑ́μιος (inscr. Rhodes),'Ερεθυμιάζω (Lyc. inscr.); further ἐρυσῑ́βη epithet of Demeter (*Et. Gud.* 210, 25); Str. 13, 1, 64 says: 'Ρόδιοι δὲ 'Ερυθιβίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχουσι ἐν τῃ χώρᾳ ἱερὸν, τὴν ἐρυσίβην καλοῦντες ἐρυθίβην 'The Rhodians, who say ἐρυθίβην instead of ἐρυσίβην, have a sanctuary of Apollo 'Ερυθίβιος on their territory'. See below.

•ETYM Popular word with a suffix -β- (Chantraine 1933: 260ff.). The stem ἐρυσι- is also found in ▶ἐρυσίπελας and in the plant name ἐρυσί-σκηπτρον (Thphr., Dsc.). It recalls verbal first members of the type τερψίμβροτος (Schwyzer: 443), but it has also been considered an old *s*-enlargement of the word for 'red' (see ▶ἐρυθρός, ▶ἐρεύθω), which may also be found in Lat. *russus* (but see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), Lith. *raũsvas* 'red', OCS *rusъ* 'reddish blond', Gm. words like OHG *rost* 'rust', etc.; IE **h$_1$reud^h-s-* (*h$_1$roud^h-s-*, *h$_1$rud^h-s-*) derived from the *s*-stem in ἔρευθος? However, Fur.: 214, 255f. correctly saw that the word is Pre-Greek, because of the alternations of dental (θ, δ) with s and β/μ (ibid. 248-263 and 203-221). The long ῑ is also typical for Pre-Greek word formation (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes -ῑβ-, -ῑγ-, -ῑδ-, ῑθ-, -ῑκ-, -ῑν-). The word must have been folk-etymologically influenced by Gr. ἐρυθ-.

ἐρύσιμον ⇒ἔρυμαι.

ἐρυσίπελας, -τος [n.] name of a skin disease, 'Erysipelas'. ◁PG▷

•VAR Often in plur.

•DER Adjective -ατώδης (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM Medical term of unusual formation; a learned compound? The first member also occurs in ▶ἐρυσῑ́βη (?) and in the plant name ἐρυσί-σκηπτρον (Thphr.); a word πέλας is further unknown, but cf. however on ▶πέλμα. Therefore, properly "what reddens the skin" (Schwyzer: 443[5])? Of course, it may also be of Pre-Greek origin, like the beginning of the word (there seems no reason for the suggestion by Fur.: 214[60] that it would be from ἐρύω).

ἐρύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to draw, tear, draw towards one' (Il.). Details in Chantraine 1942: 30, 136f., etc. ◁IE **ueru-* 'draw' ?▷

•VAR εἰ- (Hdt., Hp.), inf. εἰρύμεναι (Hes. *Op.* 818, verse-initially; cf. Chantraine 1942: 294), aor. ἐρύσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι (also εἰ- Hdt., Hp.), pass. ἐρυσθῆναι, εἰ- (Hp.), Dor. ϝερυσάτω [ipv.] (Delphi IV^{a}; uncertain), fut. ἐρύω, -ομαι (Hom.), ἐρύσω (Opp.), ἐρύσσω, -ομαι (Orph.; as a v.l. in Φ 176), perf. pass. εἴρῡμαι, εἰρῦσται.

•COMP Also with prefix ἀν- (ἀϝ-), ἐξ-, κατ-, προ-, etc. As a first member in ἐρῠσ-άρματες [ἵπποι] '[horses] drawing the chariot' (Hom.); on the formation Sommer 1948: 11f.

•DER Rarely ἐρυ-: ἔρῠ-σις 'the drawing' (Max. Tyr.), ἐρῠ-τήρ 'the drawer' (Nic.), ἐρυ-σ-τός (S.). Various old words have ῥῡ- (ῥῠ-): ῥῡ-τήρ [m.] 'rein, rope' (Il.), also 'bow-stretcher, archer' (Od.); ῥῦ-τωρ 'bow-stretcher' (Ar. *Th.* 108 [lyr.]); ῥῡ-μός [m.] 'pole of a chariot, etc.' (Il.); ῥῡ-μα 'that which is drawn' (A., X.); ῥῦ-μη 'force, pressure' (Hp.); ῥῡ-τός 'drawn' (ῥυτοῖσι λάεσσι ζ 267; ξ 10), ῥῡ-τά [n.pl.] 'reins' (Hes. *Sc.* 308); with a suffix -ιο- ῥύσιον, Dor. ῥύτιον *'what is drawn forth', i.e. 'deposit, retribution' (Il.); see further ►ῥῠτίς 'fold, wrinkle', ►ῥῡσός 'wrinkly'. Enlargement ῥυστάζω 'to draw to and fro, maltreat' (Hom.) together with ῥυστακτῦς (σ 224), ῥύσταγμα (Lyc. 1089).

•ETYM In the perfect, *ϝέ-ϝρῡ-μαι gave εἴρῡμαι. For the initial digamma in (ϝ)ερύω, note especially epic (Aeol.) αὐερύω = ἀϝ-ερύω, ἀν-ϝερύω, βρυτῆρες = ῥυτῆρες (A. D.). This undoubtedly old verb has no certain correspondences outside Greek. On ambivalent Lat. *rŭdēns* 'sail of a ship', see WH and E-M s.v.

ἔρφος [n.] 'skin' (Nic. *Al.* 248, *Th.* 376). ◄?►

•ETYM Rhymes with better known στέρφος, τέρφος 'id.' (A. R., Nic., etc.), but further unclear. Perhaps a cross of στέρφος and ἔριον? Güntert 1914: 139f. suggests that ἔρφος is a younger reshaping of (σ)τέρφος to *ἔρεφος (from ἐρέφω 'cover [with a roof]').

ἔρχατος [m.] · φραγμός 'fence' (H.). ◄?►

•VAR Also ἔρκατος· φραγμός, ἑρκάτη· φυλακή 'watch' (H.).

•ETYM In itself, the change κ/ χ might point to a Pre-Greek word, but the words may also have been influenced by ►ἕρκος. Other forms are ἑρκάνη, ὁρκάνη. Latte corrects ἑρκάτη to ἑρκάνη, but this remains uncertain. Cf. also ὄρχατος 'orchard'; perhaps adapted to ἐρχατόωντο (ξ 15), which belongs to ►εἴργω; s.v. Fraenkel *KZ* 72 (1955): 193ff. compares Lith. *sérgėti* 'to protect, guard'.

ἔρχομαι [v.] 'to come', also 'to go, travel' (Il.). ◄IE *h_1erg^h-, *h_1er- 'move, go'►

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Very often with prefix ἀπ-, εισ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, etc.

•ETYM One has compared OIr. *eirg* [ipv.] 'go!', *regaid* [fut.] 'he will go', and Skt. *ṛghāyáti* 'tremble, rage', and within Greek as an iterative ►ὀρχέομαι 'dance'.
Alternatively, one has connected it with Skt. *ṛcchắti* 'to reach, arrive at', Hitt. *aršk*e/a-^{zi} [iter.] 'to reach repeatedly, make incursions'. This presupposes that ἔρχομαι continues PIE *h_1r-*sk*-*e/o*-, which seems quite possible; thus Rix *MSS* 27 (1970): 79-110. Unrelated to ὀρ- in ►ὄρνυμι, which requires *h_3er-.

ἐρῳδιός [m.] 'heron' (K 274). ◄?►

•VAR Thus Hdn. Gr. 2, 924 and most mss.; also ἐρωδιός (mss. and pap.); also ῥωδιώς (Hippon. 63) and ἀρωδιός (LXX as a v.l.). Worthless is the gloss ++ἐρωγάς· ἐρωδιός (H.).

•ETYM Ending like in αἰγωλιός, αἰγυπιός, χαραδριός, and other bird names. The resemblance with Lat. *ardea* 'heron' cannot be coincidental; one has further compared Serb. *róda* 'stork'; very doubtful, however, is ON *arta* 'teal'. Is the writing with *iota subscriptum* secondary (after the nouns in -ίδιος)? The word could be Pre-Greek because of the variants (without or with different prothetic vowel).

ἐρωή [f.] 1. 'rush, impulse, force, throw', in the Il. mostly of spears (δουρός, βελέων ἐ.), also of men (ἀνδρός, λικμητῆρος, Ιπηνελέοιο), after Hom. of other objects (πετράων A. R. 4, 1657, πυρός *AP* 9, 490, γαστρός Opp. *K.* 3, 175, περὶ Κύπριν *AP* 10, 112). 2. 'withdrawal, rest', in the Il. of battle (πολέμου Π 302, P 761), thus Theoc. 22, 192 (μάχης), also δακρύων (Mosch. 4, 40), also 'rescue' (D. P. 601). ◅IE *h_1reh_1-(u-) 'rest', *h_1reh_1s- 'impulse'▻.

•DER Beside it ἐρωέω, aor. ἐρωῆσαι, also in two meanings: 1. 'draw back, withdraw, leave, rest from' (intr.), also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ὑπ-, mostly with ablatival gen. πολέμιοι, χάρμης (Il.), καμάτοιο (*h. Cer.* 301) et al., also absolutely 'escape a disease' (Nic.); 2. trans. 'force back, push back' (N 57, Theoc., Call.), also 'quit' (Theoc.); also of blood αἷμα κελαινὸν ἐρωήσει περὶ δουρί (A 303 = π 441), translated with 'flow, stream'. From ἐρωέω: ἐρωΐα [f.] 'respite, rest' (Theoc. 30, 9); from ἀπερωέω: ἀπερωεύς 'who hinders, who frustrates' (ἐμῶν μενέων, Θ 361).

•ETYM Two homonyms are distinguished: 1. ἐρωή 'impulse, etc.' with ἐρωέω 'flow, stream' (A 303 = π 441) from IE *h_1roh_1s-eh_2- in Gm. *$r\bar{o}s\bar{a}$: MLG *rās* [n.] 'strong flow', OE *rǣs* [m.] 'run, attack', ON *rás* [f.] 'run' ; also, ON *rasa* 'to fall down' with *ras* [n.] 'falling down', MoHG *rasen*, IE *h_1rh_1s-. Perhaps Lat. *rōrāriī* [pl.] 'lightly-armed skirmishers who start battle with slings' from *$r\bar{o}s\bar{a}$ 'impulse, throw' = ἐρωή; 2. ἐρωή 'rest' with ἐρωέω 'rest, etc.', probably from IE *h_1roh_1-u-eh_2- = Gm. *$r\bar{o}w\bar{o}$ in OHG *ruowa*, OE *row*, ON *ró* [f.] 'rest', beside OHG *rāwa* 'id.' < PGm. *$r\bar{e}w\bar{a}$-. Note that ἐρωή 'impulse, etc.' and the verb ἐρωέω 'to rest, etc.' are much more frequent than ἐρωή 'rest' and notably ἐρωέω 'flow'.

ἔρως ⇒ἔραμαι.

ἐρωτάω [v.] 'to ask, question' (Od.), Hell. also 'to request'. ◅?▻

•VAR Epic Ion. εἰρωτάω, after Hom. also non-presentic forms like ἐρωτήσω, ἐρωτῆσαι, etc.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπ-. On the use see Fournier 1946: (index).

•DER ἐρώτημα (ἐπ-) 'question, demand' (IA) with ἐρωτημα-τικός (D. T.) and -τίζω (Arist.); ἐρώτησις (ἐπ-) 'questioning' (IA); ἐρωτητικός 'pertaining to questioning, clever in q.' (Pl., Arist.); ἀν-ερωτίζω (Telecl. 52).

•ETYM The present ἐρωτάω, Ion. εἰρωτάω < *ἐρϝωτάω replaced primary *ἔρϝ-ομαι > Ion. ►εἴρομαι, especially in Attic. Vine *Glotta* 78 (2002): 203-221 explains the formation from *erowōtó- to *$h_1$rów-o- 'questioning, inquiry', which was replaced by *erwōtó-, whence the agent noun *erwōtā-. Other secondary presents of this root are ►ἐρεείνω and ►ἐρευνάω.

ἐς [prep.]⇒εἰς.

ἐσθής •VAR ἔσθος. ⇒ἔννυμι.

ἐσθίω •VAR ἔσθω. ⇒ἔδω.

ἐσθλός [adj.] 'good, brave, stout, noble' of men and objects (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Aeol. Pi. ἔσλος, ἐσλός, Arc. ἐσλός.
•COMP As a first member in ἐσθλο-δότης (Man.).
•DER ἐσθλότης (Chrysipp.).
•ETYM Unknown. Some have connected it with Skt. *édhate* 'thrive' (< **azdh-*), Av. *azd-iia-* 'well-fed, stout', from IE **Hes-d^{h}-*. Schwyzer: 533[5] prefers a compound **Hes-d^{h}l-ó-* 'ἀγαθοεργός', from ἐσ- in ἑΰς and a zero grade variant of OCS *dělo* 'deed' (IE **d^{h}eh$_{1}$-lo-*; see ►τίθημι). This analysis remains improbable.

ἔσκον [v.] 'I was' (Hom.). ◅IE **h$_{1}$es-* 'be'▻
•VAR Also augmented ἦσκε (Alcm.).
•ETYM From **ἔσ-σκον*, an iterative preterite of εἰμί with the same suffix as in OLat. 3sg. *escit*, plur. *escunt* 'will be' and in ToB *skente* 'they are' < **h$_{1}$s-sko-nto*. Most uncertain is Thrac. ησκο 'I am(?)' (Kretschmer *Glotta* 7 (1916): 89).

ἕσμα ⇒ἕζομαι.

ἑσμός [m.] 'swarm (of bees)' (IA). ◅IE **(H)ieh$_{1}$-* 'throw'▻
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἑσμο-τόκος 'producing swarms of bees' (*AP*).
•DER ἔσμιον· νόστιμον 'ptng. to return' (H.; does it belong here?), also ἀφεσμός 'swarm' (Arist. *HA* 629a 9) as a cross with ἄφεσις 'id.' (Arist. *HA* 625a 20; plur.).
•ETYM From ἵημι (or ἀφ-ίημι) with a suffix -σμο-. Derivation from ἕζομαι (cf. DELG) does not seem probable, as a swarm does not sit down.

ἕσπερος [m.] 'evening' (Od.), adjectival 'of the evening, western', also substantivized 'the evening star' (Il.); ἑσπέρα, Ion. -ρη [f.] 'evening, west' (Pi., IA, after ἡμέρα). ◅IE **ue-k^{w}sp-er-o-* 'to(wards) the night, evening'▻
•COMP As a second member in ἐφέσπερος 'western' (S. *OC* 1059 [lyr.]), ἀκρ-έσπερος 'on the edge of evening, at nightfall' (Arist., Theoc., Hp., etc., -ιος *AP*), ποθ-έσπερα [adv.] (Theoc.), προσ-εσπέριος (Arist.).
•DER ἑσπέριος 'of the evening, western' (Φ 560), substantivized Ἑσπερία 'the West, Hesperia' (Agathyll. *apud* D. H. 1, 49), ϝεσπάριοι name of the western Locrians (V^{a}), fem. ἑσπερίς, especially in plur. as a PN 'the Hesperides' (Hes.); later ἑσπερινός 'id.' (X., LXX); ἑσπερικός 'id.' (Juba), ἑσπερίτης, -ῖτις (χώρα; D. L.). Denominative verb ἑσπερίζω 'to pass the night' (Doroth.; MoGr. σπερίζω) together with ἑσπέρισμα (Lex. *apud* Ath. 1, 11d).
•ETYM Inherited word, identical with Lat. *vesper*, 'evening'; further, with Lith. *vākaras*, OCS *večerъ* 'evening', which derive from **uekero-*, and also found in Celtic, e.g. MW *ucher*, and in Arm. *gišer*. The difficult puzzle of reconstructing this word for PIE has recently been solved. Armenian had **e* which became *ei* > *i* before *š, ž*. The *-š-* can derive from a cluster *-k$^{(w)}$s-* (cf. *vec'* 'six' < **ueks* beside *veš-tasan*); see Beekes 2004: 59-62. Combined with the *-k-* and *-sp-* reconstructed for the other languages

above, this points to a group *-k(ʷ)sp-*. It has been identified with Skt. *kṣáp-* 'night', of which the zero grade has been found in Hitt. *išpant-* 'night'. MW *ucher* may continue **u̯e-* followed by *ks(p)* or *sp*. The first element had been connected with Lat. *uē-* in *uē-sanus* 'mad' et al., but this is now rejected (see De Vaan 2008). The meaning may have been '(stretching) towards night'. The suffix *-er-* is also found in words connected with time like Gr. νυκτερός.

ἔσπετε ⇒ἐν(ν)έπω.

ἐσσήν, -ῆνος [m.] name of the priests of Artemis in Ephesus (inscr. IV-III[a], Paus.), also 'prince, king' (Call.); acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 923, 8 = οἰκιστής, acc. to *EM* 383, 30 properly 'king-bee'. ◁PG▷
•DER ἐσσηνία, ἐσσηνεύω (inscr. Ephesus).
•ETYM Formation in -ήν like βαλ(λ)ήν 'king', κηφήν 'drone', etc. (Schwyzer: 487, Chantraine 1933: 167f.). Probably Anatolian and Pre-Greek; see Frisk for bibliography with proposals for substrate and IE origin. Nouns in -ην are discussed by Fur.: 172[118].

ἔστε [conj., adv., prep.] 'until', later also 'as long as' (since Hes. *Th.* 754, not entirely certain; also Ion., southern Dor., Aetol., trag. and X.). ◁IE **h₁ens* 'in'▷
•VAR Boeot. ἔττε, Locr. ἔντε, Delph. hέντε (also εἵστε mid IV[a]), Dor. ἔστε (*EM* 382, 8; v.l. in Theoc.). On the use Schwyzer 1950: 675f. Cf. ἔσκε (Archil. 13, if for εἰς ὅ κε).
•ETYM From **ἐν(σ)-τε*, clearly containing **h₁en(s)* 'in(to)', but the final element -τε is ambiguous, as DELG remarks: it may derive either from -τε (in ὅτε 'when', Myc. *o-te*, so IE **-te*), or alternatively from IE **-kʷe*, for which the form ἔσκε would plead (see above). IE **-kʷe* is also found in Lat. *dōnec* 'until, while' < **dō-ne-kʷe*. Cf. Monteil 1963: 316f.

ἑστία [f.] 'hearth, fireplace, altar', metaph. 'house, family, etc.' (Od., Att., Pi., Delph., etc.), later identified with Lat. *Vesta* (Str.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Ion. ἱστίη, Aeol. Boeot. Locr. Dor. Arc. ἱστία.
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἑστι-οῦχος 'containing the hearth' = 'domestic', 'protecting the hearth' (trag., etc.); as a second member in ἐφ-έστιος, Ion. ἐπ-ίστιος 'located by the hearth, belonging to the hearth' (B 125), ἀν-έστιος 'without hearth' (I 63), συν-, ὁμ-έστιος, etc.; on Att. -έστιος in Homer see Wackernagel 1916: 9ff., Chantraine 1942: 15; diff. Solmsen 1909: 214.
•DER Ἱστιήϊα [n.pl.] 'monetary means of an Ἱστίη-temple' (Milete V[a]); ἑστιῶτις 'belonging to the hearth (house)' (S. *Tr.* 954 [lyr.]); Ἑστ-ιασταί [m.pl.] name of worshippers of Hestia (Rhod.; cf. Ἀπολλων-ιασταί et al.); ἕστιος 'belonging to the hearth' (Hld., after ὁμέστιος et al.). As a translation of Lat. *Vesta*, *Vestālēs*: Ἑστιαῖον 'Vesta-temple' (D. C.), Ἑστιάδες [pl.] 'Vestales' (D. H., Plu.). Usual denominative ἑστιάω, ἱστιάω (augmented εἱσ- in εἱστίων [Lys.], etc.), also with prefix, e.g. συν-, 'receive at the hearth, feed, receive as guest' (IA, Dor.) with several derivatives: ἑστίασις, -ᾶμα, -ασμός 'entertainment', ἑστιάτωρ (ἱστ-) 'host', with ἑστιατόριον (ἱστια-, ἱστιη-), also ἑστιατήριον (after the nouns in -ήριον) 'dining room'; ἑστιατορία (ἱστ-)

'party'. Also ἑστιόομαι (E. *Ion* 1464 [lyr.] δῶμα) 'to be provided with a hearth, get settled'.

•ETYM As a collective or abstract formation in -ία (cf. especially οἰκ-ία, κλισ-ία), ἑστία presupposes a noun ἑστο-, -ᾱ vel sim. For the etymology, an important question is whether the word had an anlauting ϝ-. In favor of ϝ- speak ϝιστιαυ (PN, Mantineia IV[a]) and γιστία· ἑσχάρη (cod. -τη) (H.). However, there are dialectal forms where ϝ- fails; see Solmsen 1901: 213ff. Therefore, the old, but still often defended connection with Lat. *Vesta* is probably incorrect. Moreover, ε > ι is unusual and unexpected, whereas an interchange ε/ ι is frequent in Pre-Greek. Alternatively, one has proposed that ἱστία, -ίη may have arisen secondarily after ἵστημι, but this remains a conjecture. The most probable conclusion is that the word is of Pre-Greek origin. Cf. Fur.: 358, A. 2. Other explanations, such as connection with ἐσχάρα (Solmsen l.c.) or Slav. *jestěja* 'hearth' (Machek *Ling. Posn.* 5 (1955): 59ff.), are unconvincing.

ἑστώ, -οῦς ⇒εἰμί.

ἕστωρ 1, -ορος [m.] 'peg at the end of a chariot pole' (Ω 272, v.l. ἕκτορι after ἔχειν; Aristoboul.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Frisk lists a number of proposals, of which only that of Schwyzer 1939: 531[12] makes sense: that the word is an agent noun of **sed-* 'sit'. As DELG remarks, the suffix -τωρ is surprising in an instrument noun.

ἕστωρ 2 [m.] 'founder' (IUrb. Rom. 1155.88). ◁IE **sed-* 'sit'▷

•ETYM From ▶ἕζομαι.

ἐσχάρα [f.] 'hearth, house, sacrificing hearth' (Il.), metaph. 'platform, stand' (Ph. *Bel.*, etc.), in medical language 'scab, eschar on a wound by burning' (Hp., Arist.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DIAL Myc. *e-ka-ra.*

•DER ἐσχαρίς, -ίδος 'pan of coals, brazier' (Com., Plu.) with -ίδιον (Delos III[a]), ἐσχάριον 'id.' (Ar.), also 'platform, stand' (Plb.) beside ἐσχαρεῖον 'id.' (Attica); ἐσχαρ(ε)ών 'stove' (Delos IV[a], Theoc.; after the indications of place in -(ε)ών, Chantraine 1933: 164); ἐσχαρεύς 'ship's cook' (Poll.); ἐσχαρίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked over the fire' (Com., LXX); ἐσχάριος 'belonging to the hearth' (*AP*). Unclear ἐσχάρινθον name of a dance in Sparta (Poll.). As a medical term, basis of the denominative ἐσχαρόομαι 'form an ἐσχάρα (eschar)' with ἐσχάρωσις, -ωμα, -ωτικός; in the same sphere also ἐσχαρώδης (Poll., Gal.). On the fish-name ▶ἔσχαρος see s.v.

•ETYM Formation in -ρᾱ (like χώρᾱ, τέφρᾱ), but without cognates. Fur.: 376 points out that σχάρα (gloss.) may have lost the first vowel secondarily. As there are no cognates and as an IE proto-form can hardly be posited, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

ἔσχαρος [m.] name of a fish, = κόρις, perhaps a kind of sole (solea; Com., Dorio *apud* Ath. 7, 330a). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Derived from ἐσχάρη as 'frying fish' (Strömberg 1943: 89)? See also Thompson 1947 s.v. The word may be Pre-Greek.

ἔσχατος [adj.] 'the uttermost, last' (Il.). ◁IE *h_1eg^hs 'out'▷

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἐσχατό-γηρως (-ος) 'in the last age' (Hell.), παρ-έσχατος 'the last but one' (Ph.).

•DER ἐσχατιά, -ιή 'uttermost part, frontier, extreme position' (Ion., Hes., Att.); poetical enlargement ἐσχάτιος (Nic.). Denominative verbs: ἐσχατάω 'to be the uttermost, the last', only in ἐσχατάων, -όων [ptc.] (Il.; cf. Shipp 1967: 62); ἐσχατεύω 'id.' (Arist.); ἐσχατίζω 'to come too late' (LXX).

•ETYM Adjectival derivative of ἐξ, but unclear in detail. The opposite ►ἔγκατα (to ►ἐν) points to a formation *ἔξ-κατος, for which the aspirate χ then requires a proto-form *ἔχσ-κατος. This is taken to point to an IE basis *h_1eg^hs for ►ἐξ; however, note the notation χσ = ξ in older alphabets (Schwyzer: 210), which suggests aspiration of any velar before σ. The suffix -κατος would consist of a velar element (cf. πρό-κα, Lat. *reci-pro-cus*; *ἐχσ-κο- 'what is outside') and a dental element (μέσ(σ)-ατος, τρίτ-ατος, etc.).

ἑτάζω [v.] 'to examine, test' (Hdt. 3, 62 v.l., Democr. 266, Pl. *Cra.* 410d, LXX). ◁IE **set-* 'be stable'▷

•VAR Aor. ἑτάσαι.

•COMP Most frequent ἐξ-ετάζω, aor. ἐξετάσαι, -άξαι (Theoc.), etc. 'find out, inquire exactly' (IA); also with prefix, e.g. ἐπ-, συν-, προ-εξετάζω; Arc. παρ-ηετάζω in παρ-ηεταξάμενος, παρ-ετάξωνσι 'have approved' (Tegea IV^a; unless from παρ-ίημι 'approve', πάρ-ετος).

•DER ἔτασις, ἑτασμός 'proof, test' (LXX), ἑταστής = ἐξετ- (Lampsakos). ἐξέτασις 'enquiry, test' (Att.), -σία 'id.' (Astypalaea, imperial period; cf. Schwyzer: 469), ἐξετασμός 'id.' (D.); ἐξεταστής 'inspector, controller' (Aeschin., Arist., inscr.; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 227) with ἐξεταστήριον 'inspection' (Samos II^a), ἐξεταστικός 'ready for control, belonging to control' (X., D.),'Εξεταστέων PN (Bechtel 1917a: 22).

•ETYM Denominative of ἐτός, which is only found in ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά 'true, good' (H.); therefore, properly 'verify, check the truth'. Formerly, it was suggested that ἐτός is a verbal adjective of εἰμί 'to be' (one has compared e.g. ON *sannr* < PGm. **sanþa-*, Skt. *satyá-* 'true'), from *ἑτός < IE **s-e-tó-*. However, the correct pre-form in laryngealistic terms would be **h_1s-nt-* or **h_1s-eto-*, which would not produce the Greek words. De Lamberterie *RPh.* 71 (1997): 160, following Pinault, assumes a stem **set-u-*. See on ►ἑτεός and ►ὅσιος.

ἑταῖρος [m.] 'comrade, companion, friend'. ◁IE **se-* reflexive pronoun▷

•VAR Also proparoxytone ἔταιρος; fem. ἑταίρα (Ion. -ρη) 'female comrade' (Il.); also ἔταρος (Il., Dor.), fem. ἑτάρη (Δ 441).

•COMP As a second member e.g. in φιλ-έταιρος 'loving his friends' (Att.) with φιλεταιρ-ία et al.

•DER ἑταιρήϊος, -εῖος (on the formation Chantraine 1933: 52) 'regarding the friend' (IA), ἑταιρικός 'id.', -όν [n.] 'political society' (Th., Hyp., Arist.), ἑταιρόσυνος 'friendly' with -σύνη (late); fem. ἑταιρίς = ἑταίρα (X. *HG* 5, 4, 6 v. l.), ἑταιρίδιον (Plu.); ἑταιρηΐη, -ρεία, -ρία 'comradeship, friendship, political society, etc.' (IA). Denominative verbs: ἑτα(ι)ρίζω, -ομαι 'be(come) comrade' (Il.), late 'be prostitute',

with ἑταίρισμα, -ισμός, -ιστής (late); also ἑταιρίστρια = τριβάς (Pl. *Smp.* 191e; contemptuous); ἑταιρέω 'keep company with' (Att.) together with ἑταίρησις; ἑταιρεύομαι 'prostitute oneself' (Hell.).

•ETYM The different forms can be understood as follows: from ἔταρος, a fem. *ἔταιρᾰ was first made with a suffix -ια- (cf. e.g. χίμαρος : χίμαιρα), which was reshaped into ἑταίρη, -ρα and then gave ἑταῖρος, ἔταιρος; after ἑταῖρος: ἔταρος, a form ἑτάρη was ultimately made beside ἑταίρη (Schulze 1892: 82). As ἔταρος, etc. show no trace of a digamma (Chantraine 1942: 150, Solmsen 1901: 203), the connection with ϝέτης 'relative, friend' (see ►ἔτης) must be abandoned. We have to start from the reflexive **se* (see ►ἑ, ἐ), with an enlargement *-t-* like in OCS *po-sětiti* 'visit' (from **sětъ* 'guest', IE **s(u)et-o-*, cf. Lith. *svēčias* [m.] 'guest'), beside **sue-t-* in ϝέτης. For the ρ-suffix, cf. e.g. νεαρός, γεραρός (partly from ρ-stems). See now Pinsent 1983: 311-328. De Lamberterie connects the word with ἑτεός and ὅσιος; see DELG *Supp.*

ἔταλον [n.] a young animal, 'yearling' (*Del.*³ 644, 18; Aegae IV-III[a]). ◄IE **uet-* 'year'►

•VAR Also ἔτελον (ibid. 252, 11; Cos III[a]: τοῦ μὲν ἐτέλου as opposed to τοῦ δὲ τελείου 'full grown animal').

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *vitulus* 'calf', U *vitluf* 'vitulōs' (with irreglular *i* for *e*), except for the gender. The starting point is the IE word for 'year' (Gr. ►ἔτος), IE **uét-os-*, to which belongs Skt. *vats-á-* 'calf'. For the pattern ἔτος: ἔτελον, ἔταλον, the word has been compared with e.g. νέφος: νεφέλη, ἄγκος: ἀγκάλη, suggesting that the change -αλο-: -ελο- could be old. See on ►ἐπιετανός, s.v. An *r*-stem is found in Gm., e.g. Go. *wiþrus* '(one-year-old) lamb', MoHG *Widder*, from IE **uet-r(u)-*.

ἔτελις [m.(f.)] name of a fish, 'gilthead' (Arist. *HA* 567a 20, H.)? ◄?►

•VAR Also accented ἐτελίς.

•ETYM Lat. *attilus* 'a fish like a sturgeon in the river Po' (Plin.; also **atillus*), shows a general resemblance; it is probably Gaulish, perhaps a Ligurian word. Farther away is the name of the turbot, Latv. *āte*, Lith. *atìs*; see WH s.v. *attilus*, Pok. 70. Strömberg 1943: 39 rather envisages derivation from ἔτελον (►ἔταλον). DELG calls both suggestions improbable.

ἐτεός [adj.] 'true, real', mostly in sing.ntr. ἐτεόν (ἐτεά [pl.] Y 255, reading quite uncertain); also adverbial 'really' (Hom., Theoc.); in interrogative sentences 'really' (Ar.); ἐτεῇ [adv.] 'in reality', also ἐτεή [nom.f.] 'reality' (Democr.). ◄IE **set-* 'stable, true'?►

•DIAL Myc. PN *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, to Ἐτεϝοκλέϝης.

•COMP Often as a first member in names like Ἐτεό-κρητες [pl.] 'Cretans in a strict sense, original Cretans' (τ 176), Ἐτε-άνωρ (Thera VII[a]), Ἐτέϝ-ανδρος (Cyprus VII[a]), cf. Sommer 1948: 185 and 199; Ἐτεο-κλῆς (Tegea, etc.; probably rendered in Hitt. *Taụag(a)laụaš*; cf. Schwyzer: 79); also ἐτεό-κριθος [f.] 'real barley' (Thphr.; determinative compound formally adapted to a bahuvrīhi; cf. Strömberg 1940: 28f.).

•DER Beside it ἔτυμος 'true, real' (Il.; prose has ἀληθής) with ἐτυμό-δρυς [f.] 'real oak' (Thphr.); τὸ ἔτυμον 'the true (original) meaning of a word, the etymology' (Arist.); as a first member in ἐτυμο-λογέω 'discover the true meaning' with ἐτυμολογία, -λογικός (Hell.; formally after ψευδο-λογέω et al.; cf. Schwyzer: 726); ἐτυμό-της = τὸ

ἔτυμον (Str.). Reduplicated formation with lengthening of the original initial syllable: ἐτήτυμος 'true, real, authentic' (Il.; the form remains surprising, cf. Schwyzer: 447[2]), together with ἐτητυμία (Call., *AP*). Lengthened form ἐτυμώνιον· ἀληθές H.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 42f.

•ETYM When we compare the ending of κενε(ϝ)ός 'empty, idle', ἐτε(ϝ)ός presupposes an original *u*-stem, the zero grade of which is seen in enlarged ἔτυ-μος. Beside this *u*-stem, we have ἐτάζω and ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (H.), which seem to point to an *o*-stem. Further analysis is uncertain; see ►ἐτάζω. De Lamberterie *RPh.* 71 (1997): 160 follows Meillet in assuming **set-u-* (also supposed in Arm. *stoyg* 'real'); he further connects the word with ►ὅσιος from **sot-*.

ἕτερος [adj.] 'one of two; the one (...) the other' (Il.). ◅IE **sm-tero-* 'one of two'▻

•VAR ἄτερος (Dor. Aeol.; also Att. in crasis ἅτερος, θἄτερα, etc.); cf. Dor. ατροπανπαις Bourguet 1927: 117; Meillet *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 116f assumed a zero grade as in ἀλλότριος and Lith. *añtras*.

•DIAL Myc. *a₂-te-ro* /[h]ateros/.

•COMP With negation οὐδ-, μηδ-ἕτερος, -ἄτερος 'none of both' (Hes., IA, Dor.). Very frequent as a first member in bahuvrīhis with various meanings, e.g. ἑτερ-αλκής 'who helps one of two parties' (Il.; cf. on ἀλέξω), ἑτερ-ήμερος 'living day by day' (λ 303 of the Dioscuri; Ph.), ἑτερό-πτολις 'coming from another town' (Erinn. 5).

•DER ἑτέρ-ωθεν, -ωθι, -ωσε, -ωτα 'from the other side', etc. (Hom.); ἑτεροῖος 'of another kind' (IA; after τοῖος, ἀλλοῖος et al.) with ἑτεροιότης (Pl., Ph.), ἑτεροιόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to become different, change' (Ion., etc.), -οίωσις 'change' (Hell.); ἑτερότης 'being different' (Arist.).

•ETYM From IE **sm-tero-*, the zero grade of **sem-* in ►εἷς 'one' (cf. further►ἅπαξ), with the same comparative suffix as in ►ἀριστερός, etc.; cf. especially Skt. *eka-tara-* 'alteruter'; the ε-vowel in ἕτερος is rather after εἷς or after ►ἕ, ἑ than by vowel assimilation. An identical formation is probably represented by a Celtic word for 'half': MW *hanther*, Co. Bret. *hanter*; see Gonda 1953: 33f. Gonda also tries to connect the Gm. group of Go. *sundro* 'on itself, κατ' ἰδίαν', OHG *suntar* 'separated; however', etc. (cf. ►ἄτερ).

ἕτης [m.] 'clansman' (Hom., only plur.), 'citizen, private person' (El., Dor., also A. and E.); on the meaning see DELG. ◅IE **sue-t-* 'own, relative'▻

•DIAL Dor. ἔτας, El. ϝέτας.

•ETYM Beside ϝέτᾶς, Slavic has a word for 'relative by marriage', e.g. ORu. *svatъ*, QIE **suōt-o-*, and Baltic a word for 'guest', Lith. *svēčas*, IE **suet-io-*. These are derived from the reflexive **sue* (Gr. ϝ(h)ε, see ►ἕ, ἑ), enlarged with a suffix *-t-*, thus IE **sue-t-*. On the Greek psilotic anlaut and loss of digamma, cf. Fraenkel 1912: 125 and Chantraine 1942: 150 and 185. Therefore properly meaning "one's own", whence 'belonging to the (own) clan', 'private person'. On the formation, see Schwyzer: 500, Chantraine 1933: 312, and Bechtel 1914. See also ►ἑταῖρος and ►ἴδιος.

ἐτήτυμος ⇒ἐτεός.

ἔτι [adv.] 'still, also, further', of time and grade (Il.). ◁IE **h₁eti* '(and) also'▷

•ETYM Old adverb, also preserved in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skt. *áti* 'id.', in Italic, Lat. and U *et* 'and', and in Germanic, e.g. Go. *iþ* 'δέ, καί', all from IE **h₁éti*, which might be the loc.sg. of a root noun from **h₁et-* seen in Skt. *at-* 'to wander'.

ἔτνος [n.] 'soup of beans' (Ar., Hp.). ◁?▷

•COMP As a first member in ἐτν-ήρυσις 'spoon for soup' (Ar.; cf. on ►ἀρύω 1), ἐτνο-δόνος 'stirring the soup' (of τορύνη, *AP*).

•DER ἐτν-ηρός 'like soup' (Ath.; Chantraine 1933: 232f.), ἐτν-ίτης (ἄρτος; Ath.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. On the connection with Celt., e.g. MIr. *eitne* 'kernel' (Pedersen 1909: 160), see the objections in Pok. 343. Arm. *und* 'soup, corn' can not be connected phonetically with ἔτνος.

ἑτοῖμος [adj.] 'prepared, ready, certain' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Younger ἕτοιμος.

•COMP As a first member in ἑτοιμο-θάνατος 'prepared for death' (Str.); as a second member in ἀν-έτοιμος 'unprepared' (Hes. *Fr.* 219, Hell.).

•DER ἑτοιμότης 'willingness, readiness' (D., Plu.); ἑτοιμάζω 'prepare' (Il.) together with ἑτοιμασία (LXX, NT).

•ETYM No etymology. Acc. to Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 278ff., it is from a locative *ἑτοῖ to *ἑτός = ἑτός, with a suffix -μο-; this is a mere guess.

ἑτός 1 [adv.] only with negation οὐκ ἑτός 'not in vain' (Att.); beside it ἑτώσιος [adj.] 'useless, fruitless' (Il.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Though the formation is unclear (cf. Chantraine 1933: 42, Schwyzer: 466, and Mezger *Word* 2 (1946): 229), ἑτώσιος for *ϝετώσιος is probably an adjectivizing enlargement of ἑτός (cf. περιώσιος beside περί). The latter stands for *ϝετός, and formally belongs to the adverbs in -τός (►ἐντός, etc.). Further unclear; semantically close is Alb. *hut* 'useless, empty, idle', which was derived from IE **uto-* (Jokl *Wien. Ak. Sb.* 168: 1: 31). The connection of αὖτως in the meaning 'idle, useless' is formally impossible. Others have connected Skt. *svatá-*, Av. *xᵛatō* 'by itself, automatically' (IE **sue-tó-*), which seems possible in spite of the difference in meaning ('of itself' > 'without an outside cause'?).

ἔτος 2 [n.] 'year' (Il.). ◁IE *uet-os-* 'year'▷

•VAR Dial. ϝέτος.

•DIAL Myc. *we-to* [acc.], *we-te-i* [dat.].

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. τρι-ετής (τρι-έτης) 'three years old' (IA) with τριετία 'space of three years' (Hell.), τριετίζω 'be three years old' (LXX); also τρι-έτηρος 'three years old' (Call.) together with -ηρίς [f.] 'every third year (inclusive)', i.e. 'in alternate years' (ἑορτή; Pi., IA; after the nouns in -ηρός, -ηρίς; Chantraine 1933: 346); thence τριετηρικός 'belonging to a τριετηρίς' (late).

•DER ἔτειος 'yearly, lasting the whole year, one year long' (Pi., A.); by hypostasis ἐπέτειος 'id.' (IA, from ἐπ' ἔτος); ἐτήσιος 'id.' (Att.; after the adjectives in -τήσιος; Schwyzer: 466, Chantraine 1933: 42) with ἐτησίαι [m.pl.] 'periodic winds' (IA, Arist.); also ἐπετήσιος 'id.' (η 118, Th.); ►ἐπηετανός, s.v.

•ETYM An old word for 'year', preserved in several languages. An exact agreement is Alb. *vit* 'year', plur. (also sg.) *vjet*, from IE **uetes-* (Mann *Lang.* 26 (1950): 383). As a second member, the neutral *s*-stem is preserved in the zero grade in Skt. *tri-vats-á-* 'of three years'; the full grade of the suffix is supposed in Messap. *atavetes* (perhaps = αὐτό-ετες 'in the same year'; Schwyzer: 513[3]) and is also found in Hitt. *šaudišt- / šāu̯itišt-* 'nurseling' (*"of this year"; details in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Beside the latter, Hitt. has a root noun *u̯itt-* < **uet-* 'year'. Thematicizations of the *s*-stem appear in HLuw. *usa/i-*, CLuw. *uššа/i-* 'year' < **uet-s-o-* (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *u̯itt-*). A semantic problem is Lat. *vetus* 'old', which formally equals ϝέτος; for an explanation, cf. Beekes 1985: 59-61 (previously, Benveniste *RPh.* 74 (1948): 124ff.). Old enlargements of the *s*-stem are found in words for (one-year-old) animals: Skt. *vats-á-* 'calf', Alb. *vic'* 'calf' (IE **uetes-o-*), Celt., e.g. Ir. *feis* 'swine' (PCl. **wessi* < **uet-s-i-*, Matasović 2008). By itself stands a Balto-Slavic word for 'old', Lith. *vẽtušas*, OCS *vetъchъ*, IE **uetus-o-* (here also Lat. *vetus*?). A new name for 'year' in Greek is ▶ἐνιαυτός. See also ▶ἔταλον, ▶νέωτα, ▶οἰετέας, ▶πέρυσι, ▶σῆτες.

ἐττημένος ⇒διαττάω.

ἔτυμος ⇒ἐτεός.

ἐτώσιος ⇒ἐτός 1.

εὖ ⇒ἐύς.

εὐᾱγής [adj.] 'bright, clear, in full view' (Parm., Pi., A.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM For εὐ-αυγής (v.l. Pi. *Pae. Fr.* 19, 25 et al.), from εὖ and αὐγή 'beam of light', with transition to an *s*-stem and compositional lengthening. The second υ was lost through dissimilation. By decomposition arose ἀγέα (κύκλον Emp. 47, of the sun); cf. Björck 1950: 148 A. 1. A poetical enlargement appears to be found in εὐᾶγητον (φύσιν Ar. *Nu.* 276 [lyr.], of the clouds which are visible from afar); see Björck 1950: 148 A. 1.

εὐάζω [v.] 'to cry εὖα, εὐαι' (S. and E. [lyr.], *AP*). ◁ONOM▷

•DER Together with εὐάσματα [pl.] (E. [lyr.]), εὐασμός (Hell.); εὐαστής, -τήρ with εὐάστειρα, εὐαστικός (late).

•ETYM From the interjection εὖα· ἐπιφθεγμὸς ληναϊκὸς καὶ μυστικός 'word belonging to the Bacchanal rites and to the mysteries' (H.), εὐαί (-αῖ) 'cry at the festival of Bacchus' (Ar.); also, εὐᾶν (E. et al.), εὐοί, -οῖ (Ar. et al.). Additionally, with intermediate aspiration, εὐαῖ, εὐᾶν, εὐοῖ (D. T., Hdn.). Borrowed as Lat. *euhoe, euhān.* The same call also appears in Lat. *ovō, -āre* 'to exult, jubilate', which cannot be a borrowing, as it reflects the PIt. change of **eu̯* > **ou̯* (De Vaan 2008). Cf. ▶εἰάζω, ▶αἰάζω and Schwyzer: 303.

εὐδείελος [adj.] epithet of places (since Od.), in the Od. almost only of Ithaca, also of Κρίση (*h. Ap.* 438), of the mountain Κρόνιον (Pi. *O.* 1, 111), etc. ◁?▷

•VAR Further εὔδειλον (Alc. G I 2, *POxy.* 2165 I 2; unclear. The emendation [λόφος] by Gallavotti is uncertain).

•ETYM One previously posited metrical lengthening of *εὐ-δέελος 'well-visible', from δέελος (K 466). However, see now on δείελος, δείλη 'evening' which are mostly connected with εὐδείελος, which would mean 'with beautiful evenings' vel sim.

εὐδία [f.] 'bright weather, calm (of wind), quiet (of the sea)' (Pi., trag., IA). ◁IE **diu-* 'day'▷

•VAR Also -ίη.

•DER εὐδιᾱνός 'calm, bringing rest', of φάρμακον (Pi. *O.* 9, 97); εὐδίαιος of the fish-name τριγόλας (Sophr. 67), 'caught in beautiful weather'(?) with εὐδιαίτερος (X.); as a msc. substantive 'outlet in the bottom of a ship' (Plu., Poll.); εὐδιεινός 'bright, calm, quiet' (Hp. *Aph.* 3, 12 v.l. beside εὔδιος, Pl. *Lg.* 919a, X. *Cyn.* 5, 9, Arist.; after φαεινός, ἀλεεινός); εὔδιος 'id.' (Hp., Hell.; to εὐδία after αἰθρία: αἴθριος). Denominative verbs: εὐδιάω 'be quiet, calm', of the sea and weather (A. R., Arat.; only ptc. εὐδιόων); εὐδιάζω 'calm down, be quiet' ([Pl.] *Ax.* 370d, Ph.).

•ETYM Compound (collective bahuvrīhi) of εὖ and the zero grade of an old word for 'day, heaven' (see ▸Ζεύς), thus εὐ-δίϝ-ᾱ. Cf. ἑκατόμ-β(ϝ)-ᾱ, μεσό-δμ-η for the formation with zero grade. An old counterpart is Skt. *su-dív-* 'bringing a beautiful day' with *su-div-á-* [n.] 'id.'.

εὕδω [v.] 'to sleep' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR The simplex is only found as a present, except for εὐδήσω [fut.] (A. *Ag.* 337).

•COMP With prefix ἐν-, συν-, especially καθ-εύδω (Il.), ipf. καθ-εῦδον, -ηῦδον, Att. also ἐ-κάθευδον, fut. καθ-ευδήσω (Att.), rare aor. καθ-ευδῆσαι (Ion.); also with double prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συγ- καθεύδω, etc. As an aorist we find (κατα-)δαρθεῖν, (-)δραθεῖν, see ▸δαρθάνω.

•ETYM Several unconvincing suggestions: 1) related to Go. *sutis* 'quiet, calm', and further to Lat. *sūdus* 'soft' (cf. Mayrhofer *KZ* 73: 116f.), but the latter is now reconstructed as **suoid-o-* by Nussbaum 1999: 381. 2) from IE **seu-d-* beside **su-ep-* in Skt. *svapiti* 'sleeps', etc. (Benveniste 1935: 156f.; cf. on ▸ὕπνος), which is very unlikely because of the Schwebeablaut involved; 3) related to OE *swodrian* 'to sleep tight' (Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 42).

εὔεξος ⇒ἔχω.

εὐηγενής [adj.] see below (Λ 427, Ψ81 with v.l. εὐηφενής, *h.Ven.* 229, Theoc. 27, 43, *IG* 14, 1389: 1; 29. ◁GR▷

•ETYM The reading εὐηγενής = εὐγενής (mss., Aristarchus) is strongly suspected to be a misreading for εὐηφενής in Hom. (as a PN in *IG* 12(8), 376: 14), a compound from ἄφενος which apparently was not transparent. Secondary εὐηγενής was supported by several forms in -γενής with a preceding -η-, and taken over by post-Homeric poets. On ▸εὐηφενής, see Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Leumann 1950: 117[83]. See on ▸ἄφενος and Masson *RPh.* 91 (1965): 239f.

εὐθενέω [v.] 'to thrive, flourish', of animals and plants, also metaph. of towns, peoples, etc. (A., Arist.). ◁?▷

•COMP As a first member in εὐθηνι-άρχης 'commissioner of (corn) supplies', together with -αρχέω, -ία, -ικός (pap.; also εὐθενι-).

•DER εὐθένεια, -ία (-ίη inscr. I[a]) 'state of prosperity, fullness, supply' (Arist. as a v.l. beside εὐθηνία, pap. of Roman times) with εὐθενιακός (pap.).
Also εὐθηνέω 'id.' (*h.Hom.* 30, 10, Hdt., Hp., LXX) together with εὐθηνία = εὐθένεια, -ία (Arist. as a v.l., LXX, late inscr. and pap.); rare and late adjectives: εὐθενής· εὐπαθοῦσα, ἰσχυρά 'enjoying herself, strong' (H.) whence εὐθενέστατος (pap. VI[p]), εὐθηνός 'thriving' (Hdn. *Epim.* 175, Lyd. *Ost.* [VI[p]]).
•ETYM The explanation depends on the relation between these forms. If the forms with -ε- in the root are original, then εὐθενέω is a denominative of εὐθενής, from which the abstract εὐθένεια, -ία was made. We would have to start from a noun *θένος beside ►φόνος in the *hapax* φόνον αἵματος (Π 162), if this means 'mass of blood' – but this is uncertain. This would give an analogy *θένος : εὐθενής : εὐθένεια : εὐθενέω like μένος : εὐμενής : εὐμένεια : εὐμενέω. However, εὐθενής is rare and late, while εὐθενέω is older. Therefore, the agreement with Skt. *ā-hanás-* 'thriving, full', IE *-*g*[wh]*enes-* becomes doubtful. With the IE root **g*[wh]*en-* supposed in *ā-hanás-* and εὐθενής, one scholar further connected Skt. *ghana-* 'solid, thick, full of' (epic and class.; very doubtful RV 1, 8, 3), MoP *ā-ganiš* 'full', *ā-gandan* 'fill on'; from Balto-Slavic, Lith. *ganà* 'enough', OCS *goněti* 'be enough' have been adduced; finally, Alb. *zânë* 'solid, thick' (Jokl 1937: 131) and Arm. *y-ogn* 'multum, very, much'. The PNs in -φόντης like Κρεσ-φόντης (cf. on ►κράτος), Πολυ-φόντης are unclear, as is φανᾶν· θέλειν 'wish, want' (H.). Unclear ►ἄφενος must be separated, as well as ►παρθένος. Secondary lengthening of -η- in εὐθηνέω, etc. cannot be excluded. If we assume original -η- < *-*eh*$_1$-, however, εὐθενέω could either be after σθένος (Sommer 1905: 66) or a zero grade *-*d*[h]*h*$_1$*n*-. A hypothetical Gr. *θῆνος has been compared with Lat. *fēnus* 'interest' (related to *fē-līx*; see ►θῆλυς and ►θῆσθαι), root **d*[h]*eh*$_1$- 'suck, be fed with milk', which could be phonetically and semantically identical if the connection with Skt. *ā-hanás-*, etc. is given up.

εὐθύς [adj.] 'straight', also metaph. 'just'; εὐθύς, -ύ also adverbial (beside εὐθέως) 'straightaway, directly', of place and time (Pi., Att.). ◅?▻
•VAR Fem. -εῖα, ntr. -ύ.
•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. in ►εὐθυωρία.
•DER εὐθύτης 'straightness' (Arist.) and the denominative εὐθύνω 'straighten, direct, steer, chastise, punish' (Pi., Att.) with several derivatives: εὔθυνσις 'straightening' (Arist.), εὐθυσμός 'id.' (Ph.); εὐθυντήρ 'director, corrector' (Thgn., A., Man.) with εὐθυντήριος 'straightening, directing' (A. *Pers.* 764), εὐθυντηρία [f.] 'the part of a ship where the rudder was fixed' (E. *IT* 1356), 'base wall, base' (inscr.), -ιαῖος (Didyma); εὐθυντής = εὔθυνος (Pl. *Lg.* 945b, c), -τικός (Arist., D. H.). More common are deverbal expressions like εὔθυνος [m.] 'revisor of the state' (Pl., Arist., inscr. since V[a], etc.), also 'judge, punisher' in general (A., E.); εὔθυνα [f.] 'public responsibility, revision' (Att.).
•ETYM No correspondences outside Greek. It may have taken the place of ἰθύς 'id.'. Perhaps a cross of ►εἴθαρ and ►ἰθύς with assimilation ει : υ > ευ : υ (see Schwyzer: 256). The word ►εὐρύς is semantically farther. DELG suggests influence of εὖ 'good' (s.v. ►ἐύς).

εὐθύφλοιος [m.] 'straight-barked', a kind of oak (Thphr. *H.P.* 3, 8, 2). ◂GR▸
•ETYM From εὐθυ- and ▸φλοιός? Also ἀλίφλοιος, from ▸ἅλις?

εὐθυωρία [f.] 'straightness, straight direction' (Pl., Arist., Aetol., Cret., etc.), almost only in adverbial expressions like (ἀν', κατ') εὐθυωρίαν, εὐθυωρίᾳ 'in straight line, directly'; also εὐθύωρον [adv.] 'id.' (X.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Heracl. -ωρεία, Arc. -ορϝία, Epid. -ορία; Ion. ἰθυωρίη (Hp.).
•ETYM Expression from the language of surveyors, from ▸εὐθύς (▸ἰθύς) and ▸ὅρος, ὅρϝος 'boundary' as a bahuvrīhi: 'with straight boundaries, along straight lines'. The long vowel may be due to compositional lengthening, or to Doric influence (development of -ορϝ-). Incorrectly, Bechtel 1921, 1, 345: related to Av. *auruua-* 'quick', etc.; εὐθύωρος would then properly mean 'hurrying straight'.

εὔκηλος ⇒ἔκηλος.

εὔκολος ⇒δύσκολος.

εὐκρᾱ́ής [adj.] 'temperate', epithet of τόποι (Arist. *Mete.* 352a 7), of ἀήρ (Thphr. *CP* 1, 11, 6; 2, 3, 3), of ἔρως (Opp. *H.* 4, 33); but also 'blowing well', of οὖρος and ἄνεμος (A. R. 2, 1228; 4, 891); also v.l. for ἀκραής (ξ 299, Hes. *Op.* 594). ◂IE **ḱerh₂-* 'mix'▸
•VAR Also ἐῦκρᾱής.
•ETYM Reformed from εὐκρᾶς (related to ▸κεράννυμι) after the *s*-stems, perhaps by influence of ἄημι, which at any rate influenced the meaning in A. R. At the same time, in opposition to ἀκρ-ᾱής 'sharp blowing' (properly 'blowing on the heights'), it was analyzed as ἀ-κρᾱής; cf. Marxer 1935: 46f. - On this basis, δυσκρᾱής (Opp.).

εὐλάκᾱ ⇒ἄλοξ.

εὐλή [f.] 'worm, maggot' (Il.). ◂?▸
•VAR Mostly plur. -αί. Cf. εὐλάζει· σαπριᾷ, σκωληκιᾷ 'make rotten, be worm-eaten' (H.). Sometimes, also ὑάλη· σκώληξ 'worm' (H.) is mentioned, supposedly standing for ὑαλή; it is doubtful that this form is cognate.
•ETYM Taken by Frisk et al. as an old verbal noun from ▸εἰλέω 2, ▸ἴλλω 'turn, wind', properly meaning 'that which winds or coils'. However, a prothetic vowel *ἐ-ϝλ-ή is no longer possible, unless one assumes **h₁uel-*; however, **h₁ul-* would give ὑλ-. It is improbable to assume metathesis from *ϝελ-ή (cf. on ▸εὐρύς). The word may well be Pre-Greek. The recent attempt by Balles 2007: 15-24 is pure speculation. Cf. ▸ἕλμις.

εὔληρα [n.pl.] 'reins' (Ψ 481, Q. S.). ◂PG▸
•DIAL Dor. αὔληρα (Epich. 178, H.).
•DER Unclear is εὐληρωσίων· πληγῶν 'strokes' (H.; perhaps from *εὐλήρωσις, to *εὐληρόομαι, -όω).
•ETYM One scholar has assumed *ἐ-ϝληρ-ο-, *ἀ-ϝληρ-ο- (Schwyzer: 224) with prothetic vowel, combining Lat. *lōrum* 'rein', Arm. *lar* 'strick, rope, band', from IE **ulēr-*, **ulōr-*, **ulHr-*, supposed to be a derivation in *-r-* from a primary verb for 'turn, wind, twine' in ▸εἰλέω 2. Given the variation, which cannot be explained in IE

terms, the words are probably Pre-Greek. For the interchange ἀ-/ ἐ-, cf. ἀμύς/ἐμύς and Fur. 347ff. See also ►λῶμα.

εὐμαρής [adj.] 'light, without pain' (Alc., Pi.). ◄IE?►

•DER εὐμάρεια, -(ε)ίη, -ία 'ease' (IA), εὐμαρότης 'id.' (Callistr. Soph.), εὐμαρέω 'have easy access' (B. 1, 175).

•ETYM Bahuvrīhi of ►εὖ and ►μάρη 'hand', which yielded a stem in -σ- (Schwyzer 513). Blanc *REGr.* 105 (1992): 548-556 rejects this explanation and assumes a meaning 'accordé en abondance', from **smer-* in ►μείρομαι 'accorder comme part'; this is uncertain. His comparison with the reduced grade in εὐ-τραφής does not work, as one would rather expect -μερής beside μείρομαι and μέρος.

εὐμᾰρις, -ιδος [f.] name of an Asiatic shoe or slipper of deerskin (A. and E. [lyr.], *AP* 7, 413 [ᾰ], Poll.); εὐμᾰρίδας [acc.pl.] as attribute of άσκέρας, so probably adjectival (Lyc. 855). ◄?►

•VAR Acc. -ιν.

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin; cf. the foreign names for shoes in Schwyzer: 61, as well as Björck 1950: 68.

εὐνή [f.] 'lair, bed' (of animals and soldiers), 'bed, matrimonial bed', metaph. 'marriage' and 'tomb', as a nautical expression in plur. 'anchor stones' (Il.). ◄?►

•COMP As a first member in εὐνοῦχος [m.] "protector of the bed", 'chamberlain, eunuch' (IA; on the mg. Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 432ff.) with εὐνουχίζω, -ίας, etc. As a second member in χαμαι-εύνης et al. (on the formation Schwyzer 451), fem. -ευνάς 'having its bed on the earth' (Hom.); also χαμι-ευνάς 'id.' (Lyc.), as a determinative 'bed on the earth' (Nil. *Th.* 23); in this mg. further χαμ-εύνη, -α (trag.) with χαμεύνιον (Pl.), -ευνίς (Theoc.), -ευνία (Ph., Philostr.).

•DER εὐναῖος 'belonging to the εὐνη' (trag.), εὔνια [pl.] = εὐνή (App.), εὐνέτης 'bedfellow, wife' (E.), -έτις [f.] (Hp., A. R.), εὐνάτας 'id.' (E. *Med.* 159, conjecture), εὖνις [f.] (S., E.). Denominatives: εὐνάομαι, εὐνηθῆναι, -άω 'lie down, go to bed, sleep' especially 'bring to rest' (Il.) together with εὐνήμιατα [pl.] 'marriage' (E. *Ion* 304; cf. Chantraine 1933: 184ff.), εὐνήτωρ, -ᾱτωρ, -ητήρ, -ᾱτήρ = εὐνέτης (trag.), fem. εὐνήτειρα, -άτειρα, -ήτρια (trag.), εὐνατήριον 'sleeping room' (A.). εὐνάζομαι, εὐνασθῆναι, εὐνάζω 'id.' together with τά εὐνάσιμα 'sleeping places' (X. *Cyn.* 8, 4; after ἱππάσιμος et al., cf. Arbenz 1933: 48), εὐναστήρ = εὐνέτης (Lyc.), εὐνάστειρα λίθος (Opp.), εὐναστήριον = εὐνατήριον (S., E.). Details on the tragedians in Fraenkel 1912: 17, Björck 1950: 139f.; also Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 227f.

•ETYM Unexplained. Lidén *IF* 19 (1906): 320f. compares OIr. *(h)uam* 'hole' and Av. *unā* [f.] 'hole, slit (in the earth)'. Arm. *unim* 'to have, own' remains far. Unconvincing recent attempts are Balles 2007: 15-24 and Ziegler *KZ* 117 (2004): 1-12.

εὖνις, -ι(δ)ος [adj.] 'robbed, lacking' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Acc. -ιν.

•ETYM The word has been compared with adjectives starting in **u(H)-* or **uā-*: Skt. *ūná-*, Av. *ŭna-* 'deficient, lacking', Arm. *unayn* 'empty' (anlaut uncertain; IE **eu-* is

also possible), Lat. *vānus* 'empty, idle', Go. *wans* 'defective, missing', etc. However, **h₁euh₂-n-* would have given **ἐ(ϝ)αν-*.

εὐνοῦχος ⇒εὐνή.

εὔοχθος [adj.] epithet of δαῖτες (B. *Fr.* 18, 4), βορά (E. *Ion* 1169), γῆ (Hom. *Epigr.* 7, 2), perhaps 'rich, luxuriant, fruitful'. ◁PG▷

•DER Denominative verb εὐοχθέω 'to be rich, luxuriant', of people (Hes. *Op.* 477, Rhian. 1, 9).

•ETYM Connection with ὄχθος, ►ὄχθη 'height, steep shore' is semantically unsatisfactory. Either εὔοχθος must be separated, or ὄχθος had an additional, unknown, meaning. Fur.: 127 connects ►ἀκτή 'corn' with ὄχθος, which is quite acceptable (cf. ἀκτή / ὄχθη 'cliff', etc.).

εὐπέμπελος [adj.] 'easily dismissed', of the μοῖρα of the Eumenides (A. *Eu.* 476: οὐκ εὐπέμπελον). ◁GR▷

•ETYM The second member is derived from ►πέμπω with a suffix -ελο-.

εὐπετής ⇒πῑ́πτω.

εὐράξ [adv.] mg. uncertain, in στῆ δ' εὐράξ (Λ 251, O 541), perhaps 'near, at the side'; further Lyc. 920 Ἀλαίου Παταρέως ἀνακτόρων 'near the temple of A. P.'; as an interj. in Ar. *Av.* 1258 εὐράξ, πατάξ. ◁?▷

•ETYM Uncertain. For the formation, cf. λάξ, ὀδάξ, μουνάξ, διαμπάξ, etc. (Schwyzer: 620). It has been connected with εὐρύς and explained as ἐκ πλαγίου, i.e. 'from the side' (e.g. by H.). Acc. to Bq, it is to be read as δὲ ϝράξ, and to be understood as 'en heurtant', from ῥάττειν, ῥάσσειν, ῥήσσειν 'nudge, bump'; on the meaning, cf. ►ἵκταρ 'near' and the parallels mentioned there.

Εὔρῑπος [m.] 'straits, narrows' (X., Arist.); especially the straits between Euboea and Boeotia (*h. Ap.* 222, Hdt.); later also 'canal' in general (D. H.); 'ventilator, fan' (Gal. 10, 649) is probably a homonym, derived from ῥιπή in the sense 'blow'. ◁PG(S)▷

•DIAL Myc. TN *E-wi-ri-po*.

•DER εὐριπώδης 'like straits, like the Euripos', etc. (Arist.); εὐριπίδης name of a wind, blowing from the Euripos (E. Maaß *KZ* 41, 204), also PN; εὐριπική (σχοῖνος Dsc., Plin.); Εὐρίπιος· Ποσειδῶν (H.).

•ETYM The etymology 'with strong current', from εὖ and ῥιπή (since Fick) must be rejected, even if the straits between Euboea and Boeotia are well known for their strong currents of water and wind.

Forssman *MSS* 49 (1988): 5-12, explains the form from **euru-h₂p-o-* 'breite Wasser(läufe) habend'. The assumed dissimilation of the second *u* in **eurū-po-* does not convince; neither does the meaning fit for a narrow strait. The word may well be Pre-Greek, cf. already Ruijgh 1967a: 172[374]. Note that the long ῑ in this position is typical for Pre-Greek forms, cf. *Pre-Greek* s.v. -ῑβ-, -ῑγ-, ῑδ-, -ῑθ-, -ῑν-).

εὑρίσκω [v.] 'to find, uncover' (τ 158). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. εὑρεῖν, ind. εὗρον (Il.; later also ηὗρον), fut. εὑρήσω (*h. Merc.* 302, IA), perf. εὕρηκα, -ημαι (ηὑρ-), aor. pass. εὑρεθῆναι with fut. εὑρεθήσομαι (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-. As a first member εὑρησι- (later εὑρεσι-) in εὑρησι-επής 'who finds ἔπη, epic poet' (Pi.), εὑρησι-λογέω 'find reasons, find excuses' and -λογία 'ability to find reasons, eristics, creation of empty words' (Hell.; after the compounds in -λογέω, -λογία); with εὑρησί-λογος (Corn. et al.).

•DER Derivatives, also from the prefixed verbs (not indicated): εὕρημα, later εὕρεμα (Schwyzer 523) 'invention' (IA), εὕρεσις 'discovery' (IA; εὕρησις Apollod.); εὕρετρα [pl.] 'finder's reward' (Ulp.); εὑρετής 'discoverer' (Att.) with fem. εὑρετίς, -έτις (S. *Fr.* 101 [uncertain], D. S.); also εὑρέτρια (D. S., pap.; Chantraine 1933: 104ff.); Εὑρέσιος epithet of Ζεύς = Iupiter Inventor (D. H.; after Ἱκέσιος et al.); εὑρετικός 'ingenious, inventive' (Pl.), εὑρετός 'which can be found' (Hp., S.).

•ETYM Given the perfective meaning of εὑρίσκω, the aorist εὗρον is probably old. An old perfect seen in εὕρη-κα probably existed next to it. After this, εὑρήσω arose, and the latest member of the paradigm (beside εὑρεθῆναι) was the present εὑρίσκω (quantity of the ι unknown). The aorist εὗρον may be a thematic root formation standing for the augmented ind. *ἔ-ϝρ-ον; on this form, see Vara *Emerita* 61 (1993): 177-9. The aspiration is perhaps secondary after ἑλεῖν etc. Alternatively, was it a reduplicated aorist **u̯e-u̯r-e/o-* from **ue-urh₁-e/o-*, with dissimilatory loss of the anlauting ϝ- and secondary aspiration, in which case, according to Beckwith *Glotta* 72 (1994): 24-30, the root-final laryngeal was lost in a reduplicated formation?

A reduplicated formation is also found in the OIr. preterite *-fúar* 'I found' < IE **ue-ur-* (pres. *fo-gabim*); the pass. *-frīth* 'inventum est' agrees with *ϝρη- in -ϝέ-ϝρη-κα (> εὕρηκα) as IE **urh₁-to-*. IE **ureh₁-t-* has also been supposed in OCS *ob-rětъ* 'I found'. A full grade **uer-* is seen in Arm. *gerem* (with secondary aorist *gerec'i*) 'take prisoner'. Taillardat *RPh.* 34 (1960): 232-235 assumes **suer-*, with **sesure* > εὖρε.

εὐρυᾰγυια ⇒ἄγυια.

εὐρυόδεια [adj.] only in ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης (Hom., always verse-finally). ◂IE **sed-* 'sit'▸

•ETYM Schulze 1892: 487f. (followed by Bechtel 1914 s.v.) reads εὐρυ-εδείης 'with broad seats' (i.e. places for settling, ἕδος), recalling Simon. 5, 17 εὐρυεδοῦς ... χθονός. Thus also R. Schmitt 1967: 246ff.

εὐρύοπα [acc.] = [voc.] epithet of Ζῆν (Κρονίδην), also in nom. and voc. εὐρύοπα Ζεύς, Ζεῦ (Il.), later of κῆρυξ, κέλαδος, ἥλιος; bahuvrīhi of ὄπ-ᾱ- 'with far-reaching sight, far-seeing'. ◂IE **h₃ek*-* 'see'▸

•ETYM The formula was adapted to formulae like κυανοχαῖτα, with a vocative in -α < *-*h₂*. In the case of εὐρύοπα, we are probably dealing with an old accusative. Thus Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 416f. and Beekes 1969: 148-150.

εὐρύς [adj.] 'broad, wide' (Il.). ◂IE **h₁urH-u-* (?) 'broad'▸

•VAR Epic also acc. -έα (under formulaic pressure).

•COMP Very often as a first member.

•DER εὐρύτης 'broadness, width' (Hp.) and denominative εὐρύνω 'broaden, widen' (θ 260; on the formation Schwyzer: 733). Also εὖρος [n.] 'breadth, width' (λ 312), as a second member in ἰσο-ευρής 'with the same breadth' (Phot.).

•ETYM Indo-Iranian has Skt. *urú-*, Av. *vouru-* 'broad', and Skt. *váras-* [n.] 'breadth', from which εὐρύς and εὖρος differ only regarding their anlaut. We have to start from IE **urH-ú-* and **uérH-os-*, which should have given Gr. **ϝαρύς, **ϝέρος; cf. βαρύς = Skt. *gurú-*. It has been assumed that εὐρύς has a prothetic vowel from **h₁-*, **ἐ-ϝρὺ-ς, but then one would rather expect **ἐϝ(α)ρυς < **h₁u̯r(H)us*. Alternatively, it has been supposed that it stands with metathesis for a secondary full grade **ϝερύς (after the primary comparative, Skt. *várī-yān* 'broader'); εὖρος, beside Skt. *váras-*, could also be explained in this way, if not secondary after εὐρύς (cf. βάρος, βάθος, τάχος, etc.). ToA *wärts*, ToB *wartse* 'broad' contain a suffix *-ts*, *-tse* and reflect a preform **wər(ə)-*. The reconstruction remains problematic.

εὐρώς, -ῶτος [m.] 'mould, dank decay', also 'rust'? (Thgn., Simon.); on the mg. Aly *Glotta* 5 (1915): 63ff. ◁PG?▷

•VAR ἔρβως· εὔρως 'fair-flowing' (H.).

•DER εὐρώεις 'mouldy, musty' epithet of the underworld (Hom., Hes.), also of πηλός (Opp.); εὐρωτιάω 'to be mouldy' (Ar., Thphr.).

•ETYM εὐρώεις (see Schwyzer: 527 and Chantraine 1933: 274) should not be changed into ἠερόεις; see the remarks by Solmsen 1901: 121f. Based on comparison with ἰδρώς, γέλως, ἔρως, etc., an original *s*-stem has been concluded (Schwyzer: 514). No convincing etymology. Etymologies assuming a prothetic vowel (see Frisk) must be discarded. Fur.: 242 refers to the form given by H. and thinks the form is Pre-Greek, which seems quite plausible.

ἐύς [adj.] 'good, brave, strong (in war)' (epic since Il.), only of men, never in fem.; ntr. ἐΰ, εὖ 'good' (A., E.), mostly as an adverb 'well' (Il.). ◁IE **uesu-* 'good', and/or **h₁(e)su-* 'good'▷

•VAR Also ἠΰς, ἠΰ (see below), gen.sg. ἐῆος, ἑ-, gen.pl.n. ἑᾶων (verse-final, e.g. δωτῆρες ἑάων θ 325).

•DIAL Myc. names with *e-u-*, e.g. *e-u-me-ne* /Eumenēs/.

•COMP Very often as a first member, both adjectical and adverbial.

•DER ἐυτής (cod. ἠητής)· ἀγαθότης 'goodness' (H.); on the accent see Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 177. Note further ἠέα· ἀγαθά (H.).

•ETYM The Greek forms present several problems. As for ἠΰς beside ἐΰς, old ablaut is highly improbable, and a metrical solution has been sought (ἠΰς occurs mostly in verse-final expressions). In combination with the analogical introduction of the length from compounds where metrical lengthening was necessary (e.g. ἠΰ-κομος), this is certainly possible. Metrical lengthening could also be assumed in ἐῆος, if this stands for **ἑέος*; often, ἐῆος (thus most mss.) seems to represent **ἑῆο = *ἑεῖο, *ἑέο* 'sui', from ▶ἕ, ἑ 'se'; cf. ἐμεῖο = ἐμέο from ἐμέ. The comparison of ἐυ- with Skt. *su-* points to **h₁su-*, with which Hitt. *āššu-* 'good, useful, pleasant', ntr. 'goods, possession, prosperity' is also ultimately connected. On the other hand, there is also Skt. *vásu-*, Av. *vohu-* 'good', to which further Gaulish PNs like *Bello-vēsus* and Ir. *feb* [f.] 'eminence' belong, as well as Illyr. *Ves-cleveses* [gen.] (cf. Εὐ-κλέης, Skt. *vásu-śravas-*). Further, there is the expression δωτῆρες (δῶτορ) ἐάων, which may have a pendant in Skt. *dātā́ vásūnām* (beside *dā́tā vásu* [acc.]). Unambiguous traces of the

digamma fail, as ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων Ω 528 is young. We must also reckon with the merger of IE **esu-* and **uesu-*. See Chantraine 1942: 201; 254; 274. Not related to ►ὑγιής, which is rather from **h₂iu-*. Hoffmann 1975-6: 593-604 suggests that ἐῆος continues hysterodynamic **h₁u̯esu̯-os*. On the ablaut of the compounds, see Zimmer *MSS* 55 (1994): 157-171.

εὐσωπία ⇒σιωπάω.

εὖτε [conj.] '(as soon) as', rarely causal 'because' (Il.); also as a compar. adverb 'like', see ►ἠῦτε. ◄?►

•ETYM Debrunner *IF* 45 (1927-1928): 185ff. suggested it was in origin a paratactic exclamation εὖ τε 'and rightly!'. Acc. to Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:2, 731f., it is from ἡ or εἰ and *υτε; see ►ἠῦτε. Cf. Monteil 1963: 286-290.

εὐτράπελος ⇒τρέπω.

εὐτρόχαλος ⇒τρέχω.

εὐφρόνη [f.] 'night' (Hes. *Op.* 560, Pi., A.). ◄IE **gʷʰren-* 'diaphragm'►

•DER Patronymic Εὐφρονίδης (*Epigr. Gr.* 1029, 6, Cios).

•ETYM Properly 'the benevolent', a substantivation of εὔφρων; cf. Ἡγεμόνη epithet of Artemis (Call.) and PNs like Ἠριγόνη, Ἠπιόνη; also, Μναμόνα (Ar. *Lys.* 1248) for Μνημοσύνη; and δυσφρονέων [gen.pl.] v.l. for -οσυνέων Hes. *Th.* 102. See further ►φρήν.

εὐχερής ⇒δυσχερής.

εὔχομαι [v.] 1. 'proclaim, boast' (Il.); 2. 'promise solemnly' (Il.; also e.g. Pl. *Ph.* 58b); 3. 'pray' (Il.). ◄IE **h₁ueg*ʷʰ-* 'speak solemnly'►

•VAR Aor. εὔξασθαι, pret. εὔκτο (see below).

•DIAL Myc. *e-u-ke-to* (= εὔχεται) 'declares'.

•COMP Often with prefixes like ἀπ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, προσ-, συν- et al.

•DER εὖχος 'glory' (cf. κλέος), rarely and secondarily 'fulfilment of a prayer' (Il.); εὐχωλή 'proclamation, cry of joy, boast, vow, prayer' (Il.; also Arc.-Cypr., see Bechtel 1921, 1: 391 and 447) with εὐχωλιμαῖος 'bound by a vow' (Hdt. 2, 63; cf. Chantraine 1933: 49); εὐχή 'vow, prayer' (κ 526); εὔγματα [pl.] 'boasts' (χ 249), 'vows, prayers' (trag., Call.); cf. ῥήματα; πρόσ-ευξις 'prayer' (Orph.). Verbal adjective εὐκτός 'asked for' (Ξ 98 εὐκτά [n.pl.]), 'desired' (Att.); together with ἀπ-ευκτός, πολύ-ευκτος (A.); also ἀπ-, πολυ-εὐχετος (A., *h. Cer.*, etc.); εὐκταῖος 'containing a prayer' (trag., etc.); εὐκτικός 'belonging to a prayer', ἡ εὐκτική (ἔγκλισις) = (*modus*) *optativus* (Hell.); εὐκτήριος 'belonging to a prayer', -ιον [n.] 'house of prayer' (Just.); on -τικός : -τήριος Chantraine 1933: 13. Multi-interpretable is the first member in Εὐχ-ήνωρ (N 663), see Sommer 1948: 175. Lengthened forms of the present stem εὐχετόωντο, -τάασθαι = εὔχοντο, -εσθαι (Il.); explanation uncertain, see Leumann 1950: 182ff., Chantraine 1942: 358. On εὖχος, εὐχή, εὐχωλή, etc. see Porzig 1942: 231f., 235, Chantraine 1933: 183, 418f.; also Steinkopf 1937, Greindl 1938, Benveniste 1969:2: 237-243.

•ETYM Greek εὔχομαι is identical with Av. *aojaite* 'proclaim solemnly, invoke', Skt. *óhate* 'boast, praise', from reduplicated IE *$*h_1é$-h_1ug^{wh}-e-toi* (with *$g^{wh} > \chi$ after υ). It is an old term of the religious language. Beside it stands the athematic preterite 3sg. εὔκτο (Thebaïs *Fr.* 3), which corresponds to OAv. *aogədā*, LAv. *aoxta*, and perhaps also the 1sg. εὔγμην (S. *Tr.* 610). Lat. *voveō* 'to promise solemnly, implore', Skt. *vāghát-* 'the vower, who prays', Arm. *gog* [impv.] 'say!' show an unreduplicated formation, so the regular full-grade was IE *$*h_1ueg^{wh}$- (cf. LIV² s.v. *$*h_1u̯eg^{wh}$-). Arm. *uzem* 'I will', *y-uzem* 'I search' is semantically divergent.

εὔω [v.] 'to singe' (Il.). ◁IE *$*h_1eus$- 'burn'▷
•VAR Aor. εὔσαι.
•COMP Also with prefix ἀφ-, ἐφ-.
•DER εὔστρα (εὐσ-) [f.] 'place for singeing' (Ar. *Eq.* 1236), 'roasted barley' (*PTeb.* III[a]), 'id.' (Paus. Gr.); εὐστόν (εὐσ-) [n.] 'singed sacrifice' (Miletus IV-III[a]); εὔσανα = ἐγκαύματα 'sores from burning' (Poll., H.). Very unclear ►Εὖρος, s.v.
•ETYM An old verb which was ousted by καίω. Like other verbs with a diphthong -ευ- (see ►γεύομαι), it lost its ablaut. Gr. εὔω is identical with Lat. *ūrō* 'burn', Skt. *óṣati* 'id.', so it may have metathesis of aspiration from older *εὕhω < IE *$*h_1éus$-e/o-. The -σ- returns in εὐσ-τόν (with secondary full grade against Skt. *uṣ-ṭá-* = Lat. *us-tus* 'burned') and in εὔσ-τρα (with analogical aspiration; on τρᾱ-, cf. Schwyzer: 532 and Chantraine 1933: 333), and was introduced in εὔσ-ανα based on these forms. On the aspiration, see DELG s.v. The root occurs elsewhere, too, e.g. in the Gm. zero grade *l*-derivative ON *usli* [m.], MHG *usel(e)* [f.] 'glowing ashes'.

εὐώνυμος [adj.] 'of good name, of good reputation, renowned' (Hes. *Th.* 409, Pi.); 'left' (Ephesus VI-V[a]); τὸ εὐώνυμον (κέρας) = 'the left wing' (Hdt., Th.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Euphemistic replacement of older σκαιός, λαιός, as well as ἀριστερός. Cf. ►ὄνομα.

εὐωχέω, -έομαι [v.] 'to treat, regale', med.-pass. 'to get satisfied, feast, be treated' with εὐωχία 'entertainment, feasting' (IA); συνευωχέομαι 'to feast together' (Arist.). ◁IE *$*seǵ^h$- 'hold, have'▷
•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι, -ηθῆναι, -ήσασθαι.
•DER δυσωχεῖν· δυσχεραίνειν 'be unable to endure' (H.).
•ETYM Long grade deverbative of intransitive εὖ ἔχω 'I am in a good state' with causative meaning (cf. Schwyzer: 720), an expression which was perceived as a unity, whence it became univerbated, perhaps under the influence of expressions like εὐπορέω (from εὔπορος).

ἐφελιωμένος [adj.] epithet of oxen, of unknown mg. (Mitylene I[a]). ◁?▷
•VAR -ώ- in DELG.
•ETYM DELG suggests MoFr. 'tacheté' as a meaning. Perhaps related to ►ἔφηλις, with ε instead of η?

ἐφέται [m.pl.] 1. 'commander' (A. *Pers.* 79 [lyr.]); mostly 2. name of a board of judges in Athens (Att.). ◁IE *$*(H)ieh_1$- 'throw'▷
•DER ἐφετμή, mostly in plur. 'command, order' (Il.); cf. ἐρέτης : ἐρετμόν.

•ETYM In the meaning 'commander', it was derived from ἐφίεμαι 'order, command'; in the juridical meaning, probably from ἐφίημι = 'decide something (about somebody)'. See DELG.

ἔφηλις, -ιδος [f.] technical term of uncertain mg., 'rivet, clinch' vel sim.? Acc. to H. ἐφήλιδες· περόναι 'pins', ἔπηλις· τὸ πῶμα τῆς λάρνακος 'the lid of a coffer' (S. *Fr.* 1046, Hell.); usually metaph. as the name of a rash (Nic.), in this mg. mostly in plur. (Hp., Thphr.), also explained as 'freckles' and connected with ἥλιος, cf. αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπικαύσεις 'burns from the sun' (H.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also oxytone -ίς, -ίδος, plur. also -εις.

•DIAL Ion. ἔπηλις, -ιδος [f.] (barytone acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 91).

•ETYM On the stem in -ι(δ)-, see Schwyzer: 450, 464f. and Chantraine 1933: 113f. Morphologically uncertain because of the unclear meaning. Proposals: 1. as a hypostasis of ἐφ' ἥλου (ὤν): a) 'what is upon a ἧλος ('pin')'; b) 'upper (part of a) ἧλος'. 2. as a bahuvrīhi: 'equipped with a ἧλος'. 3. deverbal of ἐφηλοῦν 'pin down, fix': 'what has been pinned down'; cf. ἔφηλος· ὁ ἠλωμένος 'sharpened' or 'callous person' (Suid.). See also ►ἔφηλος.

ἔφηλος [adj.] '(equipped) with a ἧλος', of people (and eyes?) that have a certain eye disease (LXX, Call. *Fr. anon.* 106, Ael.). ◅GR▻

•DER ἐφηλότης [f.] name of that disease (S. E.).

•ETYM From ἧλος in the meaning 'wart, callus'; see Strömberg 1944: 93 and Forster 1950: 44. Cf. also H. ἔφηλος· (...) ἐφήλιδας ὡς ἥλους ἔχων εἰς τὴν ὄψιν (the gloss may be partly corrupt). Cf. ►ἔφηλις.

ἐφιάλτης, -ου [m.] 'nightmare, phantom' (Phryn. Com., Dsc.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also ἐπιάλτης (Alc. in Eust. 1687, 52); in the same mg. also ἡπιάλης, acc. -ητα (Sophr.), ἡπιόλης (Hdn. Gr.). As a PN: 1. Ἐφιάλτης (Επι-), a mythical figure, son of Aloeus (or of Poseidon) and Iphimedeia, famous for his unusual size and strength (E 385, λ 308, Pi. *P.* 4, 89); 2. regular PN (Hdt., etc.).

•DIAL Myc. *E-pi-ja-ta* (?).

•DER ἐφιαλτικός 'suffering from nightmare' (medic.), plant name ἐφιάλτιον, -τία (Ps.-Dsc., Aët., because of its prophylactic use, Strömberg 1940: 90).

•ETYM No etymology. The name of the 'nightmare', originally being the name of a demon, is clearly identical with the mythical name (cf. Nilsson 1941(1): 226). In antiquity the name was connected with ἐφάλλομαι 'throw oneself onto sbd.'; cf. ἐφιάλτης· ὁ ἐπιπηδῶν 'assaulting' (H.). This explanation is not without problems phonetically and must therefore be considered to be folk-etymological. Leumann 1950: 80[45] defended the suggestion that ἐφιάλτης came from ἡπίαλος, name of a fever, which was reshaped via ἐπίαλος, whence ἐπιάλτης, to ἐφιάλτης, by folk-etymology after ἐφάλλομαι. Acc. to Frisk, this is not very probable because of the difference in meaning. Leumann separates the PN Ἐφιάλτης from that of the demon and connects it with ἐπ-ιάλλειν (but this does not explain the -φ-). The forms ἡπιάλης, -όλης are based on crossing with ►ἡπίαλος. Other folk-etymological reshapings (ἐφέλης, ἐπωφέλης, etc.) in H. s.v. ἐπιάλης. If the name is identical with

the noun ἠπίαλος, as Leumann 1950: 80[45] and Fur.: 159, 258, 342 assume, it is Pre-Greek, which is what one might expect for such words.

ἐχενηΐς [adj.] 'detaining or holding back ships' (A., Arist.); a fish, Lat. *nemora*. ◁GR▷
•ETYM See Keller 1913: 378f., Thompson 1947 s.v.

ἐχεπευκής [adj.] epithet of βέλος (A 51, Δ 129), of σμύρνα or ῥίζα (Nic. *Th.* 600 and 866), of ἀϋτμή (Orph. *L.* 475). ◁IE **peuk-* 'sting'▷
•DER Beside it περιπευκής (Λ 845), also of βέλος, and ἐμπευκής (Nic. *Al.* 202), of ὀπός.
•ETYM Compound (Schwyzer: 441) of ἔχειν and a noun *πεῦκος vel sim. In any case, it has close relatives in ►πεύκη, πευκεδανός, and πευκάλιμος. The meaning 'bitter' (Eust.), also found in Nic., clearly derives from 'sharp, stinging'. The proper meaning of ἐχε-πευκής therefore is probably 'having a point'. For cognates outside Greek, see ►πεύκη.

ἐχέτλη ⇒ἔχω.

ἐχθές ⇒χθές.

ἐχθοδοπέω [v.] 'to make oneself hated (to somebody), become enemies'. ◁IE **h₁eǵʰs* 'out'▷
•VAR Only aor. ἐχθοδοπῆσαι (A 518).
•DER ἐχθοδοπός 'hated, inimical' (S.).
•ETYM For the formation, cf. οἰνοχοέω (Schwyzer: 726); ἐχθοδοπέω presupposes a noun ἐχθοδοπός, which indeed exists, but the form may be rather deverbal because of its late appearence. If it stands for ἐχθοδαπός (Pergam. II[P]; here probably an innovation for ἐχθοδοπός), it must be compared with ποδαπός, ἀλλοδαπός, and should then be from ἐχθός 'outside', ἐχθο-δοπός properly meaning 'located outside, foreign', and ἐχθοδοπέω 'to become a foreigner to sbd.'. Bechtel 1914 s.v. compares κυδοιδοπᾶν (Ar. *Pax* 1152, *Nu.* 616) 'make a hubbub' and assumes an unknown verb **depō*, which is not very convincing. See ►ἔχθος.

ἔχθος [n.] 'hatred, enmity' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁eǵʰs-to-* 'outsider'▷
•COMP As a second member in φιλ-εχθής 'who is inclined to hatred' (Theoc. 5, 137).
•DER ἐχθρός [adj.] 'hated' (thus always in Hom.), 'hateful', substantivized [m.] 'enemy' (Hes., Pi.); grades of comparison ἐχθίων (A.), ἔχθιστος (Il.); ἔχθρα, Ion. -ρη [f.] 'hate, enmity' (IA, Pi.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 226). Verbs: ἔχθομαι (only present stem) 'to be hated' (Od.), act. ἔχθω 'to hate' (trag.); ἀπ-εχθάνομαι (β 202), aor. ἀπ-εχθέσθαι (Il.), fut. ἀπ-εχθήσομαι (Hdt.), late present ἀπ-έχθομαι (Theoc., Lyc.) 'to make oneself hated' with ἀπεχθής 'hated' (S., D.), ἀπέχθεια 'to be hated, hate' (Att.), ἀπέχθημα 'object of hate' (E. *Tr.* 425; cf. Chantraine 1933: 177f.); ἐχθαίρω, aor. ἐχθῆραι (also with ἀπ-, ὑπερ-, συν-) 'to hate' (Il.); ἐχθραίνω, aor. ἐχθρᾶναι (X.) 'to be an enemy, hate' with ἔχθρασμα· ἔχθρα (H.); ἐχθρεύω 'to be an enemy' (LXX, Phld.).
•ETYM The relation of the words cited is not always clear. Clearly, ἐχθραίνω and ἐχθρεύω are late derivations of ἐχθρός; ἐχθαίρω is much older and also a

denominative of ἐχθρός (Schwyzer: 725). Also, ἀπ-εχθάνομαι could be related to ἐχθρός with interchange *-r/n-* (Benveniste 1935: 16), although it could just as well be a nasal enlargement of ἔχθομαι, ἀπ-εχθέσθαι (Schwyzer: 700, Chantraine 1942: 315f.). Acc. to Schwyzer: 725, ἔχθομαι is a back-formation from ἐχθαίρω, but it is better taken with ἔχθος, like σθένω to σθένος (Schwyzer: 723). More difficult is the interpretation of ἔχθος and ἐχθρός, for which we may compare αἶσχος: αἰσχρός, κῦδος: κυδρός. If we start from ἐχθρός and consider ἔχθος (together with ἔχθομαι, ἐχθίων, ἔχθιστος) to be an innovation, perhaps modelled on κυδρός, κυδίων, κύδιστος, τὸ κῦδος, we can connect ἐχθρός with Lat. *extrā* 'outside', *exterus* 'being outside', and so also with ἐχθός = ἐκτός 'outside'; ἐχθρός would then properly mean 'located outside, being in foreign territory, foreigner, enemy' (cf. Lat. *hostis*).

ἔχιδνα ⇒ἔχις.

ἐχῖνος [m.] 'hedgehog', also 'sea urchin', and metaph. as a technical term in several professions, e.g. 'vessel', especially 'vessel to keep juridical documents', 'the third stomach of ruminants', 'the rounded part of the Doric capital' (IA). ◁IE **h₁eǵʰi-* 'hedgehog'▷

•DIAL Myc. *e-ki-no* /Ekʰīnos/.

•COMP As a first member in ἐχινομήτρα 'the greatest kind of sea urchin, Echinus melo' (Arist.; cf. Strömberg 1944: 23).

•DER Diminutives: ἐχινίς 'vessel' (Hp.), -ίσκος 'id.', also 'hollow of the ear' (Poll.); ἐχίνιον plant-name (Dsc.); ἐχινέα, -ῆ 'skin of the hedgehog' (Hdn.), also a vessel (Delos III[a]); ἐχινέες [m.pl.] a kind of Libyan spinous mouse (Hdt.); Ἐχῖναι or -άδες [f.pl.] name of a group of islands in the Ionian Sea (B 635). ἐχινώδης 'rugged' (Arist., Str.).

•ETYM Probably derived from ἔχις 'snake' with suffixal -īvo- (i.e. *-iHno-*), so properly "snake-animal" = "snake-eater", as a taboo word for ▶χήρ. A suffix *-n-* is also found in Arm. *ozni* 'hedgehog' (IE **h₁oǵʰ-i(H)-n-*), with *o*-grade; beside it, we find Gm. words with *-l-*, e.g. OHG *igil* < PGm. **egīla-*, which could replace older **egīna-*. Balto-Slavic has a derivative in *-io-*, e.g. Lith. *ežỹs*, SCr.CS *ježь*, IE **h₁eǵʰ-io-*. The interpretation of Phr. εξις (= εζις?) remains uncertain.

ἔχις, -εως [m.] ([f.]) 'viper' (Att.). ◁IE **h₁eǵʰi-* 'snake'▷

•DER Diminutive ἐχίδιον (Arist.) and the plant name ἔχιον (Dsc.; because of the resemblance of the fruit to the head of a snake, Strömberg 1940: 54), ἐχίειον (Nic.); further ἐχιῆες [pl.] = ἔχεις (Nic. *Th.* 133, only a metrical variant?); ἐχῖτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin., after the color; cf. Redard 1949: 54). Fem. ἔχιδνᾰ 'viper' (IA, Hes. *Th.* 297), mostly considered to be a derivative in -ια- from *ἐχιδνός (Schwyzer: 475), together with ἐχιδν-αῖος and -ήεις (Hell.); but this is not very probable, as -δνα is a typical Pre-Greek suffix; ἔχιδνᾰ must have been a loan from Pre-Greek.

•ETYM If the interpretation of ▶ἐχῖνος is correct, ἔχις must contain a palatal *ǵʰ*. Similar words for 'snake', Skt. *áhi-* = Av. *aži-* and Arm. *iž*, should rather be connected with ὄφις (**h₃egʷʰi-*), since Av. and Arm. exclude a palatovelar.

ἐχυρός [adj.] 'strong, tenable, secure' (Th., X.). ◁IE **seǵʰ-* 'hold, have'▷

•COMP ἐν-έχυρον [n.] 'pledge, security' (IA), hypostasis of ἐν ἐχυρῷ; besides ἐνεχυράζω [v.] 'to take a pledge' with ἐνεχυρ-ασία, -ασμα, -αστής et al.; also ἐνεχυρόω [v.], -ωμα [n.].
•DER ἐχυρότης 'tenability, etc.' (Ph.), ἐχυρόω [v.] 'to fasten' (Phot., Suid.). ὀχυρός 'id.' (Hes., A., E.), ἀν-ώχυρος 'not fortified' (X. *Ages.* 6, 6, *SIG* 569, 7 [III^{a}]) with compositional lengthening, beside ὀχυρότης (Plb.), ὀχυρόω (X., Arist.) together with ὀχύρ-ωμα, -ωμάτιον, -ωσις, -ωτικός.
•ETYM Skt. *sáhuri-* 'victorious, strong' (RV) seems to be comparable; an old stem in *-u(s)-* is found in Gm., e.g. OHG *sigu* [m.] 'victory'. Beside the rebuilt *u*-stem in ὀχυ-, ἐχυ-ρ-ός, there is the neutral *s*-stem in Skt. *sáhas-* 'power, might, victory', Go. *sigis* 'victory', IE **sĕǵʰos-* (would be Gr. *ἔχος). The adverb ὄχ-α 'widely, by far' belongs here as well (cf. ταχύς : τάχα et al.; Schwyzer: 622f.). The interchange ὀχ- : ἐχ- may be due to old ablaut, but secondary influence of ἔχω is also possible. See ►ἔχω.

ἔχω 1 [v.] 'to possess, retain, have', aor. 'to conquer, take (into possession)', frequently also intr. 'to hold oneself', med. 'id.'. ◁IE **seǵʰ-* 'hold, have'▷
•VAR Also pres. ἴσχω, aor. σχεῖν, ἔσχον, fut. ἕξω, σχήσω (Il.), perf. act. ἔσχηκα (Pl. *Lg.* 765a), med. ἔσχημαι, aor. pass. ἐσχέθην (late).
•DIAL Myc. *e-ke* /^{h}ek^{h}ei/.
•COMP Very often with prefix in various mgs., e.g. ἀν-, ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, μετ-, προσ-, συν-. As a first member in e.g. ἐχέ-φρων, ἐχ-έγγυος, ►ἐχεπευκής, ►ἐκεχειρία; also ἰσχέ-θυρον et al. (Hell.); cf. Schwyzer: 441; as a second member e.g. in προσ-, συν-εχής with προσ-, συν-έχεια.
•DER With *e*-grade (= present-stem): ἔχμα 'obstacle, support, defence' (Il.) with ἐχμάζω (H., sch.; cf. ὀχμάζω below); Myc. *e-ka-ma*? ἕξις 'attitude, state, situation, etc.', often in derivatives of the prefixed compounds, e.g. πρόσ-, κάθ-εξις from προσ-, κατ-έχειν (IA); together with (προσ-, καθ-)►ἑκτικός; ἑξῆς s.v.; ἐχέ-τλη, -τλιον 'plough handle', cf. the explanations καὶ ἡ αὖλαξ, καὶ ἡ σπάθη τοῦ ἀρότρου 'furrow; the blade of a plough' and ἐχελεύειν· ἀροτριᾶν 'to plough' in H.; ἕκτωρ 'holder' (Lyc. 100; also Pl. *Cra.* 393a as an explanation of the PN [s.v.]; Sapph. 157 as an epithet of Zeus); ►ἐχυρός. From εὖ ἔχειν: εὐεξία 'good condition' (IA; opposite καχεξία from κακῶς ἔχειν) with εὐέκ-της, -τικός, -τέω, also -τία (Archyt.); retrograde formation εὔεξος· εὐφυής 'well-grown' (H.). From the reduplicated present (see below): ἰσχάς [f.] 'anchor' (S. *Fr.* 761, Luc. *Lex.* 15); lengthened forms ἰσχάνω, -νάω (Il.). From the zero grade (= aorist stem): σχέσις 'situation, character, relation, restraint' (IA), often in derivatives from prefixed compounds, e.g. ἀνά-, ἐπί-, ὑπό-, κατά-σχεσις from ἀνα-σχεῖν, -έσθαι, etc.; σχῆμα (cf. σχ-ήσω) 'attitude, form, appearance' (IA; Schwyzer: 523); secondarily σχέμα (H.), Lat. *schēma* [f.] (Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 206); besides σχηματίζω, with σχημάτ-ισις, -ισμός, etc.; verbal adjective ἄ-σχετος 'uncontainable, irresistable' (Il.); abstract formations like ἐπισχεσίη 'attitude, pretext' (φ 71), ὑποσχεσίη 'promise' (N 369, A. R.) also derive from virtual verbal adjectives, cf. Schwyzer: 469, Holt 1941: 86f.; here also belong *σχερός (see ►ἐπισχερώ), ►σχεδόν, ►σχέτλιος, ►σχολή, ►σκεθρός; further ►ἰσχῦς. From the *o*-grade: ὄχοι [m.pl.] 'keeper, container' (λιμένες νηῶν ὄχοι ε 404); ὀχός

'firm, certain' (Ph. Byz.), further in verbal adjectives to prefixed compounds like ἔξ-, κάτ-, μέτοχος (from ἐξ-έχειν, etc.); ὀχή [f.] 'holding, support' (Call., Lyc., Ath.); to the prefixed compounds συν-, μετ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-οχή, etc. (from συν-έχειν, etc.); ὀχεύς "holder", 'strap of a helmet, clasp, bolt of a door, etc.' (Il.; cf. ►ὀχεύω 'to mount', etc.); ὄχανον 'holder of a shield' (Anacr., Hdt.), also ὀχάνη (Plu.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 198); ὀχυρός, see ►ἐχυρός; ὄχμος 'fortress' (Lyc.), ὄχμα· πόρπημα 'garment fastened with a buckle-pin' (H.) with ὀχμάζω 'hold fast' (A., E.); adverb ὄχα 'widely, by far' (ὄχ' ἄριστος Il.), ἔξοχα 'in front of' (ἔ. πάντων Il.). Reduplicated formation: ►ἀνοκωχή, also (ἐν) συνεοχμῷ? With compositional lengthening ►εὐωχέω. See further ►συνοκωχότε (B 218).

•ETYM The present ἔχω, reduplicated ἴ-σχ-ω (< *ἴ-σχ-ω < *(σ)ί-σχ-ω), has an exact agreement in Skt. *sáhate* [pres.3sg.med.] 'overpower, conquer' < **ségʰ-e-*). The zero grade aorist and the other verbal forms are isolated, however (cf. LIV² s.v. **segʰ-* 'überwältigen, in den Griff bekommen'). In Greek, the word group underwent a strong development of meaning; cf. Porzig 1954a: 115f. Moreover, the neutral *s*-stem of Skt. *sáhas-* 'force, strength, victory', Av. *hazah-* 'id.', Go. *sigis* (cf. on ►ἐχυρός) is missing in Greek. The root is also represented in Celtic, e.g. in the Gaulish names Σεγο-δουνον, *Sego-vellauni*.

ἔχω 2 [v.] 'to transport'. ◂IE **ueǵʰ-* 'transport, drive'▸

•VAR Pamph. ϝεχετω, Cypr. aor. εϝεξε (also Pamph. ἰσ-ϝεξε̄?).

•DER From there ἔχεσφιν· ἅρμασιν 'with chariots' (H.), also ὄχος 'chariot, cart', ►ὄχλος, ►ὀχετός, ►ὀχέω.

•ETYM An old verb, represented in several IE languages, of which Greek preserves only traces. Several parallel forms exist: ϝεχέτω = Lat. *vehitō*; Skt. *váhati* = Av. *vazaiti* = Lat. *vehit* 'carries, rides' (IE **uéǵʰ-e-ti*), Lith. *vežù* = OCS *vezǫ* = Lat. *vehō*; Cypr. εϝεξε corresponds with the old *s*-aorists Lat. *vēxī*, OCS *vĕsъ*, Skt. *ávākṣam*. Some Gm. words are also connected, e.g. ON *vega* 'move, weigh', Go. *ga-wigan* 'move', etc.; less certain are ToB *wäsk-* 'stir' and Alb. *vjedh* 'to steal', as alternative derivations can be given. See ►ὄχος for further formal correspondences. LIV² follows Schlerath *SII* 20 (1996): 379-87 in assuming an original meaning 'float, be suspended', whence 'be carried (on a vehicle, boat, etc.)', which I find doubtful.

ἐψία [f.] 'joy, play' (S. *Fr.* 3, Nic. *Th.* 880). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Ion. -ίη. Also ἔψια (*EM* 406, 8), ἀψίαι· ἑορταί. Λάκωνες 'festivals (Lacon.)' (H.); ψιά (H.), ψιάδδειν = παίζειν (Ar.). Perhaps ψίνθος· τέρψις 'enjoyment' (H.).

•COMP As a second member in φιλ-έψιος (com.), ὁμ-έψιος (*AP*). Also ἔψεια· παίγνια 'playthings' (H.) [n.pl.], ἔψια (*EM*). Deverbal from ἐψιάομαι, -άσασθαι [v.] (also with ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-) 'to enjoy, play' (Od.).

•DER Without anlauting vowel: ψιάδδειν = παίζειν (Ar. *Lys.* 1302 [lyr.], H.), ψιά· χαρά, γελοίασμα, παίγνια 'joy, laughter, plaything', also (see DELG s.v. ψιάδδοντι): ψίης· μάκαρος, εὐδαίμων 'blissful, happy'; ψίεσσα· εὐδαίμων, μακαρία; ψίεντα· τὰ αὐτά 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like the "verbs of disease" in -ιάω (Schwyzer: 732). Note the variations: ἐ-, ἐ-, ά, the varying accentuation and ψιά (H.), ψιάδδειν. For these

reasons, the word must be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 139, 352, 376). Meier-Brügger *MSS* 50 (1989): 91-96 assumes a noun **seng^{wh}-ti-* 'singing', with *ἔψις from *ἔμψις, but one must wonder why *ἔμψις was not retained. This view does not explain the attested variations, and there is no reason to assume that the word primarily referred to music. Acc. to Dettori *Glotta* 74 (1996): 159-163, the gloss προσεψιά· προσαγόρευσις, καὶ ἡ πρός τινα ὁμιλία 'greeting, also a gathering with sbd.' (H.) belongs here as well. Dettori stresses the oxytone accent and the gloss ὁμιλία, so that the word does not belong to ἐν(ν)έπω. The word would belong to the informal language; Scheller 1951 assumes that the initial vowel was lost due to the final accent, but the variation would be better explained under the assumption that the word is Pre-Greek. The forms ψίεσσα, ψίεντα (with α beside ε) may be explained if we assume a palatalized cluster **ps^{y}-*.

ἕψω [v.] 'to boil, seethe' (IA). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aor. ἑψῆσαι, fut. ἑψήσω (IA), perf. ἥψηκα (Ph.); new presents ἑψέω, -ἀω.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀφ-, συν-.

•DER ἕψημα 'what has been boiled, meal, soup' (IA) with ἑψηματώδης (Dsc.), Hell. ἕψεμα (LXX; cf. Schwyzer 523), ἕψησις 'cooking' (IA); ἑψητήρ, -τήριον, -τής, -τικός (Hell.); ἑφθός 'boiled' (IA; with ἄπ-εφθος et al.), ἑψητός 'id.', also name of a fish (Ar., X.; cf. Strömberg 1943: 89), ἑψανός 'boiled, to be boiled' (Hp.), ἑψαλέος 'id.' (Nic.; after ὀπταλέος [Hom.] et al.); also ἑψέΐνα [n.pl.] of unclear mg. (*PLond.* 3, 1177, 217; II^{p}). From ἄπεφθος MoGr. ἀπόχτι (via ἀπόφθι(ον)) 'dried food' (Crete), 'salted meat' (Cyprus), see Hatzidakis *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 72f.; from ἑψανός MoGr. ψανός 'which is roasted', ψάνη 'wheat', see Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 380f.

•ETYM Cannot be separated from Arm. *ep'em* 'cook'. However, as Arm. *p'* can hardly represent IE **ps* (Pedersen *KZ* 39 (1906): 428), a pre-form IE **sep^{h}-* has been posited, which would have had an *s*-enlargement in Greek (Schwyzer: 706). Yet PIE did not have a phoneme **p^{h}*. This means that the word is from a substrate, probably Pre-Greek (cf. Fur.: 327, who compares δέφω / δέψω 'soften').

This Greco-Armenian isogloss ousted old ▶πέσσειν. Cf. Porzig 1954a: 156. Another expression for 'boil, seethe' is ▶ζέω.

ἕως 1 [f.] 'dawn, break of day' (Il.). ◁IE **h$_2$eus-ōs* 'dawn'▷

•VAR Acc. -ω; Ion. (also Hell.) ἠώς, -οῦς, Dor. ἀϝώς, ἀϝώρ, gen. ἀϝῶ, Aeol. αὔως.

•COMP As a first member in ἑωσ-φόρος, Dor. ἀωσ-φόρος 'bringer of dawn, morning star' (Ψ 226, Pi. *I.* 4 (3), 24); see Wackernagel 1916: 100ff., where Hom. ἑωσ-φόρος is considered to be an epic Atticism; see also Chantraine 1942: 72 and (with improbable hypothesis) Schwyzer: 440^{8}.

•DER ἑώϊος, ἑῷος, ἠοῖος, ἠῷος (see Wackernagel 1916: 106f.) 'of the morning, eastern' (Il.), ἕωλος 'belonging to dawn, a night long', of food, etc. (Att., etc.; on the pejorative suffix -λ- Chantraine 1933: 239); adverb ἕωθεν, epic ἠῶθεν, Dor. ἀῶθεν 'from the morning on, early in the morning' (Il.) with ἑωθινός 'of the morning' (Hdt., Hp.; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 104, Schwyzer: 490); Hom. ἠῶθι in ἠῶθι πρό 'early in the morning'; explanation uncertain, cf. Schwyzer: 628^{6}, Chantraine 1942: 246.

•ETYM Wackernagel 1955(2): 1151ff. thinks that the barytonesis in ἕως (as opposed to ἠώς) can be explained from frequent ἕωθεν, where it is regular (Schwyzer: 383). The initial aspiration would be due to metathesis, as in ►εὔω (Schwyzer: 219; however, acc. to Sommer 1905: 11f., it was taken from ἑσπέρα). PGr. **ἀυhώς < IE *$h_2$eusṓs is identical with Lat. *aurōr-a* (except for the added *-a*; cf. *flōs* : *Flōr-a*). With zero grade, we find Skt. *uṣás-* [f.] 'dawn'. A corresponding *r*-stem, IE *$h_2$eus-r-*, $h_2$us-r-, is seen in ►αὔριον, together with ἄγχ-αυρος 'near the morning' (A. R. 4, 111), in Lith. *aušr-à* 'dawn', Skt. *usr-á-* 'of the morning', *uṣar-búdh-* 'waking at dawn'. Of the other cognates, OCS *za ustra* 'at dawn', Gm., e.g. OHG *ōst(a)ra, -ūn* 'Easter' should be mentioned. A full grade *h_2u̯es-r-* with Schwebeablaut is found in e.g. Skt. *vasar-hā́* (RV 1, 122, 3) epithet of the wind, meaning uncertain, *vāsar-á-* 'of the morning', and in Celt., e.g. MIr. *fáir* 'sunrise', IE *h_2uōs-r-i-*. There is a verbal root in Indo-Iranian with *sḱ*-present: Skt. *uccháti* = Av. *usaiti* 'lights up (of the morning), appears', from IE *$h_2$us-sḱ-é-ti*, and a full-grade athematic root aorist *a-vas-ran*. LIV² s.v. *h_2u̯es-* '(morgens) hell werden' connects Lith. *aūšta, aūšti* 'to dawn, break (of day)'. Cf. ►ἠϊκανός.

ἕως 2 [pcl., prep.] 'until, as long as' (Il.); prep. with gen. (rarely acc.) 'till' (Hell.). ◅IE **ieh$_2$uot* 'as long as, until'▻

•VAR Epic ἧος (written εἵως, ἕως, see Chantraine 1942: 11, but also West *Glotta* 44 (1967): 135), Aeol. ἄος, Dor. ἄς, Hom. also demonstr. 'for some time'.

•ETYM From PGr. *ἄϝος and identical with the Skt. relative *yā́vat* 'as long as', except for the final consonant (adverbial -ς, which was added in Greek, but not always in Doric; see on ►ὡς 1). See ►τέως, ►ὅς 1.

Z

ζά- 'very', mostly strengthening in epic compounds like ▸ζαής, ζά-θεος 'very godlike', ζά-κοτος 'very angry', Ζά-λευκος PN. ◂GR▸

•ETYM Aeolic form of διά. Under unclear conditions, we find δα- for ζα-, but conversely we also find (with inverse spelling?) ζα- for expected δα-, like in ζά-πεδον for δά-πεδον, ζα-κόρος for *δα-κόρος, and probably also in ▸ζακρυόεις.

ζάγκλη [f.] 'sickle' (Nic. *Al.* 180). ◂?▸

•VAR ζάγκλον [n.] (Th. 6, 4, Call. *Aet. Oxy.* 2080, 73); δάγκλον· δρέπανον 'id.' (H.).

•DER ζάγκλιον = σκολιόν acc. to Str. 6, 2, 3. Ζάγκλη is also the name of a town in Sicily (later Μεσσήνη), after the sickle-like shape of its harbour (Th. 6, 4); Ζαγκλαῖοι 'inhabitants of the town' (Hdt.).

•ETYM A Sicilian word (Th. l.c.) without etymology. According to Niedermann (see WH and E-M s.v. *falx*), it is a Ligurian word, from which Lat. *falx* would be a loan as well (doubted by De Vaan 2008 s.v. *falx*).

ζάδηλος adjunct of λαῖφος 'garment, rug' (Alc. 18, 7), perhaps 'transparent'. ◂GR▸

•ETYM Probably = διά-δηλος, 'transparent' = 'perforated', as per Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 52, who pleads against connection with ▸δηλέομαι. See ▸δῆλος.

ζάει [v.] · βινεῖ. καὶ πνεῖ. Κύπριοι 'has intercourse, breathes (Cypr.)' (H.). ◂IE *$g^{w}eiH$- 'force'▸

•ETYM In its first meaning, explained from *$g^{w}i̯ā$-$i̯ei$ (Kretschmer *KZ* 31 (1892): 383), a denominative of *$g^{w}i̯ā$ (Skt. *jyā́*) beside βίᾱ < *$g^{w}ii̯ā$ 'force' (see ▸βινέω), but this requires a high age for the separation from βία. In the meaning πνεῖ, the gloss is supposed to stand for ζάη = *δι-ά(ϝ)η, from ἄ(ϝ)ημι with thematic inflection (litt. in Frisk).

ζᾱής [adj.] 'blowing strongly' (Il.). ◂IE *h_2ueh_1- 'blow'▸

•VAR Also acc. -ῆν (see Chantraine 1942: 209), gen. -οῦς (*AP* 9, 290).

•ETYM From *δι̯α-αής, with contraction of διά and the root of ▸ἄημι, or with compositional lengthening of the ᾱ after ▸δυσ-ᾱής.

ζακελτίς ⇒ζεκελτίς.

ζακόρος [m., f.] 'temple servant' (Att. inscr. V^{a}, Hyp., Men., etc.); ὑπο-ζακόρος [f.] 'subaltern temple-servant' (Hdt.), ἀρχι-ζακόρος 'higher temple-servant' (Laodiceia). ◂?▸

•VAR The accentuation is probably more correct than ζάκορος; see below.

•DIAL Myc. *da-ko-ro.*
•DER ζακορεύω, ὑπο- 'be a temple servant' (Delos, Thebes).
•ETYM Hieratic professional term. Semantically related and formally comparable is νεω-κόρος 'temple-guardian', which makes the analysis in ζα-κόρος very probable. Here, ζα- may stand for δα- (cf. on ►ζά), as in ζά-πεδον for δά-πεδον; then ζα-κόρος would properly mean "cleaner of the house" (related to ►κορέω; Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 453ff.)? This seems rather doubtful. In antiquity, the word was analyzed as *δια-κορος; cf. the prefix in διᾶ-κονος. The word must in any case be Aeolic; cf. Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 453ff.

ζακρυόεις [adj.] adjunct of θάνατος (Alc. *Supp.* 12, 8 = *LP* B 2a 8), probably replacing δακρυόεις 'with many tears' (influence of κρυόεις 'horrible'). ◄GR►
•ETYM See on ►ζά and Risch *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946): 253ff.

ζάλη [f.] 'whirlwind, whirlpool, downpour' (Pi., trag., Pl.). ◄?►
•VAR ζάλος 'whirlpool' (Nic. *Th.* 568).
•DER Denominative ptc. ζαλόωσα (χάλαζα, Nic. *Th.* 252). Here also ζάλακες· ἐχῖνοι 'sea urchin; a vessel' (H.)?
•ETYM Poetic word without etymology. Bq connected it with ►δίνη, etc.; this is formally difficult. In MoGr., it merged with σάλος; cf. Hatzidakis *IF* 36 (1916): 301.

ζάπεδον [n.] = δάπεδον (Xenoph., Paros). ◄GR► ⇒ζά and ζακόρος.

ζαχρηής [adj.] 'rushing violently, furious' (Il.); verse-initially always plur. ◄IE? *$g^{h}reh_{2}u$- 'oppress'►
•VAR Also written -χρει-. Verse-initial ζαχρηές (Nic. *Th.* 290), -ᾱής (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 6 *Fr.* 3, 1).
•ETYM From intensifying ζα- < δια- and a second member belonging to the aor. ἔχρᾰ(ϝ)ον 'to assault, oppress'. If -ηεῖς, -ηῶν are replaced by ζαχρᾰέες, -αέων (cf. ζαχράσεις· ἐξαπιναίους 'sudden' [H.] which may stand for -αέας), immediate connection with the zero grade aorist may be obtained. Otherwise, it is necessary to assume a full grade noun *χρῆϝος (*χρᾱϝος) or a full grade verbal form. See Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Chantraine 1942: 41.

ζάψ [f.] 'surf' (Hell. poetry). ◄PG?►
•ETYM Expressive word. The supposed contamination of ζάλη and λαῖλαψ is an improbable guess. Cf. Fur.: 176: Pre-Greek?

***ζάω** ⇒ζώω.

ζειαί [f.pl.] 'one-seeded wheat, spelt, Triticum monococcum' (Od., Hdt.), Hell. and late also sing. ζειά (Thphr.), ζεά (ζέα), -η (pap. III^{a}, D. H.; Dsc. and Gal. as a v.l.). ◄IE *$ieuh_{1}$- 'wheat, spelt'►
•COMP As a first member in ζεί-δωρος 'giving spelt (wheat)' (Il.; of ἄρουρα), ζεό-πυρον n. 'kind of Triticum' (Gal.); as 2. member in φυσί-ζοος 'producing wheat' (Hom., Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 67; of αἶα), Οἰσε-ζέα PN (Lesb.). Both as a first and a second member ζει-, -ζοος were early (Emp., A.) associated with ζῆν, ζωή and understood as 'lifegiving'.

•DER ζῆνος = ζέϊνος 'of spelt' (pap. II^{a})?

•ETYM Related to Skt. *yáva-*, Av. *yauua-* [m.] 'wheat, etc.', Lith. plur. *javaĩ* 'wheat', sing. *jāvas*. If the diphthong in ζειαί is real, we have to start from PGr. *ζεϝ-i̯ᾰ́, so a ιᾰ́-derivative of IE **ieuo-* found in Skt. *yáva-*, etc. The monophthongal forms would be secondary. However, if ζειαι has metrical lengthening for ζε(ϝ)αί (and if the epic orthography was retained in this word, which was rare and probably exclusively literary), then the Greek word agrees with the Indo-Iranian and Lithuanian forms. The second member -ζο(ϝ)ος (with regular *o*-grade of the root) contradicts a i̯ᾰ́-derivative. The first member ζει- may stand for ζε(ϝ)ε- (from **i̯eu̯h$_1$-*). See Bechtel 1914 s.v. ζείδωρος and Chantraine 1942: 31. Cf. also Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 404; DELG s.v. is unclear. Cf. ►δηαί.

ζειγάρη [f.] · ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδήταις 'cicala (Sid.)' (H.). ◄PG?, LW►

•ETYM Pamphylian? See Gil Fernández 1959: 126. Onomatopoeic, acc. to Brandenstein *Kratylos* 6 (1961): 169f. Not related to *cicāda* (Dressler *Arch. Orbis* 33 (1965): 185) as a Mediterranean word. Neumann 1961: 42 connects it with ►σιγαλφοί. Cf. Fur. index.

ζειρά [f.] 'long robe kept by a belt', worn by Arabs and Thracians' (Hdt. 7, 69, 75). ◄LW►

•DER Cf. ζειροφόρος (Antim. 98, Wyss).

•ETYM Probably a loan. Latte refers to ζτεραῖον [sic] λῶπος in an Arcadian inscription, *SEG* 11, 1112.

ζειρατίς [m./f.] · ἱμάτιόν τι Σύριων 'Syrian garment' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

ζεκελτίδες [m./f.] Aeol. for γογγυλίδες 'turnips' or κολοκύνται 'gourds' (Nic., *apud* Ath. 369 a). ◄PG►

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. ζακελτίδες = ζεκελτίδες (Amerias and Timachidas *apud* Ath. 9, 369 a), ζακελτίδες κολοκύνται, ἢ γογγυλίδες (H.) and ζακυνθίδες· κολοκύνται (H.). Fur.: 256 compares θικέλιον· τὴν γογγυλίδα. Λάκωνες (H.), and believes the word is Pre-Greek. Is ζε- from **d^{y}a-* (with influence of the palatal on the vocalism)?

ζεύγνυμι [v.] 'to bring under the yoke, harness; to join, unite' (Il.). ◄IE **ieug-* 'yoke, connect'►

•VAR Also them. -ύω; aor. ζεῦξαι, pass. ζυγῆναι, ζευχθῆναι, fut. ζεύξω, perf. pass. ἔζευγμαι (Il.), perf. act. ἔζευχα (Philostr.).

•COMP Often with prefix, like ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, συ-, ὑπο- et al.

•DER 1. ζεῦξις 'yoking, bridging' (Hdt.), often with prefix, e.g. σύ-, διά-, ἐπί-ζευξις (IA). 2. ὑπο-, ἀνα-, παρα-, ἀπο-ζυγή, etc. (since V^{a}), as a simplex only pap. (IV-VI^{p}) meaning 'pair'. 3. ζεῦγμα 'what is used for joining, bridge of boats, canal lock, etc.' (Th., E., Plb.) with ζευγματικόν 'payment for passing through a canal-lock with a ship' (pap.). 4. ζεύγλη part of the yoke ('yoke-cushion, collar', cf. Delebecque 1951: 60 and 179), etc. (Il.; see below). 5. ►ζεῦγος, s.v. 6. ►ζυγόν, s.v. 7. -ζυξ, see ►ζυγόν. 8. ζευκτήριος 'fit for yoking, connecting', ntr. 'yoke' (A.), ζευκτηρίαι [pl.] 'ropes for strapping up a rudder' (*Act. Ap.* 27, 40); later 9. ζευκτήρ 'connector' (J.), fem. -ειρα

(Orph.); cf. Chantraine 1933: 45, 62f. and below. 10. (δια-, etc.) ζευκτικός (Hell.). 11. ζευκτός (Str., Plu.; see below).

•ETYM Beside the athematic νυ-present ζεύγνυμι (with full grade, for which cf. ►δείκνυμι), the other languages have forms with nasal infix, e.g. Skt. *yunák-ti* 'yokes, connects' (athem.), Lat. *iungō* (them.), Lith. *jung-iŭ* (yod-present) 'id.', or forms without nasal, like Av. *yaog-əṭ* [3sg.pret.] (athem.), *yuj-yeite* [3sg.pres.] (zero grade yod-present). Most other Greek forms also show a full grade: the future and the σ-aorist, in addition to the late agent noun ζευκτήρ (cf. Skt. *yoktár-*), the τι-derivative ζεῦξις, and the late verbal adj. ζευκτός (as against Skt. *(prá-)yukti-*, *yuktá-*). The only exceptions are the pass. aorist ἐζύγην and the nouns in -ζυγη. The λ-derivative ζεύγ-λη is unconnected with Lat. *iugulum* 'throat' and Skt. *yŭgalam* 'pair'.

ζεῦγος [n.] 'yoke, team, pair' (Il.). ◅IE **ieug-* 'yoke, unite'▻

•DIAL Myc. *ze-u-ke-u-si* [dat.pl.] 'men who look after the span'.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ζευγο-τρόφος 'who keeps a pair' (Att. inscr. IV^{a}, etc.), ζευγ-ηλάτης 'driver of a span' (S., X.).

•DER ζευγίτης, fem. -τις 'owner of a span', name of one of the Solonic classes (Arist.), also 'walking in a span', etc. (Hell.); thence ζευγίσιον 'tax of the ζευγῖται' (Arist.). ζευγίον 'door panel' (Hell. inscr.); ζευγίς [f.] 'knot' (pap.). Denominative verb ζευγίζω 'yoke together, unite' (LXX, pap.).

•ETYM The plur. ζεύγεα, -γη is formally identical with Lat. *iūgera*, *-um* (secondary sing. *iūgerum*) and MHG *jiuch* 'a land measure'. For the meaning, cf. MoHG *Joch*, *Juchert* as a measure of land; properly 'the amount of land a span can plough in one day'. Beside the *s*-stem IE **iéug-os-* (whence also OLat. plur. *iouxmenta* > *iūmenta*, sing. *-um* 'span'), there is also an *l*-stem in ζεύγ-λη (see ►ζεύγνυμι); cf. on ►ἔταλον for the change of suffix. See further ►ζυγόν.

Ζεύς [m.] Zeus (Il.). ◅IE **dieu-* 'heaven'▻

•VAR Boeot. Lac., etc. Δεύς, voc. Ζεῦ, gen. Δι(ϝ)ός, dat. (loc.) Δι(ϝ)ί, dat. also Διϝεί (e.g. Διϝεί-φιλος), Myc. *di-we*, acc. Ζῆν, since Hom. also Δί-α and Ζῆν-α (whence Ζην-ός, -ί); nom. Ζήν (A. *Supp.* 162 [lyr.]; or perhaps voc.), Ζάν (Pythag., Ar.), Ζάς (Pherec. Syr.), gen. Ζανός (inscr. Chios IV^{a} [?] etc.); note Δᾶν (Theocr. 4, 17); more forms in Schwyzer: 576f., Leumann 1950: 288ff.

•DIAL Myc. dat. *di-we* /diwei/.

•COMP As a first member in univerbations: with gen. Διόσ-κουροι, also Διεσ-κουρίδου (Priene etc.), with dat. Διϝεί-φιλος, with various stem forms e.g. in διο-γενής; also Ζηνό-δοτος (for Διόσ-δοτος), etc. As a second member in ►ἔνδιος, ►εὐδία, etc., see also ►αὐτόδιον.

•DER See on ►δῖος.

•ETYM The old Indo-European word for 'heaven' and name of the god of heaven and of daylight, preserved especially in Anatolian, Indo-Aryan, Greek and Italic: Ζεύς = Skt. *dyáuḥ* '(god of) heaven, day', Lat. *Iovis*, from IE **diēus*. Also related is Hitt. *šiu-*, *šiuna-* 'god' (on which see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), with cognates Pal. *tiuna-* 'god', Lyd. *ciw-* 'id.'.

Other old correspondences are Ζεῦ πάτερ = Lat. *Iūpiter*, Ζῆν = Skt. *dyā́m*, Lat. *diem* (whence a new nom. *diēs*, *Diēspiter*). The other oblique cases Διϝ-ός, -εί, -ί, and Δία agree with Skt. *diváḥ*, *divé*, *diví*, *dívam*, of which Δία and *dívam* are parallel innovations.

Recent formations in Greek are Ζῆνα (after Δία), whence Ζηνός, -ί, which continues the old acc. **diē(u)m* with early loss of the **u*, which is also seen in Skt. *Dyā́m*. The α in Ζάς, Ζάν, Ζανός spread from Elean Olympia, where η became ᾱ, see Leumann 1950: 288ff. (following Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 197).

It is has been assumed that IE **dieu-* is an agent noun of the verb seen in Skt. *dī́deti* 'shine', Gr. ►δέατο 'shone'. However, this is doubtful as the verb was **deih₂-*, with final laryngeal, which is absent from **dieu-*. Beside **dieu-*, there is an old appellative for 'god' in Skt. *devá-*, Lat. *deus*, Lith. *diẽvas*, etc., all from thematic IE **deiuo-*, which probably meant 'the heavenly one', as a derivative from the noun for 'heaven'. It is probable that this thematization started from an older nominative **dei-u-* (see Beekes 1985: 85); we are dealing with an original hysterodynamic *u*-stem. After separating the suffix, it is possible to compare IE **di-n-* 'day' as well, as found e.g. in Proto-BSl. **d(e)in-* 'day', Lat. *nūn-dinae* 'market-day', Skt. *madhyáṃ-dinaṃ* 'mid-day', etc.

ζέφυρος [m.] 'west wind', also personified (Il.). ◄IE? **h₃ieb^h-* 'futuere'►

•DIAL Myc. *ze-pu₂-ro*; uncertain is the interpretation of *ze-pu₂-ra₃* (see Aura Jorro).

•COMP As a second member in Ἐπιζεφύριοι Λοκροί name of the western (Italic) Locrians (Hdt.), also ἐπι-ζέφυρος 'lying towards the west, western' (Hell.); both hypostases from ἐπὶ ζέφυρον; φιλο-ζέφυρος 'loving the west wind' (*AP*).

•DER ζεφύριος 'belonging to the west wind' (Od., Arist.); with the same meaning ζεφυρ-ικός (Arist., Thphr.), -ήϊος, fem. -ηΐς (Nonn.), -ίτης, -ῖτις, also epithet of Aphrodite as the goddess of cape Ζεφύριον ἄκρον in Lower Egypt (Call.); patronymic Ζεφυρίδης (Thasos; Bechtel 1921(3): 140).

•ETYM Perhaps, as per Buttmann 1925: 114[4], related to ζόφος 'dark, west', which DELG calls 'certain'; see ►ζόφος. Likewise, Risch *Mus. Helv.* 25 (1968): 205-213, with a suggestion for the formation. Peters 1980a: 96f. counters that Schwebeablaut **h₃eib^h-* beside **h₃ieb^h-* has no motivation, but Cheung 2007 now suggests a reduplicated present **h₃e-h₃ib^h-*. However, a development **Hi̯-* > ζ- is unlikely, as most evidence rather points to the contrary (note ►ὑγιής < **h₂iu-g^wih₃-*). The root **h₃ieb^h-* is found in Skt. *yábhati* 'copulate', Ru. *jebú* 'id.', ToB *yäp-* 'enter', etc. Alternatively, is the word Pre-Greek, with PG **a* turning up as ε after the palatal **d'*?

ζέω [v.] 'to boil, seethe' (mostly intrans., see Brunel 1939: 198f.). ◄IE **ies-* 'boil, foam'►

•VAR Aor. ζέ(σ)σαι (Il.), late forms ζέννυμι (to ζέσαι after σβέσαι : σβέννυμι et al.), ἔζεσμαι, ἐζέσθην.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-.

•DER (ἀνά-, ἔκ-, ὑπέρ-)ζέσις 'seething, boiling' (Pl., Arist.); (ἐπί-, ἀπό-)ζέμα 'boiling, decoction' (LXX, medic.), also ἀπό-ζεσμα 'id.' (*PHolm.*); ἔκ-ζε(σ)μα 'eczema' (medic.); ἀνά-ζεσμος 'boiling up' (Aët.); verbal adj. (ἔκ-, ὑπέρ-)ζεστός 'boiled, seething, hot' (Arist., Str.) with ζεστότης 'heat' (Paus.). With ablaut, but nevertheless

probably late: ζόη· τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ μέλιτος H., according to Eust. 906, 52 'foam on the milk'.

•ETYM The thematic root present ζέω, from PIE *$i̯es$-oH (cf. ζεσ-τός, ζέσ-μα), is identical with Skt. *yasati* (gramm.) 'seethe, boil' and Gm. verbs like OHG *jesan* 'ferment, foam'. In Skt., a yod-present *yás-ya-ti* and a reduplicated *yéṣati* < *$i̯a$-$i̯s$- are found; Av. *yaēš-iia-* (in *yaēšiiantīm* [ptc. acc.sg.f.]) 'boil' seems to be a mix of these formations. The verb is also found in ToA *yäs-* 'boil', 3sg.pres. *ysäṣ*, ToB *yayāsau* [ptc.pret.]; further, in Alb. *ziej* < IE *ies-eie/o-), according to Mann *Lang.* 28 (1952): 38. Celtic has nominal formations, e.g. Gallo-Rom. *$i̯estā$ 'foam', MW *ias* 'boil, foam'.

ζῆλος [m.] 'zeal, emulation, jealousy' (Hes. *Op.* 195). ◂IE? *ieh_2- 'pursue, avenge'▸

•VAR Dor. ζᾶλος (late also ntr.; cf. ὄνειδος, μῖσος et al.; see Schwyzer: 521, Schwyzer 1950: 38).

•COMP As a first member in ζηλό-τυπος 'formed by zeal, jealous' with -τυπέω, -τυπία (Att.); often as a second member, e.g. ἀ-, κακό-ζηλος, Dor. Πολύ-ζαλος PN.

•DER ζηλήμων 'jealous' (ε 118, Call., Opp.; after the adj. in -ήμων, see Chantraine 1933: 173), together with ζηλημοσύνη (Q. S.); ζηλαῖος 'id.' (*AP*); ζηλοσύνη = ζῆλος (*h. Ap.* 100; cf. Porzig 1942: 227); ζήλη [f.] 'female rival' (X. Eph. 2, 112, Aristaenet. 1, 25 codd.). Denominative verbs: 1. ζηλόω 'vie with, emulate; admire, praise' (IA since Hes. *Op.* 23) with ζήλωσις 'emulation, zealous pursuit, jealousy' (Th.), ζήλωμα 'emulation, object of ambition' (E., D.), ζηλωτής 'emulator, zealous admirer', "zealot" (Att., Hell.), -ωτικός 'emulating' (Arist.); 2. ζᾱλέω 'be zealous for' (Delphi I^a); 3. ζηλεύω = ζηλόω (Democr. 55 [v.l.], Simp. *in Epict.* [VI^p]), -ευτής (Eust.).

•ETYM Belongs to ▸ζητέω, ▸δίζημαι, etc.; see ▸Ζητήρ for an etymology.

ζημία [f.] 'loss, damage, penalty' (IA). ◂?▸

•DIAL Dor. ζᾱμία.

•COMP As a second member in ἀ-, ἐπι-ζήμιος (-ᾱ-) et al.

•DER ζημιώδης 'damaging' (Pl., X.) and the denominative ζημιόω 'damage, punish' (IA) together with ζημίωμα 'penalty, fine, loss' (Pl., X.), -ωσις 'punishment' (Arist.), -ωτής 'executioner' (Eust., Sch.), -ωτικός 'subject to a ζ.' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM Sommer 1905: 157f. analyzed it as ζη-μία and connected it with ▸ζῆλος, ▸ζητέω, ▸δίζημαι; for the semantics 'zeal', 'fine', cf. OE *anda* 'zeal' with OHG *antōn* 'punish'. Connection with Skt. *dīná-*, Gr. ▸δειλός from IE *$deiH$- (Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 281f.) is quite uncertain. See also ▸Ζητήρ.

ζῆτα [n.] the sixth letter of the Greek alphabet (Pl.). ◂LW Sem.▸

•ETYM From Semitic, cf. Hebr. *zajit*, Aram. *zētā* (Lewy 1895: 169f.; see Schwyzer: 140^4). The idea that ζῆτα continues Hebr. *zajin* and was subsequently reshaped after βῆτα, ἦτα, θῆτα is unnecessary.

ζητέω [v.] 'to search, research, inquire, investigate' (Ξ 258). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. ζητῆσαι, ζητηθῆναι (IA), perf. ἐζήτηκα (Din.); Dor. ptc. ζάτεισα (Theoc. 1, 85).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συ-ζητέω.

•DER Also ζητεύω (Hes., *h. Hom.*), ζατεύω (Alcm.). Derivatives: (άνα-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συ-)ζήτησις 'search, query, inquiry, consideration' (IA) with ζητήσιμος (X.); (ἐπι)ζήτημα '(object of) inquiry' (IA) together with ζητημάτιον (Arr., Lib.), ζητηματικός (sch.); (ἐκ-, συ-)ζητητής 'researcher', in plur. the name of a juridical official in Athens (Att.), together with (ἐπι-, συ-)ζητητικός 'leaning towards inquiry' (Att.). Cf. further ►Ζητήρ.

•ETYM Formation like αἰτέω, δατέομαι, ἀρτάω, etc. (Schwyzer: 705f.), thus derived from a nominal form in *-to-*; cf. especially Arc. ζατός (*IG* 5(2), 4: 22). The primary verb is found in reduplicated ►δίζημαι, and the root left traces in ►ζῆλος, ►ζημία. For the etymology (from the IE root **ieh₂-*, as established by García Ramón, in: Isebaert 1993: 71-84), see ►Ζητήρ.

Ζητήρ [m.] · Ζεύ<ς> ἐν Κύπρῳ (H.). ◄IE **ieh₂-* 'search, inquire'►

•VAR Ζατήρ; further ζήτωρ in ζητόρων· ζητούντων. γράφουσι δὲ ἔνιοι ζητητόρων (H., Phot.); ζητρόν· τὸν δημόκοινον 'executioner' (H.) with ζατρεύω· ἐν μυλῶνι βασανίζω 'to labor in a treadmill' *EM* 408, 12 and ζητρεῖον· τὸ τῶν δούλων κολαστήριον 'instrument for correcting slaves' (H., Phot., com., Herod.; ζήτρειον acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 372, 7; 515, 24); details in Fraenkel 1910: 144f.

•ETYM The gloss is interpreted admirably by García Ramón 1999c: 77-96, who shows that ζητήρ means 'avenger', just like Ved. *yātár-* (I 32, 14ab). The latter is derived from *yā-* 2 'to ask, pray, require, desire'. This meaning agrees well with that of ζητέω, and further ζῆλος and ζημία 'punishment'. The PIE root was **ieh₂-*. See ►δίζημαι, ►ζῆλος, ►ζημία, ►ζητέω.

ζιγγίβερι [n.] 'Arabian spice-plant, ginger' (Dsc., Gal.). ◄LW Ind.►

•VAR Also -ις [m., f.] (*Edict. Diocl.*).

•ETYM From MInd. (Pāli) *siṅgivera-* 'id.', Skt. *śṛṅgavera-* [n.], in turn from Tamil; see Turner 1966 n°. 12588. From Lat. *zingiberi* came French *gingembre*, whence MoE *ginger*.

ζίγγος [noun] · ὁ τῶν μελισσῶν ἦχος, ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων 'the sound of bees, or of like animals' (H.). ◄ONOM►

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; see Schwyzer: 331. It is probable that ζιγγόω 'to drink' (Nicostr. Com. 38; Cilician) belongs here as well. D'Arcy W. Thompson *Class. Quart.* 40 (1946): 44 reads μυιῶν for ὁμοίων, and refers to Lat. *zinzala* 'gnat'.

ζιγνίς, -ίδος [f.] a kind of lizard (Arist. *HA* 604b 24). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR v.ll. ζίγνης, ζιγνύς, διγνύς; δειμνύς may be a simple mistake; see below.

•ETYM Unknown. The variants with -υς, -ης may be unimportant, but the form with δ- may be a (real, spoken) simplification of original **dʱign-*. Clearly a Pre-Greek word. Is δειμνύς a mistake for *διμνυς or διγνυς?

ζιζάνιον [n.] 'darnel, Lolium temulentum' (*Ev. Matt.* 13, 25, *Gp.*, *EM*). ◄LW Orient. (Sum.)►

•ETYM A loanword; cf. Lewy 1895: 52. Strömberg 1944: 43f. recalls the plant name ζάνη (Σαρδιανή; *Hippiatr.*) and ἀμαζανίδες· αἱ μηλέαι 'apple trees' (H.). DELG states

that the word entered Greek from the Jews and Christians, and thus ultimately goes back to Sum. *zizān* 'wheat' (as the plant resembles wheat).

ζίζυφον [n.] 'a tree of which the fruit is the jujube, Rhamnus jujuba' (Colum., *Edict. Diocl., Gp.*). ◁LW Orient.▷
•ETYM Of unknown origin. MoFr. *jujube* (from MLat. *jujuba*) derives from Greek, as well as perhaps Syr. *zūzfā*; see Sommer 1905: 154, WH s.v. *jujuba*. I see no reason for Szemerényi's suggestion (from Durante *AION-L* 8 (1968): 25f) of original *ζυζυφον. Acc. to Barnhart 1988, it is from MoP *zayzafūn*. It could be Pre-Greek (cf. σέσυφος, Σίσυφος).

ζόρξ ⇒ δορκάς.

ζόφος [m.] 'darkness, west' (Il.). ◁?▷
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ζοφο-ειδής 'dark-colored' (Hp.).
•DER ζοφερός 'dark' (Hes., Hp., Arist.), ζοφώδης 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), also ζόφιος (*AP*), ζόφεος (v.l. Nic. *Al.* 501). Denominative verb ζοφόομαι, -όω 'to get, make dark' (*AP*, Hld.) with ζόφωσις (sch.). Cf ▸ζέφυρος; cf. γνόφος, ▸δνόφος, etc.
•ETYM Improbable hypotheses from Vendryes *REGr.* 23 (1910): 74 and Petersen *AmJPh.* 56: 59. There is no IE etymology. It is often connected (DELG) with ζέφυρος, which seems possible but is not certain; δνόφος has also been compared.

ζυγόν [n.] 'yoke' (Il.), also metaph., e.g. of a crossbeam, of the rowing benches connecting the two ship sides, of the tongue of a balance, of a pair, of a row or a rank of soldiers (oppos. στοῖχος), as a land measure. In western Eurasia, from antiquity until quite recently, a single pole was used with a crossbeam at the end, i.e. the yoke, which originally "joined" two draught animals. The oldest use of yokes was for "paired draught" of oxen. ◁IE **ieug-* 'connect'▷
•VAR Hell. mostly -ός [m.], rarely earlier, see Schwyzer 1950: 37.
•COMP Often in compounds, e.g. πολύ-ζυγος 'with many rowing benches', ζυγό-δεσμον 'yoke-strap' (Il.), also ζυγη-φόρος 'carrying a yoke' (A., metrical beside ζυγο-φόρος; Schwyzer: 439[1]).
•DER Several derivatives: 1. ζύγιον 'rowing bench' (Hell.). 2. ζυγίσκον (*IG* 2², 1549: 9 [Eleusis approx. 300[a]], meaning unclear). 3. ζύγαινα the hammer-headed shark (Epich., Arist.; after the shape of the skull, Strömberg 1943: 35). 4. ζυγίς 'thyme' (Dsc.; naming motive unknown, Strömberg 1940: 56). 5. ζούγωνερ (= **ζύγωνες*)· βόες ἐργάται. Λάκωνες 'working oxes (Lacon.)' (H.). 6. ζυγίτης name of a rower (sch.), fem. ζυγῖτις Hera as goddess of marriage (Nicom. *apud* Phot.). 7. ζυγία 'maple' (Thphr.) properly "yoke-wood" (see Strömberg 1937: 114), because the hard maple was mainly used to make yokes (even in southern Italy to our day), see the refs. in Frisk; different Strömberg 1940: 56 (after the fruits attached in pairs). 8. ζύγαστρον 'wooden cist, chest' s.v. ▸σίγιστρον. Adjectives: 9. ζύγιος 'of the yoke, etc.' (Att., etc.; also as a nautical expression, Morrison *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 128ff.). 10. ζύγιμος 'id.' (Plb.). 11. ζυγικός 'of the tongue of a balance' (Nicom. *Harm.*). Adverbs: ζυγ-άδην (Ph.), ζυγ-ηδόν (Hld.) 'pairwise'. Denominative verbs: 1. ζυγόω 'to yoke, connect (by a crossbeam); to shut, hold the balance' (A., Hell.) with ζύγωμα 'bar, crossbeam'

(Plb.), ζύγωσις 'balancing' (Hell.), *ζύγωθρον in the denominative aor. ipv. ζυγώθρισον (Ar. *Nu.* 745; meaning uncertain, 'weigh' or 'shut'?). 2. ζυγέω 'to form a row or rank' (Plb.). Beside ζυγόν, as a second member, the root noun -ζυξ, e.g. ἄ-ζυξ 'unconnected, unmarried', ὁμό-, σύ-ζυξ 'yoked together, connected' (also ἄ-, ὁμό-, σύ-ζυγος), see Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 231f.

•ETYM Old name of a device, retained in most IE languages, e.g. Hitt. *iugan*, Skt. *yugám*, Lat. *iugum*, Germ., e.g. Go. *juk*, IE **iugóm*; more forms in Pok. 509f. and WH and E-M s.v. *iugum*. The root noun -ζυξ also in Lat. *con-iux* 'spouse', Skt. *a-yúj-* 'not forming a pair, uneven' (formally = ἄ-ζυξ except for the accent), *sa-yúj-* 'connected, companion', etc. Cf. ►ζεύγνυμι and ►ζεῦγος. Rix 1976: 60, 70 suggests *Hi̯-*, but more likely seems plain **i̯-* on account of the reflex of **Hi̯-* in ►ὑγιής.

ζῦθος [m., n.] 'Egyptian or northern [LSJ] beer' (Thphr., Str.; the Egyptians did not know wine acc. to Hdt. 2, 77, A. *Supp.* 952f., but this is wrong, see Masson *RPh.* 88 (1962): 50). ◅LW? Egypt.▻

•VAR Pap. almost only ζῦτος (-ύ-; see LSJ); the υ is long in verse, LSJ.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ζυτο-ποιός, -έω, -ία 'beer-brewer, brew, brewing' (pap.).

•DER ζύθιον· ἀλφίτου πόσις 'drink from barley' (H.), ζυτᾶς 'brewer', ζυτηρά 'beer-tax', ζυτικός, ntr. -όν 'id.' (pap.).

•ETYM The meaning suggests Egyptian origin (Sommer 1905: 153, Peruzzi *Humanitas* 1 (1947): 138f., Nencioni *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 16 (1939): 21²). The comparison with ζύμη might point to IE origin (Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 143). The variation θ/τ seems to point to Pre-Greek, but there is no confirmation. A Greek suffix -θος is doubtful; cf. Chantraine 1933: 365-8. Henning (Henning *BSOAS* 11 (1943-1946): 720 and Henning *BSOAS* 28 (1965): 245) thinks that the word was taken from Scythian; cf. Sogd. *zwtk* (read: *zute*) 'alcoholic drink, beer', as in the case of ►ἀκινάκης.

ζύμη [f.] 'leaven, beer-yeast' (Arist.). ◅IE **iuHs-* 'mix, bring in movement' ?▻

•COMP Compounds like ζυμ-ουργός 'who prepares leaven' (pap.), ἄ-ζυμος 'unleavened' (Pl., Hp.).

•DER ζυμίτης (ἄρτος) 'leavened bread' (Cratin. 99 [?], Hp., X.); ζυμώδης 'like leaven' (Arist.). Denominative verbs: 1. ζυμόομαι, -όω 'to be leavened; ferment' (Hp., Plu.) with ζύμωσις 'fermentation' (Pl. *Ti.* 66b usw.), ζύμωμα 'fermented mass' (Pl. *Ti.* 74b, Nic.); ζυμ-ωτός 'fermented', -ωτικός 'inducing fermentation' (Diocl. Med.). 2. ζυμίζω 'be like leaven' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Like ἅλ-μη 'salt water' et al. (Chantraine 1933: 148), ζύμη may be derived from a noun: an IE word for 'fermentation, soup', Skt. *yū́ṣ-*, Lat. *iūs* [n.]. Thus, Greek would continue QIE **iuHs-mehₓ* (on the phonetics, see Schwyzer: 333). Other derivatives (or reshapings) of this *s*-stem are Skt. *yūṣ-án-*, *yūṣ-á-* 'id.', Lith. *jū́š-ė* 'fish soup, bad soup', SCr. *júha* 'soup', Finn. *juusto*, ON *ostr* 'cheese' (PGm. **jus-ta-*), etc. At the basis is probably a verb with the meaning 'mix', Skt. *yáuti*, Lith. *jáuju*, *jáuti* (*jaũti*). See also ►ζωμός.

ζωάγρια [n.pl.] 'ransom for a living person' (Il.). ◅GR▻

•DER ζωάγριος 'pertaining to a ransom' (Babr.).

•ETYM Formed like ἀνδρ-άγρια 'what is taken upon the capture of a man, exuviae' (Ξ 509), μοιχ-άγρια 'fine for a caught adulterer' (θ 332), et al.; see Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 47. Univerbation from ζωὸν ἀγρεῖν with the suffix -ιο-. Thence also the verb ζωγρέω 'take somebody prisoner, grant a prisoner his life', in Hom. (Il.) only pres. ζώγρει, -εῖτε, aor. ἐζώγρησα, -ήθην (IA; Hom. has ζωοὺς ἕλον, ζωὸν ἕλε). From ζωγρέω: 1. ζωγρία, -ίη 'take sbd. prisoner alive' (Hdt., Plb., Str.) with ζωγρίᾱς [m.] 'who was taken prisoner alive' (Ctes.); 2. ζωγρεῖον 'cage, especially for fishes' (Aq., Str., Plu.). Here also ζάγρη 'pit to catch animals'? See ►Ζαγρεύς. Cf. Chantraine 1956a: 51 and Janni *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 4 (1967): 3, 20.

ζωμός [m.] 'sauce, soup' (Asios, Ar., Arist.). ◄?►

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. εὔ-ζωμον [n.] 'Eruca sativa' (Thphr.; properly 'making good sauce'; cf. Strömberg 1940: 107).

•DER Diminutives ζωμίον (pap. II^{a}), -ίδιον (Ar.), -άριον (med.); ζωμίλη· ἄνηθον 'dill' (H., Phot.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 249). Denominative verb ζωμεύω 'boil into soup' (Ar., Hp.) with ζωμεύματα [pl.] 'soups' (Ar. *Eq.* 279; cf. Chantraine 1933: 188).

•ETYM Generally connected with ζύμη, but ablaut *ō(u)* : *ū* (Schwyzer 346) is improbable. On the suffix -μο-, see Schwyzer: 492 and Chantraine 1933: 132ff. Differently, Bréal *MSL* 12 (1903): 314f. (to ζέω). See discussion on ►ζύμη. Connection with ζέω presupposes that **ios-mo-* developed into ζωμός regularly.

ζώννυμι, -μαι [v.] 'to gird' (Il.). ◄IE **ieh$_3$s-* 'gird'►

•VAR Aor. ζῶσαι, -ασθαι (Il.), fut. ζώσω, perf. med. ἔζω(σ)μαι, aor. pass. ζωσθῆναι, perf. act. ἔζωκα; -ύω (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix: δια-, ὑπο-, περι- et al.

•DER 1. (διά-, περί-, ὑπό-, σύ-)ζῶμα (Hell. also ζῶσμα; see below and Schwyzer: 523) 'girdle, loincloth' (Il.) with περιζωμάτιον 'id.' (Hell.) and περιζωματίας 'forming a girdle' (of erysipelas; Orib.). 2. ζώνη 'girdle', also 'waist' (Il.) with the diminutive ζώνιον (Ar., Arist.), -άριον (comm. Arist.); ζων-ιαῖος 'with the size of a girdle' (Ath. Mech.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 49), ζωνῖτις 'striped' (καδμεία; Dsc.); περιζώνιον, -ίδιον 'dagger worn on the girdle' (Hell.). 3. ζωστήρ 'warrior's belt' (Il.; see von Wilamowitz 1889 313, Trümpy 1950: 89), often metaph., also as a name of a promontory on the west side of Attica (Hdt.) with Ζωστήριος, -ια epithet of Apollo and Athena (inscr. V^{a} [Athens, Delphi], etc.). 4. ζῶστρα [pl.] 'girdle' (ζ 38), (δια-, περι-)ζώστρα [f.] 'loincloth, headband' (Hell.). 5. ζωτύς (or ζωγύς)· θώραξ 'armour' (H.). 6. (ἄ-, εὔ-, etc.)ζωστός '-girded' (Hes.).

•ETYM The verbal adjective ζωστός has an exact parallel in Av. *yāsta-*, Lith. *júostas*, all from IE **ieh$_3$s-to-*. In Balto-Slavic, we find yod-presents Lith. *júosiu* (inf. *júosti*), OCS *po-jašǫ* (inf. *-jasati*) 'gird'; in Iranian, a secondary formation *aiβi-iāŋhaiiāṇte* [3pl.pres.med.] 'id.' (IE **ieh$_3$s-eie-*). A relic of the athematic root present is perhaps found in ζούσθω· ζωννύσθω (Thess.) (H.); it agrees with OLith. *juos-ti* [3sg.pres.]. The Greek nasal present ζώννυμι is a recent formation after the aor. stem. Further close correspondences are ζῶμα (< IE **i̯eh$_3$s-mn̥*) and Lith. *juosmuō* 'girdle' < IE

ieh₃s-mṓ[n], ζώνη < **ieh₃s-neh₂* and Ru.CS *po-jasnъ* 'id.' < *ieh₃s-ni-*); cf. further Skt. *rā́snā-* 'girdle' for **yā́snā-* after *raśanā́-* 'knot, gird'.

ζωρός [adj.] 'vehement, strong, unmixed', of wine (I 203). ◁IE **ieh₃-ro-* (or **ioH-ro-*) 'strong'▷

•COMP E.g. ζωρο-πότης 'drinker of unmixed wine' (late), εὔ-ζωρος 'completely unmixed' (IA).

•ETYM Solmsen *IF* 14 (1903): 426 compared it with OCS *jarъ* 'strong, hard, serious', which seems unobjectionable. See also ►ἐπιζαρέω.

ζωρυαί [pl.] (*IG* 4, 823: 46 [Troezen]) = διωρυγαί. ◁GR▷

•ETYM See von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 154². Cf. ζῶρυξ = διῶρυξ (pap.). So is it simply a dialectal form?

ζώω [v.] 'to live' (Il.). ◁IE **g*ʷ*eih₃-*, **g*ʷ*ieh₃-* 'live'▷

•VAR Homer has only uncontracted forms: ζώω, ζώεις, ζώει, inf. ζωέμεν, ζώοντ-; *ζάω is a grammarians' construction.

•DIAL Myc. PN *zo-wo*, *zo-wi-jo*, probably /zōwos, zōwios/. Cret. δώ-ω, Att. ζῶ, ζῇς, ζῇ, ζῶμεν, etc., ipf. ἔζων (ἔζην), ἔζης, -η, inf. ζῆν, fut. ζήσω, -ομαι (beside βιώσομαι), aor. ζῆσαι, ζῶσαι, βιῶσαι), perf. ἔζηκα (Arist.), ptc. ἐζωκότα (Kyzikos) for βεβίωκα (Att.).

•COMP Sometimes with ἀνα-, δια-, ἐπι-. From ζωός: ΖωϜό-θεμις (Cyprus V^a; Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 8 (1957): 161ff.); ζωγράφος 'painter'.

•DER ζωή (Od.), also ζόη, Dor. ζωά, ζόα, Aeol. ζοΐα (Theoc.) 'life'. 2. ζωός (ζοός, ζώς) 'alive' (Il.). ζώϊον, ζῷον (from ζώς; Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 7) 'living being, animal'; ζώσιμος 'viable' (late); (ἀνά-)ζῆσις 'reviving' (*Theol. Ar.*, Dam.). Ἀζησία (S. *Fr.* 981), Ἀζοσία (Epid.) epithet of Demeter (?), Fraenkel *Lexis* 3:1 (1952): 59f.

•ETYM Derived from the root **g*ʷ*eih₃-* / **g*ʷ*ieh₃-* (see the reflexes under ►βιω-). Homer has only uncontracted forms ζωε/ο-. Attic, etc. ζῶ, ζῇς, ἔζησα must be innovations; cf. DELG on ἔζησα.

H

ἦ 1 [pcl.] 'certainly, really' emphasizing and interrogative particle (Il.), mostly combined with other particles and adverbs, e.g. ἦ ἄρα, ἦ γάρ, ἦ που, ἦ μήν, sometimes in second position: ἐπεὶ ἦ, τί (ὅτι) ἦ, (ὁ)τιή, etc. ◁IE? **h₁e* '?'▷
•ETYM Origin unclear; perhaps identical in origin with the interjection ἦ►. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:3, 983 connects it with Skt. *ā́* (affirmative, after nouns and adverbs), OHG *ihh-ā* 'I', *nein-ā* 'no', et al. as the instr.sg. of the demonstratives **h₁e-*, *h₁o-* (cf. ►εἰ).

ἦ 2 [v.] 'said he'. ⇒ἤμί.

ἦ 3 [pcl.] interjection expressing dissatisfaction and impatience (Ar. *Nu.* 105, *Ra.* 271, E. *HF* 906 [lyr.]). ◁IE? **h₁ē* vocative pcl.▷
•ETYM It has been compared with Lat. *ē-* in *ēcastor* 'by Castor'. Cf. Schwyzer 1950 600[4] and WH s.v. *ēcastor*.

ἤ 4 [pcl.] disjunctive and comparative particle: 'or', also 'as', ἤ .... ἤ 'either .... or' (Il.), contracted from ἠέ, ἦε (epic). ◁IE **h₁ē-ue*▷
•ETYM For *ἦ-ϝέ, *ἦ-ϝε, univerbation of deictic ἦ (see ►ἦ 1) and a disjunctive particle found in Lat. *-ve* and (with long vowel) Skt. *vā*, OIr. *vá* 'or' grown together. Skt. *iva* 'like, as if', etc. diverges semantically (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

ἢ 5 'if' (Cypr. Dor.). ⇒εἰ.

ἠβαιός [adj.] 'little, small', in the Il. only with the negation οὐδ' ἠβαιόν 'not even a little' (5 times), οὐδ' ἠβαιαί (Ξ 141), later also without negation (ι 462, Opp.). ◁GR?▷
•ETYM According to Leumann 1950: 50, it arose by false split from οὐ δὴ βαιόν (perhaps οὐδὲ βαιόν). A prefix ἠ- is improbable.

ἥβη [f.] 'youth, prime, vigour of youth, sexual maturity', also as a PN 'Hebe', daughter of Zeus and Hera (Il.). ◁IE? **(H)iēgʷ-eh₂-* 'youth, (youthful) vigour'▷
•VAR Dor. ἥβα, hyperaeolism (?) ἄβα.
•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἔφ-ηβος (IA, Dor.; hyperdorism (?) ἔφ-αβος) 'fullgrown youth', hypostasis from ἐφ' ἥβης (ὤν) or a bahuvrīhi ('on whom is ἥβη'), with ἐφηβ-άω (after ἡβάω), -εύω, -ικός, -ειος, etc.
•DER 1. ἡβητής (*h. Merc.* 56), ἡβατάς (Locr. V[a]), εἰβατάς (Thess.), ἀβατάς (Call. *Lav. Pall.* 109) 'being a youth, youth' with ἡβητικός (X.); Hell. poets have ἡβητήρ, ἡβήτωρ (cf. Fraenkel 1910: 121) as if from ἡβάω. 2. ἡβηδόν [adv.] 'being fullgrown' (Heraclit., Hdt.; see Benveniste *RPh.* 81 (1955): 9). 3. ἡβοτά 'youth' (Pamphyl., after βιοτή

according to Fraenkel *KZ* 43 (1910): 207ff.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἡβάω (Il.), epic also ἡβάω (with metrical lengthening according to Chantraine 1942: 76 after Wackernagel; different Schwyzer: 730), Cret. ἡβίω (< -έω) 'be in one's prime, be full-grown', also with prefixes like ἀν-, ἐν-, ἐφ-; thence ἀνηβητήριος 'rejuvenating' (E. *Andr.* 552), ἐνηβητήριον 'place of amusement' (Hdt. 2, 133), ἡβητήριον 'id.' (Plu.); on ἡβητήρ, -τωρ see above. 2. ἡβάσκω 'become mature, become a man' (Hp., X.; after γηράσκω, cf. s.v. and Schwyzer: 708). 3. ἡβυλλιάω in ἡβυλλιῶσαι (ὀρχηστρίδες, Ar. *Ra.* 516; κόραι, Pherecr. 108, 29) '(female dancers) in the prime of youth', hypocoristic formation of the language of comedians after the diminutives in -ύλλιον (μειρακύλλιον et al.); hypothesis in Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 215.

•ETYM One usually reconstructs a preform IE **iēgʷ-eh₂* vel sim. on account of Lith. *jėgà* 'power, stength', Latv. *jēga* 'power, sense'. However, one may doubt the connection with Baltic (cf. Derksen 1996: 136-7) on account of the Greek forms with initial ἀ-. On the other hand, there are also Doric and Aeolic forms with ἡ- and ει-. Lat. *Iegius* = Osc. *Ieíis* are unclear (see WH s.v.). The word ►ἀβρός is not related.

ἤβολος [adj.] in ἤβολον ἥμαρ· καθὸ ἁπαντῶσιν εἰς ταὐτόν, ἢ εὔκαιρον, ἱερόν 'opportune (of time or place), hallowed' (H. = Call. *Fr. anon.* 170). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Probably an archaizing shortening of ἐπήβολος. Differently, Prellwitz *Glotta* 19 (1931): 126 (see on ►ἀβολέω).

ἠγάθεος [adj.] 'most holy' (Il.). ◅GR▻

•VAR ἁγάθεος (Pi. *P.* 9, 71).

•ETYM From ἀγά-θεος with metrical lengthening; cf. ἠνεμόεις from ἄνεμος (Schwyzer: 104 fn.1, Bechtel 1914 s.v., Chantraine 1942: 98).

ἤγανές [adj.] · καθαρόν, νέον 'pure, young' (H.).

•VAR ἠγάν<ε>ος· νεανίσκος 'little boy' (H.).

•ETYM Shortened from ►διηγανές.

ἤγανον [n.] 'casserole' (Anacr. 26). ◅GR▻

•DER Thence ἠγάνεα· πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου 'dressed food from a pan' (H.).

•ETYM From τήγανον by false split (taken as τ' ἤγανον); see Schwyzer: 413.

ἡγέομαι [v.] 'to lead, direct', post-Hom. also 'to suppose, believe'. ◅IE **seh₂g-* 'trace, search'▻

•VAR Dor. ἀγ-, aor. ἡγήσασθαι, fut. ἡγήσομαι (Il.), perf. ἧγημαι, ἄγ- (Hdt., Pi.), aor. pass. ἡγήθην (Pl. *Lg.* 770b).

•COMP Very frequently with prefixes, in various meanings: δι-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-, καθ-, περι-, ὑφ-, etc. As a first member in governing compounds like Ἡγησί-λεως, Ἀγησί-λαος (Hdt.; also as an appellative). Also as a second member in formations in -της, e.g. κυν-ηγέτης "leader of dogs", 'hunter' (Od.), ἀρχ-ηγέτης, fem. -τις 'who is in charge, originator' (Hdt.), partly beside -ηγός and connected with ἄγω, see Chantraine 1956a: 88ff., Sommer 1948: 12¹. Another compound with *s*-stem is περι-ηγής 'forming a circle' (Emp., A. R.).

•DER Many derivatives, also from the compounds (Dor. forms are not given separately). Action nouns: 1.ἧγησις 'guidance, direction' (LXX), older and more

usual εἰσ-, ἐξ-, δι-, περι-, ὑφ-ήγησις, etc. (cf. Holt 1941: index); 2. ἥγημα 'guidance, opinion' (LXX, Pergamon), older and more usual ἀφ-, είσ-ήγημα, etc. together with -ηγημάτιον, -ηγηματικός. Agent nouns: 3. ἡγεμών, -όνος [m.] 'leader' (Il.; on the formation Schwyzer: 522, Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 25f.; also from compounds, e.g. καθηγεμών) together with ἡγεμονεύω 'lead, rule' (Il.; like βασιλεύω), rarely -έω (Pl.; cf. Fraenkel 1906: 184f., Schwyzer: 732), ἡγεμον-ία, ἡγεμόνευ-μα, ἡγεμον-ικός, etc.; fem. ἡγεμόνη epithet of Artemis, etc. (Call.; Schwyzer: 490[4], Sommer 1948: 145). 4. Ἡγήμων Att. PN (cf. ἥγημα). 5. ἡγήτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'id.' (Il.), Ἀγήτωρ epithet of Zeus in Sparta (X.), also name of the priests of Aphrodite in Cyprus (Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 87). 6. ἡγητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'id.' (Pi., S.; also ὑφ-, προ-, καθ-ηγητήρ [trag.]) with (προ-)ἡγήτειρα (A. R.), -τήριος (Ath.). 7. ἡγητής 'id.' (A. *Supp.* 239), usually εἰσ-, ἐξ-, δι-, καθ-, προ-ηγητής (IA); on semantic differentiation of ἡγήτωρ, -ητήρ see Benveniste 1948: 46; on ἡγητής Fraenkel 1912: 13. Adjective: 8. (ἐξ-, δι-, etc.) ἡγητικός (Hell.). On ▶ ἡγηλάζω, see s.v.

•ETYM An iterative present ἡγέομαι, ἄγέομαι, from which all other forms were derived. It has a close correspondence in the yod-presents Lat. *sāgiō* 'to trace, track down' = Gm. **sāgie/o-* in Go. *sokjan* 'search, attack', etc., as well as in OIr. *saigim*, *-id* 'trace something, search', probably a yod-present (from **sh₂g-*), on which see Thurneysen 1946: 354; for the vowel, cf. Lat. *săgāx*. Hitt. *šāgāi-* / *šāki-* 'sign, omen' < **seh₂g-* belongs here as well, but *šākk-*[i] 'know' is from **sekh₁-* (Lat. *secāre*); see Kloekhorst 2008: s.vv. The root may derive from the language of hunters, and properly mean 'search, track down'. See ▶ ἡγηλάζω.

ἥγερέθοντο •VAR ἡγερέθονται, -θεσθαι. ⇒ ἀγείρω

ἡγηλάζω [v.] 'to lead, drag' (κακὸν μόρον 'bad fate', βίοτον βαρύν 'heavy life', etc.; λ 618, ρ 217, A. R. 1, 272, Arat. 893, Orac. *apud* Zos. 1, 57). ◁GR▷

•ETYM An enlargement of ἡγέομαι. Perhaps (thus Bechtel 1914 s.v.) by univerbation with ἐλάω, with productive -άζω, rather than via a noun *ἡγηλός, *ἡγήλη (thus Chantraine 1942: 338 et al.). However, compare ἀγέλη to ▶ ἄγω.

ἦδέ [pcl.] 'and' (Il.), with or without preceding ἠμέν. ◁GR▷

•VAR Also ἠδὲ καί, τ'ἠδέ, etc. (Il.).

•ETYM From ▶ ἦ 1 'really' and ▶ δέ. See Ruijgh 1957: 55-57.

ἤδη [adv.] 'already, immediately, (precisely) now' (Il.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From ▶ ἦ 1 'really' and ▶ δή 'even'.

ἥδομαι [v.] 'to rejoice'. ◁IE **sueh₂d-* 'sweet'▷

•VAR Dor. ἄδ-, Boeot. (Corinn.) ϝάδ- (γάδεται· ἥδεται H.), aor. ἡσθῆναι (IA), fut. ἡσθήσομαι (S., Pl.), aor.med. ἥσατο (ι 353).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially συν-; rarely active ἥδω, ἧσαι, ἥσω 'gratify' (Antipho Soph., Hell.; after τέρπω, etc. acc. to Schwyzer 1950 228). As a second member, -ηδής may be connected either with ἡδύς or with ἥδομαι: ἀ-ηδής 'unpleasant' (IA), μελι-ηδής 'as sweet as honey', θυμ-ηδής 'pleasing the heart', etc.

•DER 1. ἦδος [n.] 'pleasure' (Il.; on the absence of aspiration and the doubtful traces of the digamma Chantraine 1942: 184 and 151); in the meaning 'vinegar' a back-

formation from ►ἡδύς, s.v.; 2. ἡδονή, Dor. ἀδονά 'pleasure' (IA, Dor.) with ἡδονίς = ἀφύδιον (Cyran. 18), ἡδονικός (Arist.). 3. ἀδοσύνα· ἡδονή (H.). 4. ἥσθημα 'id.' (Eup.). 5. ἡστικός 'pleasant' (S. E.).

•ETYM An exact formal counterpart is the Skt. *hapax svādate* 'becomes tasteful' (RV 9.68.2; of soma); much more usual however is *svadate* 'enjoy, taste well', *svadati* 'make savory, sweeten'. On the *-a-*, see Lubotsky *MSS* 40 (1981): 133-8. The second member -ηδης agrees with Skt. *prá-svādas-* 'pleasant'; the nasal suffix in ἡδ-ονή is seen in Skt. *svād-ana-* 'making tasteful'. See ►ἡδύς and ►ἀνδάνω, also ►ἀδημονέω.

ἡδύς [adj.] 'sweet, tasteful, pleasant, pleasing' (Il.). ◅IE **sueh₂d-ú-* 'sweet'▻

•VAR Dor. ἀδύς, El., etc. ϝαδύς.

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ἡδυ-επής 'with sweet words, sounding nice' (Il.); as a second member -ηδής, see ►ἥδομαι. On ἡδίων (rare and late ἡδύτερος), ἥδιστος see Seiler 1950: 57f.

•DER ἥδυμος 'sweet, comforting', dactylic variant of ἡδύς, said of ὕπνος (Il.; in Hom. always incorrectly νήδυμος, see Bechtel 1914 s.v., Leumann 1950: 44f.), also Ἄδυμος as a PN; cf. ἔτυμος and Schwyzer: 494, Chantraine 1933: 151f.; ἡδύλος 'id.', hypocoristic enlargement (A. D., *EM*) with ἡδυλίζω 'flatter, tempt' (Men.), ἡδυλίσαι· συνουσιάσαι, ἡδυλισμός· συνουσία H.; also as a PN with Ἡδυλίνη (Attica IV^{a}), Ἡδύλειος (Delos III^{a}); further Ἡδυτώ (Attica V^{a}; after Ἐρατώ et al.), Ἡδάριον (Rhodes; after the diminutives in -άριον). Backformation ἥδος 'vinegar' (Ath.), cf. γᾶδος (= ϝ-)· γάλα, ἄλλοι ὄξος 'milk, others: vinegar' (H.), cf. Pisani *KZ* 68 (1944): 176f. (where unclear Arm. *k'ac'ax* 'vinegar' is discussed). Denominative verb ἡδύνω 'sweeten, make tasteful, savour' (IA) with ἥδυσμα, -μάτιον 'spice' (IA), ἡδυσμός, ἡδυν-τός, -τικός, -τήρ 'spiced, etc.' (also of salt).

•ETYM Old word for 'sweet', identical with Skt. *svādú-*, Gaul. *Suadu-rīx*, *-genus*, IE **sueh₂d-ú-*; reshaped in Lat. *suāvis*, Gm., e.g. OHG *suozi*, OE *swēte* 'sweet'. The full grade perhaps comes from the comparative ἡδίων, Skt. *svādīyas-* (cf. also ἥδιστος = *svādiṣṭha-*). The zero grade occurs in Lith. *súdyti* 'to spice, salt', Skt. *sūdáyati*, perf.pl. *su-ṣūd-imá* 'make tasteful'. See ►ἥδομαι, ►ἀνδάνω.

ἠέ 'or'. ⇒ἤ 4.

ἠερέθονται [3sg.pres.med.] 'they float in the air' (Il.). ◅IE **h₂uer-* 'bind, hang'▻

•VAR Ipf. -ντο.

•ETYM Related to ►ἀείρω 'raise' like ἠγερέθοντο, -ται to ►ἀγείρω.

ἠέριος [adj.] 1. 'early, of the morning', connected with ἦρι 'early, in the morning' (e.g. A. R. 3, 417: opposed to δείελον ὥριην); 2. 'misty' = ἠερόεις, 'in the air, airy' (Simon. 114, Hp. *Vict.* 1, 10, A. R., Arat., Opp.). ◅IE **h₂euser-* 'morning'▻

•ETYM An etymological distinction used to be drawn between ►ἀήρ 'air' and ἦρι 'early' (e.g. Frisk). However, Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 619-635 has shown that both words derive from the root for 'dawn', ἀήρ < **h₂eus-ēr* still meaning 'mist, haze' in Homer. He convincingly shows that αὔρη 'breeze' still means 'morning mist' in ε 469. Therefore, we have to start from an adverb **ἤερι* (cf. Ἠερί-βοια Ε 389); see ►ἦρι. See further ►αὔρα.

ἠερόεις 'misty, cloudy'. •VAR ἠεροειδής. ⇒ἀήρ.

ἠερόφωνος [adj.] Σ 505 κηρύκων ... ἠεροφώνων, after this Opp. *H.* 1, 621 γεράνων ... ἡ., properly 'whose voice(s) sound(s) through the mist (in the air), loud crying', = μεγαλοφώνων, πληρούντων φωνῆς τὴν ἀέρα (H.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Ahrens *Phil.* 27 (1868): 590 proposes (after Alcm. 26, 1) to write ἱεροφώνων.

ἠθέω [v.] 'to sift, strain' (IA). ◂IE **seh₁-* 'strain'▸
•VAR Aor. ἠθῆσαι (ptc. ἤσας Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 103), perf. pass. ἤθημαι.
•COMP very often δι-ηθέω (ἐκ-, προσ-διηθέω, etc.), also ἀπ-, ἐξ-ηθέω.
•DER ἠθμός (*h*εθμος Sigeion VI[a], Hdn.) 'filter, strainer' (Att.) with ἠθμάριον· διυλιστήριον 'filter' H., διηθμεύοντες s.v. ►διυλίζοντες; (δι-)ἤθησις 'straining' (Arist.), (ἀπ-, δι-, παρ-)ἤθημα 'what has been strained' (medic.), ἠθήνιον· ἠθάνιον, ἠθμός H.; ἠθητήρ (Marc. Sid.), -τήριον (Str.) 'strain'; ἠθητός 'strained' (pap. III[a]), ἠθητικός 'fit for straining' (Thphr.).
•ETYM Starting from the aor.ptc. ἤσας and the noun ἠθμός, one may suppose an older present *ἤθω. Then we have ἠθέω beside *ἤθω, just as στερέω beside στέρομαι, etc. (Schwyzer 721). If we separate the -θ- (as in ἁλή-θω : ἁλέ-ω, πλή-θω : πλῆ-το et al., on which see Schwyzer: 703; also ἡ-θμός, like ῥυ-θμός, etc.?), we may connect the OCS yod-present *pro-sějǫ*, inf. *-sějati* 'strain', from which Lith. *sijóju*, *-ti* 'id.' cannot be separated. These presuppose a present **seh₁i-*. Cf. also ►σήθω with the same meaning.

ἦθος [n.] 'custom, usage' (Hes., Pi.), plur. ἤθεα 'accustomed place, haunts' (Il.). ◂IE? **sued[h]-* 'custom, use'▸
•COMP As a first member, with analogical compositional vowel, e.g. in ἠθο-ποιός 'edifying' (Arist.), as a second member e.g. in κακο-ήθης 'with bad habits' (IA).
•DER ἠθεῖος 'reliable, beloved' (Hom., Hes.), also ἠθαῖος (Pi., Antim.), after γενναῖος et al.; ἠθάς, -άδος [m., f.] 'usual, reliable' (Hp., S.) with ἠθάδιος 'id.' (Opp.); ἠθικός 'ptng. to the character' (Arist.); ἠθαλέος 'usual' (Opp., Epigr.).
•ETYM Differs from ►ἔθος only by its long vowel; the *ō*-grade appears in ►εἴωθα (s.v. for further etymology). See Petit *RPh.* 73 (1999): 87, who refers to Schindler 1975: 259-267. For traces of the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 150.

ἤϊα 1 [n.pl.] 'provisions for a journey' (N 103, Od.); = βρώματα, ἄχυρα 'food, chaff', see ►ἤϊα 2, ἐφόδια 'travelling supplies' (H.). ◂?▸
•VAR Also ἦα.
•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Thumb *KZ* 36 (1900): 179ff., it belongs with ἤϊος· πορεύσιμος 'passable; able to travel' (H.). Vendryes *REGr.* 23 (1910): 74 compared Skt. *sasyá-* [n.] 'produce of the fields', which is formally unconvincing. Froehde's comparison (see Bechtel 1914) with Skt. *avasá-* [n.] 'food' is mistaken (as it rather belongs to *ávati* 'protect, refresh, etc.'; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

ἦα 2 [n.pl.] 'heap of husks or chaff' (ε 368, Pherecr. 161), = ἄχυρα H.; cf. εἰαί· τῶν ὀσπρίων τὰ ἀποκαθάρματα 'what has been cleansed off the pulse'; εἶοι· ὀσπρίων τὰ καθάρσια (H.). Here also ἤϊα κριθάων = ἄλευρα 'flour' (Nic. *Al.* 412), but "le sens ne s'impose pas", as DELG rightly remarks. ◂?▸

•ETYM Unexplained.

ἤϊε [voc.] epithet of Φοῖβε of unknown meaning or origin (O 365, Υ 152, *h. Ap.* 120). ◁?▷

•ETYM Several hypotheses (see Frisk). From the interjection ἤ, like ἰήϊος from ἰή (LSJ); cf. ἤϊος· παιανιστής 'chanter of paeans' (H.) beside πορεύσιμος (see ►ἤϊα 1). Not from ἠώς (cf. ἠϊ-κανός) as 'shining in the morning' (Ehrlich *KZ* 40 (1907): 364). Nikolaev 2005 now connects the root **h₂ns-* (Skt. *ásu-ra-*, ON *áss*, etc.), claiming that Lex Rix did not operate before nasals. If this is correct (which seems implausible), we would have an old vocative of the word for 'god'.

ἠΐθεος [m.] 'unmarried youth' (Il.; see Leumann 1950: 305 and 316f.), rarely also 'unmarried young woman' (Eup. 332), in this meaning also ἠϊθέη (Nic., *AP*). ◁IE **h₁uid*ʰeu-* 'unmarried'▷

•VAR Also ᾒθεος (or ἠΐθεος?; B. 16, E. *Ph.* 945; ᾰ̓θεος Cerc. 9, 11, see below).

•ETYM An old and poetic word, connected with Skt. *vidhávā*, Ru. *vdová*, etc., Go. *widuwo*, etc., Lat. *vidua*, from a pre-form **h₁uid*ʰeu-*. A masculine expression for 'widowed, unmarried' was made from this pre-form, like in Lat. *viduus*, Ru., etc. *vdóvyi*, but perhaps only in the separate languages. Greek ἠΐθεος presupposes an earlier feminine, which was replaced by χήρα in prehistoric times. Anlauting ἠ- is easily explained as a metrical lengthening of a prothetic ἐ- from **h₁-*; the ἀ- in Cerc. is a hyperdorism (cf. ἠΐθεος Sapph. 44, 18). See recently Beekes *KZ* 105 (1992): 171-6.

ἠϊκανός [m.] · ὁ ἀλεκτρυών 'rooster' (H.). ◁IE **h₂ues-* 'lighten' + **kh₂n-* 'sing'▷

•ETYM Properly 'early-singer', a compound from ἠι- (from PGr. **awhi-*, an old loc. of **h₂eus-* 'dawn'; cf. ►ἕως) and a verb 'to sing', found in Lat. *canō*, MoHG *Hahn*, etc. On the accent, see Wackernagel *Phil.* 95 (1943): 182f. Synonymous formations with cognate elements are found in Skt. (Lex.) *uṣā-kala-* and ON *ár-gali* [m.] 'cock'.

ἠϊόεις [adj.] in ἐπ' ἠϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ Ε 36 (verse end); after this as an adjunct of Πάνορμος, of πεδίον (Q. S. 1, 283; 5, 299), and of κόλλουρος (name of a fish, Marc. Sid. 22). ◁?▷

•ETYM In later antiquity, the word was connected with ἠϊών 'shore' and interpreted as 'with (high) shores, on the shore'; cf. ἠϊόεντι· ἠϊόνας ἔχοντι 'having shores' (H.). This is formally impossible, as there is no trace of the -ν-. Others take it as 'with reed' and arbitrarily connect it with ►ἦα 2, or even as 'fertile' (and suppose connection with ►ἤϊα).

ἤϊος ⇒ ἤϊε.

ἠϊών [f.] 'shore' (B 561). ◁?▷

•VAR ᾐών E. *Or.* 994; Dor. ἀϊών, -όνος.

•ETYM Names in -ών may refer to features of the landscape (see Chantraine 1933: 164). Of unknown origin. See also ►ἠϊόεις.

ἦκα [adv.] 'slowly, quietly, a little' (Il.). ◁IE? **seh₁k-* (or **sēk-*?) 'slow' ?▷

•VAR Grades of comparison: ἧττων, Ion. ἥσσων 'smaller, weaker' (Il.), sup. ἥκιστος 'slowest' (Ψ 531), ἥκιστα [adv.] 'not at all' (IA), ἥκιστος 'weakest, worst' (Ael.).

•DER Derived from ἥκα: ἥκαλος = ἀκαλός (Call.), ἠκαλέον γελόωσα· πρᾴως, οὐκ ἐσκυθρωπακυῖα 'mild, not looking angry'; ἠκαῖον· ἀσθενές 'weak' (H.). From ἥσσων, ἧττων: ἡσσάομαι, ἡττάομαι [v.] 'to be less, be weaker' (after νικάομαι), with the back-formation ἧσσα, ἧττα [f.] 'defeat' (trag., Th., IA); Ion. (Hdt., Herod.) has ἐσσόομαι, from *ἔσσων, an innovation after κρέσσων.

•ETYM With ἥκα (with epic psilosis like ἥκιστος; cf. Chantraine 1942: 187), we may compare ὧκα and other adverbs in -ᾰ (cf. Schwyzer: 622). It has been connected with Lat. *sēgnis* 'slow' < **sēc-ni-*, but see the doubts in De Vaan 2008 s.v. Frisk compares the alternation in πύκ-α : πυκ-νός, as does Benveniste 1935: 89f. Discussed in Seiler 1950: 65ff.

ἥκεστος [adj.] only in ἥνις ἠκέστας (βοῦς, Z 94 = 275 = 309), meaning uncertain. ◅?▻

•ETYM Based on comparison with ἠκέστης· ἀδάμαστος (Suid.), ἥκεστος is mostly taken as 'undomited, uncontrolled', from κεντέω, κένσαι ("unincited") with metrical lengthening for *ἀ-κεστος. This explanation should be rejected; instead, Schwyzer *RhM* 80 (1931): 213 assumes original (βοῦν) ἥνιν νηκέστην (like νη-κερδής, etc.), with single writing of the ν and false split. Others translate 'full grown', connecting it with ἀκμαῖος, ►ἠκή. Improbable suggestion by Szemerényi *Sprache* 11 (1965): 6-12.

ἠκή [f.] · ἀκωκή, ἐπιδορατίς, ἀκμή 'arrowhead, point' (H.); ἡ ὀξύτης τοῦ σιδήρου 'sharpness of iron' (*EM* 424, 18 following Archil. 43: ἵστη κατ' ἠκὴν κύματός τε κἀνέμου). ◅IE? **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp'▻

•COMP As a second member in the epic epithets ἀμφ-ήκης 'cutting on both sides', τανυ-ήκης 'with a thin edge': perhaps a secondary *s*-stem, and the -η- can be due to compositional lengthening. Backformation from the compounds: ἠκές· ὀξύ (H.), see Leumann 1950: 111f.

•DER ἠκάδα· ἠνδρωμένην γυναῖκα 'mature woman' (H.); on the formation Chantraine 1933: 351f., on the meaning cf. ἀκμαῖος.

•ETYM Appears to be a form with lengthened grade beside ►ἀκή, ►ἄκρος, etc.; an *o*-grade is found in reduplicated ►ἀκωκή.

ἥκω [v.] 'to have come, be present' (IA, also Dor.; Hom. only E 478, ν 325; elsewhere ἵκω). ◅?▻

•VAR Hell. also with perfect inflexion: ἧκα, ἥκέναι; fut.ἥξω (A.), Dor. ἥξῶ (Theoc.), aor. ἧξαι (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. καθ- (κατ-), προσ- (ποθ-), ἀν-, προ-, παρ-ήκω.

•ETYM Beside ἥκω with perfective meaning stands ►ἵκω with present meaning (epic, Dor., Arc.). It is difficult to connect the two, however, since the *ē*-vocalism cannot be easily accounted for (IE **sēik-* is impossible), nor can the aspectual difference. Ample discussion in Johansson 1890: 62ff. No cognates (incorrectly, Pok. 893). LIV² posits **seh₁k-*, but disassociates ἱκ-.

ἠλακάτη [f.] '(wool on the) distaff', also metaph. of comparable objects (Z 491). ◅PG?▻

•VAR ἠλεκάτη (Delos, Cyrene, etc.), Aeol. ἀλακάτα (Theoc. 28, 1; but ἠλακάτα E. *Or.* 1431 [lyr.]) and χρυσᾶλακ. (Pi., three times), εὐαλάκατος (Theoc. 22).

•DIAL Myk. *a-ra-ka-te-ja* [nom.pl.f.] 'spinsters'.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in χρυσ-ηλάκατος (-ᾱλ- Pi.) 'with golden distaff' (Il.).

•ETYM Unknown. Solmsen 1909: 121f. assumed an Anatolian loan, but it is probably just Pre-Greek.

ἠλάσκω [v.] 'to wander, stray, roam' (B 470, N 104, Emp.). ◁?▷

•DER By a cross with ἀλαίνω arose ἠλαίνω 'id.' (Theoc., Call.).

•ETYM ἠλάσκω (called expressive by Frisk) differs from ►ἀλάομαι by the length of the initial vowel, something which cannot be explained within Greek or Indo-European. The etymology is therefore unclear. Connection with ►ἠλεός, ἠλίθιος, etc. is not very likely.

ἠλέκτωρ [m.] name of the sun and adjunct of Ὑπερίων (Z 513, T 398, *h. Ap.* 369; and Emp. 22, 2). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Acc. -τορα (Euph. 110), dat. -τωρι (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 4), gen. -τωρος (Choerob.).

•DER ἠλεκτρίς [f.] adjunct of the moon (Orph. *H.* 9, 6); ἤλεκτρον [n.], -ος [m., f.] (on the gender cf. LSJ and Schwyzer 1950: 34[4]) 'gold mixed with silver, amber' (Od.) with Ἠλεκτρίδες νῆσοι 'the amber islands' (Str., Plin.), ἠλεκτρώδης 'like amber' (Hp., Philostr.), ἠλέκτρινος (Dor. ἀλ-) 'of amber' (Call., Luc., Hld.), ἠλεκτρόομαι 'become ἤ.' (Zos. Alch.); ἠλέκτραι· τὰ ἐν τοῖς κλινόποσι τῶν σφιγγῶν ὄμματα (Phot.). Several PNs: Ἠλέκτρα, Ἀλεκτρώνα (Rhodos), Ἠλεκτρύων (after Ἀμφιτρύων; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 656).

•ETYM Unexplained. von Wilamowitz 1931: 255 assumed Carian origin, but without sufficient grounds. Improbable IE etymologies in Bq. There seems no basis for DELG's statement that the word is IE. Leroy and Halleux *Glotta* 52 (1974): 36-52 stress that ἤλεκτρον has two meanings: 'white gold', i.e. gold with a high percentage of silver, like the Lydian gold from which the first coins were made, and 'amber'. However, ἠλέκτωρ cannot mean 'brilliant', as amber is not brilliant, and the meaning and etymology of this word are unknown. They then derive the word ἤλεκτρον from the verb ►ἀλέγω, which they interpret as λέγω 'count' plus copulative ἀ-. This is wrong: see there. The word has nothing to do with the verb, as its meaning does not fit. Thus, the word remains without etymology. On the words, see also Ruipérez 1972: 231ff.

ἠλέματος ⇒ ἠλεός.

ἠλεός [adj.] 'distraught, crazed' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also ἠλέ [voc.] (Il.); ἀλεός (-αι- cod.)· ὁ μάταιος, ἄφρων. Αἰσχύλος 'foolish' (H.), ἀλεόφρων· παράφρων (H.).

•DER Denominative verb ἀλεώσσειν· μωραίνειν 'be foolish' (H.). Abstract ἠλοσύνη (Nic., late Epic; Pfeiffer *Phil.* 92 (1937): 1ff. and 8), Aeol. ἀλοσύνα (Theoc. 30, 12), probably metrical for ἠλεο-, ἀλεο-. Further ἤλιθα [adv.] 1. 'very much, exceedingly' (Hom. always ἤλιθα πολλή(ν); A. R.), 2. 'in vain, to no avail' (Call., A. R.); the formation has a parallel, be it incomplete, in the local and temporal adverbs in -θα (ἔνθα, δηθά, μίνυνθα) and in the numeral adverb διχθά, etc. Thence ἠλίθιος (Dor.

ἀλ-) 'idle, vain, foolish' (Pi., IA), *h*ελιθιον [adv.] (*IG* 1², 975 [VI^a]), ἠλιθι-ώδης (Philostr.), -ότης (Att.), -όω (A.), -άζω (Ar.). Here probably also ἠλέματος (Aeol. Dor. ἀλ-) 'idle, foolish' (Sapph., Alc., Theoc.), of unclear formation, but improbable is haplology for *ἠλεμόματος (Bechtel 1921, 1: 44). Difficult to analyze are the verbs ἀλλο-φρονέω 'to be senseless' (Hom., Hdt.) and ἀλλο-φάσσω 'to be delirious' (Hp.). Acc. to Fick (see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀλλοφρονέω, ἠλεός and Leumann 1950: 116[82]), the first member contains an Aeolic variant of ἠλεός, i.e. *ἄλλος < *ἄλ̥ιος (whence voc. *ἄλλε = ἠλέ O 128); cf. ἀλεό-φρων above. Later it was construed as derived from ἄλλος (thus Hdt. 7, 205). As the medical expression ἀλλοφάσσω cannot be Aeolic, it must have been formed after ἀλλοφρονέω or contain the pronoun ἄλλος; see Leumann 1950: 309[82].

•ETYM Formed like ἐνεός, κενεός, ἐτεός, etc., ἠλεός recalls ►ἠλάσκω, ►ἀλάομαι, but has no further cognates. Lat. *ālea* 'game of dice' does not continue Dor. *ἄλεά. The variants ἠλεός, ἀλαιός (H.) point to a noun with PG suffix *-*ay-(os)*, with **ay* > **ey* > **e*; see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes (6. αι/ει). Moreover, the suffix -ιθ- is Pre-Greek. The form ἀλλ(ο)- seems to have been derived from **al^y(o)*- with palatalized -*l^y*-, which resulted in -λλ-; however, the relation between *ālay*- and *āl^y*- remains unclear. Does it derive from **alyo*-, a reduced form of **ālayo*-?

ἡλιαία [f.] 'supreme court at Athens'. ⇒ἄλής.

ἠλίβατος [adj.] Meaning unknown (Il.), in Hom. always (and later frequently) of πέτρη (-α) 'rock', but also of several other objects, e.g. δρύες, ἄντρον, Τάρταρος, κῦμα; interpreted as 'steep, high, deep', later also as 'enormous, big', see Buttmann 1825:2: 176ff. ('steep' or 'slippery'), which may all easily be later guesses. ◅?▻

•VAR Dor. ἀλ-.

•DER Beside it ἠλιβάτᾱς (τράγος, Antiph. 133, 3).

•ETYM Unexplained. Another unclear epithet of πέτρη is ►αἰγίλιψ. Cf. also ἠλιτενὴς πέτρα· ὑψηλή 'high' (Suid.). Acc. to Buttmann 1825:2: 176ff., it is from *ἠλιτό-βατος, meaning ἄβατος, δύσβατος vel sim. (by comparison with ἠλιτό-μηνος), with "Silbendissimilation".

ἦλιθα •VAR ἠλίθιος. ⇒ἠλεός.

ἦλίκος [adj.] 'as old, as large', relative and indirect interrogative pronoun (IA). ◅IE **k^{w}eh$_2$-li*- 'how (big)?'▻

•VAR Dor. ἆλ- (Theoc.).

•DER Beside it the demonstrative τηλίκος, Dor. τᾱλ- 'thus old, thus large' (Il.) with τηλικόσδε, τηλικοῦτος (Att.) and the interrogative πηλίκος 'how old?, how large?' (IA).

•ETYM From the relative stem ὁ-, ἁ- (see ►ὅς 1), after ►πηλίκος and ►τηλίκος. A parallel formation is OCS *je-likъ* '(tantus) quantus'. See also on ►ἦλιξ.

ἦλιξ [m., f.] 'of the same age, as old' (σ 373). ◅IE **sueh$_2$-lik*- 'as old'▻

•VAR Dor. ἆλιξ.

•COMP As a second member in παν-αφ-ῆλιξ 'without any companions of his own age' (X 490). Mostly only as an indication of age, e.g. ὁμ-ῆλιξ 'of the same age' (Il.;

with ὁμηλικ-ίη 'age group, generation' (Il.), ἀφ-ῆλιξ, Ion. ἀπ- 'beyond youth, elderly' (*h. Cer.* 140), but also 'youthly' (Phryn. Com.).

•DER Abstract ἡλικία, -ίη 'group of the same age' (Π 808), 'manhood'; ἡλικιώτης, fem. -τις 'of the same age' (IA), Cret. ϝαλικιώτας (β-της cod.)· συνέφηβος 'id.' (H.). On ἥλιξ, ἡλικία see especially Chantraine 1956a: 155ff.

•ETYM Cret. ϝαλικιώτας points to original *σϝᾱλιξ, from the IE reflexive **sue* (in ϝ*he*; see ►ἑ, ἑ) with the same suffix as in ►ἡλίκος, ►τηλίκος, ►πηλίκος. Thus it is properly "who is of the same kind". For the semantics, cf. Skt. *sva-ka-* 'relative, friend' and ►ἔτης, as well as ►ἀέλιοι.

ἥλιος [m.] 'sun' (Il.). ◅IE **seh₂u-el-* 'sun'▻

•VAR Epic ἠέλιος, Dor. Aeol. Arc. ἀέλιος, Dor. (trag.) also ἅλιος.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. in plant- and animal names like ἡλιο-τρόπιον, -κάνθαρος (Strömberg 1940: 48 and 75, Strömberg 1944: 11).

•DER ἡλιώτης (ἠελ-), fem. -τις 'belonging to the sun' (S., *AP*), ἡλιακός (ἀλ-) 'id.' (Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 393f.); Ἡλιάδες [f.pl.] 'daughters of the sun' (Parm., A. R.; also sing. as an adj. [Luc.]) with masc. Ἡλιάδης 'son of the sun' (Str., D. S.); see Chantraine 1933: 356 and 362f.; ἡλιώδης 'sunlike' (Chaerem.), Ἡλιών [m.] month name (Termessos), ἡλίτης (λίθος Dam. *Isid.* 233). Denominative verbs: 1. ἡλιόομαι 'be in the sun, be sun-struck' (IA) with ἡλίωσις (Hp., Thphr.), -όω 'to expose to the sun' (Aët.). 2. ἡλιάζομαι 'bake in the sun' (Arist.), -άζω 'id.' (Str.) with ἡλίασις 'exposure to the sun' (Gal., D. C.), ἡλιαστήριον 'place in the sun' (Str., pap.). 3. ἡλιάω 'expose to the sun, be like the sun' (Arist.).

•ETYM Cretan ἀβέλιος in H. (Pamphyl., acc. to Heraclid. Mil.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 667), i.e. ἀϝέλιος, points to an original *σᾱϝέλιος, differing only in ablaut from Skt. *sū́rya-* 'sun' (beside *sū́ra-*). Both languages have an *l*-stem, IE **seh₂u-el-*, **sh₂u-l-* (cf. Skt. *svàr* [n.] < **suHl̥* < **sHul*) with a personifying suffix **-i̯o-*. The full grade is also found in Lith. *sáulė*, MW *haul*; the zero grade, e.g. in OIr. *súil* 'eye'. The basis is a neuter *l*/*n*-heteroclitic, still seen in Av. *huuarə*, gen. *x*ᵛ*ā̊ŋg* (< PIIr. **suHan-s*), as well as in Germanic in the interchange between Go. *sauil*, ON *sól*, OE *sōl*, and Go. *sunno*, OE *sunne* 'id.'. Connection with IE **suel-* 'burn' (see ►εἴλη) is formally impossible.

ἡλιτόμηνος [adj.] properly "missing the right month" (Schwyzer: 442; thus Vos *Glotta* 34 (1955): 290ff.), i.e. 'born prematurely' (T 118; after this *AP*, Plu.). ◅IE **h₂leit-* 'make a mistake, miss'▻

•COMP Late analogical formations are ἡλιτο-εργός (*AP*), ἡλιτόμηνις· ὁ μάτην ἐγκαλῶν 'who brings in a charge in vain' (H.), -μητιν (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 5, *Fr.* 1 R. 49; see ad loc.).

•ETYM Verbal governing compound from the aorist ἀλιτεῖν (see ►ἀλείτης) and μήν, with metrical lengthening of ἀ- to ἠ- (ἀλιτόξενος Pi. *O.* 10, 6).

ἦλον [n.] plant-name, = βράβυλον or κοκκύμηλον (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 2, 50a). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unexplained.

ἦλος [m.] 'nailhead; wart, callus' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Dor. ἄλος.

•COMP E.g. ἀργυρό-ηλος 'adorned with silver nails' (Hom.), ἡλο-κόπος 'nailsmith' (pap.).
•DER Diminutive ἡλάριον (pap.); ἡλῖτις adjunct of λεπίς (Dsc., Aët.); denominative verb ἡλόω, mostly with prefix, e.g προσ-, ἐφ-, καθ-ηλόω 'nail on' (IA, Hell.) together with καθήλω-σις, -μα.
•ETYM Because of γάλλοι· ἧλοι, which may stand for Aeolic ϝάλλοι, ἧλος may be derived from *ϝάλνος, *ϝάλσος, vel sim. (cf. on ►Ἦλις), and could be equated with Lat. *vallus* 'pole, stake of a palisade' (Wackernagel *KZ* 25 (1881): 261; thus still Schrijver 1991: 170). There are no certain traces of the digamma in Hom., as ἀργυρό-ηλος can be metrically conditioned; see Chantraine 1942: 155f.

ἠλύγη [f.] 'shadow, darkness' (Ar. *Ach.* 684, H., Erot. s.v. ἐπηλυγάζονται). ◄PG?►
•VAR Also ἤλυξ (Choerob.); note λυγαῖος (S., E.).
•DER ἠλυγαῖος 'shadowy, dark' (Suid.), ἠλυγισμένος· κεκρυμμένος, ἐπεσκιασμένος 'hidden, overshadowed' (H.). More usual is ἐπηλυγάζομαι, -ίζομαι (-ζω) 'to overshadow, cover up' (Hp., Th., Pl.), whence ἐπηλυγισμός (H. s.v. ἠλύγη); further ἐπήλυγα [acc.] 'overshadowing' (of πέτραν, E. *Cyc.* 680; deverbal?), ἐπηλύγαιος 'shadowy, dark' (*AB*, H.).
•ETYM To ἠλύγη belongs the poetic adjective λῡγαῖος 'dark' (S., E.), which differs in anlaut; an explanation remains to be found. As ἠλύγη is much rarer than ἐπηλυγάζομαι, perhaps we should start from the verb. In this case, the -η- could be secondary, like in ►ἐπήβολος, ►ἐπηετανός, etc. There is no convincing etymology. Fur.: 378 assumes a prothetic vowel ἠ-, for which, however, there is little or no evidence. Nevertheless, the co-occurrence of λυγαῖος and ἠλυγαῖος is remarkable (was it **alug-*? with lengthened prothetic vowel *ā-*?). The word might be Pre-Greek.

Ἠλύσιον [adj.] epithet of πεδίον (δ 563, A. R. 4, 811, Str., Plu.), also without a head substantive (*IG* 14, 1750); rarely Ἠλύσιος λειμών, χῶρος (Luc., late inscr.), the abode of the Blessed after death. ◄PG►
•DER Ἠλύσιος 'Elysian' (αὖραι, etc., *IG* 14, 1389). Also ἐν-ηλύσιος· ἐμβρόντητος, κεραυνόβλητος 'struck by lightning' (H.), ἐνηλύσια (A. *Fr.* 17)· τὰ κατασκηφθέντα χωρία (H.)? taken as "being in Elysion", as those hit by lightning acc. to folk belief would come in a higher form of life (thus Cocco, see below). In the same mg. also the simplex ἠλύσια [n.pl.] (Polem. Hist. 93).
•ETYM Traditionally analyzed as Pre-Greek (on Elysion as a Pre-Greek conception see Nilsson 1941(1): 324ff.). However, it was often connected with ἐλεύσομαι, ἤλυθον too (e.g. Campanile 1969: 30off.), but against this view was argued by Wackernagel 1889: 5, Güntert 1919: 38[3]. Explanations from Semitic (e.g. Lewy 1895: 219ff., Cocco *Biblos* 31 (1955): 401ff.) are also to be considered wrong. Beekes 1998: 19-23 argued against the idea that somebody struck by lightning would go to Elysion (against Burkert *Glotta* 39 (1961): 208-213). The word is a derivative in -ιο- from a geographical name **Alut-* or **Elut-*, with a long initial vowel which may be metrically conditioned.

ἧμα 'dart'. ⇒ἵημι.

ἧμαι [v.] 'to sit' (epic, Hdt.). ◁IE **h₁eh₁s-* 'sit'▷

•VAR 3sg. ἧσται, 3pl. εἵαται (for ἧαται), ἕαται, ipf. ἥμην (Il.); IA has κάθ-ημαι (κάτ-), κάθηται, 3pl. κάθηνται, κατ-έαται, ipf. (ἐ-)καθήμην.

•COMP With prefix ἑφ-, rarely ἀφ-, ἐν-, μέθ-, ὕφ-ημαι (Il., Od.). A second prefix was frequently added to κάθημαι, because it was seen as a simplex: e.g. ἐγ-, ἐπι-, προ-, συγ-κάθημαι (IA).

•ETYM Old verb for 'to sit', also found in Indo-Iranian and Anatolian: Skt. *āste*, Av. *āste* = ἧσται < IE **h₁eh₁s-toi*, Skt. *āsate* = ἧαται < IE **h₁eh₁s-ntoi* (Av. *āŋhənte* is a secondary thematization); with (probably more original) stative inflexion, Hitt. 3sg. *eša(ri)*, 3pl. *ešanta(ri)*; for the other Anat. languages, see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *eš-$^{a(ri)}$ / aš-*. Anatolian also has an active in the meaning 'to sit', e.g. Hitt. *ešzi*. This suggests that the root is identical to **h₁es-* 'to be (present)'. The aspiration comes from ἕζομαι, ἵζω.

ἥμαιθον [n.] Name of a coin, acc. to H. = ἡμιωβέλιον. διώβολον παρὰ Κυζικηνοῖς (Herod., Phoen., Rhodes, etc., Bechtel 1921(2) : 654 and 1921(3): 301). ◁?▷

•ETYM Related to (or connected with) ἡμι-, with remarkable elision of the ι- (cf. Schwyzer: 434); further unclear.

ἦμαρ [n.] 'day' (Il.). ◁IE **Heh₂mer* 'day'▷

•VAR Cypr. ἁματι-ἁματι 'day after day' (cf. Myc. *we-te-i-we-te-i*).

•DIAL Dor., Arc. ἄμαρ, -ατος; note Arc. ἄματα πάντα 'all days'. Myc. *a-mo-ra-ma* /āmōr-āmar/ 'day after day', *di-wi-ja-me-ro* perhaps /dwi-āmeron/ 'period of two days', see De Lamberterie *BSL* 94 (1999): 264.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἐνν-, ἑξ-, αὐτ-, παν-, προ-ἦμαρ 'nine days long', etc. (Hom.); on this type of compound see Leumann 1950: 100f. (against Wackernagel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 1ff.). As a first member e.g. ἡμερό-κοιτος 'sleeping by day' (Hes.); as a second member e.g. in ἐφ-ήμερος (Pi., IA; -έριος Od.) 'living only a day, transient, daily' together with ἐφημερίς, -ία, -εύω, -ευτήριον.

•DER ἡμάτιος 'daily, at day' (Hom., Hes.).

Lengthened form ἡμέρα, Ion. -ρη, Dor., etc. ἁμέρα, Locr. ἁμάρα 'id.' (Il.). See also on ▶τήμερον, ▶μεσημβρία. Thence: ἡμέριος (ἁμι-) 'living only one day, daily' (trag.), ἡμερινός 'belonging to the day' (IA; Chantraine 1933: 201), ἡμερήσιος (or -ίοιος? See Debrunner *Glotta* 13 (1924): 169) 'lasting one day, belonging to the day, daily' (IA), ἡμεραῖος 'id.' (pap.), ἡμερούσιος [adv.] 'daily' (pap. IV^{p}; after ἐπιούσιος; Debrunner *Glotta* 13 (1924): 169). Denominative verb ἡμερεύω 'to spend the day', also with prefixes δι-, παν- (IA); thence ἡμέρευσις 'spending the day' (Aq.).

•ETYM A cognate of ἦμαρ is Arm. *awr* 'day' < **āmōr*. The ending -ωρ, like in τέκμαρ : -μωρ, is also supposed for the first member of Myc. *a-mo-ra-ma*. The word is not found in any other branch. The extension ἡμέρα, on which see Chantraine 1933: 228, may have its aspiration from ἑσπέρα (Schwyzer: 305, Wackernagel 1916: 45). On ἦμαρ and ἡμέρη in Homer, see Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946): 40ff.; on ἦμαρ used as a plural, Leumann 1950: 100, who considers it to be an innovation. See further Clackson 1994: 96f.

ἡμεδαπός [adj.] 'of our land, native' (Att.). ◁IE **nsme-* 'we'▷

•ETYM The synonymous form Skt. *asmad-íya-* 'our' points to a suffix -απος (cf. on ἀλλοδαπός). On the stem of ἡμεδ- = *asmad-*, cf. ►ἡμεῖς. Szemerényi *KZ* 73 (1956): 59f. assumes old ablaut.

ἡμεῖς [pron.pers.] 'we, us' (Il.). ◄IE **ne/os* 'we'►

•VAR Accus. ἡμᾶς, Ion. ἡμέας, Dor. ἅμές, acc. ἅμέ, Aeol. ἄμμες, acc. ἄμμε.

•DER Possessive ἡμέ-τερος, Dor. ἀμέ-τερος, ἀμός, Aeol. ἀμμέ-τερος, ἄμμος 'our'.

•ETYM The accusatives ἅμέ, ἄμμε go back to **nsme* (see below) and, by adopting nominal inflexion, they resulted in the paradigm nom. ἅμές, ἄμμες, later also ἡμεῖς < -έες, with a new accus. ἡμέας, and with irregular contraction ἡμᾶς. Then came the genitives ἡμῶν, ἡμέων, ἁμέων, ἀμμέων. On the datives ἡμῖν, etc., see below.

The archaic forms ἅμέ, ἄμμε < *ἀσμε agree exactly with Av. *ahma* 'us'; in Skt. *asmā́n* 'id.', it received the nominal ending. Other forms like Skt. *nas* (enclitic), Lat. *nōs*, Go. *uns* (< IE **nṓs*, **ns*) show for *ἀσμε = Av. *ahma* IE basis with added element *-(s)me*: **n̥sme* < **n̥s-sme*. The spiritus in ἅμ-, ἡμ- could be analogical after ὑμ-. The dative ἡμῖν, Dor. ἅμῖν, Aeol. ἄμμι(ν), from *ἀσμι(ν), recalls the Indo-Iranian demonstratives and interrogatives Av. *ahmi*, *ásmin* 'in eo', Av. *kahmi*, Skt. *kásmin* 'in quo?'; cf. Cret. ὅτι-μι, μήδι-μι. The long -ῑν is an innovation (after the long-vocalic endings in ἡμ-ῶν, -εῖς, etc.?).

Like Latin and Celtic, Greek lost the specific nominative for 'we', Go. *weis*, Hitt. *u̯ēš*, Skt. *vay-ám*, etc., and used the accusative.

ἡμέν [pcl.] in ἡμέν ... ἠδε ..., 'both ... and also ...' (Il.). ◄IE **h₁e* ?►

•ETYM From ►ἦ 'really' and μέν. Cf. on ►ἠδέ.

ἥμερος [adj.] 'tame, civilized, cultivated' (ο 162, also *Tab. Heracl.* 1, 172; codd. Pi. and A. wrongly ἄμ-). ◄?►

•COMP Negated ἀν-ήμερος 'uncultivated, rough, wild' (A., Hell.). As a first member in ἡμερό-φυλλος "with improved leaves", 'improved' (ἐλαία; Isyll. 20).

•DER ἡμερίς (sc. ἄμπελος) 'improved vine' (ε 69) with ἡμερίδης 'regarding the ἡμερίς' (οἶνος, Διόνυσος; Plu.); ἡμερότης 'tameness, gentleness, cultivation' (IA), ἡμερία 'id.' (pap.); denominative verb ἡμερόω 'tame, cultivate, improve' (IA) together with ἡμέρ-ωσις 'improvement, cultivation' (Thphr., D. S.), -ωμα 'cultivated plant' (Thphr.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.), -ωτής 'tamer' (Max. Tyr.). On the accent cf. ἐλεύθερος; like this (: ἄγριος) expressing an opposition.

•ETYM Unclear. Several hypotheses (litt. in Frisk): (1) related to Skt. *yámati* 'tame, subdue'; (2) to Skt. *sāntva-* [n.] 'gentleness', MoHG *sanft*, etc.; (3) to a WGm. word for 'sad, sorrowful': OHG *jāmar*, etc. The form ἄμερος is a hyperdorism (Forssman 1966: 41ff; Bonfante *Riv. fil. class.* 99 (1971): 68 denies this).

ἠμί [v.] 'to speak' (Il.). ◄IE **h₁eh₂ǵ-* 'say'►

•VAR 3sg. ἠσί, Dor. ἠτί, almost only in ipf., especially 3sg. ἦ 'he said' (to 1sg. ἦν).

•ETYM New forms were built in Greek on the petrified form ἦ < *ἦκ-τ < IE **h₁eh₂ǵ-t*, after φημί, φησί, ἔφην. Cf. also ablauting ►ἄνωγα 'command, order'.

ἡμι- comp. element 'half' (Il.). ◄IE **sēmi-* 'half'►

•COMP In compounds, e.g. ἡμισύ-τριτον [n.] 'the third half = one and a half' (Archil. 167), ἡμιτυεκτο [gen.] 'half a ἑκτεύς' (Cret.).
•DER 1. ἥμισυς (-τυς) 'half', properly substantival [m.] (ὁ ἥμισυς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ; plur. ἡμίσεις Φ 7), τὸ ἥμισυ (Il.; after τὸ ὅλον), adjective fem. ἡμίσεια, Epid., Ther. ἡμίτεια (Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 447). With regressive assimilation ἥμυσυς (Erythrae V[a], etc.). Lesb. αιμισεων is a reverse spelling for ημι-, see Hodot 1990: 71. An *o*-stem ἥμισσον [n.] 'half' < -τϝ-ον, found in Dor. and Arc. Denominative verbs ἡμισεύω 'halve, cut in half' with ἡμίσευμα 'half' (LXX), with aphairesis μίσευμα 'id.' (Perga); ἡμιοιάζω [v.] 'to halve, cut in half' (Hero; cf. the verbs in -ιάζω in Schwyzer: 735). 2. ἡμῖνα [f.] 'half' (Cret., Cypr.; Bechtel 1921, 1: 448), also as a measure (Sicily; thence borrowed into Lat. *hēmīna*); for the formation cf. δωτῖνη and Chantraine 1933: 205. 3. ἡμίχα· ἡμιστατῆρα (H.), cf. ►δίχα.
•ETYM Old expression for 'half', also in Skt. *sāmi-*, Lat. *sēmi-*, Gm., e.g. OHG *sāmi-* 'id.'. The functional identity is reflected in parallel compounds (that need not be inherited, however): Skt. *sāmi-jīva-* = Lat. *sēmi-vīvus*, cf. ἡμί-βιος and OHG *sāmi-queck* "half-living", 'half-dead'. An old locative of the root **sem-* 'one' (see ►εἷς), thus properly meaning 'in one half (of two)'.

ἥμορος [adj.] · ἄμοιρος 'bereft' (H.). ◅IE **smer-* 'receive as a share'▻
•VAR Thence ἡμορίς· κενή, ἐστερημένη 'empty, bereft'. Αἰσχύλος Νιόβῃ (*Fr.* 165); ἡμόριξεν· ἄμοιρον ἐποίησεν 'made possessionless' (H.).
•ETYM The regular Ionic-Attic outcome of *ἄ-σμορος, and identical with Hom. (Aeol.) ἄ-μμορος; see ►μείρομαι (μόρος, ►μοῖρα) and ►κάμμορος.

ἦμος 'when, while'. ⇒τῆμος.

ἤμύω [v.] 'to bow down, perish' (Il.); rarely transitive 'sink, ruin' (A. R., Musae.). ◅?▻
•VAR Aor. ἠμῦσαι.
•COMP Also with κατ-, ἐπ-, ὑπ-.
•DER Also ἄμύω 'id.' (Hes. *Fr.* 216). Here probably also the perfect ὑπεμνήμῦκε (X 491) for *ὑπ-εμήμῦκε (with metr. length.), see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἠμύω.
•ETYM Unexplained.

ἦν [interj.] interjection calling attention: 'hey!, look over there', also ἠνίδε (ἦν ἴδε), ἦν ἰδού (Ar., Herod., Hell.). Added in Argiv. ταδ-ἔν, τῡνδεῡν-ἔν. ◅IE? **h₁ēn* 'see there'▻
•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, the formally identical Lat. *ēn* is a Greek loan, at least in part.

ἠνεκής ⇒διηνεκής.

ἡνία [n.pl.] 'reins, bridles' (Hom., Hes., Pi.). ◅IE **h₂ensieh₂* 'rein'▻
•VAR ἡνίαι [f.pl.], also -ία [sg.] (post-Hom.), Dor. ἀν- (ἀν-).
•DIAL Myc. *a-ni-ja* /an[h]iai/, *anıjapi* /an[h]iāp[h]i/ [dat.pl.f.]. Is the Homeric neuter secondary?
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἡνί-οχος "driver", 'charioteer' (Il.; epic also -ῆα, -ῆες, metrically conditioned) with ἡνιοχ-ικός, -έω (epic -εύω), -ησις, -εία. As a second member e.g. in χρυσ-ήνιος 'with golden reins'.

•ETYM As Lacon. ἀνιοχίῶν = ἡνιοχέων (*IG* 5(1), 213) seems to point to original psilosis (the origin of the aspiration is unknown), ἅνία may go back to *ἀνσία and be identical with a Celtic word for 'rein', MIr. *éis(s)i* [m.pl.] < **ansio-*. It has further been connected with Lat., Balt. and Gm. expressions for 'grip, handle': Lat. *ānsa* = Lith. *ąsà*; semantically more doubtful is ON *æs* [f.] < **ansiā* 'hole for shoe-strings'.

ἡνίκα [conj.] 'when, at the time when' (χ 198). ◅IE **io-* relative pron.▻

•VAR Dor. Aeol. (Pi., Theoc.) ἀνίκα, also ἀν-. A form without -κα in koinè-Cypr. *a-ni* /hani/ (Kafizin 267).

•DER Beside it τηνίκα, πηνίκα; cf. on ►ἡλίκος.

•ETYM From the relative ὁ-, ἁ- (see ►ὅς 1) with the same adverbial ending as in αὐτί-κα, ὅ-κα. The element -νι- is found in the Arc. dem. ὀ-νι. For the **-eh₂-*, cf. ►ἥλιξ.

ἦνῖς [acc.pl.] epithet of βοῦς, βοῦν (Hom.). ◅?▻

•VAR ἠνῖν (ἦνιν?) [acc.sg.] Hom., ἡνιος [gen.sg.] A. R. 4, 174.

•ETYM Probably with sch. A 1 'yearling, one-year-old', for which Wackernagel 1955(2): 1171[1] suggested a lengthened grade formation of a word for 'year' also seen in ►ἐνιαυτός, with criticism of other ideas. Not very probable; criticism by Szemerényi *Sprache* 11 (1965): 6-12.

ἦνορέη ⇒ ἀνήρ.

ἤνοψ, -οπος [adj.] of χαλκός (Π 408, Σ 349 = κ 360), of οὐρανός and πυρός (Call. *Fr. anon.* 24, 28); also PN (Il.). Meaning debated, already in antiquity, cf. ἠνοπα· λαμπρόν, πάνυ ἔνηχον, διαφανῆ (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Formation in -οψ, but further unclear; originally *ϝῆν-οψ (Chantraine 1942: 152). Cf. νῶρ-οψ, αἶθ-οψ, which are also said of χαλκός, but remain without clear interpretation. Older literature in Frisk.

ἦνυστρον [n.] 'the fourth stomach of ruminants, rennet stomach'; also a dish (Ar., Arist.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR ἐν- (LXX).

•ETYM The form with ἐν- perhaps arose under the influence of ἔντερα, ἐγκοίλια (but it is late in any case). Assuming *ϝήνυστρον, ἦνυστρον is traditionally connected with a NGm. word for 'rennet stomach', e.g. MoNw. dial. *vinstr* [f.], but it differs regarding the quantity of the first syllable and the color of the intermediate vowel (although Gr. -υ- might be analogical after ὑστέρα). As a pre-form, IE **u̯ĕnes-tro-, -trā-* has been assumed. Further, with a different suffix, there is OHG *wanast* 'belly', also 'the first stomach of ruminants', Skt. *vaniṣṭhú-* [m.] 'entrails' vel sim. (used as an offering). However, a digamma is uncertain, and the connection with the Germanic and Sanskrit words seems most improbable, as the forms are not well comparable. I think the ending in -στρον is Pre-Greek (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes s.v. -στρ-). Fur.: 258[42] points to the variation ε/ η, for which he gives parallels.

ἠπανᾷ [v.] and ἠπανεῖ· ἀπορεῖ, σπανίζει, ἀμηχανεῖ 'is at loss, is in need of' (H.). ◅?▻

•DER Further ἠπανία· ἀπορία, σπάνις, ἀμηχανία H., *EM* 433, 17; conj. in *AP* 5, 238.

•ETYM Reminiscent of πανία 'πλησμονή', so metrical lengthening for *ά-πανία (WP 2, 8) has been suggested. However, cf. σπανία 'lack, shortage'. DELG wonders how ἠ- can reflect an ἀ- privative.

ἠπάομαι [v.] 'to mend, repair' (Hes. *Fr.* 172, Ar. *Fr.* 227, Gal., Aristid.). ◅?▻

•VAR Aor. ἠπήσασθαι, perf.ptc.pass. ἠπημένος.

•DER ἠπητής 'mender, repairer' (X. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 16 [worse v.l. ἀκεσταί], Batr., pap.; rejected by Atticists, cf. Fraenkel 1912: 15), fem. ἠπήτρια (pap.); ἤπητρα [pl.] 'mender's wages' (pap.), ἠπητήριον 'mender's instrument, needle' (Ael. Dion.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. πηδάω and other deverbatives with lengthened *ē*-vowel (Schwyzer: 719); further unclear. The root shape is reminiscent of Hitt. *ḫapp-zi* 'to join, attach' (connected with Lat. *aptus* by Puhvel).

ἦπαρ, -ατος [n.] 'liver' (Il.). ◅IE **(H)iekʷ-r* 'liver'▻

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἠπατοσκοπέω 'inspect the liver' (to predict the future)' (LXX).

•DER ἠπάτιον name of a dish (Ar.); ἠπατῖτις [f.] 'belonging to the liver' (Hp.), also name of a stone and a plant (Plin., Ps.-Dsc., Strömberg 1940: 41); ἠπατ-ικός, -ιαῖος, -ίας, -ηρός 'ptng. to the liver' (Hp.); ἤπατος [m.] name of a fish (com., Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 45f.; acc. to Thompson 1947 s.v. Egyptian [?]).

•ETYM The IE word for 'liver', **iekʷ-r*, gen. **iekʷ-n-és* (*-ós*), is also retained in Skt. *yákṛ-t*, *yakn-ás* and indirectly in Lat. *iecur*, *iecin-or-is*. In other languages the *r/n*-stem led to a paradigm split: e.g., OAv. *yākarə*, MP *jakar*, MoP *jigar* (but Pashto *yĭna*, and perhaps Old Iran. *huyāyna-*, for **ha-yākana-*, properly "of common liver", acc. to Krause *KZ* 56, 304ff.), or Lith. *(j)ēknos* 'fish egg; calf; (plur.) spawn', Ru. *ikrá* 'id.' < **(H)ikʷ-r-*. In some branches, we find initial **l-*, which may have been taken from the word for 'fat' (cf. on ►λίπος): Gm., e.g. OHG *lebara*, Arm. *leard* (with the ending of **iekʷr̥*); attempts to connect the *l*-forms with **l̥iekʷr̥* by assuming an anlaut **lḭ-* have failed (Schmidt 1889: 198f., Benveniste 1935: 132). Hitt. *li-i-ši* is probably a loan (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Szemerényi *KZ* 73 (1956): 191 suggested that the Greek long vowel must be secondary, e.g. from ἦτορ; this is also advocated by Kortlandt.

ἠπεδανός [adj.] 'weak, light, slight, halting' (Il.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Formation like ῥιγεδανός, πευκεδανός (Chantraine 1933: 362, Schwyzer: 530, Risch 1937: 106), but further unclear, like several emotional adjectives. An Ionic word, acc. to DELG. Pokorny maintains the uncertain comparison with Lith. *opùs* 'soft, receptive, invalid' (beside which **ἦπος* [n.] has been assumed, like ῥῖγος to ῥιγεδανός); it has also been compared with Skt. *apᵤvā́-* 'mortal fear' (see Hoffmann 1955: 80ff., who also connects it with OP *afuvā* and **h₁ep-* 'to seize').

ἤπειρος [f.] 'continent' as opposed to the sea and the islands, 'coast', also in opposition to the inland (Il.), as a TN Epeiros. ◅IE? **Heh₂per-* 'shore'▻

•VAR Dor. ἄπειρος, Aeol. ἄπερρος.

•COMP As a first member in ἠπειρο-γενής 'born on the mainland' (A. *Pers.* 42).

•DER ἠπειρώτης, fem. -τις 'inhabitant of the continent, of Asia Minor, of Epeiros' (IA; on the formation Fraenkel 1912: 128 n. 1) with ἠπειρωτικός (X.); denominative

verb ἠπειρόομαι, *όω 'become (part of the) continent, connect with the mainland' (Th., Arist.).

•ETYM Except for the suffixal yod, PGr. *ἄπερος agrees with the WGm. word for 'shore', OE *ōfer* [m.], MoHG *Ufer*, etc., PGm. **ōfera-*, which points to IE **āpero-* < **Heh₂pero-*. Arm. *ap'n* 'shore' (Benveniste 1935: 13) cannot be compared phonetically (so is it a substrate word?).

ἠπεροπεύς [m.] 'cheat, deceiver' (λ 364, A. R. 3, 617, *AP* 9, 524, 8). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR -ηῖς [f.] (Hom., apud Str. 1, 2, 4).

•DER ἠπεροπεύω (only present stem) 'cheat, deceive' (Hom., Hes.) together with ἠπεροπευτής (only voc. -τά Γ 39 = N 768, *h. Merc.* 282, etc.; on the formation Fraenkel 1910: 20f., Fraenkel 1912: 34) and ἠπερόπευμα (Critias).

•ETYM Because of the rarity of the attestations, ἠπεροπεύς could be a back-formation from ἠπεροπεύω. The basic form *ἠπερ-οψ, *ἠπερ-οπός, -ή that was assumed received various explanations (see Frisk). Kuiper's connection (Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 283f.) with ►ἀπάτη is semantically attractive, but an IE reconstruction is excluded in this case. A loan from Pre-Greek is quite possible (thus also DELG), especially in view of suffixal *-op-*.

ἠπίαλος [m.] 'ague, ague from fever' (Thgn., Ar., Hp., etc.; on the meaning Strömberg 1944: 82ff.); 'nightmare'. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR ἐπίαλος Alc. apud *EM* 434, 6 (probably after ἐπί). Cf. ἠπίολος 'moth' (Arist. *HA* 605b 14; v.l. -όλης) with ἠπιόλιον· ῥιγοπυρέτιον 'ague' (H.).

•DER ἠπιαλώδης 'ague-like' (Hp.), ἠπιαλέω 'suffer from agues' (Ar., Arist.), ἐξ-ηπιαλόομαι 'turn into an ague' (Hp.).

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1944: 82ff. (with parallels), it is from ἤπιος, so properly "mild fever", which would be a taboo paraphrase. This seems an improbable hypothesis. On the suffix -αλο-, see Chantraine 1933: 246f. The word ἠπίολος 'moth' (better, -όλης; after the nouns in -όλης) should not be separated from ἠπίαλος, as is shown by the words adduced by Bugge *BB* 18 (1892): 166: Lith. *drugỹs* 'fever, malaria, butterfly, moth' (related to Ru. *drožát'* 'shiver'), Alb. *ethe* 'fever' with *ethëzë* 'moth' ("feverbird"). In folklore, butterflies, etc. bring fever (Frisk). Given the variation α/ ο, it is probably a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 258, 342). See also on ►ἐφιάλτης.

ἤπιος [adj.] 'friendly, gentle, kind, mild, soothing' (Il.). ◁IE? **h₂e-h₂p-i-* 'friendly'▷

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἠπιό-φρων 'with mild intention' (Emp.).

•DER ἠπιότης 'mildness' (Hell.) and the rare denominatives ἠπιόομαι 'to become mild' (Phld.), ἠπιαίνω 'id.' (Arist. *Mu.* 397b 1; uncertain).

•ETYM Mostly connected with Skt. *āpí-* 'friend'. Floyd *Glotta* 71 (1993): 10-16 confirms this connection and compares the uses in Homer and the Rigveda, especially the turn of phrase πατὴρ ὡς ἤπιος. As Pinault *LALIES* 6 (1987): 111-128 convincingly shows, the central meaning of ἤπιος in Homeric Greek is 'favorable, well-disposed' (French *propice, favorable*), not 'mild'. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that we should reconstruct **h₂e-h₂p-i-* 'fitting, allied' (of the type Skt. *cákri-* 'doing' < **kʷé-kʷr-i-*) on the basis of Greek and Sanskrit; this is more convincing than a

lengthened grade locative *$h_1ēp$-*i* 'proche', from which Pinault departs, a formation which would be isolated.

ἠπύω [v.] 'to sound loudly, cry loudly' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Dor. Arc. ἀπύω, aor. ἠπῦσαι.

•COMP Also with ἀν-, ἐπ-; βρι-ήπυ-ος 'crying loudly' (N 521).

•DER ἠπύτᾱ 'cryer', as an epithet (H 384, Q. S., Opp.), Ἠπυτίδης name of a herold (P 324).

•ETYM It is possible that ἠπύω is based on a noun *ἦπυς 'loud cry' (Fraenkel 1910: 165). On the ending, cf. γηρύ-ω, οἰζύ-ω, ἀΰ-σαι; further unclear. The comparison with Lat. *vāpulō* 'to be beaten' (probably properly 'lament, cry') and Gm. words like Go. *wopjan* 'cry' (which suppose a deviating labial) supposes an initial digamma. However, there is no trace of it in Homer. Improbable comparison by Fur. 236 with ►αὔω 'to cry, call'.

ἦρα [acc.sg.] (or [n.pl.]?) 'service, favor' in (ἐπὶ) ἦρα φέρειν 'do a favor' (Il.); post-Hom. as a postposition with gen. = χάριν 'for the sake of, on account of' (B., Call.). ◁IE *ueh_1r- 'true' ?▷

•DER ►ἐρίηρες [pl.] 'faithful', also ἐπίηρος (perhaps a reinterpretation of ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν in e.g. A 572 and 578). Also βριηρόν· μεγάλως κεχαρισμένον 'highly charming' (H.; perhaps βρι- is a mistake for ἐρί-); PN Πολυ-ήρης, etc. The appurtenance of Lesb. ►ἠρώνα and ►ἐπιήρανος 'pleasant' is doubtful.

•ETYM A pre-form *ϝῆρ-α (on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 152; on the formation, Sommer 1948: 138) can be connected in several ways. First, with words for 'friendly': Lat. *sevērus* 'earnest', if < **sē vērō* "without friendliness" (but see now Nussbaum 1998 apud De Vaan 2008 s.v. *sevērus* on this word), Gm., e.g. ON *værr* 'friendly', OHG *ala-wāri* 'friendly'. Alternatively, it can be connected with the word for 'true': Lat. *vērus* = OIr. *fir* = OHG *wār*, OCS *věra* 'faith', etc., from *ueh_1-*ro*-. Within Greek, some have tried to connect it with ►ἑορτη, ►ἔρανος, ►ἔροτις.

Ἥρα [f.] Hera, the wife of Zeus (Il.). ◁PG▷

•DIAL Myc. *E-ra*, Ion. Ἥρη; Cypr. Ἔραι [dat.] (see *Del.*[3] 681, 4).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in Ἥρα-κλέης, -κλῆς (Il.), explanation in Kretschmer *Glotta* 8 (1917): 121ff., with βίη Ἡρακληείη (probably an Achaean formula, see Ruijgh 1995: 82f.), also -κλήϊος, -κλειος and Ἡρακλείδης (Il.).

•DER Ἡραῖος 'belonging to H.' (IA); fem. -αία, -άα place name (Arcadia VI[a]) with Ἡραιεύς inhabitant of Heraia; also Ἐρϝαῶιοι (El.); Ἡρα(ι)ών month name (Tenos, Eretria).

•ETYM The Mycenaean, Cyprian and Arcadian forms without digamma make El. Ἐρϝαῶιοι suspect. Therefore, the connection with Lat. *servāre*, etc. is quite improbable. Other proposals are highly doubtful: e.g. to IE *$Hieh_1r$- 'year' (see ►ὥρα). As with most theonyms, Pre-Greek origin is most probable.

ἠράνθεμον [n.] "spring anthemon" (Dsc.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From ἔαρ 'spring'; cf. Strömberg 1940: 72. On the formation, see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 53f.

ἤρανος [m.] 'keeper, lord, helper' (Hell. poetry), in H. = βασιλεύς, ἄρχων, σκοπός, φύλαξ 'king, ruler, overseer, guardian'. ◁?▷

•VAR Found as ἐπι-ήρανος 'powerful, ruling, protecting' in earlier sources (Emp., Pl. Com., *AP*).

•DER ἠρανέων· βοηθῶν, χαριζόμενος 'helping, charming' (H.).

•ETYM For the suffix, cf. ►κοίρανος. Since Fick 1874-1876(2): 270, it has been compared with Skt. *vāraka-* 'who wards off, opponent' (or, rather, *vāraṇá-* 'averting, strong' RV), from the root of ►ἔρυμαι. Frisk compares ἐπι-ήρανος with ἐπι-βουκόλος and asks whether ἤρανος is an archaizing simplex. Connection with ►ἦρα, ►ἐπίηρος seems semantically improbable.

ἠρέμᾱ [adv.] 'quietly, gentle, slowly, a little' (Pl., Ar., Arist.); also ἠρέμᾰς (A. R. 3, 170; antevocalic), -μῑ́ (Ar. *Ra.* 315). ◁IE? **h₁remH-* 'rest, be quiet'▷

•DER Comp. ἠρεμέστερος (X., Thphr.; innovation, not an old *s*-stem to Go. *rimis*), together with ἠρεμαιότης (Hp.); ἤρεμος 'id.' (Thphr.; back-formation from ἠρεμέω) with ἠρεμότης (late); further ἠρεμαῖος 'quiet' (Pl., Hp.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἠρεμέω 'be quiet' (Pl., Hp., etc.) with ἠρέμησις 'rest' (Ti. Locr., Arist.), also ἠρεμία 'id.' (Arist.; after the type ἐπιδημέω : ἐπιδημία; Schwyzer: 469; cf. also ἤρεμος [: ἐπίδημος]); 2. ἠρεμίζω 'calm' (X., Arist.) with ἠρέμισμα (Comm. Arist.); 3. ἠρεμάζω 'be quiet' (LXX).

•ETYM See Schwyzer: 622 on the formation: ἠρέμᾰς, like ἀτρέμᾰς (ibid. 620); on ἠρεμῑ́ (-εί), ibid. 623. The word ἠρέμα cannot be separated from a widespread group for 'rest, quiet': e.g., Skt. *rámate* 'to rest, etc.', Lith. *rimti* 'to be quiet' (the acute accent pointing to a root-final laryngeal), Go. *rimis* [n.] 'rest', OIr. *fo-rimim* 'to set, lay'. A prefix ἠ- cannot be assumed (cf. ►ἠβαιός); neither is a lengthened prothesis attractive (the archaic epic word ►ἠΐθεος, with metrical lengthening, is not a parallel).

ἦρι [adv.] 'early' (Il.). ◁IE **h₂eus-er-i* '(early) in the morning'▷

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἠρι-γένεια 'born early' (Il.), epithet of Ἠώς, also as a substantive denoting dawn; later also -ής (A. R.); ἠρι-γέρων "early grey", also the plant 'Senecio' (Thphr.; Strömberg 1940: 56).

•ETYM Seems to stand for *ἤερι (cf. ἠέριος, Ἠερί-βοια). This used to be explained as from *ἄιερι as a locative with lengthened grade, beside a full grade **aier-i* seen in Greek in ►ἄριστον 'breakfast', as well as in Go. *air*, ON *ár* [adv.] 'early'. The noun is seen in Av. *aiiarə*, gen. *aiiąn* 'day'. However, the lengthened grade assumed for Greek is found nowhere else. Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 624-6 convincingly derived the form from a locative **aus-er-i* 'in the early morning', belonging to the root **h₂eus-* of ►ἠώς, to which ►ἠικανός also belongs. The old explanation should be rejected.

ἠρίον [n.] 'burial mound, barrow' (Ψ 126). ◁?▷

•COMP As a first member in ἠρι-εργής· τυμβώρυχος 'grave digger' (H.).

•DER Not here the river name Ἠριδανός.

•ETYM Formation like κηρίον : κηρός, μηρία : μηρός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 59). By the ancients, it was connected with ἔρα 'earth' (cf. Schwyzer: 424, where unclear

πολύηρος· πολυάρουρος, πλούσιος 'having much farmland, rich' [H.] is adduced), but given μέγα ἠρίον in Ψ 126, we should rather reconstruct *ϝηρίον. Often derived from a root **uer-* 'cover', with reference to Gm. words like ON *vǫr* [f.] 'hill or bank of stones or gravel', ON *ver* [n.] 'dam' < IE **uorio-*, which derive in the first place from a verb for 'avert', Go. *warjan*, etc. This is not convincing, as it supposes a lengthened grade for Greek.

ἦρος [m.] with ἠρίσκος of unknown meaning (Delos IV -III[a]). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unexplained.

ἤρυγγος 1 [f.] name of a thistle-like plant, 'Eryngium' (Nic. et al.). ◂PG(S)▸
•VAR Mostly ἠρύγγιον (Thphr.), also ἠρύγγη (Plin.) and ἠρυγγίτης (Plu.).
•DER ἠρυγγίς [f.] 'belonging to E.' (Nic.).
•ETYM Formation like εἴλιγγος and πίσυγγος; the suffix -Vγγ- is much more frequent in athematic forms like φάρυγξ, etc. Acc. to Strömberg 1940: 72, it derives from ἔαρ, ἦρος 'spring', as "spring flower". Clearly a Pre-Greek word.

ἤρυγγος 2 [m.] 'goat's beard' (Arist. *HA* 610b 29). ◂PG(S)▸
•ETYM Although the meaning 'goat's beard' is unexplained beside those of ἤρυγγος 1, the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

ἠρώνα [f.] 'consecrated object' = ἱερωνία (inscr. Thermi near Mytilene, *IG* 12(2), 242, cf. also 251).
•ETYM For ἱερωνία, a Lesbianized form. See Hodot *ZPE* 49 (1982): 187-9.

ἥρως [m.] 'lord, hero' (Il.). ◂PG▸
•VAR Gen. -ωος, rarely -ωνος, -ωνι, -ωτι, etc. (details in Schwyzer: 479f., 557, 582).
•DIAL Myc. *ti-ri-se-ro-e* /tris-ērō[h]es/.
•DER ἡρώϊος, ἡρῷος 'heroic' (Pi., Pl.) together with ἡρῴον, -ῶον 'sanctuary of a hero' (IA); ἡρωϊκός 'id.' (Att., Arist.). Several feminine formations (cf. on βασιλεύς): 1. ἡρωΐς (Pi.); 2. ἡρωΐνη, ἡρῳνη, ἡροΐνα (Ar., inscr.); 3. ἡρώϊσσα, ἡρῷσσα (A. R., inscr.); 4. ἡρώασσα (Creta); 5. ἥρυς (Lilybaeum II[a]), probably an innovation (after θῆλυς or γρηῦς?); ἡρωϊασταί, ἡρωϊσταί (-οϊσταί, -ωσταί) [pl.] 'adorer of heroes' (inscr. IV[a]); after the nouns in -αστής, -ιστής, see Fraenkel 1910: 175ff.; ἡρωϊσμός 'adoration of heros' (Mytilene); the verb ἡρωΐζω only in Eust. 4, 1 in the sense of 'write epic poems'. PN Ἥρυλλα (Chantraine 1933: 252).
•ETYM Not from ἡρωϝ-, as previously assumed, because of the Mycenaean form. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

Ἡσίοδος [m.] PN Hesiod (since Pi.). ◂?▸
•DER Ἡσιόδειος (Pl.).
•ETYM Solmsen 1901: 81 supposed a governing compound to ἵημι *ϝοδήν 'to start a song'. See on ▸ αὐδή; further Knecht 1946: 48f. A survey of the proposals is given by Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 68 (1990): 66-67.

ἥσυχος [adj.] 'quiet, silent, slow' (Hes.). ◂?▸
•VAR Also ἡσύχιος (Φ 598), ἡσύχιμος (Pi. *O.* 2, 32; analogical to ἡσυχία, Arbenz 1933: 77), ἡσυχαῖος (Att.; to ἡσυχῆ).

•DIAL Dor. ἄσυχ- is not a hyperdorism, see Forssman 1966: 48ff.
•DER ἡσυχῆ, -ᾗ [adv.] 'quiet, softly, secretly' (IA; Schwyzer: 550); ἡσυχία, -ίη 'rest' (σ 22); ἡσυχάζω, -άσαι 'be quiet, rest, bring to rest' (Att.) with ἡσυχαστικός 'calming' (late).
•ETYM Unexplained. A hypothesis by Osthoff and Brugmann is given in Pok. 890 and WH s.v. *sinō*: that it is from the root **seh₁-* in Lat. *sēmen*. This is now viewed as impossible, as the word had initial hā̃-.

ἦτα [n.] the seventh letter of the alphabet (Hp., Pl.). ◁LW Sem.▷
•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *ḥēth*. See Schwyzer: 140.

ἦτορ [n.] 'heart' (Il.); on the meaning Bolelli *Ann. d. Scuola Norm. di Pisa* 17: 65ff. and Biraud *LAMA* 10: 1-32. ◁IE **h₁eh₁t-r* 'heart, intestines'▷
•VAR Only nom.-acc. except ἤτορι (Pi., Simon.).
•COMP As a second member in μεγαλ-ήτωρ, -ορος 'magnanimous' (Il.).
•DER ἦτρον [n.] 'abdomen' (IA; on the formation Schwyzer: 461) with ἠτριαῖος 'belonging to the abdomen' (Ar.); cf. e. g. νεφρ-ιαῖος and Chantraine 1933: 49.
•ETYM Old *r*-stem with Aeol. -ορ from zero grade **-r̥*. The word is also found in Gm. and Celt., e.g. ON *æðr* [f.] 'vein', OHG *ād(a)ra*, MHG *āder* 'vein', plur. 'intestines', OIr. *inathar* (< **en-ōtro-*) 'intestines'. On the meaning 'heart' ~ 'intestines', cf. e.g. OE *hreðer* 'breast, belly, heart' next to OHG *herdar* 'intestines'. See also ►κῆρ, ►καρδία.

ἧτριον [n.] 'warp' (Pl., E., Theoc.). ◁?▷
•VAR ἄτριον Theoc. 18, 33 (better -ίον?).
•ETYM For the formation, cf. ἠρίον. Semantically, connection with ►ἄττομαι 'set the warp in the loom' is probable; cf. the derivatives ἄσμα, δίασμα with related meaning. It is difficult to give a precise derivational model, however. The word ►ἐπήτριμοι 'closely woven, thronged' perhaps also belongs here.

ἧττων •VAR Ion. ἥσσων. ⇒ἧκα.

ἠΰτε [pcl.] 'as, just like' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁ē* 'or'▷
•ETYM From ἤ, ἠ(ϝ)έ 'or' and **(H)ute*, found in Skt. *utá* 'and, also'. See Schwyzer 1950: 564 and 576. Cf. ►εὖτε.

Ἥφαιστος [m.] the divine smith, god of fire, also meton. for 'fire' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Dor. Aeol. Ἄφ-, Ἅφ-, Att. vases Hēφαστος (Schwyzer: 276; on the form of the name also Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 115ff.).
•DIAL Myc. *A-pa-i-ti-jo* PN /(H)ăpʰaistios/.
•COMP Ἡφαιστό-τευκτος 'made by H.' (S.), ἀν-ήφαιστος 'without H., without warmth' (πῦρ, E. *Or.* 621).
•DER Ἡφαίστιος, -ιών month-name (Thess.), Ἡφαιστῖτις (scil. λίθος) name of a stone (Plin.). Ἡφαίστια [pl.] 'festival for Hephaestus' (Att.), -εῖον 'temple of H.' (IA), also -ιεῖον (pap. I^{a}, after Ἀσκληπι-εῖον), etc.; -ιάς 'a plaster'.
•ETYM A Pre-Greek theonym; the form without *-i-* shows a typical Pre-Greek variation (Fur.: 296, 336) and points to original *s^{y}*.

ἠχη [f.] 'sound, noise' (Il.). ◂IE *(*s*)*ueh*$_2$*g*^{h}- 'sound'▸

•VAR Dor. ἀχά.

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ὑψ-ηχής 'with high neighing' (ἵππος, Il.); ἀντ-ηχος 'sounding towards' (Ph.), to ἠχή, ἦχος or ἠχέω.

•DER ἠχήεις 'sounding, making noise' (Il.; with shortening ἠχέεντα Archil. 74, 8; see Schwyzer: 246). ἠχώ [f.] 'sound, noise' (Dor. ἀχώ), also personified (*h. Hom.*, Hes. *Sc.*, Pi., A.). ἦχος [m.] (secondarily [n.], Schwyzer: 512) = ἠχή, together with ἠχώδης (Hp., Hell.); also as a PN ϝᾶχος (Arc.), short name like ϝᾶχυς (Cor. Chalcid.). Verb ἠχέω, aor. ἠχῆσαι, often with prefix, e.g. ἀντ-, ὑπ-, 'sound, rustle, give a sound' (Hes.); with ἀντ-ήχημα, -ήχησις, ἠχέτης, -τᾰ́ (ἀχ-) 'who sounds, cicada' (Hes.; also from ἦχος, Schwyzer: 500, Fraenkel 1910: 165), ἠχητής Hes. with ἠχητικός 'sounding' (late), ἠχεῖον 'drum' (Ph., Plu.). See also on ►ἰάχω, ►ἰαχή.

•ETYM ἠχή (from *ϝᾱ́χᾱ́), ἠχώ, and secondary ἦχος (cf. κόμπος, τάραχος) continue a root noun or an uncharacterized verb. These were replaced by innovations ἠχή and deverbative (or denominative?) ἠχέω. Beside it stands a primary zero grade reduplicated present ϝι-ϝᾰ́χ-ω; see ►ἰάχω.

The forms ἠχή, ἠχέω have no exact parallels in other languages. The closest are Lat. *vāgīre* 'wail' (though with IE *-*g*-) and a few Baltic and Germanic words with initial *s*u̯*-, e.g. Lith. *svagiù*, *-ėti* 'to sound' (IE *-*g*$^{(h)}$-), OE *swōgan* 'sound' (IE *-*g*^{h}- as in ἠχή).

Θ

θαιρός [m.] 'pivot of a door' (M 459, Q. S., Agath.), also 'axle of a chariot' (S. *Fr.* 596). ◁IE *d^huer- 'door'▷

•COMP θαιροδύται· οἱ ἐν τῷ ζυγῷ δακτύλιοι, δι' ὧν οἱ ῥυτῆρες 'the rings on the yoke, whence the reins' (H.).

•DER θαιραῖος (Poll.).

•ETYM A technical term, which Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 356ff. derived from *θϝαρ-ιό-ς (thus IE *$d^hu̯r$-i̯ó-) as "Türgänger", from ▶θύρα and ἰέναι 'to go'. The form reconstructed for Greek would rather contain the suffix *-i̯o-, thus *d^hur-io-. This remains uncertain. MoNw. (dial.) *darre* 'pivot of a door, small standard in the corner of a sledge' (Falk & Torp 1910: 178) is remotely related at best.

θᾶκος [m.] 'seat, chair' (Att.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Epic Ion. Dor. θῶκος (since Il.), lengthened θόωκος (β 26, μ 318 verse-finally; see below).

•COMP As a second member e.g. in σύν-θακος, -θωκος 'who shares his chair with someone else' (S., E.).

•DER Denominative verbs: 1. θάσσω, epic θαάσσω (only present stem) 'sit' (Il.) < *θαϝακ-i̯ω, see below; θοάζω for *θοάσσω; 2. θᾱκέω, θωκέω (also with prefix, e.g. συν-, ἐν-) 'sit' (post-Hom.) together with θάκημα 'sitting' (S.), ἐνθάκησις 'sitting' (S.), ἐνθακη 'ambush' (Pompeiopolis; deverbal), θακεῖον 'seat' (Attica IV^a; cf. ἀρχεῖον, Chantraine 1933: 61). 3. θακεύω 'go to stool' (Plu., Artem.). On ▶θοάζω, see s.v.

•ETYM From θάβακον· θᾶκον ἢ θρόνον H., it appears that *θᾶκο was contracted from *θά(ϝ)ακος; θῶκος would then come from θό(ϝ)ᾶκος (not from θώ(ϝ)ακος, as per Frisk et al.), shortened *θό(ϝ)ακος; it yielded θόωκος after diectasis. Details on θᾶκος, θῶκος in Björck 1950: 349ff. Connection with *d^heh_1- (comparing θωμ-ός 'heap') as zero grade and *ō*-grade is impossible because of *θαϝακ-ος. In accordance with Schulze 1892: 435, *θάϝακος has been explained as assimilated from *θόϝακος, but this is most improbable. The word must be Pre-Greek, as was observed by Fur.: 342. A suffix -ακ- is frequent in Pre-Greek (*Pre-Greek*: Suffixes); the variation *-αϝ-/-οϝ- is normal in substrate words.

θάλαμος [m.] 'inside room at the back of a house' (as opposed to μέγαρον, δῶμα); room for women and bedroom, also a room for provisions (Il.; on the meaning Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff.), in mariners' language 'the lowest deck of a ship' (Timae., Poll.). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θαλαμη-πόλος [f.], late [m.] 'chamber maid, lady's-maid; eunuch' (Od.; -η- metrically conditioned). θαλάμη [f.] 'lair, den, cavity of the body' (ε 432, E., Hp., Arist.), as a nautical term = θάλαμος (Luc.); on θάλαμος ~ -μη see Porzig 1942: 284.

•DER θαλαμιά 'oar hole' (Hdt. 5, 33), also 'oar at the lower deck' (Ar. *Ach.* 533, inscr.); θαλαμίας [m.] 'rower in the θάλαμος or θαλαμιά' (Th. 4, 32, App., Them.), in this meaning also θαλάμᾱξ (Ar. *Ra.* 1074) and θαλαμίτης (sch. ad loc.). From θάλαμος also the rare θαλαμήϊος (Hes. *Op.* 807, A. R.), θαλαμαῖος (Ph.), θαλαμίς (*An. Ox.*) and denominative θαλαμεύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to (be) take(n) into the θάλαμος, as a wife' (Ph., Hld. et al.) with θαλαμεύτρια = νυμφεύτρια (Poll.); θαλάμευμα = θάλαμος E. *Ba.* 120 (lyr.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 185; θαλαμευτός (Tim. *Pers.* 245).

•ETYM Reminiscent of ►θόλος 'circular building', but further unknown; Pre-Greek origin is quite possible, as its structure (CaC-aC-) is typical for such words. It could be cognate with θόλος (Fur.: 342). Not related to ►ὀφθαλμός.

θάλασσα [f.] 'sea' (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻

•DIAL Att. θάλαττα, Late Cretan θάλαθθα (Buck 1955: §81b), Lacon. in σαλασσο-μέδοισα Alc. 84.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. θαλασσο-κράτωρ (Hdt., Th.), ἀμφι-θάλασσος 'surrounded by the sea' (Pi.; bahuvrīhi); often in hypostases, mostly with -ιος (-ίδιος), e.g. ἐπι-, παρα-θαλάσσιος, -ίδιος (IA).

•DER θαλάσσιος 'belonging to the sea, maritime' (Hom.), -ία [f.], -ιον [n.] as a plant name (Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 114), θαλασσ-ίδιος (Hdt.), -αῖος (Simon., Pi.) 'id.', θαλασσώδης 'sea-like' (Hanno *Peripl.*), θαλασσερός [m.] 'kind of eye-salve' (Gal.); θαλασσίτης (οἶνος Plin.). Denominatives: θαλασσ-εύω 'be in the sea' (Th.), -όομαι, -όω 'to be filled by sea water, turn into sea' (Arist., Hell.) with θαλάσσωσις 'inundation' (Thphr., Ph.), -ίζω 'to be like sea water, wash in sea water' (Ath., pap.).

•ETYM For the notion of 'sea', the Greeks did not use the stem **mor-i-*, limited to the European languages (Lat. *mare*, MoHG *Meer*, etc.), but they used old words in a new meaning (ἅλς properly 'salt', πόντος properly 'path'), or borrowed words from Pre-Greek, like πέλαγος. The latter is the case for θάλασσα. It belongs to the gloss Maced. (?) δαλάγχαν· θάλασσαν (H.). Fur.: 195 notes that it is uncertain that δαλάγχαν is Macedonian (Kalléris 1954 does not give it). The word, with its prenasalized variant, is typically Pre-Greek. Fur. further connects σάλος, ζάλος, which seems possible but remains uncertain. Acc. to Lesky *Herm.* 78 (1943): 258ff., θάλασσα was originally a foreign word for 'salt water'. See Beekes fthc. [on PG **ky*].

θάλλω [v.] 'to flourish, grow' (Hes., *h. Cer.* 402). ◅IE **$d^h(e)h_2$-l-*, **d^hh_2l-* 'flourish. green'▻

•VAR Them. aor. ἔθᾰλον (*h. Hom.* 19, 33, Hell.), perf. with present meaning τέθηλα, Aeol. Dor. τέθᾱλα (Il.); later forms *s*-aor. ἀν-έθηλα (Ael.), fut. ἀνα-θᾰλήσομαι (*AP*).

•COMP Also with prefix (ἀνα-, etc.).

•DER 1. From the root aorist: θάλος [n.] 'sprout', only metaph. (Il.) with ἀμφι-θαλής 'surrounded by θάλος (θάλεα), rich' (X 496; also to θαλεῖν); adj. fem. θάλεια 'flowering, rich' (Il.; on the accent cf. ἐλάχεια, see ►ἐλαχύς), while **θαλύς [m.], -ύ

[n.] is found only in θαλέων [gen.pl.] (X 504); instead of it we find θαλερός (Il.), like γλυκερός to γλυκύς. θαλία, -ίη 'flower, abundance', plur. 'festival' (Il., Hdt.; Scheller 1951: 39 with different analysis) with θαλιάζω [v.] 'to amuse oneself' (Plu.). PN Θάλης (-ῆς), gen. Θάλεω, Θάλητος, etc. (Schwyzer: 461f.). See also on ►θαλύσια. 2. From the present: θαλλός [m.] 'green twig, especially of the olive; sprout', also '(festive) gift' (ρ 224) together with θαλλία [f.sg.] 'foliage' (Thphr.), θαλλία [n.pl.] 'gifts' (pap.), θάλλῐνος 'consisting of θαλλοι' (Rhodes). Θαλλώ [f.] 'goddess of growth' (Iusi. *apud* Lycurg. 77, Paus. 9, 35, 2).

Secondary presents: 1. to the root aorist: θᾰλ-έθω (Il.; see Chantraine 1942: 327, Shipp 1967: 39); 2. to the perfect: θηλέω, θᾱλέω, aor. θηλῆσαι, θᾱλ- (Il.), together with ἐριθηλής 'richly growing' (Il., Hes.), etc. (but cf. ἐριθαλίς· εἶδος δένδρου 'kind of tree' H., *erithales* [n.] Plin. to θάλος). Lengthened from θηλέω: τηλεθάω, old only the ptc. τηλεθάων (Il.; Chantraine 1942: 359).

•ETYM Ascertained correspondences are found only in Albanian and Armenian: present Alb. *dal* 'to sprout' < *$d^{h}al$-n- (which may even be identical with θάλλω, cf. on ►βάλλω), aor. *dol(l)a* < IE *$d^{h}eh_{2}l$- as in τέθᾱλα, and the Arm. adjective *dalar* 'green, fresh', which has been compared directly with θαλερός. The Celtic material (MW *deillyau* 'to emanate, proceed, etc.'), and the Germanic even more so (see Pok. 234), is best considered separately. See LIV² s.v. *$d^{h}alh_{1}$- (which cannot be the correct reconstruction, however).

Clackson 1994: 118ff. argues concerning the comparison Arm. *dalar* : θαλερός that *-ar-* is a productive suffix in Armenian and that 'the semantic development may be independent'.

θάλπω [v.] 'to warm', rarely intr. 'to be warm' (Od.). ◄PG►

•VAR Aor. θάλψαι.

•COMP Also prefixed with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER θάλπος [n.] 'warmth' (IA) with δυσ-θαλπής 'with bad warmth, shivery' (P 549); or from θάλπω; θαλπωρή 'refreshment' (Hom.); θάλψις 'warming' (Hp.); θαλπνός 'warming' (Pi.; cf. τερπνός; Chantraine 1933: 193); θαλπεινή 'Iris' (Strömberg 1940: 82); PN Θάλπιος B 620. Lengthened ptc. pres. θαλπιόων 'warm' (τ 319, Arat. 1073; on the formation see Risch 274).

•ETYM Connection with θάλλω as 'make flourish' is improbable. The root is also found in ►θαλυκρός, *$d^{h}al$-uk^{w}-; the syncopated form, without *-u-*, yielded θάλπω. Thus Kuiper *Lingua* 21 (1968): 270-275 and Fur.: 384, 391. On syncope in Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 378-385.

θαλυκρός [adj.] 'warm, glowing' (Call. *Fr. anon.* 69, *AP* 5, 219), in H. = ἰταμόν, λαμπρόν, βλοσυρόν, ἀναιδές, πανοῦργον 'rash, splendid, hairy, shameless, knavish', with θαλυκρέονται· ψεύδονται 'they are deceived' (H.). ◄PG►

•DER θαλύ<πτ>εσθαι· φλέγεσθαι 'to be burnt [up]'; θαλύψαι· θάλψαι, πυρῶσαι 'to [soften by] heat, burn'; θαλυσσόμενος· φλεγόμενος 'who is burnt (up)' (H.).

•ETYM Beside the present θαλύσσομαι, the aorist had θαλύψαι (Schulze *GGA* 1897: 874; Schwyzer: 704). Brugmann connected it with ►θάλπω 'to heat', assuming that -π- represents *k^{w}, and that its labial element found as -υ- in θαλύσσομαι, etc. in the

preceding syllable, after which -κ- was retained. Although (as Frisk remarks) this is not convincing from an IE point of view, such mechanisms are well-known for substrate words. Both θάλπ- and θαλύκ- can be explained as from **tal-uk^{w}-*, while in θαλυκρός we have retention of *k* after *u*. See on ►θάλπω. The form άλυκρός is unclear; see ►άλέα 1 'warmth'.

θαλῦσια [n.pl.] 'offerings of first fruits' (I 534, Theoc. 7, 3). ◄IE **d^{h}h$_{2}$l-* 'flourish, grow green'►

•DER θαλύσιος ἄρτος 'bread from the first corn' (Ath. 3, 114a; cf. on Θαργήλια), θαλυσιὰς ὁδός 'the road to the Th.' (Theoc. 7, 31); patronynicon Θαλυσιάδης (Δ 458).

•ETYM From θάλλω, etc., first from an adjective *θαλύς, -ύ (found only in θαλέων [gen.pl.] and θάλεια [f.], of δαῖς, ἑορτή), as was observed by Solmsen 1901: 37 and Solmsen *Glotta* 1 (1909): 80. On the formation, see Fraenkel 1912: 124 and Chantraine 1933: 41f. On the Thalysia see Nilsson 1941(1): 468.

θαμά [adv.] 'often' (Il.). ◄?►

•DER θαμάκις (: πολλάκις) 'id.' (Pi.). θαμινά 'id.' (Pi., Hp.), adjective θαμινός 'crowded, close-set' (Call.; cf. πυκινά, -ινός) with θαμινάκις (Hp.); also θαμεινός after αἰπεινός (*h. Merc.* 44). Next to θαμά stands the *u*-stem *θαμύς (τάχα : ταχύς) in θαμέες [pl.] 'close-set, crowded', θαμειαί [f.] (Hom.; on the accent Schwyzer: 385); cf. also Θαμυ-κλῆς PN (Bechtel 1917b: 197). Compar. θαμύντεραι· πυκνότεραι (H.), cf. ἰθύντατα. Here also θάμυρις (H.), probably after πανήγυρις, by which H. glosses it; also as a PN (B 595, inscr.); cf. Bechtel 1917a: 25f.; further ὁδοὺς θαμυρούς· τὰς λεωφόρους 'highways'; θαμυρίζει· ἀθροίζει, συνάγει 'brings together' (H.); also intr. (*BCH* 50, 401, Thespiae). Denominative of θαμά: θαμίζω [v.] 'to frequent' (Il.; cf. Schwyzer: 736).

•ETYM It was previously assumed that θαμ-ά was a reduced grade beside ►θημών, ►θωμός, but this is impossible, since the latter two derive from θη- in τί-θη-μι. This had a zero grade θε- < **d^{h}h$_{1}$-*, as in ►θέμεθλα, ►θέμις. Therefore, the etymology remains unknown.

θάμβος [n.] 'amazement, fright' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ά-θαμβής 'fearless, undaunted' (Ibyc., B.) with ἀθαμβία, -ίη 'fearlessness' (Democr. 215); back-formation ἄθαμβος 'undaunted' (Democr. 216), also as a PN (Delphi); cf. ἔκθαμβος below; see Schwyzer: 469.

•DER θαμβαλέος (Nonn.). Denominative verbs: 1. θαμβέω, -ῆσαι, also with prefixes like ἐκ-, 'be amazed, be frightened' (Il.), Hell. also trans. 'amaze, frighten' (LXX), together with θάμβ-ησις, -ημα (Aq.), ἔκθαμβος (Plb.). 2. θαμβαίνω intr. 'id.' (Pi.). 3. θαμβεύω trans. 'id.', together with -ευτής (Aq.).

•ETYM Beside θάμβος, Greek has an archaic-looking perfect ►τέθηπα 'I am perplexed' with the thematic root aorist ταφεῖν (ταφών, τάφε; Il.); from the latter derives τάφος [n.] = θάμβος (Od., Ibyc.). Secondary to τέθηπα are θήπω· ἐπιθυμῶ, θαυμάζω; also, ►θώψ. However, a nasal did not voice a following stop in Greek; Barton *Glotta* 71 (1993): 1-9 incorrectly assumes a complicated series of developments; ὀμφαλός disproves the rule ND < ND^{h}, and ἄνθρωπος is a Pre-Greek word; the rule has been rejected on several occasions. Moreover, there is no evidence

for *e*-vocalism (viz. *$*d^{h}emb^{h}$-), as we would expect if the word were of IE origin, so the whole approach thus far has been wrong: θάμβος and τέθηπα cannot be genetically related. The group is further isolated; Go. *af-dobn* [ipv.] 'become speechless' cannot be connected. Just as doubtful is the connection with a Germ. group for 'hit', e.g. ME *dabben* 'hit softly', MoHG *tappen*. The variation θαπ-/ ταφ-/ θαμβ- (with Pre-Greek prenasalization), to which *θαϝ- in θαῦμα, etc. also belong, cannot be IE. The rare form θωπ- is a variant of *θαυπ-. The whole group is of Pre-Greek origin; thus already Kuiper 1956: 225 and Fur. passim.

θάμιξ [?] · ἁλώπηξ 'fox' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Improbable hypothesis by von Blumenthal 1930: 36ff.; see WH s.v.

θάμνος [m.] 'bush, shrub' (Il.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Also [f.], after other tree names.

•DER Diminutive θαμνίσκος [m.] (Dsc.), θαμνῖτις 'shrub-like' (Nic. *Th.* 883), θαμνώδης 'id.' (Thphr.), θαμνάς = ῥίζα (*EM*). Beside it θάμνη (-α) [f.] 'wine from pressed grapes (?)' (Herod. 6, 90, *Gp.*).

•ETYM The word θάμνος exists next to θαμινός and θαμά just as πυκνός next to πυκινός and πύκα; the barytonesis is caused by the substantivization (cf. Schulze 1933a: 124[1]). For the meaning, cf. the explanation in H.: θάμνοι· δασέα καὶ πυκνὰ δένδρα 'dense and thick trees'. Not, as per Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1941): 414, related to Lat. *tamnus*; see WH s.v. With its ending in -αμν(ος), the word seems Pre-Greek; its meaning makes this quite possible.

θάνατος [m.] 'death' (Il.). ◅IE *$*d^{h}(u)enh_{2}$- 'die'▻

•COMP Compounds like ἀ-θάνατος 'immortal' (Il.), θανατη-φόρος 'death-bringing' (A. ; -η- metrically and analogically conditioned, Schwyzer 438f.).

•DER Adjectives: θανάσιμος 'bringing death, going to die' (IA; on the formation Arbenz 1933: 17 and 70f.; rarely θανατήσιμος, op. cit. 78f.); also θανατώδης (Hp.), θανατόεις (S., E.), θανατήσιος (Afric.; after βιοτήσιος, βροτήσιος), θανατικός (D. S., Plu.), θανατηρός (Eust.); θανατούσια (sc. ἱερά) [pl.] 'festival for the dead' (Luc.; after γερούσιος). Denominative verbs: 1. θανατόω 'kill, bring to death, sentence to death' (IA) with θανάτωσις; 2. θανατάω 'like to die', also 'be dying' (Pl.); 3. θανατιάω 'id.' (Luc.). Old perfect τέθνηκα 'I am dead', plur. τέθνᾶμεν, ptc. τεθνηώς, τεθνεώς, Aeol. inf. τεθνᾴκην, with the thematic root aorist ἔθανον 'I died' (Il.), the fut. θανοῦμαι (Il.) and a present θνησκω (inscr.), θνήσκω (mss.), Aeol. θναισκω (Hdn. Gr. 2, 79); in prose mostly ἀπο-θνήσκω; also with other prefixes, e.g. κατα-θνήσκω, -θανεῖν, -τέθνηκα (all Il.); on the function of the prefix see Schwyzer 1950: 268f. Verbal adjective θνητός 'mortal' (Il.). Thence θνήσιμος (only Arg. to S. *OT* 7) with θνησιμαῖον 'cadaver' (LXX); in the same meaning also θνᾱσίδιον, θνησ(ε)ίδιον (Lesbos, Ael.; Schwyzer: 270). Verbal subst. θνῆσις 'dying, mortality' (medic.), εὐθνήσιμος 'preparing a soft death' (A. *Ag.* 1294) from εὖ θνήσκειν; cf. εὐθάνατος, -τέω, -σία.

•ETYM The comparison with the Skt. aorist *á-dhvanī-t* 'he disappeared' and the ptc. *dhvān-tá-* 'dark' previously led to a reconstruction IE *$*d^{h}u̯enh_{2}$-, but this etymological connection is not certain. The Greek forms θαν-(εῖν) and θάνα-(τος), θνᾱ-(τός)

point to a reconstruction *d^hnh_2-, *d^hnh_2-*e*- beside *d^hnh_2-C-. LIV² therefore combines them under a root *d^henh_2- 'sich in Lauf setzen, sich davonmachen', to which also belong Indo-Iranian forms like Ved. *dhánvati* 'flows', *prá dhanvati* (YV) 'dies', as well as ToA *tsnāntär* [subj.] 'flow'. Semantically, this is possible, but not wholly convincing.

θάπτα [f.] · μυῖα, Κρῆτες 'fly (Cretan)' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Fur.: 388, etc. compares λάττα < *λαπτα (glossed as μυῖα, Ἱολυρρήνιοι H.), δάπτης (Lyc.), and Lat. *tabānus* 'horse-fly'. However, see ▶θάπτω on Latte.

θάπτω [v.] 'to bury' (Il.). ◁IE? *d^hemb^h- 'dig, bury'▷

•VAR Aor. θάψαι, pass. ταφῆναι, also -θῆναι, perf. pass. τέθαμμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, συν-, κατα-.

•DER τάφος [m.] 'burying, tomb' (Il.), ταφή 'id.' (IA); derived from this the hypostases ἐν-, ἐπι-τάφιος 'ptng. to a burial' together with ἐνταφιάζω, ἐνταφιαστής (LXX, pap.); ἐπιταφέω [v.] 'to attend a burial' (inscr.); ταφήϊος 'ptng. to a burial' (Od.), ταφεύς 'grave-digger' (S.), ταφ(ε)ών '(place) of a tomb' (inscr.), ταφικόν 'burial costs' (pap.). τάφρος [f.] (on the genus see Schwyzer 1950: 34¹) 'ditch (for fortification, etc.)' (Il.) together with ταφρεύω 'make a ditch' (Att.), whence ταφρεία, τάφρ-ευμα, -ευσις, -ευτής; rare τάφρη 'id.' (Ion.); τράφος (*Tabl. Heracl.* I, 130). Uncertain θάπτ<ρ>α· μνῆμα (cod. μυῖα). Κρῆτες 'monument (Cret.)' (H.); see Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 196f.

•ETYM It has traditionally been compared with Arm. *damb-an* 'tomb', starting from IE *$d^hm̥b^h$-. Greek would also have generalized the zero grade θαπ-, ταφ- < *θαφ-, and the full grade *d^hemb^h- would have been eliminated in both languages. However, Clackson 1994: 120f. doubts that the words are old. Armenian and Greek could well be borrowings; IE origin is uncertain.

Θαργήλια [n.pl.] Ionic-Attic festival before the harvest, connected with the cult of Apollo (Hippon., Archil.), also Ταργήλια (Milete). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Θαργηλιών (Ταργ-) month name (IA), Θαργήλιος (Ταργ-) PN (Ion.). Beside it θάργηλος, acc. to Crates *apud* Ath. 3, 114a name of a bread, which was otherwise called θαλύσιος (ἄρτος) (s. θαλύσια), also name of a pot (χύτρα) with cooked fruits, which was considered a symbol of fertility (Suid., H., *EM* 443, 19).

•ETYM Pre-Greek origin is demonstrated by the variant forms with T-.

θάρνυμαι ⇒θορός and θρέομαι.

θάρσος [n.] 'confidence, courage, audacity' (Il.). ◁IE *d^hers- 'bold'▷

•VAR Att. θάρρος (partly a reshaping of Hom. θάρσος, etc. acc. to Leumann 1950: 115); Aeol. θέρσος.

•COMP E.g. εὐ-θαρσής 'of good courage' (A.), θερσι-επής 'talking courageously' (B.; on the first member Schwyzer: 448).

•DER θαρσαλέος, -ρρ- 'with confidence, courageous' (Il.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 253f.), Θερσίτης PN (Hom., etc.), θαρσήεις 'courageous' (Call., Nonn.; innovation, see Schwyzer: 527); denominative verb θαρσέω (-ρρ-), aor. θαρσῆσαι 'be courageous' (Il.; cf. Schwyzer: 724, Chantraine 1942: 349; hardly from

εὐθαρσέω as per Leumann l.c.) together with θαρρητικός (Arist.). Beside θάρσος, θέρσος we have the adjective θρασύς 'audacious, courageous, bold' (since Il.), often as a first member, e.g. θρασυκάρδιος 'with audacious heart' (Il.), Rhod. Θαρσύ-βιος, Ther. Θhαρ(ρ)ύ-μαqhος (more forms in Schwyzer: 284); thence θρασύτης 'boldness' (IA), Θρασώ epithet of Athena (Lyc.), denominative verb θρασύνω, θαρσύνω, -ρρ- 'encourage' (Il.) with θάρσυνος 'with confidence' (Il.; deverbal; cf. Schwyzer 491); compar. θρασίων (Alcm.), θρασύτερος, superl. -ύτατος (Att.); see Seiler 1950: 55f. Cf. also ▸ ἀτάσθαλος.

•ETYM An exact correspondence to θρασύς would be Skt. *dhṛṣú-*, but the latter is only attested in grammarians; the typical form is *dhṛṣṇú-* 'bold' (RV), from *dhṛṣṇóti* [3sg.pres.] 'be audacious'. The *s*-stem θέρσος (for which secondarily θάρσος, θράσος by influence of θρασύς) has no parallel in Sanskrit. Greek has only the denominative verbs θαρσέω, θαρσύνω, while other IE languages have primary formations: Skt. *dhṛṣ-ṇ-ó-ti*, perf. *da-dhárṣa*, Go. *ga-dars* 'dare, τολμῶ', Lith. *drįsti* 'dare' (with infixed nasal, cf. OPr. *dyrsos* [adj.] 'courageous, skillful').

θάσσω 'sit'. •VAR θαάσσω. ⇒ θᾶκος.

θάσσων 'quicker'. •VAR Att. θάττων. ⇒ ταχύς.

θαῦμα [n.] 'wonder, astonishment' (Il.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Hdt. et al. θῶμα (mss. also θῶυμα; see below).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θαυματο-ποιός 'wonder-worker = juggler' (Pl., D.).

•DER θαυματός 'wonderful' (Hes. *Sc.* 165, *h. Hom.*, Pi.) with θαυμάσιος 'id.' (IA; Schwyzer: 466), from which θαυμασιότης (Hp.); θαυματόεις 'id.' (Man.); Θαύμας, -αντος (Hes.; Schwyzer: 526, Chantraine 1933: 269). Denominative verbs: 1. θαυμαίνω 'wonder, admire' (θ 108, *h. Ven.* 84) with Dor. Θωμάντας (Phleius); 2. θαυμάζω 'id.' (Il.; on the formation Schwyzer: 734) with θαυμαστής 'admirer' and θαυμαστικός (Arist.), θαυμασμός 'admiration' (Hell.), θαύμακτρον probably 'money paid to see a conjurer's tricks' (Sophr. 120; cf. Chantraine 1933: 332); 3. θαυματίζομαι· ἐκπλήττομαι 'I am astonished' (H.). PN Θώμων (Boeot.); cf. γνῶμα : γνώμων et al.; see Bechtel 1917b: 214.

•ETYM The word θαῦμα belongs to the group of θάμβος, τέθηπα, etc. with Pre-Greek labial/ ϝ (Fur.: 228-33). This also explains θῶμα with αυ/ω, beside which (with "etymological" notation) there is also θῶυμα in Hdt.; the variation cannot be explained in IE terms. Thus Kuiper 1956: 225 and Fur.: 236, 242. It is possible, though by no means certain, that θαῦμα, etc. are verbal nouns of a word for 'see, observe' in ▸ θέα 'looking at', θεάομαι 'behold', etc.

θάψος [f.] name of a plant, 'fustic, Rhus Cotinus', used for dyeing yellow (Theocr.). ◂LW ?▸

•VAR Also θαψία ῥίζα (Thphr.); θαψία [f.] 'deadly carrot, Thapsia garganica' (Arist., Thphr.).

•DER θάψινος 'yellow-colored' (Ar.).

•ETYM Identical with the name of the peninsula Thapsos (on the eastern coast of Sicily), or derived from it. See Strömberg 1940: 127.

θέα [f.] 'sight, aspect, spectacle' (IA). ◁PG▷

•VAR Ion. θέη (Syrac. θάα?; see Kaibel 1899-1901(1): 200).

•COMP As a first member in ►θεωρός 'spectator, envoy at a festival', s.v.

•DER PN Θᾱΐς [f.] (D. S.). Verb θεάομαι, Ion. θηέομαι, Dor. θαέομαι (with θάμεθα [Sophr.] and other contracted forms; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 191) 'to look at, behold' (Il.), also with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, κατα-, συν-. Several deverbal nouns: 1. θέαμα, θέημα 'sight, spectacle' (Semon., A.); 2. θέασις 'contemplation, insight' (Gal., Porph.); 3. θατύς (Dor. < *θαατύς)· ἴκριον (= 'bank in a theatre'), θεωρεῖον, ἐς θατύν· εἰς θεωρίαν H.; 4. θέατρον, θέητρον 'place for spectators, theatre' (IA) with several compounds and derivatives, e.g. ἀμφι-θέατρος [adj.] 'having place for spectators around' (e.g of ἱππόδρομος, στοά), substantivized -ον 'amphitheatre' (D. H., Str.), θεατρικός, θεατρίζω, θεατρισμός; 5. θεατής, θεητής 'spectator' (IA) with θεατικός (Arr.); 6. θηητήρ (φ 397), θατήρ (B. 9, 23) 'id.'; 7. θεήμων 'id.' (*APl.*).

•ETYM At the basis of θέα, etc. is *θᾱϝᾱ. In Ionic-Attic, *θᾱϝᾱ gave θέα, where one would expect contraction of two like vowels after loss of ϝ (see the discussion in Peters 1980a: 301f.). Other primary nouns are probably θῆβος (= θῆϝος)· θαῦμα and θήγεια (= θήϝεια)· θαυμαστά, ψευδῆ and θηταλά (= θηϝαλά)· θαυμαστά, ψεύδεσιν ὅμοια (all H.). The verbs θᾱ(ϝ)έομαι, θη(ϝ)έομαι (with αο > εο) and the development giving θεάομαι are discussed in Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967): 71-72. They can be taken as denominatives, or alternatively as deverbatives (Schwyzer: 720) with θέη, θέα as back-formations (this direction seems to be indicated by the chronology of the attestations)? No IE cognates; the word is Pre-Greek, as is proven by the variations (see ►θαῦμα, ►θάμβος). Incorrectly, Szemerényi *Glotta* 33 (1954): 256, who traces *θᾱϝᾱ to IE *$d^{h}ǭisu̯ā$.

θειλόπεδον ⇒ εἰλόπεδον.

θείνω [v.] 'to slay', also 'to kill' (Il.). ◁IE *$g^{wh}en$- 'strike, slay'▷

•VAR Reduplicated aor. πε-φν-εῖν (Il.), med. ἐπέφατο (cod. ἀπ-)· ἀπέθανεν 'he died' (H.); beside it also, probably as an innovation, the thematic root aor. θενεῖν (E., Ar.) and the ptc. θείνας of the *s*-aorist (Υ 481); fut. θενῶ (Ar.), 3sg. perf. pass. πέφαται, inf. πεφάσθαι (Il.), together with fut. pass. πεφήσεται (Ο 140, etc.).

•COMP The verbal adjective as a second member in compounds, e.g. ἀρῃῖ-φατος (see also on ►διφάσιος).

•DER Beside it ►φόνος [m.] 'murder', s.v.; cf. also Ἀργεϊφόντης.

•ETYM From this root, Indo-European formed an athematic root present: 3sg. Skt. *hánti* = Av. *jainti* = Hitt. *ku̯en-zi* 'he slays, kills', IE *g^{wh}én-ti. This was replaced by a thematic root formation: YAv. *janaiti* 'kill', Lith. *genù* 'to drive (cattle), hunt', OCS *ženǫ* 'to drive, pursue', as well as perhaps Arm. *jnem* 'slay' (which may instead be denominative from *jin* 'stick'). Other formations are OIr. *gonim* 'to wound, kill' (iterative) and Lat. *-fendō* in *dē-*, *of-fendō* (with a suffixal *-d-*). The reduplicated aorist is also found outside Greek, e.g. in Indo-Iranian: Av. *auua-jaynaṭ* (if not an intensive) 'he struck' = πέφνε. The perfect formations also correspond: Skt. 3sg. *ja-ghā́n-a* < IE *g^{wh}e-g^{wh}on-; πέ-φα-ται and Skt. 3pl. *ja-ghn-úḥ* < *g^{wh}e-g^{wh}n-. Verbal adjectives: Skt *hatá-* = Av. *jata-* = -φατος, IE *g^{wh}n-to-. The full grade thematic yod-

present θείνω was connected (cf. Frisk) with Lith. *geniù* (inf. *genĕ̃ti*) 'to prune branches' (< IE *$g^{wh}en$-$i̯ō$), beside OCS *žьnjǫ* (inf. *žę̀ti*) 'to reap, mow'. However, as Derksen 2008 s.v. *žę̀ti II remarks, the Balto-Slavic words point to a root-final laryngeal. Arm. *jnjem* 'to wipe off, clean' could belong here phonetically as well, but differs in meaning. Connection with Alb. *gjan* 'to hunt, follow' is very doubtful. On the meaning of the IE root, see recently García Ramón 1998: 139-154.

θεῖον [n.] 'brimstone' (Il., IA). ◁IE *d^hues- 'smoke'▷

•VAR Epic θέειον, also θήϊον (χ 493).

•DER Diminutivum θε(ι)άφιον (H., Tz.; θέαφος Eust.), adjective θειώδης 'sulphuric' (Str., medic.); denominative verb θειόω, θεόω, epic θεειόω (also prefixed with δια-, ἐκ-, περι-) 'treat with sulphur' (Od., medic.); thence θεώματα· τὰ περικαθαρτήρια 'purificatory offerings' (H.).

•ETYM The basic form was θέειον, whence θεῖον by hyphaeresis and, by further loss of the ι, θεόω, θεάφιον. The hapax θήϊον arose by metrical lengthening and change of suffix. Perhaps Hom. θέειον derives from *θϝέheιον; it would be a substantivized adjective from a noun *θϝέhος [n.], properly 'smoke', formed from a verbal root *d^hues- 'smoke, breathe' (cf. LIV² s.v.) in Lith. *dvė̃sti* 'breathe, blow'. Not connected to ►θεός. Cf. ►θύω 2.

θεῖος [m.] 'uncle, father's or mother's brother' (Att.). ◁ONOM▷

•DER Innovations are πρόθειος 'great-uncle' (Laodicea; after *proavus*) and θεία [f.] 'aunt' (pap.; for τηθίς acc. to Schwyzer 1950: 31).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic *θη, with a suffix -ειος? Cf. reduplicated τήθη. From θεῖος came Ital. *zio* 'id.'.

θέλγω [v.] 'to enchant, beguile, cheat' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. θέλξαι , pass. θελχθῆναι, fut. θέλξω (Od.); iterative ipf. θέλγεσκ' (γ 264).

•COMP Rarely with prefix (δια-, ἐπι-, κατα, παρα-). θέλξι- as a first member in governing compounds, e.g. θελξι-επής 'with enchanting words' (B.), θελξί-φρων 'enchanting the mind' (E. [lyr.]); see Schwyzer 443.

•DER θελκτήρ 'enchanter, etc.' (*h. Hom.* 16, 4) with θελκτήριον 'charm' (Il.), adj. θελκτήριος 'enchanting' (A., E.); θέλκτωρ 'id.' (A. *Supp.* 1040 [lyr.]); θέλκτρον = θελκτήριον (S. *Tr.* 585), θέλγητρον 'charm, spell' (E.); θέλγμα 'id.' (sch., H.); θέλκταρ (cod. θέρκαλ)· θέλγμα (H.), Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 29; (κατά-)θέλξις 'charm' (Plu., Luc., Ael.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Several unconvincing hypotheses: that it is related to Lith. *žvelgiù* 'look at' (de Saussure *MSL* 8 (1894): 443, who connects it as 'enchanting by an evil look'); to Skt. *hvárate* 'go obliquely' < *$ǵ^huel$- with Gr. enlargement -γ- (Ehrlich 1910: 29); to Gm. words like OE *dolg*, OHG *tolc* 'wound' (Havers *IF* 28 (1911): 190ff.; see also on ἀσελγής).

θελεμόν [adj.] epithet of πῶμα 'drink' (A. *Supp.* 1027 [lyr.]) of unknown meaning, glossed by H. as οἰκτρόν, ἥσυχον 'pitiable, quiet', connected with ►θέλω by Hdn. Gr. 1, 171. ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Unexplained. Cf. θελημ(ν)ά (τε καὶ στερεωπά) Emp. 21, 6; taken as "supporting, basic", on which see Solmsen 1909: 63. See discussion on ►-θελυμνος. Fur.: 317 thinks the word is Pre-Greek (due to suffix -εμος).

-θελυμνος [adj.] in προ-θέλυμνος, epithet of δένδρεα (I 541), of χαῖται (K 15), of σάκος (N 130); post-Hom. of various objects (δρῦς, καρήατα). ◄PG►

•COMP Also in τετρα-θέλυμνος epithet of σάκος (O 479 = χ 122); cf. τριθέλυμνος = τρίπτυχος (Eust. 849, 5).

•DER The simplex is unknown, but Sturz read it in Emp. 21, 6 for traditional θελημ(ν)ά (Diels and others: θελεμνά).

•ETYM We may compare the prefix in προ-θέλυμνος with πρό-ρριζος 'of which the root is gone, uprooted', Lat. *prŏ-fundus* 'of which the bottom is removed, deep', Skt. *pra-parṇa-* 'whose leaves have fallen off, stripped of the leaves'. The second member of προ-θέλυμνος, which can be reconstructed as *θέλυμα as well as *θελυμνον (-ος), has been interpreted as 'base' since antiquity. Thus, προ-θέλυμνος would mean 'the base (bottom) of which is removed; without foundation', which might fit in all occurrences except N 130 (after this Nonn. *D.* 22, 183; 2, 374). Improbably, Wackernagel 1916: 237ff. (with criticism of older views), who recognizes in προ-θέλυμνος a variant of τετρα-θέλυμνος 'with four layers', with προ- as the Aeolic parallel of τρα- from *πτϝρα- (cf. τρά-πεζα). The glosses of H., ἀθέλιμνοι· κακοί; ἀθέλημον ἄκουσμα· κακόν are unclear, as is θέλεμνον· ὅλον ἐκ ῥιζῶν (Latte *apud* Mayrhofer *KEWA* 2: 94 fn.). Krahe *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 181 thinks the word is Pre-Greek. This is without a doubt correct, because of the suffix (-υμνος). Older attempts (e.g., Wackernagel above, or the comparison with Sanskrit *dharúṇa-* [n.] by Mayrhofer) should therefore be discarded.

θέλω ⇒ ἐθέλω.

θέμεθλα [n.pl.] 'fundaments, base', also metaph. (Il.). ◄IE *d^heh_1- 'put, make'►

•DER Also θεμείλια [n.pl.] 'id.' (Il.), a metrically lengthened form of θεμέλια, adjective θεμέλιος 'belonging to the fundaments', as a substantive (sc. λίθος) 'foundation-stone' (Att.) with θεμελιόω 'lay the foundation' (X.), θεμελίωσις 'fundament' (LXX). A poetical-archaizing back-formation is θέμειλον (*AP*) with the same meaning, -α (verse inscr. Adana).

•ETYM Formations with θλο- and λο- from a nominal *m*-stem. Cf. θεμούς s.v. ►θεμόω. On the formation of θεμέλιος, see also Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 51ff. Cf. also ►θεμέρη, ►θέμις. See also Rix 1994: 35-53.

θεμέρη [adj.] · βεβαία, σεμνή, εὐσταθής 'firm, revered, well-based'; θέμερον· σεμνόν. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ σεμνύνεσθαι θεμερύνεσθαι 'revered; hence, σ. 'to be revered' is also called θ.' (H.). ◄IE *d^heh_1- 'put, make'►

•COMP As a first member in θεμερῶπις, epithet of Ἁρμονίη (Emp. 122, 2), of αἰδώς (A. *Pr.* 134 [lyr.]); θεμερόφρονας· συνετούς, σώφρονας 'understanding, wise' (H.).

•DER As a simplex only θεμέρᾳ ὀπί (v.l. Pi. *N.* 7, 83), θεμε[ρώτε]ρα (*IG* 14, 1018: 3 [IV^p], if supplied correctly).

•ETYM Beside θέμερος (or θεμερός) 'solid, firm' stands *θέμιστος in Θεμιστο-κλῆς (cf. Ἀριστο-κλῆς), like κράτιστος from κρατερός (Frisk *Eranos* 48 (1950): 6). The basis would be nominal θεμ-, as found in θεμούς (s.v. ►θεμόω), ►θέμεθλα, θεμέλια. It is doubtful that we should assume a separate word θέμερος in the meaning σεμνός 'revered'. The IE etymology, too, is not without doubts.

θέμις [f., n.] 'justice, law, custom', also goddess of justice (Il.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Different oblique forms: gen. θέμιστος (β 68; Thess. inscr.), dat. -ιστι (O 87; Thess. inscr.), acc. -ιστα (E 761, Υ 4); θέμιδος (A. *Pr.* 18), θέμιτος (Pi. *O.* 13, 8); rarely also θέμιος (Hdt. 2, 50; v.l. -ιδος), θέμεως (inscr. Metropolis); acc. θέμιν (Hes.), voc. Θέμι (O 93). Plur. θέμιστες, acc. -ιστας, etc. 'statutes, (divine) laws, oracles' (Hom., Hes., Thgn., Pi.).

•DIAL Myc. *te-mi*, gen. *ti-mi-to*; cf. Ruipérez *Minos* 5 (1957): 176f., 181ff.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θεμι-σκόπος 'guarding justice' (Pi.), θεμισ-κρέων 'ruling through justice' (Pi.), θεμιστο-πόλος 'protecting the laws, obeying the oracles' (*h. Cer.* 103, inscr. Delphi III[a]). As a second member e.g. in ἄ-θεμις 'lawless, unlawful' (Pi., E.), ἀ-θέμιτος 'id.' (Hdt.), ἀ-θέμιστος 'id.' (Il.), also ἀ-θεμίστιος (Od.; metrical variant).

•DER θεμιστός (A. *Th.* 694 [lyr.]; after ἀ-θέμιστος); θεμιτός in οὐ θεμιτόν = οὐ θέμις (IA); Θεμίστιος epithet of Zeus, 'Lord of the θέμιστες' (Plu.); also month name (Thessaly); θεμιστεῖος 'regarding the θ.' (Pi.); θεμιστοσύναι = θέμιστες (Orph. *H.* 79, 6). Denominative verbs: 1. θεμιστεύω 'to proclaim the laws, oracles' (Od.) with θεμιστεία 'oracle-giving' (Str.). 2. θεμιτεύω 'to behave lawfully' (E. *Ba.* 79 [lyr.]). 3. θεμιζέτω· μαστιγούτω, νομοθετείτω. Κρῆτες 'to flog, frame laws (Cret.)' (H.); to be changed in *θεμισσέτω (= Paus. Gr. *Fr.* 202) acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 786; aor. ptc. θεμισσάμενος (Pi.). Several PNs, e.g. Θεμιστο-κλῆς (see on ►θέμερος).

•ETYM In Av. *dā-mi-* [f.] 'creation', also 'creator' ([m.] and [f.]), we seem to have a formation corresponding to θέμις. Cf. the same difference between θέ-σις, -θε-τος as opposed to *-dā-ti-*, *dā-ta-* 'basis, justice, law' (= θέμις). The remarkable formations θέμιστες, θέμιστος, etc. are problematic; the explanation by Schulze as a compound of θεμι- and στᾶ- 'stand' leads to unsurmountable difficulties, acc. to Frisk s.v. However, C. J. Ruijgh suggested (pers. comm.) that interchange between *i*-stem forms and forms in -ι(σ)τ- seems to point to Pre-Greek origin. Acc. to Fraenkel, the occasional neuter forms originated from synonymous expressions like δέον, καλόν, προσῆκον; this is possible, but this may be an inheritance from Pre-Greek as well. On the meaning of θέμις, see Vos 1956.

θεμόω [v.] only aor. θέμωσε in (νῆα) ... φέρε κῦμα (...), θέμωσε δὲ χέρσον ἱκέσθαι (ι 486, 542). ◄?►

•DER Denominative verb to θεμός, which is only found in θεμούς· διαθέσεις, παραινέσεις 'dispositions, exhortations' (H.) and in the PNs Θέμ-ανδρος, Θεμό-θεος (Bechtel 1917b: 201f.).

•ETYM The usual rendering with 'to cause, enable' or simply 'drove ashore (landwards)' (LSJ) is too abstract; for a denominative verb, we would rather expect 'to provide with θεμός' vel sim. The etymology remains unknown.

θέναρ, -αρος [n.] 'palm of the hand' (also metaph.), 'sole of the foot' (Il.). ◁IE *d^hen-r 'palm of the hand'▷

•COMP Also as a second member, e.g. ὀπισθέναρ [n.] 'back of the hand' (Poll.) for *ὀπισθο-θέναρ, παραιθένατα· τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν δακτύλων παρὰ τὸ θέναρ, ἤγουν ἐπὶ τὸν καρπόν 'what [runs] from the small fingers along the palm, or rather up to the wrist' (H.).

•DER Denominative verbs: θεναρίζει· τύπτει 'strikes'; ἐνθεναρίζει· ἐγχειρεῖ 'undertakes, attacks' (H.).

•ETYM Old word for 'palm of the hand', also found in Gm.: OHG *tenar* [m.], *tenra* [f.] 'id.' (thematic derivations of the *r*-stem). Hypothetical further combinations in Pok. 249.

θεοκόλος [m.] 'servant of a god, priest' (Dyme II[a]). ◁IE *k^wel- 'turn, move around'▷

•VAR Also θεηκόλος (Schwyzer: 438).

•DER Denominative θεοκολέω [v.] (also θεη-); -ία, -εών (Hell.).

•ETYM Innovated on the model of βουκόλος 'cow-herd', but occasionally, the expected form θεο-πόλος, -έω is found (Pl. *Lg.* 909d, Phot., Suid.; cf. αἰ-πόλος).

θεοπρόπος [m.] 'fortune-teller, seer', also as an adjective 'prophetic'. ◁IE *prep- 'appear'▷

•DER θεοπροπέω (only ptc.) 'prophesy' and θεοπρόπιον, -ία 'prophecy, oracle' (Il.).

•ETYM From ▶θεός 'god' and ▶πρέπειν 'to catch the eye, be conspicuous'. Semantically analyzed by Bechtel 1914 s.v. as "the one who appears from god".

θεός [m., f.] 'god, goddess' (Il.). ◁IE *d^h(e)h_1s- 'god'▷

•COMP Myc. *te-o* /t^{h}e^{h}os/. Very frequent in compounds, e.g. ἄ-θεος, θεο-ειδής; θεόσ-δοτος after Διόσ-δοτος; on the form θεσ- see ▶θέσκελος, θέσπις.

•DER 1. θεά [f.] 'goddess' (epic; see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 25; on θεά and θεός [f.] in Hom. see Humbach *MSS* 7 (1955): 46ff.). 2. θέαιναι [pl.] 'goddesses' (after τέκταιναι et al.; in Hom. as metrical filling; not an archaic form as per Chantraine *REGr.* 47: 287[1]). 3. θεῖος 'divine' (Il.; cf. below) with θειώδως [adv.] (pap.), θειότης 'godliness' (LXX, *NT*, Plu.), θειάζω 'prophesy, worship as a god' (Th.), also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-θειάζω 'swear by the gods' together with (ἐπι-)θειασμός (Th.) 4. θεϊκός 'id.' (late). 5. Denominative verb θεόω, -όομαι 'turn into a god, become a god' (Call.), mostly with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-θεόω 'id.' (pap., Plb., Plu.) together with ἀποθέωσις (Str.).

•ETYM The connection with Arm. *di-k'* [pl.] 'gods' < *d^heh_1s- seems to be generally accepted. The old etymology *θϝεσ-ός with Lith. *dvasià* 'spirit', MHG *getwās* 'ghost' has been abandoned, as there is no trace of the ϝ in Greek and since the Armenian word contradicts it. To *d^heh_1s- further belong Lat. *fēriae* 'festive days', *fēstus* 'feastly', *fānum* 'temple' < *fasnom < *$d^h h_1$s-nom; see Rix *Kratylos* 14 (1969 [1972]): 179f. and more recent literature in De Vaan 2008: s.vv. We must assume thematicizations of an old *s*-stem *$d^h h_1$-s- from the root *d^heh_1-, since Arm. and Lat. presuppose a full grade, while Greek requires a zero grade *$d^h h_1$s-. The -s- is preserved in θέσ-κελος et al. as well as in θεῖος < *θέσ-ι̯ος.

θεουδής [adj.] 'god-fearing, devout' (Od.). ◁GR▷
•DER θεούδεια [f.] 'fear of god' (A. R. 3, 586).
•ETYM Contracted Att. PN Θουδῆς, Θουδιάδου. The form stands for θεο-δϝής < *θεο-δϝειής, which is derived from *δϝεῖος > ▶δέος 'fear'. The meaning 'like a god' (in late poets) arose from confusion with θεο-ειδής.

θέπτανος [adj.] · ἁπτόμενος 'touching, [here:] set on fire' (H.). ◁IE *d^heg^{wh}- 'burn'▷
•ETYM Compared with Lith. *dègtinas* 'what has to be burned', which is derived from *degù*, *dègti* 'to burn'. Cf. on ▶τέφρα 'ashes'. However, acc. to Maas *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 381 and Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 198f., it is corrupt for θεπταίνων· ἁπτόμενος (Cyr.), which Latte corrects to θ(ε)ιγγάνων. On the origin of suffixal -τανος, Lith. *-tinas* (IE *-*tn̥Ho*-?), see Benveniste 1935: 107f.

θεράπων, -οντος [m.] 'attendant, servant; companion' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Aeol. (gramm.) gen. -ονος (see below); also θαραπ- (see Threatte 1980 (index) and Fur.: 352), probably recent.
•DER Diminutive θεραπόντιον (D. L.). θεράπαινα [f.] 'servant, maid' (IA), together with θεραπαινίς, -ίδιον (Pl., Men.); also θεράπνη 'id.' (*h. Ap.* 157; see below) together with θεραπνίς (*AP*); unclear is θεραποντίς, epithet of φερνή (A. *Supp.* 979). Also θέραψ, -απος [m.], mostly plur. 'id.' (E.) together with θεράπιον (Hyp.), -πίς (Pl. *Mx.* 244e). Denominative verb θεραπεύω 'serve, honour, care for, heal' (since ν 265) with several nouns: θεραπεία, Ion. -ηῖη, θεράπευμα 'serving, etc.' (IA), θεράπευσις 'id.' (Phld.); θεραπευτής 'servant' (IA) with θεραπευτικός (Pl., X., Arist.), also θεραπευτήρ (X., Aristox.; probably Doric, Fraenkel 1912: 54f.) together with θεραπευτρίς (Ph.), -εύτρια (*EM*); θεραπήϊος = θεραπευτικός (*AP*), -ηῖς [f.] (Orac. *apud* Jul. *Ep.* 88b).
•ETYM Except as 'servant', θεράπνη also occurs in Eur. and successors in the meaning 'dwelling, habitation' (θεράπναι· αὐλῶνες, σταθμοί H.), which is reminiscent of δοῦλος· ἡ οἰκία (H.); one might assume a meaning 'house', whence a collective 'servants'. We can hardly separate the Laconian TN Θεράπνα, -ναι from θεράπνη 'house' (cf. also τέραμνα with the same meaning); this points to Pre-Greek origin of the whole group. The form θεράπνη can be derived from an *n*-stem θεράπων; the *nt*-stem may be secondary (cf. θεράπαινα). Van Brock *Rev. Hitt. As.* 1959: 117-126 compares Hitt. *tarpašša*-.

θέρμος [m.] 'lupine, Lupinus albus' (middle com., Thphr.). ◁IE *$g^{wh}er$-*mo*- 'warm'▷
•DER θέρμιον 'id.' (pap.), θέρμινος 'from Lupine' (Luc., Dsc.).
•ETYM Identical with θερμός 'warm', with a regular shift of accent upon substantivization. See Strömberg 1940: 82. See ▶θερμός.

θερμός [adj.] 'warm' (Il.). ◁IE *$g^{wh}er$-*mo*- 'warm'▷
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. Θερμο-πύλαι (Hdt.; see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 267). On ἄ-, ἔκ-, ἔν-θερμος, etc. see below on θέρμη and θερμαίνω.
•DER A. Substantives: 1. θέρμη, also -μᾰ (see Chantraine 1933: 102 and 148) [f.] 'warmth, heat, heat of fever' (IA) with ἄ-θερμος 'without warmth', ἔν-θερμος 'having warmth inside, warm' (Strömberg 1946: 95); θερμίζω [v.] 'to be feverish' (Euboea). 2.

θερμότης 'warmth, heat' (IA). 3. θερμωλή 'id.' (Hp.; Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 52). 4. θερμέλη· ἡ θέρμη Suid. (Strömberg 1944: 79). 5. θέρμασσα = κάμινος 'oven' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 267; formation unclear, cf. Schwyzer: 525f.).

B. Adjectives: 1. θερμώδης 'lukewarm' (Aret.); HN Θερμώδων, -οντος (Boeotia, Pontos; see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 236; 3, 162). 2. θερμηρός epithet of ποτήριον (H. s.v. κελέβη; to θέρμη?).

C. Verbs: 1. θέρμετο ipf. 'became warm' (Il.), θέρμετε [ipv.] (θ 426; after it Ar. *Ra.* 1339); on the formation cf. Schwyzer 722f.; 2. θερμαίνω, aor. θερμῆναι 'warm up' (Il.), often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-θερμαίνω 'heat up completely' (Hp., Arist.) with deverbal ἔκθερμος 'very hot' (Vett. Val.); from there θέρμανσις 'heating' (Arist.) with θερμαντικός 'suited to warm' (Pl., Arist.), θερμασία 'heating, warmth' (Hp., Arist.; cf. Schwyzer 469), θέρμασμα 'warming cuff' (medic.; see Chantraine 1933: 176), θερμάστρᾱ (see θερμάζω below); θερμαντήρ "warmer", 'kettle for boiling water' (Poll.) with θερμαντήριος 'warming' (Hp., inscr.). 3. θερμάζω 'id.' only aor.opt.med. θερμάσσαιο (Nic. *Al.* 587) together with θερμάστρα [f.] 'furnace' (Call.; also to θερμαίνω); also written θερμαύστρα, by confusion with θερμαυστρίς (θέρμ-), 'fire-tongs' (Arist., H.), cf. πυρ-αύστρα 'id.' (αὔειν 'scoop fire'); also metaph. as the name of a dance (Poll., Ath.) with θερμαυστρίζω (Critias, Luc.); from θερμάστρα: θερμαστρίς (θέρμ-) = θερμαντήρ (Eup., LXX); the forms in -αστρ-, -αυστρ- are not well distinguished, cf. Schulze 1933a: 189; by dissimilation θέρμαστις meaning unclear (Attica IV^{a}) with θερμάστιον (Aen. Tact.).

•ETYM Inherited adjective, identical with Arm. *jerm* 'warm', Thraco-Phr. *germo-* (in TNs, e.g. Γέρμη), IE *g^{wh}er-mo-*; also, in substantivized function, Alb. *zjarm, zjarr* 'heat'. With *o*-vocalism, originally substantival, IE *g^{wh}or-mo-* in Skt. *gharmá-* [m.] 'heat', OPr. *gorme* 'id.'; secondarily, also adjectival in Av. *garəma-*, Lat. *formus*, MoE *warm*. See ►θέρομαι, ►θέρος.

θέρομαι [v.] 'to become warm, warm oneself' (Il.). ◄IE *g^{wh}er- 'warm'►

•VAR Rarely act. θέρω 'to warm' (A. R., Nic.), only present stem except aor. pass. subj. θερέω (ρ 23; for *θερή-ω), fut.ptc. θερσόμενος (τ 507).

•COMP As a second member e g. in εἰλη-θερής, but see on ►εἴλη.

•DER θέρος [n.] 'summer' (Il.), 'harvest' (IA). Thence θέρειος 'belonging to the summer', fem. θερεία, -η (scil. ὥρα) 'summer' (Pi., Hdt.), θερινός 'id.' (IA; after χειμερινός etc., Chantraine 1933: 201), θερόεις 'id.' (Nic. *Al.* 570; poetic formation, Schwyzer: 528), θεριακός 'fitting for the summer' (ἱμάτια θ. pap. VI^{p}; after ἡλιακός et al.); θερίδιον 'summer residence' (Jul.), θέρετρον 'id.' (Hp.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 332). Denominative verb θερίζω, aor. θερίσαι 'harvest, mow down' (IA), also intr. 'pass the summer' (X., Arist.), with θερισμός 'harvest' (Eup., X.), θεριστής 'harvester' (Att.) with -ιστικός (pap.), also -ιστήρ 'id.' (Lyc. 840), -ιστήριον 'sickle' (LXX); θέριστρον 'summer tunic' (LXX, pap.), -ίστριον 'id.' (Theoc.; Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 50); θέριστρα [pl.] 'reward for harvesting' (pap.).

•ETYM Formally, Skt. *háras-* [n.] 'heat' < IE *g^{wh}éros- corresponds exactly with θέρος, like Arm. *jer* 'id.'. The meaning 'summer' is a Greek innovation ('heat' = θέρμη, θάλπος). In the sense of 'harvest', θέρος may be from θερίζω *'to do summertime work'. The thematic root present θέρομαι agrees with OIr. *fo-geir* 'warms, heats'. The

other languages have different formations : Arm. *jeŕ-nu-m*, aor. *jeŕ-ay* 'warm oneself' (Skt. *ghṛ-ṇo-ti* 'lights, burns' [gramm.]; cf. *ghṛ-ṇá-* [m.] 'glow, heat'), OCS *grěti sę*, 1sg. *grějǫ sę* 'to warm oneself' (*gorjǫ*, *goreti* 'burn'), etc.

θέσις [f.] 'situation, position, adoption, custom, etc.' (Alc., Pi.). ◁IE **d^heh_1-* 'set, make'▷

•COMP Very frequently as a derivative of prefixed verbs, e.g. διά-, σύν-, ὑπό-θεσις (from δια-τίθημι, etc.).

•DER -θέσιμος in παρα-, περι-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-θέσιμος (from παράθεσις, etc.; cf. Arbenz 1933: 91f.).

•ETYM Greek θέσις corresponds to a Skt. formation which is found only in derivatives and compounds: *-(d)hiti-*, e.g. *ápihiti-* = ἐπίθεσις (from *api-dhā-* = ἐπι-θη-), *úpahiti-* = ὑπόθεσις (from *upa-dhā-* = ὑπο-θη-); cf. *apihi-ta-* = ἐπίθε-τος, *upahi-ta-* = ὑπόθε-τος; with Av. *tarōi-dī-ti-* (*-ī-* secondary) 'putting aside, etc.' from *tarō-dā-* (= Skt. *tiro-dhā-* 'id.', ptc. *tirohi-ta-*); also, late Lat. *con-diti-ō* 'foundation' (after *condi-tus*, *-tor* from *con-dō*). Additionally, one finds various full grade forms (IE **d^heh_1-ti-* as opposed to **d^hh_1-ti-*): Go. *ga-deds* 'putting, adoption' (*du suniwe gadedai* > 'εἰς υἱοθεσίαν' *Eph.* 1, 5), *missadeþs* 'crime', OHG *tāt*, Av. *-δāiti* in *ni-δāi-ti-* (from *ni-dā-* 'lay down'), etc., Lith. *dėtis* 'load', OCS *blago-dětъ* 'benediction', and probably also Lat. **fē-tis* 'settlement, treaty' in *fēti-ālis* 'war-messenger'. A verbal noun of ▶τίθημι; cf. also ▶θεσμός and other derivatives.

θέσκελος [adj.] 'marvelous, wonderful' (Il.). ◁IE **d^heh_1s-* 'god-, holy'▷

•ETYM Compounded from **θεσ-* 'god' (see ▶θεός) and ▶κέλομαι 'drive', thus properly 'moved by a god'. On the *e*-vocalism of the second member, see Schwyzer: 449[3]. Cf. ▶θεσπέσιος, ▶θέσφατος.

θεσμός [m.] 'settled agreement, law, custom' (ψ 196). ◁IE **d^hh_1-d^hmo-*? 'agreement, custom'▷

•VAR Dor. τεθμός, Lacon. Arc. Locr. also θεθμός.

•COMP E.g. θεσμο-θέται, ἔνθεσμος.

•DER θέσμιος, τέθμιος, θέθμιος 'lawful, customary' (IA, Dor., etc.); θεσμοσύνη 'lawfulness' (*AP*).

•ETYM Synonymous Celtic words (OIr. *deidmea*, MW *deddf* [f.]) require a pre-form **d^hed^hmo-* (*-ā-*). Reduplicated **d^he-d^hh_1-m-o-* is impossible for Greek, because this would give ***τεθεμός* vel sim. Rather, θε- could be the same form of the root as in θέ-σις et al., to which suffixes -θμ- or -σμ- were added within Greek. In θεθμός, the result of Grassmann's Law was removed by influence of θέσις.

θεσπέσιος [adj.] 'divine, superhuman, enormous, wonderful' (Il.). ◁IE **d^hh_1s-* 'god' and **sek^w-* 'speak'▷

•COMP As a first member, e.g. θεσπι-δαές (πῦρ, Il.; see on ▶δαίω) and as a PN.

•DER Thence θεσπίζω, aor. θεσπίσαι, -ίξαι (Theoc.) 'prophesy, give an oracle' (Hdt., trag.) with θεσπίσματα [pl.] (rarely [sg.]) 'oracle' (trag.), θεσπιστής 'fortune-teller, prophet' (Man.). Also θέσπις, ιος, -ιν, -ιδα 'id.' (Od.). Here also Θεσπιαί [pl.] town in Boeotia and other TNs.

•ETYM Like e.g. ἀμβρόσιος from ἄμβροτος, θεσπέσιος derives from *θέσ-σπ-ετος, a compound of *θεσ- 'god' (see ►θεός) and the verb (ἐνι-)σπεῖν 'to proclaim' (see ►ἐν(ν)έπω), with a suffix -ετο- (cf. ἄ-σπ-ετος). Thus, it properly meant 'proclaimed by a god'. It is thought that θέσπις was from *θέσ-σπ-ις; however, Hamp *MSS* 43 (1984): 5of. explains that θεσπι- is the Caland form of θεσπεσιος, and therefore arose by decomposition.

Θεσσαλία [f.] 'Thessaly' (Hdt.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Att. Θετταλ-; Thess. Πετθαλ-, Boeot. Φεττ-.

•DER -ός (Hdt.), PN (B 79, son of Heracles, father of Pheidippos and Antiphos); -ειος (Gal.); fem. -ίς 'Thessalian' (S.); -ιῶτις (Hdt.); -ικός (Hp.). -ικέτης 'serf in T.' (Philocr. Hist.); -ίζω [v.] 'to imitate the Thessalians, speak Thessalian' (Ael.);

•ETYM No doubt a Pre-Greek name, probably from *$K^{w}ett^{y}al$-. This explains all the variants, notably σσ/ ττ/ τθ. Connection with θεσσάσθαι 'to pray' is rejected by Chantraine s.v.

θέσσασθαι [v.aor.] 'pray, ask'. ◄IE *$g^{wh}ed^{h}$- 'pray'►

•VAR Ptc. θεσσάμενος, 3pl.ind. θέσσαντο (Hes., Archil.); glosses θέσσεσθαι· αἰτεῖν, ἱκετεύειν 'to ask (for), supplicate'; θεσσόμενος· δεόμενος, ζητούμενος, ἱκετεύων 'wanted, sought for, supplicating' (H.).

•COMP As a second member in πολύ-θεστος et al., probably also in ►ἀπό-θεστος, PN Ἀγλω-θέστης (Fraenkel 1910: 14 n. 2).

•DER Θεστορίδης, Θεστόρειος; Θέστωρ "entreater", father of Kalchas, etc. (Il.).

•ETYM A sigmatic aorist beside ►ποθέω 'entreat'. Together with the Boeot. PN Θιόφειστος, this points to IE *$g^{wh}ed^{h}$- + -σασθαι. OIr. has a subjunctive in *-s-*, 1pl. *-gessam* (recalling θέσσασθαι), and an indicative *guidiu* 'pray' = ποθέω. Iranian has a yod-present in Av. *jaiδiieimi* = OP *jadiyāmiy* 'pray', which may be identical to the supposed present θέσσεσθαι (IE *$g^{wh}ed^{h}$-*i̯*-). Cf. also the EN ►Θεσσαλοί.

θέσφατος [adj.] 'decreed by a god, decided' (Il.), also 'enormous' (ἀήρ η 143; cf. ἀχλὺς θεσπεσίη η 42; different Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 10). ◄IE *$d^{h}h_{1}s$- 'god, holy'►

•DER Also ἀ-θέσφατος (ὄμβρος, θάλασσα et al.; Il.), properly "what has not been decided by the gods", i.e. "what does not fit in a given order" (Fraenkel 1923: 281f.). Perhaps a pleonastic privative ἀ-, like in ἀ-βέλτερος, but cf. the analysis in Benveniste 1969(2): 140ff.

•ETYM Compound from *θεσ- 'god' (see ►θεός) and the *-*to*- ptc. of φημί. Cf. ἄ-φατος, as well as διφάσιος, etc.

θέω 1 [v.] 'to run' (Il.). ◄IE *$d^{h}eu$- 'run'►

•VAR Fut. θεύσομαι, ipf. θέεσκον (Hom.), later aor. θεῦσαι (Vett. Val.).

•DIAL Myc. *pe-ri-to-wo* /Peri-t^{h}owos/ (in Πειρίθοος, ει by metrical lengthening).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, παρα-.

•DER θεῦσις 'running' (Corn. *ND* 1), θοός 'quick' (Il.) with Θόας, -αντος PN, also HN (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 236; 3, 162), Θόωσα [f.] PN (Od., Emp.); θοάζω 'bring in quick movement, move quickly' (E.) together with θόασμα 'dancing place' (Orph. *H.* 49, 6). On ►βοηθόος, -θέω, see s.v.

•ETYM The thematic root present θέ(ϝ)ω (cf. θεῦ· δεῦρο, τρέχε 'Over here!, Run!' [H.]) is identical with Skt. *dhavate* 'stream, flow', except for the diathesis. Skt. *dhā́vati* 'run, stream' with lengthened grade has no counterpart in Greek; epic θείη and θείειν have metrical lengthening, and the latter may stand for *θε(ϝ)έμεν (cf. Chantraine 1942: 102; 346; 492). The Germanic word for 'dew' remains uncertain: OHG *tou* [m.], ON *dǫgg*, gen. *dǫggwar*, PGm. **dawwa-*, etc. < IE **d*^{h}*óu̯o-*, *-ā́* (would be Gr. *θό(ϝ)ος, *θο(ϝ)ή). The gloss ἄδδεε· ἐπείγου 'hurry!' (H.) is also unclear.

θέω 2 [v.] 'to glow', only in ὀδόντων λευκὰ θεόντων (Hes. *Sc.* 146); thence by imitation ὕλη χλωρὰ <θ>ούσῃ (Theoc. 25, 158) and ποίην … χλωρὰ θέουσαν (*Epigr. Gr.* 1046, 83). ◁IE? **d*^{h}*eu-* 'glow', GR▷

•VAR Cf. θοόν· λαμπρόν 'bright' (H.; also explained as ὀξύ, σκοτεινόν, ἰσχυρόν, ταχινόν 'bright, dark, strong, swift'); θοῶσαι· ὀξῦναι, λαμπρῦναι 'blaze, make brilliant' (H.).

•ETYM For λευκὰ θεόντων, Wackernagel 1955(2): 852ff. attractively reads one word λευκαθεόντων (from λευκαθέω for *λευκάθω = λευκαθίζω). If this is correct, θέω 'to glow' would cease to exist. The explanation of θοός, θοῶσαι as λαμπρός, λαμπρῦναι probably goes back on the same tradition. From *λευκάθω also comes the name of the goddess Λευκαθέα (Wackernagel 1955(2): 852ff.).

θεωρός [m.] 'spectator, envoy to a festival or to an oracle' (IA, post-Hom.), also name of an overseer (Mantinea, Thasos). ◁IE **uer-* 'observe'▷

•VAR As a loan from Attic, adapted to the local dialect, Dor., etc. θεᾱρός, Arc. also θεαορός; Ion. also θεορός (Paros), θευρός (Thasos).

•COMP As a first member in θεαρο-δόκος 'who receives the θ.', together with -δοκέω, -δοκία (inscr.).

•DER 1. θεωρίς (sc. ναῦς) [f.] 'ship of the θ.' (IA); 2. Θεάριος epithet of Apollo as an oracle-god (Troezen), θεάριον 'meeting place of the θ.' (Pi.); 3. θεωρικός 'reserved for the spectators', τὸ θ. 'contrbution of the spectator' (Att.). 4. θεωρία, -ίη, θεαρία, Boeot. θιαωρία (hybrid form) 'perception, awareness; mission to a festival'. 5. θεωροσύνη 'id.' (Man.). 6. denominative verb: θεωρέω 'be θεωρός, observe, contemplate' (IA), together with θεωρητικός 'contemplative, etc.' (Arist.; θεωρητής Phld.), θεώρημα (Att., Arist.), -ησις (Pl.; Röttger 1937: 17f.), -ητήριον et al. On Θεάριστος Zucker *Maia* 11 (1959): 162.

•ETYM Properly "who watches a show", *θεᾱ-(ϝ)ορός, *θεη-(ϝ)ορός > θε(ε)ωρός with quantitative metathesis and hyphaeresis; also, θεορός > θευρός, probably after -ορος (as in ἔφορος). See Buck 1953: 443f. and Szemerényi *Glotta* 33 (1954): 250². Koller *Glotta* 36 (1958): 273ff. connects θεωρός with θεός, which is implausible; see the objections in DELG. The meaning 'theory, theoretical, etc. is not found until after Aristotle, and developed from 'contemplation of a Form' (cf. Festugière 1936).

θήγω [v.] 'to sharpen, whet; to excite' (Il.). ◁IE **d*^{h}*eh*$_{2}$*g-* 'whet, sharpen'▷

•VAR Also θηγάνω (A. *Ag.* 1535 after H.), aor. θῆξαι. With *ō*-vocalism: τέθωκται· τεθύμωται 'to be provoked'; τεθωγμένοι· τεθυμωμένοι 'who are provoked' (H.); less certain are θῶξαι (also θᾶξαι)· μεθύσαι, πληρῶσαι 'to make drunk, make full'; τεθωγμένοι (also τεθαγμένοι)· μεμεθυσμένοι 'drunken' et al., (H.).

•DIAL Dor. θᾶγω.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. παρα-, συν-, ὑπο-.
•DER θηγάνη 'whetstone' (A., S.; H. also θήγανον) with θηγανίτης λίθος 'id.' (*IG* 14, 317, Sicily); θηγαλέος 'sharp' (*AP*, Chantraine 1933: 253); in H. also θηγάνεον, θηγόν· ὀξύ, ἠκονημένον, ἀκονητόν 'sharp, sharpened', θῆξις· ῥοπή, στιγμή, τάχος 'decision [weight], point [of time], speed'.
•ETYM From IE *d^heh_2g-oH, with the Arm. instrument noun *daku*, gen. pl. *dakuaṙ* 'axe', probably from an *u*-stem IE *d^heh_2g-*u*- 'sharp'. See Lidén 1906: 55. LIV² (following Clackson 1994: 116ff.) calls this connection with Arm. uncertain.

θήκη [f.] 'case, chest; tomb' (IA). ◂IE *d^heh_1- 'set, make'▸
•COMP Very frequently as a second member, both prefixed (δια-, ὑπο-, συν-, etc.) and with nominal first member (βιβλιο-, χαλκο-θήκη).
•DER Diminutive θηκίον (pap.) and θηκαῖος 'for the tomb' (Hdt.); thence again several derivatives.
•ETYM Often connected with Skt. *dhāká-* [m.] 'container, etc.' (gramm.), but perhaps independent formations; see ►τίθημι.

θηλέω [v.] 'to flourish'. ⇒θάλλω.

θηλή [f.] 'mother's breast, nipple' (IA). ◂IE *d^heh_1- 'suck(le)'▸
•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἄ-, εὖ-, νεό-θηλος (-θηλής).
•DER θηλώ· τροφός, τήθη 'nurse, grandmother' (H., Plu.). Denominative verb θηλάζω 'to suckle, suck' (IA, Dor.) with θήλασμα, θηλασμός 'suck(l)ing' (Plu., pap.), θηλάστρια 'wet-nurse' (S., Com.); also θηλαμών 'id.' (Sophr., Thespis), probably to θηλά-σαι after τελά-σαι : τελα-μών et al.; here θηλαμινοῦ· νεογνοῦ 'new-born'; θήλαντο· ἐθήλασαν 'they suckled' (H.; correct?); cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 361. Uncertain θηλονή 'wet-nurse' (Plu. 2, 278d).
•ETYM A counterpart to θηλή is **fēla* 'mother's breast' in Lat. *fēlāre* 'to suckle', IE *d^heh_1-leh_2. From similar pre-forms stem Latv. *dẽls* 'son' < *d^heh_1-*lo*-, properly "suckling", and U *feliuf* [acc.pl.m.] 'sues lactantes, i.e. 'sucklings' (Untermann 2000: 271f.); Lith. *dėlė̃* 'leech'.
Various languages have forms with an *i*-extension, which comes from the present of the verbal root, *d^hh_1-*i*-: Lat. *fīlius* 'id.' < *$d^h(e)h_1$-*i*-*l*-*io*, Latv. *dīle* 'sucking calf' (IE *d^hh_1-*i*-*l*-), MIr. *del* 'nipple', OHG *tila* [f.] 'female breast'. Unclear is Arm. *dayl*, *dal* 'Biestmilch'; Hübschmann 1897: 437, Pedersen *KZ* 39 (1906): 406. On Lat. *fēlix* 'fertile', see the comments in De Vaan 2008 s.v. Cf. ►θῆλυς and ►θῆσθαι.

θῆλυς [adj.] 'female', also metaph. (Il.). ◂IE *d^heh_1- 'suck(le)'▸
•VAR Fem. -εια, ntr. -υ; also a fem. subst., cf. Chantraine 1942: 252.
•COMP Compounds like θηλυ-γενής, μιξό-θηλυς.
•DER θηλυδρίας 'woman-like man' (Hdt., Arist.), from *θηλύδριον (Chantraine 1933: 72); θηλυκός 'womanly, womanish' (Arist., Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1956a: 165), θηλώδης 'womanish' (Ar.), θηλῶτις [f.] 'id.' (Prisc.); θηλύτης 'womanhood' (Arist.); denominative verb θηλύνω 'make womanish' (Ion., Hell.). On the comparative θηλύτερος see Benveniste 1948: 117f.

•ETYM A formal counterpart to θῆλυς < IE *d^heh_1-*lu*-, except for the accent, is Skt. *dhārú*- 'suckling'. The Skt. form may directly derive from the verb 'suck' (see ►θῆσθαι) with a suffix *-ru*- or *-lu*-, while for the Greek form we may assume an intermediate nominal *l*-stem.

θῆμα •VAR θημών. ⇒τίθημι.

θην [pcl.] 'indeed, certainly, without a doubt', in ἦ θην, οὔ θην et al. (Il.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unexplained.

θήρ, -ρός [m.] 'wild animal, beast of prey' (Il.). ◄IE *$ǵ^hueh_1r$- 'wild animal►
•DIAL Aeol. φήρ (Pi.).
•COMP E.g. θηρο-φόνος 'killing wild beasts' (Thgn.), Θηρε-φόνα (Paus. 5, 3, 3; on the compositional vowel -ε- see Schwyzer 438); ἔν-θηρος 'full of wild beasts' (trag.), ἄ-θηρος (Hdt., A.) 'without wild beasts', also 'without hunting' (from θήρα; Sommer 1948: 149f.).
•DER θηρίον 'wild animal, hunted animal' (Od.; Wackernagel 1916: 218; originally diminutive); post-Hom. also 'animal', with several derivatives: diminutive θηρίδιον (Thphr.), θηρᾰφιον (Damocr. *apud* Gal.; Wackernagel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 243f.); θήραφος 'spider' (Cyren. 62), probably a back-formation; θηριακός 'regarding the animals' (medic.), θηριώδης 'full of wild animals, animal-like' (IA); θηριότης 'animal being' (Arist); denominatives: 1. θηριόομαι, -όω 'to turn into an animal' (Pl., Eub.) with θηρίωσις (Luc.); beside it θηρίωμα 'malignant ulcer' (medic.) from θηρίον 'id.'; 2. θηριάζομαι 'id.' (*Corp. Herm.* 10, 20). θήρειος 'ptng. to wild animals' (IA). Denominative verbs: 1. θηράω 'to hunt' (A.), perf. ptc. πεφειράκοντες (Thess.); thence θηρατήρ, -άτωρ (-ρητ-) 'hunter' (Il.) with θηρατήριος (S.); also θηρατής 'id.' (Ar.) together with θηρατικός (X.); θήραμα 'hunting booty' (E.), θήρατρον 'hunting device, net' (X.); θηράσιμος 'worth hunting, worth trying' (A. *Pr.* 858). Here also belongs the back-formation θήρα 'hunt, booty' (Il.) together with θηροσύνη 'id.' (Opp., *AP*), θηρότις· θηρεύτρια (H.), after ἀγρότις. As a second member -θήρας, e.g. ὀρνιθο-θήρας 'bird-catcher' (Ar., Arist.). 2. θηρεύω 'to hunt' (τ 465) together with θηρευτής 'hunter' (Il.), θηρευτικός (Ar., X., Arist.), also θηρευτήρ (Opp.), fem. θηρεύτρια (pap.), θήρευμα 'catch' (S., E., Pl.), θήρευσις 'hunt' (Ph).
•ETYM Lat. *fērus* 'wild' underwent pretonic shortening from **fēró*- (cf. Schrijver 1991: 343), which makes a reconstruction *$ǵ^hueh_1r$- possible. The plural forms θῆρες, θηρῶν have exact counterparts in Eastern Lith. *žvėrės, žvėrį̃*, < IE *$ǵ^hueh_1r$-*es, -om*. Most BSl. forms were transferred into the *i*-stems: nom.sg. Lith. *žvėrìs*, OCS *zvěrь* 'id.'. Also related is ToB *śerwe* 'hunter' < *$ǵ^hueh_1r$-*uo*-.

θής, θητός [m.] 'serf, bondsman; hired labourer' (Od.). ◄PG►
•VAR Fem. θῆσσα, Att. θῆττα (E., Posidipp.). Also θᾶτας· θῆτας (θάτας· θύτας 'sacrificers' cod.), τοὺς δούλους. Κύπριοι 'slaves (Cypr.)' (H.).
•DER θητικός 'of a serf' (Lex. *apud* D., Arist.), θητεύω 'be a serf; work for wages' (Il.) with θητεία 'wage-earning' (S., Isoc.), θητεῖον 'wages' (Ath.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Argumentation against connection with θέω 'run' in Fraenkel 1910: 87[2]). Acc. to Aßmann *Glotta* 9 (1918): 96, it is a loanword from West Semitic.

See E. Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 79f. on the meaning, etc. The original form was *$t^h\bar{a}t$-, thus it was probably Pre-Greek.

θησαυρός [m.] 'treasury, warehouse, receptacle, treasure' (Hes.). ◁PG▷
•COMP E.g. θησαυρο-φύλαξ 'guard of the treasury' (Hell.).
•DER θησαυρικός 'belonging to the treasury' (pap.), θησαυρώδης 'full of treasures' (Philostr.); θησαυρίζω 'save, collect' (IA) together with θησαύρισμα 'savings, store, treasure' (Democr., trag.), θησαυρισμός 'storage, preservation' (Arist., Thphr.), -ιστής 'who preserves' (Poll.) with -ιστικός (Arist.).
•ETYM No etymology, but probably a technical loanword, without a doubt from Pre-Greek. The appearance of the word could suggest a pre-form in *$-ar^w$-*o*-. From Greek, Lat. *thēsaurus*, *thēsaurizō*.

θῆσθαι [v.inf.pres.] 'suck' (δ 89). ◁IE *d^heh_1-*i*- 'suck, suckle'▷
•VAR Aor. 3sg. θήσατο (Ω 58, Call. *Jov.* 48), θησάμενος (*h. Cer.* 236); θήσατο 'suckled' (as opposed to 'sucked', *h. Ap.* 123); act. θῆσαι· θρέψαι, θηλάσαι 'to feed, suckle' (H.).
•ETYM IE has a root *d^heh_1-, found in Greek θη- (θηλή, θῆλυς, τιθήνη, γαλαθηνός, θήνιον· γάλα H.) and in Sanskrit (inf. *dhātave*, *dhātrī*- 'wet-nurse', etc.). Correspondences to θῆ-σθαι have a yod-present: OHG *tāen*, 1sg. *tāju*; Latv. *dêt*, 1sg. *dêju* 'to suck'. Although it seems athematic, a yod-present *θή-i̯ε-σθαι may be assumed for θῆσθαι as well; it is perhaps an innovation after the aor. θήσατο (Frisk). Beside these formations, there was an *i*-present *d^heh_1-(*e*)*i*- in Skt. *dhāyati*, which agrees with OCS *dojǫ* and with Go. *daddjan*, OSwed. *dæggja* 'suck' (with "Verschärfung" [gemination] of the yod). Further forms belonging to this present: Skt. *dhītá*- 'sucked', *dhenú*- 'milch cow', MHG *dīen* 'suckle'. See LIV² s.v. *$d^heh_1(i̯)$- 'Muttermilch saugen'. Discussion of Anatolian forms like Lyc. *tideimi* 'child' in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *tēta(n)*-. Unrelated is ▶ τιθασός.

θῆτα [n.] the eighth letter of the Greek alphabet (Ar.). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Gen. θήτατος (Democr. 20), Lat. *tetates* [pl.] from θήτατες; further uninflected.
•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *ṭēth*. See Schwyzer: 140.

θίασος [m.] 'Bacchic revel; religious guild' (IA). ◁PG▷
•DER θιασώτης 'participant of a θ.' (IA), fem. -ῶτις (Opp.) together with -ωτικός; also θιασίτης 'id.' (Ion. and Hell. inscr.) together with -ιτικός; θιασώδης 'θ.-like, belonging to a θ.' (Nonn.); θιασῶνες· οἶκοι, ἐν οἷς συνιόντες δειπνοῦσιν οἱ θίασοι 'halls in which the companies took their meals communally' (H.). Denominative verbs: 1. θιασεύω 'introduce in a θ., participate in a θ.' (E., Str.) with θιασεία (Procl.); 2. back-formation θιάζω in ἐξεθίαζε· χορείας ἐπετέλει 'was performing dances'; ἐπεθίαζεν· ἐχόρευεν 'was dancing', aor. θιάσαι· χορεῦσαι (H.).
•ETYM Formation like θύρσος et al. An expression of the Dionysiac religion, and as such suspected of foreign origin: probably Anatolian (= Pre-Greek?), in spite of older interpretations in Indo-European terms (see Bq).

θῖβις [f.] 'basket of papyrus' (LXX). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Nom. also θίβις, θίβη; gen. -εως, also θίβωνος· κιβωτοῦ, Κύπριοι 'coffer (Cypr.)' (H.).

•ETYM A loan from Semitic, Hebr. *tēbhāh*, which itself is a loan from Egyptian *db:t* 'box'; see E. Masson 1967: 76.

θιβρός [adj.] meaning uncertain (only in Alexandrian poets); epithet of Κύπρις (Call. *Fr.* 267), of Σεμίραμις (Euph. 81), of ὤεα χελύνης (Nic. *Al.* 555), and of ὀφίων κῆρ 'snake-poison' (Nic. *Th.* 35). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also θιμβρός (Nic. *Th.* 35 v.l.).

•DER The Spartan name Θίβρων is often found as Θίμβρων in the mss. (Harp., Phot., Su.). Besides θίρρον· τὸ τρυφερόν (Theognost.).

•ETYM Explained gropingly by the ancients as 'hot, soft, etc.'; cf. H.: θιβρόν· τρυφερόν, καλόν, σεμνόν, ἁπαλόν 'delicate, beautiful, revered, soft'; θιβρήν· φιλόκοσμον, καλλυντικήν .... καὶ παρὰ μὲν Νικάνδρῳ τὴν ἔμπυρον καὶ καυστικήν, τινὲς δὲ χαλεπήν. Although the etymology is uncertain, the prenasalized form points to Pre-Greek origin. Therefore, not related to φοῖβος (as per Ehrlich 1910: 33, who derives it from IE *g^{wh}*ig^{w}-ro-*, based on comparison with Slov. *žigra* 'tinder').

θιγγάνω [v.] 'to touch with the hand, occupy oneself with' (Ion. Dor. Arc.; not in Attic or in Hom.; see Wackernagel 1916: 222). ◂IE? *$d^{h}eig^{h}$- 'smear, knead'▸

•VAR Aor. θιγεῖν (Lacon. σιγῆν Ar. *Lys.* 1004), fut. med. προσ-θίξῃ (E. *Heracl.* 652; codd. -εις), τεθίξομαι (E. *Hipp.* 1086), aor. pass. θιχθῆναι (S., E.).

•COMP Also with prefix like προσ-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER θίξις 'touch' (Hp., Arist.), θίγμα 'id.' (Pergam.), θιγμάτων· μιασμάτων 'stains' (H.); uncertain θίγημα (*AP* 12, 209; cod. φιλήματα) and θιγάνα 'cover?' (Delph., Labyadae inscr. C 39).

•ETYM The form θιγγάνω has been analyzed as a nasal present of the IE root *$d^{h}eig^{h}$- (see ▸τεῖχος), with supposed parallels in Lat. *fingō* 'to spread, knead, form, etc.', Arm. *diz-anem* 'to heap up' (for further forms, see LIV^{2} s.v.). The -γ- would have spread from the present to the aorist θιγεῖν (for *τιχεῖν). This etymology presupposes, however, that original IE *$ǵ^{h}$ became γ after nasal, but this is incorrect, as is shown by ▸ὄμφαλος (see ▸θάμβος).

θῖς, θῖνός [m., f.] 'heap (of sand), beach, dune, shore' (Il.). ◂PG?▸

•DER ἀποθινόομαι 'silt up' (Plb.). As a second member in ἀκρο-θίνια (-να) [pl.] (rarely [sg.]) 'the upper part of a heap, offering of first fruits' (mostly post-Hom. poetry), a compound from ἄκρος θίς and a suffix -ιο- (differently, Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 289).

•ETYM Without explanation. Wackernagel 1916: 82 A. 2) compares Skt. *dhíṣṇya-* [adj.] 'put on a heap of earth', substantival 'heap of earth with sand', which would go back to an *n*-stem IE *$d^{h}isen$-, *$d^{h}isn$-. Thence he derives Gr. *θιων, *θιην, θῖν-, of which the nom. θίς would be an innovation. Improbable. Often compared with MoHG *Düne* and cognates, but this is formally impossible. There have been unsuccessful attempts to relate θίς to the root of ▸τίθημι; the word is rather a loan (from Pre-Greek?).

θιώτης of ἄρτος (pap. II^{p}). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

θλάσπις [f.] 'shepherd's purse, Capsella bursa pastoris' (Hp.). ◁?▷
•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως; θλάσπι [n.] (Dsc., Plin.).
•DER θλασπίδιον (Ps.-Dsc.).
•ETYM Unknown; folk-etymological derivation from θλάω by Dsc. 2, 156 (see Strömberg 1940: 155). A neuter in -ι is extremely rare in Greek.

θλάω [v.] 'to crush, bruise' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR (Arist., Herod.), aor. θλάσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. θλασθῆναι, fut. θλάσω (Hp.), perf. τέθλασμαι (Alex., Theoc.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, κατα-, συν-.
•DER θλάσις 'crushing' (Arist.), θλάσμα 'bruising, bruise' (Arist.), θλαστός (Com.); θλάστης 'crusher' = ἐμβρυοθλάστης (medic.), θλαστικός 'crushing' (Arist.); θλαδίας [m.] 'eunuch' (LXX, Ph.) with θλαδιάω (H.) = φλαδιάω; from *θλάδος, *θλαδεῖν, cf. φλαδεῖν.
•ETYM No certain connection. Cf. ▶θλίβω and ▶φλάω.

θλίβω [v.] 'to press, bruise' (ρ 221). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. θλῖψαι.
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, συν-, ἐν-, ἀπο-.
•DER θλῖψις 'pressure' (Arist.), also prefixed (ἔκ-, etc.); θλιμμός 'id.' (LXX, Aq.); ἀπόθλιμμα 'what is pressed out, sap' (Hp.), also with ἔκ-; (ἐκ-)θλιβή 'pressure' (LXX, Gal.) together with θλιβερός (Paul. Aeg.), θλιβώδης (Aq.); θλιβίας = θλαδίας (Str.).
•ETYM It has been proposed that it is cross between θλάω and φλίβω (also τρίβω?) (Walde *IF* 19 (1906): 105, Güntert 1914: 149).

θνῄσκω 'die'. ⇒θάνατος.

θοάζω 1 'sit'. ⇒θᾶσσω.

θοάζω 2 'move quickly'. ⇒θέω.

θοίνη [f.] 'meal, banquet, feast' (IA, Dor., Hes. *Sc.* 114). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Dor. θοίνα, Hell. θοῖνα.
•COMP θοινοδοτέω 'to host a banquet' (Crete I[a]-I[p]), θοιναρμιόστρια [f.] 'mistress of the banquet' (inscr.).
•DER θοινᾶτικός (v.l. -νητ-) 'of a banquet' (X. *Oik.* 9, 7). Denominative verbs: 1. θοινάω, -άομαι 'to entertain, feast' (δ 36) together with θοίνᾱμα 'entertainment, banquet' (E. [lyr.], Posidon.), θοινατήρ 'host' (A. *Ag.* 1502) with θοινατήριον = θοίνη (E. *Rh.* 515), θοινάτωρ 'host' (E.), -ήτωρ (*AP*), θοινατάς 'id.' (Kallatis I[a]); on Doric α see Fraenkel 1912: 16f., Björck 1950: 140ff. 2. θοινάζω 'to entertain' (X., Ael.). 3. θοινίσαι v.l. for θοινῆσαι (Hdt. 1, 129).
•ETYM Previously derived from *θωι-να, and connected with ▶θῶσθαι · δαίνυσθαι, θοινᾶσθαι (A. *Fr.* 49), θῶται· εὐθηνεῖται, θοινᾶται (H., also θώσασθαι, θωθῆναι); θωσούμεθα (Epich. 139), θωστήρια· εὐωχητήρια (Alcm., H.); see Frisk. However, the verb has no etymology; Pre-Greek origin of the group (including ▶θώς 'jackal'?) seems possible.

θόλος [f.] 'round building with conical roof, rotunda', 'round bath' (Od.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Hell. also [m.]; see Schwyzer 1950: 32⁴, 34². On σαλία, θαλιο- see below.
•DER Diminutive θολίδιον (Att.). θολία 'conical hat with broad brim' (Theoc. 15, 39), also 'chest with conical lid' (Poll.); cf. σαλία (σ- < θ-)· πλέγμα καλάθῳ ὅμοιον, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναι. οἱ δὲ θολία 'something plaited, like a basket, which Laconian women wear on the head; others: θ.' (H.); see also H. θαλιοποιοί, which Latte corrects to *θαλλοκοποιοί. θολωτός 'provided with θ., with conical form' (Procop.), θολικός 'id.' (Suid.).
•ETYM A technical word without explanation. The comparison with a European word for 'valley, etc.', e.g. Go. *dal(s)* [m., n.] 'φάραγξ, βόθυνος', ON *dalr* 'valley, arch', OCS *dolъ* 'βάραθρον, λάκκος', Ru. *dol* 'valley, lower part', MW *dol* [f.] 'valley', should be discarded. The connection with θάλαμος (e.g. Maaß *RhM* 77 (1928): 1ff.) makes more sense; the variation α/ ο is typical of Pre-Greek.

θολός [m.] 'mud, dirt, ink of the cuttlefish' (Hp., Arist.; on the accent Schwyzer: 459), also adjectival 'troubled' (Ath.). ◅?▻
•DER θολερός 'troubled' (IA), θολώδης 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), θολόω 'make turbid, unclean' (IA) together with θόλωσις 'making turbid' (Arist., Gal.).
•ETYM The word has been connected, as *θϝολός, with some Gm. terms for turbidness of the mind: primary verb OS *for-dwelan* 'neglect, forsake', OHG *gi-twelan* 'be deafened, linger', with several verbal nouns (ON *dvǫl* [f.] 'lingering', OS *dwalm*, OHG *twalm* 'stupefaction', Go. *dwals* 'stupid'). These may or may not be connected with a Celtic word for 'blind', e.g. OIr. *dall*. There is no indication, however, that these IE forms (more in Pok. 265) are cognate. Fur.: 391 compares ὀλός 'the dark sap of the cuttlefish' (Hp.).

θοός 1 'quick'. ⇒θέω.

θοός 2 [adj.] 'sharp', in νήσοισι ἐπιπροέηκε Θοῆσιν (ο 299); cf. Str. 8, 3, 26 Θοὰς δὲ εἴρηκε τὰς Ὀξείας κτλ. (Bechtel 1914 s.v.); said of γόμφοι, ὀδόντες, πελέκεις, ξίφος (Hell. and late: A. R., *AP*). ◅?▻
•DER Factitive aorist ἐθόωσα 'I made sharp' (ι 327), pass. perf. ptc. τεθοωμένος (Nic., Opp.).
•ETYM No certain connection; probably not related to Skt. *dhā́rā* 'cutting edge, blade (of a sword)' (compared by Schulze 1933a: 370).

θορός 'masculine seed'. ⇒θρώσκω.

θόρυβος [m.] 'noise, crying, tumult, confusion' (Pi., IA). ◅PG▻
•DER θορυβώδης 'full (of) noise, etc.' (IA) and denominative θορυβέω (also prefixed with ἀνα-, ἐπι-) 'make noise, stir, confuse' (IA); θορυβητικός 'noisy' (Ar.) and θορύβηθρον plant name = λεοντοπέταλον (Ps.-Dsc.); on naming motive Strömberg 1940: 80, on the formation ibd. 146.
•ETYM Formation like ὄτοβος, κόναβος, φλοῖσβος, et al. (Chantraine 1933: 260). The reduplicated form τον-θορύ-ζω (see Tichy 1983: 215f.), τόνθρυς is comparable. Perhaps θρῦ-λέω, θρῦ-λος also belong here; see also ▸θρέομαι. The variation θορυβ- (from **tarup-*?), τον-θρυ-, θρυ(λ)- suggests a Pre-Greek word (cf. Fur.: 229, 381).

θοῦρος [adj.] 'rushing, impetuous, furious' (Il.). ◅IE *d^herh_3- 'jump, mount'▻
•DER θοῦρις, -ιδος [f.] (Hom., H.), θουράς (Nic., Lyc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 354f.); extended in θούριος 'id.' (trag.); also θουραῖος, θουρήεις et al. (H.); denominative ptc. θουρῶσαι [nom.pl.f.] 'rushing towards' (Lyc. 85), from θουράω + accus.
•ETYM From *θόρ-ϝος, either directly from the aorist θορεῖν or as a transformation of an *u*-stem *θόρ-υ-ς (cf. μανός < *μαν-ϝ-ός, στενός < *στεν-ϝ-ός, etc.). Not related to ►ἀθύρω, as per Persson 1891: 59.

θρᾶνος [m.] 'bench, supporting beam' (Att. and Hell. inscr., Ar.). ◅PG?▻
•DIAL Myc. *ta-ra-nu* /t^{h}rānus/.
•DER Diminutive θρανίον 'id.' (Ar.) together with θρανίδιον (Ar.); θρανίτης 'rower of the upper of the three rows' (Th., Ar.), see Morrison *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 128ff.; fem. θρανῖτις (κώπη; Att.); θρανιτικός (Callix.); θρανίας [m.] (Marcell. Sid.), θρᾶνις or -ίς (Xenocr.) = ξιφίας 'swordfish', after the shape of the upper jaw, cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.
Denominative verb θρανεύω 'to stretch to the tanner's board' (Ar. *Eq.* 369), also θρανεύεται· συντρίβεται 'was rubbed together' (H.), ἀθράνευτον· ἄστρωτον 'bare' (H. = E. *fr.* 569); cf. συν-θρανόω and ►θρανύσσω.
θρῆνυς, -υος [m.] 'footstool' (Hom.), cf. Hermann *Gött. Nachr.* (1943): 8; Chantraine 1933: 118; Benveniste 1935: 56), also θρῆνυξ, -υκος (Euph.), θρᾶνυξ (Corinn.) with a secondary κ-enlargement; see Chantraine 1933: 383.
•ETYM If νο- or νυ- is a suffix, we can connect the aorist inf. θρήσασθαι, which is usually translated as 'to sit down' (only Philet. 14 [IV-III^a]: θρήσασθαι πλατάνῳ γ<ρ>αίη ὕπο).
This group of words is often connected with ►θρόνος, whence the assumption that θρᾶνος, θρῆνυς originally meant 'support'. Recently, De Lamberterie 2004: 236-253 has argued that θρόνος is a younger form of *θόρνος (Myc. *to-no*, Cypr. θόρναξ H.). He assumes a root *d^herh_2- 'support, hold', found in Skt. *dhar-*, assuming *d^horh_2-*no*- for *θόρνος, with loss of laryngeal by the Saussure Effect. This would mean that θρᾶνος, θρῆνυς derive from the zero grade of the root. The fact that the Indo-Iranian root is *aniṭ* is problematic for this account, however. The existence of variants θόρν- and θρόν- could also be an indication of Pre-Greek origin. See ►θρησκεύω.

θρᾰνύσσω [v.] 'to crush'. ◅?▻
•VAR Only aor. ptc. θρανύξαντες (Lyc. 664); συν-θρᾰνόω 'id.', only perf. pass. συντεθράνωται (E. *Ba.* 633; = συμπέπτωκε 'has dashed together' H.).
•DER Cf. also θρανεύεται· συντρίβεται 'is rubbed together' (H.).
•ETYM Connection with a hypothetical noun *θραυσ-ανό-ς from θραύω 'shatter' inspires little confidence (cf. Sommer 1905: 64f.). Acc. to Frisk, more probable is connection with θρανεύω 'stretch on the tanner's bench', which H. glosses as συντρίβεται. One hypothesis posits the meaning change 'tan (torture)' > 'crush', together with formal adaptation, perhaps to ἁμύσσω, νύσσω, etc. (Sommer 1905: 64f.). Thus also DELG. See ►θρᾶνος.

θράσος •VAR θρασύς. ⇒θάρσος.

θρᾰ́σσω [v.] 'to trouble, disturb' (Pi., Hp., Att.). ◂IE? *$d^hreh_2g^h$- 'irritate'▸

•VAR Att. θρᾰ́ττω; aor. θρᾰ̃ξαι (A., E.), pass. ἐθράχθη (S. *Fr.* 1055); perf. τέτρηχα intr. 'be troubled, agitated' (Il.).

•COMP Sometimes with prefixes ἐν-, ὑπο-, ἐπι-.

•ETYM The form θρᾰ́σσω is a primary yod-present from *θρᾰχ-ι̯ω, beside the old perfect *τέ-θρᾰχ-α. The rare aorists θρᾰ̃ξαι and ἐθράχθη could be innovations after the type πράσσω : πρᾰ̃ξαι for older ταράξαι (like δαμάσαι), from which the present ▸ταράσσω was formed, which has the same disyllabic stem form as ταραχή and may be a denominative of it. The form ταραχή should not be explained as from *d^hrh_2-eg^h-, since the verbal forms point to a full grade *$d^hreh_2g^h$-. Therefore, the only possibility seems to be *$d^hr̥h_2g^h$-, with secondary accent (see Rix 1976: 73f.), in spite of earlier objections (cf. *Dev.* 206ff.). The form ▸τραχύς 'raw, hard' is a primary nominal formation. The words for 'dregs, sediment' (e.g. ON *dregg* [f.], OLith. *drāgės* [pl.], Alb. *drā*, Lat. *fracēs* [f.pl.]) should be kept separate from θράσσω. The same holds true for the Baltic group of Lith. *drāgės*, *dérgti* 'soil, defile, etc.'; the acute accent does not point to a laryngeal (with unattractive **$d^herh_2g^h$- next to *$d^hreh_2g^h$-), but rather to PIE *$d^{(h)}erg$-, where the acute is a result of Winter's Law. A possible comparison is that with the Slavic group of OCS *raz-dražiti* 'incite, provoke', which (like Greek) could point to *$d^hreh_2g^h$-. However, Derksen 2008 s.v. **drāžìti* objects that the Slavic accent does not point to a laryngeal. Lit.: Tichy 1983: 171f.

θρᾷττα [f.] name of a small sea-fish (middle com., Arist.). ◂?▸

•DER Diminutive θρᾷττίδιον (Anaxandr.).

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1943: 86, properly "the Thracian"; see ▸Θρᾷξ. Otherwise, it could be a deformation of θρίσσα (s.v. ▸θρίξ).

θραυπαλος [f.] name of a plant, ephedra campulopoda (Thphr.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

θραυπίς, -ιδος [f.] name of a small bird (Arist. *HA* 592b). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

θραύω [v.] 'to break in pieces, shatter, enfeeble' (IA). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. θραῦσαι, pass. θραυσθῆναι, perf. pass. τέθραυσμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, περι-, συν-.

•DER (ἀπό-, σύν-)θραῦσις 'breaking, etc.' (Arist.), acc. to H. also = σφῦρα, ἡ τοὺς βώλους θραύουσα 'hammer breaking the earth', from which MoGr. dial. (Chios, Ikaros) θράψα (Kukules Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 27: 61ff.); θραῦμα (A., etc.), also θραῦσμα (Agatharch., Arist.) 'fragment, crushing, wound'; θραυσμός 'breaking' (LXX), θραυστήριος 'appropriate for breaking' (Aët.); θραυστός 'breakable, broken' (Ti. Locr., Thphr.); θραῦλον· κόλουρον 'truncated' (wrong von Blumenthal 1930: 38), θραῦρον· τραγανόν, θραυόμενον 'broken in pieces' (H.; see Schwyzer: 282).

•ETYM The α-vocalism is unexplained. Bechtel 1914 s.v. connects it with θρυλίζω, ▸*θρυλίσσω (θρυλίχθη, θρυλίξαι), etc. See there and s.v. ▸θρύπτω.

θρέομαι [v.] 'to cry aloud, shriek, proclaim' (A., E., always of women). ◂IE? *d^hreu-▸

•VAR Only present except θρεύετο (poet. inscr., Epid. IV^a), artificially formed after θρεῦμαι (A. *Th.* 78); on the imperfective aspect see Fournier 1946: 90 and 228.
•COMP Very frequently as a second member, e.g. ἀλλό-θροος 'with another man's voice, with foreign language' (Od.).
•DER θρόος, Att. θροῦς [m.] 'noise, murmur, rumour' (Δ 437, Pi. *N.* 7, 81, Th., X.). Iterative deverbative (or denominative) verb θροέω 'cry, proclaim, speak' (trag.), with aor. θροῆσαι; rarely with prefix δια-, προσ- et al.; pass. θροεῖσθαι, θροηθῆναι 'be drowned, confused, frightened' (LXX, NT); from there συνθρόησις 'confusion, shyness' (S. E. *M.* 9, 169).
•ETYM Beside the thematic root present θρέ(ϝ)ομαι, which points to IE *d^hreu-o-, Armenian has an athematic root present *erdnum*, aor. *erdu-ay* 'swear', from QIE *d^hru-neu-mi* (cf. OLat. *deicō* next to Gr. δείκνυμι). See Frisk 1944: 8ff., where relation with θάρνυται as 'speak' (δηλοῖ τὴν διὰ λόγων ἔντευξιν H.) is also considered. Non-IE words like θόρυβος, θρυλέω, θρῦλος must be kept separate. Pok. 255 contains much Greek material of non-IE origin. Cf. also ►θρῆνος and ►τονθορύζω.

θρῆνος [m.] 'dirge, lament, lamentation' (IA, Ω 721; on the meaning Diehl *RhM* N.F. 89 (1940): 90 and 112). ◄PG?►
•COMP Compounds like θρην-ῳδός 'who sings a lament' (Alciphr.), together with θρην-ῳδέω, -ία (E., Plu.); ἔν-θρηνος 'full of lament' (pap.).
•DER θρηνώδης 'like a lament' (Pl.), θρήνωμα = θρῆνος (pap. I^a, cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.). Denominative verb θρηνέω, aor. θρηνῆσαι 'start a lament, lament, wail for' (Ω 722), also prefixed, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, with several derivatives: θρήνημα 'lament' (E.), θρηνη-τής, -ητήρ (A.) 'lamentation', also θρηνήτωρ (Man.); θρηνητικός (Arist.); ἐπιθρήν-ησις (Plu.).
•ETYM In the first place, θρῆνος should be connected within Greek with ablauting θρώναξ· κηφήν. Λάκωνες 'drone (Lacon.)' (H.) and reduplicated τενθρήνη 'hornet' (cf. also on ἀνθρηδών; see Kuiper 1956: 221f.). In other languages, we find words denoting sounds of similar appearance: Skt. *dhráṇati* 'sounds' (gramm.) and the Gm. word for 'drone', e.g. OS *dreno*, and Go. *drunjus* 'sound'. These are rather independent onomatopoeic formations. We are probably dealing with a Pre-Greek word.

θρῆνυξ •VAR θρῆνυς, θρῆσασθαι. ⇒ θρᾶνος.

θρησκεύω [v.] 'to perform or observe religious customs' (Hdt.), 'to worship' (LXX). ◄PG?►
•DER θρησκεία, Ion. -ηΐη 'holy service, religious practice' (Ion.), also θρήσκευμα, -ευσις 'id.' (Hell.); θρησκευτής 'worshipper' (late); deverbal θρῆσκος 'fear of the gods' (*Ep. Jac.* 1, 26) with θρησκώδης 'id.' (Vett. Val.); θρήσκια [n.pl.] 'religious customs' (*POxy.* 1380, 245, II^p, *OGI* 210, 9, Nubia III^p).
On the history of θρησκεύω, -εία see van Herten 1934.
•ETYM As θρῆσκος is clearly deverbal, another starting point for θρησκεύω must be found. Another σκ-present is found in the glosses θρήσκω· νοῶ 'to think of' and

θράσκειν· ἀναμιμνήσκειν 'to remember' (H.); θρησκεύω could be an enlargement of these. The glosses would point to Ionic origin for θρησκεύω.
Beside the present θρήσκω, we also find a gloss ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν 'to guard, observe' (H.). However, if we explain this as a zero grade thematic aorist, then θρήσκω, which must derive from *$d^{h}rh_{2}$-ske/o-, becomes unexplainable. Perhaps, then, the word is Pre-Greek.
The relevant nominal gloss ἀθερές· ἀνόητον, ἀνόσιον 'stupid, unholy' (H.) could point to a neuter *θέρος or an aorist *θερεῖν.
Further connection with ►θρόνος, ►θρᾶνος is improbable.

θριαί [f.pl.] Nymphs on the Parnassos who fed Apollo; also name of pebbles that served as lots of an oracle (Philoch. 196, Call. *Ap.* 45; uncertain conj. *h. Merc.* 552). See the texts in Amandry 1950: 27-29. ◁?▷
•VAR Also θρῖαι.
•COMP θριοβόλοι [pl.] 'who threw the θ.' (Epic. *apud* St. Byz. s.v. Θρῖα, Suid.).
•DER θριάζειν· ἐνθουσιᾶν, ἐνθουσιάζειν 'be inspired, be possessed by a god' (H.) from S. (*Fr.* 466) and E. (*Fr.* 478) together with θρίασις (Suid.); also θριᾶσθαι· μαντεύεσθαι 'to divine' (*AB* 265).
•ETYM Origin unknown. von Wilamowitz 1931: 379ff. thought it was originally identical with θρῖα 'leaves of the fig'. See Amandry 1950: 62, 133 and Fur.: 191 (uncertain). There seems little reason to connect it with θριαμβος.

θρίαμβος [m.] name of hymns sung at festivals for Dionysus (Cratin. 36), also said of the god (*Trag. Adesp.* 140 et al.); also a Hell. rendering of Lat. *triumphus* (Plb., D. S.). ◁PG▷
•DER θριαμβικός = *triumphālis*, θριαμβεύειν = *triumphāre*.
•ETYM Formation like ►δῑθύραμβος, ►ἴαμβος and, like these, probably Pre-Greek. Since Sommer 1905: 58ff., it has often been connected with the numeral 'three' ("Dreischritt" vel sim.), which is impossible. Acc. to Sturtevant *Class. Phil.* 5 (1910): 323ff., it is from θριάζω, θρίασις, by influence of ἴαμβος. See also Theander *Eranos* 15 (1915): 126[1]. Fur.191 connects it with τριάζω 'to conquer'.

θριγκός [m.] 'topmost course of stones in a wall, cornice, frieze', also metaph. (Od.), 'fence' (E., Ar.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Mostly plur., late also τριγχός (*SIG* 1231, 6 [Nicomedia III-IV^{P}], H., sch.), θριγγός (v.l. Plu. 2, 85f.), θριγχός (v.l. Dsc. 4, 85).
•DER θριγκίον (Luc., App.), θριγκώδης 'like a coping' (H.) sub αἱμασιαί; θριγκόω [v.] 'to provide with a θ., crown, complete' (ξ 10 et al.) with θρίγκωμα = θριγκός (J., Plu.), see Chantraine 1933: 186f.
•ETYM A term of construction; see discussion on ►γεῖσον. The forms τριγχός and θριγγός may show old variation or more recent developments. The form στριγχός· τειχίον, στρικτόριον, στεφάνη δώματος 'little wall, crown of a building' (H.) may be a cross of τριγχός and στρικτόριον (= Lat. *strictōrium*). The word is without a doubt Pre-Greek.

θρίδαξ, -ακος [f.] 'lettuce' (Epich., Ion., Hell.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER θριδακῖνη 'id.' (Att., Hell.; Chantraine 1933: 204) together with -ῑνίς [f.] (Stratt.), θριδακίσκα (Alcm. 20; Chantraine 1933: 407), θριδάκιον (Plu.); also θριδακίας = μανδραγόρας θῆλυς (Dsc., Chantraine 1933: 94) and the adjective θριδακ-ηΐς [f.] (Nic.), -ώδης (Dsc.) 'lettuce-like'. Several by-forms: θίδραξ (Arr., H.) together with θιδρακίνη (H.; metathesis of liquids, see Schwyzer: 258), θρύδαξ (pap.; after θρύον?), θρόδαξ (H.) together with θοδράκιον (Choerob.).
•ETYM Acc. to Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 151, it is Pre-Greek. Because of the typical leaves, Strömberg 1940: 39 thinks of θρῖον 'fig-leaf, leaf in general' and compares οἴδαξ 'unripe figs'. By folk-etymological association with τρι- 'three' arose τετρακίνη = θριδακίνη (Hippon. 135). For the interchange o/ ι, cf. τορνία· σταφυλή beside θρινία· ἄμπελος (Fur.: 392).

θρῖναξ, -ακος [f.] 'three-pronged fork, trident' (Ar., *Tab. Heracl.* 1, 5, Nic.). ◁PG(S, V)▷
•DER Thence Θρινακίη [f.] "fork-island", name of a mythical island (Od.), later identified with Sicily, and changed to Τρινακρία (τρία ἄκρα) by folk etymology; also Θρινακίς [f.] (Str.); adj. Θρινάκιος 'Sicilian' (Nic.).
•ETYM Technical word in -ᾰξ (Chantraine 1933: 377ff.). Mostly interpreted as a compound with τρι- 'three', but the attempts at finding an IE etymology have failed (see examples in Frisk). Fur.: 189 compares τρίναξ 'an instrument in agriculture', with τ/ θ; note also the suffix -ακ-, frequent in substrate words. Another comparison has been with θρῖον 'fig-leaf' (because of the form), with θρινία· ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτῃ 'vine on Crete' (H.); very unlikely.

θρίξ [f.] 'hair', especially the bodily hair in opposition to κόμη, the well-groomed hair of the head (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Gen. τριχός.
•COMP E.g. τριχό-φυλλος 'with leaves like hair' (Thphr., of a pine forest), ούλό-θριξ 'with curly hair' (Hdt., etc.).
•DER 1. θρίσσα, Att. θρίττα [f.] < *θρίχ-ια 'Clupea alosa' (middle com., Arist.), a kind of anchovy called after its hairlike bones (Strömberg 1943: 47f.; also Thompson 1947 s.v.); diminutive θρισσίον (pap.); in the same meaning also τριχίς, -ίδος [f.] (Ar.), τριχίδιον (Alex.), τριχίας [m.] (Arist.). 2. Diminutive τρίχιον (Arist.). 3. τριχώδης 'full of hair, hairlike' (Hp., Arist.). 4. τριχωτός 'hairy' (Arist.; cf. τριχόομαι below). 5. τρίχῑνος 'of hair' (Pl., X.). 6. τριχῖτις, -ιδος [f.] sort of alum (after its fibrous structure; Dsc., Plin.). 7. τριχία 'knot' (pap.). 8. τριχισμός 'hairline split of a bone' (Paul. Aeg.), as if from *τριχίζω; cf. Chantraine 1933: 143ff. Denominative verbs: 1. τριχόομαι, -όω 'to (be) provide(d) with hair' (Arist.); thence τρίχωμα 'hair growth' (Hdt., E., X.) together with τριχωμάτιον (Arist.); τρίχωσις 'hair growth' (Arist.). 2. τριχιάω 'to suffer from a hair disease' (Hp., Arist.) together with τριχίασις, name of some hair diseases (medic.). 3. *τριχίζω cf. τριχισμός above.
•ETYM The words for 'hair' are different in most Indo-European languages. The comparison with MIr. *gairb-driuch* 'bristle' (from *garb* 'raw' and **drigu-* or **driku-*) is better abandoned. Lith. *drikà* 'threads hanging from the loom' (Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *draĩkas*) presupposes **d*$^{(h)}$*rik-*, and therefore cannot be connected.

θρῖον [n.] 'fig leaf', secondarily also 'leaf' in general; mostly as the name of a dish from eggs, milk, and honey in fig leaves (Ar.). ◁?▷
•COMP As a second member in λεπτό-θρῐος 'of fine leaves' (Nic.) with metrical shortening of -ῑ̆-.
•ETYM No etymology; a Mediterranean word (Frisk)? Cf. θρινία· ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτῃ 'vine (Cret.)' (H.), and see also θρῖναξ and θρίδαξ.

θρίσαι [v.] 'to cut off' (Archil., E., Dsc.). ◁IE▷
•VAR Also ἀπο-θρίξαι, -ασθαι (v.l. E. *Or.* 128, Ael.), after θρίξ(?); aor. ἔθρισεν δόμον (A. *Ag.* 536), mostly derived from ἀπο-θερίσαι. Also συνέθρισε· συνέτεμε, λεπτὰ ἐποίησεν. ἀπὸ τοῦ θρίσαι, ὅ ἐστι τεμεῖν 'was cut down, made small; from θ., which means to cut' (H.).
•ETYM Mostly taken as a syncopated form of ἀπο-θερίσαι (LXX, Ael.), belonging to θερίζω 'to mow down' (s.v. ►θέρομαι); the syncope is supposed to be metrically licensed, but it was hardly influenced by θραύω, θρύπτω (as per Frisk). Cf. ►θρίψ.

θρίψ [m.] 'woodworm' (Thphr., Men.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Gen. θρῐπός.
•COMP As a first member e.g. in θριπ-ήδεστος 'eaten by woodworms' (Ar., Hyp., Att. inscr.), from ἐδεστός with compositional lengthening).
•DER θριπώδης 'full of woodworms' (Thphr. *HP* 3, 8, 5; v.l. θριπηδέστατος), together with θριπωδέστατος.
•ETYM Cf. ἴψ, κνίψ, σκνίψ. Güntert 1914: 134f. assumes a transformation of *θρύψ based on these words, which would belong to θρύπτω 'crumble, rub'; unlikely. See Gil Fernández 1959: 114f. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

θροέω 'call, proclaim, speak'. ➡θρέομαι.

θρόμβος [m.] 'clump, clot, curd', especially of blood (IA). ◁PG?▷
•DER θρομβίον (Dsc.), θρομβήϊον (Nic.), θρομβώδης 'full of clumps' (IA), θρομβόομαι 'form θ., congeal' together with θρόμβωσις 'curdling, thrombosis' (medic.).
•ETYM Compared with MoIc. *drambr* [m.] 'knag, knot' for the reconstruction IE *d^{h}*rómb^{h}*o-. However, deaspiration of stop after nasal (thus Schwyzer: 333) did not occur in Greek (see especially ►ἀμφί and ►ὀμφαλός; cf. on ►θάμβος), so a direct connection is impossible. The same holds for the comparison with the group of Lith. *dramblỹs, dremblỹs* 'fat belly', Latv. *dramblis* 'glutton'. Within Greek, θρόμβος is generally connected with ►τρέφω as 'make congeal', med. τρέφεσθαι, them.aor. τραφεῖν 'to congeal'; θρόμβος would then mean "curdled mass". The verb later received the specialized meaning 'make thick, feed', and had its proper development in Greek. Since τρέφω does not have a convincing IE etymology, the present word would be of Pre-Greek origin as well (Fur.: 274 takes no decision).

θρόνα [n.pl.] 'flowers', as a decoration in woven tissues and embroidery (Il.), as a medicine and charm (Hell. poets). Acc. to the sch. on Theoc. 2, 59, the Thessalians used θρόνα for colorful embroidered figures (πεποικιλμένα ζῷα), and the Cypriots for variegated clothes (ἄνθινα ἱμάτια); H. glosses θρόνα both as 'flowers' and as

'colorful embroideries' (θρόνα· ἄνθη, καὶ τὰ ἐκ χρωμάτων ποικίλματα); cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 448; Bowra *JHS* 54 (1934): 73. ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP ποικιλό-θρονος as an epithet of Aphrodite (Sapph. 1, 1), probably after θρόνα ποικίλα (X 441); likewise χρυσό-, ἀργυρό-θρονος et al., see Lawler *Philological Quarterly* 27 (1948): 8off.

•ETYM Many desperate attempts at finding an etymology: for example, Lidén 1897: 67f., 95f. compared Alb. *drë-ri, drê-ni* [m.] 'deer' (PAlb. **drani-* 'variegated'?, = Illyrian δρανίς [corrected for ἀρ-]· ἔλαφος 'deer' [H.]), from IE **d^{h}roni-*. Solmsen *KZ* 35 (1897/98): 474f. compared θρόνα as 'herbs, flowers' with Ru. *dërn* 'lawn, grass', etc. (rejected by Vasmer 1953 s.v. *dërn*). Fur.: 189 compares τρόνα· ἀγάλματα, ἢ ῥάμματα ἄνθινα 'statues, colorful stitchings' (H.), which proves Pre-Greek origin.

θρόνος [m.] 'throne, seat', also 'chair of state, judge's seat'. ◁PG?▷

•DIAL Myc. *to-no* /t^{h}ornos/, *to-ro-no-wo-ko* /t^{h}orno-worgos/.

•COMP χρυσό-θρονος 'with golden throne' (Il.).

•DER Diminutives θρονίς [f.] (Them.), θρόνιον (*EM*, Ptol.); further θρονίτης (cod. -τις)· πρώτιστος 'principal' (H.); θρονιτικός 'throne-like' (Sidyma); denominative verb θρονίζομαι 'be placed on the throne' (LXX) together with θρονιστής 'enthroner' (liter. pap.), θρονισμός 'enthronisation' (D. Chr.); also θρόνωσις 'id.' (Pl. *Euthd.* 277d; as a rite of the Corybantes), as if from *θρονόομαι; cf. Chantraine 1933: 279.

•ETYM The formation has been compared with that of κλόνος, which would belong to κέλομαι; the root is assumed to be **d^{h}er-* 'to hold, support', found in Skt. *dhar-*, perf. *dādhā́ra*. Within Greek, this root has been recognized in ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν 'to guard' (H.) (see ►θρησκεύω). The original meaning θρόνος would then be 'supporter, bearer'.

A number of formal problems persist, however. First, a suffix **-ono-* does not seem to have existed in Indo-European or in Greek: there is no certain instance of IE **CC-on-o-* (as opposed to the normal thematic type **CoC-no-*). Since Greek has only a few forms in nom. -ονος (next to the frequent types in -ων, gen. -ωνος and -ων, gen. -ονος; see Chantraine 1933: 159ff.), derivation from **d^{h}er-* with such a suffix is improbable. No other words for 'chair' are derived from the root **d^{h}er-*, nor does Greek have a certain derivative from this root (see Pok. 252f.).

Secondly, the connection with ►θρᾶνος 'bench' and θρῆνυς 'footstool' (see De Lamberterie 2004) is problematic, as there are no indications for a *seṭ* root **d^{h}erh$_{2}$-* in PIE. Neither is there any indication that ►θρησκεύω has anything to do with θρόνος.

A related form within Greek is θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον. Κύπριοι. ἢ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ 'footstool (Cypr.) or a sanctuary of Apollo in Laconia' (H.), for which one assumes metathesis from *θρόναξ, which is perhaps derived from θρόνος.

Greek words in -ονος are suspected to be of Pre-Greek origin; cf. also χρόνος and Κρόνος with a typical consonantal variation. This may be the case for θρόνος as well.

θρόος 'call, voice'. •VAR Att. θροῦς. ⇒θρέομαι.

θρυαλλίς [f.] 'wick', also the plant name 'plantain, Plantago crassifolia' (Thphr., Nic.), the leaves of which were used to make wicks (hence it was also called λυχνῖτις, Strömberg 1940: 78 and 106). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER From θρυάλλις or from the diminutive θρυαλλίδιον (Luc.) as a back-formation θρύαλλον [n.] 'shower of smut?' (Vett. Val. 345, 22).
•ETYM Cf. φυσαλλίς, συκαλλίς; see Schwyzer: 484 and Chantraine 1933: 252 and 346. The suffix occurs mostly with plants or birds, so the word is probably Pre-Greek. Cf. ▸θρύον.

***θρυλίσσω** [v.] 'to crush, smash'. ◂IE *d^hreus- 'crumble'▸
•VAR Or *θρῡλίζω? Only in θρυλίχθη δὲ μέτωπον (Ψ 396), θρυλίξας (Lyc. 487).
•DER θρύλιγμα 'fragment' (Lyc. 880).
•ETYM May be analyzed as a denominative verb from *θρῦλος 'fragment', which would belong to MW *dryll* 'fragment', Gallo-Rom. **drullia* [pl.] 'waste', and go back to IE **d^hrus-lo-* vel sim. The primary verb is seen in Germanic, e.g. Go. *driusan* 'fall down', properly *"crumble (down)"; Lat. *frustum* 'morsel' is probably derived from this verb, like Latv. *druska* 'morsel, crumb' with velar suffix. It is doubtful whether θρυλ[λ]εῖ· ταράσσει, ὀχλεῖ 'agitates' (H.) belongs here; it may also be an occasional use of θρυλεῖν 'brag, boast' (Frisk). Another hypothetical connection is with ▸θραύω (Bechtel 1914 s.v.), but then its vowel would remain unexplained, as one would expect **d^hreh$_2$-u-*; one might also compare ▸θρύπτω.

θρῦλος [m.] 'murmer' (Batr., Orph., pap.). ◂IE? *d^hreu- 'murmur, drone, rumble' (or PG?).▸
•VAR Also θρύλλος.
•DER Further θρυλέω (-λλ-) [v.] 'to boast, brag' (Att.), also with δια- and other prefixes; πολυ-θρύλ(λ)η-τος 'much discussed' (Pl., Plb.), θρύλημα 'gossip, boast' (LXX); also θρυλίζω 'produce a false tone on the cithara' (*h. Merc.* 488; cod. θρυαλ- [would be metrically better] = θρυλλ- ?), together with θρυλισμός, -ιγμός (D. H.).
•ETYM While it seems most obvious to assume that θρυλέω was derived from θρῦλος, both the dates and the frequency refute this. Rather, θρυλέω was formed after the many (denominative, deverbative or primary) onomatopoeic verbs in -έω, e.g. κομπέω, κελαδέω, βομβέω, δουπέω, ῥοιβδέω (see Schwyzer: 726), from which the rare and late θρῦλος was a back-formation. It seems obvious that θρυλέω is connected with θρέομαι, θόρυβος, τονθορύζω. It has been suggested that it is a zero grade derivative of IE *d^hreu- (Pok. 255), but this root is not well attested (though there is Gr. θρέομαι). As Frisk remarks, it is questionable whether one should analyze an onomatopoeic word in such a purely grammatical way. The frequent notation -λλ- may be an expressive gemination, but it may also point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur.: 237, 281 separates the word from the IE forms and connects it with θόρυβος, with variant *θρυϝ-.

θρύον [n.] 'reed, rush' (Il.). ◂PG(S,V)▸
•COMP As a first member in θρυο-πώλης 'seller of reed' (pap.).
•DER θρυόεις 'rich in reeds' (Nic.), fem. Θρυόεσσα place on the Alpheios (Λ 711), also called Θρύον (B 592); θρυώδης 'id.' (Str.); θρύϊνος 'made of reeds', θρυΐτις 'grown with reeds' (of γῆ, pap.). Fur. 135 adduces θρύσιος (*EM* 456, 31) and θρύσις (sch. Φ 351). On ▸θρυαλλίς, see s.v.

•ETYM Formally, one may compare βρύον, but further details are unclear. Sommer's connection (Sommer 1905: 60f.) with the Balto-Slavic group of OCS *trъstъ* [f.] 'reed, cane', Lith. *tr(i)ušìs* 'id.' (which presupposes IE **truso-*) is impossible because of the anlaut. The variants with -σ- (see Fur. above) point to a Pre-Greek word, and this is not unexpected in the case of a plant name.

θρύπτω [v.] 'to break in pieces, crumble, enfeeble, weaken', med. 'to be effeminate or prudish, be enervated' (IA). ◁EUR▷

•VAR Aor. θρύψαι, pass. τρυφῆναι (Il.), later θρυφθῆναι (Arist.), θρυβῆναι (Dsc.), perf. med. τέθρυμμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐν-.

•DER 1. τρύφος [n.] 'fragment' (δ 508, Hdt., Pherecr. et al.). 2. τρυφή 'softness, luxuriousness, wantonness' (Att.); τρυφερός 'soft, wanton' (Att.; after θαλερός, γλυκερός et al.) together with τρυφερότης (Arist.); τρυφηλός 'id.' (*AP*); τρυφαλίς = τροφαλίς and transformations of it (Luc.); τρύφαξ 'wanton, debauchee' (Hippod.); denominative verb τρυφάω, also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, with ἐντρυφής = τρυφερός (Man.), 'live softly, luxuriously, be wanton' (Att.) with τρύφημα 'wantonness, luxuries', also concrete (E., Ar.), τρυφητής 'voluptuary' (D. S.). 3. θρύμμα 'fragment' (Hp., Ar.) with θρυμματίς [f.] a kind of cake (middle com.), perhaps also θρυμίς· ἰχθῦς ποιός 'a kind of fish' (H.). 4. θρύψις 'tiring out, softness, debauchery' (X., Arist.) with θρύψιχος = τρυφερός 'dainty' (Theognost., H.), after μείλιχος (Chantraine 1933: 404). 5. From the present: θρυπτικός 'mellow, crumbling' (Gal., Dsc.), 'softness' (X., D. C.), θρύπτακον· κλάσμα ἄρτου. Κρῆτες 'morsel of bread (Cret.)' (H.).

•ETYM The word θρύπτω may continue a pre-form **d*^{h}*rub*^{h}*-ie/o-*, and is compared to Northern European forms: Latv. *drubaža* 'piece, fragment', *drubazas* 'splinter', OS *drūbōn*, *drūvōn* 'to be sad', OIr. *drucht* 'drop' (PCl. **drub-tu-*). Latvian also has forms in *p*, e.g. *drup-u*, *drup-t* 'crumble', and in Germanic we find variants too: ON *drjúpa* [v.] 'to drip' (*dropi* [m.] 'drop'). It is probable that ▸δρύπτω was modelled on θρύπτω. We are probably dealing with a non-IE substrate word from Europe of the type discussed by Kuiper *NOWELE* 25 (1995): 68-72.

θρώσκω [v.] 'to spring, leap upon, rush, dart' (Il.). ◁IE **d*^{h}*erh*$_{3}$- 'leap, mount'▷

•VAR θρῴσκω (Schwyzer: 710, Chantraine 1942: 317), aor. θορεῖν, fut. θοροῦμαι (Il.), ἔθρωξα (Opp.), perf. ptc. fem. τεθορυίης (Antim. 65); after θορεῖν the pres. θόρνυμαι (Hdt. 3, 109, S. *Fr.* 1127, 9, Nic. *Th.* 130) for original θάρνυσθαι = κυΐσκεσθαι 'to conceive' in H.; there also thematic θαρνεύει· ὀχεύει 'covers'; see also on ▸θρέομαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-.

•DER 1. From θρω-: θρωσμός (θρῳσμός) 'springing, rising' (K 160, Λ 56 = Υ 3; A. R. 2, 823); θρῶσις 'cord, line' (Theognost., H.). 2. From the aorist: θορός [m.] (Hdt., Hp., Arist.), θορή [f.] (Hdt., Alcmaion) 'masculine seed', properly "spring, jump"; from there θορικός 'of seed' (Arist.), θοραῖος 'containing seed, etc.' (Nic., Lyc.), θορώδης 'id.' (Gal.), θορόεις 'consisting of seed' (Opp.); denominative verb θορίσκομαι 'to receive semen' (Ant. Lib.; cf. κυΐσκομαι). On ▸θοῦρος, see s.v.

•ETYM The only plausible comparison is found in OIr. *-dair** 'to leap upon', together with the nouns *der* 'young girl' (< PCl. **derā*) and MW *-derig* 'rutty'. The ablaut pattern is identical to that of ►βλώσκω, μολεῖν, μολοῦμαι. The root was **d^{h}erh$_3$-*, with **d^{h}rh$_3$-* giving θρω- before a consonant; θορή contains an *o*-grade **d^{h}orh$_3$-*; the forms with θαρν(ευ)- go back to an old nasal present **d^{h}r-n-(e)h$_3$-* > *θαρνω-μι, which was regularly transferred into the class of νυ-presents. The form θόρνυμαι has analogical ορ for αρ after ἔθορον (cf. Harðarson 1993a: 218). The fut. θορέομαι may go back to *θερο- < **d^{h}erh$_3$-* with metathesis (Ruipérez *Emerita* 18 (1950): 386-407); the aorist may have its vocalism from here.

θύαρος [m.] 'darnell, Lolium temulentum' (Ps.-Dsc.). ◄PG►

•ETYM Formation in -αρος like κόμαρος, κίσθαρος, et al. (Strömberg 1940: 58). Connected with ►θύω 'rage, seethe' by comparison with, e.g., Ru. *durníca* 'id.' from *dur'* [f.] 'stupidity'. However, the form in -αρος rather points to a Pre-Greek word (cf. the sequence -υ-αρ-), and connection with θύω is a mere guess.

θυάω 'be rutty'. ⇒θύω 1.

θυγάτηρ, -τρός [f.] 'daughter' (Il.). ◄IE **d^{h}ugh$_2$-ter-* 'daughter'►

•DIAL Myc. *tu-ka-te, tu-ka-te-re, tu-ka-ṭą-ṣị* /t^{h}ugatēr, -eres, -arsi(?)/.

•COMP Rarely in compounds, late as a first member, e.g. θυγατρο-ποιία 'adoption of a daughter' (Cos, Rhodos).

•DER Diminutive θυγάτριον (Com., pap.); θυγατριδοῦς, Ion. -δέος [m.] 'daughter's son, grandson', θυγατριδῆ [f.] 'daugher's daughter, granddaughter' (IA), also θυγατερεῖς [f.] (Magnesia; after patronymics in -ίς); θυγατρίζω 'call daughter' (com.; cf. Schwyzer 731^1).

•ETYM Old word for 'daughter', preseved in most IE languages: Skt. *duhitár-* (nom. *duhitā́*; on the accent, see below), OAv. *dugəδar-*, Arm. *dustr*, Osc. *futír*, MoHG *Tochter*, Lith. *duktẽ*, OCS *dъ̀šti*, ToB *tkācer*, ToA *ckācar*, all from IE **d^{h}ugh$_2$tér-*. New evidence has come from Anatolian: HLuw. *tuwatra/i-* 'id.', Lyc. *kbatra-* 'daughter'. According to Kloekhorst 2008, these forms point to an old full grade of the root, and he reconstructs **dṵetr-* < **dṵegtr-* < **d^{h}uegh$_2$tr-*. The ablaut pattern of Greek (barytone θυγάτηρ) would confirm this reconstruction; it is, then, unnecessary to explain θυγάτηρ as opposed to Skt. *duhitā́* by analogy after the vocative θύγατερ.

θυεία [f.] 'mortar' (Com.), also 'oil-press' (pap.). ◄IE? **d^{h}uH-* 'fly about, dash'?►

•VAR Also -είη (Nic. *Th.* 91); late also itacistic -ία, -ίη; also θυεῖον [n.] 'id.' (pap.).

•DIAL Myc. *tu-we-ta* /t^{h}uestās/.

•DER Diminutive θυ(ε)ίδιον (Ar.); back-formation (?) θυΐς, -ίδος [f.] (Damocr. *apud* Gal.). Further θυέστης [m.] 'pestle' (Dionys. Trag.).

•ETYM Formation like ἐγχείη (to ἔγχος), etc., which points to *θυεσ-ίᾱ as a derivative in -ία from θύος 'burnt sacrifice' (Solmsen 1909: 250 fn.). We may compare other words in -ία for *concreta*, especially names of vases like ὑδρία, ἀντλία (Scheller 1951: 48ff.). The meanings 'mortar' and 'oil-press' are supposed to have developed from 'vase for pounding the incense', which is rather strange. The neuter θυεῖον is

reminiscent of the vessel name ἄγγεῖον. On the formation of θυέσ-της, see Chantraine 1933: 312f.

θύελλα [f.] 'thunderstorm, hurricane' (Il., Arist.). ◁IE *d^heuh_2- 'storm, rage, dash'▷
•COMP θυελλό-πους (Nonn.) after ἀελλό-πο(υ)ς (Θ 409) et al.
•DER θυελλώδης (sch. S.) like ἀελλώδης (sch. Il.).
•ETYM From θύω 'storm, rage, dash', perhaps based on ►ἄελλα, in which the suffix in *-l-* was inherited.

θυηλή [f.] '(part of) a victim sacrificed in a burnt offering' (I 220). ◁IE? *d^heuh_2- 'storm, dash'▷
•DER Lengthened form (Chantraine 1933: 186f.) θυηλήματα [pl.] (Thphr. *Char.* 10, 13; beside στέμματα). Cf. further: 1. θυᾰλήματα [pl.] 'id.' (Milete V[a]), lengthened from *θυάλη (type ἀγκάλη : ἄγκος) or after ἄλημα, παιπάλημα? 2. θυλήματα [pl.] 'sacrificial cake' (Com., Thphr.), from an λ-derivative to ►θύω. θυλέομαι (Porph.) is a back-formation from θυλήματα.
•ETYM Formation like ►γαμφηλαί (but this is not from ►γόμφος; s.v.), ἀκανθηλή (: ἄκανθα, Hdn.). Other comparanda are some barytones like ἀνθήλη (to ἄνθος, ἀνθέω), δείκηλον (from δείκνυμι), τράχηλος (from τρέχω, τροχός). The form θυηλή would then be derived from θύος or (less probably) directly from θύω 'to sacrifice'.

θύλακος [m.] 'sack, bag', mostly made of leather (IA). ◁PG▷
•VAR θυλλίς· θύλακος (H.), θυλίδες· οἱ θύλακοι (H.); also θῦλαξ (com.), perhaps a back-formation from θυλάκιον.
•COMP As a second member in παρσουλακίρ (= παραθυλακίς)· τὸν τρίβωνα, ὅταν γένηται ὡς θύλακος 'a threadbare garment, as it came to be like a sack' (H.; Lacon.).
•DER Diminutives: θυλάκιον (IA), θυλακίς [f.] (Ael.), θυλακίσκος [m.] (com., Dsc.). Other derivatives: θυλακή 'scrotum' (*Hippiatr.*), θυλακώδης (Thphr.), θυλακόεις (Nic.) 'like a sack'; θυλακῖτις in plant names (Dsc.): θ. μήκων (after the capsules of the seeds), θ. νάρδος (after the acorn-like stock of the root; Strömberg 1940: 36); θυλακίζειν· τὸ ἀπαιτεῖν τι ἐπόμενον μετὰ θυλάκου. Ταραντῖνοι (H.). Short form, possibly with hypocoristic gemination: θυλ(λ)ίς (H.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Like σάκκος, probably foreign. The suffix -ακ- points to Pre-Greek origin (*Pre-Greek*: Suffixes). A form *θῦλ(ο)-, obtained after removing a suffix -κ(ο)-, has been compared with Lith. *dundùlis* 'puffed, big-bellied', but this is only speculation.
The forms θαλλίς· μάρσιππος μακρός 'long bag' and θάλλικα· σάκκου εἶδος 'kind of bag' (H.), with different vocalism, are unexplained.

θύμαλλος [m.] name of a fish 'Thymallus vulgaris, Salmo thymallus' (Ael.). ◁PG(S)▷
•ETYM Formation in -αλλος (Chantraine 1933: 317 compares κορύδ-αλ(λ)ος et al.), which has been connected with θύμον 'thyme' because of the scent (Strömberg 1943: 60f.; doubts in Thompson 1947 s.v.).-- However, as the suffix is Pre-Greek, it is improbable that the basic word was of inner-Greek formation. Via Lat. *thymallus*, the word was borrowed as Ital. *temolo*, etc.

θυμάλωψ, -ωπος [m.] probably 'piece of firewood, charcoal' (Com., Luc. *Lex.* 24). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Formation like αἱμάλωψ 'mass of blood, blood clot' (Hp., pap.), νυκτάλωψ 'seeing in the night' = 'day-blind(ness)'; secondarily 'night-blind(ness)', based on which ἡμεράλωψ was created. Since the present word has nothing to do with 'seeing', we are probably dealing with a Pre-Greek suffix -λωψ. Cf. also ▶ἀγχίλωψ, ▶αἰγίλωψ, which no doubt derives from a Pre-Greek word as well.

θύμβρᾱ [f.] name of a sweet-scented plant, 'savory, Satureia Thymbra' (com., Thphr., Dsc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also θύμιβρον (Thphr.) and θυμιβραία (Hp. *apud* Gal.; after other plant names in -αία). By metathesis (or adaptation to θρύ-πτω?): θρύμβη (*Gp.*).

•DER θυμιβρώδης 'like θ.' (Thphr.), θυμιβρίτης οἶνος 'wine spiced with θ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Hardly derived from θύμον, θύμιος 'thyme' (Strömberg 1940: 149), in which case the -β- could be epenthetic between μ and ρ. Persson 1891: 56[4] proposed a derivation from τύφω in -ρ-, with nasalization and deaspiration. This is most improbable, unless the word is Pre-Greek (where prenasalization is common); there was no deaspiration after nasal (cf. ▶ἀμφί). The proposal is rejected by DELG. Niedermann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 14 recalls Anatolian TNs like Θύμβρη, Θύμβριον, and on the other hand Τυφρηστός (southern spur of the Pindos, named after θύμβρα?). Clearly a non-IE Greek plant name, probably Pre-Greek; note the metathesized form. The ending -αια is remarkable. The Anatolian toponyms could stem from a language related to Pre-Greek.

θυμέλη 'hearth'. ⇒θύω 2.

θυμιάω [v.] 'to produce smoke, fumigate' (IA). ◁IE *d^heuH- 'smoke'▷

•VAR Aor. -ιᾶσαι, Ion. -ιῆσαι; lengthened forms: θυμι-άζω, -ατίζω (*Gp.*), -αίνω (*gloss.*), -ατεύω (sch.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER (Ionic forms unmarked): θυμίασις, mostly from the prefixed verbs (ἀνα-, ἐπι- et al.), 'fumigating' (IA); θυμίαμα, also from the prefixed verbs, 'incense' (IA); ἐπιθυμιατρός 'fumigator' (Ephesus), θυμίατρον 'vessel for fumigation' (Milete, Hell.), also θυμιατρίς (Dam.), mostly θυμιατήριον (IA); deverbal θυμίη = -ίημα (Aret.); θυμιατός 'fir for fumigation' (Hp., Arist.), -τικός 'id.' (Pl.).

•ETYM Formation in -ιάω (after κονι-άω, etc.; Schwyzer: 732) from ▶θυμός in its old meaning 'smoke', which was lost in the Greek base form.

θύμον [n.] 'thyme' (IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Rarely -ος [m.].

•COMP As a first member in θυμι-ελαία [f.] name of a plant, perhaps 'Daphne Cnidium' (Dsc., Plin.; cf. on ἐλαία) together with -αῖτης (οἶνος) 'wine spiced with θ.' (Dsc.); θυμι-οξ-άλμη [f.] 'drink from thyme, vinegar and brine' (Dsc.).

•DER θύμιον = σμῖλαξ, also 'large wart' (Hp., Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 97), θυμίτης 'spiced with θ.' (Ar., Dsc.), θύμινον (μέλι) 'made of θ.' (Colum., Apul.), θυμιόεις 'rich

in θ.' (Choeril.), θυμώδης 'θ.-like' (Thphr.). Denominative verb θυμίζω 'taste θ.' (sp. medic.), θυμιχθείς· πικρανθείς 'bitter' (H.).

•ETYM Primary derivative in -μο- from ►θύω 2 'smoke', named after its scent (Strömberg 1940: 27)? This is doubtful. A variant of ►θῡμός with short **u* seems impossible in IE terms. As a local plant name, the word is liable to be of Pre-Greek origin. Cf. further the fish name ►θύμαλλος.

θῡμός [m.] 'spirit, courage, anger, sense' (Il.); on meaning and use in Hom., etc. Marg 1938: 47ff.; also Magnien *REGr.* 40 (1927): 117ff. (criticism by Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 214f.). ◅IE **dʰuH-mo-* 'smoke'▻

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. θυμο-βόρος 'eating the heart' (Il.), θυμ-ηγερέων 'gathering one's spirit, coming to oneself' (η 283; Leumann 1950: 116[83], Chantraine 1942: 349), θυμᾱρής, θυμήρης 'delighting the heart' (Il.; Bechtel 1914 s.v., Leumann: 66); πρό-θυμος 'prepared, willing' (IA) with προθυμία, -ίη 'willingness' (B 588) and -έομαι [v.] (IA).

•DER Diminutive θυμίδιον (Ar. *V.* 878); adjectives θυμικός and θυμώδης 'passionate, vehement' (Arist.); denominative verbs: 1. ►θυμιάω 'fumigate' together with θυμίη 'incense'; 2. θυμιόομαι 'get angry' (IA), rarely -όω 'id.' (E. *Supp.* 581), together with θύμωμα 'anger' (A. *Eu.* 861, Epigr.), θύμωσις 'id.' (Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 9, 21); 3. θυμαίνω 'be angry' (Hes. *Sc.* 262, Ar., A. R.).

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *dhūmá-*, Lat. *fūmus*, Lith. *dū́mai* [pl.], OCS *dymъ* 'smoke'; the meaning 'smoke' is preserved in ►θυμιάω. On the meaning of ►θῡμός, see Chantraine 1933: 134. OHG *toum* 'steam, vapor', with an IE diphthong **ou*, has been cited. Cf. ►θύω 2. DELG compares ►θύω 1 'rush in, rage', because derivation from 'smoke' is judged to be difficult.

θύννος [m.] 'tunnyfish' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 62, A. *Pers.* 424, Arist.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Fem. θύννᾰ or *-η, gen. -ης (Hippon. 26, 2 W, see LSJ Supp.); also -ίς, -άς (com.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in θυννο-σκόπος 'watcher for tunnies' (Arist.), -έω (Ar.) together with -ία, -εῖον (Str.).

•DER θύννᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] (com.; affective formation, see Björck 1950: 62); θυννίτης 'tunny fisher' (inscr. Varna), θύννειος, θυνναῖος 'of tunny' (Ar.), θυννώδης 'tunny-like' (Luc.), θυννεῖα [pl.n.] 'tunny-fishing' (Troezen), θυννευτικός 'belonging to tunny-fishing' (Luc.; as if from *θυννεύω, cf. also ἁλιευτικός et al.); denominative verbs θυννάζω 'catch tunny' (Ar.), also -ίζω (Suid.).

•ETYM Mediterranean word, often compared to Hebr. *tannīn* 'big water-animal, whale, shark' (Lewy 1895: 14f.), but this is rejected by DELG. See Strömberg 1943: 126f. and Thompson 1947 s.v., also on folk etymologies (from θύω, θύνω). Borrowed as Lat. *thynnus*, *thunnus*, whence the Romance forms are derived. The fem. in short -α could point to Pre-Greek origin (see Bq.).

θύνω 'rush in'. ⇒θύω 1.

θύον [n.] name of a tree, the wood of which was burned for its good fragrance: 'arborvitae' (ε 60, Hell.), 'Callitris quadrivalvis'. DELG also gives 'Juniperus foetidissimus' (s.v. θύω 2). ◁?▷

•VAR Also θυία, θύα.

•DER θυΐον 'resin' (Thphr.).

•ETYM It has been suggested that it is a primary derivative of ▶θύω 2. The relation of these forms is not clear; it does not seem very probable that two distinct trees had nearly identical names.

θύος [n.] 'burnt offering', mostly in plur. θύη (Il.). ◁IE *d^heuH- 'smoke'▷

•DIAL Myc. *tu-we-a* /t^{h}ue^{h}a/ 'aromatic products'.

•COMP As a first member in ▶θυοσκόος, θυο-δόκος 'accepting burnt offerings' (E.), θυη-πόλος 'making offerings, priest(ess)' (A., E.), together with -έω, -ία (θυη- after the plural?).

•DER θυόεις, θυήεις 'rich in incense, etc., fragrant' (Il.; θυῶεν· εὐῶδες 'fragrant' H.); θυώματα [pl.] 'incense, spices' (Ion.), lengthened from θύος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 187) rather than from a denominative *θυόομαι, -όω, though such a verb seems presupposed by the ptc. τεθυωμένος 'with odour' (I 172 et al.), to which also θυωθέν (Hedyl. *apud* Ath. 11, 486b); θυΐσκη (LXX, J.; v.l. -ος), also θύσκη, -ος [f.] (pap., Suid., *EM*) 'censer', after καδίσκος et al.; θυΐτης (λίθος) [m.] name of an Ethiopian stone (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM Primary derivative of ▶θύω 2. Thence Lat. LW *tūs, tūris* [n.] '(frank)incense'. See further ▶θυεία.

θυοσκόος [m., f.] name of a sacrificial priest, probably "observer of sacrifices" (Hom., E.), also as a translation of Lat. *haruspices* (D. H.); adjectival θυοσκόα ἱρά (*IG* 14, 1389: 12; verse inscr.). ◁IE *$(s)keu$- 'observe'▷

•DER θυοσκεῖν· ἱεροῖς παρέζεσθαι, ἢ θεοῖς 'to attend to a sacrifice' (H.); θυοσκεῖς [2sg.] (A. *Ag.* 87; -κινεῖς codd.); on the hyphaeresis from *θυοσκοεῖν cf. βοηθεῖν from βοηθόος.

•ETYM An analysis of θυο-σκόος as containing a second member *σκοϝός is attractive. This seems to be found as well in Go. *un-skawai* (for **us-skawai*?) *sijaima* = νήφωμεν. The Gm. iterative OS *skauwōn*, OHG *scouwōn* 'see, perceive' is certainly connected, being parallel to the Greek iterative ▶κοέω 'to note, perceive' with *s-mobile* (s.v. and LIV^2 s.v. *$(s)keu̯h_1$- for further cognates). Cf. also ▶ἀνακῶς.

θύρα [f.] 'door, doorleaf', mostly plur. 'gate' (Il.). ◁IE *d^huer- 'door'▷

•VAR Ion. θύρη.

•DIAL Myc. *o-pi-tu-ra-jo* /opi-t^{h}uraiōi/ 'doorkeeper'

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. θυρᾰ-ωρός (X 69), θυρ-ωρός, -ουρός (Sapph.) 'doorkeeper' (cf. on ▶ὁράω), as a second member with thematic enlargement, e.g. πρό-θυρ-ον 'place before the gate, forecourt' (Il.).

•DER Diminutive: θύριον (Att.) and θυρίδιον (*Gp.*), θυρίς [f.] 'window (opening)' (IA) with θυριδεύς 'window frame' (Delos III^a; cf. the names in -εύς in Chantraine 1933: 128), θυριδόω 'provide with a window' (pap.) together with θυριδωτός (inscr.). Further θυρεός [m.] 'door-stone' (ι 240, 313), name of a long shield = Lat. *scutum*

(Hell.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 51), together with θυρεόω 'cover with a shield' (Aq.); θύρετρα [pl.] '(frame of a) door' (epic), together with θυρετρικός (Chios); θύρωμα, often plur. -ώματα 'doorway' (IA; cf. Chantraine 1933: 187); θυρών, -ῶνος [m.] 'hall, antechamber' (S.). Adjective θυραῖος, Aeol. θύραος 'belonging to the door, standing before the door, outside, foreign' (trag., Hell.). Denominative verb θυρόω 'to provide with doors' (Att.) together with θύρωσις (Epid.), θυρωτός (Babr.). θυραυλέω [v.] 'to sleep before the door' is from a compound with αὐλή; *θυράγματα· ἀφοδεύματα 'excrements' (H.; in wrong position), as if from θυράζω.

•ETYM Starting from θύρ-δα· ἔξω. Ἀρκάδες 'outside (Arc.)' (H.), θύσθεν for *θύρ-σθεν = θύρα-θεν (Tegea), and from θύραζε 'outside, outdoors' < *θύρᾰς-δε, we can reconstruct a consonant stem IE *d^hur-, which is attested in many other languages: OHG *turi* = *Tür* (properly plur.) < IE *$d^hŭr$-*es*; Lith. *dur-ìs* [acc.pl.], *dŭr-ų̃* [gen.pl.], Skt. *dúr-aḥ* [acc.pl.] < IE *$d^hŭr$-*n̥s* (on the anlauting *d*- instead of *dh*-, cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *dvā́r*-). This root noun is frequently replaced by suffixed formations, e.g. the *i*-stem in Lith. *dŭr-y-s* [nom.pl.], *dŭr-i-ų̃* [gen.], the *o*-stem in Go. *daur* [n.] = MoHG *Tor*, etc., by an *n*-stem in Arm. *duṙ-n*, by a h_2-stem in Gr. θύραι, and also in Arm. *dr-a-c'* [gen.dat.acc.pl.], *dr-a-w-k'* [instr.].- - Beside the zero grade *d^hur-, we find the full-grades *d^huer-, *d^huor-, e.g. in Skt. nom.pl. *dvā́r-aḥ*, acc.pl. *dŭr-aḥ* (see above), which were often generalized as in Lat. *for-ēs*, ToB *twere*. Enlargements: Skt. *dvā́r-a-* [n.], OCS *dvor-ъ* 'court', Lat. *for-īs* 'outside', *for-ās* '(towards) outside'. A zero grade *$d^hu̯r$- has been supposed in ►θαιρός 'pivot of a door', but its appurtenance is not certain. The thematic enlargement of πρό-θυρ-ον also occurs, e.g., in Skt. *śatá-dur-a-* 'with a hundred doors' (Sommer 1948: 131). Cf. Benveniste 1969:1: 311ff.

θύρσος [m.] 'the thyrsos-wand', wreathed in ivy and vine-leaves with a pine-cone at the top (E.). ◄LW Anat.►

•COMP E.g. θυρσο-φόρος, ἄ-θυρσος (E.).

•DER Diminutive θυρσίον (Hero), θυρσάριον (Plu.); plant name θύρσιον (Ps.-Dsc.), θύρσις (Cyran.), θυρσ-ίνη and -ίτης (Dsc., see Strömberg 1940: 50; the last also name of a stone, Redard 1949: 55); θυρσίων name of a dolphin-like fish (Ath., Plin.; see WH s.v. *tursiō*). Denominative verbs: θυρσάζω 'flourish the θ.' (Ar. *Lys.* 1313; Lacon. ptc. θυρσαδδωᾶν = -αζουσῶν), θυρσόω 'use as a θ.' (D. S.). Does θυρξεύς, epithet of Apollo in Achaea (Paus. 7, 21, 13), also belong here? See Boßhardt 1942: 77.

•ETYM Loanword from Anatolia; cf. HLuw. *tuwarsa-* 'vine' (Laroche *BSL* 51 (1955): p. xxxiiif., Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 271f.). See Heubeck 1961: 80.

θυρωρός 'doorkeeper'. ⇒θύρα and ὁράω.

θύσᾶνος [m.] 'tassels, fringe' (Il.). ◄PG(S,V)►

•VAR Usually plur. -οι; on θυσσανόεις see below.

•DER θυσσανόεις (Il.; on -σσ- see below), θυσανωτός (Hdt., J.) 'framed with tassels', θυσανώδης 'tassel-like' (Thphr.), -ηδόν [adv.] 'id.' (Ael.).

•ETYM Technical word in -ανος (Chantraine 1933: 200). Acc. to Persson 1912(1): 45, it is from *θύσσα < *θύθ-ι̯α, which would be identical with Latv. *duša* 'bundle of straw, etc.' < IE *d^hud^h-*ih*$_2$. A primary yod-present is found in θύσσεται· τινάσσεται 'shakes'

(H.), but Latte states that the word is an invention of grammarians in order to explain θύσανος. Skt. *dúdhi-* 'tempestuous' and several Gm. words (Pok. 264f.) are unrelated because of their meaning; therefore a separate IE pre-form *$*d^hud^h$*- can hardly be reconstructed. The variation σ/σσ rather points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 387, who refers to e.g. Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς. This would be understandable for a word of this meaning.

θύσθλα [n.pl.] 'the sacred implements of Bacchic orgies' (Z 134), secondarily 'sacrifice' (Lyc.; influence of ►θύω 2). ◄PG►

•ETYM The form θύσ-θλα has been derived from ►θῦω 1 by means of a suffix -θλο- (Chantraine 1933: 375). This derivation does not seem adequate: it presupposes a much more general meaning than the very specific one of the present entry. It is rather be a loan, either from Anatolian or from Pre-Greek. Hardly related to θύρσος (as per Benveniste 1935: 203).

θῦω 1 [v.] 'to rush in, storm, rage' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Also θυίω (Hom., *h. Merc.* 560; cf. Chantraine 1942: 51 and 372), θῦνω (Il.), ipf. also ἐθύνεον (Hes.), aor. ἔθῦσα (Call. *Fr.* 82).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ὑπερ-.

•DER θυ(ι)άς, -άδος [f.] "the storming one", 'thyiade, Bacchante' (A., Tim.), also θυῖα [f.] (Str. 10, 3, 10 [and S. *Ant.* 1151, lyr.?]; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 95); Θυῖα [n.] name of a festival of Dionysus in Elis (Paus. 6, 26, 1), Θυῖος name of a Thessalian and Boeotian month (inscr.); Θυώνη epithet of Semele (*h. Hom.*, Sapph., Pi.); also θύστα· θυῖα and θυστάδες· νύμφαι τινές, αἱ ἔνθεοι, καὶ Βάκχαι 'maidens that are possessed, Bacchae' (H.); Θυστήριος epithet of Bacchus (*EM*); θῦνος· πόλεμος, ὁρμή, δρόμος 'war, assault, race' (H.; from θύνω; not = Skt. ptc. *dhūna-*); θῦσις (Pl. *Cra.* 419e as an explanation of θυμός). Deverbative: θυάω 'be rutty (of swines)' (Arist.; after βακχάω, μαργάω et al.; see Schwyzer: 726[2]). Unclear θυωθείς· μανείς, ὁρμήσας 'frenzied, inspired' (H.). On ►θύελλα and ►θύσθλα, see s.vv. Here also θυάκται [m.pl.] (Troezen II[a]), if = 'mystae sive thiasotae'; cf Fraenkel 1910: 174; DELG shares this under ►θύω 2.

•ETYM The form θῦνω has been analyzed as an old νῦ-present *θύ-νϝ-ω (with ἐθύνεον < *ἐ-θύ-νεϝ-ον), and identified with Skt. *dhūnóti* 'shake'. It is unclear, however, what 'to shake' has to do with the meaning of this verb. A stem θυσ- has been posited for θυστάδες, θύσθλα, and also for θυίω, if this derives from *θύσ-ι̯ω. It is uncertain, however, that this supposed *θυσ- has anything to do with our verb (Lat. *furō* is better left aside; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). See also ►θύω 2. The hesitation between θύω 1 and θύω 2 shows how uncertain the interpretation is. One can hardly even rule out that *θυσ- is of foreign origin. Note rare forms or meanings, such as θύστα, θυτάδες, θυάω. Pok. 261ff. gives an enormous amount of forms and meanings, but no close parallel for the meaning of θύω 1. In the present situation, without further research, nothing can be said.

θύω 2 [v.] 'to offer by burning, sacrifice, slaughter' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Fut. θύσω, aor. θῦσαι (Il.), τυθῆναι (Hdt.), perf. τέθῦκα, τέθῦμαι (Att.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, κατα-, προ-, συν-.

•DER Derivations partly show the older meaning of 'smoke, incense' (see below): 1. θῦμα 'sacrifice' (IA, etc.); 2. ἔκ-, πρό-θυσις from ἐκ-, προ-θύω (late); 3. θυσία see below on θύτης; 4. ►θύος [n.] with ►θυέστης et al. 'incense'; 5. ►θύον 'life-tree'; 6. θυητά [n.pl.] 'incense' (Aret.; on the formation cf. s.v. ►θυηλη); 7. θυ(ε)ία [f.] 'strong-smelling cedar, thuja' with θυΐον [n.] 'resin' (Thphr.); to ►θύος? 8. θύτης [m.] 'sacrificer' (Hell.; ἐκ-θύτης from ἐκ-θύω E.); θύτας (Thess.), together with θυτεῖον 'place for the sacrifice' (Aeschin.), θυτικός 'belonging to the sacrifice' (Hell., directly from θύω), θυσία 'ceremonial offering' (*h. Cer.*); from there θυσιάζω 'sacrifice' with θυσίασμα, -αστήριος, -ον; 9. θυτήρ [m.] 'id.' (trag.) together with θυτήριον 'sacrificial animal' (E.), also 'altar', name of the constellation *Ara* (Arat.; Scherer 1953: 192); 10. θύστας· ὁ ἱερεὺς παρὰ Κρησί 'priest (Cret.)' (H.), fem. θυστάς, -άδος 'belonging to the sacrifice' (A., S.); 11. θύστρα [n.] = θύματα (Cos); 12. θυ<σ>τηρίοις· θυμιατηρίοις 'censer' (H.); 13. θυσμικός 'regarding the sacrifice' (ἔτος; Paros, Tenos). See also ►θυηλή, ►θυμός; not in ►θύμον, ►θυμιάλωψ. Unclear θῠμέλη 'hearth, altar' (trag.), with θυμελικός.

•ETYM The verb was probably thematicized in Greek. We find a yod-present in Latin *suf-fiō* 'fumigate', explained as from **-d^huH-ie/o-*. Ragot *RPh.* 75 (2001): 144 connects Hitt. *tuḫḫae-^{zi}* 'to sigh' from **d^huh_2-*, which would be very far semantically. However, Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *tuḫḫae-^{zi}* now asserts that the meaning is 'to produce smoke' in Hitt. as well (said of volcanoes). Tocharian has a verb *twasastär* [3sg.med.] 'to ignite', which Hackstein 1995: 354 connects with our root. It is often supposed that 1. θύω and 2. θύω were originally identical. A semantic core like 'rush, rage, whirl, make dust, smoke' vel sim. has been assumed, but this is far from compelling. The different languages show a mass of formations and meanings which can no longer be neatly interpreted; see Pok. 261-267 (and 268-271) for all material. See also ►τύφομαι. On the other hand, θάνατος, θολός and ἀθύρω, which were connected with our verb by Frisk and others, are unrelated.

θυωρός [m.] 'table for offerings, 'ἱερὰ τράπεζα' (Pherecyd. Syr., Call.). ◁IE **uer-* 'observe'▷

•VAR Also θυωρίς [f.] (Poll.).

•DER θυωρίτης· τραπεζίτης 'banker' (H.), metaph. in Lyc. 93; θυωρία 'ceremonial offering' (Didyma), θυωρεῖσθαι· εὐωχεῖσθαι 'to relish' (H.).

•ETYM From *θυο-ϝωρός (cf. θυωρόν· τράπεζαν τὴν τὰ θύη φυλάσσουσαν H.); see also ►θυρωρός (but θυο- is difficult). By association with θεός, θεωρία, etc., the spellings θεωρίς, θεωρία arose (Poll., Didyma, imperial period). Not from *θυε-ωρος < *θυ-ᾱϝορος, as per DELG s.v., as this is semantically implausible.

θωή [f.] 'penalty' (N 669, β 192). ◁IE? **d^heh_1-* 'put'?▷

•VAR θωϊή, θωιή (Archil., Ion. inscr., Call.), θOά (*IG* 1², 114: 42; Att.).

•COMP As a second member in ά-θῳος 'unpunished, innocent' (IA) with ἀθῳόω 'declare somebody innocent' (LXX).

•DER Denominative verbs: θOάω (*IG* 1², 4: 7; 12), fut. θοάσει (*IG* 2², 1362: 14; Att.), θωέω (Delph.), θOέω (Locr.) with ἀθώητος· ἀζημίωτος 'immune from penalties' (H.), θOαίω (Cret.), θOάζω (El.) 'fine, punish'; thence θωΐασις (Delph.).

•ETYM Formation in -ιά (cf. στωιά, στο(ι)ά, etc.), often derived from τίθημι as "the settled penalty" with *o*-grade of the root; a rather simplistic solution.

θῶκος ⇒ θᾶκος.

θῶμιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'cord, string; bow-string' (Hdt., trag., etc.). ◁PG(S)▷
•DER Denominative θωμίσσει· νύσσει, δεσμεύει 'to pierce, fetter' (H.), θωμιχθείς (Anacr.).
•ETYM Formation in -ιγγ-, which proves Pre-Greek origin.

θωμός [m.] 'heap' (A., Ar., Thphr.). ◁IE *d^heh_1- 'set, lay'▷
•DER Denominative θωμεῦσαι· συμμῖξαι, συναγαγεῖν 'mix together, gather together' (H.).
•ETYM Probably identical with a Gm. word for 'judgement, opinion, situation, etc.', Go. *doms*, ON *dómr*, OHG *tuom*. An old verbal noun of IE d^heh_1- 'set, lay' (see ▶τίθημι), thus it properly means 'setting', etc.; cf. ▶θέσις, ▶θημών.

θώραξ [m.] 'cuirass' (Il.), 'trunk, chest' (Hp.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Ion. θώρηξ, hyper-Aeol. plur. θόρρακες (Alc.).
•DIAL Myc. *to-ra-ke* [n.pl.].
•COMP E.g. θωρακο-φόρος 'wearing a cuirass', χαλκεο-θώρηξ 'with bronze cuirass'.
•DER θωρακεῖον (A., inscr.), θωράκιον (Plb.) 'breastwork, parapet'; θωρηκτής 'soldier with cuirass' (Il.; on the formation Trümpy [see below]), θωρακίτης 'id.' (Plb.); θωρακικός 'belonging to the trunk' (Aët.), θωρακαῖος 'with cuirass (?)' (Delos II[a]). Denominative verbs: 1. θωρήσσομαι, -ω 'to put on a cuirass, armor oneself' (Il.), also metaph. 'to strengthen oneself (with wine, οἴνῳ, etc.)' (Hp., Thgn.) with θώρηξις 'drinking to intoxication' (medic.). 2. θωρακίζω 'to armor' (Th., X.) together with θωρακισμός (LXX).
•ETYM Technical word without etymology; probably a loan. Unrelated to Skt. *dhāraka-* 'container', but compared with Lat. *lōrīca* as a loanword. As a medical term, the meaning 'trunk, etc.' is probably secondary from 'cuirass, armour'. Ample treatment by Trümpy 1950: 1off. See also Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 354. Most probably a Pre-Greek word; Fur.: 302[35] points to a v.l. θύραξ, which would prove Pre-Greek origin. Fur. gives more examples of ω/υ; Pre-Greek **u* was often rendered by Greek ω. The suffix -ᾱκ- is very frequent in Pre-Greek.

θώς, θωός [m., f.] 'jackal, Camis aureus' (Il., Hdt., Arist.); on the meaning (also a ferret?) see Körner 1930: 17f. ◁PG?▷
•COMP No compounds or derivatives.
•ETYM Several hypothetical explanations (see Frisk). Fraenkel *IF* 22 (1907-08): 396ff. interpreted it as "glutton", related to ▶θῶσθαι, ▶θοίνη. Probably a loanword; perhaps Pre-Greek.

θῶσθαι [v.] 'to eat'. ◁PG?▷
•DER θωστήρια [pl.] = εὐωχητήρια 'offer-food' (Alcm., H.; cf. Kukula *Phil.* 66 (1907): 226ff., Bechtel 1921, 2: 374).
•ETYM Connected with ▶θοίνη; Pre-Greek origin seems quite possible, however.

***θώσσω** [v.] 'to make drunk, intoxicate', in θῶξαι· μεθύσαι, πληρῶσαι 'to intoxicate, make full', θᾶξαι· μεθύσαι; τεθωγμένοι· … μεμεθυσμένοι, τεθαγμένοι· μεμεθυσμένοι (all H.), θωχθείς (S. *Fr.* 173; contracted from θωρηχθείς? See Schwyzer: 16[1]), etc. ◅?▻

•ETYM The traditional connection with θήγω is doubted by WP 1, 823; instead, they connect it with θοί-νη (as *θο(ι)άκ-ι̯ω, *θο(ι)-αξ). DELG thinks the connection with θήγω is folk-etymological.

θωΰσσω [v.] 'to bark, bay, cry aloud, call aloud' (trag.). ◅?▻

•VAR Aor. θωΰξαι.

•COMP Also with prefix: ἀνα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER Agent noun θωϋκτήρ (*APl.* 4, 91).

•ETYM Formation in -ύσσω; further details unknown. Perhaps derived from θώς *'cry like a jackal'?

θώψ, θωπός [m.] 'flatterer', secondarily also as an adjective (IA). ◅PG?▻

•DER θωπικός 'flattering' (Ar.), θωπεύω [v.] 'to flatter' together with θωπεία, θώπευμα 'flattery', diminutive θωπευμάτια [pl.], θωπευτικός (Att., etc.); θώπτω [v.] 'id.' (A.).

•ETYM Hardly a root noun of τέ-θηπ-α, ▸θάμβος, as per Saussure 1879: 156, since this is a Pre-Greek word. Cf. θώψ· κόλαξ, ὁ μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ ἐγκωμιαστής 'flatterer, praiser' (H.), which may be due to learned analysis.

I

-ῑ́ [pcl.] particle added to pronouns, mostly of demonstrative value. ◁IE **-iH* 'demonstrative pcl.▷

•VAR Att. ὁδ-ῑ́, οὑτοσ-ῑ́, νυν-ῑ́, etc.; also El. το-ῖ, Boeot. ταν-ί, etc., rarely -ῖν.

•ETYM Comparable with the enclitics Skt. OAv. *īm*, *ī*, and *-i* in Hitt. *aši*, *uni-*, *ini-* 'that (one)'; perhaps also seen in Lat. *utī*. Gothic has a deictic element *-ei*.

ἵ [f.] 'she', anaphoric/reflexive pronoun (S. *Fr.* 471; also Ω 608?). ◁IE **sih₂* 'she'▷

•ETYM Identical with Go. *si*, OIr. *sí*, Skt. *sī-m* [acc.]. See Ruijgh 1996: 335-352.

ἵα [f.] 'one and the same', also '(the) one' as opposed to 'the other' (Il.); 'that one' (Gortyn). ◁IE **i-* pron. 'he, she'▷

•VAR Acc. ἴαν (Il., ξ 435). Incidental forms, partly doubtful, in Lesb., Thessal., Boeot. [Corinn.] and in Hp. (*Morb.* 4, 37), gen. ἰῆς, dat. ἰῇ (Il.); further dat. n. ἰῷ (Z 422), acc. m. ἰόν (*IG* 5(1), 1390: 126 [Messen. I[a]], after Z 422; not quite certain), dat. m. ἰῷ (Gortyn).

•ETYM An old pronoun without certain correspondences outside Greek, originally only feminine, and adapted to μία in inflexion (Frisk). It probably continues an inflected form of **h₁i-*, rather than a reflex of **smih₂*, gen. *-ieh₂-s* (the latter option was recently defended by J. Katz, lecture at the *ECIEC* 2007). Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 172 separates the Cretan pronoun ἰός 'ἐκεῖνος' and thinks that Homeric ἰῷ (only Z 422) is an artificial form.

ἰα [f.] 'cry, lament, voice' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 85, A., E. [lyr.]). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Ion. ἰή [f.].

•DER As an interjection, ἰαί (S., Ar.) and ἰή (A. [lyr.], Ar., Call.); ἰήιος, epithet of Apollo "who is invoked with ἰή (παιών)" (Pi., trag. [lyr.]); also 'lamenting, sad' (S., E. [lyr.]); denominative verb ἰάζω 'cry aloud' (Theognost.).

•ETYM Elementary formation like ἰώ, ἰού, etc.; the noun arose from the interjection. Cf. ▶ἰόμωροι, ▶ἰάλεμος, also ▶Ἴωνες and ▶ἰώ.

ἰαίνω [v.] 'to (make) warm, delight, heal' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. ἰᾶναι (Ion. ἰῆναι), pass. ἰανθῆναι.

•DER On ἰηδονές· εὐφροσύνη, ἐπιθυμία, χαρά 'joy, desire' (H.) see Latte, who reads ἡδοναῖς.

•ETYM In Skt., we find a *yod*-present *iṣaṇyáti* 'to urge on, incite' that might correspond to ἰαίνω as **Hisn̥-i̯e/o-*. The etymology has been doubted because of the deviant meanings. If correct, ἰαίνω and *iṣaṇyáti* may be derivatives of an **r/n*-stem

(cf. Ved. *iṣáṇ-i*, and perhaps also ἱερός), which was based on primary *íṣ-yati, iṣ-ṇáti* 'bring in quick movement' (with the root-noun *íṣ-* 'refreshment, comfort'). See van Brock 1961: 255ff. and Ramat *Sprache* 8 (1962): 4ff. Comprehensive suggestion by García Ramón; see on ▸ἰάομαι. Cf. ▸ἱερός.

ἰάλεμος [m.] 'lament, dirge' (trag. [lyr.], Theoc.), 'tedious, dull person', also adjectival 'slow' (Hell.; cf. below). ◂PG▸
•VAR ἰήλεμος (on the distribution Björck 1950: 16).
•DER ἰαλεμώδης 'pitiful' (H., Phot., Suid.), ἰαλεμέω, -ίζω (ἰη-) [v.] 'to lament' (Hdn., Call.) together with ἰηλεμίστρια [f.] 'wailing woman' (A. *Cho.* 424, lyr.).
•ETYM It is improbable that this expressive word derives from the interjection ▸ἰή. The suffix is found only in ▸κοᾶλεμος, which may have influenced the later meaning of ἰάλεμος. Zacher *IF* 18 *Anz.*: 86 assumes Thraco-Phrygian origin for ἰάλεμος. Since κοάλεμος is probably Pre-Greek, the same must hold for the present word (Fur.: 151, 317).

ἰάλλω [v.] 'to send forth, stretch out' (Il.; also Th. 5, 77, Dor.); intr. 'flee' (Hes. *Th.* 269). ◂IE? **sel-* 'set in movement'▸
•VAR Aor. ἰῆλαι, Dor. (Sophr.) ἰᾶλαι, fut. ἰαλῶ (ἐπ- Ar. *Nu.* 1299).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπ- (ἐφ-, see below), προ-.
•DER Ἰάλμενος PN (Il.), see below.
•ETYM A reduplicated yod-present **i-αλ-i̯ω*; the reduplication has spread to the non-presentic forms. If the aspiration in ἰάλλω (Hdn. Gr. 1, 539; also in φιαλεῖς [Ar. *V.* 1348] and φιαλοῦμεν [Ar. *Pax* 432] for (ἐ)πιαλ-) is original, ἰάλλω could belong to ▸ἅλλομαι 'jump' (Leumann 1950: 80 n. 45). The connection with Skt. *íyarti* [pres.] 'to incite, set in motion' (Frisk) is impossible, as this continues **h₃i-h₃er-ti*. Narten *MSS* 26 (1969): 77ff. connects it with Skt. *sísarti* 'stretch out, draw out', and separates *sisrate* [3pl.med.] 'to flow, run'. Within Sanskrit, this root is synchronically distinct from *sar-* 'to stretch out', but probably etymologically related. Further cognates of this root are ToB *salāte* [pret.med.] 'jumped', ToB *salamo*, ToA *salat* 'flying' (see LIV² s.v. 1.*sel- 'sich losschnellen, springen'). Connection of Lat. *saliō* 'jump' seems probable, but see the objections in De Vaan 2008 s.v.

ἴαμβος [m.] name of a metrical foot and a verse, 'iambus, mocking verse' (Archil., Hdt., Att.). ◂PG▸
•COMP E.g. ἰαμβο-ποιός (Arist.), χωλ-ίαμβος 'choliambus' (Demetr. *Eloc.*; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 284f.).
•DER ἰαμβικός 'iambic, mocking' (Arist., D. H.), ἰαμβώδης 'mocking' (Philostr.), ἰαμβύλος 'mocking poet' (Hdn.), ἰαμβύκη name of an instrument (Eup., H.; cf. σαμβύκη), ἰαμβεῖος 'iambic', ἰαμβεῖον [n.] 'iambic verse' (Att.). Denominative verbs: ἰαμβίζω, -ιάζω 'speak, mock in iambi' (Gorg., Arist.) with ἰαμβιστής 'mocking poet' (Ath.).
•ETYM Like διθύραμβος and θρίαμβος, ἴαμβος is doubtless of Pre-Greek origin. See Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 354f. For the formation, cf. ▸ἴθυμβος. See ▸διθύραμβος.

ἴαμνοι 'lower land, humid meadow'. ⇒εἰαμενή.

ἰάνθινος [adj.] 'violet-colored' (Str., Plin., Aq., Sm.). ◁GR▷
•DER Backformation ἴανθος [m.], -ον [n.] = ἴον (H., Theognost.).
•ETYM Properly 'violet-flowered', from ἄνθινος (see ►ἄνθος) and determinative first member ἴον 'violet'. Differently on ἴανθος, Deroy *Glotta* 35 (1956): 193.

ἰανογλέφαρος [adj.] 'with violet-blue eyes' (Alcm. 13, 69, of girls). ◁GR▷
•VAR Cf. ἰανοκρήδεμνος· ἴοις ὅμοιον τὸ ἐπικράνισμα 'head-dress that resembles a violet' (H.).
•ETYM Extended from ἰο-γλέφαρος (Pi.) after comparable compounds with κυανο- (e.g. -χαίτης, etc.). The word κυανοβλέφαρος first occurs in *AP* 5, 60; note also ἀγανο-βλέφαρος (Ibyc.). With different second member: ἰανόφρυς (*PMich.* 11, 13), modelled on κυανόφρυς. On ἰανογλέφαρος, see Taillardat *RPh.* 79 (1953): 131ff. and Treu 1955: 265 and 285. Not related to ἐᾶνός.

ἰάομαι [v.] 'to heal' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. ἰάσασθαι, Ion. ἰήσασθαι (Il.), pass. ἰάθην, ἰήθην (IA), fut. ἰάσομαι, ἰήσομαι (Od.), perf. ἴαμαι (*Ev. Marc.* 5, 29).
•DIAL Myc. *i-ja-te.*
•COMP Rarely with prefix (ἐξ-, ἐπ-).
•DER 1. ἴαμα, Ion. ἴημα [n.] 'medicine, healing' (IA) together with ἰαματικός (Cyran.); 2. ἴασις 'healing' (IA) together with ἰάσιμος 'curable' (Arbenz 1933: 71f.), probably also ἰασιώνη plant-name, 'Convolvulus sepium (?)' (Thphr., Plin.); Strömberg 1940: 81 because of its medical use (though this is unknown); 3. Ἰασώ [f.] name of a healing goddess (Ar., Herod.), from ἴασις or from the aor., cf. Καλυψώ. 4. ἰατήρ 'physician' (Il., Cypr., with ἰήτειρα [adj., f.] 'healing' (Marc. Sid.), ἰατήριον 'medicine, healing' (medic., Q. S.); 5. ἰάτωρ 'id.' (Alcm., Thess. inscr.) with ἰατορία 'medical art' (B., S. [lyr.]); 6. ἰατής 'id.' (LXX) with ἰατικός (Str.) 7. ἰατρός 'id.' (Il.), with ἰατρικός, ἡ ἰατρική (τέχνη) 'art of healing' (IA), ἰάτρια [f.] 'midwife' (Alex.), ἰατρίνη 'id.' (imperial period), ἰατρεύω 'heal' (Hp.) together with ἰατρεία, -εῖον, ἰάτρευσις, -ευμα, -ευτικός; 8. ἴατρα [n.pl.] 'payment for healing' (Epidauros, Herod.). More on ἰατήρ, ἰάτωρ, ἰατρός in Fraenkel 1910-1912 (index); on the difference ἰατήρ : ἰάτωρ see Benveniste 1948: 46. Here also Ἰάσων?
•ETYM Schwyzer: 681 and 683 explains ἰάομαι as a transformation of earlier athematic *ἴᾰ-μαι (seen in Ἰα-μενόν M 139, 193 and in Cypr. ἰjασθαι?). Doubts on the connection with ἰαίνω in Schulze 1892: 381f. On the quantity of the ἰ- (ῑ- in Hom., later also ῐ-), see Schulze l.c. and Sommer 1905: 9f. See also van Brock 1961: 9ff. García Ramón 1986: 497-515 derives the verb from the root *h_1eis- (Pok. 509) 'move strongly, drive on, comfort'. The root may have the form *$h_1i(e)sh_2$-. The root-final *h_2 is apparent from ἰνάω and Skt. *iṣṇā́ti*, while he supposes that the long *ī* spread from the reduplicated athematic present *h_1i-h_1ish_2-, which gives PGr. **īhamai*. He also connects ►ἰαίνω from *$h_1is(h_2)n$-*ie/o*-, like Skt. *iṣanyáti*.

Ἴάονες ⇒ Ἴωνες.

Ἰαπετός [m.] Iapetos (Il.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Ῐ- metrically lengthened.

•ETYM The name was connected with the biblical Japheth, see e.g. West 1978: 134. The idea seems most improbable for a god thrown into Tartaros by Zeus. Further, the name is often connected with ἰάπτω as "the one thrown off" (Θ 479, Hes.), with Ἰαπετιονίδης (Hes.).
The interpretation seems improbable to me (it is a mere guess). It seems obvious that the name, of a pre-Olympian god, is Pre-Greek. A suffix -ετος is found in Pre-Greek, *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes 42. Fur.: 155[2] mentions a demon Ἄσβετός (which he compares with Ἄσπετος· ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ H.); it is also found in TNs, cf. Ταύγετον, Ταλετόν.

ἰάπτω [v.] 'to shoot, send on, hurt, wound' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. ἰάψαι (Il.), pass. ἰάφθη (Theoc.), fut. ἰάψω (A.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. προ-.
•DER On ▶Ἰαπετός, see s.v.
•ETYM For the range of meanings, see ▶βάλλω. There is no reason (as per Schulze 1892: 168[3], Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἴπτομαι, LSJ) to assume two different words with the respective meanings 'shoot' and 'hurt' (this is still maintained in the Supplement to LSJ; the meanings given there are rather different from those in Frisk and DELG). The reduplication was generalized from the present to the other tenses. Etymology unclear. Often combined with ▶*ἴπτομαι, ἴψασθαι 'squeeze, oppress', but this is semantically difficult. It is uncertain whether the original present of ἰάψαι is contained in ἰάσσειν (cod. -εῖν)· θυμοῦσθαι, δάκνειν 'to be angry, bite' (H.); one could assume *h_2i-h_2ek^w-, but again the meanings are difficult to combine.

ἰασιώνη plant name. ⇒ἰάομαι.

ἰάσμη [f.] 'jessamine, Jasminum officinale' (Aët.). ◁LW Iran.▷
•DER ἰάσμινον [n.] 'oil of jasmine', also ἰασμ-ἔλαιον [n.] (Aët.).
•ETYM From Iranian; cf. MP *yāsman*, MoP *yāsaman*, *yāsam*, *yāsamīn*, etc.

ἴασπις, -ιδος [f.] 'jasper' (Pl., Thphr.), also the plant-name (Dsc.), probably from the color (Strömberg 1940: 26). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Acc. -ιν.
•COMP As a first member in ἰασπ-αχάτης 'jasper-like agate' (Aët., Plin.) et al.
•DER ἰασπίζω 'be like jasper' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Oriental LW. Cf. Hebr. *jāšpe*, Akk. *jašpu* name of a stone; originally Egyptian? See Lewy 1895: 56 and E. Masson 1967: 65f.

ἰαύω [v.] 'to sleep, rest, spend the night' (Il.). ◁IE *h_2eu-, *h_2u-es-* 'pass the night'▷
•VAR Rare aor. ἰαῦσαι (λ 261, Call.) and fut. ἰαύσω (Lyc.).
•COMP Also with ἐν-, παρ-, ἐπ-.
•DER ἰαυθμός 'sleeping-place, bed', μηλ-ιαυθμός 'sheep fold' (Lyc.), ἐνιαυθμός 'abode' (*EM*; uncertain Call. *Fr.* 127); doubtful ἴαυος· κοίτη 'bed' (H.).
•ETYM Reduplicated present (secondary ἰαῦσαι, ἰαύσω) of the root seen in αὖ-λις, αὐ-λή, and ἀέσκω, from *h_2i-h_2eus-$ié/o$-. Peters 1980a: 34ff. (followed by Hackstein 1995: 220f., LIV[2] 293 s.v. *h_2ues-) reconstructs *h_2us-$i̯é/o$-, and thinks that the reduplication is a secondary addition within Greek. This suggestion must be rejected, since the

development of *h_2u- to Greek αὐ- is unacceptable. There is also unreduplicated αὔει (Nic. *Th.* 263, 283). Cf. the related aorist ►ἄεσα < *h_2u-*es*-. The glosses ἄιες and αἰέσκοντο in H. are unclear; see Latte. See ►αὐλή.

ἰάχω [v.] 'to cry aloud, shout, shriek, resound, roar' (Il.). ◄IE *$u(e)h_2g^h$- 'cry, sound'►
•VAR Aor. ἰαχῆσαι (*h. Cer.* 20), pres. also ἰαχέω with fut. ἰαχήσω (trag.); perf. ptc. ἀμφιαχυῖα (B 316), to which ἀμφιάχω (Orph., Q. S.).
•COMP Also περι-, ἐπ-ιάχω (Hom.), ἀντ-ιαχέω (Theoc., A. R.).
•DER ἰαχή 'cry, noise' (Il.; cf. Porzig 1942: 228) with ►αὐίαχοι; ἰάχημα 'id.' (E. [lyr.], *AP*; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 186); see ►Ἴακχος.
•ETYM From reduplicated *ϝι-ϝάχ-ω (on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 139f.). A thematic aorist *ϝαχεῖν, *ϝάχε is supposed for Homeric ἴαχε, which functions as an aorist (see Chantraine 1942: 393 and Schwyzer: 748). The present may derive from the aor. ἰαχῆσαι or (less probably) be denominative from ἰαχή. On the unreduplicated ptc.. ἀμφι-(ϝ)αχυῖα, see Schwyzer: 767 and Chantraine 1933: 1, 421. The long scansion of the α, which occurs once in a while in the tragedians, may result from expressive gemination of the velar (cf. ► Ἴακχος), but influence of the present ἄχέω has also been assumed. See also ►ἠχή.

ἰβάνη [f.] 'water-bucket'. ◄?►
•VAR Also ἴβανον [n.]. LSJ does not give a form *ἴβανος (DELG s.v. ἰβάνη). ἴβδης 'cock, plug in a ship's bottom',
•ETYM Usually connected with ►εἴβω; doubts in Bq. The word seems to live on in Tsakon. ἰμάνι 'bucket to scoop water'; see Kukules Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 27: 61ff., as well as on ἰμάς. See also Fur.: 220f. - The word ἴβδης can hardly be IE. Fur.: 307 compares Hitt. *impa* 'load'. Though it has to do with emptying a ship, it is not evident that it belongs to the word ἰβάνη.

ἴβηνοι [m.pl.] · [σοροί, θῆκαι, ὀστράκιναι, κιβωτοί] εὔθυμοι 'urns, cases, earthenware, box; cheerful' (H.). ◄?►
•VAR There is also ἴβηνος· πλησμονή 'satiety' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown.

ἰβηρίς, -ίδος [f.] plant-name, 'pepperwort, Lepidium' (Damocr. *apud* Gal., Aët. *apud* Ps.-Dsc.). ◄?►
•ETYM Probably named after its native environment, Ἰβηρία (Strömberg 1940: 124f.). Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 205ff. thinks the name is Aegean, like ►ἰβίσκος, ἰβάνη, et al.

ἴβις [f.] 'ibis, Egyptian bird' (Hdt., Ar.). ◄LW Eg.►
•DER ἰβιών 'chapel where ibises live' (pap.).
•ETYM Eg. *hb*, *hīb*; see Roeder in *PW* s.v. *Ibis* 813.

ἰβίσκος [m.] a kind of mallow, 'marsh mallow = ἀλθαία' (see on ►ἀλθαίνω). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR V.l. in Ps.-Dsc. 3, 146, Erot. Also ἐβίσκος (Gal., Aët.).
•ETYM Formed like other plant names, e.g. synonymous ἀλθίσκος (Chantraine 1933: 407). Further unclear; it seems to be identical with Lat. (*h*)*ibiscum* (also *eb-*, *-us*),

which is attested earlier (since Verg.). Given the form of the suffix, it was perhaps taken from there, in which case Celtic origin is possible (WH s.v.). Cf. also on ►ἰβηρίς. Fur.: 355 thinks the word comes from Greek and is of Pre-Greek origin, where ε/ ι is frequent.

ἰβύ [pcl.] Interjection or adverb (H., Phot. from Telecl.). ◁ONOM; LW Anat.▷

•DER ἰβύει· τύπτει, βοᾷ 'strikes; cries' with deverbal ἰβύς· εὐφημία, στιγμή 'auspiciousness; spot' (H.). A velar suffix is shown by the glosses in H.: ἴβυξ· ὀρνέου εἶδος, καὶ ἶβις 'kind of bird, also an ibis' (see Thompson 1895 s.v.), ἰβύκη· εὐφημία and ἰβυκτήρ 'singer of a march-song on Crete' (cod. ἰβηκ-). Perhaps also Ἴβυκος PN (Radermacher *Glotta* 16 (1928): 135f.). The gloss ἰβυκινῆσαι· ἐπευφημῆσαι, βοῆσαι 'sing praises to; cry' (H.; ἰβυκηνίσαι *EM*) is a cross with βυκινίζω, βυκανίζω (Eust.; see ►βυκάνη). Details in Kock ad Telecl. 58. With a dental suffix ἰβυδῆνας· τοὺς εὐφημοῦντας 'using auspicious words' (H.), cf. the sound-imitating nouns in -δος, like κέλαδος, etc.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word; Lydian (►ἰβύ) or Ionic (ἰβυκινήσαντες), acc. to H. It was also used as a cry of surprise, which explains why it is glossed with τὸ πολὺ καὶ μέγα by H. It is unclear how the meanings τύπτειν and στιγμή should be understood. Cf. ►βύζω and ►ἰύζω.

ἴγδις, -εως [f.] 'mortar' (Sol., Com., *AP*). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also ἴγδη [f.] (Hdn. Gr., Hp.).

•DER Diminutive ἰγδίον (*Gp.*, Paul. Aeg.), verbal noun ἴγδισμα (as if from *ἰγδίζω 'to pound the mortar') name of a dance (*EM*, Suid.; cf. Lawler *ClassJourn* 43 (1948): 34).

•ETYM The form is reminiscent of λίγδος 'mortar' (Güntert 1914: 158). As a technical term, it is most probably a loan. It can hardly belong to ►ἴκταρ, ►ἴξ, nor to ►αἰχμη. Fur.: 351 believes it is of Pre-Greek origin (note -γδ-); on the variation λ-/zero, see Fur.: 392, 7.

ἴγκρος [m.] · ἐγκέφαλος 'brain' (H.); also Hdn. ◁GR▷

•ETYM For *ἔγκρος with ι < ε before nasal (see Schwyzer: 275), a hypostasis of ἐν and the zero grade of κάρᾱ, κάρη 'head'; cf. ἔγκαρος and ἀκαρός. See Nussbaum 1986: index.

ἴγνητες [pl.] 'αὐθιγενεῖς, native' (A. D., H.), also as a name of the old inhabitants of Rhodes (Simmias 11, H.). ◁IE *$genh_1$- 'procreate'▷

•ETYM From *ἔν-γνη-τες, a compound of ἐν and the root *$ǵenh_1$- in ►γίγνομαι (cf. γνήσιος from *γνη-τό- < *$ǵnh_1$-*tó*-) with a suffix -τ-.

ἰγνύη [f.] 'hollow of the knee, ham' (Il.). ◁IE *$genu$- 'knee'▷

•VAR ἰγνύα (Arist.), also forms pointing to *ἰγνύς (ἰγνύσι *h. Merc.* 152, ἰγνύων, -ύν Arist.).

•ETYM A hypostasis *ἐν-γνύ-η 'place in the knee'. The stem ἰγνύς was formed after ἰξύς, ὀσφύς and other body-parts in -ύς. See Solmsen 1909: 214f. See ►γόνυ.

ἰγνύς 'dust'. ⇒ἰκνύς.

ἰδανός [adj.] 'fair, good-looking' (Call. *Fr.* 535, H.). ◁IE *uid- 'see'▷

•COMP ἰδανό-χροος 'with beautiful colors' (*Ep. Alex.*).
•ETYM Primary derivative of ►ἰδεῖν; cf. πιθανός, ἱκανός et al. (Chantraine 1933: 196f.).

Ἰδάρνας [m.] · ὁ ἐκτομίας, οἱ δὲ βάρβαρον· οἱ δὲ μάντεως ὄνομα· οἱ δὲ πόλιν τῆς Καρίας εἶναι Ἰδάρνην, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τοὺς μάντεις λέγεσθαι 'eunuch; barbarian; name of a diviner; name of a city of Karikos, whence the name of the diviners' (H.). ◄LW Anat.►
•ETYM From the Carian town Ἰδάρνη; further details in Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 432ff.

ἰδέ [conj.] 'and' (Il.), '(and) then' (Cypr.). ◄IE **h*$_1$(*e*)*i*- 'he, that'►
•ETYM Perhaps from the deictic pronoun **h*$_1$*i*- and δέ 'and, but'. Details in Schwyzer 1950: 566f. Cf. ►ἠδέ.

ἰδέα [f.] 'appearance, form', whence in philosophical terminology 'idea, prototype, category' (IA). ◄IE **u*(*e*)*id*- 'see'►
•VAR Ion. -έη.
•ETYM Verbal abstract from ►ἰδεῖν. For the formation, cf. ►ἀλέα 'warmth of the sun' et al. in Chantraine 1933: 91. On the meaning, see Brommer 1940, Wersdörfer 1940: 43ff., Gillespie *Class. Quart.* 6 (1912): 179ff., and Baldry *Class. Quart.* 31 (1937): 141ff.

ἰδεῖν [v.aor.] 'behold, recognize' (Il.). ◄IE **ueid*- 'see, know'►
•VAR Ind. εἶδον (ἴδον).
•COMP Often with prefix, ἀπ-, εἰσ-, κατ-, συν-, etc.
•DER On ►ἰδέα, ►ἰδανός, see s.vv. Also ἰδανικὸς κόσμος 'realm of ideas' (Ti. Locr. 97d). Note that ἰλλός = ὀφθαλμός (H., e.g. s.v. ἔπιλλος) does not derive from IE **u̯id-lo*- (von Blumenthal 1930: 36), but was created from ἔπιλλος· παράστραβος, ἰλλώπτειν· στραβίζειν et al. Cf. on ►ἰλλός.
•ETYM Old thematic root aorist, formally identical with Arm. *egit* and Skt. *ávidat* 'he found', IE **h*$_1$*e-uid-e-t*. Cf. also Lat. *videō*. The perfect was ►οἶδα 'I know'. As a present, Greek used suppletive ►ὁράω; cf. Kölligan 2007: 274-285. See also ►ἐνδάλλομαι, ►εἴδομαι, ►εἶδος.

ἴδη [f.] 'wood, wooded hill' (Hdt., Theoc.). ◄PG►
•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) ἴδα.
•DER As a TN Ἴδη wooded hill in western Mysia (Il.) and on Crete (D. P., Paus.); thence Ἰδηθεν, Ἰδαῖος (Il.).
•ETYM Pre-Greek word without further etymology.

ἴδιος [adj.] 'own, private' (Od.). ◄IE **sue*- reflexive pronoun►
•VAR Dor. ϝίδιος, Arg. *hί*διος.
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ἰδιο-γενής 'of one's own kind' (Pl. *Plt.* 265e; opposite κοινο-γενής), Hell.
•DER 1. ἰδιώτης [m.] 'private, layman, uneducated man' (IA; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 311) with the fem. ἰδιῶτις (Hell.); thence ἰδιωτικός 'belonging to an ἰδιώτης, common, ordinary, vulgar, vile, uneducated' (IA; Chantraine 1956a: 120 and 123) and ἰδιωτεύω 'act or live on one's own, be uneducated or without esteem' with ἰδιωτεία 'private life, uneducatedness' (Att.); also ἰδιωτίζω 'pronounce in a special

way' (Eust.). 2. ἰδιότης, -ητος [f.] 'specific character, peculiarity' (Pl., X.). 3. ἰδικός = ἴδιος (late). 4. ἰδιόομαι [v.] 'to make one's own, appropriate' (Pl.) with ἰδίωμα 'specific character, pecularity' (Hell.), ἰδίωσις 'isolation, appropriation' (Pl., Plu.). 5. ἰδιάζω 'be peculiar, live on one's own' (Arist.) with ἰδιαστής, ἰδιασμός (late).

•ETYM As is shown by Arg. ϝhεδιεστας = ἰδιώτης (cf. κηδεσ-τής, El. τελεσ-τα), ἴδιος goes back to original *ϝhεδιος, derived from the reflexive ϝhε = ἑ (IE *sue) (on ε > ι, see Schwyzer: 256). A different etymology connects it with Skt. *ví* 'separate', in which case Arg. *hí*διος would have its aspiration after ἑαυτοῦ, ἕκαστος, etc. However, an equivalent of Skt. *ví* is not found elsewhere in Greek.

ἰδίω [v.] 'to sweat' (υ 204, Hp., com.). ◁IE *sueid- 'sweat'▷

•VAR Aor. ἰδῖσαι (Arist., Thphr.).

•COMP Rarely with prefixes ἐξ-, ἀν-.

•DER ἴδος [n.] 'sweat' (Hp. *Coac.* 105), 'heat' (Hes. *Sc.* 397, Emp.) with ἰδάλιμος 'causing sweat' (Hes. *Op.* 415; after εἶδος : εἰδάλιμος, Arbenz 1933: 29); ἀν-ιδ-ιτί 'without sweat' (Pl. *Lg.* 718e).

•ETYM The glosses εἶδος· καῦμα and ἠεῖδος· πνῖγος (H.) point to an *s*-stem *ϝεῖδος from IE *sueid-os-*, beside *suoido-* [m.] in Skt. *svéda-*, OHG *sweiz* 'sweat'. The form ἴδος shows Ionic psilosis and itacistic notation (favored by ▶ἱδρώς). The verb ἰδίω = εἰδίω (after κηκίω etc.) represents older *ἐΐδω = Skt. *svédate* 'sweats', IE *sueid-. Cf. Rix 1985: 339-43. Other derivations are Skt. *svídyati* = OHG *swizzit* 'id.' < IE *suid-ie-ti*, and a *ske/o*-present in Latvian and Iranian (Leumann *IF* 58 (1941): 120).

ἴδμων 'knowing'. ⇒οἶδα.

ἰδνόομαι [v.] 'to bend oneself, double oneself up' (Hp.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. ἰδνωθῆναι (Hom.), act. ἰδνόω (Hdn. Gr. 1, 451).

•ETYM From a verbal adjective *[ϝ]ιδ-νός 'curved'? The comparison with Skt. *vedá-* [m.] 'bundle of grass' is uncertain; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 581. WH s.v. compares Lat. *vīdulus* 'twined basket'; doubtful. The lemma *ueid- (Pok. 1124) should be dismantled. Cf. ▶ἴτυς, ▶εἰμάδες; also ▶ἶρις and ▶οἶνος.

ἴδρις 'expert'. ⇒οἶδα.

ἱδρύω [v.] 'to make sit down, settle, establish, found' (Il.). ◁IE? *sed- 'sit'▷

•VAR Aor. ἱδρῦσαι, pass. ἱδρυνθῆναι (Γ 78, H 56), perf. pass. ἵδρῦμαι (A.), Act. ἵδρυκα (Arist.).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially καθ- (whence again ἐγ-καθιδρύω et al.).

•DER ἵδρυμα 'what has been established or founded: statue, temple' (IA), ἵδρυσις 'founding, settlement' (Hp., Pl., Str., Plu.).

•ETYM Frisk followed Schwyzer in positing a noun *ἱδρυ-, which would ultimately reflect a derivative in *-r-* (comparing ἕδρα) of the root *sed- in ▶ἕζομαι, ▶ἵζω. The ι was explained as from ἵζω or as a reduced grade of ε, but the latter is impossible. See now Manessy-Guitton 1970, who departs from *s°d-* with reduced grade; Meier-Brügger 2000: 90f. posits *s°d-wr̥-y-*.

ἱδρώς, -ῶτος [m., f.] 'sweat', also metaph. of other moisture (Il.). ◁IE *sueid- 'sweat'▷

•VAR Epic dat. -ῷ, acc. -ῶ (cf. below).
•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἱδρωτο-ποιέω (Arist.), δυσ-ίδρως 'with bad sweat, having difficulty sweating' (Thphr.), also with transition to a thematic stem, e.g. κάθ-ιδρος 'covered with sweat' (LXX).
•DER Diminutive ἱδρώτιον (Hp.); ἱδρώεις 'sweaty' (B.), ἱδρώδης 'accompanied by sweating' (Hp.), ἱδρωτικός 'sudorific' (Hp., Thphr.); ἱδρῶα (?) pl. 'smallpox' (Hp. *Aph.* 3, 21; reading uncertain) together with ἱδρω-τάρια, -τίδες 'id.' (medic.; cf. Strömberg 1944: 102); ἱδρώιον 'sweat-towel' (pap.); ἱδροσύναι [pl.] 'efforts that cause sweat' (poet. inscr. Phrygia, imperial period). Denominative verbs: ἱδρώω 'sweat' (Il.) together with ἵδρωσις 'sweating' (late) and ἱδρωτήρια [pl.] 'sudorifics' (Paul. Aeg.); ἱδρώττω 'id.' (Gal.).
•ETYM Gr. ἱδρώς corresponds to Arm. *k'irtn* 'sweat', which goes back to an *r*-stem **suid-r-*. This formation is also found in Latv. *sviêdri* [pl.], Alb. *dirsë* 'sweat'. This *r*-stem was combined in Greek with a stem in *-ōs-*, which is found in Lat. *sūdor*, if from **su̯oidōs*. Like γέλως, ἔρως, et al., ἱδρώς was later transformed into a stem in -τ-. The old *s*-stem is still seen in epic ἱδρῶ [acc.] (perhaps to be read as -όα; Chantraine 1942: 54), perhaps also in ἱδρῷ [dat.], if for -οῖ (doubtful; see Chantraine 1942: 211), and in several derivatives: ἱδρώ-ω, ἱδρώεις (**-os-uent-*; see Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 173), ἱδρώιον. On the absence of the digamma in Hom., cf. ►ἐμέω (other explanations are no better; Chantraine 1942: 156). Cf. ►ἶδίω.

ἰδυῖοι [m.pl.] ἰδῦοι 'witnesses' (μάρτυρες, συνίστορες, Lex Solon. *apud* Ar. *Fr.* 222, Paus. Gr. *fr.* 151, H.). ◁IE **ueid-* 'know'▷
•ETYM For *ϝιδυῖοι = Lacon., etc. ►βιδυ(ι)οι; see also Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 91f.

ἵεμαι [v.] 'to move forward, hasten, be eager, desire' (Il.). ◁IE **uei(H)-* 'move towards, go for, desire'▷
•VAR Aor. (ἐ)είσατο, fut. ►εἵσομαι.
•ETYM The form *ϝἵεμαι (on the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 142), as a middle of ἵημι, was taken at an early stage as an old athematic formation (e.g., Chantraine 1942: 293). The word belongs to the widespread group of Skt. *véti*, 3pl. *vyánti* 'to pursue, drive', Lith. *výti*, 1sg. *vejù* 'hunt, pursue', and perhaps also Lat. *vīs* 'you want' (Meiser 1998: 224), *in-vī-tus* 'unwilling'. Cf. Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 170f. Harðarson 1993b: 159ff, assumes a reduplicated **u̯i-u̯ih$_1$-entoi*, which was contracted to **u̯ī̯entoi*, from which a stem **u̯ī̯e-* was abstracted. The aspiration was taken from ἵημι. Cf. further ►ἰωκή (unclear -κ-), as well as ►ἱέραξ (appurtenance unclear), ►ἵς (possible), ►οἶμος (certainly) and ►ἰότης (unclear).

ἱέρᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'hawk, falcon' (Alcm. 28, E., Ar., Arist.); also a name of a fish (Epich. 68; Strömberg 1943: 113f.). ◁IE? **ueiH-* 'pursue' or PG?▷
•VAR Also ἴρηξ, -ηκος (epic Ion. since Il.).
•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἱερακο-βοσκός 'falconer' (pap.).
•DER Diminutive ἱερακίσκος (Ar.); ἱερακίδιον, -άδιον 'statuette of a hawk' (Delos II^a; on the mg. Chantraine 1933: 70), ἱερακεῖον 'hawk-temple' (pap. II^a), ἱερακιδεύς

'young hawk' (Eust.; like ἀετ-ιδεύς et al.; Boßhardt 1942: 78f.); ἱερακάριος 'falconer' (*Cod. Cat. Astr.*); ἱερακίτης name of a stone, after its color (Plin., Gal.), ἱεράκιον, also -ία, -ιάς, -ῖτις plant-name, 'hawk-weed, Hieracium' (Ps.-Dsc.; on the unclear naming motive Strömberg 1940: 118). ἱεράκ-ειος, -ώδης 'hawk-like' (late).

•ETYM Though ἴρηξ in Hom. shows no digamma (Chantraine 1942: 156), the glosses βείρακες· ἱέρακες and βειράκη· ἡ ἁρπακτική (H.) point to an original *ϝῑρᾱξ, with -ᾱκ- as in several other animal names. Ebel *KZ* 4 (1855): 164f. started from an adjective (or noun) *ϝῖρος, which he connected with (ϝ)ίεμαι. The secondary form ἱέραξ would then be folk-etymological based on ἱερός. Possible but uncertain; alternatively, the suffix -ᾱκ- could point to Pre-Greek origin.

ἱερός [adj.] "holy", 'dedicated to a god, divine', also used in a glorifying way: 'glorious, excellent, strong, quick, etc.' (Il.). ◁IE **ish,ro-* 'holy'▷

•VAR Dor. and NWGr. ἰαρός, Ion. poet. ἰρός, Aeol. ἶρος. Substantivized: ἱερόν [n.] 'consecrated area, temple' (post-Hom.), ἱερά [n.pl.], rarely sing. 'votive offering, (animal) sacrifice' (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *i-je-ro, i-je-re-u, i-je-re-ja, i-je-ro-wo-ko* /(h)iero-worgos/.

•COMP As a first member in many compounds, not mentioned here.

•DER Dialectal forms are often not mentioned separately: 1. ἱερεύς (Il.), Arc. Cypr. ἱερής, Ion. also ἱέρεως (hardly taken from ἀρχιέρεως, Sommer 1948: 129) [m.] 'who performs sacrifices (τά ἱερά), sacrificer, priest' (on mg. and spread Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 81f.). From ἱερεύς: a) several feminines (cf. on βασιλεύς): ἱέρεια (Il.), Cypr. ἱερήϝια, Ion. ἱερέη, -ῆ; ἱερηΐς (Megar.), ἱέρισσα (pap. II^{a}); b) the nouns ἱερεία 'priestly office' (Thyateira; cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 311), ἱερεῖον, -ήϊον 'sacrificial animal' (Il.), ἱερ(ε)ωσύνη 'priestly office' (IA) with ἱερ(ε)ώσυνος 'priestly' (Hell.); c) the adjective ἱερευτικός 'priestly' (pap.); d) the denominatives ἱερεύω [v.] 'to offer, consecrate' (Il.) with ἱέρευσις (sch.) and ἱερεύσιμος (Plu. 2, 729d, besides θύσιμος; Arbenz 1933: 94), or from ἱερός, ἱερά; ἱερεώομαι, ἱερεώσασθαι [v.] 'to be priest' (Hell.). 2. ἱερόλας = ἱερεύς (S. *Fr.* 57; uncertain; on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 238). 3. ἱερῖτιν· καθαρμοῦ δεομένην, ἱκέτιν (H.: A. *Fr.* 93). 4. ἱερατικός 'priestly, hieratic' (Pl. *Plt.* 290d, Arist.; cf. also ἱερατεύω, ἱερατεία below). 5. Ἴερυς PN (Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 220). 6. Several denominative verbs: a) ἱερεύω; b) ἱεράομαι 'to care for the victims (ἱερά)' (Hdt., Th.); c) ἱεράζω 'id.' (Ion. islands), Boeot. ἰαρειάδδω, probably from ἰαρεία; d) ἱερόω 'to consecrate' (Att., Locr., etc.) togehter with ἱέρωμα 'consecration' (Cret., Epid., etc.), ἱερωτός (Thess.); e) ἱερίζω = καθαίρω 'cleanse' (H.) (see ἀγνίτης) with ἱεριστής 'who cares for the ἱερα' and ἱερισμός 'holy service' (Hell.); f) ἱερατεύω 'be priest' with ἱερατεία, ἱεράτευμα, ἱερατεῖον; ἱεριτεύω 'id.'; ἱερωτεύω 'id.' with ἱερωτεία; all dialectical, Hell.; on the formation Schwyzer: 732, Solmsen *Glotta* 1 (1909): 80.

•ETYM The different meanings and the formal variation induced many scholars to split ἱερός into two or even in three words. Thus, a separate ϝῑερός 'rapid, quick' (whence ἱέραξ 'hawk', s.v.) was assumed because of the long anlaut in ἰερὸν ἰχθύν Π 407, ἰαρὸς ὄρνις (Alcm. *Fr.* 26), and ἰερὸς ὄρνις (*AP* 7, 171). This length can easily be explained as metrical lengthening. In the meaning 'strong, forceful', however, ἱερός would be identical with Skt. *iṣirá-* 'strong, active'. A third ἱερός 'holy' would have

connections with Italic and Germanic words like Osc. *aisusis* 'sacrifiis', Palign. *aisis*, U *erus* 'dis', OHG *ēra* 'honor'. Duchesne-Guillemin 1937: 333ff. supported the old comparison with Skt. *iṣirá-* by pointing to the agreement between ἱερὸν μένος and Skt. *iṣiréṇa mánasā* [ins.]. See R. Schmitt 1967: 111-114 on this correspondence. Further literature: Wülfing von Martitz *Glotta* 38 (1960): 272-307 and Wülfing von Martitz *Glotta* 39 (1961): 24-43; Locher 1963. Formally, the Greek dialects show three different forms: ἱερός, ἰαρός, ἶρός. Ramat *Sprache* 8 (1962): 4-28 connects it with Skt. *iṣṇāti* 'set in movement', which means that the root contained a laryngeal. García Ramón 1992b: 183-205 assumed a pre-form **h₁ish₂-ro-* because of the connection with ►ἰνάω. He also assumed that the laryngeal was lost between **s* and *r*. Lesbian ἶρος, then, continues the regular pre-form **isro-*, while Dor. ἰαρός and Att. (etc.) ἱερός replaced the suffix with -αρο- or -ερο-. On the meaning (against ἅγιος, ἀγνός), see Nilsson 1941(1): 61ff.; also, Bolkestein 1936, Palmer *Eranos* 53 (1955): 4ff., and Defradas *RPh.* 81 (1955): 208ff.

ἵζω 'sit down'. ⇒ ἕζομαι.

ἰή ⇒ ἰήιος.

ἰηθενέουσα [adj.] · ἐκπεπληγμένη, καὶ ἀποροῦσα; ἰαθενεῖ· διαπορεῖ ἐπί τινι κακῷ. Κῶοι 'driven away, looked away from; be in difficulty in some harm (Cos)' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unexplained. DELG suggests that the glosses may be corrupt. Fraenkel *KZ* 77 (1961): 188 proposes to change ἰη-, ἰα- into the privative particles νη-, νᾱ-, based on comparison with ►εὐθενέω 'be strong'.

ἰήϊος [adj.] epithet of Apollo, who is invoked by the call ἰή (παιών) or ἰήϊε παιάν. Also said of βοά, γόος, κάματοι, 'accompanied by laments' (Pi., trag. [lyr.], A. R.). ◄ONOM►
•DER Here also ἰάζω 'cry' (Theognost.).
•ETYM From the interjection ἰή (A., Ar., Call.), to which ἰῆτε (Pi. *P.* 6, 120) was taken to be a plural (Wackernagel *Phil.* 95 (1943): 184), but the latter is rather a form of ἵημι. The same holds for ἰή (Call., *H.Ap.* 103); see Strunk *Glotta* 38 (1960): 79-82.
ἰήϊος has been incorrectly derived from ἵημι by the ancients ("ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως καὶ τοξείας" H.). Cf. ►ἤϊε and ►Εὔιος.

ἵημι [v.] 'to send (away), let go, throw, hurl, etc.' (Il.); details on the inflexion in Schwyzer: 686f., 741, 770, 775. ◄IE **(H)ieh₁-* 'throw'►
•VAR Aor. ἔηκα, ἧκα, inf. ἔμεναι, εἶναι, med. εἵμην (ἡκάμην), inf. ἔσθαι, pass. εἵθην, ἐθῆναι, fut. ἥσω (Il.); perf. med. εἶμαι, act. εἶκα (Att.), ἕωκα (Hell.).
•DIAL Myc. *(jo-)i-je-si* /(hō) ʰī-en-si/; *i-je-to* /ʰīetoi/
•COMP Mostly (in some forms exclusively) prefixed, e.g. ἀν-, ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, προ-, συν-, ὑφ-, etc., in several mgs.
•DER Many derivatives, almost only from the prefixed forms: 1. ἧμα 'throwing, throw (of a javelin)' (Ψ 891), ἥμων 'throwing (a javelin)' (Ψ 886); κάθημα, Hell. -εμα (Schwyzer: 523) 'collar' (Antiph., LXX); μεθήμων 'negligent' with -μοσύνη (Hom.), συνήμων 'companion' (A. R.) with -μοσύνη 'treaty, companionship' (Il.). 2. ►ἑσμός 'swarm (of bees)'. 3. ἄν-, ἄφ-, ἔξ-, ἔφ-, κάθ-εσις, etc. (IA; ἔσις only Pl. *Cra.* 411d, 420a

as an artificial formation, *EM* 469, 49) together with ἀφέσιμος et al. (Arist.); 4. ἐννεσίαι 'advice' (Il.), ἐξεσίη 'sending out' (Hom.), ἀνεσία 'leaving off' (Cratin.); on the formation see ►ἐννεσίαι. 5. ἐνετή 'clasp, needle' (Il.). 6. ἐν-, ἀφ-, καθ-ετήρ (Hp., Hell.) together with -ετήριος, etc.; καθετηρίζω, -ισμός (medic.). 7. ►ἐφέται, ►ἐφετμή; ἀφέτης 'sender, hurler' (Plb.). 8. συνετός 'sensible' (Pi., IA, beside σύνεσις 'comprehension'), ἄν-, ἄφ-, κἀθ-ετος, etc.; ἀν-, προ-ετικός (: ἄν-, πρό-εσις; X., Arist., Hell.).

•ETYM The pairs ἔθηκα : Lat. *fēcī* and ἔηκα : Lat. *iēcī* point to an archaic formation with *k*-extension. On the original distribution of these forms, see Untermann 1993: 461-8. Latin innovated the present *iaciō* 'to throw', whereas Greek kept the old reduplicated athematic present. Further cognates are found in Anatolian: Old Hitt. *pe-i̯ezzi* 'sends away', *u-i̯ezzi* 'sends hither' contain prefixes and preserve the old meaning. It has also been connected with Hitt. *i̯e/a-* 'to do, make' (LIV² s.v. **Hi̯eh₁-*), but see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *i̯e/a-* for objections to this view. For the initial laryngeal, cf. Peters *Die Sprache* 22 (1976): 157-161, who shows that Aristophanes consistently has ἴημι < **Hi-Hieh₁-mi*. Kortlandt thinks that PIE **h₁* originated from an Indo-Uralic velar phoneme, and that the **k* alternating with **h₁* in ἔθηκα (and perhaps ἔηκα) might be a remnant of the old situation.

ἰθαγενής [adj.] 'born here, born in lawful matrimony' (ξ 203, Ion., A., Arist.). ◄IE **id^h h₂e* 'here'►

•VAR Secondary ἰθαιγενής (Schwyzer: 448).

•ETYM Formation like αὐθι-γενής: a bahuvrīhi of γένος, possibly with an inherited adverbial first member ἰθα- = Skt. *ihá*, Prākr. *idha*, Av. *iδa* 'here', as well as Lat. *ibī* 'there'. The same pronominal stem **h₁i-* is found in Cypr. ►ἴν, and the same suffix in ἔν-θα.

ἰθαρός [adj.] 'cheerful, bright'. •VAR ἰθαίνω = εὐφρονῶ (Hsch.). ⇒ αἰθήρ.

ἴθματα [n.pl.] 'steps'. ⇒ εἶμι.

ἰθουλίς [?] name of a fish (*BCH* 60, 28; Boeot., II[a]). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Thought to be a mistake for ἰουλίς (see ►ἴουλος), but adding a θ by mistake is not very probable. Fur. 391 argues for a 'regular' variation in Pre-Greek words.

ἴθρις ⇒ ἔθρις.

ἴθυμβος [m.] name of a bacchic song with dance; one who performs this dance (Poll. 4, 104, H., Phot.). ◄PG►

•ETYM Formation like ἴαμβος, διθύραμβος, etc., and like these probably a loanword from the substrate.

ἰθυπτίων [adj.] 'flying straight (of a lance)' (Φ 169, verse-final). ◄IE **pet-* 'fly, fall' or **pieh₂-*►

•VAR Only accus. μελίην ἰθυπτίωνα.

•ETYM Analyzed as a compound of ἰθύς and the zero grade of πέτομαι, with ending after the nouns in -ων, -ίων (καταπύγων, οὐρανίων, κυλλοποδίων), for older **ἰθύ-*

πτ-ιος (type ὁμόγνιος). Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 154-167 proposed a meaning 'striking straight' with zero grade *pih_2- and analogical πτ-; see ►πτήσσω.

ἰθύς [adj.] 'straight, just' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Also adverbial 'straightforward' (Il.), beside rare ἰθύ, ἰθέως; cf. on ►εὐθύς. Superl. ἰθύντατα (Hom.), perhaps after ἰθύνω.

•COMP Often as a first member (see Strömberg 1946: 156), e.g. ἰθυ-ωρίη, for which see ►εὐθυωρία; also ἰθυ-βέλεια epithet of Artemis 'whose arrows go straight' (*ZPE* 88, 1991, 70 l. 11, I^a).

•DER 1. ἰθῦς [f.] 'straight direction, course, enterprise', only accus. ἀν' ἰθύν, πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἰθύν, etc. (Hom.); explanation in Schwyzer: 463, Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 221; 2. ἰθύτης [f.] 'id.' (Aret.). Denominative verbs: 1. ἰθύω, aor. ἰθῦσαι (also with ἐπι-) 'go straight, strive, aim (for)' (Il.); 2. ἰθύνω, aor. ἰθῦναι, pass. ἰθυνθῆναι (also with prefixes δι-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-ιθύνω, etc.) 'straighten, direct, steer, lead' (Il.) together with ἰθυντήρ 'who steers, leader' (Theoc., A. R.), fem. ἰθύντειρα (Orph. *A.* 352), adj. -τήριος 'steering, leading' (S. *Ichn.* 73); also ἰθύντωρ (Orph.), ἰθύντης (H.) 'id.'; deverbal ἴθυνα = εὔθυνα (Chios V-IV^a).

•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *sādhú-* 'straight, just', *sā́dhati, sādhnoti* 'reach the goal' is obsolete, as the zero grade in *sídhyati* 'id.' and ptc. *siddha-* is due to the vocalization of a laryngeal, viz. **seHd^h*- beside **sHd^h*-. Therefore, earlier reconstructions with a long diphthong can now be forgotten. A Cret. fem. εἰθεῖα confirms the existence of a form *εἰθύς (De Lamberterie 1990: 287f.). Willi *KZ* 114 (2001): 117-146 proposes connection of both ἰθύς and εὐθύς with **Hieud^h*-, for which root he assumes a basic meaning 'make right' (**Hieu-d^h*-?). Cf. further ►εἴθαρ.

ἱκανός 'enough'. ⇒ἵκω.

ἴκελος [adj.] 'comparable, resembling' (Il.). ◄IE **ueik-* 'resemble'►

•VAR Also εἴκελος (after εἰκών, εἰκάζω, etc.; originally perhaps for metrically lengthened ἴκελος, Leumann 1950: 306 A. 76)

•COMP As a second member in θεο-(ε)ίκελος 'god-like' (Il.) et al., and in ἐπι-, προσ-(ε)ίκελος 'resembling' (Hom., Hdt.) from ἐπι-, προσ-έοικα; cf. also on ἐπιεικής.

•DER ἱκελόω 'make identical' (*AP*).

•ETYM Old formation on the basis of the zero grade of the root of ►ἔοικα, with a suffix -λο- (Chantraine 1933: 243). Cf. ἀ-ϊκής beside ἀ-εικής.

ἱκέτης [m.] 'suppliant', also attributive 'seeking refuge' (Il.). ◄IE **seik-* 'reach, grasp the hand'►

•VAR Fem. ἱκέτις, -ιδος (Hdt.).

•DER 1. ἱκέσιος 'of the ἱκέτης, etc.', epithet of Zeus as a protector of suppliants (trag., etc.); 2. ἱκεσία 'request for protection, supplication' (E., Aeschin.); 3. ἱκετήσιος = ἱκέσιος (ν 213), after φιλοτήσιος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 41f.; Fraenkel 1912: 151f.); beside this ἱκτήριος from ἱκτήρ (see ►ἵκω); a cross is ἱκετηρία (scil. ῥάβδος), properly 'the twig (of laurel or olive) of the suppliants', 'request' (IA), ἱκετῆρες = ἱκέται (S. *OT* 185; lyr.), ἱκετηρίς [f.] (Orph. *H.*); reversed ἵκτης (Lyc. 763); 4. ἱκετικός = ἱκέσιος (Ph., Aq.). 5. Ἱκέτυλλος PN (Att. inscr.; Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 219 and

225[1]). Denominative ἱκετεύω [v.] 'to be a suppliant' (Il.) together with ἱκετεία (Att.), also ἱκέτευμα (Th.), ἱκέτευσις (Suid.) = ἱκεσία; ἱκετευτικός (sch.).
•ETYM From ►ἵκω, ἱκέσθαι. Several details on the formation in Fraenkel 1910-1912 (see index); on the meaning, see van Herten 1934.

ἰκμαμένος ⇒ αἰχμή.

ἰκμάς, -άδος [f.] 'wetness, moisture, secretion' (P 392, Hdt.). ◅IE **seik-* 'pour out' (not from **seik^{w}-*)▻
•COMP As a second member (transformed to an o-stem) ἄν-, ἔν-, δύσ-ικμος (Hp., Arist.), as a first member in ἰκμό-βωλον [n.] 'moist clump of earth' (Dsc.; on the ntr. gender cf. on ►διόσπυρον).
•DER ἰκμαδώδης (H. s.v. ἴκμενος), ἰκματώδης (Ach. Tat.; after αἱματώδης) 'moist'; also ἰκμαῖος (A. R.), ἴκμιος (Call.), ἰκμώδης (sch.), ἰκμαλέος (Hp., Opp.); ἰκμαίνω 'moisten' (A. R.). ἴκμαρ· νοτίς 'moisture' (H.). Here also the back-formation ἴκμη 'duckweed, Lemna minor' (Thphr.; different on the formation Strömberg 1940:113); also'Ικμάλιος τ 57? Speculations by Lacroix *Collection Latomus* 28 (1957): 309ff.
•ETYM Formation in -άδ- like νιφάς et al. (Schwyzer: 507f., Chantraine 1933: 349ff.) from an μ-stem. A primary aorist was perhaps retained in ἶξαι· διηθῆσαι 'filter' (H.). Outside Greek, there are several relatives, e.g. Skt. *siñcáti* 'pour out' (nasal present), OHG *sīhan* 'strain, filter', OCS *sъčati* 'urinate' (iterative). The reconstruction **seik^{w}-* in Pokorny and LIV[2] does not work for Greek, nor for Germanic. The root is **seik-*, with a pure velar.

ἰκμάω 'winnow'. ⇒ λικμάω.

ἴκμενος [adj.] epithet of οὖρος 'wind' (A 479, Od.). ◅IE? **seik-* 'reach, grasp'▻
•ETYM Old athem. ptc. like ἄρμενος, ἄσμενος, etc. (Schwyzer: 524, Chantraine 1942: 384), probably derived from ἵκω, ἱκέσθαι 'arrive', but the proper meaning is unclear. Perhaps "mit dem man gut vorwärts kommt" (Schwyzer), thus "with which one advances well", i.e. 'favorable'. Others (Schulze 1892: 493, Bechtel 1914, et al.) suggest that the word meant 'desired' (comparing Lat. *flātus optati*), and connect it with προ-ΐκτης, ἱκετεύω, etc. They derive this group from a verb 'ask' (Go. *aihtron*; also, αἰκάζει· καλεῖ H.) instead of from ἵκω 'come'. Casevits *Eos* 83 (1995): 27-32 proposes that the word belongs to ἔοικα 'resemble', *ϝίκμενος meaning 'qui convient, adapté à', but I find the assumed development of meaning unconvincing.

ἱκνέομαι 'come'. ⇒ ἵκω.

ἰκνύς, -ύος [f.] 'dust, ashes' (Cyrene). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Cf. ἴκνυον· κονίαν, σμῆμα 'dust, soap' (H.) and ἰγνύς 'id.' (Hp. *Nat. Mul.* 88).
•ETYM Like previous authors, Fur.: 118 compares λιγνύς 'smoke, soot', but without referring to his p. 391 on the alternation λ/zero. The variation (also κ/γ) proves a Pre-Greek word. Fur. further compares λιγνύς with ἁλισγέω 'pollute' (298), which is formally difficult.

ἴκρια [n.pl.] 'half deck' (Hom., B.), 'platform, stage, benches' (Hdt., com., inscr., etc., cf. Beare *Class. Rev.*53 (1939): 54f.); sing. 'mast' (Eust. 1533, 31 [?]). ◅?▻

•VAR Probably ῐ̔- (Ar. *Th.* 395, Cratin. 323).
•COMP ἰκριο-ποιέω [v.] 'to build a platform' (Hell. inscr.); ἐπ-ίκριον [n.] 'yard-arm' (ε 254, 318, A. R.), properly a hypostasis 'what is on the ἴκρια'; as an adjective perhaps in Nic. *Th.* 198.
•DER Denominative verb ἰκριόω 'to provide with ἴκρια, construct a platform' (Att. inscr., D. C.), whence ἰκρίωμα 'support, framework' and ἰκριωτῆρες [pl.] 'uprights, flooring of a deck' (Att. inscr.; often written ικ-).
•ETYM Technical term without etymology. On the meaning, see also Martin *RPh.* 83 (1957): 72-81.

ἰκταίνω ⇒ἴκταρ 1.

ἴκταρ 1 [adv., prep.] 'near, near by' (Hes., Alcm., A.), with gen. or dat. ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR ἴκαρ· ἐγγύς, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον τοῦ ἐφικνεῖσθαι 'near; to reach at' (H.).
•ETYM Acc. to Schwyzer: 630f., the same formation is found in ►ἄφαρ, ►εἶθαρ, etc. Like these, ἴκταρ could be a verbal noun in -(τ)αρ. It has been connected with Lat. *īcō* 'to strike', comparing the Skt. adverbs *ghanám* and *taḍítas* 'near', from *han-* 'beat' and *taḍ-* 'strike', for the semantics. The expression ὑπερικταίνοντο πόδες (ψ 3) is unclear in meaning; Aristarchus interpreted it as ἄγαν ἐπάλλοντο; this is often connected with ἴκταρ. A v.l. ὑποακταίνοντο is glossed with ἔτρεμον by (H.); see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἰκταίνω. If the variant in H. is reliable, the word is Pre-Greek (κτ/ κ). See ►ἴγδις, ►αἰχμή.

ἴκταρ 2 [n.] 'genital parts of a woman' (Hp. *Mul.* 2, 174). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Correction for ἦπαρ, acc. to Erot. and Gal. 19, 105. Most probably a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 134[75].

ἴκταρ 3 [m.] name of a small worthless fish (Call. *Fr.* 38, Eust.). ◁PG▷
•VAR ἰκτάρα (H.), also κτάρα· ἰχθῦς βραχύτερος πάντων 'shortest fish of all' (H.), ἀκτάρα (sch. Opp. *H.* 1, 762).
•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v. Given the variants, the word is clearly Pre-Greek (Fur.: 376f.).

ἴκτερος [m.] 'jaundice' (Hp.), often plur.; also name of a bird, Lat. *galgulus* (Plin.), named after its color. ◁PG?▷
•DER ἰκτερικός, ἰκτερώδης 'jaundiced, regarding jaundice' (medic.), also ἰκτεριώδης 'id.' (Hp., Dsc.; after ἰκτεριάω) and ἰκτερόεις 'id.' (Nic.); ἰκτερῖτις [f.] 'rosemary' (Ps.-Dsc.; used as a remedy, see Strömberg 1944: 29), -ίτης 'id.' (*gloss.*); ἰκτερίας name of a yellow stone (Plin.; like καπνίας et al., Chantraine 1933: 94). Denominative verbs ἰκτερόομαι (Hp., Gal.), ἰκτεριάω (M. Ant., S. E.) [v.] 'to suffer from jaundice'.
•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of ὕδερος, χολέρα (Chantraine 1933: 228), but further details are unknown. The connection with ἴκτις, ἰκτῖνος is defended by Grošelj Živa Ant. 6 (1956): 236f., who assumes a color root ἰκ- 'yellow, green', and compares ἰκμαλέον· χλωρόν, ὑγρόν 'green, moist' (H.). This remains speculative. Acc. to Fur.: 321, the group -κτ- points to Pre-Greek origin.

ἰκτῖνος [m.] 'kite' (IA). ◁IE **tḱiH-in-* 'kite'▷

•VAR Also (secondary?) ἰκτίν (-ίς), gen. -ῖνος (com., Paus.), after δελφίς acc. to Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM For the formation, ἐχῖνος has been compared (Chantraine 1933: 204), but ἰκτῖνος is probably inherited and identical with Arm. *c'in* 'id.'. Skt. *śyená-* [m.] 'eagle, falcon', Av. *saēna-* name of a big bird of prey are rather deviant. For the reconstruction **tḱiH-in-*, see Beekes in Kortlandt 2003: 200. See ►ἴκτερος.

ἴκτις, -ιδος [f.] 'marten' (Ar., Arist.). ◄?►

•VAR Also ἰκτίς, gen. -ίδος.

•DER κτίδεος (ἰκτίδεος Suid.) in κτιδέη κυνέη 'helmet of marten skin' (K 335, 458), with apocope of the first vowel; artificial back-formation κτίς in H. s.v. κτιδέα.

•ETYM No etymology; see on ►ἴκτερος.

ἵκω [v.] 'to come, reach' (Hom., Pi. Dor. Arc.). ◄IE **seik-* 'reach, grasp (with the hand)'►

•VAR ἱκάνω (epic), ἱκνέομαι (Od., almost only prefixed, see below), with aor. ἱκέσθαι, fut. ἵξομαι (Il.); epic aor. ἶξε, ἶξον (Chantraine 1942: 418f., Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 213), perf. ἶγμαι (Od.).

•COMP Often with prefix (in prose almost exclusively), especially ἀφ-, ἀπ- (whence εἰσ-, συν-αφ-ικνέομαι, etc.), also ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, etc. (see Fraenkel *Glotta* 35 (1956): 88ff.).

•DER 1. ἴξις (ἶξις) 'passage, direction' (Hp.); from ἀφικνέομαι, etc. ἄφιξις 'arrival' (IA), rarely ἔφ-, κάθ-, δί-ιξις; 2. ἵκτωρ, ἱκτήρ = ἱκέτης, ἱκέσιος, also προσ-, ἀφ-ίκτωρ 'id.' (trag.) together with ἱκτήριος (S.); 3. ►ἱκέτης together with ἱκετεύω, etc.; beside it (προσ-)ἵκτης (Hell. poetry); 4. πόθ-ικ-ες [pl.] 'προσήκοντες, relatives' (Tegea V[a]); 5. ἱκανός 'enough' (IA prose), cf. πιθανός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196f.); see also ►ἵκμενος, ►προίξ.

•ETYM The verb ►ἥκω has been compared, but the point of the comparison is unclear. The forms in long vowel (ἵκω, ἶγμαι) may be secondary morphological creations of Greek. All other forms have short vocalism, including ἱκανός and other nominal formations. The full grade was thought to occur in ►ἐνεῖκαι 'carry off', but this is now connected with ►ἐνεγκεῖν; in any case, it was semantically deviant from ἵκω.

An acceptable connection is provided by Lith. *siékiu, siékti* 'reach with the hand, swear', *at-siékiu* 'reach with the hand', ToB pres. *siknaṃ*, subj. *saikaṃ* 'set foot', for which IE **seik-* is reconstructed. See LIV[2] s.v. **seiḱ-* 'erreichen', where the form U *pru-sikurent* 'confirm' is also adduced, but this is uncertain. The Lithuanian acute accent is unexplained under this reconstruction, however.

ἱλάειρα, ἵλαος, ἱλαρός, ἵλεως ⇒ ἱλάσκομαι.

ἱλάσκομαι [v.] 'to propitiate, appease, reconcile', intr. perf. and aor. pass. 'to be merciful' (Il.). ◄IE **selh₂-* 'reconcile'►

•VAR Rarely ἵλαμαι (*h. Hom.* 19, 48; 21, 5; inf. ἵλασθαι Orph. *A.* 944; on the quantity of the anlaut see below), ἱλάονται (B 550, ἱλάεσθαι A. R. 2, 847); aor. ἱλάσ(σ)ασθαι (Il.), ἱλάξασθαι (Delph., A. R.), pass. ἱλασθῆναι (LXX); fut. ἱλάσ(σ)ομαι (Pl., Orac. *apud*

Paus. 8, 42, 6), ἱλάξομαι (A. R.); Aeol. perf. ipv. ἔλλᾱθι (gramm., B. 10, 8), plur. ἔλλᾰτε (Call. *Fr.* 121); besides ἵλᾰθι, ἵλᾰτε (Theoc., A. R.), ἵληθι (γ 380, π 184), cf. below; subj. ἱλήκῃσι (φ 365), opt. ἱλήκοι, etc. (*h. Ap.* 165, *AP*, Alciphr.).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐξ-.

•DER ἐξίλασις, (ἐξ-)ἱλασμός (LXX), ἱλασία (inscr. imperial period), (ἐξ-)ἵλασμα 'appeasement, expiatory sacrifice' (LXX), ἱλάσιμος 'appeasing' (M. Ant.; after ἰάσιμος, etc., Arbenz 1933: 93), ἱλαστήριος 'appeasing', -ιον 'propitiatory gift' (LXX, pap.), also analogical ἱλατήριον (*Chron. Lind.*), ἱλαστής 'appeaser' (Aq., Thd.) with ἐξιλαστικός (Corn.).

Older formations: 1. ἵλαος (epic, Arc.; on the quantity of the α see below), ἵλεως (Att., also Ion.), ἵλεος (Cret. since III[a], also Hdt.), ιλεξοι [dat.] (Lacon., *IG* 5(1), 1562 [VI-V[a]]), ἵλλαος (Aeol., gramm.) 'merciful, benevolent'; Arc. 'appeased'; denominative verb ἱλαόομαι (*MAMA* 1, 230), ἱλεῶμαι, ἱλεόομαι (A. *Supp.* 117 [lyr.], Pl.) 'to appease', together with ἱλέωσις (Plu.), ἱλεωτήριον (Phot., Suid.). 2. ἱλαρός 'cheerful, glad', also ≒ ἵλεως (Ar., X.) together with ἱλαρότης, ἱλαρία, ἱλαρόω, -ρύνω, -ρεύομαι (Hell.); Lat. loan *hilarus, -is.* 3. ἱλλάεις, -εντος (Alc.), ἱλᾶς, -ᾶντος (Hdn. Gr., H.), lengthened from ἵλλαος, ἵλαος (cf. Schwyzer: 527). 4. ἱλάειρα [f.], said of φλόξ and σελήνη (Emp.; on the varying quantity cf. below), also ἑλάειρα (sch., Steph. Byz.) and ΕΛΕΡΑ (Kretschmer 1894: 208; see also Schulze 1933a: 716), innovated after πίειρα, κτεάτειρα, Δάειρα, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 104, Schwyzer: 543.

•ETYM The Aeol. imperative ἔλλαθι, ἔλλατε is decisive for the interpretation of these forms, from older **he-hla-tʰi, -te.* They may therefore be analyzed as old perfect forms, cf. τέτλαθι, ἔσταθι, δείδιθι. The length of the α in ἔλλᾱθι (B. 10, 8) must be secondary; perhaps the Attic form was seen in εἵληθι· ἵλεως γίνου 'be merciful' (H.), which was remodelled after φάνηθι, etc., presumably because the reduplication was no longer recognizable.

Another source of innovations was the reduplicated present ἱλάσκομαι < **si-slh₂-ske/o-*, with short -ᾰ- perhaps analogical after the *s*-aorist. The anlauting long vowel was introduced into other forms: into the perf. subj. and opt. ἱλήκῃσι, ἱλήκοι instead of expected *εἱλ-; perhaps also into ἵλᾰθι, -τε and Hom. ἵληθι (cf. εἵληθι H.).

The ῑ- was further introduced into the aorist and future: ἱλάσ(σ)ασθαι, ἱλάξασθαι, ἱλάσσομαι, ἱλάξομαι; beside these, there is a short vowel in ἱλάσσεαι (A 147), ἱλασσάμενοι (A 100), ἵλαμαι (*h. Hom.*; but ἵλασθαι Orph.), ἱλάομαι, as well as in ἱλαρός and ἱλάειρα (Emp. 85). Because the short ῐ- cannot be understood in terms of ablaut, it may replace an older *e*-grade (in ἑλάειρα, *ἔλαμαι, *ἑλαρός). The forms ἵληϝος, ἵλεως (secondary ἵλᾰος) are from reduplicated **si-slh₂-u̯o-*.

The discussion by Klingenschmitt *MSS* 28 (1970): 75-88 is fundamental, showing that Arm. *ałač'em* 'to pray' < **slh₂-ske/o-* is the closest cognate. The Greek form goes back to **si-slh₂-ske/o-*; the aorist would have been **selh₂-s-*, but the beginning has taken over the *i*-vocalism from the present. This explains the forms with short ῐ-. LIV[2] s.v. **selh₂-* and Clackson 1994: 173-4 are somewhat sceptical about this proposal. Lat. *sōlārī* 'to comfort' is related too, but has an obscure lengthened grade *sōlH-* (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.).

ἴλη [f.] 'band, troop', especially a division of the Spartan youth; troop of horses = Lat. *turma* (Pi., S., X.). ◁IE? **uel-* 'turn, wind'▷
•DIAL Dor. ἴλα.
•COMP As a first member in ἰλ-άρχης, also -αρχος (Hell.) together with ἰλαρχέω, -ία, Boeot. ϝιλαρχίω. H. has βειλάρχας as an explanation of βειλαρμοστάς (Tarent.).
•DER ἰλαδόν 'in squadron' (B 93, Hes. *Op.* 287, Hdt.), which was metrically easier than *ἰληδόν.
•ETYM The gloss ἴλλαι· τάξεις, συστροφαί (H.) could point to original *ϝίϝλαι, and be derived from ἴλλω 'press together' < **u̯i-u̯l-e/o-* (see ►εἰλέω). If this is correct, ἴλη would show an unexpected reduction of the geminate with compositional lengthening. Solmsen 1901: 227[1] departs from *ϝίλ-νᾱ, comparing πίλναμαι for the vocalism. However, in the latter form, the ι is explained as an analogical *schwa secundum*.

ἴλια [n.pl.] · μόρια (δῶρα cod.) γυναικεῖα; ἴλιον· τό τῆς γυναικός ἐφήβαιον δηλοῖ. καὶ κόσμον γυναικεῖον παρὰ Κῴοις 'female private parts; the female pubes; a woman's ornament (Kos)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM In the last meaning, ἴλια has been connected with ►εἰλέω 2 'turn, wind', with ι for ει like perhaps in ἴλη. The Greek gloss may also be a loan from Lat. *īlia, -ium* [n.pl.] 'the soft, the lower part of the body, intestines, womb' (cf. on ►ἰξύς).

ἴλιγγος •VAR ἴλιγξ. ⇒εἴλιγγος, εἴλιγξ.

Ἴλιος [f.] 'Ilios, the city of Troy' (Il.); -ιον only O 71, always in tragedy (E.). ◁LW Anat.▷
•ETYM In a treaty between the Hittite king Muwattali II (1290-72) and Alaksandu (which must be Homer's Alexander) of *Wilusa, Wilusiya*, a small state in the far north West of Anatolia. First considered by Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 205-13, it has in recent years been generally accepted that this refers to Schliemann's ruins. See e.g. Latacz 2001: 98-119. There is no agreement on the interpretations of the Greek form ϝίλιος (as the *-s-* would normally have been preserved; so this form must come from a variant without *-s-*). The ϝ- is ascertained by Homer. On *Troy* see ►Τροίη (which originally only denoted the land).

ἰλλάς ⇒εἰλέω 2.

ἰλλός [adj.] 'squinting' (Ar., Sophr.). ◁IE? **uel-* 'turn, wind', PG?▷
•VAR Fem. ἰλλίς· στρεβλή, διεστραμμένη 'twisted, distorted' (H.). Note ἰλλός = ὀφθαλμός (Poll. 2, 54).
•DER ἰλλώδης 'id.' and ἰλλαίνω (Hp.), ἰλλώπτω (com.), ἰλλίζω (Suid.) [v.] 'to squint, look askance', also ἴλλωσις 'squinting' (Hp.) as if from *ἰλλόω. PN Ἰλλεύς (see Boßhardt 1942: 132).
•ETYM From ἴλλω 'turn, wind'? Or from Pre-Greek? See ►εἰλέω 2.

ἴλλω 1 'press together'. ⇒εἰλέω 1.

ἴλλω 2 'turn'. ⇒εἰλέω 2.

ϝίλσις 'distress'. ⇒ εἰλέω 1.

ἰλῦς, -ύος [f.] 'mud, slime, dregs, impurity' (Ion., Il., Arist.). ◁IE **(H)iHlu-* 'mud, dark'▷

•VAR The ἰ- is long; on the length of the υ see LSJ.

•DER ἰλυώδης (Hp., Hell.), ἰλυόεις 'muddy' (A. R., Nic.); ἰλύωμαι· ἐρρύπωμαι (H.). Further ἰλύματα (Gal. 13, 45) as a cross with λύματα. Adjective ἰλύ (cod. εἰλύ)· μέλαν 'black, dirty' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like ἀχλῦς, etc. (see Schwyzer: 495), and identical with a Slavic word for 'mud', e.g. OCS *ilъ*, gen. *ila* (old *u*-stem); also in Latv. *īls* 'very dark'.

ἰμαλιά [f.] 'heap of flour, abundance', glossed by H. with τὸ ἐπίμετρον τῶν ἀλεύρων. ἐπιγέννημα ἀλετρίδος. καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀχύρων χνοῦς. καὶ περιουσία 'the excess of wheat-meal; surplus of a grinding woman; dust from the chaff; abundance'. ◁?▷

•DER ἰμαλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'yield (of flour), etc.', in H. = νόστος, δύναμις, ἐπικαρπία, ἡδονή, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν γινομένων 'yield, quality, profit, enjoyment, first-fruits of that which is produced'; thus Trypho *apud* Ath. 14, 618d (Doric word); also 'song of the mill, ἐπιμύλιος ᾠδή' (H., Poll.) and as an epithet of Demeter in Syracuse (Polem. Hist. 39).

Adjective ἰμάλιος, in H. = πολύς, ἱκανός, νόστιμος 'much, sufficient, abundant', etc., also a month name in Hierapytna (*SGDI* 5040, 4).

•ETYM Popular terms of agriculture that rarely occur in literature. For the ending of ἰμαλιά, we should first compare ἁρμαλιά 'distributed food, portion', ἀχυρμιά 'heap of chaff', φυταλιά 'plants in the garden', etc. On the other hand, ἰμαλίς is reminiscent of τροφαλίς 'fresh cheese' and μολυβδίς 'clump of lead' (Chantraine 1933: 342ff.).

Frisk assumes a derivation in -μαλ- from the root seen in ▶ἠθέω 'sieve'; extremely doubtful, because ablaut **sēi- / sī-* does not exist. See on ▶ἁρμαλιά. On Lat. *similа* 'finest flour of wheat', see ▶σεμίδαλις.

ἱμανήθρη [f.] 'well-rope' (Herod. 5, 11). ◁?▷

•ETYM Formation like κολυμβήθρα (related to κολυμβάω), ἀλινδήθρα (to ἀλινδέω, ἀλίνδω), et al. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 373f.), which would presuppose a verb *ἱμανάω (Bechtel 1921(3): 304) or *ἱμαίνω; see on ▶ἱμάς (especially ἱμονιά).

ἱμάς, -άντος [m.] 'leather strap', for drawing, lashing, etc., 'thong' of a sandal, of a door, etc.; as a term of construction, 'beam' (Il.; Delebecque 1951: 63, 187f.). ◁IE **seh₂i-m(n)-* 'rope'▷

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἱμαντ-ελίκται [pl.] "pricker of tapes", name of the Sophists in Democr. 150; ἱμαντελιγμός, name of a game (Poll. 9, 118); compounds of ἱμάντας ἑλίσσειν, cf. Fraenkel 1910: 244.

•DER Diminutive ἱμάντιον (Hp.), ἱμαντ-άριον (Delos II[a], etc.), -ίδιον (*EM*), -ίσκος (Herod.); adjective ἱμάντινος 'of ropes' (Hdt., Hp.), ἱμαντώδης 'rope-like' (Pl., Dsc., Gal.); denominative verbs: 1. ἱμάσσω, aor. ἱμάσαι a) 'lash' (Il.) together with ἱμάσθλη 'lash, whip' (Il.); also μάσθλης (perhaps cross with μάστιξ, cf. on ▶μαίομαι); b) 'provide with ἱμάντες, i.e. beams' only in ἱμασσια 'beams?' (*IG* 4, 823: 26 [Troezen IV[a]]; see Fraenkel 1910: 149, Bechtel 1921, 2: 510). 2. ἱμάσκω 'thrash, wallop' (also 'to

fetter' in *Del.*[3] 409, 7? Cf. Brugmann *IF* 29 (1911-1912): 214). 3. ἱμαντόω 'provide with ἱμάντες, i.e. bed-straps' in ἱμαντωμένην κλίνην (H. s.v. πυξ<ίνην>); thence ἱμάντωσις (LXX, Poll.), ἱμάντωμα 'hawser' (H.). Independent of ἱμάς, but cognate with it: 1. ἱμαῖος (sc. ᾠδή), ἱμαῖον (μέλος, ᾆσμα) 'song while scooping water' (Call., Tryphon, Suid.) with ἱμαοιδός (haplological for ἱμαιο-αοιδός) 'who sings an ἱμαῖον' (Poll., H.); 2. ἱμάω 'to draw (water) with a rope (from a well)', also metaph. (Arist., Ath.), usually άν-, καθ-ιμάω (Ar., X.) together with ἱμητήρ (κάδος, Delos II[a]), ἱμητήριος (H., see ἰβανατρίς), άν-, καθ-ίμησις (Plu.); 3. ἱμονιά 'well-rope' (com., Ph., Luc. et al.; Scheller 1951: 75f.); 4. ►ἱμανήθρη 'id.'.

•ETYM As a secondary formation in -ντ-, ἱμάς presupposes a noun *ἵμᾱ or *ἵμα 'rope', which is also continued in ἱμάω, ἱμαῖος. An *n*-stem is continued by ἱμονιά and by καθ-, κατ-ιμονεύει· καθίησι, καθιεῖ 'lets go' (H.), which probably derive from *ἵμων. Likewise, ►ἱμανήθρη may go back to *ἵμάνη (via *ἱμανάω, or perhaps *ἱμαίνω; cf. πλεκτάνη, άρτάνη), or to *ἵμα.

Note the variable quantity of the anlauting vowel: long in ἱμονιά, ἱμανήθρη, καθιμάω, but short in ἱμαῖος, and most of the time also in ἱμάς (except Φ 544, K 475 etc.; see Schulze 1892: 181, 466[1]) and its compounds and derivatives. This variation cannot go back to old ablaut (as Frisk stated), but rather continues *sh_2i-, which gives a long vowel after metathesis to *sih_2m-, and a short vowel without it; regarding the conditioning, see Schrijver 1991: 519ff., who supposes that stressed *Hi resulted in the long vowel.

The form *ἵμων reconstructed above exactly matches a Germanic word for 'rope': ON *símí*, OS *sīmo* [m.], and also Skt. *sīmán-* [m., f.] 'skull, boundary' (although this has a slightly deviant meaning), all from IE *sh_2i-*mon*-, sh_2i-*men*- (note that for Gm., *seh_1i-*m*- is possible too). A suffix *-m*- is also found in Irish *sim* 'chain'.

The primary verb meaning 'to bind' is still found in Indo-Iranian, Baltic and Hittite, e.g. Skt. *syati* < *sh_2-*ie/o*-, *sināti* < *si-*neh*$_2$-*ti*, ptc. *sita*- < *sh_2-*to*-, Lith. *siẽti*, 1sg. *sienǔ* < *sh_2ei-, Hitt. *išḫai*-[i].

García Ramón *Minos* 29-30 (1994-1995): 335-346 connects Myc. *a-ja-me-no* /ai[(h)]aimeno-/ 'inlaid', with a semantic specialization from 'put on' < 'attach, bind'.

ἱμάτιον [n.] 'outer garment, dress, cloth', often plur. -ια (Att.). ◂IE *ues- 'clothe'▸

•VAR Ion. εἱμάτιον (εματιοις inscr. Ceos), Dor. ἡμάτιον (Cyrene IV[a]).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἱματιο-πώλης 'cloth-seller' (Critias, pap.).

•DER Diminutive ἱματίδιον, -ιδάριον (Ar.) and denominative ἱματίζω [v.] 'to clothe' (pap., NT), whence ἱματισμός (εἱμ-) 'clothing, wardrobe' (Thphr., Plb., inscr.).

•ETYM An informal diminutive of εἷμα, Cret. ϝῆμα (see ►ἕννυμι), with early transition of ει = /ē̆/ to ῑ. See Wackernagel *IF* 25 (1909): 330.

ἱμάω 'to draw with a rope'. ⇒ἱμάς.

ἴμβηρις [?] · ἔγχελυς. Μηθυμναῖοι 'eel (Methymna)' (H.). ◂PG?▸

•ETYM The ending is reminiscent of λεβηρίς 'snake-skin' (Muller 1926: 30). Do we therefore have to read ἰμβηρίς?

The word resembles some Balto-Slavic words for 'eel', e.g. Lith. *ungurỹs*, Ru. *ŭgor'*. A pre-form IE *$Heng^w$- has been reconstructed, with ε > ι before nasal (but this is not a

general rule in Greek) and Aeolic development of the labiovelar. No IE proto-form can be reconstructed for these words. The ending, which is also seen in λεβηρίς, rather points to a Pre-Greek word. On -ηρ-, see *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes. If one assumes interchange initial λ-/zero as well as prenasalization, the words could be identical. Note that ε/ ι is frequent in Pre-Greek. The relation to ►ἔγχελυς, Lat. *anguilla*, etc. is unclear.

***(ϝ)ίμβω?** [v.] 'to yoke, harness (horses)'? ◄?, PG?►

•VAR Aor. ἴμψας· ζεύξας. Θετταλοί 'having yoked (Thess.)' (H.).

•DER Ἴμψιος· Ποσειδῶν ὁ Ζύγιος 'Poseidon the Yoke'; γιμβάναι (= ϝ-)· ζεύγανα (H.). Bechtel 1921, 1: 206 adduces the Boeot. PN ϝιμπίδας.

•ETYM Two hypotheses have been advanced: that the word is related to Lat. *vinciō* 'to wind around', *vicia* 'vetch' with labiovelar auslaut (followed by LIV² s.v. **u̯i̯ek^{w}-*); or to Go. *bi-waibjan* 'to wind around', etc. In both cases, the semantic connection does not seem to be very strong. There seems no reason to connect the two glosses ἰψών· δεσμωτήριον 'prison' (but see also on ►ἶπος) and ἰψόν· τόν κισσόν. Θ<ο>ύριοι. 'ivy' (H.). Note that the gloss Ἴμψιος has -μψ-, although it is not an aorist. This could be a Pre-Greek variant. See Latte on γιμβάναι.

ἵμερος [m.] 'longing, yearning, love' (Il.). ◄IE? **seh₂i-mr*, **sh₂i-men-* 'bond'►

•COMP ἐφ-ίμερος 'filled with yearning, lovely' (Hes., Archil., A.), ἱμερό-γυιος 'with lovely limbs' (B.).

•DER ἱμερόεις 'longing, lovely' (Il.), ἱμερώδης 'id.' (Callistr.); ἱμείρω, -ομαι [v.] (also with ἐφ-) 'yearn, desire' (Il.), together with ἱμερτός 'longed for, lovely' (since B 751).

•ETYM The old connection with Skt. *iṣmá-* 'spring, (god of) love' (lex.), which belongs to *iccháti* (< **h₂is-ské-ti*) 'to wish', may be semantically possible, but it leaves the formation of the Greek word (secondary suffix *-ero-*?) unexplained. Another proposal by Bally *MSL* 12 (1903): 321 assumed a reconstruction **si-smer-o-*, and a *yod*-present **si-smer-ie/o-*, by comparison of Av. *hi-šmarənt-* 'well-conducted' to Skt. *smárati* 'to remember' (< **smér-e-ti*). As remarked by Weiss *HSPh.* 98 (1998): 47ff., the problem with these proposals is that they lead us to expect Aeolic **ἴμμερος*, while we consistently find ἵμερος, ἱμέρρω in Sappho and Alcaeus. Weiss convincingly derives ἵμερος from **sh₂i-* 'to bind' instead, as found in Skt. *°syáti*, Hitt. *išḫai-*^{i}: he reconstructs a heteroclitic **seh₂i-mr*, **sh₂i-men-*, with a suffix **-mer/n-* also found in τέκμαρ and ἦμαρ (Weiss ibid.: 54 points to ἡμέρα as a formal parallel for ἵμερος); he also compares ►αἵμων. This means that ἵμερος may originally have been a bond or spell. See ►αἵμονα.

ἱμονιά 'well-rope'. ⇒ἱμάς.

ἰμπαταον ⇒παπταίνω.

ἵν [pron.] · αὐτήν, αὐτόν. Κύπριοι 'her, him (Cypr.)' (H.). ◄IE **h₁i-* 'he'►

•ETYM Identical with OLat. *im* 'eum', from the IE demonstrative **h₁i-* seen in Lat. and Go. *is*, etc. See also ►ἵνα, and on ►μιν, ►νιν.

ἵνα [adv., conj.] 'where, to where' (Hom., also IA); as a final conjunction 'that, in order that, etc.' (Il.). ◁IE **h₁i-* 'he', etc.▷

•ETYM Origin unclear. For the ending, we may compare Skt. instrumentals like *yéna, téna* 'by which, by that', OHG *hina* (< **-nā*), OIr. *cen* 'on this side' (from IE **ḱi-* in ἐ-κεῖ), etc. The stem ἰ- is perhaps cognate with the IE relative **Hi̯o-* (see ►ὅς), or was formed after interrogative *τίνα. On the use, see Schwyzer 1950: 672ff. and Gonda 1956: 92, 126f., 141. See also Monteil 1963: 376-384 and Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971): 171.

ἰνάω [v.] 'to empty, purify', also προΐεσθαι 'to be sent forth' acc. to H. s.v. ἰνᾶσθαι. ◁IE? **Hish₂-*, **His-neh₂-*▷

•VAR -άομαι (also -έω, -όω gramm.), fut. med. ἰνήσομαι (Hp.).

•COMP With prefix ὑπερ-ινάω 'empty excessively, vehemently' (Hp. *apud* Erot.) together with ὑπερίνησις (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*) and ὑπέρινος 'excessively emptied, exhausted' (Hp. *Epid.* 6, 5, 15, Arist., Thphr.).

•DER ἰνηθμός 'emptying, cleaning' (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*), ἴνησις 'id.' (ibid., Pherecyd. Hist. VI[a]). Uncertain ἐπινάω (comm. Arist. VI[P]); on ►περίναιος (-εος), etc. s.v.

•ETYM Assuming that 'send forth' was the original meaning and that the ἰ- was long, ἰνάω was compared by Meister *KZ* 32 (1893): 136ff. (cf Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:3, 301 and Bechtel 1921(3): 304f.) with Skt. *iṣṇā́ti* 'to bring in quick movement', also 'to spurt out' (cf. on ►ἰαίνω). This is followed by García Ramón 1986: 497-514, see on ►ἰάομαι. The reconstruction is taken over by LIV[2] s.v. **h₁eish₂-*.

ἰνδάλλομαι [v.] 'to appear, seem' (Il., Att.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Only present stem except ἰνδάλθην (Lyc., Max.).

•DER ἰνδαλμός 'appearance, image' (Hp.), ἴνδαλμα 'id.' (LXX).

•ETYM For the formation, one hypothesis has compared ἀγάλλομαι and posited a noun *ἴνδαλον vel sim. Frisk states that it must eventually belong to ►ἰδεῖν, ►εἶδος, comparing ►εἴδωλον for the λ-stem, and citing Chantraine 1942: 142 on the digamma. The nasal is supposed to have spread from a nasal present, and is also recognized in Skt. *vindáti* 'find' and in several Celtic forms, e.g. OIr. *ro-finnadar* 'finds out', and nouns like OIr. *find* 'white', Gaul. *Vindo-(magus, -bona)* < PCl. **u̯indo-*. However, note that these supposed cognates have a different meaning. The conclusion of Indo-European origin is drawn too quickly. The formation in -αλ- (and -αλμος) is non-IE: for ►σχινδαλμός and ►ὀφθαλμός, this becomes evident from their variants with σχ-/ σκ-, -ινδ-/ -ιδ-, and -αλ(α)μος. Therefore, the word is rather Pre-Greek. The apparent agreement in form and meaning with **ueid-* is just like that between ►ὀφθαλμός and **h₃ekʷ-*: such coincidences may be expected to occur every now and then.

ἴνδουρος [m.] · ἀσπάλαξ 'mole' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM The similarity with Skt. *undura-* 'rat' is rather accidental; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. (not mentioned in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3: 34f.). For the ending, we may compare ►σκίουρος 'squirrel', which must be a loan, perhaps from Pre-Greek.

ἶνις [m., f.] 'son, daughter' (A., E. [lyr.], Lyc., Call., also Cypr. inscr.; cf. Leumann 1950: 274[21]). ◁ONOM?▷

•VAR Accus. -ιν.

•ETYM Acc. to Walde *Glotta* 13 (1924): 127ff., it is from *ἔν-γν-ις with Cypr. ιν < εν and assimilation to the nasal with compensatory lengthening like in γῑ́νομαι. This would confirm the Achaean character of the word. OIr. *ingen*, Ogam *inigena* 'daughter' have also been compared, as well as νεο-γν-ός 'newly born'. Alternatively, we may compare the expressive forms ἴννος (ἴννιν· κόρην μικράν, ἴννους· παῖδας H.), Byz. and MoGr. νινί 'child, pupil' (older litt. in Frisk). See now Masson *REGr.* 88 (1975): 1-5.

ἴννος 1 'child' (H.). •ETYM See on ►ἶνις 'son, daughter'.

ἴννος 2 [m.] '(young) mule', = γίννος (Arist.); more on the mg. in H. s.v. and Meister *KZ* 32 (1893): 143ff., with a wrong etymology. ◅?▻

•COMP As a second member probably in ►ὄνιννος name of an animal.

•ETYM A foreign word without explanation, like γίννος. Borrowed as Lat. *hinnus*, with *h*- after *hinnīre*. Cf. on ►ὄνος.

ἴντυβος ⇒ ἔντυβον.

ἶξ [m.] name of a worm that damages the vine (Alcm. 43). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Gen. ἰκός.

•ETYM See Gil Fernández 1959: 115f. Probably related to ►ἴψ as a substrate element.

ἴξαλος [m.] '(castrated) he-goat' (Δ 105, *AP*; on the mg. see Maaß *RhM* 74 (1925): 464f.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Cf. ἰσχαλωμέναι· δεδερματωμέναι 'skinned?' (H.), and ἴσκλαι· αἱ αἴγειαι μηλωταί 'goatskins' (H.).

•DER ἰξαλῆ [f.] 'goatskin' (Hp. *Fract.* 29) with several orthographic variants: ἰσάλη (sch. Ar. *Nu.* 72), ἰτθέλη (Poll.), ἰττέλη (Poll.), ἰσσέλη (Theogn.), ἰσσέλα, ἰσθλῆ, ἰτθέλα (H.), etc.

•ETYM Older scholars like Solmsen and Bechtel considered the variations as evidence for Anatolian origin. The word is Pre-Greek, acc. to Fur.: 129, 286, 349, 379, 393. The form with ἴσκλ- shows syncope of the α/ε; that with ἰσχαλ-, metathesis. The variation α/ε is well known in Pre-Greek words. I suggest that the word had **ikt^{y}al-* with a palatalized *t^{y}* as its second consonant. See *Pre-Greek*: 5.5, also Heubeck 1961: 66 and 80.

ἰξός [m.] 'mistletoe, the birdlime prepared from it', metaph. of all kinds of sticky substances (Hp., E., Ar., Arist., Thphr.). ◅EUR▻

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰξο-βόρος name of thrush, 'Turdus viscivorus' (Arist.).

•DER ἰξία 'misteltoe' (perhaps derived from ἰξός in the mg. 'birdlime', cf. Strömberg 1937: 114), also name of a thistle, 'χαμαιλέων λευκός, Atractylis gummifera' (in this mg. also ἰξίνη [Thphr., Strömberg 1937: 86]), name of a disease: 'varicose vein' (Arist., Thphr.), cf. Scheller 1951: 42; ἰξίας [m.] a thistle, 'χαμαιλέων μέλας, Cardopatium corymbiferum' (Dsc.), ἰξιόεις 'made of ἰξίας' (Nic.); ἰξίον 'leaf of the χαμαιλέων λευκός' (Gal.); ἰξώδης 'sticky' (Hp., Luc.). Denominative: 1. ἰξεύω 'catch

with birdlime' (Artem., Poll.); from there ἰξευτής 'birdcatcher' (LXX, Bion) together with ἰξευτικός, also ἰξευτήρ (Man.), fem. -εύτρια (Plu.; Τύχη ἰξεύτρια = *Fortuna viscata*); 2. ἰξόομαι 'be smeared with birdlime' (Thphr.).

•ETYM An old cultural word, identical with synonymous Lat. *viscum* (*viscus*). It has been compared with Germanic and Slavic names for the cherry (also used for preparing birdlime), e.g. OHG *wīhsela* 'morello', Ru. *višnja* 'cherry'. DELG wonders whether the word is IE, but given the structure, it is rather a European loanword.

ἰξῦς, -ῦος [f.] 'waist, loins' (ε 231 = κ 544, Hp., Hell. poetry). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Adverb ἰξυόθεν (Arat.); also ἰξύα, -η (*EM*).

•ETYM Formation like ὀσφύς, νηδύς, δελφύς, etc.; ἰξύα was created after δελφύα, ἰγνύη, et al. (Schwyzer: 463). Etymological relation with Lat. *īlia* [pl.] 'side of the body' is improbable. Fur.: 393 proposed to connect ►ἰσχίον 'hip'; if correct, the word is Pre-Greek because of the variation.

ἰόμωροι [pl.] epithet of the Ἀργεῖοι (Δ 242, Ξ 479). ◁?▷

•ETYM The explanation by the scholia as 'famous for their arrows' is incorrect, because the ἰ- is short (see ►ἰός 2). The epithet ἀπειλάων ἀκόρητοι in the second part of the verse suggests connection with ἰά, ἰή 'crying', as do the expressions βοὴν ἀγαθός and ὑλακό-μωροι (κύνες ξ 29, π 4). The sense of the second member has also been unknown since antiquity; cf. Leumann 1950: 37 and 272[18]. On the second member, which derives from **moh₁-ro-* 'great', see ►ἐγχεσίμωρος.

ἴον [n.] 'violet' (Hom., Thphr.). ◁LW Medit.▷

•COMP Determinative compound λευκό-ϊον = ἴον λευκόν 'stock, gillyflower' (Thphr.; Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257); often as a first member, e.g. ἰο-ειδής 'violet-colored' (Il.; of πόντος), ἰο-στέφανος 'crowned with violets' (*h. Hom.* 6, 18, Pi., Thgn.), ἰό-κολπος 'with violet bossom' (Sapph.; Treu 1955: 171); on ἰο-δνεφής see ►δνόφος; on ►ἰάνθινος s.v.

•DER ἰόεις 'violet-colored' = 'deep blue' (σίδηρος Ψ 850, θάλασσα Nic.); ἰωνιά 'violet-bed', also a plant name (Thphr.), after ῥοδων-ιά, θημων-ιά (Scheller 1951: 70f.); ἰοντῖτις [f.] plant name = ἀριστολόχεια (Dsc.; after κληματῖτις?, Redard 1949: 72).

•ETYM The gloss γία (for ϝία)· ἄνθη 'flowers' (H.) and the epic metrics confirm the initial ϝ- and the connection with Lat. *viola*. Both probably come from a Mediterranean language; see WH s.v.

ἴονθος [m.] 'young, downy hair', usually 'eruption on the face which accompanies the first growth of the beard' (Hp., Arist., Phld.). ◁IE? **ui-uond^h-o-* 'facial hair'▷

•DER ἰονθώδης 'like ἴ.' (Thphr., Gal.) and ἰονθάς [f.] 'hairy, beard-like', of αἴξ 'goat' (ξ 50; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 354).

•ETYM May belong to a word for 'hair', etc., which appears in Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic: MIr. *find* 'hair', OHG *wint-brāwa* 'eyelash' < IE **uend^h-o-;* with a different formation, MIr. *fēs* 'hair', OPr. *wanso* [f.] 'the first beard', CS *ǫsъ* 'moustache' (IE **uend^h-s-o-* or **uond^h-s-o-*). The Greek word would have to represent a reduplicated formation *ϝί-ϝονθος. The words have been interpreted as verbal nouns of IE **uend^h-* 'to wind'. For the meaning, cf. ►ἴουλος within Greek.

ἴορκος 'roe, gazelle'. ⇒δορκάς.

ἰός 1 'one and the same'. ⇒ἴα.

ἰός 2 [m.] 'arrow' (Il.), see Trümpy 1950: 67. ◁IE **(H)isu-* 'arrow'▷
•VAR Plur. ἰοί, also ἰά (Y 68).
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰο-δόκος 'receiving arrows', of φαρέτρη (Hom.), -η [f.] 'quiver' (A. R.); on ►ἰοχέαιρα s.v.
•ETYM Compared with Skt. *íṣu-* [f., m.], Av. *išu-* 'arrow' < **(H)isu-;* Greek ἰός < **ihwo-* must be a thematization of this word. Meier-Brügger *MSS* 49 (1988): 75-77 thinks that ἰά is the ntr.pl. of PGr. **ihu*, and that ἰός is a secondarily thematicized singular derived from it.

ἰός 3 [m.] 'poison' (Pi., trag., Plu.). ◁IE **uiso-* 'fluidity, slime, poison'▷
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰο-βόρος 'eating poison' (Nic., Opp.).
•DER ἰώδης 'poisonous' (imperial period).
•ETYM Old word for 'poison', replaced in many languages by other (and in most cases euphemistic) expressions, like Gr. φάρμακον, Lat. *venēnum*, German *gift*, French *poison*, etc. Besides Greek, the word is still present in Tocharian, Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic: ToA *wäs*, ToB *wase* 'poison, venom' < **uisó-*, Skt. *viṣá-* [n.], Av. *vīša-*, Lat. *vīrus* [n.], MIr. *fí* < IE **uīso-*. Tocharian and Skt. clearly point to a reconstruction **uiso-;* the length in Latin, Irish and Greek should then be explained as secondary. Matasović 2008 s.v. **wisu-* assumes an old root noun nom. **ueis*, gen. **uis-os*, which was levelled in various ways in the daughter languages. This could explain the occurrence of athematic forms like Av. *viš-* 'id.'. Szemerényi 1989: 91 argues that ἰός underwent secondary lengthening in hiatus, whereas De Vaan *apud* Matasović 2008 suggests a secondary formation **u̯is-i̯o-*. Forms with deviating meaning are perhaps found in Skt. *viṣ-* 'faeces', Lat. *vīrus* in the meaning 'viscous liquid, slime, sap', W *gwyar* 'blood'. For this reason, the present entry has been identified with ►ἰός 4.

ἰός 4 [m.] 'rust' on iron, 'verdigris' on copper, bronze (Thgn., Hp., Pl., Theoc., *SIG* 284, 15 [Chios IV^a]). ◁?▷
•DER ἰώδης 'rust-colored' (Hp., Thphr.).
•ETYM Given the varying meaning of IE **uis(o)-* (see on ►ἰός 3), the present word has been identified with it. It could be due to different technical uses.

ἰότης [f.] 'will, decision' vel sim. (Hom), in θεῶν ἰότητι, etc. On the use in Homer see Krarup *Class. et Med.* 10 (1949): 13. ◁IE? **h₂eis-* 'wish'▷
•VAR Only dat. ἰότητι (Hom., A. R.); ἰότατι (Alc. ᾱ 309 LP, A. *Pr.* 558 [lyr.]), except for ἰότητα O 41.
•ETYM Etymology uncertain. There are two hypotheses: 1) related to Skt. *iṣ-* 'to wish' (pres. *iccháti*), either from **h₂iso-teh₂t-* or **h₂isto-teh₂t-* from the ptc. **h₂istó-* = Skt. *iṣṭá-* 'wished' (Chantraine 1933: 294); 2) to ἴεμαι 'to hasten, desire', in which case we would have to posit **ϝιό-της* (or, with haplological shortening, **ϝιοτό-της* from **ϝίοτος* 'wishing' = Lat. *(in-)vītus*, for which see on ►ἴεμαι). However, ἴεμαι has a long ῑ-. Improbable suggestion by Leumann 1950: 127ff., who explains ἰότητι as from

a false split of διιοτῆτι (-τος) 'enmity' into δῆ ἰότητι, -τος. The Boeot. PN Θειοϝίοτος strongly speaks in favor of original *ϝιότητι.

ἴουλος [m.] 'down, first growth of the beard, etc.; corn sheaf; catkin'; also name of a centipede-like worm (λ 319, A. *Th.* 534, Arist., Thphr.). ◂IE **uel-* 'turn, wind'▸
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰουλό-πεζος "with feet like an ἴουλος", also of a ship, i.e. 'with many rowers' (Lyc. 23).
•DER ἰουλίς [f.] fishname 'Coris iulis' (Arist.), because it resembles a centipede (Strömberg 1943: 125; also Thompson 1947 s.v.), also called ἴουλος (Eratosth.); Ἰουλώ [f.] "goddess of the corn sheaf", i.e. Demeter (Semus 19); thence the back-formation ἴουλος 'song for Demeter' (ibid., Eratosth.), also καλλίουλος (for καλλι-ίουλος, Semus); ἰουλώδης 'like a centipede' (Arist.); denominative verb ἰουλίζω 'get down' (Tryph.).
•ETYM From reduplicated *ϝί-ϝολνος (cf. ►ἴονθος), related to οὖλος 'woolly, fuzzy' and ►εἰλέω 2 (< *ϝελνέω) 'turn, wind'.

ἰοχέαιρα [adj.] epithet of Artemis, also used as a substantive (Hom.; Pi. *P.* 2, 9 [with shortening of the ι-], poet. inscr.), also of the φαρέτρα (*AP* 6, 9); also name of the viper (Nic. *Fr.* 33). ◂IE **Hisu-* 'arrow' and **ǵʰesr-* 'hand'▸
•ETYM Since antiquity, this epithet has often been explained as 'shaking out arrows, she who shoots arrows', from ἰός 'arrow' and χέω 'to pour', by comparison with δούρατ' ἔχευαν Ε 618. However, Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 7 (1956): 275ff. more convincingly derived it from ἰός and χείρ as 'who has arrows in her hand'; this is supported by Skt. formations like *íṣu-hasta-* 'who holds an arrow in the hand', *śūla-hasta-* 'holding a lance in the hand'. See also R. Schmitt 1967: 177ff., Hagen *Glotta* 76 (1998): 53-58, and especially Peters 1980a: 223-228 with an extensive discussion.

ἴπνη [f.] name of a bird (Boios *apud* Ant. Lib. 21, 6). ◂?▸
•DER Also ἴππα (or rather * ἴπτα, with Vossius, because of the alphabetical order), ἴττα· δρυοκόλαψ, ἐθνικῶς 'woodpecker (dialectal)' (H.).
•ETYM The form ἴττα recalls ►σίττη; further unclear. Cf. Solmsen 1909: 173[2].

ἰπνόν [n.] = ἵππουρις (Thphr. *HP* 4, 10, 1), a plant. ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

ἰπνός [m.] 'furnace', also 'kitchen' and 'lantern' (IA). ◂IE? **sp-nó-*, **sep-* 'boil, bake'▸
•DIAL Myc. *i-po-no.*
•COMP ἰπνο-πλάθος 'oven-maker' (Pl.), Ἔφ-ιπνος· Ζεὺς ἐν Χίῳ 'Zeus in Chios' (H.).
•DER Diminutive ἰπνίον (medic.); ἰπνών (Delos III[3]), ἰπνιών (Gortyn) 'kitchen'; ἰπνίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked in an oven' (Hp.); ἴπνιος 'belonging to an oven', ἴπνια· τὰ καθάρματα τοῦ ἰπνοῦ 'the offscourings from an oven' (H.) (Call. *Fr.* 216); ἰπνεύω [v.] 'to bake in an oven' (H.; ιιπνε[ύεσθαι] *IG* 1[2], 4: 15) together with ἰπνευτής· *furnarius (gloss.).*
•ETYM The form ἰπνός may have developed from *ἴπνός (cf. Ἔφ-ιπνος and ιιπνε[ύεσθαι] *IG* 1[2], 4: 15). It has been compared with a synonymous West Germanic word: OE *ofen*, OHG *ovan* 'oven', also ON *ofn*, from PGm. **ofna-* < **úfna-*. However, these words cannot be combined because of the vocalism (and the Greek

aspiration). The same holds true for the forms with velar: Go. *auhns*, OSw. *oghn*, from PGm. **oχna-*, **oʒna-* < **úχna-*, **uʒná-*. Neither is there any possibility to connect it with Skt. *ukhá-* [m.], *ukhā́* [f.] 'pot, cooking-pot'. A new proposal, which seems the most promising to date, has been advanced by Vine 1999a: 5-30: derivation from the root **sep-* of ἔψω as **s°p-no-*, with a secondary zero-grade yielding -ι-. The formation, an adjective in *-nó-* with active sense, must be old.

ἵπος [f., n.] 'press', of a fuller, or for medical purposes; 'weight (in a mouse-trap, etc.)' (Pi., Archil., Hp., Ar.). ◁?▷

•VAR The primary aorist ἴψασθαι, with fut. ἴψεται (A 454 = Π 237, B 193), rather means 'to squeeze, oppress' than 'to damage' (φθεῖραι, βλάψαι H.); pres. ἴπτω = βλάπτω only *EM* 481, 3.

•DER Denominative verb ἱπόω 'to press' (Hdt., Hp., A.), also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-; ἵπωσις 'pressing, pressure' (Hp.), ἱπωτήριον 'oil-press, wine-press' (pap.), 'bougie' (medic.), ἱπωτρίς 'pressing' (σπάθη, medic.), ἐξιπωτικός 'pressing out' (Gal.).

•ETYM Unexplained. One could compare ἰψών· δεσμωτήριον 'prison' (H.).

ἵππος [m., f.] 'horse, mare' (Il.), collective fem. 'cavalry' (IA). ◁IE **h₁ék̑uo-* 'horse'▷

•DIAL Myc. *i-qo* /hikkʷos/, *i-qi-ja* /hikkʷia/ 'chariot'.

•COMP Very frequent in compounds: bahuvrīhis (λεύκ-ιππος), governing compounds (ἱππό-δαμ-ος, ἱππ-ηλά-της), determinative compounds (ἱππο-τοξότης), compounds with transformed second member (ἱππο-πόταμος, ἵππ-αγρος for ἵππος ποτάμιος, ἄγριος, see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 287; on ἱππο-κορυστής see ▶κόρυς); with metrically conditioned ἱππιο- for ἱππο- in ἱππιο-χαίτης, -χάρμης (epic). As a first member also augmentative, especially in plant-names (ἱππο-λάπαθον et al., Strömberg 1940: 30).

•DER A. Substantives: diminutive ἱππάριον (X.), ἱππίσκος '(small) statue of a horse' (Samos IV[a]), etc., ἱππίδιον as a fishname (Epich.; Strömberg 1943: 100). ἱππότης [m.] 'horseman, chariot driver' (Il.; in Homer always ἱππότᾰ), fem. ἱππότις (Nonn.); ἱππεύς 'chariot fighter' (Il.), 'horseman' (Sapph., A., Hdt.), 'knight' as a social class (Hdt., Ar., Arist.); thence ἱππεύω, see below; also as a name of a comet like ἱππίας (Plin., Apul.; Scherer 1953: 107); ἱππών 'stable' (Att. inscr., X.); ἱππάκη 'cheese of mare-milk' (Hp.), also a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 136; formation like ἐριθάκη, ἀλωνάκη et al.); ἵππερος "horse-fever" (Ar., like ἵκτερος, ὕδερος); ἱπποσύνη 'art of driving, cavalry' (Il.).

B. Adjectives: ἱππάς [f.] 'belonging to a horse, status and census of the knights in Athens' (Hp., Arist.); ἵππειος 'belonging to a horse' (Il.); ἵππιος 'id.' (Alc., Pi., trag.), often as an epithet of gods (Poseidon, Athena, etc.); thence Ἱππιών as a month name (Eretria); ἱππικός 'id.' (IA; Chantraine 1956a: 141); ἱππώδης 'horse-like' (X.).

C. Verbs: 1. ἱππάζομαι (also with ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, etc.) 'drive horses, serve as a riding-horse' (Il.) together with ἱππασία, ἱππάσιμος, ἱππαστήρ, -άστρια, ἱππαστής, -αστικός, ἵππασμα, ἱππασμός. 2. ἱππεύω 'id.' (IA), originally from ἱππεύς, but also referring to ἵππος; also with prefix, e.g. ἀφ-, καθ-, παρ-, συν-; thence ἱππευτήρ, -τής, ἱππεία, ἵππευσις, ἵππευμα; details in Boßhardt 1942: 34f. Countless proper names, both full and short names (Ἱππόλυτος, Ἱππίας, Ἵππη, etc., etc.). See Delebecque 1951.

•ETYM Derives from the inherited word for 'horse', represented in Skt. *áśva-*, Av. *aspa-*, Lat. *equus*, Venet. *ekvon* [acc.], OIr. *ech*, OE *eoh*, OLith. *ešva* 'mare', ToB *yakwe*, as well as perhaps the Thracian PN Βετεσπιος and Arm. *ēš* 'donkey'. All these forms derive from IE **h₁eḱuo-*. According to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. **ekku-*, the Anatolian evidence (Hitt. phonetic complements in *-us*, *-un*, HLuw. *aśu-*, Lyc. *esb-*) points to an athematic stem **h₁eḱu-*. This form must have been thematicized in PIE to **h₁eḱuo-* after the separation of Anatolian. From this form, we expect an outcome Gr. **ἔπποϛ*, so one problem is the vocalism ἰ-, for which Mycenaean origin has been suggested. A second problem is the initial aspiration. Connection with ὠκύς cannot be demonstrated. A form with geminate velar is found in ἴκκος (*EM* 474, 12), Ἴκκος PN (Tarent., Epid.); see Lejeune 1972: 83¹. A recent discussion of the origin of the type ἱππεύς is found in De Vaan *JIES* 37 (2009).

ἵπταμαι 'fly'. ⇒πέτομαι.

***ἵπτομαι** 'press'. ⇒ἵπος.

ἴρην •VAR ἰρήν. ⇒εἰρήν.

ἶρις, -ιδος [f.] 'rainbow' (Il.), also of the halo of the moon, etc. (Arist., Thphr., Gal.), as a plant name 'purple Iris', etc. (Arist., Thphr.), see Strömberg 1940: 49; also name of a stone (Plin.). As a PN Ἶρις, -ιδος, -ιν daughter of Thaumas and Elektra, messenger of the gods (Il., Hes.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Acc. -ιδα, -ιν.

•DER ἴριν̄ος (com., Thphr., Plb.), -εος (Nic.) 'made of the Iris'; ἰρώδης 'like a rainbow' (Arist.), ἰρῖτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin.), see Redard 1949: 55; denominative ἰρίζω [v.] 'to be iridescent' (*PHolm.* 7, 6).

•ETYM Evidence for the original form ϝῖρις comes both from an inscription from Corinth and from the epic metrics (see Chantraine 1942: 152).

The name of the goddess is no doubt identical with the appellative. This appellative has been derived from the root **ueh₁i-* 'bend', which is also seen in ▶ἰτέα and ▶ἴτυς; a suffix *-r-* is also seen in the Germanic group of OE *wīr*, ON *vírr* 'metallic wire, twisted ornament' (Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 354).

Fur.: 356 compares ἔριδας· τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴριδας (H.), and concludes to Pre-Greek origin; does Εἶρις (formerly explained as Ἔ-ϝῖρις with prothetic vowel, which is impossible for an IE word) point to the same? Against the traditional etymology, it must be said that a pre-form PIE **uh₁i-r-i-* is hard to motivate.

ἶς 1 [f.] 'power, strength' (Hom., Hes.). ◁IE **uiH-* 'strength'▷

•VAR Accus. ἶν(α) (3 times, only before vowel, see below), instr. ἴφι.

•DER ἴφι-ος 'strong' (ἴφια μῆλα Hom., D. P.) with PNs like ϝιφιάδας, ϝίφιτος (Boeot., Cor.), Ἴφις (I 667, etc.; pet name); ▶ἴφθιμος does not belong here.

•ETYM The gloss γίς (= ϝίς)· … ἰσχύς (H.) confirms the identity of (ϝ)ίς 'strength' with Lat. *vīs* 'id.'; the expected accus. (ϝ)ῖν = Lat. *vim* can be restored from ἶν', which is always antevocalic.

ἶς [f.] 'sinew, tendon' (Hom., Hp., Archil., Ar.), 'tendon of the neck' (P 522), 'muscle fibres, fibrin, fibre of plants, ribs of leaves' (Pl., Arist., Thphr.); details on the botanical usage in Strömberg 1937: 129ff. ◁IE? **uiH-* 'tensile force'▷

•VAR Gen. ἰνός; mostly plur. ἶνες, dat. ἶνεσι, late ἰσίν, ἴναις.

•COMP ἄ-, πολύ-ῑνος 'without, with many ἶνες', etc. (Thphr.).

•DER ἰνίον [n.] 'the tendons at the back of the head, the neck' (Il., Hp., Arist.), cf. κρανίον, and see Chantraine 1933: 59; ἰνώδης 'sinewy, fibrous' (X., Arist., Thphr.); probably also ἰναία· δύναμις 'power, capacity' (H., uncertain conj. *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 46); denominative verbs: ἰνόω 'to provide with ἶνες, stengthen' (Hdn.), ἐξ-ινόω 'remove the ἶνες, make powerless' (Lyc.), also ἐξ-ινίζω, -ινιάζω (Gal., *Peripl. M. Rubr.* et al.).

•ETYM It is debatable whether ἶς 'sinew' (which seems to have had initial ϝ-) is a concretization of ἶς 'strength', or if it was originally a separate word. We may compare the meaning 'tensile force' in Skt. *váyas-*, which also means 'power, etc.'. It is mostly assumed that the *n*-stem inflexion ἶνα, ἶνες, etc. arose from an accus. (ϝ)ῖνα, with -α added like in Ζῆν-α. This is quite possible. Scheftelowitz *IF* 33 (1913/1914): 158f. assumed an independent word (ϝ)ἶς, (ϝ)ῖνός 'sinew' (cf. γίς· ἱμάς 'strap' H.) from a verb 'bow, bend', seen in ▶ἴτυς, ▶Ἶρις.

ἴσᾱμι [v.] 'I know'. ◁GR▷

•VAR Inf. ϝισάμην (Gortyn).

•ETYM A Doric innovation (Theoc., Cret., etc.) starting from the 3pl. ἴσαντι = Att. ἴσασι, based on ἴσταντι : ἵστᾱμι. Rejected by Floyd *KZ* 90 (1976): 166-177.

ἰσάτις [f.] name of a blue-coloring plant, 'woad, Isatis tinctoria' (Hp., Thphr., Samos IV[a]). ◁?▷

•VAR Gen. -ιδος, -ιος, -εως.

•DER ἰσατώδης 'woad-like' (Hp., Aret.).

•ETYM Lat. *vitrum* 'id.' and OHG *weit*, OE *wād* 'woad' have been adduced, as well as MLat. *waisda* (Prellwitz 1905 s.v.); these seem too far off, but perhaps all these words are loans from a common source. The plant was probably named for its glass-like color (see De Vaan 2008 s.v. *vitrum*).

ἰσθμός [m.] 'small entry, spit of land, strait of earth or sea, neck', especially as a TN of the strait of Corinth (IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also fem., after ἡ ὁδός, etc. (cf. Schwyzer 1950: 34[2]).

•COMP As a second member with a suffix -ιο- in the hypostasis παρ-ίσθμια [n.pl., sg.] 'fauces, tonsils' (Hp., Arist.).

•DER Ἴσθμιος 'belonging to the Isthmos' (Pi., trag.), τὸ Ἴσθμιον 'collar' (σ 300), τὰ ἴσθμια 'fauces' (Hp.); ἴσθμιον also metaph. from the neck of a flask (Cypr. word in Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 472e; different Leumann 1950: 271); τὰ Ἴσθμια name of the Corinthian games (Pi., Simon., Ar.) together with Ἰσθμιο-νίκης, -νικος 'winner at these games' (B.), Ἰσθμιασταί 'spectators of the games' (title of a play of A.; like Ἀπολλωνιασταί, etc., Chantraine 1933: 317); ἰσθμιάζω (Suid., H.), also Ἰσθμιᾶται (Delos II[a]); ἰσθμικός, -ιακός 'belonging to the Isthmos, the Isthmian games' (Ar.,

Str.), ἰσθμώδης 'isthmos-like' (Th.). Denominative ἰσθμαίνω = ἀσθμαίνω, with ἴσθμα = ἄσθμα 'panting' (H.), arose as a cross of ἰσθμός with ἀσθμαίνω.

•ETYM Derivation from εἶμι 'go' with a suffix -θμο- has been assumed, by comparison with the by-forms Ἴθμός, Ἰθμο-νίκα (inscr.) and ἴ-θμα, εἰσ-ί-θμη. In derivatives of this root, the meaning 'strait' is also found in ON *eið* [n.] 'strait of land', from IE **Hoi-d^{h}o-* (or **Hoi-to-*). However, the -σ- is unexplained, and as a basic form **Hid^h-d^{h}mo-* cannot be accounted for. Chantraine 1933: 137 therefore assumes adaptation of a local loan; likewise, Fur.: 294[9].

ἰσίκιον [n.] 'a dish of mince-meat' (Ath. 376 b, pap.). ◂LW Lat.▸

•DER ἴσικος 'id.' (Alex. Aphr., *Pr.* 1, 22), ἰσικιάριος and ἰσικιομάγειρος 'butcher'.

•ETYM From Lat. *insicium*

ἴσκαι [f.pl.] 'fungus growing on oaks and walnut-trees (Aet. 7, 91, Paul. Aeg. 6, 49). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR ὕσκαι, uncertain reading Aet. 7, 91.

•ETYM Unknown. If the variant is reliable (Fur.: 367), it would point to a Pre-Greek word.

ἴσκλαι 'sheep-skin'. ➡ἴξαλος.

ἴσκω [v.] 'to make like, imitate, think like, interchange' (Hom.), also 'to imitate, feign' (τ 203 with λέγων; cf. Lat. *simulāre*), 'to suppose by mistake' (χ 31, after τ 203); thence 'to suppose' (Simon. 130). In Alexandrian poets (where also 1sg. ἴσκον, ptc. ἴσκων) 'to speak, say' (Theoc., A. R., Lyc.). ◂IE **ueik-* 'resemble'▸

•VAR Only 3sg. ipf. ἴσκε(ν) and ptc. ἴσκοντες, ἴσκουσα.

•ETYM Probably from **ϝίκ-σκ-ω; see on ►ἔοικα, as well as Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Chantraine 1942: 317.

ἴσος [adj.] 'equal' in number, strength, size, status, etc. (Il.). ◂IE? **ueid-* 'see, know'▸

•VAR Epic ἶσος, fem. ἐΐση (see below), Arc. Cret. Boeot. ϝίσϝος (H. γίσγον· ἴσον).

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ἰσό-θεος 'god-like' (Il.), hypostasis of ἴσος θεῷ or a bahuvrīhi 'having gods as equals' (Risch 1937: 186; cf. Sommer *IF* 55 (1937): 195[2]), ἰσό-πεδον 'plain' (Il.), ἰσό-πεδος 'of the same level, as high as' (Hdt., Hp.; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 15), ἰσ-ηγορίη, -ία 'equal right to speak, political equality' (IA; a compound of ἴσον ἀγορᾶσθαι); on ►ἰσοφαρίζω s.v. As a second member e.g. in ἄ(ν)-ισος 'unequal, unfair' (IA).

•DER ἰσότης 'equality' (Pl., Arist.), ἰσάκις 'as often' (Pl.), ἰσαχῶς 'in as many ways' (Arist.); denominative verbs: ἰσάζω 'make, be equal' (Il.) with ἰσασμός (Epicur.) and ἰσαστικός (Eust.); ἰσόομαι, -όω 'to become (make) equal' (since η 212); ἰσαίομαι 'to be (made) equal' (Nic., Arat.).

•ETYM Formally, ϝίσϝος > epic ἶσος (on the digamma, cf. Chantraine 1942: 144; the apparent prothetic vowel in ἐ-(ϝ)ίση is artificial; Beekes 1969: 65f.), Att. ἴσος. The development corresponds to that in *μόνϝος > epic μοῦνος, Att. μόνος, and *ὅλϝος > epic οὖλος, Att. ὅλος, etc.

As IE *-*su̯*- was not retained in Greek, the comparison with Skt. *viṣu-* 'to several sides' must be given up. Phonetically, a basic form **u̯it^{s}u̯o-* would do, but the

morphological connection to a zero grade *ϝιδσ- from εἶδος 'shape' (thus Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 205) is hypothetical. An ingenious but probably incorrect analysis as δύω 'two' + thematization of a suffix -τυ- by Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 12f. Extensive discussion by Ruijgh *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 533-544.

ἰσοφαρίζω [v.] 'to match oneself against, measure oneself with' (Il., Hes., Simon., Theoc.); 'to make equal' (Nic. *Th.* 572). ◂GR▸
•VAR Only present.
•ETYM With comparable meaning, there is also ἀντιφερίζω 'to oppose somebody' (Il.), after ἀντι-φέρω. The word αὐτοφαρίζειν· αὐτομιατεῖν 'to act spontaneously' (H.) arose after the example of ἰσοφαρίζω. This probably stands for *ἰσοφορίζω = ἴσα φέρειν, from hypothetical *ἰσο-φόρος, but the α-vocalism is unclear. Perhaps after an unknown example (type ἰσοβαρής)? However, note that the α is also found in φαρέτρα.

ἴσσασθαι · κληροῦσθαι 'to be appointed by lot' (H.).
•ETYM See Bechtel 1921, 1: 120 and Luther 1935: 70. See ▸αἶσα.

ἱστάνω [v.] 'to arise, acquire'. ◂GR▸
•VAR Hell. present for ἵστημι (Plb., pap., inscr.), formed to the inf. ἱστάναι.
•ETYM A parallel case is that of Cret. στανύω 'install' (πόλιν στανυέσθων *SGDI* 5040, 66), which has been compared with Av. *fra-stanuuanti* 'they gain an advantage'. In reality, the Cypr. form is rather a thematic enlargement of a primary present of the type αἴνυμαι, probably after τανύω et al. See Schwyzer: 696f., 698f.

ἵστημι [v.] 'to make stand, set up, take position, bring to a standstill, etc.' (Il.). ◂IE *$steh_2$- 'stand, set'▸
•VAR Med. ἵσταμαι 'to stand up, etc.', aor. στῆσαι, στήσασθαι, fut. στήσω, aor. pass. σταθῆναι (Od.), fut. σταθήσομαι (Att.); intr. aor. στῆναι with fut. στήσομαι 'take a stand, arise', perf. ἕστηκα 'to stand'.
•DIAL Dor. ἵστᾱμι
•COMP Very often with prefix, ἀνα-, κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐξ-, μετα-, etc.
•DER Several (partly inherited) derivations are ▸ἱστός, ▸σταθμός, ▸σταμῖνες, ▸στάσις, ▸στατήρ, ▸στήλη, ▸στήμων, ▸στοά, etc. See also ▸στάμινος, ▸σταυρός.
•ETYM The intr. athem. root aorist ἔστην neatly corresponds to Skt. *ásthām* < PIE *h_1é-$steh_2$-m*. Beside this, Greek innovated (already in Hom.) a transitive *s*-aorist ἔστησα, like ἔφῡσα beside ἔφῡν, etc. The intr. future στήσομαι was originally built from ἔστην, but became associated with the *s*-aorist later. Also, the trans. reduplicated athematic present ἵστημι is limited to Greek; one may compare τίθημι, ἵημι, βίβημι. Both Indo-Iranian and Italo-Celtic have *thematic* formations: Skt. *tíṣṭhati* 'stands', Lat. *sistit* (both < *-sth_2-e-ti*). The intr. perf. ἕστηκα, plur. ἕστᾶμεν is old (leaving aside the enlargment in -κ-), and together with Skt. *tasthāú*, plur. *tasthimá*, Lat. *stetimus* it continues an IE perfect formation. The verbal adjective στατός (Il.), also in Skt. *sthitá-* 'standing', Lat. *status*, ON *staðr*, etc. < PIE *sth_2-to-* is old as well. For more different IE formations, see LIV² s.v. *$steh_2$-. See also ▸ἱστάνω.

ἱστία 'hearth'. •VAR Ion. -ίη. ⇒ἑστία.

ἱστός [m.] 'beam (of a loom), loom, tissue; mast' (Il.). ◂IE **steh₂-* 'stand, set'▸

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ἱστο-δόκη 'support of the mast' for the mast when let down (A 434), ἱστο-πέδη 'hole in the keel for stepping the mast' (μ 51 = 162, Alc. Z 2, 6); cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 26; ἱστο-βοεύς 'pole, thill' (Hes. *Op.* 431, 435, A. R. 3, 1318 and Orac. *apud* Paus. 9, 37, 4), metrical enlargement of *ἱστό-βοος = ἱστὸς βόειος, βοῶν (cf. ἱππο-πόταμος) after the instrument names in -ευς; also ἱστο-βόη (*AP* 6, 104, after -δόκη, etc.).

•DER ἱστίον, mostly plur. -ία 'sail' (Il.), also 'curtain' (LXX), 'piece' as a measure (pap.).

•ETYM Formation like φορτίον 'load, wares' et al. (Chantraine 1933: 59). Belongs to ἵσταμαι (or a lost present of the type Lat. *si-st-ō*) as "stand"; originally used for the (standing) beam of the loom; cf. Chantraine 1928: 14 and Hermann *Gött. Nachr.* (1943): 7. See also ▸ἵστημι, ▸στήμων.

ἵστωρ, -ορος [m.] 'knowing, expert' (*h. Hom.* 32, 2, Heraclit., B., S.), 'witness' (Hp., Boeot. inscr., Att. oath for ephebes in Poll. 8, 106), in unclear mg. Σ 501, Ψ 486 ('witness' or 'arbiter'?), also Hes. *Op.* 702. ◂IE **ueid-* 'see, know', **uid-tor-*▸

•DIAL Boeot. ϝίστωρ.

•COMP With prefix in συν-ίστωρ 'witness, conscious' (to σύν-οιδα; trag., Th., Plb.) with συνιστορέω 'to be conscious of a matter' (Hell.); ἐπι-ίστωρ 'knowing something, familiar with' (φ 26, A. R., *AP* et al.), ὑπερ-ίσ-τωρ 'knowing all too well' (S. *El.* 850 [lyr.], momentary formation); ἀ-ϊστωρ 'unknowing' (Pl. *Lg.* 845b, E. *Andr.* 682), πολυ-ϊστωρ 'polyhistor' (D. H., Str.), φιλ-ίστωρ 'who loves knowledge' together with φιλιστορέω (Str., Vett. Val.).

•DER ἱστόριον 'testimony' (Hp.), ἱστορία (see below). Denominative verb ἱστορέω (also with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἐξ-) 'be witness or expert, give testimony, recount, get testimony, find out, search' (Ion., trag., Arist., Hell.) together with ἱστόρημα 'account' (D. H.); usually ἱστορία, -ίη 'knowledge, account, (historical) account, history, search, investigation' (IA, Hell.), which formally derives from ἵστωρ, but was functionally associated with ἱστορέω. Adjective ἱστορικός 'regarding ἱστορία or ἱστορεῖν, historical' (Pl., Arist., Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1956a: 134-136).

•ETYM From **u̯id-tōr*, an agent noun of οἶδα, ἴσμεν. The word itself, but especially the derivations ἱστορέω, ἱστορίη that arose in Ionic, have spread over the Hellenic and Hellenistic world together with Ionic science and philosophy. The aspiration is probably not original; explanation in Schwyzer: 226 and 306. Unsuccessful attempt by Floyd *Glotta* 68 (1990): 157-166 to derive the word from ἵζω 'sit, seat' as 'convenor'. On the history of the concepts ἵστωρ, ἱστορέω, ἱστορίη, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 93f., Fraenkel 1910: 218f., Snell 1924: 59ff., Keuck 1934, Frenkian *REIE* 1 (1938): 468ff., Leumann 1950: 277f., Muller *Mnem.* 54 (1926): 235ff., and Louis *RPh.* 81 (1955): 39ff. See ▸οἶδα.

ἰσχίον [n.] 'hip-joint, haunches' (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸

•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἐξ-ίσχιος 'standing out from the haunch' (Hp.), εὐ-ίσχιος 'with beautiful hips' (Hell. poetry).

•DER Diminutive ἰσχάριον (Hero); ἰσχιακός 'belonging to the hip' (Thphr.); ἰσχιάς, -άδος [f.] (scil. νόσος) 'pain in the hip' (Hp.) with ἰσχιαδικός (medic.), as a plant-name = λευκάκανθα (Dsc., as a remedy against ἰσχιάς, Strömberg 1937: 194); ἰσχίᾱσις = ἰσχιάς (medic.; as if from *ἰσχιάω, see Schwyzer: 505 and 732); denominative verb ἰσχιάζω (ἰσχιάδδειν H.; Lacon.) 'bend the hip-joint' (Procop., Suid., Phot., H.; uncertain Gal. 18 [1] 786).

•ETYM No etymology. If ἴσχι· ὀσφύς 'loins' (H.) is correct, the formation corresponds to that of ἄλφι and μέλι. Skt. names for body parts like *sákthi* 'thigh-bone' (which is unrelated to ἰσχίον) and *ásthi* 'bone' seem to have a similar formation, but these probably have *-i* < *-*H*. Latte thinks that ἴσχι is simply a mistake for ἰσχίον. Fur.: 393 connects it with ἰξῦς, which seems quite possible if one assumes consonant metathesis in ἰσχίον. One might assume a Pre-Greek pre-form **ikt^{w}-*; cf. on ▸ἴξαλος. Pre-Greek had several words ending in -ι, which is very rare in inherited Greek (*Pre-Greek*: 3.1b).

ἰσχνός [adj.] 'dry, arid, languishing, lean' (IA). ◂?▸

•COMP E.g. ἰσχνό-φωνος 'with dry (weak) voice' (Hdt., Hp., Arist.), often connected with ἴσχω (v.l. ἰσχό-φωνος; cf. below on ἰσχναίνω) and understood as 'having an impediment in one's speech'; ἔν-ισχνος 'a little dry' (Nic. *Al.* 147; cf. Strömberg 1946: 128).

•DER ἰσχνότης 'dryness, etc.' (Hp., Arist.); denominative verbs: 1. ἰσχναίνω (also with prefixes like κατ-, ἀπ-) 'dry up, make lean' (IA) with ἰσχνασία, -ίη 'dried up state, leanness' (Hp., Arist.), ἰσχνασμός (Hp.), ἴσχνανσις (Paul. Aeg.) 'emaciation', ἰσχναντικός 'fit for reducing' (Arist.); 2. ἰσχνόομαι 'to get dry', -όω 'to make dry', also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, etc. (Hp., Arist.), together with ἴσχνωσις, -ωτικός (medic., etc.). Further ἰσχαλέος 'dry, barren' (τ 233, Man.) and ἰσχάς, -άδος [f.] 'dried fig' (com., Arist.) with derivatives ἰσχαδο-πώλης, ἰσχάδιον, etc. (com.).

•ETYM The pair ἰσχνός, ἰσχαλέος does not show an old interchange ν : λ (which is no IE category, though it does have a parallel in σμερδνός : σμερδαλέος). One might have expected a verb ἰσχαίνω (cf. κερδαλέος : κερδαίνω), which incidentally is often found as a v.l., but this may also be a cross with ἰσχάνω 'to hold back'. A cognate *u*-stem has been assumed in Av. *hišku-*, MIr. *sesc* 'dry', IE **si-sk-u-(o-)*. These are derived from a root **sek-* 'wither' (see Pok. 894). For ἰσχνός, an *ad hoc* base form **si-sk-sno-* has been assumed (Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 475). The derivational basis for ἰσχάς is unclear; given οἰνάς, κοτινάς, φυτάς, μυρτάς, etc., one would expect a noun.

ἰσχῦς, -ύος [f.] 'power, strength, might' (Hes.). ◂PG?▸

•COMP Compound ἄν-ισχυς 'powerless' (LXX). As a first member e.g. ἰσχυρο-ποιέω 'strengthen, fortify' (Plb.), as a second member in ἀν-ίσχυρος 'powerless' (Hp., Str.), ὑπερ-ίσχυρος 'extremely strong' (X., Arist.).

•DER Denominative verb ἰσχύω, aor. ἰσχῦσαι (also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐξ-, κατ-, ὑπερ-) 'have power, be strong' (Pi., Hp., Att.) together with ἴσχυσις (LXX).

Adjective ἰσχῡρός 'powerful, strong, mighty, vehement' (IA); thence ἰσχυρικός 'strong' (Pl. *Tht.* 169b), see Chantraine 1956a: 147, with denominatives: 1. ἰσχυρίζομαι

'to prove one's strength, exert oneself, proclaim emphatically, etc.' (Heraclit., Att.), also with prefixes like δι-, ἀπ-, ἀντ-, together with the desiderative ἰσχυρι-είω 'to venture to affirm' (Hp.); 2. κατ-ισχυρεύομαι 'to be violent' (Aq.).
PN Ἰσχύλος (inscr.).
•ETYM The glosses (Lacon.) βίσχυν, γισχύν· ἰσχύν (H., also Hdn. Gr. 1, 509) point to PGr. *ϝισχῦς, which was connected with Skt. *vi-ṣah-* 'to have in one's power' by Brugmann *IF* 16 (1904): 493f. and Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 209. The latter word belongs to the root **seǵʰ-* (s.v. σχεῖν, ►ἔχω) with a prefix **ui-* 'apart, asunder', but this prefix does not exist in Greek, so the etymology fails. However, Myc. *i-su-ku-wo-do-to* has no digamma, which means that the ϝ- in the glosses may be secondary after *ϝίς 'power' (thus Meillet *BSL* 27 (1927): 129ff., though with false explanation of the ἰ- as "prothetic"). The connection with ἔχειν seems rather improbable. On the *ū*-stem (like πληθῦς, νηδῦς, etc.), see Schwyzer: 463f. and Meid *IF* 63 (1958): 19, who assumes an abstract formation from an adjective *ϝι-σχ-ύς 'resisting' (-υ- like in ἐχυ-ρός), which is not very convincing. Chantraine *Emerita* 19 (1951): 134ff. considers connection with ἰξύς, ἰσχίον. Pre-Greek origin seems quite possible.

ἰταμός [adj.] 'headlong, hasty, eager, bold, reckless' (Att.). ◄?►
•DER Also ἴτης, -ου [m.] 'id.' (Ar., Pl.), and ἰτητικός = ἰταμός (Arist.); from ἰτάω? See ►εἶμι. Further ἰταμότης (Pl., Plb.), ἰταμία (LXX) 'vigour, effrontery', ἰταμεύομαι 'be ἰτ.' (Jul. *Or.* 7, 210c; interpolated).
•ETYM Mostly, ἴ-της is derived from ἰέναι 'to go' (Chantraine 1933: 318) as "Draufgänger" (thus already in antiquity, e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 349e, 359c), though most other oxytones in -αμός are substantives (ποταμός, etc.). Probably a word from the Attic popular language (incorrectly, Fraenkel 1912: 58f.).

ἰτέα [f.] 'willow' (Φ 350), also 'shield made of willow' (E., Ar.; cf. Trümpy 1950: 73). ◄IE **ueh₁i-* 'bend', **uh₁i-tu-*►
•VAR Epic Ion. ἰτέη (-εί- A. R. 4, 1428, with metrical lengthening?).
•COMP Compound ἰτεό-φυλλος 'adorned with willow-leaves' (Halic. III[a]).
•DER ἰτέϊνος 'of willow' (Hdt., Thphr., pap.), ἰτεών 'willow forest' (*Gp.*).
•ETYM Formation like πτελέα and other tree names (Chantraine 1933: 92). From a noun parallel to (ϝ)ίτυς, which derives from **ueh₁-i-* 'bend'; cf. γιτέα (= ϝιτέα)· ἰτέα (H.). See on ►ἴτυς for further etymology. Itacistic writing has been assumed for the initial ἰ- on account of the Att. deme name Εἰτέα (cf. on οἶσος).

ἴτον [n.] Thracian name for a kind of mushroom (Thphr. *fr.* 167, Plin. *H.N.* 19, 36). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR οὐιτόν· τὸ ὑπ' ἐνίων οἰτόν (H.).
•ETYM Probably ϝιτόν (thus DELG). Fur.: 110, 184 connects it with ►ὕδνον, ὕτνον 'truffle' which has variants οἴδνον, οἴτνον. Furnée is mistaken to assumes a prothetic ὀ-, since ὀ- and οὐ- just indicate ϝ-, a bilabial [w]. So we have **wit-* and **wid-n-*, with a suffix beginning with *n*-, and voicing before the nasal (cf. Fur.: 110 on σπίκανος, σπιγνός; on the suffixes with a nasal added after a consonant, see *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes,

-ν-). Moreover, in ὕτνον, the ι became υ after the *w*, which itself disappeared before the υ (so *wit-* > *wut-* > *ut-*).

ἴτριον [n.] name of a cake (IA), made from sesame and honey acc. to Ath. 14, 646d. ◁?▷

•VAR Usually plur.; long initial syllable in Ar. *Ach.* 1092.

•COMP ἰτριο-πώλης (Poll.) 'seller of ἴτριον'.

•DER ἰτρίνεος 'like ἴτριον' (*AP*).

•ETYM Unknown; probably a loanword.

ἴττον [n.] · ἔν. Κρῆτες 'one (Cret.)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM See Latte 1953, who notes that Solmsen *BB* 17 (1891): 135 reads δίττον.

ἴτυς, -υος [f.] 'felloe, rim of a shield', also metaph. 'shield' (Il.). ◁IE **ueh₁i-* 'bend', **uh₁i-tu-*▷

•ETYM Aeol. ϝίτυς (gramm.; cf. also Chantraine 1942: 144) proves that the connection with ἰτέα, οἶσος, ἶρις is correct. It therefore properly means 'bend, curve' (whence first 'willow'?), a derivative in -τυ- from a verb 'bend, twist', seen in Lat. *vieō* 'to bind, twist', Skt. *vyáyati* 'wind, wrap, envelop', ptc. *vītá-*, Lith. *výti*, 1sg. *vejù*, ptc. *výtas*, Ru. *vit'*, 1sg. *vju* 'to turn, wind'. Greek ϝίτυς corresponds exactly to Lat. *vitus* 'felloe' (also *vitūtus* 'provided with a felloe', concluded from βιτωτός *Ed. Diocl.*), but the latter is rather a loan (WH s.v.). Elsewhere, there are also traces of *tu*-derivatives, both in Greek and in Balto-Slavic: ἰτέα, οἶσος next to OPr. *witwan* 'willow', OCS *větvь*, Ru. *vítvina* 'twig, rod'.

ἰυγή •VAR ἴυγμα, ἰυγμός. ⇒ἰύζω.

ἴυγξ, -γγος [f.] name of a bird, 'Iynx torquilla' (Arist., Ael.), which was bound to a turning wheel during incantations to win back a lost love; thence the meaning 'spell, charm' (Pi., Ar., X. [cf. Gow *JHS* 54 (1934): 1ff.] and Theocr. 2, 41 [cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 63]); also (mostly in plur.) name of certain Chaldaic gods (Procl., Dam.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER Ἰύγγιος month name in Thessaly (*IG* 9(2), 258: 5); τὸ Ἰυγγίης· ὁ Διόνυσος (H.)? Cf. on ἰύζω; ἰυγγικός 'belonging to the ἴυγγες' (Dam.).

•ETYM Formation like πῶυγξ, στρίγξ, σύριγξ, and other names of birds and musical instruments (Chantraine 1933: 3 and 398). It has been connected with ἰύζω, after the crying of the bird (e.g. Osthoff *MU* 4 (1881): 185²). However, it was without a doubt originally a loanword that was adapted to ▸ἰύζω by folk etymology.

ἰύζω [v.] 'to cry aloud, howl' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aor. ἰύξαι (Pi. *P.* 4, 237). Also ἀν-ιύζω (Q. S.). Cf. ἀβιυκτον (cod. -ηκτον)· ἐφ' οὗ οὐκ ἐγένετο βοὴ ἀπολλυμένου (H.), and ἐκβιούζει· θρηνεῖ μετὰ κραυγῆς 'bewails with crying' (H.); DELG explains the ϝ as analogical after ἰάχω, but this seems unnecessarily complicated; see below.

•DER ἰυγή (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 9, 43, S., Nic.), ἰυγμός (Σ 572, A., E.) 'crying', also ἰύγματα [pl.] 'id.' (A. *Dict.* in *PSI* 11, 1209, 17); ἰύκτης [m.] 'howler, flutist', only in ἰύκτᾰ (Theoc. 8, 30; after ἠπύτα, ἠχέτα, Fraenkel 1910: 223).

With prenasalization ἰυγκτόν· τορόν 'piercing' and ἰυγγοδρομεῖν· ἐκβοηθεῖν. Βοιωτοί 'to march out to aid (Boeot.)' (H.), after βοηδρομεῖν; perhaps a mistake for ἰυγο-? Also Ἰυγγίης· Διόνυσος (H.), with the Thessalian month name Ἰύγγιος; details in Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 98.

•ETYM A verbalized interjection, cf. ἰΰ (Hdn. Gr. 1, 506); or is the latter a back-formation from ἰύζω? We also find ἰού, ἰώ, ἰαῦ, but these may have had another initial. From the interjection also Ἴυος, epithet of Dionysus (Lycaonia; cf. Robinson *AJA* 31 (1927): 26ff., Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 161). See further ►ἴυγξ.

The forms ἀβίυκτον (cod. -ηκτον)· ἐφ' οὗ οὐκ ἐγένετο βοὴ ἀπολλυμένου (cf. Latte ad loc.) and ἐκβιούζει· θρηνεῖ μετὰ κραυγῆς (H.) point to *ϝιύζω (cf. Fur.: 277). With its prenasalization, the word is typically Pre-Greek; note the vocalism of -βιουζει.

ἴφθιμος [adj.] 'powerful, strong, vigilant' (Hom., Theoc., D. P.). ◂PG▸

•ETYM Uncertain etymology, as the meaning itself is uncertain. The absence of a digamma (Chantraine 1942: 143) makes connection with ἴς, ἴφι impossible. Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 289ff. and Kuiper *ZII* 8 (1930): 249f.) connected it with φθάνω and Skt. *kṣáyati* 'possess, dominate'; doubts in Schwyzer: 326[1]. Athanassakis *Glotta* 49 (1971): 1-21 explains the word as from *ἰφι-τιμ-ος (with τιμ- 'honor'), but syncope does not occur on a regular basis in Greek, so this must be wrong. The word is non-IE and therefore probably Pre-Greek, just as Fur.: 318 assumes (following Ruijgh 1957: 155[3]).

ἴφιος ⇒ἴς 1.

ἴφυον [n.] kind of lavender, 'Lavandula Spica' (Ar., Epich., Thphr.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Fur.: 391 connects τίφιον [n.] 'Scilla autumnalis' (Thphr.), (see Strömberg 1940: 155f.) with ἴφυον as a variant without τ- (for which there are only few examples, however). Nevertheless, a Pre-Greek word is probable *a priori*.

ἰχανάω [v.] 'to desire, try, crave' (Hom., Babr., Herod.). ◂IE *$h_2eh_2g^h$-, h_2i-h_2g^h- 'desire'▸

•VAR Often med. -άομαι.

•DER Also ἰχαίνω 'id.' (Call. *Aet.* 1, 1, 22).

•ETYM Probably an innovation after ὑφανάω : ὑφαίνω et al. (see Schwyzer: 700). More details on the formation in Risch 1937 (par. 112e) and Chantraine 1942: 360. An alternating *r*-stem may be seen in ἴχαρ 'desire' (A. *Supp.* 850 [lyr.]). For the connection with Skt. *īhate* 'desires', Av. *iziieiti* 'longs for', see ►ἀχήν.

ἰχθῦς, -ύος [m.] 'fish' (Il.). ◂IE *dg^huH- 'fish'▸

•COMP Often as a first member, mostly with added o, e.g. ἰχθυο-πώλης 'fish seller' (com.) beside ἰχθυ-βόλος (A., *AP* ; -βολεύς Nic., Call.). As a second member in ἄν-, εὖ-, πολύ-ϊχθυς (Str.), also πολυ-ΐχθυος (*h. Ap.* 417; metrically convenient).

•DER Diminutive ἰχθύδιον (com., pap.), probably from -υ-ΐδιον > -ῦδιον; later -ὔ- (Schwyzer: 199 and Fraenkel 1912: 177f.; different Chantraine 1933: 70).

Other substantives: ἰχθύᾶ, Ion. -ύη 'dried fish(skin), fishery' (medic., pap.); ἰχθυήματα [pl.] (rarely sing.) 'fish-scales' (Hp.); ἰχθυΐα 'fishery' (Procl.); ἰχθυεῖον 'fish market' (Nesos; uncertain); ἰχθυόνερ· ἰχθυαγωγοί H.; cf. Schwyzer: 487.

Adjectives: ἰχθυόεις 'rich in fish, consisting of fish' (Hom.); ἰχθυώδης 'rich in fish, fish-like' (Hdt.); ἰχθυηρός 'consisting of fish, scaly, polluted' (Ar., Ph.), ἰχθυηρά [f.] 'fish-taxes' (pap.); ἰχθυϊκός 'regarding fish, fish-like' (LXX), -ική 'fish toll' (Magnesia, Ephesus); ἰχθυακός 'id.' (Aq., Sm., Thd.); ἰχθύϊνος 'id.' (Ael.).
Verbs: ἰχθυάω 'fish', also intr. 'behave like a fish' (Od.), also ἰχθυάζομαι 'fish' (*AP*). Cf. the derivatives of ἅλς (ἁλι-εύς, -εύω, -εία, etc.), which compete with the group of ἰχθῦς.
•ETYM On the accent, see Schwyzer: 377f. and Berger *MSS* 3 (1953): 7. An old word for 'fish' in general, also found in Armenian and Baltic: Arm. *jukn* (acc. to Kortlandt, *-k-* is a reflex of the laryngeal, like in *mu-kn* < **muH-n-* beside μῦς), Lith. *žuvìs*, *žuvį̃* [gen.pl.], Latv. *zuvs*. For the "prothetic" vowel i-, cf. on ►ἰκτῖνος and ►χθές. The word is now reconstructed **dǵʰuH-*, the long vowel in the nom. being caused by a laryngeal. The western languages (Latin, Celtic, Germanic) had a different word for 'fish': Lat. *piscis*, OIr. *íasc*, MoHG *Fisch*.

ἴχλα [f.] name of a sea-fish. ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR κίχλα, κίχλη (*BCH* 60, 28 [Boeotia II^a], H.); cf. ἰχάλη = ἐσκευασμένος ἰχθῦς. ἡ κίχλη τὸ ὄρνεον 'a prepared fish; thrush', and ἴχλα· κίχλα (H.), also ἴσλαι = κίχλαι 'thrushes' (H.). Nasalized κίγκλος.
•ETYM See Lacroix 1938: 52f. The variants show that the word is Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 130, 297f., 379. On the initial κ-, see Fur.: 391.

ἴχνος [n.] 'footstep, trace, track, sole of the foot' (ρ 317). ◅?▻
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰχνο-σκοπέω 'look at the track (or traces)' (A., S., Plu.).
•DER ἴχνιον 'id.' (Il.), with ὑπ-ίχνιος 'what is under the sole' (Q. S.). Denominative verb ἰχνεύω 'to trace' (X 192), also with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἐξ-, δι-; thence ἰχνευτής 'bloodhound, Ichneumon' (Hdt., S.), also ἰχνευτήρ 'id.' (Opp., Nonn.; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 134f.) and ἰχνεύτειρα (Corcyra); ἰχνεύμων, -ονος [m.] "tracer", name of an Egyptian kind of weasel, 'Ichneumon', also metaph. of a kind of wasp (Arist., Eub.); ἴχνευμα 'trace' (Poll.); ἰχνευτικός 'good at tracing' (Ph., Arr.). Also ἐξ-ιχνιάζω 'to trace' with ἐξιχνιασμός (LXX, Aq.), from ἴχνος after the verbs in -ιάζω (cf. Schwyzer: 735) rather than from ἴχνιον. Ἰχναία epithet of Θέμις (*h. Ap.* 94) derives from the TN Ἴχναι in southern Thessalia.
•ETYM Formation in **-nos-* like ἔρνος, κτῆνος, etc., but of unclear origin. Perhaps related to ►οἴχομαι, which is doubted by DELG s.v. Different explanations by Wood *Class. Phil.* 16 (1921): 65 and Wood *Class. Phil.* 21 (1926): 72. Perhaps the form ἴχματα· ἴχνια (H.) stands for ἴθματα (related to ►εἶμι). West *Glotta* 77 (1999): 123f. reads ἴχματα in N 71.

ἰχώρ, -ῶρος [m.] 'juicy, watery part of blood' (Hp., Arist.; from the poetic language, see Leumann 1950: 310), 'blood of the gods' (E 340, 416), secondarily of the blood of the Giants (Str. 6, 3,5), blood in general (A. *Ag.* 1480 [anap.]). ◅?▻
•VAR Acc.sg. ἰχῶ (E 416).
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἰχω(ρο)-ρροέω [v.] 'to run with serous matter' (Hp.).

•DER ἰχωρώδης 'serous' (Hp.).
•ETYM Without an exact morphological parallel (cf. Schwyzer: 519 and 569, Chantraine 1942: 212), and probably a foreign word. Several unconvincing explanations have been proposed: a loan from Hitt. *eš̬har* (which is related to ►ἔαρ), e.g. Heubeck 1961: 81 and Neumann 1961: 18; comparison with ἰκμάς (Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 492ff.); or with ἴχαρ, ἰχανάω (Bolling *Lang.* 21 (1945): 49ff.), etc. All of these and other previous proposals are rejected by DELG, which continues by stating that the word is probably Indo-European; this is far from certain, of course. Acc. to Jouanna and Demont *REA* 83 (1981): 197-209, we should start from the technical, medical conception, and not from the poetic one.

ἴψ, ἰπός [m.] name of a worm that eats horn and wood, notably vines (φ 395, Thphr., Str.). ◅PG(V)▻
•COMP Ἰπο-κτόνος name of a god in Erythrai (Str. 13, 1, 64).
•ETYM Rhyming with θρίψ, κνίψ, σκνίψ; Frisk suggests a cross of one of these with ►ἴξ. Traditionally connected with ἴψασθαι (see ►ἶπος). See also Gil Fernández 1959: 116. Rather, ἴξ and ἴψ reflect one and the same Pre-Greek word **ikʷ-*, which was adapted in two different ways.

ἴψος [m.] a tree, 'cork-oak, Quercus Suber (?)' (Thphr. *HP* 3, 4, 2). ◅?▻
•VAR Also ἰψός; ἰψόν· τὸν κισσόν. Θ<ο>ύριοι 'ivy (Thurii)' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown. Some compare *(ϝ)ίμβω.

ἰώ [exclam.] 'alas!' (A.). ◅ONOM▻ •DER ἰωή 'cry, noise (Il.), ἰωά (A.). ⇒ἰή, ἰήϊος.

ἰωγή ⇒ ἐπιωγαί.

ἰωκή [f.] 'rout, pursuit' (Il.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Acc.sg. ἰῶκα (Λ 601); see Chantraine 1942: 231, Egli 1954: 12f.
•DER ἰωχμός 'id.' (Il., Hes., Theoc.; cf. Trümpy 1950: 160), ἴωξις· δίωξις 'pursuit' (H.), παλίωξις 'pursuit in turn' (Il., App.), whence προίωξις (Hes. *Sc.* 154).
•ETYM Primary formations from ϝιώκει 'pursues' (Cor.), so for (ϝ)ιωκή, παλι-(ϝ)ίωξις, etc. On traces of the digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 143; ἰωχμός (with metrically lengthned ῑ-) is from **ἰωκ-σμό-*. For the relation between ϝιώκει (only inscr. Corinth, see LSJ) and ϝίεμαι, see ►διώκω. The verb may be Pre-Greek.

Ἴωνες [m.pl.] 'Ionian', one of the four Greek main tribes (since N 685 Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες). ◅?▻
•VAR In epic poet. mostly plur. Ἰάονες, rarely sing. Ἴων, Ἰάων.
•DIAL Myc. *I-ja-wo-ne.*
•COMP As a second member in Παν-ίωνες (Eust. 1414, 36), a back-formation after Παν-έλληνες from Πανιώνιον [n.] 'temple of all Ionians', -ια [pl.] name of the festival (Hdt.), Πανιώνιος [m.] epithet of Apollo and others (inscr.).
•DER 1. Ἰάς, -άδος [f.] 'Ionian woman, Ionic' (Hdt., Th.), Ἰακός (Plb.), formed to Ἴωνες after Ἕλληνες: Ἑλλάς. 2. Ἰάονιος 'Ionic, Greek' (A. [lyr.]), Ἰαονίς [f.] (Nic.); late Ἰώνιος 'id.' (Philostr.), Ἰωνίς [f.] (Call., Paus.), Ἰωνιάς [f.] (Nic., Str.); here Ἰωνία 'Ionia' (A. *Pers.* 771), Ἰαονίη-θε (Nic. *fr.* 74, 2). 3. Ἰωνικός 'Ionic' (Hdt., Th.). 4. ὁ

Ἰόνιος (κόλπος) [m.] 'the Ionic Sea' (between Epirus and Italy). 5. Ἰάνειος patronymic (Thess.). 6. ἰωνίσκος [m.] Ephesian name of the fish χρυσόφρυς 'gilthead' (Archestr.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 86.

Denominative verb ἰωνίζω [v.] 'to speak Ionic' (A. D.).

Uncertain is the appurtenance of Ἰαωλκός, Ἰωλκός town in Magnesia on the Pagasaic gulf (since Hes. *Th.* 997), which could properly mean 'port of Ionians' if it derives from *Ἰαϝο-ολκός.

•ETYM The foreign adaptations of the tribal name, Eg. *jwn(n)*', Hebr. *jāwān*, OP *yauna*, etc., point to a pre-form *Ἰᾱϝονες, but a further analysis of this form is uncertain. A shorter form *Ἴον-ες is supposed in Ἰόνιος (Jacobsohn *KZ* 57 (1930): 76ff.), if it is not a reshaping after χθόνιος (Beaumont *JHS* 56 (1936): 204 connects Ἰόνιος with Ἰώ). In any case, Ἰάς and Ἰαωλκός can be explained from Ἰάονες, Ἴωνες. Unclear Ἰάνων (anapestic in A. *Pers.* 949f. [lyr.]). Acc. to Vendryes *BSL* 25 (1924): 49, the accent in Ἴωνες shows the Attic shift as in ἔγωγε.

As the proper meaning is unknown, the name remains without a clear etymology. An interesting attempt was recently made by Nikolaev 2006, who suggests an original meaning 'die Kräftigen', starting either from **uiH-* 'force' or from **h₁ish₂-*, to which a suffix **-āwon-* was added.

See also Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 109-155 and Heubeck *MSS* 48 (1987): 139-148.

ἰωρός [m.] mg. uncertain (A.D.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Acc. to A. D. *Pron.* 55, 26 Att., = ὁ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως φύλαξ, wrongly connecting the pronoun ἵ. Cf. Hdn. 1, 200: ὁ γνήσιος φύλαξ; Suid. gives ἰωρός· θυρωρός, φύλαξ· καὶ παροιμία· οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἰωροῦ· καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐκτὸς ἰωροῦ ἐκέλευεν εἶναι τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους. (*App. Prov.* 4, 39), so a ban (ἐντὸς, ἐκτὸς ἰωροῦ) on a killer, taken as 'house' by H.; cf. also ἰωρός· τὸ ὁρ<ε>ινὸν χωρίον, καὶ τὸ ὄρος. καὶ οἶκος, καὶ ὁ τούτου φύλαξ (H.). Boisacq posited *ϝι-ϝωρό-ς, related to ὁράω, ὥρα, Hom. οὖρος 'guardian'; this is purely hypothetical.

ἰῶτα [n.] the ninth letter of the alphabet (Pl. *Cra.* 418b). ◂LW Sem.▸

•VAR Indeclinable.

•DER ἰωτακισμός 'repetition of the iota' (Quint.), after σολοικισμός, ἀττικισμός, etc.

•ETYM From Semitic, cf. Hebr. *jōdh*; see Schwyzer: 140 and 313.

ἴωψ, -ωπος [m.] name of a small fish (Nic., Call. in Ath., Ael., Hdn. Gr. 1, 247). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Boeot. ϝίωψ (*BCH* 60, 28, II[a]).

•ETYM Thompson 1947 s.v. No doubt a local word for small useless fishes, i.e. a Pre-Greek word (cf. on ▸ἴκταρ 3). I therefore think that it started with **wʸ-*, like e.g. ἰύζω.

Κ

κα [pcl.] ⇒κε.

καβαθα ⇒γάβαθον.

κάβαισος [m.] 'gluttonous fellow' (Cratin. 103), also PN (*IG* 5(2), 271: 9 [Mantinea IV^{a}]). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also κάβασος (Poll. 6, 43 v.l.).
•ETYM In antiquity, the word was analyzed as a compound of κάβος and αἶσα, which is of course nonsense. For the ending, cf. Ἀγόραισος (*SGDI* 3269, 12; 3386, 36; Schulze 1933a: 665). The meaning and structure of the word point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur.: 214 points to the v.l. κάβασος. If we combine these variants, we arrive at a Pre-Greek form **kamas^{y}-*. He further connects καμασός· βάραθρον 'abyss', which is possible but uncertain; the comparison with καμασήν 'fish' is even more uncertain.

καβάλλης, -ου [m.] 'workhorse, nag, ἐργάτης ἵππος' (Plu., *AP*, H.). ◁LW Anat.▷
•DER καβάλλ(ε)ιον [n.] 'id.' (inscr. Callatis, H.), also metaph. = ἡ πρώτη τοῦ τρικλίνου κλίνη· διὰ τὸ ἀνάκλιτον 'the first couch in a dining-room with three couches' (H.). Further καβαλλάτιον (< Lat. **caballatium*) plant name, = κυνόγλωσσον (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. the plant names in ἱππο-, Strömberg 1940: 30); καβαλλάριος (Teucros Astrol.) = Lat. *caballārius* 'groom' (gloss.), καβαλλαρικός (μύλος, τάπης *Edict. Diocl.*).
•ETYM The PN Καβαλλᾶς (IV^{a}, *Rev. Arch.* 1925, I 259) shows that the word is old in Greek. Like Lat. *caballus*, W PN *Caballos*, καβάλλης (with technical and popular -ης; Chantraine 1933: 30f.) is an Asiatic loan or a Wanderwort, perhaps originally an ethnicon like *Wallach* et al. It has been compared with Turk. *käväl* epithet of *at* 'horse', MoP *kaval* 'second class horse of mixed blood', and further with Ru. *kobýla* 'mare'. Connection with the Anat. EN Καβαλεῖς (Καβηλέες Hdt.) is uncertain, as is the appurtenance of κάβηλος, κάληβος· ἀπεσκολυμμένος τὸ αἰδοῖον (H.), cf. on βάκηλος.

καββαλικός [adj.] 'good at throwing somebody to the ground', said of a fighter (Gal. *Thras.* 45). ◁GR▷
•DER Compar. καββαλικότερος (Plu. *Mor.* 236e, M. Ant. 7, 52).
•ETYM Laconian for καταβλητικός.

Κάβαρνοι [m.pl.] name of the priests of Demeter on Paros (*IG* 12(5), 292 [III^{P}], H.).
•DER Κάβαρνις, poetic name of Paros (St. Byz.).

•ETYM See Κάβειροι

-καβδαλος ⇒ αὐτοκάβδαλος.

κάβειος [adj.] · νέος. Ιἀφιοι 'young (Paph.)' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM The word has been corrected to *κάβειρος, which is possible but uncertain. It has been suggested that it refers to the fact that the Kabeiroi are often children. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

Κάβειροι [m.pl.] name of chthonic gods, especially on Samothrace and Lemnos, as well as in Boeotia (Pi., Hdt., inscr.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Κάβειροι· καρκίνοι 'crab, pair of pincers' (H.); whether there is any relation with the gods, is unknown.

•DER Καβειρίδες (νὐμφαι); Καβειρώ mother of the C.; Καβείριον sanctuary of the C.

•ETYM Not related to Skt. *Kúbera-* (Wackernagel *KZ* 41 (1907): 316ff.), see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. The root of the name is clearly the same as that in Κάβαρνοι. This root must have been Pre-Greek **kabarʸ-*. The palatalized consonant explains both **a* > ε and the ι; before the ν, the palatal character was neglected. See Beekes *Mnem.* 57 (2004): 465-477. See Hemberg 1950.

κάβος [m.] measure of grain: 4 ξέσται (LXX). ◁LW Orient.▷

•ETYM From Hebr. *qab.* Cf. also Eg. *ḳb*, see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 247. See ▶γάβαθον, ▶καβαθα.

κάβουρος [m.] 'crab' (Eust.), see Rohlfs 1930: 94f.[834]. ◁PG▷

•DER καβουρᾶς 'crab-fisher' (*Inscr. Ephes.* 4282).

•ETYM MoGr. has κάβουρος 'crab'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek; cf. on ▶σκίουρος.

κάγκαμον [n.] name of the 'resin of an oriental tree' (Dsc.). ◁LW Orient.▷

•ETYM Related to Arab. *kamkām*, but not to the word for 'saffron', Arab. *kurkum*, Hebr. *karkōm*, Akk. *kurkānu.* Cf. on ▶κρόκος. Lat. *cancamum* was borrowed from κάγκαμον (since Plin.).

κάγκανος [adj.] 'arid, barren' (Il.). ◁PG▷

•DER καγκάνεος 'id.' (Man.). Denominative καγκαίνει· θάλπει, ξηραίνει 'heats, dries'; also καγκαλέα· κατακεκαυμένα 'what has been burnt up' (H.), which is probably an innovation after the many adjectives in -αλέος meaning 'arid, dry' (άζαλέος, αὐαλέος, etc.). Without a suffix: καγκομένης· ξηρᾶς τῷ φόβῳ (H.) and πολυ-καγκής epithet of δίψα 'thirst' (Λ 642), perhaps formed to a present **κάγκομαι.*

•ETYM Words for 'hunger, pain' are traditionally connected with the group of κάγκανος: the full grade primary verbs κέγκει· πεινᾷ 'is hungry' (Phot.); from other IE languages: Lith. *keñkti*, 1sg. *keñkia* 'to ache' (*'burns, withers'), secondary ON *há* 'to tease, pain' < PGm. **hanhōn*, and the verbal nouns Lith. *kankà* 'pain', Go. *huhrus* 'hunger', denominative *huggrjan* 'to hunger'.

If this comparison is correct and if we reconstruct a root **kenk-*, the ablaut of κάγκανος, etc. must be secondary. Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 269f. connects the glosses κακιθής· ἄτροφος ἄμπελος 'untended vine', κακιθές· χαλεπόν, λιμηρές 'harsh,

hungry', κακιθά· λιμηρά (H.), the second member of which would belong to ►αἴθω, ἰθαίνω; but if so, the first member could also be κακός, as DELG s.v. notes.
Because of the root structure (nasal and *a*-vocalism), the word is suspect of Pre-Greek origin. The words compared mean 'hunger, pain', and not primarily 'arid, dry'.

κάγκελ(λ)οι [m.pl.] 'railings, barrier, starting gate' (pap., inscr., imperial period; sch.), also as a measure (μέτρῳ τῷ καγκέλλῳ, etc.) in pap. ◁LW Lat.▷
•VAR Sometimes sing. -ος, ntr. -ον.
•DER καγκελ(λ)ωτή 'provided with lattice', of διαβάθρα, θύρα (pap., sch.).
•ETYM From Lat. *cancellī* [pl.] 'id.' (Cic.); likewise, καγκελλάριος (Lyd. *Mag.*, pap. VI^{p}) = Lat. *cancellārius* (since IV^{p}).

καγκύλας [acc.pl.] · κηκίδας. Αἰολεῖς 'mussels (Aeol.)' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Cf. κογχύλαι· κηκῖδες (H.) and κογχύλια· τὰ ὄστρεα. καὶ πορφυραι. Oettinger *General Linguistics* 40 (2003): 71ff. concludes that καγκ- is just a mistake for κογκ-. However, the variation α/ ο is typical for Pre-Greek, as is κ/ χ. Therefore, there seems no reason to reject the attested form. Of course, the word has nothing to do with MoHG *Hengst*, etc.

καγρᾶ(ς) [m.] · καταφαγᾶς, Σαλαμίνιοι 'gluttonous (Salaminian)' (H.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM From κατα- and γράω (Bechtel 1921, 1:, 421).

καγχαλάω [v.] 'to rejoice, exult' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Only pres. and ipf. καγχαλάασκε (A. R., Q. S.).
•COMP Also with prefix: ἐπι-, περι-.
•DER καγχαλίζεται· χαίρει, ἱλαρύνει 'rejoices' (H.).
•ETYM Expressive verb of onomatopoeic character. If one compares κακχάζω and καγχάζω, -αλάω may be considered as a lengthening, comparing ἀσχαλάω, βαυκαλάω (see ►παμφαλάω). However, Apollonius and Bechtel 1914 reject the derivation from καγχάζω, and connect it with χαλάω 'to relax, let go', assuming intensive reduplication. Further arguments in favor of the former view are given by Tichy 1983: 222f.

κάδαμος [adj.] · τυφλός. Σαλαμίνιοι 'blind (Salamis)' (H.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM If reliable (see Schmidt ad loc. and van Herwerden 1910 s.v.), it may belong to Hom. κεκαδών, κεκαδήσει 'to rob'. Not related to Lat. *cadamitās* (which is secondary for *calamitās*; see WH s.v.). One gets the impression of a Pre-Greek word (*a*-vocalism), and it is preferable to abandon attempts at an inner-Greek or Indo-European etymology.

Καδμῖλος [m.] one of the ►Κάβειροι, son of Kabeiro and Hephaistos; he is the younger man, beside an older one and the Mother Goddess. ◁PG▷
•VAR Also Κάσμιλος, Κάμιλλος; on the forms of the name see Beekes *Mnem.* 57 (2004): 466ff.
•ETYM The suffix of this name has been compared with *Muršili* and *Troilos*, and *Morinail* (of the Lemnos inscription). As a whole, it may be identical with that of

Hasammil(i/as), a Hattic god. Was it originally **Hatˢmil*? It is probably a derivation of Kadmos, though there is no tradition that confirms this.

Κάδμος [m.] name of a hero, the founder of Thebes (Od.) ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Κασσμος (vase Rhegium).
•DER Καδμεῖος, Καδμήιος [adj.] (Hes.); Καδμεία 'the hill of Thebes' (X.); Καδμειῶνες 'the inhabitants of Thebes' (Il.); καδμεία (γῆ) 'cadmia, calamine' (Dsc.).
•ETYM The connection with ▶κέκασμαι is certainly wrong. The name is found for a river in Thesprotia and for a mountain and a river in Caria. Therefore, the word is without a doubt Pre-Greek, and of unknown meaning (Beekes *Mnem.* 57 (2004): 465ff. and Beekes *Kadmos* 43 (2004): 172f. This is confirmed by the name Καδμῖλος which has a suffix -ιλ-, which is well known in Anatolia. The structure of the name agrees with that of Ιάτμος, Λάτμιος, Λάκμος. There is no further support for the gloss κάδμιος· δόρυ, λόφος, άσπίς (H.). Cf. on ▶Καδμῖλος.

κάδος [m.] 'vessel for wine and other fluids'; also a measure (IA). ◁LW Sem.?, PG?▷
•DER Diminutive κάδιον (LXX, Delos III^{a}, Cyrene II-III^{p}), καδίσκος, also 'voting urn' (Att.); with hypocoristic gemination and familiar suffix -χ- (Chantraine 1933: 404) κάδδιχος, as a measure 'half a ἑκτεύς' (Lac., H.), together with κεκαδδίσθαι (-ίχθαι?) 'to be rejected by a vote' (Lac., Plu. *Lyc.* 12); also κάδδιξ (Heracl.), probably after χοῖνιξ and ἄδδιξ (Ar. *Fr.* 709); hypercorrect καταδίχιον (Tauromenion) for *καδδίχιον as if from κατά and δίχα. See Wackernagel 1907: 11f., Bechtel 1921, 2: 374f., Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 163.
•ETYM Generally considered to be a loanword, probably from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *kad* 'bucket' (Schwyzer: 64 and152 and E. Masson 1967: 42-44). From κάδος, Lat. *cadus* and Arab. *ḳādūs* were borrowed (Lokotsch 1927: N° 988). Fur.: 130 compares ἄδδιξ, with interchange κ/ zero, and suggests that the words are Pre-Greek.

κάδουσα [f.] · εἶδος σταφυλῆς 'a kind of vine' (H.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM The word is most probably Pre-Greek (Fur.: 173[55]).

κάδυρος [m.] · κάπρος ἄνορχις 'boar without testicles' (H.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 39 connected it with Hom. κεκαδών, κεκαδήσει 'to rob'. Cf. Perpillou 1996: 112-124. The connection seems improbable; the element -υρ- rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

καθαπτή [f.] name of a vessel (*PSI* 4, 420, 26 [III^{a}]). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Named after the strap through its handles (Bonner *AmJPh.* 62 (1941): 453ff.); as an adjective, καθαπτός means 'connected with' (E. *Fr.* 752).

καθαρός [adj.] 'clean, spotless, pure, unmixed, white (of bread, linen)' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Dor. κοθαρός (Heracl. et al.), Aeol. κόθαρος (Alc.).
•DER καθάρειος (-ιος) 'pure, elegant' (Arist., Men., Plb.), adverb καθαρείως (X.), after ἀστεῖος; on καθάρυλλος (of ἄρτος, etc., com.) cf. Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 219[3]. καθαρότης 'purity' (Hp., Pl.), καθαρ(ε)ιότης 'purity, refinement' (Hdt.).
Denominative verbs: 1. καθαίρω (κοθ- Heracl.) 'to purify' (Il.), aor. καθῆραι (-ᾶραι), often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, περι-; thence κάθαρσις (IA; κόθ- El.)

'purification', καθαρμός 'atonement' (Hdt., trag.), κάθαρμα (often plur.) 'purification, refuse' (Att.); καθαρτής 'purifyer, conciliator' (Hp., S.), -τήρ 'id.' (Man., Plu.), -τήριος (D. H.); καθάρσιος (to καθαρτής, κάθαρσις, καθαρτός) 'purifying' (Hdt., trag.), καθαρτικός 'id.' (Hp., Pl.). 2. καθαρίζω 'to purify' (LXX), also with prefixes άπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, περι-, with καθαρισμός (LXX), καθάρισις (pap.), etc. 3. καθαρεύω 'to be pure' (Ar., Pl.) with καθάρευσις (H., *EM*); also καθαρι-εύω (Paus., gramm.). 4. καθαρι-όω 'to purify' (LXX).

•ETYM No etymology, see Frisk and DELG for unsuccessful older attempts. The variation α/ο points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 391 even connects it with άθαρής, but this is doubtful). Alternatively, Peters 1993b: 95ff. takes up the old connection with Skt. *śithirá-* 'loose', reconstructing **ḱr̥th₂-ro-*, but this etymology needs too many ad hoc assumptions: independent dissimilatory loss of the first *r* in both branches, doubtful laryngeal aspiration **tH* > θ (πλατύς is a strong counterexample, and cannot be explained away by πλαταμών), and too complicated semantics.

καθειστόν [n.] · εἶδος φιλήματος 'kind of kiss' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Mistake for κλειστόν? Latte suggests καθελκτόν.

κάθιδοι [m.] · ὑδρίαι. Ἀρκάδες 'vessels (Arc.)' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Hoffmann 1891: 103 considers reading κάθυδροι 'those filled with water' or κάθυδοι 'id.' (from ὕδος; cf. ὑδαλέος). For -ι- instead of -υ-, Thurneysen *Glotta* 12 (1922): 146 compares Μετίδριον = Μεθύδριον. See ▸κηθίς.

καί [conj.] 'also, even; and' (Il.). ◂IE **ḱm̥t-* 'along with, downwards'▸

•DIAL Arc. Cypr. κας (secondarily κα).

•ETYM From *κατι (cf. Hitt. *katti*) > *κασι > κάς, καί (Ruijgh 1967a: §293). Also found in ▸κασίγνητος. Acc. to Klingenschmitt *MSS* 33 (1975), καί, Arc. Cypr. κας 'also, even; and' and -κάς in άνδρα-κάς may all derive from **ḱn̥Ns(-i)*.

καιάδᾶς [m.] 'pit or cavern at Sparta, into which people sentenced to death (or their bodies) were thrown' (Th. 1, 134, Paus. 4, 18,4, D. Chr. 80, 9). ◂PG▸

•VAR Gen. -ου, Dor. -ᾶ.

•DER Also καιάτας, -έτας 'id.' (Eust. 1478, 45); καιετός 'fissure produced by an earthquake' (Str. 8, 5, 7), καίατα· ὀρύγματα· ἢ τὰ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καταρραγέντα χωρία 'pits; places split by earthquakes' (H.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *kévaṭa-* [m.] 'pit' must be rejected (Kuiper 1991: 27), and we cannot reconstruct PIE **kaiu̯̯-t-;* cf. Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. The form καιετός may be a reshaping after ὀχετός, (σ)κάπετος, etc., and καιάδας does not necessarily contain an old variant with -δ-, since glosses like γαιάδας· ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'people (Lacon.)', γαυσάδας· ψευδής 'false' (H.) show that Laconian extended the use of the suffix -δᾶ-. The forms καιάτας, -έτας are secondary.

It seems clear that the word is Pre-Greek. A pre-form **kawʸat-* would probably give *καιϝα/ετ-, where the ε is from *a* after a palatalized consonant; the δ can also be interpreted as a normal variant of τ. See Fur.: 180, 349 and on ▸κητώεσσαν.

καιέτα [f.] · καλαμίνθη. Βοιωτοί 'mint' (H.). ◂PG▸

•VAR καιετας (without accentuation, Apollon. *Lex.* s.v. κητώεσσαν), καιατῶν [gen.pl.] (Anon. Lond. 36, 57). Also καίατα(ς).
•ETYM Has been connected with καίω, because of the burning taste (Fraenkel 1910: 62 A. 2, Bechtel 1921, 1: 306). The word is rather Pre-Greek, though a direct connection with ▸καιάδᾶς is not evident.

καικίας, -ου [m.] 'northeast wind' (Ar., Arist.). ◂?▸
•ETYM For the formation, cf. ἀπαρκτίας, Ὀλυμπίας, and other wind names (Chantraine 1933: 95); basis uncertain. Already Ach. Tat. *Intr. Arat.* 33 (cf. von Wilamowitz 1931: 265²) explained it as "(the wind) coming from the Κάϊκος", a river in Aeolis, comparing the similar names Ὀλυμπίας, Ἑλλησποντίας, etc. Others (Pisani *KZ* 61 (1934): 187, Huisman *KZ* 71 (1954): 99) take it as "the blind one" = "the dark, obscuring one" from the word for 'blind, one-eyed': Lat. *caecus* 'blind', OIr. *caech* 'one-eyed', Go. *haihs* 'id.', Skt. *kekara-* 'squinting'. Lat. *aquilō* 'north wind', from *aquilus* 'dark', has also been compared. Not very probable.

καινός [adj.] 'new, newly found, unexpected' (IA). ◂IE **ken-* 'new, fresh'▸
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. in καινο-τομέω (: καινὰ τέμνειν), properly an expression of mining: 'cut out a new (type of) stone', metaph. 'introduce innovations (in the state)' (Att.), together with -τομία, -τόμος; καινο-ποιέω 'introduce innovations, renovate' (S., Plb.) together with -ποιΐα, -ποιητής (see Fraenkel 1912: 90f.).
•DER Abstract καινότης 'innovation' (Att.). Denominative verbs: 1. καινίζω 'to innovate, inaugurate' (trag.), also with prefix, especially ἀνα- (Isoc., Str., Plu.), ἐγ- (LXX, NT); thence (ἐγ-)καίνισις, -ισμός (LXX); deverbal ἐγκαίνια [pl.] 'consecration of a temple' (LXX, NT). 2. καινόω 'to innovate, inaugurate' (Hdt., Th.), ἀνα- (NT, etc.), whence (ἀνα-)καίνωσις (J., NT). PNs Καινίας, Καίνιος, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 229), Καινεύς together with Καινεΐδης (Boßhardt 1942: 128, Debrunner 1923: 32).
•ETYM Comparisons have been made with YAv. nom.sg. *kaine* 'girl', acc. *kainīnəm*, Skt. gen.pl. *kanī́nām* 'id.', full grade *kanyā́* 'girl' (reinterpreted as an *ā*-stem), and the adj. *kanī́na-* 'young'; grades of comparison *kánīyas-*, *kániṣṭha-*. Another cognate is Lat. *recēns* 'fresh, new, young', which must derive from *re-cen-t(i)-*, from a verb 'to rise, begin' seen in OIr. *cinim* 'to originate', OCS *-čęti*, 1sg. *-čьnǫ* 'begin' < IE **ken-*. The appurtenance of OW *cein* 'beautiful' is doubtful (cf. Matasović 2008 s.v. **kani-*. See Pok. 563f. and LIV² s.v. **ken-*.

καίνυμαι [v.] 'to overcome, surpass, excel' (Od.). ◂GR?▸
•VAR In ἐκαίνυτο (γ 282, Hes. *Sc.* 4), ἀπε- (θ 127, 219; A. R. 2, 783), περι-καίνυται (Nic. *Th.* 38), act. ipv. καινύτω (Emp. 23, 9).
•ETYM Perhaps analogical from ▸κέκασμαι, ▸κέκασται after δαίνυμαι, ἐδαίνυτο, which were connected with δέδασμαι, δέδασται (Brugmann 1886-1900 2: 1012, Brugmann 1913: 339; also Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 373).

καίνω [v.] 'to kill' (trag., Timocr. 1, 9, Theoc. 24, 92). ◂GR▸
•VAR Aor. κανεῖν (κανῆν Theoc. l.c.), fut. κανῶ, perf. κέκονα (S. *Fr.* 1058).
•COMP Also with κατα- 'id.' (X.).

•DER κοναί· φόνοι 'murders' (H.).
•ETYM By-form of ▶κτείνω with the same simplification of the anlaut as in χαμαί beside χθών (Schwyzer: 326). It was supposed that καίνω, κανεῖν arose from κατα-κανεῖν by dissimilation from κατα-κτανεῖν (Kieckers *IF*36 (1916): 233ff., Chantraine *Sprache* 1 (1949): 142[3]), but it is difficult to connect this with the chronology of the attestations.

καίπετος [m.] · ἀξίνη 'axe-head' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Stands at an alphabetically wrong place in Hesychius. Specht *KZ* 52 (1925): 90 compared CS *cĕpiti* 'split'. It is rather a Pre-Greek word (in which -ετο- exists as a suffix).

καιρός [m.] 'right measure, (right, decisive) point of time, (favorable) opportunity, time of the year, time' (Hes.; cf. καίριος below). ◁?▷
•COMP καιρο-φυλακέω [v.] 'to guard (at the right time)' (D., Arist.), ἄ-, εὔ-καιρος with ἀ-, εὐ-καιρία, -έω, etc.
•DER καίριος 'finding its mark, decisive, deadly' (Il.); 'coming at the right time, convenient'; καιρικός 'at the right time, belonging to certain times', καίριμος 'deadly' (Macho *apud* Ath. 13, 581b; not quite certain), 'matured', of wine (*PFlor.* 143, 2; III[P]), after ὥριμος (Arbenz *Die Adj. auf* -ιμος: 55 and 59).
•ETYM Uncertain. Several proposals: related to κείρω as 'decisive moment' or '(a certain) time', for which compare Lat. *discrīmen* (Persson 1891: 107, Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 52 (1900): 410[1]); to κεράννυμι 'mix' (Brugmann *IF* 17 (1904-1905): 363f.; morphologically complicated; similarly, Benveniste 1940a: 11ff., who asserts that it is properly "atmospherical mix"); to κύρω 'meet, meet accidentally' (Bq, phonetically difficult); to Skt. *kālá-* 'time' (Güntert 1923: 232; phonetically impossible, on which see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v.). On the meaning of καιρός, see Wersdörfer 1940: 54ff. and Pfister 1938: 131ff.

καῖρος [m.] 'row of thrumbs (on the loom), to which the threads of the warp are attached' (Ael. Dion. *Fr.* 440, Phot. 304, *EM*); the exact construction remains unknown. ◁?▷
•DER καίρωσις (Poll. 7, 33, H.), acc. to H. = τοῦ στήμονος οἱ σύνδεσμοι 'the fastenings of a warp', a collective abstract from *καιρόω 'to provide with καῖροι'; καίρωμα = καῖρος (Ael. Dion. l.c., see Chantraine 1933: 187), also 'texture' (Call. *fr.* 295); καιρωτίδες (-ωστ(ρ)ίδες) 'female weavers' (Call. *fr.* 356, H., Suid.). Note καιροσέων, epithet of ὀθονέων (η 107) for καιρουσσέων (on the explanation Wackernagel 1916: 84f. against Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 249 who sticks to his interpretation), gen.pl. of καιρόεσσα, fem. to καιρόεις which properly means 'provided with καῖροι'; exact meaning uncertain. Cf. καιρία, mostly ▶κειρία (-η-, -ι-).
•ETYM A technical expression of unclear meaning, and therefore etymologically difficult. According to H. Petersson (see Pok. 577f.), it is related to Arm. *sarik'* [pl.], gen. *sareac'* 'sling, rope', as well as to *sard*, instr. *sardi-w* 'spider'. Clackson 1994:139-140 pleads for a different origin of the Armenian *sari-k'*, which rather means 'chain, fetter', also 'band'. Cimochowski *Ling. Posn.* 5 (1955): 194 connected it with Albanian *thur* 'twine, weave'.

καίω [v.] 'to kindle', med.-pass. 'to burn' (Il.). ◁IE? **keh₂u-* 'burn'▷

•VAR Att. κάω, aor. καῦσαι, epic (also Att. inscr. *IG* 1^2, 374: 96; 261) κῆαι, pass. καῆναι (epic Ion.), καυθῆναι, fut. καύσω, perf. κέκαυκα, κέκαυ(σ)μαι (IA).

•DIAL Myc. *a-pu-ke-ka-u-me-no*, *pu-ka-wo* /pur-kawos/ (vel sim.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπο-. Among the compounds, note ἔγκαυ-μα, -σις, -(σ)τής, -στήριον, -στον (> Lat. *encaustum*; the red purple with which the Roman emperors signed, from where Fr. *encre*); also ὑπόκαυ-σις, -στης, -στήριον, -στρᾱ, etc.

•DER 1. καῦμα 'fire, heat, glow' (Il.) with καυματ-ώδης (Hp., Arist.), -ηρός (Str.), -ίας (Thphr.; of the sun) 'burning, glowing', καυματίζω 'burn, singe' (NT, Plu., Arr.). 2. καῦσις (ἔγκαυσις, etc.) 'burning' (IA) together with (ἐγ-, κατα-)καύσιμος 'inflamable' (Pl., X.). 3. καῦσος [m.] 'causus, bilious remittent fever, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), from καῦσαι, or rather with a suffix -σο- (Strömberg 1944: 87f.)? Thence καυσία 'Macedonian hat against the sun', καύσων 'id.', also 'heat, hot wind, etc.' (LXX, NT, medic.), καυσώδης 'burning, hot' (Hp., Thphr.), καυσόομαι, -όω 'to have causus, burn; to heaten' (medic., NT, pap.) together with καύσωμα 'heating' (Gal.). 4. καυ(σ)τήρ [m.] 'burner, burning iron' (Pi., Hp.), fem. gen. καυστειρῆς, epithet of μάχης (Il.) or καμίνου (Nic.), from *καύστειρα (Schwyzer: 474, Chantraine 1942: 192; note the switch of accent); καυτήριον 'branding iron, brand(mark)' (LXX, D. S., Str.), diminutive καυτηρίδιον (Gal.), denominative verb καυτηριάζω 'to brand' (Str., NT). 5. καύστης [m.] 'heater, etc.' (pap.). 6. καύστρᾱ [f.] 'place where corpses were burnt' (Str., inscr.). 7. καυστικός, rare καυτ- 'burning, inflamable' (Arist.). 8. καυθμός 'scorching (of trees), firewood' (Thphr., pap.). Beside these formations there are older ones whose connection with καίω became less clear due to phonetic developments: ►κᾶλον 'wood', ►κηλέος 'burning, blazing', ►κηώδης, ►κηώεις 'smelling', κηυα mg. uncertain; πυρκαιᾱ́, πυρκαίη, adj. -ιός.

•ETYM All forms go back to a root καυ-, καϝ-: καίω (whence Att. κᾶω) derives from a *yod*-present *κάϝ-ι̯ω, while the once enigmatic form ἔ-κη-α is now explained from *eka^{h}wa* < **h₁e-keh₂u-s-m* by Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 627-8. This form is often incorrectly written with -ει-, as in κείαντο, etc. (see Chantraine 1942: 9), and in Att. κέαντος with quantitative metathesis. The full grade also occurs in epic κηλέος, κηώδης, and in Delph. κηυα, which shows a PGr. κηϝ- beside κᾰϝ-.

For an etymology, we have to rely on Baltic material: Lith. *kūlės* 'Brandpilze, Flugbrand, Staubbrand des Getreides', *kūlėti* 'brandig werden', Latv. *kūla* 'old, dry, grass of last year' (cf. Fraenkel 1955 s.v.). These would represent a zero grade *kū-* < **kHu-*, beside a full grade **keh₂us-* continued in Greek ἔκηϝα, and zero grade **kh₂u̯-* in *κάϝ-ι̯ω, καῦ-μα.

κάκαλα [n.pl.] · τείχη. Αἰσχύλος Νιόβῃ (*Fr.* 166) 'walls' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Uncertain hypothesis by Solmsen 1909: 215: related to ποδο-κάκκη 'piece of wood in which the feet of prisoners were tied' (Leges *apud* Lys. et D., Pl. Com. 249, sch. [not in LSJ]), also written -κάκη (perhaps after κακός). Chantraine comments: "rapprochement en l'air".

κακιθής [adj.] · ἄτροφος ἄμπελος 'a withering grapevine' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also κακιθές, κακιθά (H.), κακιθή (Theognost. *Can.* 109).
•ETYM Acc. to Collinder *Eranos* 67 (1969): 210, it is itacistic for κακ[ο-]ήθης. See ►κάγκανος.

κακκάβη 1 [f.] 'three-legged pot' (com.), acc. to Ath. 4, 169c = χύτρα. ◄PG?►
•VAR Also κακάβη, κάκαβος (Gal., Alex. Trall.), κάκκαβος [m.] (Nicoch., Antiph.)
•DER Diminutive κακ(κ)άβι(ο)ν (Eub., pap.).
•ETYM Technical LW of unknown origin. Semitic origin proposed by Lewy *Glotta* 16 (1928): 137 and Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19 (who compares Akk. *kukubu*); rejected by E. Masson 1967: 83-83, but defended again by Szemerényi *IF* 73 (1968): 194f. In the meaning 'kettle', it could be a metaphor of 'partridge', acc. to Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 48 (1970): 53. Lat. *cac(c)abus*, diminutive *cac(c)abulus* (= κακουβαλουμ in Ps.-Dsc.; André *Latomus* 14 (1955): 518) are borrowed from the Greek. Cf. WH s.v. *cac(c)abus*. Given the variations and the variant in Lat. *cascabus* 'cacabus grandis' (gloss.), cited by Fur.: 298, the word is likely to be Pre-Greek.

κακκάβη 2 [f.] 'partridge' (Ath. 9, 390a). ◄LW Anat.►
•VAR κακκαβίς [f.] (Alcm. 25).
•DER κακκαβίζω 'to quack', of a partridge (Arist., Thphr.), of owls (Ar. *Lys.* 761; v.l. -βάζω; cf. κικκαβάζω); also κακκάζω, of hens (H.).
•ETYM For the ending, Chantraine 1933: 260 compared ὄτοβος, κόναβος, θόρυβος; further onomatopoeic. Lat. *cacabāre* 'quack' was borrowed from Greek. One may compare Lat. *cacillāre* 'id.', MoHG *gackern*, MoDu. *kakelen*, Ru. *kokotát'*, etc., all onomatopoeic for 'to quack'. On the other hand, Hitt. *kakkapa-*, Akk. *kakkabānu* 'partridge' have also been compared (Benveniste 1962: 7); see also Szemerényi *IF* 73 (1968): 94 and Cardona *Orbis* 16 (1967): 161-164. Neumann 1961: 60 suggests Lydian origin.

κακκάω [v.] 'to shit' (Ar. *Nub.* 1384, 1390), κάκκη 'human ordure' (Ar. *Pax* 162). ◄ONOM►
•ETYM Lallwort from the language of children with expressive gemination, like Lat. *cacāre*, MIr. *caccaim* 'to shit', *cacc* 'ordure', Du. *kakken*, Ru. *kákat'*, Arm. *k'akor* 'dung', etc.

κακ(κ)αλία name of several plants (Dsc., Plin.).
•VAR κακαλίς· νάρκισσος 'narcissus' (H.). ⇒ἀκακαλίς.

κακός [adj.] 'bad, awful, worthless' (Il.). ◄IE? **knḱ-* 'slight', PG?►
•VAR Grades of comparison: κακώτερος (Il.), κακίων, κάκιστος (Il.), after ἄριστος acc. to Seiler 1950: 100f., but see now DELG *Supp.*
•DIAL Myc. *ka-zo-e* /kazohes/.
•COMP Often as a first member (in opposition to εὖ); also as a second member, e.g. bahuvrīhi ἄ-κακος 'who does not know what is bad, unguilty' (Sapph., A.); also ἀ-κάκᾱς (Dor.), epithet of Hades (Megara), of Darius (A. *Pers.* 855 [lyr.]), cf. Chantraine 1933: 28.
•DER Abstracts: 1. κακότης 'badness' (Il.); 2. κακία 'id.' (Thgn., Att.; on κακότης : κακία see Porzig 1942: 212); 3. κάκη 'bad character, cowardice' (A., E.); after πάθη,

βλάβη, cf. Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 221; as a second member in στομα-κάκη a disease of mouth and teeth (Str., Plin.).
Denominative verbs: 1. κακίζω 'to revile', -ίζομαι 'to behave badly, be a coward' (Il.), with κακισμός (Phld., Str.), κάκισις (Vett. Val.) 'scorn'; 2. κακόω 'to revile, damage, ruin' (Il.) together with κάκωσις 'maltreatment, damage' (IA), κακωτής 'damager', κακωτικός 'damaging, harmful' (Ph., Vett. Val.); 3. κακύνομαι 'to prove to be bad or cowardly', -ύνω 'to damage' (E., Pl.).
•ETYM No clear etymology. Neo-Phrygian κακο(υ)ν is a loan from Greek, acc. to Solmsen *KZ* 34 (1897): 52[4] and others. De Lamberterie (see DELG *Supp.*) compares OAv. *kasu-* 'small, slight', with grades of comparison *kasiiah-*, *kasišta-* 'smallest'. However, if this is accepted, his reconstruction of a PIE root **kaḱ-* may be altered to **knḱ-*. Another option is comparison with the root of Lith. *keñkti* 'to ache' < **kenk-*, and the Germanic group of Go. *huhrus* 'hunger'. Alternatively, the word could be Pre-Greek.

κάκτος [f.] 'a kind of thistle, cardoon, cactus' (Epich., Theophr., Theoc.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin (cf. Strömberg 1937: 102). See André 1956 s.v. *cactus*. Lat. *cactus* was borrowed from the Greek. Fur.: 321, 371 thinks the -κτ- points to Pre-Greek and compares ἀκακία.

κακχαδίαι · ἰσχνόφωνοι 'wth weak voices' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Schmidt corrects it to κισχαῦδαι, which would be contracted from καὶ ἰσχαῦδαι; cf. σχαῦδαι (= ἰσχαῦδαι)· ἰσχνόφωνοι (H.).

καλαβοῦτοι [?] · ἐν τῷ τῆς Δερεάτιδος ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος ᾀδόμενοι ὕμνοι 'songs sung of Artemis in the sanctuary of D.' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM On a suggestion by Laum, see Wahrmann *Glotta* 17 (1929): 242f. M. Schmidt suggests reading **καλαβοίδια; see ►καλαοίδια. Latte reads -βῶται.

καλαβύστας ⇒ἀσκάλαβος.

καλαβώτης ⇒ἀσκάλαβος.

καλαδία [f.] · ῥυκάνη 'plane-tree' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 39, it belongs to κλαδαρός, κλάδος (?).

καλάζει [v.] · ὀγκοῦται. Ἀχαιοι 'is elated (Achaian)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

κάλαθος [m.] 'basket' (Ar., Arist.), also metaph. of various objects, e.g. 'capital of a pillar' (Callix.), 'reservoir of an oil-lamp' (Hero). ◁PG?▷
•COMP As a first member e.g. in καλαθη-φόρος [f.] 'bearer of a κ.' (Ephesus III[P]), Καλαθηφόροι title of a comedy by Euboulos. On -η- see Schwyzer 438f.
•DER καλαθίσκος (Ar., Lys.), -ον [n.] (Delos II[a]); καλάθιον (Poll. Orib.); also καλάθωσις 'coffering of a ceiled roof' (gloss.).
•ETYM For the formation, cf. ►γυργαθός (γύργαθος), ►κύαθος, ὁρμαθός, etc. Connected with ►κλώθω by de Saussure 1879: 267, which is formally impossible. Probably Pre-Greek.

καλάϊνος [adj.] 'blue-green, bluish', of stones, earthenware, etc. (*PSI* 4, 396, 9 [III^{a}], *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 39 [cod. καλλεανός], *AP*, Dsc.). ◂?▸

•VAR Also καλλ-.

•ETYM An adjective in -ινος, seemingly derived from κάλλαις 'blue-green stone, turquoise' (Plin. *NH* 37, 151), but this could also be a back-formation. Comparison with ▸κάλλαιον 'cock's comb, the feathers of a cock' and ▸καλαΐς 'hen' is improbable.

καλαΐς [f.] 'hen', msc. 'cock' (*IG* 4^{2}(1), 40: 5, 41: 6 Epid. [V^{a}]). ◂?▸

•VAR Only acc. -ιδα.

•ETYM No etymology. Mostly taken from ▸καλέω. Bechtel 1921, 2: 510f. posits *καλαϝίς, a fem. of *καλαϝός, which would properly mean "the calling one", by comparison with Skt. *uṣā-ḱala-* 'cock', "who calls early" (see ▸ἡϊκανός). However, we cannot obtain *καλα- from ▸καλέω, as the root ended in *-h$_{1}$*. Pagliaro *Arch. glott. ital.* 39 (1954): 145ff. identifies καλαΐς 'hen' with κάλλαϊς 'turquoise' (and with κάλαϊς· τὸ ἱστίον H.), καλάϊνος, and perhaps with κάλλαιον. Fur.: 125 fn. connects it with Lat. *gallus*.

καλαμίνθη [f.] name of an odoriferous plant (Hp., Ar., Arist.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Also -μινθα (Philum. *Ven.*, Phot.), -μινθος (Nic. *Th.* 60).

•DER καλαμινθίνη 'id.' (medic.; after ῥητίνη, etc., Chantraine 1933: 204), καλαμινθίτης (Dsc., of οἶνος), καλαμινθώδης 'full of κ.' (Str., Apollon. *Lex.*). Καλαμίνθιος name of a frog (Ar. *Batr.* 224).

•ETYM Unknown. The formal agreement with κάλαμος and μίνθη does not permit a conclusion. The assumption of a pre-form *καλαμο-μίνθη with dissimilation is unconvincing. A derivation καλάμ-ινθος from κάλαμος (Schwyzer: 526) and the assumption of a foreign word, with popular adaptation to κάλαμος and μίνθη, remain hypothetical as well. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 370. A Pre-Greek word is most probable because of the suffix and the meaning.

καλαμίνδαρ [?] · πλάτανος ἡδονιεῖς (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

κάλαμος [m.] 'reed, grass-stalk', often metaph. of objects made of reed, 'flute of reed, fishing rod, reed pen', etc. (*h. Merc.* 47 [cf. Zumbach 1955: 5], Pi., IA); on the botanical mg. see Strömberg 1937: 100f. ◂IE **ḱolh$_{2}$-m-*, **ḱlh$_{2}$-em-* 'reed, straw'▸

•VAR καλάμη [f.] 'stalk or straw' (Hom., Hdt., X., Arist.).

•COMP Especially in botanical terminology (Strömberg 1937: 112), e.g. μονο-κάλαμος 'with a single stalk' (Thphr.), καλαμη-φόρος 'with reed' (X. *HG* 2, 1, 2; v.l. -ο-, cf. Schwyzer: 526), καλαμη-τόμος 'cutting off stalks' (A. R.).

•DER Diminutives καλαμίσκος (Ar., medic.), καλάμιον (pap.); καλαμίς [f.] name of several objects made of reed (Hell.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 342f.); collective καλαμία (-εία) 'reed' (pap.); καλαμών 'id.' (lit. pap.); καλαμάριον 'reed-case' (pap.).

καλαμεύς 'fisher' (Pancrat. *apud* Ath.); also καλαμευτής 'id.' (*AP*; as if from *καλαμεύω, cf. Chantraine 1933: 318); καλαμίτης 'provided with κάλαμος, etc.' (D.).

καλάμινος 'made of reed' (IA), καλαμόεις 'of reed' (E. [lyr.]), καλαμῶδης 'full of reed, reed-like' (Arist., Thphr.), καλαμικός 'id.' (pap.).
καλαμόω [v.] 'to provide with reed, splint (a bone) with reed' (Gal.) together with καλαμωτή 'fence of reed' (Eust., H.); καλαμίζω 'blow a reed flute' (Ath.).
From καλάμη : καλαμαία [f.] 'kind of grasshopper' (Theoc. 10, 18), καλαμαῖον [n.] 'kind of cicade' (Paus. Gr., H.), cf. Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 315f. and Georgacas *Glotta* 31 (1951): 216), καλαμάομαι 'collect grain-stalks, gather ears (of corn)' (Cratin., LXX, Plu.) with καλάμημα (Thd.).
•ETYM An old word for 'reed, straw', with cognate forms in Latin *culmus*, Germanic (e.g. OHG *halm*), Balto-Slavic (e.g. OPr. *salme* 'straw', Latv. *salms* , Ru. *solóma*, SCr. *slàma*). Except for κάλαμος, -μη, all these forms can go back to IE **ḱolh₂-mo-, ḱolh₂-meh₂-*. Therefore, κάλαμος has been explained as from *κόλαμος (comparing ποταμός, πλόκαμος) by vowel assimilation, but this unsatisfactory solution is unnecessary, as the proto-language may have had a paradigm **ḱolh₂-m, *ḱlh₂-em-*, i.e. an *m*-stem, which was thematicized in the separate branches. From κάλαμος, Lat. *calamus* and Skt. *kaláma-* 'writing reed', Arab. *qalam* > Osman. *kalém* > MoGr. καλέμι were borrowed (Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 11).

κάλανδρος [m.] 'kind of lark' (Dionys. *Av.* 3, 15). ◅PG▻
•ETYM Ending like τάρανδ(ρ)ος, Μαίανδρος; origin unknown. Thence Ital. *calandro* 'lark' (Meyer-Lübke 1911-1920: N° 1486). See also WH s.v. *caliandrum*. No doubt either Pre-Greek, or a loan from Anatolia.

καλαοίδια [f.] · ἀγὼν ἐπιτελούμενος Ἀρτέμιδι παρὰ Λάκωσιν 'contest in honour of Artemis (Laconian)' (H.). ◅GR?▻
•ETYM Acc. to Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 35, a univerbation of καλεῖν and ἀείδειν. Acc. to Frisk, it is rather a derivation in -ιο- from καλαὶ ἀοιδαί.

καλάπους [m.] 'shoemaker's last', καλαρῖνες· ὀχετοί. Λάκωνες 'water-pipes (Laconian)'; καλαρρυγαί· τάφροι 'ditches' (H.). ⇒κᾶλον.

καλάρις [m.] a small bird (Arist. *HA* 609a). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

καλάσιρις, -ιος [f.] an Egyptian garment with tassels or fringes at the bottom (Hdt. 2, 81, Cratin. 30; a Persian garment in Democr. Eph. 1), also worn at the Mysteries in Andania (Messenia) (*IG* 5(1), 1390: 17; written -σηρις); Καλασίριες [m.pl.] name of a kind of Egyptian soldier (Hdt. 2, 164; after the garment or *vice versa*?). ◅LW Eg.▻
•VAR Also -σηρις.
•COMP As a second member in τρυφο-καλάσιρις name of a women's garment (Ar. *Fr.* 320, 6; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 269).
•ETYM Egyptian word without certain etymology; cf. Spiegelberg *Zs. f. ägypt. Spr.* 43 (1905): 87ff. On the notation, see Schwyzer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 75f. Further discussion in Drioton-Vandier 1962: 572f.

καλαῦροψ, -οπος [f.] name of a herdsman's staff, which was thrown to drive back the cattle to the herd (Ψ 845, Antim., A. R.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also κολλόροβον (Hipparch. Ptol.; written κολλώροβον in *BGU* 59.13), = κορύνη 'staff' (H., who has κολλορόβον), see Fur.: 145f.

•DER καλαυρόπιον (Artem.). Unclear is καλαυρόφις· βακτηριοφόρος 'staff-bearer' (H.), at an alphabetically wrong position; Fur.: 146[18] suggests that it is a mistake for *καλαυροπο-φορίς.

•ETYM Explained as an Aeolic compound καλα-ϝροψ by Schwyzer: 224 and Chantraine 1942: 158, but with unexplained second member. The comparison of the first member with Skt. *śalá-* 'stick' (cf. on ►κῆλα) or with ►κλάω, κλάσαι must be forgotten.

It is a typical Pre-Greek word, containing a labialized phoneme *r*^{w}, from a pre-form **kalar*^{w}*-ap-*, where the labial element was anticipated in καλαυροπ-, and colored the following **a* into o. In κολλορ-, the preceding **a* was colored to o as well, and the first **a* was assimilated to the following o or ω (which may have been contracted from αυ). Compare ►ἄλοξ for the phenomena described here, which are typical of Pre-Greek loans.

καλέω [v.] 'to call, call by name, name' (Il.). ◅IE **klh*$_1$- 'call' ▻

•VAR Epic also κικλήσκω, Aeol. κάλημι, Cypr. καλήζω, aor. καλέσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. κληθῆναι (Archil.), fut. καλέω (IA since Γ 383), καλῶ (Att.), καλέσω (young Att., Hell.), perf. med. κέκλημαι with fut. κεκλήσομαι (Il.), act. κέκληκα (Ar.).

•COMP Very frequently with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-, προσ-, συν-. As a first member in καλεσσί-χορος 'calling to the dance' (Orph. *L.* 718; Schwyzer: 443f.); cf. ►ὁμοκλή (also ὀμ-), ὁμο-κλέω, -άω.

•DER With a disyllabic stem: 1. καλήτωρ 'Caller', epithet of κῆρυξ (Ω 577), also as a PN (O 419), with Καλητορίδης (N 541); καλη- as in καλή-μεναι (K 125; athem. Aeol. formation?) 2. Καλήσιος (Z 18); 3. κάλεσις = κλῆσις 'nominative' (gramm.).

With a monosyllabic stem: 4. κλῆσις 'call, invitation, summon, etc.' (Att. Hell.), often to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπίκλη-σις 'surname' (Il.); 5. -κλημα, e.g. ἔγκλη-μα 'reproach, accusation' (Att.) with ἐγκλήμων, -ματικός, -ματίζω, etc. 6. κλητήρ, -ῆρος 'herald, witness' (A., Att.); ὁμοκλη-τήρ 'who calls' (Il.) from ►ὁμοκλή, -έω; ἀνακλητήρια [n.pl.] 'festival when a king is nominated' (Plb.); 7. κλήτωρ, -ορος 'witness', also PN (Hell.), after κλητήρ (Fraenkel 1910: 17f.; on καλήτωρ : κλητήρ see Benveniste 1948: 29, 40, 46). 8. κλητός 'called, invited, welcome' (Hom.; Ammann 1956: 14 and 21) with κλητεύω 'call to justice, etc.' (Att.), (ἀνα-, etc.)-κλη-τικός; often from the prefixed verbs, e.g. ἔκκλη-τος 'called in' (IA, Dor.) with the collective abstract ἐκκλησία '(called) meeting' (IA), 'community, church' (LXX, NT); with ἐκκλησι-άζω and -αστής, -ασμός, etc.; with nominal first member in πολύ-κλη-τος 'often called', i.e. 'called on from many sides' (Δ 438, K 420). 9. κλή-δην 'by name' (I 11; cf. ἐξονομακλήδην); 10. ἐπίκλη-ν 'with (sur)name' (Pl.; Schwyzer: 425). Deverbative formation καλιστρέω = καλέω (D. 47, 60 from Harp., Call.; probably first from a noun, cf. ἐλαστρέω, Schwyzer: 706). On κληΐζω, κληδών (κλεη-, κληη-) see ►κλέος.

•ETYM The disyllabic verbal stem in καλέσαι (analogical καλέσσαι), beside κλη- in κέκλημαι, κικλήσκω, κλητός, points to a root **klh*$_1$- (καλε- going back to **klh*$_1$*-e-*). Latin has *clā-* (*clāmare*, *clārus*) beside *calā-re*, both from a zero grade root. The

present καλέω may be an innovation after καλέσαι; differently, Harðarson 1993a: 82[98].

Cognate verbal forms include Lat. *calāre* 'to announce, summon', U *kařetu* < **kalē-tōd*; further, OHG *hellan* 'to resound' and OS *halōn* 'to call, fetch' (= *calāre*), OE *hlōwan* 'to low', Hitt. *kalliš-^{zi}* / *kališš-* 'to call, summon'. Noticeable among the nominal forms are Skt. *uṣā-kal-a-* 'cock' (see on ►ἡϊκανός) and Lat. *clārus* 'sonorous, bright' < **klh$_1$-ro-*, MoHG *hell* 'id.'. κέλαδος 'noise' is not cognate.

κάλη 'tumour'. ⇒κήλη.

κάληβος · ἀπεσκολυμμένος τὸ αἰδοῖον 'with cut off private parts' (H.). ⇒βάκηλος, as well as καβάλλης.

καλῐ́ά [f.] 'hut, barn, granary, nest' (Hes.). ◅?▻

•VAR Ion. -ιή; καλιός [m.] 'hut, scale' (Epich., Cratin.).

•DER Diminutive καλῐ́διον (Eup.); καλιάς, -άδος [f.] 'hut, nest, chapel' (Attica IV^a, D. H., Plu.) with καλιάδιον (Delos II^a).

•ETYM The word καλιά differs from other oxytone words in -ιά by its ῐ, which is long almost everywhere (but short in Theoc. 29, 12). Etymological connection with ►καλύπτω, etc. is extremely doubtful.

καλίδια [n.pl.]? · ἔντερα. Κύπριοι 'entrails (Cypr.)' (H.). ◅PG?(V)▻

•ETYM Lidén *KZ* 61 (1934): 23ff. connected it with Arm. *k'alird* 'intestines (of animals)', with *-rd* after *leard* 'liver', and Lith. *skil̃vis* 'stomach'. Fur.116 compares γάλλια· ἔντερα (H.) and considers the word to be Pre-Greek.

καλινδέομαι [v.] 'to roll about, wallow' (IA). ◅PG▻

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Also with ἐν-, προ-, προσ-, συν-.

•DER καλινδήθρα 'place for horses to roll' (Ael.), καλίνδησις 'name of a throw of the dice' (Alciphr.).

•ETYM Perhaps (but not quite certainly) the aorist δια-καλῖσαι 'transport by rolling' (*SIG*^{2} 587, 158) belongs here, together with διακάλισις (Hermione); also, ἐσ- and παρ-κάλισις (Epid.); however, cf. on ►κᾱλον. For the formation, cf. ἁλινδέομαι and κυλινδέομαι (Güntert 1914: 131f.); DELG thinks it is a cross of these two. Fur.: 391 reminds of the alternation κ-/ zero in Pre-Greek words.

καλιστρέω ⇒καλέω.

καλλαβίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a lascivious dance (Eup. 163, Phot.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also καλαβίς (H.) = τὸ περισπᾶν τὰ ἰσχία, ἢ γένος ὀρχήσεως ἀσχημόνως τῶν ἰσχίων κυρτουμένων.

•ETYM The word seems to be derived from **κάλλαβος*; it would belong to the group of popular, lower class words in -βος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 260ff.). Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 375, it derives from **καταλαβίς*, but this is semantically unexplained. Fur.: 343 compares κόλαβρος, a song that accompanies the κολαβρισμός.

κάλλαιον [n.] 'wattles' (Ar., Ael., Paus.), 'cock's crest' (Arist.), 'cock's tail feathers' (Ael. Dion.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Usually plur. -α.
•ETYM Unknown. The connection with καλαΐς 'cock' was rejected by WP 1, 444. Probably Pre-Greek. See ►καλάϊνος, ►καλαΐς.

κάλλαΐς, -ιδος [f.] 'blue-green stone, turquoise' (Plin.). ⇒καλάϊνος.

καλλαρίας [m.] a kind of cod-fish (Archestr., Opp., H. s.v. λαζίνης). ◁PG▷
•VAR γαλ(λ)αρίας· ἰχθύς, ὁ ὀνίσκος 'cod-fish' (H.), γαλλερίας, γελαρίης (Dorion) and χελλαρίης = ὀνίσκος (Dorio *apud* Ath. 3, 118c).
•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, formed from κάλλος with a suffix -ίας (Chantraine 1933: 94). The synonymous γαλ(λ)αρίας is sometimes connected with γαλεός 'dog-fish' (?); see Strömberg 1943: 130f., as well as Thompson 1947: 97. The variants clearly point to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 140); the two variants with ε's and the geminate -λλ- suggest a pre-form **kal^{y}ar-*.

καλλίᾶς [m.] 'monkey' (Din., Herod., H.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Ion. -ίης, Dor. -ίαρ (H.).
•DER PN Καλλίας.
•ETYM Perhaps a euphemistic usage of the PN (cf. Gal. 18 : 2, 236 and 611), which has been connected with κάλλος. Cf. Kretschmer *KZ* 33 (1895): 560 and Kretschmer 1909: 122. A semantic parallel from Indic is given by Schulze *KZ* 56 (1929): 124: MInd. *sumukha* "nice face", as a way of addressing an ape. Cf. also Spitzer *KZ* 57 (1930): 63.

καλλιβάντες [?] · ὅμοια σμιλίοις καὶ ψαλίσιν, ἐν αἷς τὰς ὀφρῦς κοσμοῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. [ἄνθη.] [ἢ γένος ὀρχήσεως ἀσχημόνως τῶν ἰσχίων κρατουμένων] (H.). ◁PG?(S)▷
•ETYM Unknown. Words with the suffix -(ιβ)αντ- are mostly Pre-Greek.

καλλιερέω [v.] 'to bring καλὰ ἱερά', i.e. 'to sacrifice favorably' (IA); intr. impersonal (of a sacrifice) 'to be καλὰ ἱερά, work out well' (Hdt.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Aor. καλλιερῆσαι (IA), perf. κεκαλλιέρηκα (X.).
•DER καλλιέρησις (Attica), -ημα (H., *EM*); Dor. καλλιαρία (Cos; from *καλλιαρέω).
•ETYM Compounded from καλὰ ἱερά (cf. Schwyzer: 726), with adaptation of the first member to nominal compounds with καλλι-. See ►καλός.

Καλλικύριοι ⇒Κιλλικύριοι.

καλλονή •VAR κάλλος, καλλύνω. ⇒καλός.

κᾱλον [n.] 'wood, logs (for burning), timber' (*h. Merc.* 112, Hes. *Op.* 427, Ion. trag., Call., Cyrene), also 'wood for ships' = 'ship' (Lacon. in Ar. *Lys.* 1253, X. *HG* 1, 1,23, Plu. *Alc.* 28.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Mostly plur. -α.
•COMP As a first member in καλοτύπος· ὁ δρυοκολάπτης 'woodcutter' (H.), καλοπέδιλα [n.pl.] "wooden shoes", fetters for the feet of a cow (Theoc. 25, 103); καλόπους, -ποδος [m.] "wooden foot", i.e. 'shoemaker's last' (v.l. in Pl. *Smp.* 191a and Poll. 2, 195; Edict. Diocl.), also καλά-πους (Pl. l.c., Poll. 10, 141; after τετρά-πους?), with

the diminutive καλοπόδιον (Gal. 6, 364 [v.l. -απ-], Suid.); as technical expressions, καλόπους and καλοπόδιον entered into Eastern languages, e.g. Arab. *qālib*, whence Osman. *kalyp* 'form, model' > MoGr. τό καλούπι 'id.', MP *kalapaδ*, MoP *kālbud* (Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 11; Bailey *TPS* 1933: 49). Of doubtful appurtenance is καλαρ<ρ>ύα 'canal, water conduit' (Ambracian acc. to sch. Gen. Φ 259), καλαρρυ̱αί (cod. -γαί)· τάφροι. Ἀμερίας 'ditches' (H.), acc. to Schwyzer: 438[4] properly "wooden water conduit"; similarly καλαρῖνες· ὀχετοί. Λάκωνες 'water-pipe (Lacon.)' (H.); cf. ῥινοῦχος 'canal', etc., see Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 335.

•DER κάλινος 'of wood' (Epich., Lyc., A. R., Cyrene); diminutive (?) κάλιον (-ίον?)· ξυλάριον, βακτηρίδιον 'small piece of wood; small staff'; καλύριον (-ύφιον?)· ξυλήφιον 'piece of wood' (H.).

•ETYM The word has been connected with ►καίω, καῦσαι as 'firewood', by comparison with the synonymous δᾱλός 'fire-brand' < δα̱ϝ-ελός (to ►δαίω), under the assumption that κᾱλον would represent *κάϝ-ελον. However, since Dor. κᾱλον cannot be derived from it, it was necessary to assume *κάϝ-αλον (Schwyzer: 248, Lejeune 1972: 263). Nevertheless, in the case of a pre-form *καϝ-αλ-, Pre-Greek origin is much more likely. The connection with ►καίω is not certain at all. From the plur. κᾶλα, Latin borrowed *cāla* [f.] 'dry wood, firewood'. See ►κῆλα.

καλός [adj.] 'beautiful, noble, good' (Il.); on the mg. Smothers *Traditio* 5 (1947): 1-57, also Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 261. ◄?►

•VAR Primary compar. καλλίων (Alc. ntr. κάλιον [see below], El. καλίτερος [graphic?], rarely καλώτερος, καλλιώτερος), sup. κάλλιστος; Dor. adv. (Alcm. 98) καλλά; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 87f.

•DIAL Epic Ion. κᾱλός, Boeot. καλ̱ος (*Del.*[3] 538 [VI[a]]).

•COMP Rare as a first member (for καλλι-, εὐ-), e.g. καλό-φυλλος 'with beautiful leaves' (Thphr.; after μακρό-, λειό-φυλλος, etc.); as a second member e.g. ἀπειρό-καλος 'not knowing what is beautiful' (Pl.; from τὸ καλόν). Note especially καλοκάγαθία (orators, X.), univerbating abstract of καλὸς κ(αὶ) ἀγαθός (IA; see Berlage *Mnem.* 60 (2007): 20ff.).

•DER καλότης 'beauty' (Chrysipp. *Stoic.* 3, 60). With geminate: 1. κάλλος [n.] 'beauty' (Il.), as a second member e.g. in περι-καλλής 'very beautiful' (Il., bahuvrīhi); thence κάλλιμος 'beautiful' (Od., *h. Hom.*; after κύδιμος, see Arbenz 1933: 10ff.), καλλύνω 'give beauty, make beautiful, sweep' (S., Pl., Arist.) with καλλυντής 'sweeper' (pap. II[a]), κάλλυντρον 'broom', also name of a shrub (Arist.), κάλλυνθρον 'duster' (LXX, pap.), καλλυντήρια [n.pl.] name of a purificatory festival (Phot., *EM*), καλλύσματα [pl.] 'dust' (Ceos). Fom κάλλος also καλλονή 'id.' (cf. ἡδονή), καλλοσύνη 'id.' (E.). 2. compar. καλλίων, κάλλιστος (Il.); thence καλλιόομαι 'be made more beautiful' (LXX), καλλιστεύω, -ομαι 'be the most beautiful' (Ion.) with καλλιστεῖον, καλλίστευμα 'sacrifice of the most beautiful, price of beauty, price of honour' (S., E., inscr.). 3. καλλι- as a first member (Il.); e.g. καλλι-γύναικ-α, -ος, -ι 'with beautiful women' (cf. Sommer 1948: 62), also in PNs, whence short names like Καλλίας, etc.

•ETYM Att. κᾰλός and Ion. κᾱλός both derive from καλ̱ός; the noun κάλλος, the compar. forms καλλίων, κάλλιστος and the first member καλλι- differ from these by their geminate -λλ-, an explanation of which is still wanting. One proposal has been

a basis *κάλ-νος or *κάλ-i̯ος for κάλλος (and καλλίων, κάλλιστος, while καλλι- may be analogical?), but this does not inspire confidence, as κάλλος seems to be a Greek innovation (cf. Chantraine 1933: 416f.), and there is no good explanation for καλλι- either. The assumption of expressive gemination (Chantraine l.c.) is an *ad hoc* hypothesis and not a solution. Beside καλ-ϝός (with an old suffix *-*wo*-), one would expect καλι- as a first member (is it retained in Alc. κάλιον?), which Wackernagel *KZ* 61 (1934): 191ff. recognized in Skt. *kaly-āṇa-* 'beautiful'. Pinault *BSL* 98 (2003) assumes that the original Skt. form was fem. *kalyāṇī-* 'with beautiful hips', the second part of the compound being Skt. *āṇí-* 'axle-pin, linch-pin'; 'part of the leg above the knee'. Schwyzer: 447[6] derives καλλ- from antevocalic *καλι̯-, whence καλλι- and (as a back-formation) κάλλος, etc. Differently, Risch 1937 (par. 62a): -λλ- is from a compar. *κάλλων < *καλι̯ων, whence κάλλιστος, etc. Similarly, Seiler 1950: 68ff.: a neuter comparative *κάλλον < *κάλι̯ον was interpreted as a positive, and resulted in a new comparative κάλλιον, καλλίων (whence κάλλιστος, etc.).

κάλπη [f.] 'trot' (Paus., Plu., Hippiatr.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER καλπάζω 'to trot' (A. *Fr.* 145A, Aq., Suid.) with καλπασμός (Philum. *apud* Orib.).

•ETYM Technical term of horse riding without etymology, perhaps originally onomatopoeic ("clapper"). Brugmann (e.g. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 260, 572) connected it with OPr. *po-quelbton* 'kneeling', Lith. *klùpti* 'to kneel, stumble', Germanic (e.g. Go. *hlaupan* 'walk'), but these forms cannot explain the Greek -α-. The same holds for the comparison with κέλης, κολυφρόν· ἐλαφρόν 'nimble' (H.). Fur.: 379 compares σκαλπάζειν· ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν 'to walk around at random' (H.), σκαλαπάζει· ῥέμβεται 'id.' (H.) with prothetic σ-, which suggests that the word is Pre-Greek.

κάλπις, -ιδος [f.] 'pitcher' (η 20; on the mg. Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358 and 365). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Acc. -ιν, -ιδα.

•COMP καλπο-φόρος 'carrying a pitcher' (epigr.).

•DER κάλπη (κάλπην v.l. for -πιν Plu., Hdn.) name of a constellation (Vett. Val.; Scherer 1953: 173 and 190); κάλπος· ποτηρίου εἶδος 'kind of drinking vessel' (H.). Diminutive κάλπιον (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 475c).

•ETYM Without a certain explanation, like many other vessel names. Most often connected with a Celtic word for 'urn, bucket', e.g. OIr. *cilornn* (< **kelpurno*-), but this does not explain the -α-. Acc. to others, it is connected with Assyr. *karpu* 'vase, pot' or with OHG *hal(a)p* 'handle'. Lat. *calpar* (formation unclear) was borrowed from κάλπη. Fur.: 146 connects it with κελέβη, for which there seems no reason. Still, κάλπις is possibly Pre-Greek.

κάλτιος [m.] 'shoe' (Rhinth., Plu., *Edict. Diocl.*). ◁LW Lat.▷

•VAR Also κάλτοι (for κάλτ<ι>οι?)· ὑποδήματα κοῖλα, ἐν οἷς ἱππεύουσι 'hollow sandals, in which horsemen rode' (H.).

•ETYM A Sicilian loanword from Lat. *calceus* (καλίκιοι Plb. 30, 18, 3).

καλύβη [f.] 'hut, cabin' (Hdt.); 'bridal bower' (A. R.); 'sleeping-tent' (*PFlor.* 335, 2). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also καλυβός (Epigr. Gr. 260, Cyrene), κολυβός· ἔπαυλις 'farmstead' (H.).

•DER καλυβίτης 'living in a hut'; καλυβο-ποιέομαι [v.] 'to make oneself a cabin' (Str.).

•ETYM The variant κολυβός, adduced by Fur.: 343, shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Pre-Greek has a rule α - υ > ο - υ; see Fur.: 340.

κάλυγες [?] · τὰ ἔμβρυα 'embryos' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM The structure of the word (καλ-υγ-) is typically Pre-Greek.

καλυδίλα [?] · γέφυρα 'bridge' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word.

καλύδριον [n.] 'a small cable' (*BCH* 29, 543, Delos II[a]). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Unknown. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

κάλυξ, -ῡκος [f.] 'cup, calyx of a flower, husk, shell, pod, rosebud', also metaph. for the ornament of a woman (Σ 401). ◁PG(S)▷

•COMP As a first member e.g. in καλυκοστέφανος 'crowned with buds' (B.).

•DER Diminutive καλύκιον (Dsc., H.); καλυκώδης 'κ.-like' (Thphr.), καλύκειος λίθος name of a stone found in the fish called σάλπη (H.); also κάλυξις· κόσμος τις ἐκ ῥόδων 'an ornament made of roses', καλύξεις· ῥόδων καλύκια 'rosebuds' (H.), καλύκωσις 'rosebud?' (Aq.), as if from *καλύσσω, or *καλυκόω; cf. the formations in Chantraine 1933: 288 and καλυκίζειν· ἀνθεῖν 'to blossom' (H.).

•ETYM On the ending -υξ, cf. Chantraine 1933: 383. The word resembles Skt. (class.) *kalikā-* 'bud', but must probably be kept separate; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. Cf. ►κύλιξ and ►σκαλλίον. Both root and suffix look Pre-Greek (καλ-υκ-).

καλύπτω [v.] 'to cover, hide' (Il., IA). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aor. καλύψαι, perf. med. κεκάλυμμαι, etc.

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, κατα-, περι-, συν-, also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ- in the mg. 'to open up, reveal'.

•DER 1. See ►καλύβη; 2. καλυφή 'submerged land' with ἀποκάλυφος (αἰγιαλός, ἄρουρα) 'land that can be cultivated after inundation' (pap.), περικαλυφή 'envelopment' (Pl. *Lg.* 942d); on -βη and -φη beside καλύ-πτω Schwyzer: 332f. 3. (προ-, παρα-, etc.) κάλυμμα 'cover, veil, etc.' (Il.) with καλυμμάτιον (Ar.). 4. συγκαλυμμός 'cover' (Ar. *Av.* 1496). 5. ἐγ-, κατα-, ἀπο-κάλυψις 'cover, etc.' (Hell.); here, probably as an endearing name Καλυψώ [f.] "one who covers" (Od.), properly a goddess of death acc. to Güntert 1919, see also Bérard *REGr.*67 (1954): 503f. 6. καλυπτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'cover, tile' (Hp., Arist., Att.), καλυπτηρίζω 'cover with tiles' (inscr.), fem. καλύπτειρα 'veil' (*AP*); ἐπι-, ἐγ-, ἀνακαλυπτήριον, -ια 'concealing; ceremony of unveiling' (Arist.). 7. καλύπτρα, -ρη [f.] 'veil, cover' (Il.). 8. ἐκ-καλυπτικός 'revealing' (*Stoic.*, S. E.).

•ETYM The word has been compared to κρύπτω for the formation. In Western European languages, a full grade thematic root present **kel-e/o-* is found, e.g. in OIr. *celim*, Lat. **celō, -ere* (in *occulere*), OHG *helan* 'to hold back, hide'. Further, with a

lengthened grade, deverbative Lat. *cēlāre*, 'to hide', and a zero grade yod-present in Germanic, e.g. Go. *huljan* 'to veil, conceal'. Cf. ►κέλυφος.
However, in this way neither the Greek *a*-vocalism nor the element υ + labial can be accounted for. In view of the variants, the root καλυβ/π/φ- is clearly Pre-Greek. Cf. on ►καλύβη, which proves Pre-Greek origin in a different way.

κάλχη [f.] 'murex, purple flower, Chrysanthemum coronarium' (Alcm., Nic., Str.), metaph. as a term of construction 'rosette of a capital' (Att., Hell., inscr.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR With metathesis of aspiration χάλκη (Meisterhans 1900: 103f.), also χάλχη.
•DER Denominative verb καλχαίνω 'to be purple' (Nic. *Th.* 641), originally medial, metaphorically trans. 'to ponder deeply' (ἔπος, S. *Ant.* 20), intr. 'to be unquiet, excited' (E. *Heracl.* 40), 'to long for' (Lyc. 1457).
•ETYM A loan of unknown origin. The poetic meaning 'to ponder, be excited' may have arisen after ►πορφύρα : ►πορφύρω, which were secondarily connected with each other. It cannot be decided whether the name of the seer Κάλχας belongs here as well.

κάλως [m.] 'reefing rope, cable, rope in general' (ε 260). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Acc. -ω, -ων; κάλος (ε 260 and Hdt.), Hell. plur. -ωες, -ωας, -ωσι
•COMP καλω-στρόφος 'rope-twister' (Plu. *Per.* 12).
•DER Diminutive καλῴδιον, also καλοίδιον (com., Th., inscr., pap.).
•ETYM No etymology; probably a technical loan. The IE etymologies that have been proposed (see Frisk) are untenable.

καμάν [f.] · τὸν ἀγρόν. Κρῆτες 'field (Cretan)' (H.). ◅?▻
•DIAL Myc. *ka-ma* a plot of land, *ka-ma-e-u* 'tenant of a *ka-ma*' (see below).
•ETYM Unknown. An interpretation /kamas/ has been proposed; see Lejeune *RPh.* 42 (1968): 233f. and Ruijgh *Lingua* 58 (1982): 208.

κάμαξ, -ακος [f., m.] 'pole to support the vine, bar, shaft of a spear' (Σ 563). ◅PG(S)▻
•DER καμάκιον (sch.), καμάκινος 'made of one bar' (X.), καμακίας σῖτος 'corn with a stalk that is too long' (Thphr.; cf. Strömberg 1937: 91).
•ETYM Formation like δόναξ, πῖναξ, κλῖμαξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 377ff.). Several languages have similar words for 'bar, wood, stick, etc.', but they are all different: Skt. *śámyā* 'stock, nail', Av. *simā* 'part of the harnass of the wagon for horses', Arm. *samik'* [pl.] 'wood of the yoke', Gm., e.g. MHG *hamel* 'bar, bobbin'. Fur.: 221 compares ἀμάκιον· κάμαξ (H.), with alternation κ/zero (see ibid. 391). The suffix -ακ- is highly frequent in Pre-Greek. See ►καμασήν.

καμάρα [f.] 'vault, vaulted room, wagon and bark with vaulted roof' (Hdt., LXX, Str.). ◅LW?▻
•DIAL Ion. -ρη.
•DER καμάριον (inscr.), καμαρία· κοιτὼν καμάρας ἔχων 'having a vaulted chamber of beds' (H.), καμαρικός 'vaulted' (Ath. Mech.).
Denominative verbs: 1. καμαρόω 'to provide with a vault' with καμάρωσις 'vault' (Hell.), καμάρ-ωμα 'vault' (Str., Gal.), -ωτός 'vaulted' (Str.), -ωτικός 'used in vaulting' (pap.); 2. καμαρεύω [v.] 'to accumulate, exert oneself' (H.). Further

καμάρης· δέσμης 'package, bundle', καμάραι· ζῶναι στρατιωτικαί 'belts for soldiers', καμαρίς· κοσμάριον γυναικεῖον 'women's ornament' (H.); cf. below.

•ETYM The form καμάρα recalls Av. *kamarā* 'girdle', with a different meaning that is, however, found in the glosses καμάρη, καμαρίς (H.). Lat. *camurus, -a, -um* 'curved (of horns), vaulted' has also been adduced. Comparisons with other languages remain uncertain: e.g. Skt. *kmárati* 'to be curved' (gramm.; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v.), Gr. ►κμέλεθρον if from *κμέρεθρον (?), the Gm. word for 'heaven', e.g. Go. *himins*. It is rather a loan, perhaps from an eastern language (from Carian, acc. to sch. Orib. 46, 21, 7). From the Greek word, Lat. *camera* was borrowed; thence it was borrowed into Germanic and Balto-Slavic. See ►κάμινος.

κάμαρος 1 [m.] name of a poisonous plant, kind of Aconitum (?), also = δελφίνιον, 'larkspur' (Hp., Stratt., Nic., Dsc.). ◁EUR▷

•VAR Also κάμμαρος.

•ETYM It has been compared with the Germanic and Slavic word for 'hellebore': OHG *hemera*, Ru. *čemerica* (from CS *čemerъ* 'poison', properly 'hellebore'), and Lith. *kēmeras* 'hemp agrimony (*Eupatorium cannabium*), burr marigold'. The notation κάμμορον (Dsc., Erot.) can be folk-etymological after κάμμορος 'unhappy'. Given the distribution, the word seems to be a loan from a European subtrate language (see Beekes 2000: 28). From κάμμαρος: *kammári* 'spurge' in Lower Italy; see Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 53, Rohlfs 1930: N° 877, and Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 4.

κάμαρος 2 [adj.] = ἀσφαλής (Apollon. *apud* sch. Orib. 46, 21, 7). ◁?▷

•ETYM The word would be Carian. Further unknown. See ►καμάρα.

καμασήν, -ῆνος [m.] name of an unknown fish (Emp., *AP*, Hdn. Gr., H.). ◁EUR▷

•ETYM Given the fish name ἠλακατήν (from ἠλακάτη), one would posit a basic form *κάμασος for καμασήν, with suffixal -ασος like in πέτασος, κόμπασος (Chantraine 1933: 435; unclear). It has been connected with Balto-Slavic words for the 'sheatfish': Lith. *šāmas*, Latv. *sams*, Ru. *som*, etc. Further, connected with ►κάμαξ 'pole, bar' by Solmsen 1909: 122f.; on the naming motive, see Strömberg 1943: 36. Probably a loan from the European substrate. Fur.: 214 connects it with κάβα(ι)σος, καμασός, but without evidence.

κάμηλος [m., f.] 'camel' (Hdt., A., Ar.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•COMP As a first member e.g. in καμηλο-πάρδαλις [f.] 'giraffe' (Agatharch., LXX; Strömberg 1944: 12); also in καμηλάτης for *καμηλ-ελάτης 'camel-driver' with καμηλ-άσιον 'camel-driver's wages' (pap.), -ασία 'camel-driving' (*Dig.*).

•DER Diminutive καμήλιον; adjectives καμήλειος, καμηλικός 'belonging to a camel', καμηλώδης 'like a camel' (Gal.); nouns καμηλίτης (Arist.), καμηλάριος 'camel-driver'; καμηλών 'camel stable'; verb καμηλίζω 'to resemble a camel' (Hld.).

•ETYM From Semitic (originally Babylonian?; Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 17); cf. Hebr. *gāmāl* (= γαμάλ· ἡ κάμηλος παρὰ Χαλδαίοις H.), with (Ionic?) development of ā to η in -ηλος; cf. Γαυγάμηλα = καμήλου οἶκος Str. 16, 1, 3 (Kretschmer *KZ* 31 (1892): 287). From κάμηλος come Skt. *kramela-* (after *krámate* 'stride'), Lat. *camēlus*, and the European forms.

κάμιλος [m.] 'rope, cable' (sch. Ar. *V.* 1035, Suid.). ◁LW Sem.▷
•ETYM From Semitic, acc. to Lewy 1895: 154, who compares Arab. *ǵamal* 'id.'. Others argue that it arose from the v.l. κάμιλος for κάμηλος *Ev. Matt.* 19, 24, *Marc.* 10, 25, *Luc.* 18, 25 (κάμηλον διὰ τρήματος ῥαφίδος διελθεῖν 'a camel going through the eye of a needle'), as 'rope' would fit better.

κάμῑνος [f.] 'furnace for smelting, baking, burning, etc.' (Hom. *Epigr.* 14, Hdt., A.). ◁PG?(S)▷
•VAR Also -η (pap. VI^{P}).
•DER Diminutive καμίνιον (Gp., Olymp. Alch.). Other substantives: καμινὼ γρηῦς 'furnace woman' (σ 27; Chantraine 1933: 116); καμινεύς name of an artisan working at a furnace, e.g. 'smith' or 'potter' (D. S.; Boßhardt 1942: 76); καμινίων 'id.' (Tegea II^{P}); καμινίτης ἄρτος (Philistion *apud* Ath.).
Adjectives: καμίνιος 'belonging to the furnace' (Thphr.); καμιναῖος 'id.' (Ezek.) with καμιναία = κάμινος {LXX; cf. Chantraine 1933: 86); καμινώδης 'like a furnace' (Str.).
Verb καμινεύω 'to burn or smelt in a furnace' (Arist., Thphr., Str.) with καμινευτής = καμινεύς (pap. III^{a}, Luc.), καμινευτήρ (αὐλός) 'pair of bellows in a smithy' (*AP*), fem. -εύτρια (Aristarch.), καμινεία (-ία) 'burning, smelting' (Thphr., Gal.). All derivatives are rare, most of them late.
•ETYM On the gender, see Schwyzer 1950: 34^{2}. A technical loan of unknown origin. The comparison with καμάρα has little value; that with OCS *kamy* 'stone' is possible. Is it a loan from the north or from the east? From κάμινος, Lat. *camīnus*, to which MHG *kamin*, etc. are related. Note that -ῑν- is a Pre-Greek suffix.

κάμμαρος 1 [m.] 'kind of crab' (Epich., Sophr., Rhinth., H.), on the mg. cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR καμμαρίς 'id.' (Gal.); κομμάραι ἢ κομάραι· καρίδες. Μακεδόνες 'shrimps (Maced.)' (H.).
•ETYM Has been compared with ON *humarr*, LG and MoHG *Hummer*. However, the variation α/o points to a Pre-Greek word (which may in turn be a loan from elsewhere). Skt. *kamáṭha-* [m.] 'turtle' is unrelated in any case. From κάμμαρος, Lat. *cammarus* was borrowed.

κάμμαρος 2 ⇒κάμαρος.

καμμονίη [f.] 'perseverance, successful defense' (X 257, Ψ 661, *APl.*), on the mg. see Trümpy 1950: 201f. ◁GR▷
•ETYM For *καταμονίη, with Aeolic treatment of the preposition, either as an abstract of κατάμονος (Hell.), or with a metrically conditioned change of the suffix for *καμμονή = καταμονή (Hell.), belonging to καταμένειν. See ▸κάμμορος.

κάμμορος [adj.] 'unhappy' (Od., A. R.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Aeolic for metrically unfit *κατά-μορος (via *κάτ-μορος), a hypostasis for κατὰ μόρον (μόρου) 'who is subject to μόρος, fate'. Beside it exists the older form κάσμορος· δύστηνος 'unhappy' (H.), = *κάσσμορος < *κάτ-σμορος.

κάμνω [v.] 'to toil, labor, build; to get tired, die, be in danger, be in need' (Il.); the euphemistic meaning 'to die' almost only in epic οἱ καμόντες, Att. οἱ κεκμηκότες. ◁IE **ḱemh₂-* 'exert oneself, get tired'▷

•VAR Aor. καμεῖν, fut. καμοῦμαι, perf. κέκμηκα, Dor. (Theoc.) κέκμᾱκα, epic ptc. κεκμηώς.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἑκ-, συγ-. As a second member in compounds: ἀ-κάματος 'without fatigue' (Il.). ἀ-κάμας, -αντος 'indefatigable' (Il.); more usual -κμητ- (-κμᾱ-τ-), -κμητο- (-κμᾱ-το-), e.g. ἀ-κμής, -ῆτος 'id.', ἄ-κμητος 'id.', πολύ-κμητος 'prepared with much labor'.

•DER Verbal noun κάματος [m.] 'labor, much demanding labor, fatigue, pain' (Il.); καματώδης 'tiring' (Hes., Pi.), καματηρός 'tiring, tired' (Ion., *h. Ven.* 246), after ἀνιηρός, etc.; καματηδόν 'with fatigue' (Man.); also the verbal forms καματῶν· κοπιῶν 'weary', ἐκαμάτευσε· μετὰ κακοπαθείας εἰργάσατο 'he labors with perseverance' (H.), to καματάω, -τεύω.

•ETYM Beside the thematic nasal present κάμνω, which is a Greek innovation, Sanskrit has an athematic nasal present: e.g. med. *śamnīte* 'to exert onself, labor'. The disyllabic root **ḱemh₂-* is also seen in the ipv. *śamīṣva* and in the agent noun *śamitár-* 'who prepares'; Gr. κάματος < **ḱmh₂-eto-* is a different formation (on the type, see Vine 1998. The thematic aorist ἔκαμον, ἔκαμε is parallelled by Skt. *aśamat*, both from zero grade **ḱm̥h₂-e/o-*; the full grade sigmatic aor. *áśamiṣṭa* (RV) points to an older athematic root aorist **(h₁e-)ḱemh₂-t*. The Greek zero grade is κμη-, PGr. κμᾱ- < **ḱmh₂-C-* (in κέκμη-κα, ἄκμητος), which gave Skt. *śān-tá-* [ptc.]; see Rix 1976: 73. Traces of the root in other languages have not been found with certainty; perhaps in some Celtic nouns, like MIr. *cuma* 'trouble', *cumal* 'female slave'. See ▶κομέω, ▶κομίζω.

κάμπανος [m.] 'weighing-machine, steelyard' (pap. VI^{P}). ◁LW Lat.▷

•ETYM From Lat. *campana*.

κάμπη 1 [f.] 'caterpillar, silkworm' (Hp., com., Arist., Thphr.). ◁?▷

•COMP πιτυο-κάμπη 'caterpillar of the pine woods, Gnethocampa processionea' (Dsc.; also αἱ πιτύϊναι κάμπαι).

•ETYM Related to κάμπτω, in the sense of 'curve'? However, note Skt. *kapaṇā* 'caterpillar', Latv. *kâpe*, *kâpars* 'larva of an insect, caterpillar'; if cognate with *kapaṇā*, κάμπη was adapted to καμπή, κάμπτω by folk etymology (Frisk). The explanation in Strömberg 1944: 9 is unclear. See Gil Fernández 1959: 147 (who refers to Arist. *IA* 706b and 709a). The etymology seems doubtful.

κάμπη 2 [f.] 'sea monster' (Epich. *apud* H., D. S., Nonn.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also κάμπος [n.] in Libya (Lyc.; H.), after κῆτος 'id.'?

•ETYM It has been compared with ἱππο-καμπος. Fur.: 119 mentions κέμμορ· μέγα κῆτος (< **κεμπορ?*) and γεμπός· κοῖτος, γεμπύλους τοὺς ἰχθῦς, τὰς πηλαμύδας 'tunnies' (H.); this would show that the word is Pre-Greek.

κάμπτω [v.] 'to bend, curve, turn' (Il., IA). ◁PG?(V), EUR?▷

•VAR Fut. κάμψω, aor. κάμψαι, pass. καμφθῆναι (A., Th.; v.l. I 158), perf. pass. κεκάμφθαι (Hp.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, περι-, συν-; as a first member e.g. in καμψί-πους epithet of Ἐρινύς (A. *Th.* 791 [lyr.]), mg. uncertain.
•DER Substantives: 1. (ἀνα-, ἐπι-, περι-, συγ-)καμπή 'curve, curvature' (IA) with κάμπιμος 'bent' (E. *IT* 81, at verse end; after πομπή : πόμπιμος, see Arbenz 1933: 81); ἐπικάμπ-ιος 'forming an ἐπικαμπή, bow, bend', military and architectonical expression (Ph. *Bel.*, Plb.). 2. (ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, συγ-, etc.)κάμψις 'bow, curving' (IA); 3. καμπτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] "bender, curver", as a military and sports term, 'curve, turning-point of the racecourse' (X., Arist., Herod.) with καμπτήριος (sch.). 4. περικάμπτης 'tergiversator' (gloss.).
Adjectives: 5. καμπύλος 'bent, curved' (Il.; after ἀγκύλος, Chantraine 1933: 250) with καμπύλη [f.] 'crook, crozier' (Ar., Plu.), καμπουλίρ (= καμπυλίς)· ἐλαίας εἶδος. Λάκωνες 'kind of olive tree' (H.), καμπυλότης 'curvedness' (Hp., Arist.), καμπύλλω 'curve' [v.] (Hp.), also καμπυλεύομαι, καμπυλόομαι (medic.), καμπυλιάζω (Phot., Suid.); poetical lengthening καμπυλόεις (*AP*; Schwyzer 527). 6. ἐπι-, περι-καμπής 'curved', from ἐπι-, περι-κάμπτω. 7. καμπτικός 'flexible' (Arist., Poll.). 8. καμψόν· καμπύλον 'bent, curved' (H.); after γαμψός? (cf. Stang *Symb. Oslo.* 23 (1944): 46ff.).
•ETYM A non-ablauting verbal stem καμπ-, with primary formations καμπή (and καμπύλος?), and a *yod*-present κάμπτω. In other languages, we find scattered nominal formations, partly in metaphorical meanings (so that the comparison is often uncertain: Latv. *kampis* 'curved wood, hook for a kettle', Lith. *kam̃pas* 'corner, side, hidden place', also 'curved wood at the collar (of a horse)', which remind of Lat. *campus* 'field' (properly 'curve, depression'?), OCS *kǫtъ* [m.] 'corner' and a Germanic adj. 'mutilated, lame', e.g. Go. *hamfs*. Baltic has several words for 'curved, etc.' with *u*-vocalism: Lith. *kum̃pas* 'curved', Latv. *kùmpt* 'become bent', etc.
Lat. *campsāre* 'to sail around, bend off' was perhaps borrowed from κάμψαι; and from καμπή were borrowed Lat.-Rom. *camba*, *gamba* and Alb. *këmbë* 'leg, foot'; from καμπύλος, Osman. *kambur* 'hump, humpy' > MoGr. καβούρης. Amantos (*apud* Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 179) assumes a noun *γάμμα, *κάμμα in Byz. γαμματίζω = κάμπτω, -ομαι.
Most parts of Frisk's discussion have been maintained here, as it nicely illustrates how unreliable the material is: the words adduced with their alternations are rather from a substrate language. Add to this the fact that an IE reconstruction would require a form **kh₂mp-*, a root structure that is suspicious. The conclusion can only be that καμπ- is of Pre-Greek or European substrate origin. Cf. on ►γαμψός and ►γνάμπτω, for which the same conclusion is reached.

κάναβος [m.] 'wooden framework around which artists molded wax or clay; block-figure; mannikin; lean person' (Stratt., Arist., Poll., H.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also κάνναβος; κίνναβος (Suid.) [f.l. acc. to LSJ 953], κιναβεύματα· πανουργήματα 'crimes' (H., Phot.; uncertain Ar. *Fr.* 699).
•DER κανάβιος, -ινος 'belonging to a κ., like a κ.' (*AP*, H.).
•ETYM On the formation, cf. words in -βος like κάκκαβος, κόλλαβος, σίττυβος (Chantraine 1933: 262); perhaps from ►κάννα 'reed', if properly a 'reed frame'.

However, given the variation ν/νν, the word would be Pre-Greek; note Lat. *canaba*, *cannaba*.

κάναδοι [m.] · σιαγόνες, γνάθοι 'cheeks, jaws' (H.). ◁EUR?, PG?▷
•ETYM See on γνάθος s.v. ▶γναθμός.

καναχή [f.] 'noise, sharp sound' (Il.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•DIAL Dor. -ά.
•COMP As a first member in καναχή-πους, Dor. -χά- 'with noisy feet' (Alcm.).
•DER καναχέω, aor. -ῆσαι (τ 469, Cratin., A. R.), lengthened καναχίζω (M 36, κ 399 v.l., Hes. *Sc.* 373) [v.] 'to ring, clash' (cf. Schwyzer: 736, Porzig 1942: 231); aor. δια-, ἐγ-, ἐκ-κανάξαι of gurging and gulping sounds (E. *Cyc.* 152 and 157, Ar., Eup.), κανάξαι acc. to Poll. 10, 85 = τὸ ἐκκενῶσαι ἢ ἐκπιεῖν 'to empty, drink up'; κανάξας· ἐγχέας 'pouring' (H.); καναχηδά 'with noise' (Hes. *Th.* 367 et al.), -ηδόν 'id.' (D. P., Aret.) and the *hapax* καναχής (A. *Ch.* 152 [lyr.], of δάκρυ), καναχός (Nic. *Th.* 620; of βάτραχοι 'frogs'), both first from καναχέω; καναχισμός (*Orac. Chald.*) from καναχίζω.
•ETYM Explained as an expressive formation like στοναχή (related to στενάχω; cf. Chantraine 1933: 403), derived from a verb 'to sing, etc.' seen in Lat. *canō* = OIr. *canim*, whence names for 'cock' like Gr. ▶ἡϊκανός, Go. *hana*, etc. are derived. Fur.: 343 compares κόναβος and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

κάνδαρος [m.?] · ἄνθραξ 'charcoal, coal' (H.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM Generally connected with Skt. *candrá-* 'glowing, light', Lat. *candor* 'white glow', *candeō* 'to glow'. This etymology must be wrong: how could a stem form κανδ- ever arise? Fur. 391 connects κάνδαρος with ἄνθραξ (with alternation κ-/ zero), which is not evident. Still, Pre-Greek origin seems certain.

κάνδαυλος [m.] a Lydian meal or sauce (com., Men.). ◁LW Lydia▷
•VAR Also κάνδῡλος.
•ETYM Loan from Lydia?

κάνδυς, -υος [m.] a mantle with sleeves, worn by the Persians (X.). ◁LW Orient.▷
•ETYM From OP **kantu-*: see Szemerényi 1991: 2034f.; also, Happ *IF* 68 (1963): 99.

κανδύτᾱνες [?] 'chest where precious clothes are kept' ◁LW Iran.▷
•VAR κανδυτάναι, κανδύλαι.
•ETYM From OP **kandu-dāna-*. See de Lamberterie in DELG *Supp.* (also *RPh.* 70), who cites Szemerényi connecting the first member of the Persian word with a root **kam-* 'to cover'. Extensive discussion, with various explanations for the second member, in Brust 2005: 290ff.

κάνθαρος [m.] 'kind of (dung-)beetle, Scarabaeus pilularius', also metaph. of a drinking cup, canoe, fish (Strömberg 1943: 123f.), and a women's ornament (IA). ◁PG, LW Sem.▷
•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἡλιο-, κυκνο-κάνθαρος (com.).
•DER κανθάριον name of a cup (Att. inscr., Plu.); κανθαρίς a beetle, also name of a fish and a plant (Hp., Arist.); κανθάρεως name of a vine (Thphr.; -εως like in

ἐρινεώς; see on ►ἐρινεός), κανθαρίτης οἶνος (Plin.), both of the Κανθάριος ἄκρα on Samos (Str.), (also called Ἄμπελος, Redard 1949: 97); κανθαρίας name of a precious stone (Plin.); κανθαρώδης 'like a κ.' (sch.).

•ETYM Not well explained. Connected with the name of the ass (κάνθων, κανθήλιος) by Strömberg 1944: 10f., with the same suffix as in χίμαρος, κίσσαρος, et al. (Chantraine 1933: 226f.). Hardly probable. On the plant name κανθαρίς, ἀντικάνθαρον, see Strömberg 1940: 140. DELG s.v. points out that there are anthroponyms (Bechtel 1917b: 582 and 589) as well as toponyms like Κάνθαρος, a port of Piraeus, and concludes from this that the term may be from Pre-Greek, with is likely. As an Akkadian word *kanda/uru-* 'cup' exists, it would be a loan in this meaning; see Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 672.

κανθήλια [n.pl.] 'panniers on both sides of the pack-saddle' (Ar., Artem.), also 'curved pieces of wood at the back of a ship', which were used when a tent was drawn up' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also -ιον [acc.sg.] 'rafters' in architecture (*IG* 2², 463: 73); ὄνος κανθήλιος 'pack-ass' (Pl., com., X.).

•DER κανθηλικός 'belonging to the pack-basket or pack-ass' (pap.). Also κανθίαι· σπυρίδες 'creels' (H.), κάνθων = ὄνος κανθήλιος (Ar., *AP*), κανθίς· ὀνίς 'dung of an ass' (H.).

•ETYM The relations of these words among each other and to other similar formations are unclear, due to their specialized technical meanings. Formally, we may compare κανθήλια with κειμήλια, γαμήλιος; also note τράχηλος, γαμφηλαί, and other words with a suffix -ηλ-. The form κανθίαι could be another derivation without λ. The form (ὄνος) κανθήλιος 'ass' is secondary to κανθήλια 'pack-baskets' (Debrunner *IF* 54 (1936): 55); κάνθων and κανθίς could be short forms (like Lat. *cabō* to *caballus*). Lat. *cant(h)ērius* 'castrated stallion', also 'rafters', which has a different suffix, cannot be separated from κανθήλια, -ιος. However, there is no Indo-European etymology; acc. to Deroy *Glotta* 35 (1956): 190f., it is a Mediterranean word. Fur.: 130 connects it with ἀνθήλιον (Charax), with alternation κ-/ zero, and assumes Pre-Greek origin; he further connects it with κανθίαι· σπυρίδες and with κάθος· σπυρίς (Fur.: 290). See ►κάνθαρος, ►κανθός, ►κανθύλη.

κανθός [m.] 'corner of the eye' (Arist., Nic., Gal.); poet. 'eye' (Hell.); acc. to H. also 'opening in the roof for the smoke, funnel, καπνοδόκη' and 'pot, kettle, χυτρόπους' (Sicilian). ◄PG►

•COMP Hence the hypostasis ἐγκάνθιος 'which is in the κανθός' (Dsc., Gal.) with ἐγκανθίς [f.] 'tumor in the inner angle of the eye' (Cels., Gal.), acc. to Poll. 2, 71 = 'inner corner of the eye'; also ἐπικανθίς 'id.' (Hippiatr., v.l. in Poll. l.c.).

•DER κανθώδης 'rounded' (Call. *Fr.* 504 conj. Hemsterhuys; codd. καθν-, κυκν-).

•ETYM Not well explained. κανθώδης in Callimachos does not allow us to assume an original meaning 'curve'. It has been compared with Celtic words like W *cant* 'iron band, brim', Gallo-Rom. **cantos*, and a Slavic word for 'corner (of a farm), etc.', e.g. Ru. *kut*. However, this comparison is problematic, since Gr. -θ- remains unexplained, and because the Slavic words are suspect of western European origin.

The material accumulated by Belardi *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 8: 9 (1954): 61off. and Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 209 needs to be sifted. Since there is no IE etymology, and since an IE pre-form is impossible (**kh₂nd^{h}-* would have given *καθ-), the conclusion must be that the word is Pre-Greek.

κανθύλη [f.] 'swelling, tumor', only in κανθύλας· τάς ἀνοιδήσεις. Αἰσχύλος Σαλαμινίαις (*Fr.* 220) 'swellings' (H., at an alphabetically incorrect place). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Also κονθηλαί· αἱ ἀνοιδήσεις (H.).

•ETYM The comparison with a Germanic word for 'ulcer, pus', e.g. OHG *gund*, Go. *gunds* 'γάγγραινα', would require that κονθ- is original, or that κανθ- is secondary for *καθ- (which is highly unlikely). Strömberg 1944: 94 derives κανθύλη from the name of the ass (κάνθων, κανθήλιος), which is semantically unconvincing. The variation α/ o is clearly Pre-Greek, as is the suffixation (Fur.: 201[14]).

κάννα [f.] 'reed, Arundo donax, reed-fence, -mat' (Com., inscr., Plb.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Often plur. Further forms see below.

•DIAL Myc. *ko-no-ni-pi* /konōni-p^{h}i/. Ion. κάννη.

•COMP As a first member in κανη-φόρος [f.] 'female carrying a basket' (Ar.), κανηφορ-έω, -ία, -ικός.

•DER 1. κάνις, -ιητος [m.] 'reed mat' (Solon. Law in Plu. *Sol.* 21, Crates Com., D. H.) with καννητο-ποιός (Hippon. 116). 2. κάννηκες· πλέγματα ταρσῶν 'windings of wickerwork' (H.). 3. κανοῦν, Ion. κάνεον, epic also -ειον [n.] 'reed basket, dish' (Il.; substantivized adjective). Diminutive κανίσκος, -ίσκιον (Ar.), κανίδιον (pap.); further κάναστρον (Hom. *Epigr.*, Nicophon, Attica, Crete; cf. on ζύγαστρον), also -αυστρον (like θερμα(ύ)στρα; see ▸θερμός), -ιστρον, -υστρον (inscr., pap., Poll.; Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 283) = Lat. *canistrum*; thence καναστραῖα· κοῖλά τινα ἀγγεῖα 'any hollow vessels' (Suid.); κάνασθον (Naucratis). Cf. also ▸κάναβος, ▸κάνναθρον, ▸κανών.

•ETYM From Babylonian-Assyrian *qanū* 'reed', which may come from Sumerian-Akkadian *gin* 'id.', Ugar. *qn*, Punic *qn'*. See E. Masson 1967: 47. The word κάννα was borrowed as Lat. *canna* 'reed, etc.'; see WH s.v. Fur.: 303 points out that κάναθρον, etc. are clearly Pre-Greek formations, so the word may have been of Anatolian origin; note further the Mycenaean form pointing to variantion α/o, which is also a sign of Pre-Greek origin.

κάνναβις [f.] 'hemp, Cannabis sativa' (Hdt., S., Dsc., Gal.). ◁LW Orient.▷

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως. Also κάνναβος (Poll. 10, 176).

•DER καννάβιον 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc., *Gp.*), κανναβίς, -ίδος [f.] 'dress of hemp', plur. 'hemp seeds burnt and used at a steam-bath' (Hdt., Ephipp. Com.); thence κανναβισθῆναι· πρὸς τὴν κάνναβιν ἐξιδρῶσαι καὶ πυριασθῆναι (H.); κανναβίσκα [n.pl.] 'hemp shoes' (Herod. 7, 58); καννάβινος 'from hemp, hemp-like' (*AP*); κανναβάριος member of a professional organization = *stupparius* (Ephesus, gloss.; Wahrmann *Glotta* 22 (1934): 42f.).

•ETYM Loan of unknown eastern origin, perhaps Scythian or Thracian (Hdt. 4, 74f.); cf. also Sumer. *kunibu* 'hemp'. From κάνναβις comes Lat. *cannabis*; the word

reached Germanic (OE *hænep*, OHG *hanaf*, etc.) before Grimm's law. Fur.: 343 connects it with κόμβος, on insufficient grounds.

κάνναθρον [n.] 'cane or wicker carriage' (X. *Ages.* 8, 7, Plut. *Ages.* 19, H., Eust.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also κάναθρον.

•ETYM Perhaps from κάννα 'reed' with a suffix -θρο- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 373f.). Lidén 1924: 227ff. assumes a compound from κάννα and a word for 'wagon box' in ►ἄθρας· ἅρμα. Ῥόδιοι (H.), which is highly improbable. The gloss is considered to be corrupt by Latte. On the suffix, see Fur.: 303[39].

κανών, -όνος [m.] 'straight rod, bar, stave or grip to handle the shield, directive, rule, model, etc.' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DIAL Myc. *ko-no-ni-pi* /konōni-p^{h}i/.

•DER Diminutive κανόνιον (Ph. *Bel.*, Hero); κανονίς 'ruler, frame, etc.' (Arist., Ph. *Bel.*); κανονίης [m.] 'straight man, like a rod' (Hp. *Aër.* 24); κανονικός 'belonging to the κανών' (Hell.); κανονωτός 'provided with κανόνες' (pap.). Denominative verb κανονίζω 'to measure, decide' (Arist.) with κανονισμοί [pl.] (Man.), κανόνισμα (*AP*), κανονιστικός (Choerob.).

•ETYM Most often connected with κάννα as *'stave of reed'. The variation α/ o shows that it is a Pre-Greek word. The Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 133 (Hebr. *qānoeh* 'measuring reed, balance') is not to be preferred.

κανωπικόν 1 [n.]? = πιτοῦσσα or πιτύουσα, 'spurge' (Dsc. 4. 165). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

κανωπικόν 2 [n.]? 'kind of cake' (pap.). ◁LW Eg.▷

•ETYM Probably derived from the TN Κάνωπος in Lower Egypt. See ►Κάνωπος.

κάνωπον [n.]? 'elderflower, elder bark' (Alex. Trall. 12). ◁?▷

•ETYM No etymology. See André 1956 s.v. *canopus*.

καπᾶνα [f.] Thessalian word for 'wagon' = ἁπήνη (Xenarch. 11, H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also -η 'crossbar of the wagon (?)' (Poll. 1, 142), καπᾶναι (καπαλαί cod.)· φάτναι 'mangers' (H.).

•DER καπάναξ 'side-piece of the wagon box' (Poll. ibid.; cf. δίφραξ from δίφρος); καπανικώτερα epithet of Θετταλικά (δεῖπνα) in Ar. *Fr.* 492, in Ath. 9, 418d = ἁμαξιαῖα 'filling a wagon', acc. to H. as an alternative = χορταστικώτερα, ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης 'more foodful, more plenteous (after φ. = manger)', from καπάνη = κάπη. Unclear καπάνη· τριχίνη κυνῆ 'helmet of hair', καπάνια· ἁρπεδόνες 'cords', καπαλίζει· ζευγηλατεῖ 'drives a yoke' (H.). Perhaps also Καπανεύς PN (Boßhardt 1942: 121)?

•ETYM Assuming an original meaning 'chest, box', a formation in -ᾱνᾱ from ►κάπη, ►κάπτω has been assumed (Chantraine 1933: 206), especially comparing ἁπήνη. However, Kuiper 1956: 213[9] compared ἁπήνη in the light of the alternation κ-/ zero, which would mean that the word is Pre-Greek. This seems most probable. Fur. 224[96] further compares γάπος· ὄχημα. Τυρρηνοί 'wagon (Etruscan)' (H.). καπάνα is

further reminiscent of Gallo-Romance *capanna* (Alessio *Studi etruschi* 19 (1946-1947): 175[34]).

κάπανοι [m.] · ἀλφίτων εἶδος 'barley-groats' (Phot.). ◁?▷
•DER One connects the PN Καπανᾶς, L. Robert 1963: 171[4].
•ETYM Unknown.

καπέτις, -ιος [f.] a Persian measure, 1/48th of an ἀρτάβη (Polyaen. 4, 3, 32) = χοῖνιξ (H.). ◁LW Iran.▷
•DER Also καπίθη [f.] a Persian measure = 2 χοίνικες (X. *An.* 1, 5, 6) = 2 Att. κοτύλαι (H.).
•ETYM Persian words, so a connection with κάπτω is improbable. They are certainly not from a Persian cognate of κάπτω, as DELG assumes. Others reference Skt. *kapaṭī* [f.] 'two handfuls (?)' (lex.), on which see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3 s.v. and Lagarde 1866: 198. Frisk (Supp.) refers to MoP *qafiz* (also Arab.), a measure.

κάπετος ⇒ σκάπετος.

κάπη ⇒ κάπτω.

κάπηλος [m.] 'merchant, innkeeper' (IA; on the mg. cf. on ἔμπορος). ◁PG?(S)▷
•DER Secondarily as an adjective = καπηλικός (A., *Com. Adesp.*, D. H.). Fem. καπηλίς 'female merchant or innkeeper' (com., pap.), καπήλισσα (sch.); καπηλεῖον 'shop, tavern' (Att.); καπηλικός 'belonging to a κάπηλος' (Pl., Arist.); καπηλεύω [v.] 'to be a retail trader' (IA) with καπηλεία 'retail trade' (Pl., Arist.) and καπηλευτικός = καπηλικός (Ph *Lg.* 842d).
•ETYM Derivation from κάπη 'crib, manger' has been considered, assuming that the word could mean 'chest' ("who sells from a chest"); highly improbable. As loanwords, Lat. *caupō* 'innkeeper', etc. have been compared (WH s.v.). Fur.: 257 considers Hitt. *ḫappar* 'purchase, price' as a comparandum. As there is no etymology, the word could be Pre-Greek (the suffix does occurs in Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 115).

καπνός [m.] 'smoke, steam' (Il.). ◁PG?, EUR?▷
•DIAL Myc. *ka-pi-ni-ja*.
•COMP καπνο-δόκη 'flue (of a chimney)' (IA), δύσ-καπνος 'with an unpleasant smoke' (A., Thphr.).
•DER Substantives: 1. κάπνη (com.), short form of καπνοδόκη; also = καπνιαῖος λίθος (*PHolm.*; see below); 2. καπνία for κάπνη (Moer. 292, gloss.; cf. Scheller 1951: 56); 3. καπνίας [m.] (a) a wine that got its special taste by fumigation (com.), (b) a kind of jasper (= καπνίτης), after its color (Dsc., Plin.), (c) of the poet Ekphantides (Ar. *V.* 151), διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμπρὸν γράφειν 'because he wrote nothing clearly' (H.). 4. καπνίτης [m.] name of a stone, after the color (Alex. Trall.; Redard 1949: 55), καπνῖτις [f.] plant name, 'fumitory, Fumaria officinalis', after its smoke-colored leaves (Ps.-Dsc.), also called κάπνιος and καπνός (Strömberg 1940: 27).
Adjectives: 5. κάπνε(ι)ος (scil. ἄμπελος) [f.] 'vine with smoke-colored grapes' (Arist., Thphr., pap.); 6. καπνώδης 'smokey, smoke-colored' (Arist., Thphr., Plb.); 7.

καπνηλός 'like smoke' (Nic. *Th.* 54); 8. καπνιαῖος λίθος 'smoke-colored quartz' (*PHolm.*).

Denominative verbs: 1. καπνίζω 'to smoke, produce smoke, be smoke-colored' (Il.), aor. καπνίσ(σ)αι (also with prefix ἀπο-, περι-, ὑπο-), κάπνισις 'exposure to smoke' (Arist.), κάπνισμα 'incense' (*AP*), καπνιστήριον perhaps 'steam-bath' (inscr. Priene); 2. καπνόομαι 'to vanish into smoke' (Pi., E.); 3. καπνιάω 'to smoke a bee-hive' (A. R. 2, 131), after θυμιάω; 4. καπνείω 'to make vanish into smoke, burn' (Nic. *Th.* 36).

Beside καπνός, there is an aorist ἀπὸ (δὲ ψυχὴν) ἐκάπυσσεν 'he breathed forth' (X 467; κάπυσσεν Q. S. 6, 523), with a present καπύσσων· ἐκπνέων 'breathing out' (H.); the supposed base form seems preserved in κάπυς· πνεῦμα 'breath, spirit', also κάπος· ψυχή, πνεῦμα (H.). Uncertain is the gloss καπυκτά· πνέοντα 'breathing' (H., at an alphabetically wrong place); is it connected with καπύσσων? Cf. ►ἀλύω beside ἀλύσσω. The stem with -υ- also in ►καπυρός 'dry, etc.'; uncertain is the appurtenance of ►κέκηφε · τέθνηκε 'is dead' (H.), ►κεκαφηότα (Hom.).

•ETYM A pre-form **kwap-nó-* has been assumed in view of the comparison with Lith. *kvãpas* 'breath, smell', *kvẽpti*, 1sg. *kvẽpiù* 'to gasp, breathe', Latv. *kvêpt*, 1sg. *kvêpstu* 'to smoke, smell'. This group is close to Go. *af-ƕapjan* 'to suffocate, extinguish', *af-ƕapnan* 'to extinguish', but this has root-final *-p* instead of expected *-f* or *-b*. It is unclear whether Lat. *vapor* 'vapor, smoke' is cognate with these words, with its *v-* instead of expected *qu-*. Schrijver 1991: 260f. assumed a laryngeal in view of the Latvian word and posited **kuh₂ep-*, but it is improbable that such a form would result in Gr. *κϝαπ-. Frisk remarks: "Man hat somit in den verschiedenen Sprachen mit zahlreichen, nicht unerwarteten Entgleisungen zu rechnen". At any rate, Mycenaean does not have a *-w-*. This has been explained as a dissimilation PGr. **k*^{w} *- p > *k - p*, cf. Schwyzer: 302 for more examples, but most etymologies adduced there are doubtful.

Indo-European origin is improbable. **kap-* is unprobelematic for Pre-Greek; an *u*-stem (κάπυς) is frequent in Pre-Greek (see Heubeck 1961: 31-39), as is a suffix *-n-* after consonant (*Pre-Greek*: Suffixes). However, in view of the similarity of the Balto-Slavic material and of Lat. *vapor*, it may be best to assume a European substrate word.

κάππα [n.indecl.] the tenth letter of the Greek alphabet (Callias *apud* Ath. 10, 453d). ◅LW Orient.▻

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kaph*. See Schwyzer: 140.

κάππαρις [f.] 'caper plant, Capparis spinosa' (Hp., Arist.). ◅LW Orient.▻

•VAR Gen. -εως, -ιος.

•DER Diminutive καπ(π)άριον (pap.). κάππαρος [m.] a fish (*PCair. Zen.* 83, III^{a}), after the way of preparation, see Strömberg 1943: 88.

•ETYM Berger *MSS* 9 (1956): 13ff. connected the word with MoP *kabar* 'id' and Burušaski *čopuri*, *čopəri*.

κάπρος [m.] '(wild) boar', also epithet of σῦς (Il.); as a fish name = 'Capros aper' (Arist.; after the sound, Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 101). ◅?▻

•DER Diminutive καπρίδιον, -ίσκος (com.); fem. κάπραινα of a lewd woman (com.); καπρία [f.] 'the ovary of a rutting sow' (Arist.); καπρών 'pigsty' (Delos III[a]); (σῦς) κάπριος = (σῦς) κάπρος (Il., A. R.); κάπριος 'having the form of a boar' (Hdt. 3, 59), κάπρειος 'belonging to a boar' (Nonn.).

Denominative verbs: καπράω 'to go to the boar', of a rutting sow (Arist.), also καπριάω (Arist. v.l., Ar. Byz.), on the formation see Schwyzer: 731f.; καπρίζω 'id.' (Arist.); καπρῴζομαι 'to rut', of the boar (Sciras Com.).

•ETYM Agrees with a Italo-Germanic word for 'he-goat', Lat. *caper*, U *cabru* 'caprum', and in Germanic e.g. ON *hafr*. An uncertain trace of the word in Celtic is supposed in Gallo-Rom. **cabrostos* 'honeysuckle, privet'. The newly created Greek name of the he-goat, τράγος, made another use possible for **kapro-*. The word was probably first used appositively with σῦς, as in Homer. Lat. *aper* 'boar' took the vowel of *caper*, but is further unrelated.

Briand 1997: 91-115 analyzes the attested forms as continuing an old adjective 'devouring (greedily)' from the root **kap-* 'to take' (Lat. *capiō* 'id.', G *happen* 'to swallow, snatch'). The root was used for a snatching way of eating (Hom. κάπη 'crib', κάπτω 'to gulp down', cf. τράγος 'goat' beside τρώγω), and the adjective lexicalized in the separate languages, where it came to denote different male animals. See DELG *Supp.* If the root was Indo-European, it must have been **kh₂p-*, not **kap-*; alternatively, it was borrowed from the European substrate. See ▶κάπτω.

κάπτω [v.] 'to gulp down' (Hdt., Herod., com., Arist.). ◀IE **keh₂p-* 'seize' (?)▶

•VAR Fut. κάψω, perf. -κέκαφα, -κέκαπται.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐγ-, ὑπο-.

•DER (ἀνά-)κάψις 'swallowing' (Arist.); κάμματα [pl.] 'what is supped up, sacrificial cake' with καμματίδες [pl.] 'laurel leaves, for supping up' (Nicocl. 2); ἔγκαφος 'what you have in your mouth' (Eup. 330). Further κάπη [f.] 'crib' (Θ 434, δ 40, S. *Ichn.* 8, Lyc. 95), κάπηθεν (Suid.).

•ETYM The present κάπτω might be identical with Lat. *capiō* 'to take' and the Gm. verb Go. *hafjan* 'to raise'. In use and meaning, however, it corresponds much better to popular MoLG (= MoHG) *happen* 'to swallow', MoDu. *happen* 'to snap'. These belong to IE **keh₂p-* 'to seize, etc.', which has several variants. The form κάπη 'crib' is rather an old formation than a direct derivation from κάπτω (cf. κώπη).

καπυρός [adj.] 'dry, brittle, crackly, clear-sounding' (Hp., Epich., Antiph., Arist., Theoc.). ◀PG?, EUR?▶

•DER καπύρια, -ίδια [pl.] 'kind of cake' (pap.); καπυρόομαι 'to be dried, singed, crackly' (Str., Orib.), καπυρίζω 'make noise, drink' with καπυριστής 'drinker' (Str.).

•ETYM Derived from the *u*-stem in *καπύω (κάπυς), so properly 'giving smoke, burnt'; on the meaning, see Legrand *REGr.* 20 (1907): 10ff. and Bogiatzides *Ἀθηνᾶ* 26 (1914): 109ff. See ▶καπνός.

καπύσσαι ⇒καπνός.

κάρ [n.] indecl. 'head', only in ἐπὶ κάρ 'on its head, topsy-turvy' (Π 392) and ἀνά κάρ 'upwards' (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 79). ⇒κάρᾱ.

κάρᾱ [n.] 'head' (trag., Cratin., Eup.). ◂IE **ḱrh₂-(e)s-n-* 'head'▸

•VAR κάρη (epic).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-a-pi* [instr.pl.] /krāʰat-pʰi/.

•DER As a first member in καρᾱ-τομέω 'to behead' (E., J.) with καράτομος 'beheaded' (S., E.), apparent basis καρατόμος 'beheading' (Lyc.), cf. on δειροτομέω s.v. ▸δέρη; καρηβαρέω (-άω) 'to feel heavy in the head, be sleepy, have a headache' with καρηβαρία, -ίη, etc. (Hp., Arist.); from there Lat. *caribaria* > Fr. *charivari*, (WH 1, 854); on ▸καραδοκέω s.v. Cf. ▸κράσπεδον, ▸κρησφύγετον, ▸κρήδεμνον.

Other forms: A. recent analogical formations to κάρᾱ, κάρη: dat. τῷ κάρᾳ (A., S.), κάρη (Thgn.); κάρης, -ην (Call., Nic.), κάρᾱν (Anacreont.).

B. Older disyllabic forms: epic καρή-ατος, -ατι, plur. -ατα; also κάρη-τος, -τι; a new nom.sg. κάρηαρ (Antim.) was made to καρήατα.

C. monosyllabic forms: κρᾱ̆-ατος, -ατι, pl. -ατα; usually contracted (also trag.) κρᾱτός, -τί, plur. κρᾶτα (Pi. *Fr.* 8); further isolated forms: κράτεσφι (K 156; probably sg.), κρᾱ̆των (χ 309), κρᾱσίν (K 152), κρᾱτας (E.); κρᾶτα accus.sg. (θ 92, trag.), nom.sg. (S. *Ph.* 1457); new nom.sg. κράς (Simm. 4).

D. κάρᾱ (antevoc.) as a nom.pl. (*h. Cer.* 12), κάρᾱ [pl.] (?, Sannyr. 3). On ▸κάρηνα see s.v. and below.

•ETYM The origin of the Greek forms has to be judged by the Skt. word for 'head'. The oblique forms are, e.g., *śīrṣṇ-ás* [gen.sg.], adverbial abl. *śīrṣa-tás*, which represent a zero grade root *śīrṣ-n-* < **ḱr̥h₂-s-n-*, i.e. an *s*-stem enlarged with *-n-*. The disyllabic nom.-acc. *śíras-* (also Av. *sarah-*) derives from **ḱr̥h₂-os*. Therefore, it appears that Gr. κρᾱ̆ατος represents earlier **krāhatos* (which may also be found in Myc. *ka-ra-a-pi*) < **ḱr̥h₂s-n̥t-os*, which by contraction gave κρᾱτός (κρητός, acc. to Zenodotus). The antevocalic form **krāsn-* is continued in ▸κρᾱνίον. The explanation of the Greek disyllabic forms has to start from the plur. κάρηνα < **karasna* < **ḱrh₂-es-n-h₂*, which formed the basis for the creation of the singular forms καρήατος, -ατι (for earlier **karahatos, -ti*), if these were not innovated from the sg. κάρη. This nom.-acc.sg. may go back to analogical *κάρασ-α (like ὄνομα); from κάρη, the forms κάρη-τος, -τι were constructed.

Beside the old *s*-stem, there are isolated forms without *-s-*: ἐπὶ κάρ 'on its head', ἔγκαρος, ἴγκρος· ἐγκέφαλος 'situated in the head' and κατά (ἀπὸ) κρῆθεν 'from the head down' (Hom., Hes.), ▸κρήδεμνον 'head-band'. The explanation is debated: κατά κρῆθεν (whence ἀπὸ κρῆθεν) may stand for κατ' ἄκρηθεν (see especially Leumann 1950: 56ff.), but this seems unncessary; ἔγκαρος has been interpreted as a learned innovation of κάρη after κεφαλή : ἐγκέφαλος; on ▸κρήδεμνον, see s.v. An *s*-less form κάρ is supported by Arm. *sar* 'hight, top' < **ḱr̥h₂r-o-*. Very extensive treatment by Nussbaum 1986 (review by Beekes *Kratylos* 34 (1989): 55-59). Perpillou *KZ* 88 (1974): 230-234 analyzes the form **krh₂-s-r/n-* 'head' and discusses the possibility of a suffix *-u̯er, -u̯en-*. See ▸καρόω 1, ▸καρώ, ▸καρωτόν, ▸κέρας, ▸κράνος, ▸κριός.

κάρα · αἴξ ἥμιερος Πολυρρήνιοι· ὑπὸ Γορτυνίων...ἄλλοι δὲ ἡ συκῆ. Ἴωνες τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν 'tame goat (Polyrrenian); others: fig-tree (Gortynian); cattle, head (Ionian)' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM The gloss is partly corrupt; see Latte. The meaning αἴξ seems to be confirmed by καρανώ; see on ►κάρηνα.

κᾰ́ραβος [m.] 1. 'a prickly crustacean' (Epich., Ar., Arist.; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.), metaph. a light canoe (*EM*); 2. 'a horned beetle' (Arist.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR σκορόβυλος· κάνθαρος 'kind of beetle' (H.).

•DER καραβίς 'kind of sea-crab' (Gal., Sch.), καράβιον = ἐφόλκιον 'small boat towed after a ship' (H. s.v. ►ἐφόλκια, sch.); probably also καραβαία· δίκρουν ξύλον 'forked timber' (H.). Further κηραφίς = καραβίς (Nic. *Al.* 394), secondary after the names in -φ(ο)-, and η an epic imitation for α?

•ETYM Cohen *BSL* 27 (1927): 100 gives several similar Arabic words. Boisacq s.v. suggests that -βος is Macedonian for Gr. -φος < IE *-*b*^{h}*o*-.

Fur. (index) connects it with several other words: καρβάρεοι· κάραβοι (H.), additional prenasalized forms καράμβιος (Ar. Byz. *Epit.* 9, 11; v.l. Arist. *HA* 551b 17), ►κεράμβυξ (Nic. *Fr.* 39, H.; s.v.), and κεράμβηλον (H.); the suffix -ηλο- is well-known in Pre-Greek. These forms cannot be derived from κέρας, as assumed by Frisk. Fur. further posits *σκαραβαῖος on the basis of Lat. *scarabaeus*, which seems unavoidable. The form σκορόβυλος perhaps continues *σκαραβ-υλ-, where both α's turned to -ο- before the -υ- in the following syllable (Fur. 340 discusses the phenomenon, but did not see that it operated here); thus, we have evidence for σκαραβ-. Then there is ►γραψαῖος (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 106d) = κάραβος, which Fur. assumes to stand for *γαρψαῖος (doubtful). The word ►σκορπίος does not seem to belong here.

In conclusion, it is clear that we are dealing with a Pre-Greek word *(*s*)*karab*- with several of its usual variants. From κάραβος came Lat. *cārabus* 'crab', also 'small boat' (also Romance, e.g. MoFr. *caravelle*) and a Slavic word for 'ship', e.g. Ru. *korábl'*.

κάραγος [m.] · ὁ τραχὺς ψόφος, οἷον πριών 'raw sound, like a saw' (H.). ◄GR?►

•ETYM Related to κέκρᾱγα, like τάραχος (-χή) to τέτρηχα. See ►κράζω. Alternatively, is it Pre-Greek?

καρᾱδοκέω [v.] 'to await the outcome of something (μάχη, πόλεμος, etc.), wait for something, take care' (Hdt., E., Ar., X., Plb.); in Hdt. perhaps an Atticism; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 3[1]. ◄GR►

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, δια-.

•DER (ἀπο-)καραδοκία 'eager expectation' (Aq., *Ep. Rom.*, *Ep. Phil.*).

•ETYM On the use of καραδοκέω, cf. Aly *Glotta* 15 (1927): 104f. Acc. to the traditional assumption, properly 'expect something with the hand strechted out', which is neither factually nor formally very convincing. Given δωρο-, ξενο-δοκέω, etc. (ὁδοι-δοκέω after ὁδοι-πορέω), one would expect καρᾱ- to be the object of δοκέω. DELG remarks that κάρᾱ 'head' may have been used in the sense of 'end, outcome' here, for which we may compare κραίαινω 'to accomplish'.

καράκαλλον [n.] 'cap' (*AP*, *Edict. Diocl.*). ◄LW Lat.►

•DER καρακάλλιον (pap. V-VI^{P}).

•ETYM From Lat. *caracalla*. Probably originally Gaulish; see WH s.v.

κάραννος •VAR κάρανος, etc. ⇒ κάρηνα.

καρβάν [?] 'outlandish, foreign'. ◂LW Orient.▸
•VAR Acc. -ᾶνα (A. *Supp.* 129 [lyr.], H.), κάρβᾶνος (A., Lyc.).
•DER καρβάζειν, καρβαΐζειν, καρβανίζειν = βαρβαρίζειν 'to behave like a foreigner' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown. Acc. to Kretschmer *Glotta* 31 (1951): 250, it is from the toponym Qarbana (= Herakleion) in Egypt, whence the captive Danaeans escaped to the Peloponnese. Acc. to Hommel *Phil.* 98: 132ff., καρβάν is identical with Hebr. κορβάν (NT), properly 'sacrificial gift', which became an epithet for Phoenician merchants, but this is hardly convincing; see E. Masson 1967: 107. Perhaps there is a relation with the name of the east wind in Cyrene, Κάρβας. Arist. (*Vent.* 973b) has ἀπὸ τῶν Καρβανῶν τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην. Phoenician, acc. to Thphr. *Vent.* 62. Acc. to Neumann 1961: 92f., it is from Hitt. *kureu̯ana-* 'foreign state that is not a vassal' (on the meaning, see Puhvel s.v.).

καρβάτινος [adj.] 'made of skins' (Ph. *Bel.*). ◂EUR▸
•VAR καρβάτιναι [f.pl.] 'shoes of unprepared leather' (X., Arist.); also καρπάτινον· ἀγρο<ι>κικὸν ὑπόδημα μονόδερμον 'one-layer farmer's sandal' (H.).
•ETYM Formation like δερμάτινος, etc.; it has been compared with words for 'shoe, etc.' in Balto-Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic, e.g. Lith. *kùrpė* 'shoe', Cz. *krpě* 'id.', ON *hriflingr*, OE *hrifeling* 'id.', OIr. *cairem* 'shoemaker', but the formations differ among each other. Further, Lat. *carpisc(u)lum* 'kind of shoe' (IV^{P}), which is considered to be a loanword because of its late attestation. In yet other respects, these words seem to be technical loans; cf. Beekes 2000: 28. From καρβάτινος came Lat. *carpatinus* 'of raw leather'. See ▸ κρηπίς.

κάρβις [?] · μαστροπός 'pimp' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown. DELG notes: cf. Lat *carissa*?

κάρδαμον [n.] 'nose-smart', 'Lepidium sativum' (X., Ar.). ◂PG?(S)▸
•VAR Also παρδαμάλη (Phot.).
•COMP As a first member in καρδάμωμον, haplological for καρδαμ-άμωμον [n.] 'cardamom' (Thphr., Dsc.; on the formation Schwyzer: 263).
•DER καρδαμίς = κάρδαμον (Nic., Plu.), after κεδρίς, etc. acc. to Chantraine 1933: 343; καρδαμίνη 'id.', also = σισύμβριον, etc. (Dsc.; Chantraine 1933: 204); καρδαμάλη 'Persian cake from κάρδαμον' (Trypho *apud* Ath.; as ἀμυγδάλη, etc.); καρδαμίζω "to talk cress", i.e. 'to talk nonsense' (Nic. *Th.* 617). By-form καρδάνη 'id.' (gloss.), after βοτάνη?
•ETYM Among the plant names in -αμον (Schwyzer: 494, Chantraine 1933: 133), there are several clear loanwords, and the same holds for κάρδαμον. Doubtful suggestion in Strömberg 1944: 38: from *κάρδος = κράδος 'twig' in καρδίδιον, ἀνα-, κατακάρδιον. The solution of Grošelj *Razprave* 2: 41 is no better: related to ▸ σκόροδον. The suffix -αμον is known from Pre-Greek (Fur.: 64[269]). The word has been connected with Hitt. *karšani* 'an alcalic plant' (Fur.: 252).

καρδία [f.] 'heart', metaph. 'soul, spirit' (Il.), also 'cardiac orifice of the stomach' (Hp., Th.), 'heart of wood' (Thphr., pap.; Strömberg 1937: 125ff.). ◂IE **ḱēr(d)*, gen. **ḱrd-(i)os* 'heart'▸

•VAR Ion. -ίη, epic mostly κραδίη.

•COMP As a first member, e.g. καρδι-αλγέω 'to suffer from heartburn', together with -ής, -ία, -ικός (Hp.); very often as a second member, e.g. θρασυ-κάρδιος 'with daring spirit' (Il.).

•DER κάρδιον [n.] 'heart-shaped ornament' (Delos III[a]), καρδικός 'belonging to the heart' (pap.), καρδιᾶτις [f.] Pythagoraean name of the number of five (*Theol. Ar.*); καρδιώσσω, Att. -ώττω = καρδιαλγέω (Epich., Hp., Ar., Arist.) with καρδιωγμιός (Hp.), also καρδιάω (καρδιόωντα Nic. *Al.* 581); καρδιόω 'to revive' (LXX). Beside it κῆρ (epic), κέαρ [n.] (Pi., B., trag.), κῆρι [dat.], κηρόθι [adv.] 'in the heart', together with κηραίνω [v.] 'to be afraid' (E., Max., Ph.).

•ETYM The word καρδία may be compared with other body parts in -ία, like κοιλία, ἀρτηρία, λαυκανίη. The starting point is a monosyllabic neuter κῆρ < IE **ḱēr(d)* with ablaut: cf. Lat. *cordis* < IE **ḱr̥dés*, which would have resulted in Gr. *καρδός or *κραδός. We often find an *i*-stem, which is probably old, in the genitive: Hitt. *kardiaš* [gen.] next to nom. *ke-ir* /kēr/. The *i*-stem also appears in Lith. *širdìs* (but this is expected for an old root noun), Arm. *srt-iw* [instr.] beside *sirt* [nom.] < IE **kērd*, and in Skt. the *-i* is found in the nom.-acc. *hārdi*, while the gen. is *hr̥dás*, like Lat. *cordis*.

Disyllabic κέαρ was created by poets as a false archaism of κῆρι, based on ἔαρ (ἦρ) : ἦρι 'spring'. On the accent of κῆρ, see Schwyzer: 377 and Berger *MSS* 3 (1953): 3. Further, e.g., OIr. *cride* < **ḱr̥d-i̯o-*, OCS *srъdьce* beside OCS *sréda* 'middle' < PSlav. **serdà*, Go. *hairto*, gen. *hairtins* (transformed into an *n*-stem like *augo* 'eye', *auso* 'ear', etc.), Skt. *hŕ̥d-aya-* [n.] = Av. *zərəd-aē-* [n.]. The Indo-Iranian word shows a secondary **ǰʰ-* instead of **ć-* < IE **ḱ-*, probably by contamination with another word, while the original **ć-* is preserved in *śraddhā́-* 'to trust'. See now the collection of different formations in Wodtko et al. 2008: 417ff. Cf. also on ▸κραδάω.

κάρδοπος [f.] 'kneading-trough' (com., Pl., Hom. *Epigr.*, Nic.; for the fem. gender, cf. the instances in Schwyzer 1950: 34[2]; on καρδόπη [Ar. *Nu.* 678] see ibid. 28[1]). ◂PG▸

•DER Diminutive καρδόπιον (Delos II[a]); καρδοπεῖον 'cover of a trough' (H.; cod. -ιον), also 'muzzle' (Ar. *Fr.* 301); also κάρποδος (H.), with metathesis?

•ETYM No clear etymology. Fur.: 257[38] suggests Hitt. *ḫarduppi* with uncertain meaning. No doubt a Pre-Greek word.

κάρηνα [n.pl.] 'heads, tops, mountain tops' (Il.). ◂IE **ḱerh₂-* 'head, horn', **ḱrh₂-es-n-h₂*▸

•VAR Secondary sing. κάρηνον (*h. Hom.*), κάρᾱνον (A. *Cho.* 396 [lyr.], Mosch. 1, 12).

•DER Hence κάραννος· κεκρύφαλος, κρήδεμνον 'headband', Aeol.; καρανώ· τὴν αἶγα. Κρῆτες 'goat (Cretan)' (H.); Lacon. κάρᾱνος 'chief' (X. *HG* 1, 4, 3) is a Persian loanword from **kārana-* 'leader of the *kāra-*', acc. to Testen *Glotta* 69 (1991): 173f.; unclear is Κόραννος· βασιλεὺς Μακεδονίας probably an appellative. Denominative

verbs: καρανόω 'to crown, complete' (A.); *καρανίζω 'to behead' in καρανιστῆρες ... δίκαι σφαγαί τε (A. *Eu.* 186), καρανιστής μόρος (E. *Rh.* 817).
•ETYM From **karahna* < **ḱrh₂-es-n-h₂*, which is also continued in Skt. *śīrṣā.* OHG *hirn(i)*, MDu. *hersene* 'brain' (from **ḱerh₂snio-*) also belong here. The alternating *r*-stem is found in καράρα· κεφαλή 'head' (H.) < **karasra*, and probably also in Lat. *cerebrum* 'brain' < **keras-ro-* < **ḱerh₂-(e)s-ro-* (but see also Nussbaum 1986: 243). Further relatives are ►κάρᾱ, ►κρανίον, ►κραίνω; see also ►κέρας.

καρθμοί · κινήσεις 'movements' (H.). ⇒σκαίρω.

κᾰ̄ρίς [f.] name of small crustaceans; see Thompson 1947 s.v. ◅PG?▻
•VAR Gen. -ίδος (Anan., old com.), -ῑ̈δος (middle com.); also κουρίς, κωρίς (Epich., Sophr.).
•DER καρίδιον (Arist.), καριδάριον (Anaxandr.); καριδόω (τὸ σῶμα) 'to move (the body) like a καρίς; to wriggle, twist about like a shrimp' (Anaxandr.).
•ETYM Ath. 3, 106b says ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα· τὸ πλεῖστον γάρ μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀπηνέγκατο, which is clearly folk-etymological. Ehrlich *KZ* 39 (1906): 556f. derived κᾰ̄ρίς from *καρσίς and κουρίς, κωρίς from *κορσίς, but there is no evidence for such a form (cf. on ►κόρση). Acc. to Frisk, it rather belongs to κάραβος as a popular short form. κουρίς and κωρίς are unexplained; Chantraine (see DELG) pleads for association with κώρα, κούρα 'girl', but this is hardly understandable. The variation may well point to a Pre-Greek word. Cf. Ačaŕyan 1937: 4, who considers καρίς together with Arm. *karič* 'scorpion' as an Asiatic loan.

καρκάδων, -ωνος [?] 'the price paid to Charon by the dead for their passage' (Phot., Suid.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

καρκαίρω [v.] only in Y 157 κάρκαιρε δὲ γαῖα πόδεσσιν ὀρνυμένων, explained in antiquity as ἐκραδαίνετο, σείετο 'trembled', or as ἐψόφει 'roared' (details in Fraenkel 1910: 132[1], though with a wrong explanation). ◅IE **kerH-* 'praise (loudly)'▻
•VAR ἐκάρκαιρον· ψόφον τινά ἀπετέλουν 'produced a noise' (H.).
•ETYM A *yod*-present with intensive reduplication (Schwyzer: 647), of onomatopoeic origin. Sanskrit has an athematic reduplicated form *car-kar-ti* 'to mention with praise'. Not related to ►κῆρυξ.

κάρκαροι [adj.] · τραχεῖς 'coarse, rough' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Seems to agree with Skt. *karkara-* 'hard', but this is a late form; cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3 s.v. On the other hand, cf. ►κάρχαρος and ►καρκίνος. Fur.: 130 adduces ►κέρχνος 'raw voice, hoarseness' and 'raw surface', which would be a Pre-Greek variant, with the interchanges α/ ε and κ/ χ.

κάρκαρον [n.] 'prison' (Sophr. 147). ◅LW Lat.▻
•VAR Also -ος (D. S. 31, 9), -ον or -ος (Vett. Val. 68, 26); κάρκαροι· δεσμοί 'fetters' (H.), also κάρκαρα, explained i.a. with μάνδραι 'enclosed space', but the gloss is corrupt.
•ETYM From Lat. *carcer*; see WH s.v.

καρκαρίς [?] · ξύλων ἢ φρυγάνων φορτίον 'timber; a load of firewood' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM DELG supposes it is a mistake for καγκανίς; see ►κάγκανος.

καρκίνος [m.] 'crab' (Epich., IA), metaph. 'ulcer, pair of pincers, kind of shoe, etc.', also name of a constellation (Scherer 1953: 167f.). On the mg. also Thompson 1947 s.v. ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Diminutive καρκίνιον (Arist., Hp.), also 'kind of slipper' (Herod.), καρκινάς, -άδος [f.] (Gal., Ael.); καρκινίας [m.] name of a precious stone (Plin.; after the color; like καπνίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94); καρκινευτής 'crab-catcher' (Artem. 2, 14; after ἁλιευτής, ὀρνιθευτής et al.); καρκινώδης 'crab-like' (Arist., medic.). Denominative verb καρκινόω 'bend, crook one's fingers' (Antiph., Thphr.; cf. Strömberg 1937: 65), -όομαι 'become cancerous, suffer from cancer' (Hp.) with καρκίνωμα 'cancer' (medic.), καρκίνωσις 'formation of dangerous growth' (Aët.); καρκίνωθρον (codd. -αθρον, -ηθρον) plant name, 'Polygonum aviculare' (Dsc. 4, 4; after Strömberg 1940: 147 properly "Krebsmittel", but rather after the roots spreading like a crab.

•ETYM Clearly connected with Lat. *cancer* 'crab', Skt. *karkaṭa-* 'id.', but not all morphological details are clear. Like Lat. *cancer* from **car-cro-*, καρκίνος may also have undergone a dissimilation of *r*-sounds, and later added the suffix -ινο-. The etymological connection with Skt. *karkaṭa-* is doubted in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 64 and by Fur.: 129. A loan from καρκίνος is Skt. *karki(n)-* 'the crab in the zodiac' (perhaps *karka-* 'crab' [lex.] is a back-formation).

Connection with the adjective for 'hard' (see ►κάρκαρος, κράτος) was deemed possible by Frisk, but this is a substrate word, like the present entry. Fur. connects it with κάρχαι· καρκίνοι, καὶ <κ>όχλοι. Σικελοί (H.), not mentioned in Frisk or DELG, which is completely self-evident. The interchange κ/ χ proves Pre-Greek origin. Fur. doubts the appurtenance of Lat. *cancer* < **karkro-*, and prefers to connect it with γάγγραινα, γάγγλιον. For καρκίνος, he also adduces (op.cit. 130) the PN Κερκίνος and the HN Κερκινεύς (Thessaly), with ***κερκιν-*. The suffix -ινο- can also be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 129[54]; *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes).

κάρνη [f.] · ζημία 'punishment' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR αὐτόκαρνος· αὐτοζήμιος 'self-punished' (H.).

•ETYM It has traditionally been compared with Lat. *carināre* 'insult, ridicule' (Enn., gramm.) and (without an *n*-suffix) several Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic words: OIr. *caire* 'blame', OHG *harawēn* 'mock', Latv. *karinât* 'tease', Ru. *kor* 'insult, scoff; perhaps also ToAB *kärnᵃ-* probably 'to strike, afflict'. Note that καρν- can hardly be explained in IE terms (**r̥* would give ρα), which means that the word may be Pre-Greek. The word κάραννος hardly belongs here, although glossed as ζημία by H. (cf. DELG), or **καρανίζειν* 'to behead' in καρανιστήρ, -τής, which is derived from κάρᾱνον (see ►κάρηνα). See ►κερτομέω.

κάρνος [?] · φθείρ, βόσκημα, πρόβατον 'louse, beast, cattle' (H.). ◁PG?; GR?▷

•ETYM In the meaning φθείρ, it is related to κόρις, etc. (see also ►κάρον 1 and καρός); in the sense 'βόσκημα, πρόβατον' perhaps with the group of ►κέρας? Fur.: 371,

however, connects it with ἀκαρί 'mite'. On Κάρνειος [m.] epithet of Apollo on the Peloponnesus, see Nilsson 1941(1): 532f. and Robert *REGr.* 80 (1967): 31ff.

κάροινον [n.] name of a sweet wine (*Edict. Diocl.*: καροίνου Μεονίου; Hippiatr., gloss.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19 assumes a loan from Semitic: Akk. *khurunnu* 'sesame wine' (first from Hitt.); this is doubtful. Note οἶνος καρύϊνος (Gal.; from Maeonia); also, ἀβόλλης, χιτὼν καρόϊνος (pap.), perhaps for καρύϊνος 'nut-brown'?

κάρον 1 [n.] plant name 'cumin, Carum carvi' (*Theb. Ostr.* 135 [I^{p}], v.l. Dsc. 3, 57). ◁?▷

•VAR Also καρώ [f.] (Dsc. l.c., Orib., uncertain Ath. 9, 371e; popular formation acc. to Chantraine 1933: 116).

•ETYM Perhaps from κάρ· φθείρ (H.), because a corn of cumin would resemble a louse.

κάρον 2 [n.] · μεγάλη ἀκρίς 'big locust' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also κάρνος (see Fur.: 371).

•ETYM See Gil Fernández 1959: 148. Fur.: 341 compares ἀκορνός = ὀκορνός (H.), and further πάρνος. Thus, it is clearly a Pre-Greek word.

καρός [gen.] only in τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ (I 378), indicating something useless. ◁?▷

•ETYM The word καριμοίρους also perhaps belongs here, explained by H. in two ways: τοὺς ἐν μηδεμιᾷ μοίρᾳ, ἢ μισθοφόρους 'serving for wages'. Most often interpreted as "(cut off) piece, futile" and connected with κείρω, but perhaps rather from κάρ 'louse' (H.), which acc. to Frisk would be more visual and expressive. Moreover, we cannot obtain καρ- from the root of κείρω, which did not have a laryngeal.

καρόω 1, -όομαι [v.] 'to plunge into a deep sleep, stupefy, anasthesize' (Hp., Antipho Soph., Arist.), med. 'to be stupefied'. ◁?▷

•COMP Also with ὑπο-.

•DER κάρωσις 'heaviness in the head, drowsiness' (Hp.), καρωτικός 'stupefying' (Arist., Gal.), καρώδης 'id., drowsy, soporific' (Hp.; on the formation cf. ὑπνώδης and the verbal derivations in -ώδης in Chantraine 1933: 431); καρωτίδες (ἀρτηρίαι) [pl.] 'carotid arteries' (medic.), also sg.; deverbal κάρος [n.] 'torpor, drowsiness' (Arist., Phld., A. R.), cf. καρός· κωφός, οἱ δὲ σκοτόδινος 'deaf, numb; dizzy' (H.).

•ETYM The word is often taken as a denominative of κάρα, κάρη 'head': "to have a heavy head", like καρηβαρέω. This is doubtful. The verb was originally intransitive, and later joined the class of factitives in -όω. Cf. καρωθείς· τὴν κεφαλὴν σεισθείς, μεθυσθεὶς ἢ βαρηθείς 'shaken in the head, drunk or heavy' (H.).

καρόω 2 [v.] 'to estimate'. ◁?▷

•VAR Only ptc. aor. καρούσαντες (*IG* 9(2), 1229: 25 [Thessal. II^{a}]) and καροῦσθαι· ὠνεῖσθαι 'to buy', καρούμενος· ὠνησάμενος 'bought' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 206f.

καρπαία [f.] name of a mimetic dance in arms of the Thessalians (X. *An.* 6, 1, 7, Ath. 1, 15f.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Also καπρία· εἶδος ὀρχήσεως 'kind of dance' and κάρπεα· ὄρχησις Μακεδονική 'Macedonian dance' (H.).

•ETYM The description of the dance in Ath. l.c. (and in Max. Tyr. 28, 4 without mention of the name) does not allow a comparison with καρπός 'fruit' or with καρπός 'root of the hand'. The variation -αια / -εα / -ια points to substrate origin; see *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes: -αι- / -ε(ι)-.

καρπάλιμος [adj.] 'swift, eager' (Il., *h. Merc.* 225, Ar. *Th.* 957 [lyr.], A. R.), epithet of πόδες, of γένυες (Pi. *P.* 12, 20). ◁PG▷

•VAR Adv. καρπαλίμως (Il.).

•ETYM On the formation, see Arbenz 1933: 28f. The etymology is unknown. Schrader *KZ* 30 (1890): 473 connected it with καρπός 'root of the hand' as "handy", with further connection to OHG *hwerban* 'turn', etc.; see ▶καρπός 2. Solmsen *KZ* 30 (1890): 602 does not connect it with καρπός and starts directly from the meaning 'to turn'. Others recognize the base form in κάλπη 'trot' (with dissimilation of λ - λ to ρ - λ). A first syllable καρπ- can hardly be of IE origin.

κάρπασον [n.] name of a plant with poisonous sap: 'white hellebore, Veratrum album' (med., Orph.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DIAL Myc. women's names *Ka-pa-si-ja, Ka-pa-ti-ja.*

•COMP ὀπο-κάρπασον (Dsc.; Lat. *opocarpathon*) = ὀπὸς καρπάσου 'sap of the κ.' (= Lat. *sucus carpathi*, Plin.), after ὀπο-βάλσαμον; ξυλο-κάρπασον (Gal.) after ξυλο-βάλσαμον (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 287).

•ETYM Lat. *carpathum* with *th* instead of -σ- points to foreign (Mediterranean) origin. Both forms already existed in Mycenaean. A form with dental is found also in the name of the island Κάρπαθος, which was named after the plant (Bogiatzides Ἀθηνᾶ 29 (1917): 72ff.); the TN Καρπασία (Cyprus) also belongs here. The *s*-form also entered Latin (*carpasum, carbasa*). Derivation from καρπός (Brugmann *Sächs. Ber.* 51 (1899): 185) is not feasible. The variation θ/σ is typical for Pre-Greek and points to a palatalized phoneme *-tʸ-*.

κάρπασος [f.] 'a kind of fine flax' (D. H. 2, 68, sch. Ar. *Lys.* 736), 'cotton' (*Peripl. M. Rubri* 41). ◁LW Ind.▷

•VAR Also -α [n.pl.] 'sails from linen' (*AP* 9, 415, 6; after ἱστία). Also κάλπασος (pap.).

•COMP ψευδο-κάρπασος [m.] = ▶κάχρυ (Ps.-Dsc.; s.v.).

•DER καρπάσιον 'Spanish flax' (pap. III^{p}), καρπάσινος 'made of κ.' (LXX, Str., D. H.) = Lat. *carbasinus*. λίνον Καρπάσιον 'from K. on Cyprus' (Paus. 1, 26, 7).

•ETYM Reminiscent of Skt. *karpā́sa-* [m.] 'cotton bush', but the exact relation is unknown. The word κάρπασος is usually thought to be a loan from Indic (cf. also Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.), but acc. to Porzig *ZII* 5 (1927): 272ff., the origin is a Mediterranean or Anatolian language. Lat. *carbasus, -a* was borrowed from κάρπασος, -α (either directly or indirectly); see WH and Fohalle 1925: 172-175. There is no connection with the plant κάρπασον. On 'cotton', see also ▶βαμβάκιος.

καρπήσιον [n.] name of an aromatic plant from Anatolia, 'Valeriana Dioscoridis' (Gal., Alex. Trall.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR καρπησία = κάρπασος (Paul. Aeg.; not -ον as given by Frisk).

•ETYM On the meaning, see Thiselton-Dyer *Journal of Phil.* 34 (1915): 310f.; on the ending -ήσιος, see Chantraine 1933: 41f. The etymology is unknown. Fur.: 349 compares κέρπαθος (Uran. 12), a kind of incense. The word can hardly be IE; thus, probably Pre-Greek.

καρπός 1 [m.] 'fruit, fruits of the earth, corn, yields' (Il.). ◁EUR▷

•DIAL Myc. *ka-po* /karpos/.

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. καρπο-φόρος, ἄ-καρπος.

•DER Diminutive καρπίον (Thphr., pap.); adjectives: κάρπιμος 'giving fruit' (trag., com., Hell.; cf. Arbenz 1933: 45 and 47), καρπώδης 'rich in fruits' (imperial period). Denominative verbs: 1. καρπόομαι 'to reap fruits, exploit' (IA), -όω 'to offer, produce fruit' = 'to bring (burnt) sacrifices' (A., LXX) together with κάρπωμα 'fruit, sacrifice' and κάρπωσις 'use, profit, sacrifice', καρπώσιμος (Hermipp. Hist.); cf. Bechtel 1921(1): 449 and 1921(2): 550. 2. καρπίζομαι (-ίζω Paros; Hell. inscr.) 'to reap fruits' (E., Hell.), -ίζω 'to fertilize' (E. [lyr.]); καρπισμός 'yields' (Arist., Thphr.). 3. καρπεύω, -εύομαι 'to reap fruits' (Hyp., Hell.) with καρπεία 'profit, income', καρπεῖον 'id.', also = καρπός.

•ETYM Commonly compared with the root **kerp-* of Lat. *carpō* 'to pluck (off)', Lith. *kerpù* 'to cut with scissors', Hitt. *karp(iie)-zi* 'to take away, lift, pluck', which would imply that καρπός originally meant 'what is plucked or reaped'. Another comparandum is the Germanic word for 'autumn', e.g. OHG *herbist* (**karp-isto-* "best time to pluck"). However, the assumption is that the α in καρπός may represent vocalic **r̥*. Yet, in classical Greek, **r̥* would normally have given -ρα-, and the Mycenaean form proves that there was no **r̥* in Proto-Greek, as its normal reflex between two stops is Myc. /-or-/ (see García Ramón *Minos* 19 (1985): 195-226). This has led to the assumption that PGr. **karp-* is a secondary zero grade, but this seems unlikely. DELG posits an "*a* populaire", which means that the word is a loan, perhaps from a European substrate? The connection with ▸κρώπιον is probably wrong (the word is Pre-Greek).

καρπός 2 [m.] 'wrist' (Il.). ◁?▷

•COMP As a first member in καρπό-δεσμον, -δεσμος, -δέσμιον 'bracelet' (pap., Luc.), hypostasis ὑπο-κάρπιος 'under the wrist' (Aristaenet.).

•DER καρπωτός 'reaching to the wrist' (LXX); καρπίζομαι [v.] 'to be taken by the hand', i.a. as a sign of manumission, ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ = 'adseror in libertatem' (gloss.); καρπιστής 'emancipator' (Arr.), καρπισμός, -ιστία 'vindiciae' (gloss.).

•ETYM Has been connected with a Germanic verb for 'turn, etc.', e.g. Go. *hwairban*, OHG *hwerban*, *hwerfan* 'to turn (intr.), whirl' (see on ▸καρπάλιμος). In this case, the basic form would be **k^{w}r̥po-*, from an IE root **k^{w}erp-* 'to turn' (cf. Schwyzer: 302 for the dissimilation **k^{w} - p > k - p*). However, the fact that the verb is limited to Germanic makes the connection uncertain. Michler *Herm.* 94 (1966): 314-319 assumes that it is the same word as καρπός 'fruit'; see the remarks in Frisk *Supp.* s.v.

κάρρον [n.] 'wagon with four wheels, car' (LXX, pap., *Edict. Diocl.*). ◁LW Lat.▷
•VAR Also -ος (*Ed. Diocl.*).
•COMP As a first member in καρρο-πηγός, -ποιός (gloss.).
•DER Diminutive καρρίον (gloss.) and καρρικὸς γόμος 'load of a wagon' (Palmyra II^{p}).
•ETYM From Lat. *carrus* (the Greek gender is after ἅρμα; late Lat. also *-um*), which itself comes from Celtic. Further details in WH s.v. *carrus*.

κάρσιον [adj.] · πλάγιον 'sideways' (H.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Also -ίως (Suid.).
•ETYM Taken from ἐγ-, ▶ἐπικάρσιος.

κάρτα [adv.] 'strongly, very' (Ion., trag.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM From *καρτύς = κρατύς (cf. καρτερός, κάρτιστος); see on ▶κράτος. On the ending -α, see Schwyzer: 622f.; on the ablaut type, see Ruijgh 1980: 189-198.

καρτάζωνος [m.] Indian word for the rhinoceros (Ael, N.A. 16, 20). ◁LW Iran.▷
•ETYM To be corrected to *καργάζωνος; cf. MoP *karyadān*. See Benveniste 1929: 371-376.

καρταῖπος [n.] 'larger cattle, beasts' (Gortyn). ◁GR▷
•VAR Plur. καρταί-ποδα (Gortyn) like τετρά-ποδα (sing. τετράπος Gortyn).
•ETYM Innovation of msc. *καρταί-πως for καρταί-πους (Pi.) = κραταί-πους 'with strong feet' (Hom. *Epigr.*). It also bears a short form, κάρτιην (for -ταν)· τὴν βοῦν. Κρῆτες (H.); see Bechtel 1921, 2: 787, Fraenkel *Glotta* 35 (1956): 86ff., and Fraenkel 1956a: 101; however, the gloss is probably corrupt (see Latte s.v. and p. 815).

κάρταλλος [m.] 'basket with pointed bottom' (LXX, Hell., Ph., H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Rarely -αλος.
•DER Diminutive καρτάλλιον (Hell.).
•ETYM Technical or popular word in -αλλος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 245ff.), which was formerly connected with a root *$k(e)rt$- 'turn' (Pok. 584), "aber im einzelnen dunkel" (Frisk). It was also supposed in ▶κύρτος. However, the variant with single -λ- rather points to a Pre-Greek word, and this would not be surprising, given the meaning. DELG and Fur.: 352 suggest to connect καρταλάμιον and κερτύλλιον.

καρτός [adj.] 'cut', epithet of πράσον 'onion', κρόμμυον 'garlic'; τὸ καρτόν 'chive' (Dsc., Gal., *Gp.*); also of clothes, perhaps '(finely) cut' (*IG* 2^{2}, 1514: 39f.; of χλανίς, χλανίσκιον). ◁GR▷
•VAR καρτοί· κεκουρευμένοι 'who have had the hair cut' (H.).
•ETYM Zero grad verbal adjective of ▶κείρω. For the connection with onion, cf. MoHG *Schnittlauch* 'chive' from *schneiden* 'to cut', and *Knoblauch* 'garlic', from OHG *klobo-louh*, related to OE *clufu* 'onion' and OHG *klioban* 'to split'; cf. also Lat. *sectīle porrum* 'chive'. The vocalization καρτ- is analogical after the full grade κερ-.

κᾰρῡ̃κη [f.] name of a Lydian 'soup of blood and spices' (Pherecr., Ath., Plu., Hdn.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also -ύκκη.

•COMP As a first member in καρυκο-ειδής (Hp.), -ποιέω (Ar.).
•DER καρύκινος 'κ.-colored', i.e. 'dark red' (X.); denominative verbs: 1. καρυκεύω 'to provide with κ., prepare' (Alex., Men.), also 'to mix, confound' (Erot., H.), with καρυκεία (Ath.), καρύκευμα (Poll., comm. Arist.); 2. καρυκάζειν· ταράττειν 'to agitate' (H.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Frisk suggested Lydian origin; but the variation points to a Pre-Greek (= Pre-Antolian) word; see Fur.150[38]. The structure καρ-υκ- fits the picture of Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes).

κάρυον [n.] 'nut' (Epich., Ar., Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷
•COMP καρυο-ναύτης 'who sails in a nut' (Lyc.); καρυό-φυλλον 'dried flower-bud of the clove, Eugenia caryophyllata' (medic.), acc. to Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 11 folk-etymological adaptation of a loan (Skt. *kaṭuka-phala-*).
•DER 1. καρύα [f.] 'walnut-tree', especially 'hazel, Corylus avellana' (S., LXX, Thphr., etc.; on the gender Schwyzer 1950: 30). 2. Diminutives: καρύδιον (Philyll. 19) with καρυδόω 'castrate', καρύδωσις (Hippiatr.); καρυΐσκος (LXX). 3. Adjectives: καρύϊνος 'of nuts, nut-brown, etc.', -ώδης, -ηρός 'nut-like' (Hell.); καρυωτός 'with nut-like hump or fruit' (= 'date-tree'), καρυῶτις [f.] 'kind of date' (Hell.); substantive καρυΐτης 'kind of Euphorbia' (Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 53, Redard 1949: 72). 4. Adverb: καρυηδόν 'like nuts' (medic.). 5. Verb: καρυατίζω 'play with nuts' (Ph.; after the verbs in -ατίζω). A lengthened plural form in καρυήματα· κάρυα. Λάκωνες 'nut (Lacon.)' (H.; after τραγήματα et al.; Chantraine 1933: 178).
•ETYM Several words have been compared, but they all differ from κάρυον and from one another: Lat. *carīna* 'ship's keel' (since Enn. and Plaut.), 'shell of a nut' (Plin.); Skt. *karaka-* [m.] '(shell of the) coconut' (lex.), 'jar for water'. For Lat. *carīna*, a Greek loan (from καρύϊνος = *'like a nut-shell' > 'ship's keel'?) has been supposed (WH s.v.); for *karaka-*, the priority of the meaning 'coconut' beside 'water-jar' is doubted by Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3: 59 (later form).
Beside κάρυον, we find ἄρυα· τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρυα (H.), which points to a Pre-Greek word (interchange κ-/ zero; Fur.: 391). The connection with a group **kar-* 'hard' (Pok. 531f.) is completely hypothetical.

κάρφω [v.] 'to dry up, wither, wrinkle' (Od.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR Aor. κάρψαι, fut. κάρψω.
•COMP Also with κατα-, ὑπο-.
•DER 1. κάρφος [n.] 'arid stalk, twig, halm, hay' (IA); diminutive καρφίον (Dsc.), καρφηρός 'consisting of arid stalks' (E. *Ion* 172; cf. αὐχμηρός, αὐστηρός et al., Chantraine 1933: 232f.), καρφίτης 'id.' (*AP*), καρφώδης 'full of κ.' (gloss.), καρφεῖα [n.pl.] = κάρφη [pl.] (Nic. *Al.* 118); καρφόομαι (*AP*) = καρφύνεσθαι· ξηραίνεσθαι, φθείρεσθαι 'to dry up, perish' (H.); see Fraenkel 1906: 294. 2. κάρφη [f.] 'hay' (X., Arr.). 3. καρφαλέος 'arid' (Il.), like αὐαλέος; perhaps from κάρφος, cf. Chantraine 1933: 253f. 4. κατακαρφής 'withered' (Nic. *Fr.* 70, 9).
•ETYM There is no correspondence in the other IE languages to a zero grade thematic root present κάρφω (does κάρφος stand for older **κέρφος*?). A widespread group in Balto-Slavic and Germanic has been adduced, e.g. Ru. *koróbit'* 'to curve, bend', refl.

'to writhe', beside which (with anlauting *s*-) *skórbnuť* 'to writhe', Lith. *skrèbti*, 1sg. *skrembù* 'to get a thin crust, get stiff', MoIc. *herpa-st* 'to draw together convulsively', ON *skorpna* 'writhe, wither', etc., from a root IE *(s)kerb*^{h}-, *(s)kreb*^{h}- (Pok. 948f.). Within Greek, we also find the glosses κορφῶς· ἐλαφρῶς 'light, small' and κέρβαλα· ἀσθενῆ 'weak' (H.). The problem with this Indo-European etymology is the consistent α-vocalism of the Greek words. The comments by Frisk are illustrative ("Die expressive Wortgruppe hat offenbar lautliche Entgleisungen und Verschränkungen erlitten"), as are those of DELG ("Les rapprochements proposés par les étymologistes ne donnent satisfaction ni pour la forme ni pour le sens"). It seems, then, that the word is non-IE and it may well be Pre-Greek. In this context, note the vocalism of κορφῶς.

καρχαλέος [adj.] 'arid, scorching, biting, sharp' (Φ 541 [v.l. καρφ-], Nic. *Th.* 691 [v.l. καρφ-], A. R.). ◁?▷

•ETYM A cross of κάρχαρος and καρφαλέος? DELG remarks that the oldest sources attest to the sense 'arid', which could mean that the readings with -φ- are to be preferred. See ▶κάρφω, ▶κάρχαρος.

κάρχαρος [adj.] 'biting, sharp, raw' (Alcm. 140, Lyc., Opp.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR With reshaped ending καρχαρέος (*EM*).

•COMP καρχαρόδων (-ους), -οντος 'with sharp teeth' (Il., Hes., Ar., Arist., Thphr.; cf. Sommer 1948: 93).

•DER καρχαρίας [m.] 'kind of shark' (Pl. Com., Sophr.; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 45).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation (Schwyzer: 423; cf. Tichy 1983: 174^{20}), which has been compared with Skt. *khara-* 'hard, raw, sharp', MoP *xār(ā)* 'rock, thorn'; however, Skt. *kh-* does not correspond to Gr. -χ-. Acc. to Leumann 1950: 156, κάρχαρος was taken from Hom. καρχαρόδοντες. An unaspirated form appears in ▶κάρκαροι · τραχεῖς καὶ δέσμοι (H.).

Blanc *REGr.* 107 (1994): 686-693 thinks that the word is connected with χάραξ 'pointed pole' and χαράσσω 'to sharpen, engrave, etc.'. Fur.: 130 rejects the IE comparison (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3: 139). The comparison with κάρκαροι rather points to Pre-Greek origin; Fur. refers to Urart. *ḫarḫar* 'heap of stones', Arm. *karkar* 'slippery rock'.

καρχήσιον [n.] 'a drinking vessel which is narrower in the middle', metaph. 'masthead, top', also 'cage or chamber in a torsion engine' (Sapph., Pi., IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR -άσιον (Pi.).

•DER καρχήσιος [m.] 'halliard of a ship, rope in general' (Gal.).

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin; cf. Schwyzer: 470, Chantraine 1928: 3, and Hermann *Gött. Nachr.* (1943): 1f. Borrowed as Lat. *carchēsium* (see Friedmann 1937: 20off.), whence Sp. *carquesia*, Ital. *calcese* > MoFr. *calcet*. The word could be Pre-Greek.

καρώ [f.] 'cumin, Carum carvi' (Dsc., Gal., Orib.). ◁PG?▷

•DER καρωτόν [n.] 'carrot' (Ath. 9, 371e? Uncertain); Lat. *carota* (Apic.).

•ETYM A form of the word κάρον. Derived from κάρη 'head', like κεφαλωτόν 'kind of onion' from κεφαλή, by Frisk. However, the form in -ώ seems Pre-Greek.

-κάς adverbial suffix. ➡ ἑκάς.

κασαλβάς, -άδος [f.] 'strumpet' (Ar.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR κασσαβάς (*EM*).
•DER κασάλβιον 'brothel' (sch. Ar. *Eq.* 1825 v.l.), κασαλβάζω (Ar., Hermipp. Com.). Also κασωρίς with κασωρεύω (Lyc.) and κασωρῖτις 'id.' (Hippon., Antiph.), κασώριον (Ar. *Eq.* 1285) = κασωρικὸς δόμος (uncertain conj. in Hippon. 74); κασαύρα· κασωρίς, πόρνη 'strumpet, prostitute', also κασαυράς, with κασαυρεῖα [pl.] (H.). Short form κάσσα (Lyc.).
•ETYM Vulgar words. There seems no reason whatsoever to connect it with κασᾶς 'blanket'. The form κασ-ωρ- continues κασ-αυρ- (a well known development in Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 301[32]). In turn, the form κασαυρ- may continue κασαβ-, with β varying with υ, ϝ. The relation between κασαλβ- and κασαβ- is unclear; Fur.: 305f. thinks that the λ is secondary, but he gives only little evidence. I am inclined to think that the λ is old, and suggest that κασαλβ- originates from **kasal^{w}-*, with a labialized phoneme *l^{w}* that may easily have become *w* > *b*.

κασᾶς [m.] 'horse-cloth' (Agatharch., X. *Cyr.*). ◁LW Orient.▷
•VAR Acc. -ᾶν, acc.du. -ᾶ. Also κασῆς (*PTeb.*), also κάσσος (Hdn. 1, 208), acc. to H. ἱμάτιον παχὺ καὶ τραχύ, περιβόλαιον 'thick and coarse cloth, covering cloth', and κάς· … δέρμα 'skin' (H., *PLond.* 2, 402 V 5).
•COMP As a first member in κασ(σ)ο-ποιός (pap., Ostr.).
•DER κασωτός epithet of ἐσθής (Diog. Oen.).
•ETYM An oriental loanword; cf. Hebr. *kissē'* and *k^{e}sūṯ*, properly 'cover, overgarment' (Cuny *MSL* 19 (1915-16): 193f. and Nyberg in Björck 1950: 295). Borrowed from Greek as Lat. *casula*; see Kramer *AfP* 45 (1999): 192-204 and Kramer *AfP* 46 (2000): 62-64.

κασία [f.] 'cassia, Cinnamomum iners', a kind of cinnamon (Sapph., Melanipp., Hdt., Thphr.). ◁LW Orient.▷
•VAR Ion. -ίη (rarely -σσ-).
•DER κασσίζω 'to smell or taste cassia' (Dsc.).
•ETYM An oriental loanword; cf. Hebr. *q^{e}ṣī'āh*, Assyr. *kasîa*. Originally Austro-Asiatic (Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 250 after Gonda). Cf. E. Masson 1967: 48f. and Welles 1934: 342.

κασίγνητος [m.] 'brother (of the same mother)' (Il.). ◁IE **kmt-i-* + **ǵnh$_{1}$-to-* 'born together'▷
•VAR κασιγνήτη [f.] 'sister, cousin' also Corc., Cypr., Lesb. (cf. Bowra *JHS* 54 (1934): 65), Thess. κατίγνειτος [m.].
•COMP αὐτο-κασίγνητος (Il.), -ήτη (κ 137), πατρο-κασίγνητος, -ήτη 'uncle, aunt' (Hom.), ματρο-κασιγνῆται [pl.] 'uterine sister' (A. *Eu.* 962); συγ-κασιγνήτη '(own) sister' (E. *IT* 800).

•DER Short form (see below) κάσις, -ιος [m., f.] 'id.' (trag., Call., Nic.), σύγ-κασις '(own) sister' (E. *Alc.* 410 [lyr.]). Also κάσιοι (for -ιες?)· οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγέλης ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί. καὶ ἐπὶ θηλειῶν οὕτως ἔλεγον Λάκωνες 'brothers and cousins who are from the same band; the Laconians also say it in the case of females' (H.); cf. Leumann 1950: 307, where κάσις, κασίγνητος are questionably taken from poetical language. Unclear are κασεν (Lacon. *Knabeninschr.*; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 270ff., Schwyzer: 625[5] [for καθ' ἕν?]) and καινίτα· ἀδελφή, καινίτας· ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφάς (H.), perhaps Cyprian < κασιγνητ- (with itacism)? See von Blumenthal 1930: 22.

•ETYM From ***kmti-ǵnh*$_1$*-to-*, so 'born together', i.e. from the same mother. On κασι- < *κατι-, see on ▶ καί. See Ruijgh 1957: 137f and Beekes 1969: 219f.

κασκάνδιξ [?] · ἡ γηθυλλίς 'kind of onion' (H.). ◀PG(S)▶

•ETYM It has been connected with σκάνδιξ, -ῑκος 'chervil', σκάνδυξ, -ῡκος (*v.l.* Dsc. 2, 138), assuming reduplication and dissimilation of σκ - σκ (Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 856, Schwyzer: 260). The word is Pre-Greek, in view of the *a*-vocalism and the suffixation.

κασκός [m.] · ὁ μικρὸς δάκτυλος 'small finger' (H.). ◀?▶

•VAR Also κακκός 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

κάσμορος · δύστηνος 'unhappy' (H.). ⇒ κάμμορος.

Κασσάνδρα [f.] daughter of Priamos (Il.). ◀IE *(*s*)*kend-* 'raise', **ḱeNs-* 'order'▶

•DIAL Ion. -η. Also Κασάνδρα (first syllable always long), Κεσάνδρα (Cor., Tarent. vases.), Κατάνδρα (Att. amphora). On the forms Sommer 1948: 189f. Cf. also Myc. *ke-sa-do-ro* /Kessandros/, *ke-sa-da-ra* /Kessandra/.

•ETYM Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 8 (1957): 272-274 suggested derivation from a root κασ- in κέκασμαι. DELG *Supp.* suggests to connect the Myc. PN *ke-sa-me-no* and the root **ḱeNs-*.

García Ramón 1992a follows Heubeck in connecting κέκασμαι, but reconstructs a root *(*s*)*kend-* for this form. The name would be a Motionsbildung to *Kassandros*, which is then a τερψίμβροτος compound, i.e. **kn̥d-ti-*, which we find in Καστι-άνειρα and Κασσ-ᾰ́νδρ, the group *-ti̯-* yielding -σσ-. The Myc. PNs in /Kess-/, on the contrary, would be derived from the root **keNs-*, and are not cognate.

κασσίτερος [m.] 'tin' (Il.). ◀PG▶

•VAR Att. καττίτερος.

•COMP As a first member in κασσιτερο-ποιός 'tinner' (Ptol.).

•DER κασσιτέρινος (κατ τι-) 'made of tin' (Att. inscr., Arist.); Κασσιτερίδες νῆσοι "the tin-islands", probably South-West of Britain (Hdt. 3, 115, Str.); κασσιτερᾶς [m.] 'tinner' (pap.); κασσιτερόω 'tin' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Elamitie origin has been suggested, from **kassi-ti-ra* "coming from the land of the Kassi" (whence Κασσίτιρα island in the Indian Ocean [Dion. *apud* St. Byz.]?). Further, Celtic names like *Cassi-velaunus* were also connected, with the Κασσιτερίδες νῆσοι giving their name to the metal (cf. e.g. Κύπρος: *copper*), or vice

versa. More recently, Freeman *Glotta* 75 (1997): 222-225 pleaded for Near Eastern origin, referring to Κασσίτερα in Steph. Byz.

The Greek word spread widely: Lat. *cassiterum* (after *ferrum*, *aurum* et al.), OCS *kositerъ*, Skt. *kastīra-*, Arab. *qazdir*, etc. The group σσ / ττ is typically Pre-Greek, so the word would have come from Greece or Western Anatolia, like the word for 'lead', ►μόλυβδος.

κασσύω [v.] 'to stitch, sew together like a shoemaker' (Nic. *Fr.* 85, 6). ◄PG►

•DIAL Att. καττύω (com., Pl.).

•COMP Also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συν-.

•DER κάσσυμα (Hp.), κάττυμα (com.) 'sole of a shoe', καττύς [f.] 'piece of leather' (Ar. *Fr.* 285).

•ETYM The form καττύς is not the basis (as per Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 52f.), but rather a back-formation from καττύω. The "foreign phoneme" σσ / ττ, in combination with the *a*-vocalism, shows Pre-Greek origin.

κάστανα [n.pl.] 'sweet chestnuts' (Mnesith. *apud* Ath. 2, 54b, Gal. Dsc. v.l.). ◄PG?(S), LW Anat.?►

•VAR Also κάστανοι (Gal.); sing. κάστανον (*Gp.*), -ος (H. s.v. καρύαι), καστανίαι (Dsc.).

•COMP As a second member in βαλανο-κάστανον = βάλανος καστανικός (thus Gal.) and βολβο-κάστανον 'earth-nut' (Alex. Trall.).

•DER καστάναια, -εια [pl.] = κάστανα (Att. inscr.), καστανέη 'chestnut tree', καστανεών 'chestnut forest' (*Gp.*), καστανικός (Gal.; see above), καστανaϊκὸν κάρυον (Thphr.); Καστανὶς αἶα land in Anatolia (Nic. *Al.* 271; cf. Καστανέα = πόλις Μαγνησίας *EM*).

•ETYM The η in καστηνοῦ (gen.) 'chestnut-tree' (Nic. *Al.* 269) is unclear. An Anatolian word? Except for the TN mentioned, cf. Arm. *kask* 'chestnut', *kaskeni* 'chestnut-tree'. From κάστανον, -άνεια comes Lat. *castanea* (cf. e. g. *picea*), whence OHG *chestinna*, and, via new borrowing, MoHG *Kastan(i)e*. Further, see WH s.v. *castanea*. Fur.: 389 has a variation κ / τ, but there is no Pre-Greek material for this (the *k* in Armenian may be due to assimilation). The variation -αια / -εια may, however, be a Pre-Greek feature (*Pre-Greek*: Suffixes 6. -αι-/-ε(ι)-).

κάστον [n.]? · ξύλον. Ἀθαμᾶνες 'timber (Athamanian)' (H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Fur.: 164 compares ἄκαστον· ἡ σφενδαμνος 'maple', noting that the hard wood of this tree is excellent for building; he further compares κόστον 'wooden part of a carrier' (343). Several other proposals can be found in Frisk.

κάστωρ, -ορος [m.] 'beaver' (Hdt., Hp., Arist.). ◄?►

•DER καστόρ(ε)ιος 'belonging to the beaver' (Pi., X., Dsc.), καστόρ(ε)ιον [n.] 'castor (= Bibergeil)' (pap., Plu.); καστορίδες [f.pl.] 'Laconian race of dogs, initially elevated by Castor' (*AP*, Poll.), 'beaver' (Opp., Ael.); καστορίζω 'to be like castor' (Dsc., Vett. Val.).

•ETYM Since Kretschmer 1909:121-3, it has been assumed that the name Κάστωρ, who was known as σωτήρ of women, was transferred to the beaver, presumably because

of the medicinal effect of castor for women's diseases. This idea has been uncritically taken over, and in fact Kretschmer gives no specific argument. Gantz 1993: 323-328, who discusses the Dioskouroi rather extensively, mentions nothing about a relation with the beaver, so Kretschmer's idea should be abandoned.
Schrader-Nehring 1917: 138 point out that the animal no longer existed in Greece; the word would be foreign. It is first mentioned in Hdt. 4, 109 in the North Pontic area, which is close to the supposed homeland of the Indo-Europeans, so the word could in principle be inherited. A Pre-Greek word for 'beaver' may have been λάταξ.
κάστωρ was borrowed by Latin, and thence it spread to the other European languages. From καστόρ(ε)ιον comes Skt. *kastūrī* [f.] 'musk'.

κασύτας [?] · Συριακὸν βοτάνιον 'Syriac plant' (H.). ◂LW Sem.?▸
•VAR Also καδύτας (Thphr. *CP* 2, 17, 3) 'Cassyta filiformis'.
•ETYM From Arab. *kašūth*; cf. Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19. Fur.: 256 remarks that the assibilation to -συ- does not prove anything, and that the plant probably came from Anatolia.

κασωρίς ⇒ κασαλβάς.

κάτα [adv., prep.] 'down(wards), against, along, through, over, across, concerning' (Il.). ◂IE **kmt-* 'down, with, along'▸
•VAR As a prep. with gen. and acc.
•DER Also καται- in καται-βαταί (ν 110), καται-βάτης epithet of Zeus, etc. (Thera, Melos, Thasos, trag.); cf. ▸καταῖτυξ.
•ETYM Identical with Hitt. *kattan* [adv.] 'below, underneath', *katta* [postpos.] 'along with' (for further distinction in Old Hittite, see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); the old Celtic word for 'with', e.g. OW *cant*, OIr. *cét-*, may belong here, too. The IE base form is then **kn̥t-*, possibly with further connection to IE **kom* in Lat. *cum*, etc. (see ▸κοινός). The by-forms καται- and Arc. κατύ are best explained as analogical after παραί and ἀπύ.

καταδίχιον [n.] name of a vase (*IG* 14, 427: I, 15, Tauromenion). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Hypercorrect form of *καδδίχιον. See ▸κάδος.

καταῖτυξ, -υγος [f.] name of a leather helmet without φάλος or λόφος (K 258). ◂?▸
•ETYM Formally reminiscent of ▸ἄντυξ. The explanation by the sch. παρὰ τὸ κάτω τετύχθαι· λόφον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει is useless, as it is clearly constructed from the text; see Trümpy 1950: 45. A loan, acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v.; Semitic connection proposed by Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 29f., unconvincing according to Frisk.

κατ' ἄκρας
•VAR Ion. κατ' ἄκρης.
•ETYM See ▸ἄκρος; on κατ' ἄκρηθεν, see ▸κάρᾱ.

καταρράκτης [m.] 'down-swooping, sheer, waterfall, portcullis, movable bridge, sluice'; also name of a bird, 'cormorant' (Hdt., S., Ar.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Ion. -ρρήκτης.
•ETYM From κατα-ρράττω, -ρρήσσω; see on ▸ῥᾴσσω.

κατασκενε [v.subj.] 'he kills' (*SGDI* 4998: 1, 14f., Gortyn). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Equivalent to Att. κατα-κτείνη, with a special phonetic development of the consonant group κτ- (Schwyzer: 325f., Strunk 1967: 99).

κατενῶπα •VAR κατένωπα. ⇒ἐνῶπα.

κατῆλιψ, -ιφος [f.] mg. unknown, perhaps 'ladder, roof-beam, upper story' (Ar. *Ra.* 566); = ἰκρίωμα 'scaffold' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM For the formation, αἰγίλιψ, ἄλιψ have been compared; further unexplained.

κατηφής [adj.] 'with downcast eyes, ashamed, sad' (ω 432, Hp., E.). ◁GR?▷

•DER κατήφεια, epic Ion. -είη 'being downcast, etc.' (Il., Th.). κατηφέω (E., Arist.), aor. -ῆσαι 'to be downcast, be ashamed, etc.' (Il.); is κατηφής a back-formation? By-forms: κατηφόνες = κατηφέες (Ω 253; see Schwyzer: 487, Chantraine 1933: 160); κατηφιάω = κατηφέω (A. R., *AP*, Plu.), after the verbs in -ιάω.

•ETYM Uncertain. Acc. to Schwyzer 1908: 247ff., it is from ἀφή, ἅπτω as 'having the view downwards'; to the contrary, Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 309. Blanc 1988: 33-48 (see DELG *Supp.*) connects the group of θάμβος, etc., and assumes *κατα-τηφής 'completely stupefied'; one would rather expect *-θηπης, however.

κατιάς, -άδος 'surgical lancet' (Heliod. *apud* Orib. 44, 14, 4). ◁GR▷

•DER κατιάδιον (Aret., *C. D.* 1, 2).

•ETYM Probably from καθίημι 'to let down (into)'; the psilosis does not surprise in Ionic.

κατούλᾱ [f.] juridical term of unclear mg. ◁?▷

•DER κατουλέω.

•ETYM Cf. ἐξουλή (Schwyzer: 668).

κατουλάς, -άδος [adj.] epithet of the night (S. fr. 433, A. R. 4, 1695). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From κατειλέω. Connected with ὁλοή by A. R. (folk etymology).

κατρεύς, -έως [m.] name of an Indian peacock (Clitarch., Nonn.). ◁LW Ind.?▷

•ETYM Unknown, probably Indian; for the formation, cf. ἐριθεύς, χλωρεύς, etc. (Boßhardt 1942: 20). It hardly belongs to the Cretan town name Κατρεύς, Κάτρη, as per Boßhardt op. cit. 74. Cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.

κάττα word for 'cat', which replaced αἴλουρος (Ar. *Pl.* 693). ◁?▷

•VAR κάττος (sch. Call., *H. Dem.* 110a, p. 79 Pf.).

•ETYM Origin unknown, but the word is found in Latin and most other languages of Europe.

κατώτιον [n.] 'lifeboat' (pap.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

καυαλός · μωρολόγος 'speaking foolishly' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Perhaps related to ▶κόβαλος.

καύαξ · λάρος (H.), name of a sea-bird, perhaps 'seamew, tern' (see Thompson 1895 s.v.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR καύηξ, -ηκος [m.] (Antim., Hell.), also κήξ [f.] (o 479) and κῆϋξ [m.] (Babr., Dionys. *Av.*).
•ETYM Ending like in ἱέραξ, ἴρηξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 380). Has been compared with bird-names like MW *cuan* 'screech-owl' and other Celtic words, whence Lat. *cavannus* 'id.', OHG (with regular sound shift) *hūwo* 'owl'. Within Greek, one also finds forms with internal velar: καυκαλίας· ὄρνις ποιός 'kind of bird', καυκιάλης· … ὄρνις H., with which are compared Lith. *kaukỹs* [m.] name of a crying bird and primary verbs like Skt. *kákuti* 'cry', Lith. *kaũkti* 'to howl, moan', etc.; cf. on ▸κωκύω. Is καύαξ· πανοῦργος 'criminal' (Suid.) a term of abuse from comedy? See Kretschmer *KZ* 31 (1892): 354. The word with -ακ- is probably Pre-Greek (the second velar does not belong to the root). Cf. on ▸κῶβαξ.

καύης [m.] name of a priest(ess) in Sardes (Hippon. 2). ◂LW Lyd.▸
•VAR Acc. -ην [f.] (*IG Rom.* 4, 1755 et al.; written -ειν).
•ETYM A Lydian word; cf. Latte *Phil.* 97 (1948): 43. From Lyd. *kaveś*, acc. to Masson *Jb. f. kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1950-51): 182-188 and O. Masson 1962: 107f.

καυκαλίς, -ίδος [f.] an umbelliferous plant, 'Tordylium apulum' (Thphr., Nic., Dsc., Gp.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Also καῦκον (Ps.-Dsc. 2, 139) and καυκιάλης· βοτάνη τις, ὁμοία κορίῳ (cod. κωρ-) 'a plant like coriander' (H.).
•ETYM On the suffix -αλίς, see Chantraine 1933: 251f. The plant was also called δαῦκος ἄγριος (Dsc. 2, 139); see Strömberg 1940: 153. Further hypotheses in Nencioni *Riv. degli stud. or.* 19 (1940): 101f. Is it Pre-Greek?

καῦκος [m.] 'cup' (gloss.). ◂?▸
•DER Diminutive καυκίον (pap. VI^{p}, *AP* 9, 749 in lemm., Just.). Also καυκάλιον 'id.' (Alex. Aphr. *Pr.* 1, 94; after βαυκάλιον).
•ETYM Identical with Lat. *caucum* [n.] 'id.' (*Script. hist. Aug.*), but further unknown; cf. WH s.v. Schrijver 1997: 295 compares OIr. *cuach* 'cup'.

καυλός [m.] 'shaft, stalk, quill of a feather' (Il.); on the botanical and anatomical mg. Strömberg 1937: 95ff. and 49. ◂IE **keh₂ulo-* 'shaft'▸
•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. μονό-καυλος (Thphr.; Strömberg 1937: 104f.), rarely as a first member, e.g. in καυλο-κινάρα 'the shaft of the artichoke' (Gp.); see Strömberg 1944: 7.
•DER Diminutives: καυλίον (Arist.), καυλίσκος (J., D. S., Dsc.); further καυλεῖον = καυλός (Nic.; after ἀγγεῖον et al.); καυλίας 'sap of the shaft' (Thphr.), like ῥιζίας 'root-sap', cf. Strömberg 1937: 91, Chantraine 1933: 94f.; καυλίνης fish name = χλωρὸς κωβιός (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 8, 355c), after the color, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 26; formation like Αἰσχίνης; further καυλικός, καυλώδης 'like a stalk' (Thphr.), καύλινος 'consisting of a shaft' (Luc.), καυλωτός 'with a stalk' (Eudem. Phil. IV^{a}; like αὐλωτός, etc.); καυληδόν 'stalk by stalk' (Opp.).
Denominative verb καυλίζομαι 'to have a shaft' (Ar. *Fr.* 404); δικαυλέω 'to have two shafts', ἐκκαυλέω 'to grow out in one shaft' (whence ἐκκαύλησις, -ημα) and

ἐκκαυλίζω 'to remove the shaft' (Thphr.) derive from virtual *δι-καυλος, *ἔκ-καυλος, etc. (καυλέω only Suid.).
•ETYM Old inherited word, also found in Latin and in Baltic: Lat. *caulis* [m.] 'shaft' (secondary *i*-stem); Lith. *káulas* 'bone, cube', Latv. *kaũls* 'id.', also 'shaft', OPr. *caulan* 'bone'; OIr. *cúal* 'faggot, bundle of sticks' < **kaulā*. Not related to Skt. *kulyā-* 'ditch, canal' and the Gm. word for 'hollow', ON *holr*, Go. *us-hulon* 'to hollow out'.

καυνάκης ⇒ γαυνάκης.

καυνός [m.] · κακός, σκληρός, κλῆρος 'bad, hard, lot' (H.); in the last mg. also Cratin. 194 and Ar. *Fr.* 660 (see Kock ad loc.). ◁?▷
•DER διακαυνιάσαι = διακληρῶσαι 'to assign by lot' (Ar. *Pax* 1081).
•ETYM In the meaning κακός, καυνός has been compared with a Balto-Germanic word for 'humble, shame, etc.', e.g. Go. *hauns* 'lowly, humble', MoHG *Hohn*, Latv. *kàuns* 'shame, contumely'. However, the text of Hesychius is very uncertain; the form σκληρός (in this meaning taken as related to καίω by Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 270) looks like a dittography (with σ- from κακός) of the following κλῆρος. DELG splits the word in two, but this too is unclear. See Fur. 237

καῦρος [adj.] = κακός (S. *Fr.* 1059, Phot., H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Güntert 1914: 131 assumes a cross of παῦρος and καυνός = κακός. Frisk thinks that a cross of κακός and παῦρος is possible. There is no support for these suggestions.

καυσία [f.] name of a royal felt hat among the Macedonians (Hell.; see Hoffmann 1906: 55ff.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unexplained; a suggestion was made by Sapir *AmJPh.* 60 (1939): 464. DELG connects it with καίω. Fur.: 119 refers to γαύσαπος and γαυσάπης; also, Lat. gloss on *gausape*.

καυχάομαι [v.] 'to boast, be proud' (Pi., Sapph.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. καυχήσασθαι (καυχάσ[α]ιτο Sapph. *Supp.* 4, 21), fut. καυχήσομαι, perf. κεκαύχημαι (2 *Ep. Cor.* 7, 14).
•COMP Also with ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα-.
•DER καύχα [f.] 'ostentation' (Pi. *Nem.* 9, 6; back-formation), καῦχος [n.] 'object of boasting' (Syria V^{p}; back-formation); καύχημα, -ᾱμα 'id.' (Pi.) with καυχηματίας 'boaster' (Ptol., sch.) and καυχηματικός (sch.), καύχησις 'boasting' (Hell.); καυχήμων 'boasting' (Babr.); καυχητής 'boaster' with καυχητικός, καυχητιάω (sch., *EM*).
•ETYM There is no direct parallel in the other languages; the connections with Arm. *xausim* 'to speak' and Lith. *šaũkti*, 1sg. *šaukiù* 'to cry, call loudly' cannot be substantiated. The *-au-* remains unexplained.

καφώρη ⇒ σκαφώρη.

καχάζω [v.] 'to laugh loudly' (IA, Theoc.). ◁IE **kha kha* 'ha ha'▷
•VAR Also κακχάζω, καγχάζω (on the gemination and nasalization see Schwyzer: 315 and 647), aor. καχάσαι, fut. καχαξῶ (Theoc.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-.

•DER καχασμοί [pl.] (Ar. *Nu.* 1073, v. l.), κακχαδίαι· ἰσχνόφωνοι 'thin-voiced' (H.).
•ETYM Reduplicated sound word with comparable forms in several languages: Skt. (gramm.) *kákhati*, OCS *xoxotati*, OHG *kachazzen* 'id.', Arm. *xaxan-k'* [pl.], Lat. *cachinnus* 'resounding laughter', with *cachinnō*, *-āre*. Genetic relation of these forms remains uncertain. See also ►*κηκάζω.

καχεξία [f.] 'bad condition of body or mind' (IA). ◄GR►
•DER back-formation καχέκτης [m.] 'in bad condition, ill, ill-disposed', whence καχεκτικός, -τέω, -τεύομαι (Hell.), also καχεξής (Phld. *Rh.* 1, 36 S.; uncertain). Opposite εὐεξία with -έκτης, etc.
•ETYM A compound of κακῶς ἔχειν.

καχεταιρίη [f.] 'bad company' (Thgn. 1169). ◄GR►
•ETYM From κακοὶ ἑταῖροι 'bad companions'. Cf. Porzig 1942: 212f.

καχλάζω [v.] 'to splash, bubble', of water (Pi., A.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Almost only present and imperfect.
•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ὑπερ-.
•DER καχλασμός (Zos. Alch., gloss.), ἀνακάχλασις (sch.). Rare by-form κοχλάζω (*PHolm.* 3, 1; conj. in Plu. 2, 590f.) with κόχλασμα (H. s.v. ἀπόβρασμα, πομφόλυξ).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic word with intensive reduplication (Tichy 1983: 252f.); cf. ►παφλάζω. It has been compared with ►κάχληξ. There is no IE etymology, but the variation α/ ο (κόχλασμα) is typical of Pre-Greek.

κάχληξ, -ηκος [m.] 'small stones, gravel in a river-bed', also collective (Th., Str., J.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also κόχλαξ, -ᾱκος (LXX); ἄχλαξ· κάχληξ (Suid.), cf. Fur. 391.
•ETYM Formation in -ηξ, like τράπηξ, νάρθηξ, et al. (cf. Björck 1950: 261f.). The word has been connected with the Germanic word for 'hail', OHG *hagal* [m.], ON *hagl* [n.], etc. However, the alternations α/ ο and κ-/ zero rather point to a Pre-Greek word. Güntert 1932: 28[1] and Porzig *ZII* 5 (1927): 269f. are also in favor of foreign origin.

κάχρυς [f.] 'parched barley' (IA), 'winter-bud' (Thphr.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Gen. -υος, in Dieuch. *apud* Orib. also -υδος; acc. -υδα. Also κάχρυ [n.] 'fruit of the frankincense-tree, also the tree itself' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc.).
•COMP As a first member καχρυο-φόρος 'with winter-buds' (Thphr.), καχρυ-φόρος 'bearing κάχρυ' (Nic.; epithet of λιβανωτίς).
•DER καχρυώδης 'like winter-buds' (Thphr.), καχρυόεις = καχρυφόρος (Nic.); καχρύδια [pl.] 'chaff of the κάχρυς' (Arist.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 70), καχρυδίας [m.] 'κάχρυς-like' (πυρός, Thphr.), 'made of κάχρυς' (ἄρτος, Poll.); καχρυδιάζομαι 'bud in winter' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*).
•ETYM Connected with κέγχρος 'millet' since Persson 1891: 103 and 124), but the meaning of the present etymon rather points towards 'parched, dry', which suggests connection with ►κάγκανος 'arid, barren'. Genetic connection is prohibited by the -χ- of κάχρυς, but we may think of a substrate element **ka(n)k-*. Fur.: 277 points to the variant κάγχρυς (also -ύδιον, -υδίας) found in the mss. This would point to

**ka^{n}kru-* (with prenasalization); he also connects ►κέγχρος, but see s.v and the objection above.

κάψα [f.]? · κίστη, θήκη 'basket, chest' (Suid., cf. Phot.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR κάμψα· θήκη, γλωσσοκομεῖον 'chest, casket' (H.).

•DER καψάριος (inscr.), καμψίον (pap.), κα(μ)ψάκης (LXX), καψάκιον (pap.), καψάκιον· γλωσσόκομον 'case' (H.), καψικός (pap.).

•ETYM DELG comments that it is a borrowing from Lat. *capsa* 'box'; however, as the latter has no etymology, it is rather a loan from Greek, where the prenasalization points to a Pre-Greek word. For the structure of the word, cf. δίψα (note the short -α).

καψοί [?] · οἱ τοῖχοι 'walls' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM No etymology.

κάω 'burn'. ⇒καίω. .

κε [pcl.] modal particle (Aeol. Cypr.), equivalent of IA, Arc. ἄν. ◅IE **ken, kn* modal pcl.▻

•VAR κεν (Hom.); κα (Dor.; poetic κᾱ).

•ETYM Gr. κα is reminiscent of Ru. *-ko* (after the dative of personal pronouns and after the imperative), also *-ka* (like κᾱ). Further, the pair κα : κε is compared with γα : γε. In this line, the final nasal in κεν has be explained as an Ionic ν ἐφελκυστικόν. Alternatively, connection with the Skt. particle *kám* and the Slav. preposition *kъ* (both from IE **kom*) may be envisaged; note the comparison *nú kam* : νύ κεν. The form κεν has been connected as a full grade, beside the zero grade κα < **kn̥* before consonant, and in Arcadian καν before vowel; κε has, in this view, been reshaped after κα (Palmer 1962: 90-92). The phrase οὐ κάν may have been changed to οὐκ ἄν. See Forbes *Glotta* 37 (1958): 179-182 and Lee *AmJPh.* 88 (1967): 45-56.

κεάζω [v.] 'to split, pound, rub to pieces' (Il.). ◅IE **ḱes-* 'cut'▻

•VAR Aor. κεάσ(σ)αι, pass. κεασθῆναι, perf. ptc. pass. κεκεασμένος.

•DIAL Acc. to Palmer 1963: 186-8, Myc. *ke-ke-me-na* (*ko-to-na*) is also related in the sense of 'divided (land)' (cf. also on ►κεῖμαι).

•COMP Also with ἀμφι-, δια-.

•DER εὐκέατος 'easy to split' (ε 60, Theoc. 25, 248), κέαρνα· σίδηρα τεκτονικά 'carpenter's axe' (after σκέπαρνον); uncertain Κεάδαο [gen.] (B 847).

•ETYM The disyllabic aorist κεάσ(σ)αι (with facultative analogical -σσ-) is formed like ἐλάσ(σ)αι, πετάσ(σ)αι, etc., and has been taken to derive from a root PGr. **kesa-* < PIE **ḱesh$_2$-*; the other forms (e.g. κεάζω) are then recent creations. This supposed PGr. **kesa-* has been compared with Skt. *śasi-ṣyati* 'he will cut', but the value of this form is doubtful, as the root *śas-* 'to cut' is *aniṭ*. An alternative assumption would be that the άζω-present is a Greek invention, and that the other forms are based on it (thus LIV^{2} s.v. **ḱes-*). Another present formation is perhaps seen in κείων (ξ 425, verse-final), if for κεῶν < *κεάων (Schulze 1892: 434).

Gr. κεσ- and Skt. *śas-* show a full grade **ḱes-*, as opposed to a zero grade in Lat. *castrō, -āre* 'cut', where *a* is explained as an anaptyctic vowel in a sequence of four consonants (Schrijver 1991: 496).

κεβλή [f.] 'head' (Call. *Fr.* 140, *EM*). ◁IE **gʰebʰ-l-* 'head'▷
•VAR Also κεβαλή (H., *EM*), Macedonian for κεφαλή.
•COMP As a first member in κεβλή-γονος 'born from the head', epithet of Ἀτρυτώνη (Euph. 108) and of the moon (Nic. *Al.* 433).
•DER κεβλήνη· ἡ ὀρίγανος 'organy' (H.), from the three buds close to each other of the Origanums (Grošelj *Razprave* 2: 42); κέβλος· κυνοκέφαλος, κῆπος 'kind of monkey' (H.).
•ETYM On κεβ(α)λή, see Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 14ff., and especially Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 162 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 100ff.; also, Krahe *IF* 60 (1952): 297, who assumes Illyrian origin. Acc. to Mayer *Glotta* 31 (1951): 114ff. and Mayer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 72) the Illyrian TN *Cibalae* is to be included here as well. See also Chantraine *BSL* 61 (1966): 158 and 153. See on ►κεφαλή.

κεβλήπυρις name of an unknown bird (Ar. *Av.* 303); also used as a nickname of Themistocles (Hermipp. Com. V[a]). ◁?▷
•ETYM Connection with ►κεβλή and πῦρ (redpoll, 'Hänfling') is not comprehensible; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.

κέγχρος [m., f.] mostly plural, 'millet, grain of millet', metaph. 'spawn of fish, small ball, speck in the eye, etc.' (Hes. *Sc.* 398, Sapph. 5, 13 [?], Hecat., Hdt., Arist.). ◁?▷
•COMP As a first member e.g. in κεγχρο-φόρος (Str.). With metathesis or dissimilation (cf. below) κέρχνος (Anaxandr., Gal., H.); also the TN Κερχνεία?
•DER 1. κεγχρίς [f.] = κέγχρος (Hp.), also name of a bird fattened with millet, Lat. *miliarius* (Ael.; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.) 2. κεγχρίας [m.] 'millet-like protuberances' (ἔρπης, Gal.) with -ιδίας 'id.' (Dsc.). 3. κεγχρίνης [m.] 'snake with millet-like spots' (Nic., Lyc.); cf. κέγχρινος below. 4. κεγχρίτης 'id.' (Aët.), -ῖτις ἰσχάς 'dried fig' (*AP*). 5. κεγχραμίς [f.] 'kernel of a fig' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), after καλαμίς, σησαμίς et al.; not a foreign suffix as per Schwyzer: 494; also -ιδώδης. 6. κεγχρώματα [pl.] 'small openings on a shield, used as visors' (E. *Ph.* 1386, cf. Chantraine 1933: 186; see also on κέρχνος). 7. κεγχρεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'place where iron is granulated' (Docum. *apud* D. 37, 26). 8. κεγχρ-ιαῖος 'of the size of a millet corn' (Luc., Dsc.; Chantraine 1933: 49). 9. κέγχρινος 'made of millet' (Dsc., Gal.). 10. κεγχρώδης 'millet-like', of eruptions (Hp.), of plants (Thphr.). 11. κεγχρωτός 'with corns, drips' (pap.). 12. Κεγχρεαί [pl.] TN.
•ETYM Mostly derived from reduplicated IE **gʰer-gʰr-o-* "pulverized", with old dissimilation *r - r > n - r* (or *r - n*), and further connected with χέρμα, χεράς 'pebble, gravel', etc. The word κάχρυς has also been adduced, to which MHG *grūz* 'corn of sand or grain', Lith. *grùdas* 'corn', etc. can be connected. Niedermann 1927-1928: 111ff. assumes *κέρχνος (with metathesis) < **kerk-sno-*, connecting it to OHG *hirso* 'millet' < **hirhso*; this is improbable. The etymology remains unclear. See on ►κάχρυς, which is argued to be Pre-Greek. However, if κέγχρος is Pre-Greek as well,

one would also expect forms without prenasalization (*κεχρ-ος), and these do not occur.

κέγχρων, -ωνος [m.] 'name of a wind on the river Phasis, which is described as βίαιος καὶ χαλεπὴ καὶ θερμή 'violent, troublesome, warm' (Hp. *Aër.* 15). ◁?▷

•ETYM Acc. to Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 496 (with von Wilamowitz), it is from κέρχνος 'hoarseness', with metathesis. Schwyzer: 487 considers foreign origin.

κεδάσσαι ⇒ σκεδάννυμι.

κέδματα [n.pl.] (Hp.); acc. to Gal., Erot. and H. = αἱ χρονιώτεραι διαθέσεις νοσώδεις περὶ τὰ ἄρθρα 'chronical limb-diseases'. ◁?▷

•DER κεδματώδης (Hp. *apud* Erot.; uncertain).

•ETYM Connected with κεδάσ(σ)αι 'to tear apart' by Prellwitz, but one would expect -κεδάσματα. The explanation is neither formally nor semantically satisfactory (DELG).

κεδνός [adj.] 'careful, trusty, cared for, noble, cherished, dear' (Il.). ◁IE? **keh₂d-no-* 'cared for'▷

•DER κεδνοσύνη (*IG* 3, 1370; metrical inscr., imperial times; cf. Wyss 1954: 64).

•ETYM A connection with κήδομαι, Dor. κᾶδος, epic κεκᾰδών < **k(e)h₂d-* has been considered impossible because of the -ε-, but De Lambererie 1996 tries to revive this proposal in the light of Lubotsky's Law for Indo-Iranian: loss of a laryngeal before a glottalized PIE stop (**d, g, ǵ, gʷ*) plus a consonant. If this is true, a pre-form **keh₂d-nó-* lost its laryngeal before it colored the neighboring vowel to **a*. Fur.: 195 compares σκεθρός.

κέδρος [f.] 'cedar-tree' (ε 60). ◁?▷

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. κεδρ-έλαιον 'cedar oil' (Aët.), ὀξύ-κεδρος [f.] 'prickly cedar' (Thphr.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 35).

•DER κεδρίς [f.] 'juniper-berry' (Hp., Ar.); κέδρον [n.] 'id.' (inscr., *EM*, H.); κεδρία 'cedar oil' (Hdt., D. S.), also κεδρέα (pap., medic.; after μηλέα, συκέα, etc.). κεδρίτης (οἶνος) 'wine with juniper flavouring'; κέδρινος 'of cedar-wood' (Hp., E., Arist.), also κεδρίνεος 'id.' (Nic.; metrical reshaping), κεδρωτός 'made of cedar-wood' (E. [lyr.]), Κεδρεᾶτις, -ιδος [f.] name of Artemis in Arcadian Orchomenos (Paus. 8, 13, 2; after Τεγεᾶτις, etc.). κέδρωστις, -εως [f.] 'bryony' (Dsc. 4, 182; after ἄγρωστις, s.v.). Denominative verb κεδρόω 'to lay in cedar resin, embalm' (Posidon., Str.).

•ETYM Unknown. The similarity with Baltic names of the juniper (e.g. Lith. *kadagỹs*) is limited to the first syllable; connection with Ru. *čad* 'vapor', OCS *kaditi* 'smoke' is also quite hypothetical. Borrowed as Lat. *cedrus*. Acc. to Fohalle 1925: 157ff., a Mediterranean word for 'cedar', Lat. *citrus* 'Thuia articulata', and Gr. κέδρος would have been adapted to each other; doubtful. See also ▶ κίτρον, -κίτριον.

κεῖμαι [v.] 'to lie, be somewhere, happen, etc.' (Il.). ◁IE **kei-* 'lie, rest'▷

•VAR 3sg. κεῖται, 3pl. κέαται (Att. κεῖνται), inf. κεῖσθαι, etc. (further forms in Schwyzer: 679).

•DIAL The interpretation of Myc. *ke-ke-me-na* is highly uncertain.

•COMP Very frequently with prefix in different mgs., ἀνά-, κατά-, παρά-, ἔγ-, ἔκ-, ἐπί-, σύγ-κειμαι, etc.

•DER 1. κοῖτος [m.] 'layer, bed, sleep' (Od.), κοίτη [f.] 'id., matrimonial bed, nest, parcel, lot' (Od.); often in compounds, e.g. ἀπό-, σύγ-, ἡμερό-κοιτος, ἀ-, παρα-κοίτης (cf. on ἀκοίτης). From κοῖτος, κοίτη: κοιτίς [f.] 'box' (Men., J.; cf. Schwyzer: 127) with κοιτίδιον 'id.' (sch.); κοιτάριον 'bed' (sch.); κοιτών [m.] 'sleeping room' (Ar. *Fr.* 6, Hell.) with κοιτώνιον, -ωνίσκος, -ωνίτης, -ωνικός ; κοιτατήριον 'id.' (Cyrene; cf. ἑστιατήριον s.v. ►ἑστία); κοιταῖος 'lying on the layer' (Decr. *apud* D. 18, 37, Plb.), κοιτάριος 'belonging to the bed' (*Edict. Diocl.*). Denominative verb κοιτάζομαι 'lay down, nest' (Pi., Hell.), -άζω 'bring to rest, lay down', also 'partition the land' (from κοίτη 'parcel'), Hell. Hence κοιτασία 'living together' (LXX), κοιτασμός 'folding the cattle' (pap.). 2. *κοίμη or *κοῖμος, whence denominative κοιμάω 'to lay to rest, put to bed', κοιμάομαι 'to go to bed' (Il.); thence κοίμησις 'lying down, sleep (of death)' (Pl., LXX, NT), κοίμημα 'sleep, sleeping with' (S.), κοιμητήριον 'sleeping room, place of rest or burial' (inscr.); also κοιμίζω = κοιμάω with κοίμισις, -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστικός; rather reshaped from κοιμάω. 3. κειμήλιον [n.] 'valuable, precious thing' (Il.), secondary -ιοι [m.pl.] (Pl. *Lg.* 931a; apposition of πατέρες ἢ μητέρες); derivation in -ηλ- from a neuter *κεῖμα (Frisk *Eranos* 38 (1940): 42 and Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 52). In the same mg. κεμήλιον (Alc. G 1, 8)? Specht *KZ* 68 (1943): 145 (after *θεμήλιον, θέμηλα); but see on ►κεμάς. Cf. also ►κῶμα and ►κώμη. Verbal derivatives: iterative (παρε)-κέσκετο (ξ 521, φ 41); desiderative or future forms κείω, κειέμεν, κείοντες, etc.; late lengthening κατεκείαθεν· κατεκοιμήθη 'went to sleep' (H.), after Hom. μετεκίαθεν.

•ETYM The full grade middle athematic present κεῖται, pl. κέαται may be compared with Skt. 3sg. *śaye*, 3pl. *śere*, which goes back to an old stative paradigm sing. **ḱei-o*, plur. **ḱei-ro*. Beside the stative, there was a regular middle, as evidenced by Skt. *śéte* (Av. *saēte* 'lies') and Anatolian, where we find Hitt. 3sg. *kitta* < **ḱei-to*, next to Lyc. *sijēni*, *sijeni* 'id.' << **ḱei-o*.

The nominal formations in *-t-* and *-m-* are also found outside Greek: Bret. *argud* 'light sleep' < **are-ḱoi-to-*, Go. *haims* 'village, home' < **ḱoi-mo-*, Latv. *sàime* 'family', Lith. *šeimýna* 'id.', OCS *sěmьja* 'id.', OIr. *cóim* 'dear'. Other derivatives of the verb are seen in Lat. *cīvis*, Go. *heiwa-frauja* 'lord of the house', Skt. *śéva-* 'trusty, friendly, dear', and in Arm. *sēr* 'love' with denominative *sirem* 'love'.

κειμήλιον ⇒ κεῖμαι.

κειρία [f.] 'girth of a bedstead, bandage (for wounds, dead), tapeworms' (Ar. *Av.* 816, LXX, pap., medic., *Ev.Jo.* 11, 44). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Often plur. Also κιρία, κηρία, καιρία.

•ETYM Connection with καῖρος 'string, snare' or the like seems obvious, but then the most common notations, κ(ε)ιρ-, κηρ-, remain incomprehensible. Cf. Scheller 1951: 57f. The variation is probably Pre-Greek: α before a palatalized consonant is realized as αι, which becomes ει and/or η (cf. λαίθαργος, λήθαργος). See Fur.: 235, 352 (who had not yet seen the mechanism).

κείρω [v.] 'to cut (off), shave', especially of hair; 'to mow off, cut down, ravage' (Il.). ◁IE **(s)ker-* 'cut'▷

•VAR Aor. κεῖραι, epic also κέρσαι, pass. καρῆναι (καρθέντες with v.l. κερθέντες Pi. *P.* 4, 82), fut. κερέω, κερῶ, perf. pass. κέκαρμαι, new act. κέκαρκα (Hell.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, περι-. Compound ἀ-κερσε-κόμης 'with uncut hair' (Υ 39), also ἀ-κειρε-κόμᾱς, -ης (Pi.); on the form Schwyzer: 442, on the mg. Fink *Phil.* 93 (1938): 404ff.

•DER 1. κέρμα [n.] 'cut-off piece, especially a small piece of money, change' (Emp. 101, 1 [not quite certain], com., Hell.) with κερμάτιον (Hell.) and κερματίζω 'to change in small money' (Att., Arist.); from it κερματιστής 'money-changer' (*Ev. Jo.* 2. 14), κερματισμός 'cut into little bits' (Olymp.); κερματόομαι = -ίζομαι (Procl.). 2. κορμός [m.] 'cut-off piece, bobbin, trunk' (ψ 196) with κορμίον (Hell.), κορμηδόν 'in pieces' (Hld.), κορμάζω 'saw into pieces' (D. H.). 3. ►κουρα. 4. ►καρτός. Cf. also ►κόρση, ►κόρις, ►κερτομέω, ►κέλωρ 2.

•ETYM κείρω < *κερ̯-ι̯ω belongs to a widespread IE group of words, but there are no exact correspondences to the Greek verbal forms. The nearest are Arm. *k'erem* 'to scratch, shave', Alb. *sh-qerr* 'tear apart' (pret. *sh-kora* < IE **kēr-*); further, Hitt. *karš-zi* 'to cut off' (with *s*-enlargement like in ►κουρά). Forms with initial **sk-* are frequent: OHG *sceran* 'to shave', Lith. *skìrti*, 1sg. *skiriù* 'to separate', OIr. *scar(a)im* 'id.'. Skt. *kṛ́ntáti* 'separates' shows an enlarged root **kert-* (infixed nasal present; perfect *ca-kart-a*); such a reconstruction would be possible for the aorist ἔκερσα (Risch 1937: 249).

The number of nominal derivatives in the separate languages is enormous; most of them are independent innovations. Thus, formal agreement exists between κέρμα and Skt. *cárman-*, Av. *carəman-* [n.] 'skin, hide', OPr. *kērmens* [m.] 'body' (IE **kér-men-*); and only difference in ablaut grade between κορμός and OCS *krъma* [f.] 'steering oar, back part of the ship', Ru. *kormá* 'puppis'.

κείω 1 desiderative or future forms of ►κεῖμαι.

•VAR κειέμεν, κείων, κείοντες, etc. ⇒κεῖμαι.

κείων 2 'splitting' (ξ 425). ⇒κεάζω.

κεκαδών [ptc.aor.act.] 'robbing' (Λ 334). ◁?▷

•VAR κεκαδήσει [fut.] 'he will rob' (φ 153 = 170), κεκαδῆσαι· βλάψαι, κακῶσαι, φείσασθαι, στερῆσαι 'to damage, maltreat, spare, rob' (H.); further med. ὑπὸ … κεκάδοντο 'they receded' (Δ 497 = O 574) and the intr. plpf. ἐκεκήδει· ὑπε<κε>χωρήκει 'had withdrawn' (H.).

•ETYM The difference of meaning between the active-transitive and the middle-intransitive forms may perhaps be explained from the diathesis. The glosses κάδυρος· κάπρος ἄνορχις (suffix -υρ-) and κάδαμος· τυφλός. Σαλαμίνιοι (H.) rather seem Pre-Greek.

Connection with κήδω 'to care for, etc.' is possible (see LIV² s.v. **ḱeh₂d-*), but semantically not evident; ὑπὸ … κεκάδοντο is sometimes connected with Lat. *cadō*, in which case the intransitive middle 'to recede' < 'to fall back' would be primary, the active meaning 'to rob' going back to a factitive 'to make fall' (LIV² s.v. **ḱad-*, where

we would prefer a root reconstruction **ḱh₂ed-*). The connection with ►χάζομαι is phonetically impossible.

κέκασμαι [v.] 'to surpass, excel' (Il.). ◄IE? **ḱend-* 'excel'►

•VAR (ἐ)κέκαστο, κεκαδμένος (Pi. *O.* 1, 27).

•DER κάδμος· δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς. Κρῆτες 'stem, crest, shield (Cretan)' (H.), i.e. 'equipment' (see Bechtel 1921, 2: 787)? Cf. also ►Κάδμος.

•ETYM A synonymous active perfect is found in Skt. *śāśadúḥ* 'excel', ptc. *śāśadāna-* (though note that Kümmel 2000b: 512-4 argues that the Skt. meaning is different). Quite uncertain is the connection with MIr. *cá(i)d* 'holy', Gaul. *caddos* 'sanctus'. Within Greek, a present ►καίνυμαι was created analogically from κέκασμαι after δαίνυμι : δέδασται. The root καδ- could be from **ḱend-*, seen in Sanskrit *chand-* 'to appear' (see García Ramón 1992a: 239-255). Heubeck *BNF* 8 (1957): 274-277 had argued earlier that κασ- is from **kn̥s-* (root **ḱeNs-* 'proclaim, honor', LIV² s.v.). The gloss on κάδμος seems unreliable; the proper names are also quite unclear.

κεκαφηότα [ptc.perf.act. acc.sg.m.] with θυμόν (E 698, ε 468); the mg. 'exhausted, tired' is certain in later authors, and is also found in Homer; cf. Nehring *Class. Phil.* 42 (1947): 113ff. ◄IE **keh₂bʰ-* 'get tired, be exhausted, die'►

•VAR In later epic (Opp., Nonn.) constructed with γυῖα, δέμας or absolute; also -ηότας (Nonn.) and -ηότι (of θυμῷ, ταρσῷ; Opp., *AP*).

•ETYM The indicative is attested in κέκηφε· τέθνηκεν 'is dead' (H.); on the ptc. in -ηώς, see Schwyzer: 770 and Chantraine 1942: 428. Further connections are hypothetical: relation to ἐκάπυσσεν (ψυχήν X 467), ἐγκάπτει· ἐκπνεῖ 'exhales' (H.), etc. (see on ►καπνός); or to κηφήν, κωφός 'deaf' (Solmsen 1909: 123, Bechtel 1914 s.v.).

κεκῆνας [?] · λαγωούς. Κρῆτες 'hares (Cret.)' (H.). ◄IE **ḱ(e)h₁-s-* 'grey'►

•ETYM Uncertain. For the *n*-stem, cf. λειχήν, κωλήν, et al. (Chantraine 1933: 167f., Schwyzer: 487). Skt. *śaśá-* 'hare' cannot be separated from the widespread name of the hare (in Germanic, e.g. OHG *haso*, also OPr. *sasins*, W *cein-ach* < **ḱasnī*). Lubotsky 1989: 56f reconstructed **ḱeh₁-s-*, **ḱh₁-s-* for this word, with **ḱh₁s-no-* > Lat. *cānus* 'grey'. A dialectal assimilation of **ḱ - s > *ḱ - ḱ* has been assumed for Indo-Iranian (Skt. *śaś-*) and Greek (κεκ-), but no trace of such a development is found in Modern Iranian and Pamir forms (e.g. Pashto *sōe*, Wakhi *süi*; see Morgenstierne 1927: 66). This means that it is difficult to relate the Greek word.

κεκρύφαλος [m.] 'hair-net of a woman, envelopped by the ἀναδέσμη' (Il.), also 'part of the head-stall of a bridle' (X., Att. inscr.), 'pouch of the belly of a hunting-net' (X., Plu.); 'the second stomach of a ruminant, reticulum' (Arist.; Strömberg 1944: 63f.). See Marinatos 1967: B 22. ◄PG►

•ETYM Technical word of unknown, perhaps Asiatic origin, that may have been reshaped after κρύφα, κρύπτω. Unacceptable IE (κρύπτω, κορυφή, κρόκη) and Semitic etymologies in Bq. No doubt Pre-Greek.

κέλαδος [m.] 'sound, noise, sharp sound' (Il.; on mg. and spread see Trümpy 1950: 155). ◄?►

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. κελαδο-δρόμος 'who runs in the noise' (Orph.; of Artemis), δυσ-κέλαδος 'with terrible noise' (Π 357); on Εγ-κέλαδος s.v.

•DER κελαδεινός (Aeolic -εννός Pi.) 'noisy, sounding' (Il.; Chantraine 1933: 195f.); κελαδῆτις 'id.' (γλῶσσα, Pi. *N.* 4, 86); κελάδων, -οντος 'id.' (Il.), also a river name (H 133; see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 236; Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 3 (1951-1952): 162), rather a secondary formation in -ντ- (cf. on ἱμάς) than from a denominative *κελάδω (Schwyzer: 723, Bechtel 1914 s.v. κέλαδος). Denominative κελαδέω 'to sound, make noise' also transitive 'to sing of' (Il.), aor. κελαδῆσαι, with κελάδημα (E.).

•ETYM Formation like ὅμαδος, χρόμαδος, ῥοῖβδος, etc. (Schwyzer: 508, Chantraine 1933: 359f.). Not related to καλέσαι, κλητός, which is from **kelh₁-* and would give -ελε-. It has been compared with ►κελαρύζω.

κελαινός [adj.] 'black, dark' (Il.). ◅?, PG?▻

•COMP As a first member e.g. in haplological κελαι(νο)-νεφής 'with black clouds', of Ζεύς (Hom., Pi.); also of αἷμα (Hom.), of πεδίον, σκότος (Pi.); explanation in Leumann 1950: 202ff.

•DER Denominative verbs: κελαινόομαι 'to get dark' (A. *Ch.* 413, lyr.), κελαινιάω 'to be black' (Opp., Nonn.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω, Schwyzer: 732.

•ETYM Morphologically isolated and therefore difficult to assess. For the ending, cf. περκνός, ἐρεμνός, et al., but κελαι- remains unclear. Assuming a suffix -ιο-, we arrive at an *n*-stem **kel-n-*, which may be found in Lat. *colum-ba* 'dove' (after its color). See further ►κηλίς. One might think of Pre-Greek **kelan̯-o-*, with a palatalized nasal.

κελαρύζω [v.] 'to babble, murmur', of water (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Only present stem except aor. κελάρυξε (*Lyr. Adesp.* 90, 1).

•DER κελάρυσμα 'murmuring' (Opp.), κελάρυξις 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Expressive sound-word in -(ρ)ύζω, like τονθορύζω, γογγύζω, ὀλολύζω, κλύζω, probably related to κέλωρ· φωνή 'voice' (H.) (also κελωρύειν, -ρύσας H.), first from an adjective *κελαρός, -ής (as ὕδωρ : ὑδαρής; see Bechtel 1914 s.v.), or from a by-form *κέλαρ (cf. τέκμωρ : τέκμαρ; cf. Bq and Benveniste 1935: 17); otherwise, from κέλαδος? Certainly not related to καλέσαι.

κελεα [f.] name of an agon for youths in Sparta (Lacon. inscr., imperial period), cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 376. ◅PG▻

•VAR Also ntr.pl.? Also -εια, -ηα, -οια; καιλοῖα, -υα.

•ETYM A hypothesis by Laum in Wahrmann *Glotta* 17 (1929): 242. The variation suggests a Pre-Greek word; cf. on ►κειρία. See DELG s.v. κελοῖα.

κελέβη [f.] 'vase with a big opening, kind of mixing bowl' (Anacr., Theoc., Call.). ◅PG?▻

•DER κελεβήϊον (Antim. 17).

•ETYM Hebr. *koeloeb* 'vase' was compared by Lewy 1895: 104, but the Semitic word does not exist; see E. Masson 1967:107f. Cf. also Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 284. Acc. to Güntert 1932: 27², it is related to Lat. *calpar*; see on ►κάλπις. Schröder *Germ.-rom.*

Monatsschrift N.F. 10 (1960): 184 compares λέβης with 'movable κ-'. More probably, the word is Pre-Greek (though a suffix -εβ- is unknown).

κελεβρά [n.pl.] · λεπτὰ καὶ νεκρὰ κτήνη 'weak and dying herds' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The gloss is reminiscent of κενέβρεια. Is it corrupt?

κελεΐς · ἀξίνη 'axe' (H.). ⇒κελεός.

-κελεμν- ⇒ἀμφικέλεμνον, κελέοντες.

κελένδρυνον [?] · δρύινον, κελαιόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ μυσκέλενδρον (?)· καὶ τὸ μακρόν (H.); κελενδρύονα· ἀπὸ τοῦ κελέοντος καὶ τῆς δρυὸς ὡς μακρὸν καὶ δασύ (Phot. 154, 4). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM These glosses are probably corrupt. The word(s) look Pre-Greek.

κελέοντες [m.pl.] 'the beams of the standing loom' (Ar. *Fr.* 795, Antipho *Fr.* 11, Theoc., Ant. Lib.), acc. to H. also τὰ ὀπωσοῦν μακρὰ ξύλα, δοκοί, ἱστοί 'wood that is long in some sense, beams, masts or looms'. ◅IE?▻

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk *IF* 49 (1931): 97f., originally a pres.ptc. of *κελέω, which would be a denominative of *κέλος and mean "rising up" vel sim. Formally, the latter could be compared with OCS *čelo* 'forehead', and further connected with ►κολωνός. It does not belong to κελοί = ξύλα (H.); cf. on ►κελεός. Fur. 245 assumes a pre-form *κελέϝοντες as a variant of *κελεμος, which stands beside -κελεμνο- seen in ►ἀμφικέλεμνον.

κελεός [m.] 'green woodpecker, Picus viridis' (Arist.). ◅PG(V)▻

•ETYM For the suffix see Chantraine 1933: 51. Perhaps it belongs to ►κολάπτω, ►κόλος, together with κελοί = ξύλα (H.) as "chopper, cutter" vel sim. (see ►κελέοντες)? Some recognize a diminutive in κελεΐς· ἀξίνη (H.), "hacking". Bechtel *KZ* 44 (1911): 357 connected Lith. *kùlti* 'to thresh', but acc. to Huber 1921: 16, the *variae lectiones* καλιός, κολιός, etc. are a sign of foreign origin. It is probable that these variations are due to Pre-Greek origin.

κελέτρα [f.] a term of land (*IG* 9(2), 521 [Larissa III^{a}]). ◅?▻

•ETYM The precise meaning is unknown. Frisk *Symb. Oslo.* 11 (1932): 64ff. analyzed it as 'drove', connecting it with ►κέλομαι, ►κέλλω. Unclear.

κέλευθος [f.] 'road, path, course, journey' (Il., also *IG* 5(2), 3: 23 [Tegea IV^{a}]). ◅?▻

•VAR Also ntr.pl. -α.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. κελευθο-ποιός 'making a path' (A.), more often as a second member, e.g. ἱππο-κέλευθος 'making the road on a chariot, chariot-fighter' (Il., of Patroclus); ►ἀκόλουθος 'following, attending'.

•DER κελεύθειᾰ [f.] 'goddess of the road', epithet of Athena in Sparta (Paus. 3, 12, 4), after the nouns in -ειᾰ; κελευθείας· τὰς ἐνοδίους δαίμονας 'the divinities [whose statues were situated] on the way' (H.); κελευθήτης 'voyager' (*AP* 6, 120), after ἀγυιήτης, πολιήτης et al.

•ETYM The difficulty of finding a parallel for the suffix -θ- within Greek resulted in attempts to connect κέλευθος with the root ἐλευθ- (in ἐλεύσομαι, etc.). For these old

attempts, see Frisk s.v. Specht 1944: 254 and 280 suggested direct connection with κελεύειν, comparing *th* in Skt. *pánthāḥ* 'road' (see on ►πόντος) and in Lith. *keliūta* 'road'. Since the latter is clearly built on *kēli-as* 'road, street, course', it has no direct connection with κέλευθος; cf. Fraenkel *KZ* 72 (1955): 177. The word therefore remains without etymology. On κέλευθος and its relatives, see Ruijgh 1957: 123f.

κελεύω [v.] 'to urge, drive on, exhort, command' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Aor. κελεῦσαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. παρα-, δια-, ἐπι-, ἐν-.

•DER Derivations from compounded verbs are frequent, but are not indicated separately here: κέλευ(σ)μα 'exhortation, command' (IA), also 'call of the κελευστής', κελευσμός (IA), κελευσμοσύνη (Hdt.), κέλευσις (Att.) 'id.'; κελευστής 'commander of the rowers' (Att.; on the mg. see Richardson *Class. Quart.* 37 (1943): 55ff.); κελευστικός 'exhorting' (Att.). Enlarged ptc. κελευτιόων, -όωντε (-άων, -άοντε) 'stimulating, inciting' (N 125, M 265), the model for which is unclear, cf. Schwyzer: 732[5].

•ETYM If from ►κέλομαι 'to incite, set in movement', the -ευ- remains unexplained; it may be the same element as in κέλευθος 'road', and perhaps also in ►τελευτή, but we do not know.

κελεφός [adj.] 'leprous' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.* 8 (4), 189). ◄LW Sem.►

•COMP As a first member in κελυφο-κομεῖον 'hospital for lepers' (*BMus. Cat. Copt. MSS.* p. 453, Nr. 1077).

•DER κελεφία 'leprosy' (Cyran. 15).

•ETYM Synonymous ἀλφός 'lepra' has the same word-ending. Benveniste *RPh.* 38 (1964): 7ff. argued that the word was taken from Semitic, e.g. Syrian *qəlāfā* 'cortex, squama, putamen', *qəlāfānā* 'lepra'. Strömberg 1944: 99 thinks it is just a phonetic variant of κέλυφος 'shell' (with oppositive accent), which is semantically possible but seems improbable to me. See ►κέλυφος.

κέλης, -ητος [m.] 'runner' (ι 371), cf. Delebecque 1951: 49f.; also a fast-sailing ship (IA). ◄IE? **kel-* 'run'►

•VAR Also Lacon. κέληξ 'runner' (*IG* 5(1), 213 [Sparta V[a]]).

•DER κελήτιον 'sloop, shallop' (Th., App.); κελητίζω [v.] 'to ride on race-horses' (O 679), κελητιᾶν· κελητίζειν, ἱππεύειν 'to be a horseman' (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps a derivation in -ητ- (or -ηκ-) from ►κέλομαι 'to incite'. From Greek, Lat. *celēs, celōx* (after *vēlōx*) 'fast-sailing ship' was borrowed.

κελλάς [adj.] · μονόφθαλμος 'one-eyed' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM A remarkable semantic identity as well as formal similarity are found in OIr. *coll*, Skt. *kāṇá-* 'one-eyed'. These may represent IE **kol-no-*. The geminate -λλ- may go back to -λν-, which in turn could be derived from an *n*-stem. The ending of κελλάς is different; Frisk and DELG suggest that it could be the feminine of κελλός, which H. glosses as στρεβλός, πλάγιος 'twisted, athwart'. The fact that the proposed cognates have *o*-vocalism casts doubts on the comparison (or could it point to an old *n*-stem?). Fur.: 354 connects it with κίλλιξ (H.), which is rather improbable.

κελλίβας ⇒ κιλλίβας.

κέλλω [v.] 'to drive, incite' (both trans. and intr.), 'to pull (a ship) ashore, to land' (Od.). ◂IE? **kel-* 'drive, incite'; (ὀ)κέλλω PG?▸

•VAR The present only attested in grammarians. Aor. κέλσαι (Od.), fut. κέλσω (A., E.), κελῶ (H.).

•COMP One asssumes a prefix ►ὀ- in ὀκέλλω [v.] 'to pull ashore' (IA), aor. ὀκεῖλαι, but this is unlikely (see ►ὀ-). Rarely with preverbs ἐπι-, ἐγ-, εἰσ-, συγ-κέλσαι (epic, Hp., Ar.); ἐπ-έκειλα *Act. Ap.* 27, 41.

•DER κέλομαι [v.] 'to drive on, exhort, call' (Il., Dor.) rarely with ἐπι-, παρα-; reduplicated aor. (ἐ)κέκλετο (Il.), to which a new present κέκλομαι (A. R.), also aor. (ἐ)κελήσατο (Pi., Epich., Epid.), fut. κελήσομαι (κ 296). Athematic κέντο (Alcm. 141) < *κέλτο with dialectal Laconian devopment. See also ►κέλης, ►κελεύω; doubtful is the appurtenance of ►κλόνος.

•ETYM It is often assumed (e.g. DELG) that κέλλω 'to spur' and κέλλω 'to drive ashore' (in unprefixed form; the latter occurs only in grammarians) are cognate, and that ὀκέλλω continues an old prefix ὀ-, also assumed in ὄζος 'branch' < **Hosdo-*. For the meaning 'to call' of κέλομαι, one has to assume that it secondarily developed from 'to drive on, summon, request'. However, this meaning is also reminiscent of καλεῖν, so we may also envisage two separate words for Greek: 1) (ὀ)κέλλω 'to haul ashore', which is Pre-Greek ("prothetic" vowel, and a technical term), and 2) κελ- 'to drive, summon'. The question remains, then, whether some or all forms of the latter derive from **kelh*$_1$- 'to call' (thus, LIV^2 s.v. **kel-* connect the reduplicated aorist (ἐ)κέκλετο with καλέω).

Connections with other languages are scarce and rather doubtful. Semantically, the secondary present Skt. *kalayati* (*kāl-*) 'drives' is close to Greek, but its appurtenance is uncertain (it could belong to **kerH-* 'to strew', acc. to LIV^2 l.c.). In Tocharian, we find PTo. **kəl-* relflected in ToB 3sg.pres.med. *kalṣtär* 'goads' (only twice in this meaning), from which perhaps the pres. ToB *kalṣäṃ* 'to bear, endure', pret. *keltsa* developed. Not connected is PTo. **kəl*^{a}- 'lead, bring' from **k*^{w}*elh*$_1$- 'to turn'; although it fits well semantically with the present root, its *seṭ*-character precludes comparison with κέλλω 'to drive'. A comparable nominal formation is Lat. *celer* 'quick'.

The meaning of (ὀ)κέλλω 'to run a ship aground', the usual way of landing (except in a harbor), is so concrete that I would assume a separate Pre-Greek verb; but I see no further indications for substrate origin.

κέλῡφος [n.] 'husk or skin of fruit, skin of an onion, eggshell' (Ar. *V.* 545 [lyr.], Arist., Thphr., *AP*). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•DER κελύφιον (Arist.), κελύφανον 'id.' (Lyc., Luc.), κελυφανώδης 'like a shell' (Thphr.); also κολύφανον· φλοιός, λεπύριον 'bark; husk, skin., etc.' (H.), perhaps with -o- after κολεός, etc.

•ETYM For the neutral gender, which is rare in derivations in -φ-, cf. the synonyms σκῦτος, νάκος, δέρος, etc. On account of the semantic and formal similarity, κέλυφος has been connected with the group of ►καλύπτω. Since the latter is Pre-

Greek, the same must be true of the present entry. Note -υφ-, which may be a Pre-Greek suffix. Cf. on ►κολέον.

κέλωρ 1, -ωρος [m.] 'descendant, son' (E. *Andr.* 1033 [lyr.], Lyc.). ◄IE? **kelH-* 'rise', **kelH-ōr*►

•DER κελώριον· παιδίον 'young child' (H.).

•ETYM The ending (cf. ἕλωρ, τέκμωρ) suggests an original neuter 'descendance'. Perhaps it arose from *κέρωρ by dissimilation, from the root **ḱerh$_3$-* 'to grow, create' in Arm. *ser* 'generation, descendance' (cf. ►κορέννυμι and ►κόρη). Alternatively, Fur.: 212[50] suggested Pre-Greek origin, comparing other forms in -ωρ like ἄχωρ, ἰχωρ, βιάτωρ, λείτωρ, ψόθωρ, but there are no further indications in this direction. Indo-European origin seems likely, and derivation from **kelH-* 'to rise' seems quite possible, cf. Lith. *kiltìs* 'clan'.

κέλωρ 2 [m.] · ἐκτομίας, γάλλος, σπάδων 'eunuch' (H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM If dissimilated from *κέρωρ, the word may derive from ►κείρω 'to cut'. However, given the meaning, one would rather expect a foreign word.

κέλωρ 3 [?] · φωνή 'voice' (H.).

•DER κελωρύειν· κεκραγέναι, βοᾶν 'to cry aloud, shout' (H., Phot.), κελωρύσας· φωνήσας, βοήσας 'having produced a sound, cried aloud' (H.). ⇒κελαρύζω.

κεμάς, -άδος [f.] 'young deer, young dog' (K 361, A. R., Call.). ◄IE **ḱemh$_2$-* 'without horn'►

•VAR Also κεμμάς (Q. S., *AP*, H.; hypocoristic gemination?) and κεμφάς (H.), perhaps after the animal names in -φάς, -φος, like γρομφάς.

•COMP κεμαδο-σσόος 'hunting young deer' (Nonn.).

•DER κεμήλιος epithet of Dionysus (Alc. G 1, 8); other interpretations in Risch *IF* 33 (1913/1914): 195 (see also on ►κειμήλιον). Note also ►κέμων.

•ETYM A derivation in -άς, probably from an *o*-stem *κέμος = Skt. *śáma-* 'without horn' (cf. λίθος beside λιθάς). Cf. the Germanic word for 'hind, doe', e.g. OHG *hinta* [f.] < PGm. **hin-ðī* < IE **ḱem-ti-* (enlarged like *hund* 'dog' < PGm. **hun-ða-* < IE **ḱun-tó-*; see on ►κύων). Lubotsky 1988: 76 assumes a root **ḱemh$_2$-*. The zero grade of the root is found in Lith. *šmùlas* 'without horn'.

κέμμερος [m.] · ἀχλύς, ὀμίχλη 'mist, fog' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

κέμων [adj.] · ἑτερόφθαλμος 'one-eyed' (H.). ◄IE? **sḱem-* 'mutilated'(?)►

•ETYM Unknown; cf. perhaps Pok. 929 **sḱem-* 'mutilated'. DELG suggests it is a mistake for κέλλων; cf. on ►κελλάς.

κενέβρεια [n.pl.] 'carrion, especially of dead cattle' (Ar. *Av.* 538, Erot., Phot.); also 'dog-meat market' (Erot.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Also sg. (Ael. *NA* 6, 2).

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. ►κινάβρα. It looks like a Pre-Greek word.

κενεών 'hollow between ribs and hip, flank'. ⇒κενός.

κενός [adj.] 'empty, idle' (Att.). ◁IE **ḱen-* 'empty', **ḱen-u-*▷

•VAR Epic κενε(ϝ)ός (also IA, Cypr. and Epid.), epic Ion. κεινός (since Il.).

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κενε-αυχέες [voc.pl.] (Θ 230), -έα (*AP*), κεν-αυχής (Plu., *AP*) 'empty, vain' (the second member belongs to αύχέω 'to boast', if it was not reshaped after this for earlier -ευχέες after εὔχος, ▶εὔχομαι; see Wackernagel 1916: 65); κέν-ανδρος 'empty of men' (A. *Pers.* 119 [lyr.], S. *OC* 917), whence -ία (A. *Pers.* 730 [troch.]), cf. Sommer 1948: 191; κεν-εμβατέω lit. "tread on emptiness", 'lack a solid foundation, reach a cavity', whence κενεμβάτησις (Plu., medic.), as if from *κεν-εμβάτης (after other derivatives in -βατέω derived from compounds with -βάτης).

•DER κενεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'the hollow space between hip and ribs' (epic Ion., X., LXX); κενεότης (-νότης) [f.] 'emptiness' (IA); κενήριον = κενοτάφιον (Hell.), probably after ἠρίον, if not composed with it; thence ψευδήριον 'id.' (Lyc.). Denominative κενόω, -νεόω [v.] 'to empty, make desert' (IA), whence κένωσις, -νέωσις 'emptying' (Ion. poet., Att.), κενώσιμος (Anon. *apud* Suid.), κένωμα, -νέωμα [n.] 'empty space' (Hell.), κενωτικός [adj.] 'emptying' (Gal.).

•ETYM Att. κενός and Ion. κεινός, both from *κενϝός, may be compared with στενϝός. Further, κενεϝός is reminiscent of ἑτεϝός. We should assume an old υ-stem *κενύς (it is not found in De Lamberterie 1990: 187f.). Ruijgh *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 537 compares the ablauting pair with ὁλοός << **ol-ewo-* and οὐλος < **ol-wo-*. The root correspondence between κενός and the Arm. *o*-stem *sin*, gen. *sn-oy* 'id.' < IE **ḱen-o-* is noteworthy. See Clackson 1994: 138-9 on this lexical correspondence.

κεντέω [v.] 'to sting, goad' (Pi.). ◁IE **ḱent-* 'sting'▷

•VAR Aor. κένσαι (Ψ 337), κεντῆσαι (Hp.), κέντᾶσα (Theoc. 19, 1), pass. κεντηθῆναι (Arist.), fut. κεντηθήσομαι (Hdt.), κεντήσω (S.), κεκέντημαι (Hp.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, παρα-, ἀπο-, δια-.

•DER 1. κένσαι < *κέντ-σαι points to a root κεντ-, which developed to κεσ- before dental. Thus κεσ-τός < *κεντ-τός 'stitched' (epic); κέσ-τρον 'pointed iron' (Plin.), κεστρωτός and κέστρωσις (H.), presupposing *κεστρόω, κέσ-τρος 'kind of arrow, etc.' (Plb., D. H., H.), diminutive κεστρίον (Attica) and κέστρειον 'stock of arrows (?)' (Delos III[a]); κέσ-τρα [f.] 'sharp hammer, arrow' (S., Ph. *Bel.*, Hero), also a fish name = σφύραινα (Ar.; after the shape of the body, see Strömberg 1943: 35); κεστρεύς 'mullet' (IA) and κεστρῖνος, -ινίσκος 'id.' (com.). 2. κέντρον 'sting', as a geometrical technical term also 'leg of a compass, centre of a circle' (Il.), perhaps a reshaping of κέστρον after κεντέω; thence many compounds and derivatives, e.g. κεντρ-ηνεκής 'driven by a goad' (Il.; cf. δουρ-, ποδ-ηνεκής); substantive ▶κέντρων; adjectives like κεντρικός, κεντρώδης, κεντρήεις; fish and plant names like κεντρίνης, κεντρίσκος, κεντρίτης; denominative verbs κεντρόω 'to provide with a sting, to sting' (IA), κεντρίζω 'to sting' (X.); from κέντρον as a back-formation κέντωρ [m.] 'stimulator, driver' (Il., *AP*). 3. From κεντέω (κεντῆσαι, -σω): κέντημα 'stitching, mosaic' (Arist., inscr. Smyrna [imperial period]), κεντητής 'mosaic-worker' (*Edict. Diocl.*), κεντητήριον 'picker' (Luc.), κεντητικός 'stingy' (Thphr.), κεντητός 'stitched, with mosaic' (Epict., pap.). 4. κοντός [m.] 'pole, crutch, staff to spur on cattle' (ι 487), which was borrowed into Lat. *contus*, *percontor*; thence κοντά-κιον, -άριον, -ίλος,

-ωτός, etc.; κοντός 'short' (Adam.) arose by reanalysis of κοντο-μάχος, -βόλος, -βολέω, where κοντός was taken as 'short'; likewise in κοντο-πορεία (Plb.).
•ETYM The sigmatic aorist κένσαι < *κέντ-σαι is old; the formation of the present κεντέω is unclear (one would expect *κοντέω); thence κεντῆσαι, κεντήσω, etc. were created. Other languages have only isolated nominal formations: OHG *hantag* 'pointed', derived from PGm. **handa-* (identical formation with κοντός), Latv. *sīts* 'hunting spear' < IE **ḱnt-o-*. Celtic words like Bret. *kentr* 'spur', W *cethr* 'nail' were probably all borrowed from Lat. *centrum*.

κέντρον 'sting, goad, etc.'. ⇒ κεντέω.

κέντρων 1, -ωνος [m.] 'rogue' (S. *Fr.* 329, Ar. *Nu.* 450).
•ETYM From κέντρον; see ▶ κεντέω. Originally meant "who bears the mark of the κέντρος".

κέντρων 2, -ωνος [m.] 'piece of patchwork' (Hell.). ◀ LW Lat. ▶
•DER κεντρωνάριον (pap. -όριον) mg. unknown (*POxy.* 2, 326 [I^{P}]).
•ETYM From Lat. *centō* 'id.' and adapted to κέντρον. It cannot be established whether ▶ κέντρων 1 had any influence.

κέπφος [m.] name of an unknown water-bird, mostly identified with the stormy petrel, Thalassidroma pelagica, but without sufficient reason (Arist., Thphr., Lyc., Nic.); also metaph. of a simple man who can easily be deceived (Ar., Call.). ◀ PG(V) ▶
•DER κεπφόομαι 'to be deceived easily, be simple' (LXX, Cic.).
•ETYM A by-form is κεμπός· κοῦφος, ἐλαφρὸς ἄνθρωπος 'stupid person' (H.), where the prenasalization shows that the word is Pre-Greek. For the semantics, cf. the description of the bird κέπφος in H.: εἶδος ὀρνέου κουφοτάτου, etc., so 'a featherlight kind of bird'. Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 7^{1} compared Lat. *hebes* 'blunt', but the bird name is no doubt primary. See Thompson 1895 s.v. See ▶ κάμπος.

κεραΐζω [v.] 'to destroy' (Il.). ◀ IE **ḱerh$_2$-* 'damage', intr. 'fall apart' ▶
•VAR Aor. κεραΐσαι (Hdt.), -ΐξαι (Nonn.), fut. inf. κεραϊξέμεν (Π 830 for κεραϊζέμεν acc. to Bekker).
•COMP Also with ἐκ- (Call., *AP*).
•DER κεραϊστής 'destroyer' (*h. Merc.* 336; Zumbach 1955: 7), κεραϊσμός 'destruction' (D. H.).
•ETYM The secondary present κεραΐζω, which stands at the basis of the group, may have replaced an older primary verb. Skt. retains a nasal present in *śṛṇā́ti* 'breaks', but the etymological connection (thus Frisk) with OIr. *ar-a-chrin* 'to fear, perish' is not followed anymore in Matasović 2009. The disyllabic stem κερα- has an exact counterpart in the Skt. aorist *aśarīt* and in the OIr. preterit *do-cer* 'he fell', from IE **ḱerh$_2$-*. In Greek, this stem is also seen in ἀ-κέραιος 'unhurt', and possibly also in ▶ ἀκήρατος 'id.' (η perhaps by metrical lengthening; cf. s.v.). The form ▶ κεραυνός is an independent formation; ▶ κήρ does not belong here.

κεραΐς [f.] 'black radish', acc. to Thphr. a medical name of the wild radish, ῥάφανος ἀγρία. ◀ LW Balkans ▶

•VAR Only acc. κεραΐν (Thphr. *HP* 9, 15, 5; *cerain* Plin. *HN* 19, 82); the accent given by Frisk is probably wrong.
•ETYM The agreement with the Slavic word for 'horse-radish, Cochlearia Armoracia' (e.g. Ru. *xren*, Cz. *křen*) is due to a loan from a common source. See Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 55.

κερᾶΐς [f.] 'a small bird' (Lyc. 1317). ◁IE? **ḱerh₂-u-* 'horn'▷
•VAR Acc. -ΐδα
•ETYM Acc. to the sch., the name of a small bird that was put beside Medea in the passage cited. The gloss κεραΐς· κορώνη (H.) also refers to this. Originally a feminine of κεραός 'horned', and therefore a bird of the *Bucerotidae*, says Frisk. However, note that this pre-form would have to yield a short -α-, while DELG gives a long α (s.v. κερᾶΐς, but not s.v. κεραός).

κεράμβυξ, -υκος [m.] 'longicorn beetle' (Nic. *Fr.* 39, H.); on the mg. see Goossens *Ant. class.* 17 (1948): 263ff. ◁PG(S,V)▷
•ETYM Cf. σήραμβος, κόλυμβος, κόρυμβος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 261) and βόμβυξ, ὄρτυξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 383 and 397). Another formation is κεράμβηλον, glossed as κάνθαρος 'beetle' by H. and others; cf. πέτηλος, κίβδηλος, etc. The form cannot be derived from κέρας 'horn'. If the word has prenasalization, which seems probable, it is of Pre-Greek origin. Moreover, -ηλ(ο)- and -υκ- are Pre-Greek suffixes. Fur. (passim) compares κᾰ́ραβος, καρά(μ)βιος, and καραβίδες, as well as *σκαραβαῖος (all names of beetles); the form with κερα- may have been adapted to κέρας by folk etymology.

κέραμος [m.] 'potter's earth, tile, earthen vessel, jar, wine-jar, pottery' (Il.), in E 387 denoting a (subterranean) dungeon, a use which is Cyprian acc. to the scholiast (on this topic Leumann 1950: 270[17], 273, and Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 200ff., who compares σιρός· πίθος, δεσμιωτήριον 'large wine-jar, prison' (H.) for the semantics. ◁PG?▷
•DIAL Myc. *ke-ra-me-u* /kerameus/.
•COMP κεραμιουργός 'potter' (Hell.).
•DER A. material adjectives: κερά-μινος (Hdt.), -μικός (IA), -μεος (Pl.), -μεοῦς (Att.; after ἐρεοῦς to ἐρέα), -μοῦς (Hell.), -μαῖος (Plb.), -μιος (Str.), -μήϊος (Nic.), -μῖτις (Hp., Plu.). B. Substantives 1. κεραμεύς 'potter' (Il.), to which Κεραμεικός [m.] "potter's market" (X.), also as an adjective = -μικός, κεραμευτικός 'belonging to the potter' (D. S.), κεραμεῖον 'pottery' (Att.), κεραμεύω [v.] 'to make out of potter's earth, be a potter' (Att.), with κεραμεία 'pottery' (Pl.). 2. κεράμιον 'earthen jar, vase' (IA), κεραμύλλιον 'small pot' (Delos, pap., III[a]). 3. κεραμίς [f.] 'roof-tile' (IA), κεραμίδιον (late) and κεραμιδόω [v.] 'to cover with tiles' (Arist.). 4. κεραμ(ε)ών 'pottery' (Ar. *Lys.* 200, Hdn. Gr. 1, 32; 40). Denominative verb κεραμιόω [v.] 'to cover with tiles' (Att. inscr.), whence κεραμωτός (Plb., Str.), κεράμωσις (Epid. IV[a]).
•ETYM No certain etymology. Connection with κεράσαι, κεράννυμι 'to mix' is formally unproblematic, but semantically not very convincing. A verb **kerH-* 'to burn, glow' (Pok. 571f.), which is found in several Baltic and Germanic nominal derivations, e.g. Lith. *kárštas* 'hot, glowing, burning', Go. *hauri* [n.] 'coals', OHG *herd* 'hearth', would be better from the semantic side. However, among the words in

-(α)μιο-, several are suspected of being loans (Chantraine 1933: 133f., Schwyzer: 493f.). Therefore, this technical term for tile-making may well be Pre-Greek (or Anatolian). The Carian TN Κέραμος should be noted in this connection (Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 284, Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 694).

κερανίξαι [v.] · κολυμβῆσαι, κυβιστῆσαι 'to dive, tumble head first' (H.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR Also κρανίξαι· ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀπορρῖψαι 'to throw away on the head' (H.).

•ETYM The last word seems to be a denominative of κρανίον, and κερανίξαι would then be a reshaping after κέρας. This seems improbable. The variation might point to a Pre-Greek form. There is no (direct) connection with Lat. *cernuus* 'head foremost'.

κεράννυμι [v.] 'to mix, mix up' especially of wine with water, 'to temper', of the climate, etc. (com., Hyp.). ◁IE **ḱerh₂-* 'mix'▷

•VAR Also κεραννύω (com., Hyp.), κεραίω (I 203, Delph. V^{a}), κεράω (Od.; subj. κέρωνται Δ 260), κίρνημι, -νάω (Od.), aor. κεράσ(σ)αι (Il.), also (ἐπι-)κρῆσαι (η 164, Hp.), pass. κρᾱθῆναι, κρηθῆναι (IA), also κερασθῆναι (Att.), perf. med. κέκρᾱμαι, -κρη- (Sapph., Pi., IA), also κεκέρασμαι (Arist.), fut. κερῶ (Att.), κεράσω (Them.), pass. κρᾱθήσομαι (Att.).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-te-ra* /krātēra/.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially συν-.

•DER A. From monosyllabic κρᾱ- (κρη-): 1. κρᾶσις, κρῆσις (σύγ-, etc.) 'mix' (IA), with *κρᾱσίον > MoGr. κρασί 'wine'. 2. κρᾶμα (rarely also κράμμα, after βάμμα, etc.), Ion. κρῆμα, 'mix, alloy', also 'mixed wine' (Ion., Hell.), whence κραμάτιον (Dsc.) and κραμ(μ)άτινος 'consisting of an alloy' (pap.). 3. κρᾱτήρ, κρητήρ [m.] "mixer", 'mixing bowl', also metaph. 'crater' (Il.), whence κρατηρία 'id.' (Dsc.) and the diminutives κρατήριον, κρη- (Hp.), κρατηρ-ίδιον (Boeot., J.), -ίσκος (Delos III^{a}, Ath.); κρατηρίζω [v.] "to drink a bowl", 'to intoxicate oneself' (Sophr., D.). 4. compounds like ἄ-κρᾱ-τος (-η-) 'unmixed' (Il.), αὐτο-κρη-ής "mixed with itself", i.e. 'unmixed' (Nic. *Al.* 163), αὐτό-κρας 'id.' (Poll.).

B. From disyllabic κερᾰ-: κατα-κέρασις 'mixing (with water)' (Arist.), κέρασμα 'id.' (Hell.), συγ-κερασμός 'id.' (gloss.), κεραστός (εὐ-, ἐγ-κέρ.) 'mixed' (D. H., Plu., *APl.*), κεραστής 'mixer' (Orph.), ἐπι-, κατα-κεραστικός 'causing a (real) mix' (medic.), μετά-κερας [adj., n.] 'tempered, lukewarm' (com.), αὐτό-κερας [adj., adv.] 'unmixed' (Poll., Phryn.; cf. on αὐτοκρηής). See also ▶ἀκήρατος 2. In the mg. 'unmixed' (οἶνος; Dsc. 5, 6, 10), ἀκέραιος is a reinterpretation of ἀκέραιος 'undamaged'; see ▶ἀκήρατος 1.

•ETYM The *seṭ*-character of the root **ḱerh₂-* is apparent from the verbal adjectives (ἄ)-κρᾰτος and corresponding Skt. *ā-śīr-ta-* 'mixed'. Gr. κίρνημι is from **kʾrnāmi*, which contains a *schwa secundum* and therefore did not vocalize the **r̥*. The nasal present found in Skt. *śrīṇāti* rather belongs with **ḱreiH-* 'to shine, excell', acc. to Narten *KZ* 100 (1987): 270-96. On the other hand, Av. *sar-* 'to unite' does belong here, e.g. OAv. *sārəṇtē* [3pl.pres.]. The old aorist κεράσαι gave rise to analogical innovations κεραίω, κεράω, κεράννυμι, just like κερῶ, κεράσω, κερασθῆναι, κεκέρασμαι (with analogical σ); older forms are κρᾱθῆναι, κέκρᾱμαι.

κεραός [adj.] 'horned', secondarily 'made of horn' (Il.). ◁IE *$\acute{k}erh_2$- 'head, horn'▷

•ETYM *κεραϝός is identical with several words for 'deer' and other horned animals: Lat. *cervus* (like κεραός from IE *$\acute{k}erh_2u$-*o*-), MW *carw* 'deer' < IE *$\acute{k}r̥h_2u$-*o*-, Alb. *ka* 'ox', Ru. *koróva*, SCr. *krȁva* 'cow' < *$\acute{k}orh_2ueh_2$ with *centum*-treatment of *$\acute{k}$ from the zero grade, which must consequently have been present in the paradigm), Lith. *kárvė* 'id.'; also, with palatalisation and zero grade, OPr. *sirwis* 'roe'. We have to assume an original paradigm *$\acute{k}erh_2$-*u*-*o*-, *$\acute{k}rh_2$-*eu*-*o*-. A parallel formation is the Germanic name of the deer, e.g. OHG *hiruz*, from QIE *$\acute{k}eru$-*d*-. All words derive from a word for 'horn', e.g. Av. *srū*- [f.]; see Nussbaum 1986: 19-47 and 139-157. See ►κέρας.

κέρας [n.] 'horn for blowing and drinking', metaph. 'branch (of a river), part of an army, top, etc.'. ◁IE *$\acute{k}erh_2$-*s*- 'horn, head'▷

•VAR Gen. epic -ραος, Hdt. -ρεος, Att. -ρως, -ρᾶτος, dat. epic -ραϊ, Hdt. -ρεϊ, Att. -ρᾳ, nom.acc.pl. epic -ρα(α), Hp. and Att. -ρᾶτα, gen. epic -ράων, Att. -ρῶν, -ρᾶτων, dat. -ρᾶσι, epic also -ράεσσι; late epic gen.sg. -ρᾶατος, nom.acc.pl. -ρᾶατα (further forms in Schwyzer: 515).

•DIAL Myc. *ke-ra-a* /keraha/ [nom.pl.].

•COMP As a first member in κερασ-φόρος 'with a horn' (trag.), also κερατο-φόρος 'id.' (Arist.); κεραο-ξόος 'polishing horn' (Δ 110, *AP*), thematically reshaped e.g. in κερο-φόρος (E.), also κερε-αλκής 'with strong horn' (A. R.). As a second member mostly -κερως [m., f.] < -κερα(σ)-ος, seen in ὑψί-, ἀ-κερως, etc.; special feminine form ὑψι-, καλλι-κέραν [acc.] (B.); isolated -κέρᾱτος, e.g. ἀ-κέρατος (Pl., Arist.; τῆς ἀκεράτου beside τὴν ἀκέρων Pl. *Plt.* 265b, c), also ἀ-κέρωτος (*AP*), -κερος e.g. in νή-κεροι [pl.] 'hornless' (Hes. *Op.* 529); δί-κερας [n.] 'double horn' (Callix.) and the plant names αἰγό-, βού-, ταυρό-κερας [n.] (after the shape of the fruit, Strömberg 1940: 54); also αἰγο-κέρως 'Capricornus', with metrically conditioned gen. -κερῆος (Arat., Q. S.).

•DER Diminutives: κεράτιον 'little horn' (Arist., Hell.), 'name of a weight and a coin, "carat" (Hero) = Lat. *siliqua* (inscr. and pap.); τὰ κεράτια 'the fruits of the carob-tree' (*Ev. Luc.* 15, 16, Dsc.); thence κερατία [f.] 'carob-tree' (Str., Plin.), also -τέα (pap., Gp.; after other tree names in -έα), κερωνία 'id.' (Thphr., Plin.), contaminated form κερατωνία 'id.' (Gal., Aët.).

Further substantives: κερασ-τής [m.] 'horned being' (S., E.; of ἔλαφος, Πάν, etc.), name of a snake 'Cerastes cornutus' (Nic.), fem. -στίς (A; cf. Fraenkel 1912: 209); also epithet of the island of Cyprus (Hdn. 1, 104, 15: ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰς ἄκρας ἔχειν, 'because it has many capes'); κερατῖτις (μήκων) 'kind of poppy' (Thphr., Dsc.); κεραΐτης [m.] = Lat. *cornicularius* (Lyd. *Mag.*), κεραϊτις [f.] "Hornpflanze" = τῆλις (Redard 1949: 41 and 72, Strömberg 1940: 54); κεραΐτης and κεραῖτις, however, rather belong to κεραία (see below); κερατίας [m.] name of Dionysus (D. S.), also name of a comet (Plin.; Scherer 1953: 107); κεραία [f.] name of several horn-like objects, e.g. 'yard, beam, cornucopia', as a sign of writing = Lat. *apex* (Att., Hell.); diminutive κεράδιον (Attica, Delos; or κεραΐδιον?); κερατών, -ῶνος [m.] name of an altar on Delos (Hell.); originally "place adorned with horns"; after the place names in -ών. Adjectives: κεράτινος 'made of horn' (X., Pl. Com.), κερατίνης [m.] 'the fallacy called

the Horns' (D. L., Luc.); κερατώδης 'hornlike' (Thphr.); κερόεις 'horned' (Anacr., Simon.); κερέϊνος 'id.' (Aq., Sm.).
Denominative verbs: 1. κερατίζω 'to but with the horns' (LXX); thence κερατιστής (LXX), κεράτισις (Apollod. *Poliorc.*); κερατισμός 'loss upon exchange of solidi in ceratia', as if from κερατίζω *'to change in ceratia' (pap. VI^{p}, Lyd. *Mag.*); 2. κερατόω 'to change into horn' (Ael.); 3. κεράω 'to provide with horns' (Arat.), 'to form a wing' (Plb.). Cf. also ►κεραός, ►κεραΐς, ►κερανίξαι, ►κερουτιάω, ►κέρνα.
•ETYM Beside the full grade root in κέρας 'horn' < *ḱerh$_2$-es-, we find a zero grade in *καρασ- in κάρᾱ, κάρηνα 'head, top' < *ḱrh$_2$-es-, which also gave Skt. *śíras-* [n.] 'head', and *κρᾱσ- < *ḱr̥h$_2$s- in κρᾱνίον 'skull'. Cf. on ►κάρᾱ. The s-stem was enlarged with a suffix *-ro- in Lat. *cerebrum* 'brain' < *keras-ro- < IE *ḱerh$_2$(e)s-ro-. Full discussion in Nussbaum 1986. The original meaning was probably 'horn', whence 'horned animal-head' and 'head' in general. Further related forms are discussed s.v. ►κάρᾱ, ►κρᾱνίον, ►κρήδεμνον, ►κράνος.

κέρασος [m., f.] 'bird cherry, Prunus avium' (Xenoph., Thphr.). ◄PG?►
•VAR κερασός (acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 209).
•DIAL Myc. PN *ke-ra-so* /kerasō/ [f.], see Heubeck *Kadmos* 4 (1956): 138-145; Chantraine 1968: 575.
•DER κερασία, -έα 'id.' (Gp.), cf. κερατία, -έα s.v. ►κέρας; κεράσιον 'fruit of the κ.' (Hell.), *κεράσινος [adj.] in Lat. *cerasinus* 'cherry-colored', as a subst. κεράσινον [n.] 'cherry-colored paint' (*PHolm.*).
•ETYM As the improved cherry came from the Pontos area (cf. Κερασοῦς "rich in cherries", town on the Pontos), the name is probably Anatolian as well. Given its intervocalic σ, the form must be Anatolian or Pre-Greek. For the suffix, cf. ►θίασος, ►κάρπασος, which too are of foreign origin. Assyr. *karšu* has also been adduced. Cf. on ►κράνον 'cornelian cherry'. Gr. κέρασος, -ία, κεράσιον were borrowed into many languages: Asiatic names of the cherry-tree and the cherry, like Arm. *keṙas*, Kurd. *ghilas*, and in the West, Lat. *cerasus, -ium*, VLat. **cerasia, *ceresia, -ea*; from Latin came the Romance and Germanic forms like MoFr. *cerise*, OHG *chirsa* > *Kirsche*. Lit.: Olck in *PW* 11: 509f. and Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 356.

κεραυνός [m.] 'thunderbolt, lightning' (Il.). ◄IE *ḱerh$_2$- 'shatter, smash'►
•COMP ►τερπι-κέραυνος, ἐγχει-κέραυνος 'who has the thunderbolt as a spear' (Pi.), after ἐγχει-βρόμος 'who thunders with the spear'; also κεραυνο-εγχής 'id.' (B.).
•DER κεραύνιος [adj.] 'belonging to the thunderbolt', also 'struck by a thunderbolt, hurling the thunderbolt' (trag.), also κεραυναῖος (*AP* 7, 49; Steph. -ειος); κεραύνιον name of a mushroom 'Tuber aestivum' (Thphr., Gal.), conceived as protecting against thunder, or as arisen from a thunderbolt; likewise κεραυνία = ἀείζφον μικρόν (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 79f.; also name of a stone κεραυνίας, -νίτης (*PHolm.*, Clem.). Denominative κεραυνόομαι [v.] 'to be struck by lightning', -όω 'to slay with a thunderbolt' (Hes.); κεραύνωσις 'thunderclap' (Str., Plu.).
•ETYM Thematic transformation of an *r/n*-stem *κερα-ϝαρ, κερα-υν- 'shattering', from a verb 'to shatter' that was replaced by ►κεραΐζω. For the formation, cf. on

►ἐλαύνω. Not to be included here are Skt. *śáru-* 'arrow' and Gm. words like Go. *hairus* 'sword'.

Κέρβερος [m.] 'name of the dog that guarded the underworld' (Hes. 311, where he has fifty heads). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Traditionally connected with Skt. *karbara-*, *śárvara-* 'spotted', as an adj. *śabála-* of the two dogs of the lower world (RV 10, 14, 10). This is doubted by Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. *karbaraḥ*, where, after Kuiper, an Austro-Asiatic origin is considered for the Skt. word (see also Mayrhofer *EWAia* 3: 297). Thus, it has nothing to do with the Greek word. Lincoln *JIES* 7 (1979): 273-285 follows Schlerath, who showed that there were two hellhounds in the IE conception; this is most clear in Armenian, where Spitak 'white' is the dog of life, Siaw 'black' the dog of death. He ends with unfounded speculations. The dog may come from the East, he may as well be Pre-Greek; for neither do we have any evidence.

κέρδος [n.] 'cunning, wiles; desire to win, gain, profit' (Il.); plur. also 'good advice' (Hom.). ◄IE? **ḱerd-* 'cunning'►

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. κερδο-φόρος 'bringing gain' (Artem.), as a second member in αἰσχρο-κερδής 'full of lowly craving, greedy' (IA).

•DER Diminutives κερδάριον, κερδύφιον (gloss.). Further κερδοσύνη 'ruse' (Hom., Cleanth. *Hymn.* 1, 28), κερδώ [f.] "the cunning one", i.e. 'fox' (Ar., Babr.); PN Κέρδων, -ωνος (D., Argolis), whence Lat. *cerdō* 'ordinary artisan'; also Κερδέων epithet of Hermes and Κερδείη Πειθώ (Herod. 7, 74); Κερδῷος epithet of Apollo (Thessal., Lyc.), after Λητῷος; also of Hermes (Plu., Luc.), also said of the fox (Babr.); κερδητικός 'greedy' (gloss.). Further κερδαλέος 'greedy' (Il.) and κερδαίνω [v.] 'to gain, have profit' (Pi., IA), aor. κερδῆναι, -δᾶναι, -δῆσαι. Comparative forms κερδίων 'more profitable' (Il.), κέρδιστος 'the most cunning' (Hom.). The positive has now been recognized in ►κορδύς.

•ETYM The only connections outside Greek are a few Celtic words: OIr. *cerd* 'art, handwork', also 'aerarius, figulus, poeta' < IE **ḱerd-h₂-*, MW *cerdd* 'song'. The gloss κήρτεα· τὰ κέρδη (H.) is doubtful. R. Schmitt *Glotta* 51 (1973): 94-95 convincingly connected it with κορδύς· πανοῦργος 'crafty' (H.).

κέρθιος [m.] name of a small bird with a clear voice, perhaps 'treekreeper, Certhia familiaris' (Arist. *HA* 616b 28). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Unexplained; the word hardly belongs to ►κρέξ. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

κέρκα [?] · ἀκρίς 'locust' (H.). ◄PG?►

•VAR κέρκαξ· ἱέραξ 'hawk, falcon', κέρκνος· ἱέραξ ἢ ἀλεκτρυών 'cock' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 127 compares κερ-κ- with ἀ-κρ-ιδ-, comparing for the morphology γελ-γ-ιθ- beside α-γλ-ιθ-; doubtful at best. The words hardly belong to ►κέρκος 'tail', as per Frisk. The word is rather Pre-Greek.

κερκάς [?] · κρὲξ τὸ ὄρνεον 'ruff, corncrake' (H.).

•VAR κερκιθαλίς· ἐρῳδιός 'heron' (H.). ⇒ κρέξ.

κέρκηρις, -εως [?] name of a water-bird (*PCair. Zen.* 388b, III^{a}, *BGU* 1252, 30, II^{a}), Lat. *cerceris* (Varro *LL* 5: 79). ◂?▸
•DER Cf. ▸κερκίων [m.].
•ETYM Compared with Lat. *querquēdula*, which is paraphrased with κερκήδης (*gloss.* 3, 319, 13, etc.). It is uncertain whether κέρκηρις belongs to κέρκος or to the group of κρέξ.

κερκίς -ίδος [f.] 'weaver's shuttle' (Il.); metaph. of comparable objects, e.g. 'great bone of the leg, tibia' (A. R., Heroph. Med.), 'wedge-shaped division of the seats in the theatre' (Hell.); as a tree name 'asp, Populus tremula, etc.' (Arist., Thphr.). The mgs. are discussed by Martin *REGr.* 80 (1967): 319f. ◂PG?▸
•COMP As a first member in κερκιδοποικική (τέχνη) 'the art of a κερκιδοποιός' (Arist.); as a second member in παρα-κερκίς [f.] 'splint-bone' (Poll.).
•DER Diminutives κερκίδιον (pap.); κερκιδιαῖον 'wedge-shaped spool' (Attica); κερκίζω [v.] 'to use the weaver's shuttle' (Pl., Arist.), κέρκισις 'weaving' (Arist.), κερκιστική (τέχνη) 'art of weaving' (Pl.), κέρκιστρα [n.pl.] 'weaver's wages' (pap.). Further also κερκάδαι [pl.] 'the weavers', name of a society of weavers (Argos).
•ETYM Unclear. A technical word that seems to be Pre-Greek. Vendryes *REGr.* 25 (1912): 461 took it as a diminutive of ▸κέρκος, assuming an original meaning 'stave, rod'.

κερκίων [m.] name of an Indian speaking bird, kind of mynah (perhaps *Acridotheres tristis* or *Gracula religiosa*; Ael. *NA* 16, 3; see Thompson 1895 s.v.).
•ETYM The suffix of κερκίων is found in πορφυρίων, ἀκανθίων, and other bird and animal names. Frisk derives it from κέρκος, following Ael., who argues ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς διασείεται τὸν ὄρρον, ὡς ποιοῦνται οἱ κίγκλοι 'because it wags its tail itself too, like the κ. do'.

κερκολύρα ⇒κρέκω.

κερκορώνους [acc.pl.m.] name of an unknown Indian bird (Ael. *NA* 15, 14). ◂?▸
•ETYM Thompson 1895 s.v. assumes haplology for *κερκο-κορώνη.

κέρκος [f.] 'tail of an animal' (com., Pl. *Phdr.* 254d, Arist.), 'penis' (Ar., Herod.). ◂?▸
•COMP κερκο-φόρος 'with a tail', ἄ-κερκος 'tailless' (Arist.); on ▸κέρκουρος and ▸κέρκωψ s.v.
•DER Diminutive κερκίον (Aq., Sm., Thd.); cf. ▸κερκίς. Also the animal names ▸κέρκα · ἀκρίς 'locust' (H.), κερκώπη name of a cicada (Ar.), see Strömberg 1944: 16 and cf. on Κέρκωπες, probably also ▸κέρκαξ · ἱέραξ (H.) and ▸κέρκνος · ἱέραξ, ἢ ἀλεκτρυών (H.). κέρκωσις 'tail-like growth' (medic.); κερκέτης· τὸ μικρὸν πηδάλιον 'small rudder' (H., Paus. Gr. *Fr.* 118).
•ETYM As opposed to ▸οὐρά, κέρκος seems to come from the lower stratum of the language and may originally have meant 'stave, rod' (but see on ▸κερκίς). Origin unknown.

κέρκουρος [m.] 'light vessel' (Hdt., Hell.), originally Cyprian; also name of a sea-fish (Opp.; cf. Strömberg 1943: 48). ◂?▸

•COMP Compounds ταυρο-κέρκουρος, κερκουρο-σκάφη names of different vessels (Hell., pap.).
•DER Diminutive κερκούριον (*AP* 5, 43; also [f.] PN); κερκουρίτης 'sailor on a κ.' (Hell., pap.).
•ETYM Properly a bahuvrīhi, 'having a κέρκος-like back', unless it is a folk-etymological adaptation of a foreign word (cf. the animal names in -ουρ-, *Pre-Greek* (suffixes). Semitic hypothesis by Movers in Lewy 1895: 152. See Chantraine 1928: 13f. Latin borrowed *cercūrus* as a fish name (Ov., Plin.).

Κέρκωπες [m.pl.] 'name of two mischievous dwarves', which were fettered by Heracles (Hdt.), metaph. [sg.] 'teaser, rogue' (Aeschin.); name of a long-tailed ape (Manil.). ◁PG(S)▷
•DER κερκωπία 'trickiness' (Semon.), κερκωπίζω [v.] 'to tease, joke' (Zenob., H.). Also, with *ā*-stem-enlargement, κερκώπη· τέττιξ θῆλεια μὴ φωνοῦσα 'female cicala producing no sound' (H.).
•ETYM Interpreted as 'with tail-like figure', from ▶κέρκος and -ωψ (Schwyzer: 426[4]). Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 312 considers κερκώπη 'τέττιξ' to be a compound *κερκο-ϝωπ-η 'with shrill voice', but this does not fit H.'s explanation above. Rather, -ωπ is the ending of several Pre-Greek names.

κέρνα 1 [n.pl.] 'transverse processes of the vertebrae' (Poll. 2, 180). ◁?▷
•VAR Also -ναι [f.pl.].
•ETYM Mostly analyzed as **kers-nā* (cf. κάρηνα < **karasna*). An exact parallel to this form seems to be found in the Germanic word for 'brain', e.g. OHG *hirn(i)* (< IE **kers-n-iio-* beside ON *hjarsi* < **ḱers-on-*). However, the formation was **ḱerh₂-s-n-* with root-final *-h₂*, which makes this derivation impossible. See Nussbaum 1986: 192. It is semantically tempting to compare κέρνα with ON *hvern* 'the two boat-shaped white bones in the brain of a fish', but like Go. *ƕairnei* 'skull', this derives from initial IE **k*^{w}- and belongs to ON *hverna* 'cooking utensils', etc.; cf. on ▶κέρνος.

κέρνα 2 [?] · ἀξίνη 'axe-head' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 40, it is from κείρω, and to be separated from κέαρνα (see on ▶κεάζω). DELG even proposes to read κέαρνα here.

κέρνος [n.] 'earthen vase with nipples all around, used in mystery cult' (sch. Nic. *Al.* 217; Ammon. and Polem. *apud* Ath. 11, 476f and 478c; H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Plur. κέρνεα· τὰ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιθυόμενα 'that which is sacrificed to the mother of the gods' (H.); also -να (Poll. 4, 103); on the mg. Nilsson 1941(1): 128, 270f., 726.
•COMP As a first member in κερνο-φόρος (Nic., Ath.), to which κερνο-φορέω (sch.); short form κερνᾶς (*AP* 7, 709).
•DER Diminutive κερνίον (Att. inscr., Theognost.).
•ETYM Several unsuccessful IE etymologies have been proposed: relation to κέραμος, Skt. *carú-* 'kettle', ON *hverna* 'cooking utensils'; to Lat. *scrīnium* 'chest', to Skt. *śárāva-* 'plate' (see the relevant litt. in Frisk). The by-forms κέρχνος (*IG* 1², 313: 17,

314: 23), with κερχνίον (*IG* 2², 1533: 19; 23), show that the word was Pre-Greek, as Chantraine already saw (DELG).

κερουτιάω [v.] 'to toss the horns or head' (Ar. *Eq.* 1344). ◁IE **ḱerh₂-* 'head, horn'▷
•DER κερουτιασμός (Phot.).
•ETYM A denominative in -ιάω from *κεροῦττα 'provided with horns', which is genuine Attic for κεροῦσσα (S., E.) or κερόεσσα (Anacr.), an epithet of the deer. It may originally have meant "to behave like a κεροῦσσα (ἔλαφος)". On the formation, where we expect *κερατ-, see Nussbaum 1986: 153.

κέρσα [?] · Ἀσιανὸν ὄνομα 'an Asiatic name' (H.). ◁LW OP▷
•ETYM Schmitt 1999: 53-57 states it is a loan from OP *kršˇ*, a Persian weight, which perhaps derives from **kʷels-* 'to draw furrows'.

κερτομέω [v.] 'to taunt, insult, mock, ridicule' (almost only poetic, Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Aor. κερτομῆσαι (rare).
•COMP Also with ἐπι-. Compound φιλο-κέρτομος 'loving mockery' (χ 287, Theoc., *APl.*).
•DER κέρτομος 'insulting, slandering' (Hes. *Op.* 788, poet.), with κερτομίαι [pl.] 'mockery, slander' (Hom.); also with suffix -ιο-κερτόμιος 'id.' (Hom., S. [lyr.]), κερτόμησις (S. *Ph.* 1236). From ἐπικερτομέω: ἐπικερτόμ-ημα (Demetr.), -ησις (Hdn.) and, as a back-formation, ἐπικέρτομος (Q. S.).
•ETYM Prellwitz assumed a univerbation of κείρειν and τέμνειν, a type of formation which remains hypothetical. Fur.: 349 refers to καρτομιστής· χλευαστής 'mocker' (H.). The varying vocalism points to Pre-Greek origin.
The root has been connected with Lat. *carināre*, and the words cited under ▶κάρνη 'punishment'. Schrijver 1991: 429 is right to connect it with the group of σκερβόλλω, -βολέω, κερβόλλουσα 'to insult, mock, slander', which in turn is connected with (σ)κέραφος, σχέραφος. All these words are clearly Pre-Greek, a conclusion which Schrijver also reaches. It is unknown what the second elements were, or even if the words were compounds at all. Fur.: 349[46] suggests comparison with Hitt. *kartimi̯e/a-*[zi] 'to be angry', *kartiminu-* 'to make angry', which is possible, though the meanings are not the same. For a different but less likely proposal: Perpillou *RPh.* 75 (2001):145f.

κερχνηΐς, -ίδος [f.] a kind of falcon, probably 'kestrel, windhover, Falco tinnunculus'. ◁?▷
•VAR Also -ής, -ῆδος (Ar. *Av.* 304, 589); also κεγχρηΐς, -ρίς (Arist., Ael.), κέγχρη (Arist.), κέρχνη (H.).
•ETYM From κέρχνος 'raw voice, hoarseness', with the same variation as in χλωρηΐς epithet of the nightingale (to χλωρός), etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 345f.). Also κέρχνη, after the feminines in -η-. Did κεγχρηΐς, etc. arise through metathesis? Hardly after κέγχρος 'millet' (defended by DELG); see Thompson 1895 s.v. κεγχρηΐς.

κέρχνος [m.] 'raw voice, hoarseness' (Hp., S. *Ichn.* 128), 'raw surface, rough excrescence' (S. *Fr.* 279), also = ὁ τῶν ἀργυρίων κονιορτός 'silver dust' (Poll. 7, 99). ◁PG?▷

•COMP ἄ-κερχνος 'without hoarseness' (Aret.), αἱμό-κερχνον [n.] 'cough with bloody sputum' (Hp.; substantivized bahuvrīhi). From ἄκερχνος and κέρχνω the adjective κέρχνος (κερχνός?) 'raw (of the voice), hoarse' (Gal.) [??].

•DER κερχνώδης 'raw, hoarse' (Hp.), κερχνασμός 'rawness, hoarseness' (Gal.). Denominative κερχνόομαι [v.] 'to be raw or uneven', -όω 'to make uneven, engrave' (H.), whence κερχνώματα [pl.] 'unevennesses, elevated, embossed work' (H.); to be read as well in E. *Ph.* 1386 for κεγχρώμασι - cf. on κέγχρος; κερχνωτός 'embossed, engraved' (H.); also κέρχνω [v.] 'to be or make hoarse' (Hp.). κερχαλέος 'raw, hoarse' (Hp.), also κερχναλέος (Hp. v.l., Gal.). On ►κερχνῆΐς, see s.v.

•ETYM The derivation κέρχνος < *κέρκ-σνος has been proposed, but the bird name κρέξ hardly seems comparable. Perhaps the word is onomatopoeic in origin; cf. Skt. *ghar-ghara-* [m.] 'crackling, rattling', as well as, independently, Lat. *hirriō* 'to grumble', OE *gierran* 'to crack, creak, coo', etc. (Pok. 439). If we connect these, we could assume κέρχνος < *$g^{h}er$-$g^{h}r$-*o-*; κερχαλέος would be analogical after ἰσχνός : ἰσχαλέος vel sim. Fur. 340 compares κάρχαρος. If the word is Pre-Greek, it could simply be **KerK-no-*, with automatic aspiration before the **n* (cf. Fur. 110).

κέσκεον [n.] 'tow' (Herod. 9a). ◅PG?(S)▻

•VAR κέσκι<ον>· στυπεῖον, τὸ ἀποκτένισμα τοῦ λινοῦ 'what is combed from flax' (H.).

•ETYM Mostly analyzed as **kes-kes-o-*, from a root **kes-* 'to comb, hackle, scratch' in OCS *česati*, 1sg. *češǫ*, Hitt. *kiš-^{zi}* 'to comb, card', with the verbal nouns Cz. *pa-čes* 'tow', Lith. *kasà* 'plait, braid' < IE **kos-h_2-*, OIr. *cír* [f.] < **kēs-rā* (for the apparent lengthened grade, see the discussion in Matasović 2008 s.v. **kīsrā*). See also ►ξέω, ►ξαίνω, ►ξύω. A reduplicated formation **kes-kes-* is an improbable structure in IE terms. Word-final -εον may be the Pre-Greek suffix **-ay-* (*Pre-Greek* Suffixes sub -αι-/ ε(ι)-).

κεστὸς [adj.] 'stitched'. ⇒κεντέω.

κεύθω [v.] 'to conceal', also 'to be hidden' (Il.). ◅IE *(s)keu-d^{h}- 'conceal, hide'▻

•VAR Also κευθάνω (Γ 453), κυνθάνει· κρύπτει 'hides, conceals' (H.), fut. κεύσω, aor. κεῦσαι, also κύθε (γ 16), reduplicated subj. κεκύθωσι (ζ 303), perf. κέκευθα.

•COMP Also with ἐπι- (ἐνι-, ἀμφι-).

•DER κεῦθος [n.] 'hiding, cave, depth' (Il.), often plur. -εα; κευθμών, -μῶνες 'id.' (Od.), κευθμός, -μοί 'id.' (N 28, Lyc., Call.); also κευθῆνες· οἱ καταχθόνιοι δαίμονες 'subterranean deities' (Suid.).

•ETYM A close relative to κεύθω is found in Germanic in the OE *yod*-present *hȳdan*, MoE *hide*. A further comparandum is Arm. *suzanem* 'to dive, hide', but this would presuppose an initial palatal **ḱ*, which does not fit with the other words adduced, like Skt. *kuhū-* [f.] 'new moon' ("the hidden one"), *kuhara-* [n.] 'cave', etc. (rejected by Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kúha*). Beside the words from IE **keud^{h}-*, several forms with root-final **t* are found; see ►κύτος. See also on ►κύσθος, ►κύστις, and ►σκῦτος and ►σκῦλα.

κεφαλή [f.] 'head, the uppermost or top part, source, etc.' (Il.). ◅IE **$g^{h}eb^{h}$-l-* 'head'▻

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. κεφαλ-αλγία 'headache' (Hp.), also -αργία (Luc.) by dissimilation; βου-κέφαλος 'with cow-head' (Ar.); also as a plant name (Strömberg 1940: 54); as a PN Βου-κεφάλᾱς [m.] the personal horse of Alexander the Great (Str., Plu.).

•DER Diminutive κεφάλιον (Att. inscr.), -ίδιον (Poll., pap.), κεφαλίς [f.] 'bulb of an onion, toe-cap of a shoe, capital of a column, etc.' (Arist.), κεφαλὶς βιβλίου 'scroll' (LXX); κεφάλαιον [n.] 'the main thing, capital' (Pi., Att.); rarely adjectival κεφάλαιος (Ar. *Ra.* 854, *PMasp.* 151, 16, VI^{P}), with κεφαλαιώδης (adv. -ωδῶς) 'regarding the main point' (Hp., Arist., Hell.) and the denominative κεφαλαιόω [v.] 'to summarize (the main points)' (Att.), whence κεφαλαίωμα 'sum, total' (Hdt. 3, 159), -αίωσις 'summary' (sch.), -αιωτής = Lat. *capitularius*, also -τία (pap. Rom. Emp.); κεφαλαία [f.] 'chronic headache' (medic.); κεφαλώδης 'head-like' (Thphr.), κεφαλικός 'belonging to the head, to life' (pap., Dsc.); κεφαλίτης λίθος 'cornerstone, headstone' (H.), κεφαλίτης γλήχων probably 'Mentha aquatica' (Hippiatr.); κεφαλίνη 'root of the tongue' (Poll.); κεφαλῖνος fish name = βλεψίας (Dorio *apud* Ath.), see Strömberg 1943: 41, also κέφαλος 'Mugil cephalus' (Hp., com., Arist.), on which extensively Thompson 1947 s.v.; κεφάλωμα 'sum' (Messen., Delph.); after ἀνάλωμα acc. to Bechtel 1921, 2: 156, but cf. also κεφαλαίωμα above; κεφαλωτός 'with a head' (Arist., Hell.), as a plant name 'thyme' (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 50; -ωτόν (sc. πράσον) 'onion' (pap.); κεφαληδόν 'per head' (Priene IV^{a}). Denominative κ]εφαλίζω [v.] 'to behead' (*BGU* 1, 341, 9); in a different mg. κεφαλισμός 'table of multiplication' (Arist.); κεφαλόω in κεκεφαλωμένος 'provided with a head' (comm. Arist.); κεφαλιόω in ἐκεφαλίωσαν (*Ev. Marc.* 12, 4), which may mean either 'to beat the head' or 'to behead'. Furthermore hypostases προσ- (Dor. ποτι-), ὑπο-κεφάλαιον 'head cushion' (IA), ἀποκεφαλίζω [v.] 'to behead' (LXX, Phld.), -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής.

•ETYM Old word for 'head', also found in Tocharian and Germanic: ToA *śpāl* 'head', OHG *gebal* [m.], MHG *gebel* 'skull', OHG *gibilla* [f.] 'id.'; additionally, in the sense of 'front', OHG *gibil* [m.], Go. *gibla* [m.] (*n*-stem), and ablauting ON *gafl* [m.] 'side of a facade'. This points to an IE *l*-stem **ǵʰebʰ-l-*, but it is unclear from which root it is. The Greek suffixal -α- is difficult to explain. Cf. also γαβαλάν· ἐγκέφαλον ἢ κεφαλήν (H.) and Macedonian (Illyrian?) κεβ(α)λή s.v. ►κεβλή.

Κέως, -ω [f.] one of the Cyclades (inscr., Str.). ◄PG(V)►

•DER Κεῖος, Ion. Κήϊος inhabitant of Keos (IA); Κέος [f.] place on Salamis (Hdt. 8, 76).

•ETYM Solmsen 1901: 125 suggests derivation from **κῆϝος* 'fire' (to ►καίω), which must be wrong, as it is a Pre-Greek name. Fick 1905: 59 compares Κέως Κήιος Κεῖος with Τέως Τήιος and Κόως Κῶιος and Cret. Λάτως Λάτιος, and notes as older forms Κήως Τήως Κώως.

κῆβος [m.] 'monkey with a long tail' (Arist., Str., Gal.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also κῆπος (Agatharch., v.l. in Str. 16, 4, 16, Ael., where also κεῖπος) and **κηφος* because of Lat. *cephus* (Plin. *Nat.* 1, 18, 28 and 8, 70; *cef(f)us* Sol. 30, 22); in Lat. also *ceppus* (Pol. Silv.), *caepus* (v.l. Plin. *Nat.* 8, 70 = **καῖπος*?); cf. Fur.: 176, 232, 235.

•ETYM The Greek, but also the Latin variants (see Fur.: l.cc.) point to a Pre-Greek word. It was previously compared with Skt. *kapí-*, Hebr. *qōf*, Old Eg. *qefi* 'ape of the land Punt' and assumed to be a loan from an unknown source (acc. to Frisk, the vowel suggests Egyptian origin), see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kapí-*, E. Masson 1967: 87⁵, and Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 244.

κῆδος [n.] 'care, mourning, funeral rites; connection by marriage, affinity' (Il.). ◁IE **ḱeh₂d-s-* 'care, grief; hate'▷

•VAR Dor. κᾶδος. Primary superlative κήδιστος 'closest, most dear' (Hom.).

•COMP As a second member in ἀ-κηδής 'careless, unburied' (Il.), to which ἀκήδεια, -ίη, ἀκηδέω, -ιάω; also ἀ-κήδεσ-τος 'id.' (Il.), προσ-κηδής 'careful, related by marriage, friendly with' (φ 35, Hdt. 8, 136, A. R.); on formation and mg. see Sommer 1948: 110², Levin *Class. Phil.* 45 (1950): 110f. As a first member in Κηδι-κράτης (IV^a), perhaps after Ἀλκι-, see Bechtel 1917b: 236.

•DER 1. κηδεστής [m.] 'relative by marriage' (Att.), κηδεστ(ε)ία 'connection by marriage', κηδέστρια [f.] 'nurse' (pap.); also κηδέστωρ 'educator' (Man.). 2. Adjectives: κήδε(ι)ος 'worth caring for, beloved, relative' (Il.), ἐπικήδειος 'belonging to a corpse, belonging to grief' (E., Pl. *Lg.* 800e), κηδόσυνος 'dear' (E. *Or.* 1017) and κηδοσύνη (dat.pl. -σύνῃσι) 'grief' (A. R.). 3. Denominative κηδεύω [v.] 'to care for, bury, marry' (Att.), to which κήδευμα 'connection by marriage' (S., E.), -ευσις 'care' (Ael., Plot.), -ευτής 'who cares for' (Arist.), -εία 'relatedness, burial' (E., X.), whence κηδειακός 'who buries the dead' (Pergam. II^p).

Primary verb κήδομαι 'to care, be cared for' (Il.), aor.ipv. κήδεσαι (A. *Th.* 139 [lyr.]), fut. κεκαδήσομαι (Θ 353), perf. κέκηδα (Tyrt. 12, 28); also with prefix, e.g. περι-, προ-; also act. κήδω, fut. κηδήσω 'be grieved' (Il.); κηδεμών 'who cares for, educator, protector' (Il.), after ἡγε-μών (Schwyzer 522), to which κηδεμονία 'care', -μονικός 'caring for' (Hell.), -μονεύω [v.] 'to be protector' (Just.); metrical enlargement κηδεμονεύς (A. R., *APl.*).

•ETYM A related *r*-stem is supposed in Av. *sādra-* [n.] 'grief, pain, disaster', so from PIE **ḱeh₂d-s-*, **ḱeh₂d-ro-*. Thieme 1938: 158f. recognized the *s*-stem in the obscure word Skt. *riśādas-*, which he took to mean 'caring for the foreigner'. This was recently defended by Pinault *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 17-18 (1999-2000): 466ff., but remains uncertain. Further nouns have been adduced from Italic, Celtic, and Germanic: Osc. *cadeis* 'malevolentiae' [gen.sg.], MIr. *cais* 'hate, love' (perhaps from older 'care'), MW *cawdd* 'offensa, ira, indignatio', Go. *hatis* [n.] 'hate, anger'. The Germanic words all have the zero grade of the root, so we have traces of a PIE *s*-stem with root ablaut. There is no parallel to the verb κήδομαι in the other languages.

κηθίς, -ίδος [f.] 'ballot box, dicebox' (Poll. 7, 203; not quite certain). ◁PG(V)▷

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *ka-ti* /kāt^his/, which Neumann *Glotta* 39 (1961): 176 thinks is Luwian.

•DER Diminutive formations: κήθιον, -ειον, -ίον (Hermipp. 27, Poll., H.), κηθάριον (Ar. *V.* 674), κηθίδιον (Poll.); also with metathesis of aspiration χείτιον beside κείθιον (Eust. 1259, 36), and with loss of aspiration κητίον (Alciphr. 1, 39, 8, Ath. 11,

477d). Cf. κάθος· σπυρίς 'large basket, creel' (H.), also ▸κάθιδοι (for -ίδες?)· ὑδρίαι 'jars' (H.).

•ETYM Comparison with κώθων 'beaker' is improbable. If κητίον is reliable, it points in the direction of Pre-Greek origin. The change of aspiration is Ionic, but the interchange η/ ει is also typical of Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 352).

***κηκάζω** [v.] 'to abuse, revile', only aor. subj. κηκάσῃ (Lyc. 1386). ◂ONOM▸

•VAR κηκαδεῖ (-άζει?)· λοιδορεῖ, χλευάζει 'abuses, scoffs' (H.).

•DER κηκασμός 'abuse, scorn' (Lyc.); κηκάς, -άδος [f.] 'abusing, scorning' (γλώσσῃ Call. *Fr.* 253), also as an epithet of ἁλώπηξ (Nic. *Al.* 185).

•ETYM Originally onomatopoeic; cf. the bird name κήξ (see ▸καὐαξ) and ▸καχάζω; see also κακός and **kāk-* in words for 'crow, raven' (Pok. 521). The comparison with OHG *huohōn* 'to mock, scorn', *huoh* 'mockery' (Frisk) is senseless.

κηκίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'anything gushing forth, ooze', of blood, purple, pitch, fat (A., S.), 'dye from oak gall, oak gall' (Hp., D., Thphr.). ◂PG(V)▸

•DIAL Dor. κακίς.

•DER Diminutive κηκίδιον (medic.). κηκίω [v.] 'to gush forth' (Il.), κακίω· ἱδροῦν ἄρχομαι. Λάκονες 'begin to sweat (Lac.)' (H.), only present-stem, also with ἀνα-. It appears to be a denominative to an ι-stem.

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Lith. *šókti* 'to jump, dance', as if from IE **ḱeh₂k-*. The gloss καγκύλας· κηκῖδας. Αἰολεῖς is compared with Lith. *šankùs* 'nimble', but this cannot be connected here if the root was IE **ḱeh₂k-*. The form κηκίς, -ῖδος is either from an **iH*-stem (suffix -ῐδ-, but this is also a Pre-Greek suffix), or a back-formation from κηκίω. At any rate, the connection with *šókti* must be abandoned, and the word is Pre-Greek, because of the prenasalization in καγκύλας. Thraco-Phr. σίκιν(ν)ις 'dance of the satyrs in honor of Dionysus' (S., E.) does not belong here either.

κῆλα [n.pl.] 'arrows, projectiles (of the gods)' (Il., Hes., Pi., Orph.). ◂?▸

•ETYM It has been compared with some Skt. words meaning 'cane, arrow', like *śará-* [m.], *śárya-* [n.], *śáryā-* [f.], *śalyá-* [m., n.], and further MIr. *cail* 'spear', ON *hali* [m.] 'tail' (*n*-stem). However, all these words go back to a root with short vowel, as opposed to κῆλα with long vowel. Connection with ▸κᾶλον 'wood' is rejected by Frisk and DELG. For further suggestions, see Pok. 552f.

κηλᾶς, -ᾶ [m.] name of an Indian stork, 'Marabu, Leptopilus argala' (Ael. *NA* 16, 4). ◂LW Ind.▸

•ETYM Formation like ἀτταγᾶς, ἐλεᾶς (Chantraine 1933: 31f.), probably from Indic (cf. perhaps Hindi *hargēla*). Thompson 1895 s.v. suggests that the word was reshaped after κήλη 'tumor, hump', because the bird had a great crop. On the accent, see Björck 1950: 63².

κηλάς ⇒ κηλίς.

κήλαστρος [f.] 'holly, Ilex aquifolium' (Thphr.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Also -ον [n.]; κηλάστραι· σκαφίδες, ἀγγεῖα ποιμενικά. ἢ δένδρα 'bowls, vessels of shepherds; trees' (H.).
•ETYM Formation like ►δέπαστρον, ►κάναστρον, ►ζύγαστρον; the suffix is Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes).

κηλέος [adj.] 'burning' (Hom., Hes.). ◅IE? **keh₂u-* 'burn'►
•VAR Only in πυρὶ κηλέῳ (disyllabic), always verse-final except in Θ 217 and O 74 (πυρὶ κηλείῳ).
•DER περί-κηλος (Od.), κηλόν· ξηρόν 'dry' (H.) and καυαλέον ἢ καυαλές· ὑπὸ Αἰολέων τὸ αἴθος, ἢ κατακεκαυμένον κτλ. 'fire (Aeolian); burnt completely, etc.'.
•ETYM If Delph. ►κηυα is correctly compared (which is quite uncertain; s.v.), κηλέος has to stand for *κηϝαλέος (Shipp 1967: 54 suggests that κηϝαλέον πῦρ was originally verse-final, like αἰθόμενον πῦρ, etc.); Aeol. *καϝαλέος would then have a different ablaut grade (perhaps **keh₂u-* beside **kh₂u-*). The form κηλείῳ may have replaced the suffix -εος with -ειος. The forms περί-κηλος and καυαλές were reshaped as well, after the adjectives in -λο- and -ής. See further ►καίω and ►κηώδης.

κηλέω [v.] 'to charm, bewitch' (IA). ◅IE? **keh₂l-* 'enchant, deceive'►
•VAR Aor. κηλῆσαι.
•COMP Also with κατα-, ὑπερ-, ἐκ-.
•DER Verbal nouns: κηληθμός 'enchantment' (λ 334 = ν 2), κήλησις 'id.' (Pl.), κήλημα 'charm' (Ibyc., E.), κήληθρον 'id.' (Phryn., H.); Κηληδόνες [f.pl.] name of mythical singers who resembled the Sirenes (Pi.), κηλήτωρ 'enchanter' (Orph.), -ήτειρα [f.] (Hes. *Op.* 464 εὐκηλήτειρα; = ἡσυχάστρια 'she who soothes' H.), κηλητήριος 'enchanting' (S., E.), -ητικός (Ath., Ael.).
•ETYM Bugge *Curtius Studien* 4 (1871): 331f. compared a Germanic deverbative with deviant meaning: Go. *(af)holon* 'to slander, συκοφαντεῖν', OE *hōlian* 'id.', OHG *huolen* 'to deceive' < **keh₂l-*, from which we may also mechanically derive the Greek verb. Lat. *calvor*, *-ī* 'to deceive', *calumnia* 'trickery, false accusation, malicious prosecution' is formally different, but semantically it matches the Germanic words well. Schrijver 1991: 95, 113 reconstructs **ḱh₂l-u-* for Latin, while LIV² s.v. **ḱelh₁-* 'verlocken, betören, betrügen' assumes a Narten present **kēlh₁-* / **kelh₁-*, presumably because they want to connect it with **ḱleh₁-* 'to call', which is unwarranted.

κήλη [f.] 'tumor; rupture, hernia' (Hp., *AP*), 'hump' (Eup., Arist.). ◅IE **keh₂u-l-* 'tumor, stalk'►
•DIAL Att. κάλη (Arist., gramm.).
•COMP As a first member in κηλο-τομία 'operation for hernia'; as a second member in ἐντερο-, σαρκο-κήλη (medic.).
•DER κηλήτης [m.] 'hernia patient' (Str., Gal., Phryn.), Att. καλήτης; (ἐντερο)-κηλικός (Dsc., Gal.); κάλαμα· ὄγκος 'distension' (H.), see Chantraine 1933: 186f.; denominative verb καλάζει· ὀγκοῦται. Ἀχαιοί 'is distended (Achaean)' (H.). On κηλᾶς bird s.v.
•ETYM The difference between Ion. κήλη and Att. κάλη (where the α is long, acc. to gramm.) is unexplained. 'Rückverwandlung' of PAtt. η > ᾱ cannot be accounted for, and it is unattractive to assume different ablaut forms *κᾱϝ-ελ-ᾱ > κήλη, *κᾰϝ-ελ-ᾱ >

κάλη as late as Proto-Ionic-Attic. Björck 1950: 70 therefore suggested that κάλη was taken by Attic from another dialect, but there is no proof for this.
A remarkable correspondence is found in the Germanic term for 'groin rupture', ON *haull* [m.], OE *hēala* [m.], OHG *hōla* [f.] < PGm. **haula(n)-, -ō(n)*, and in Balto-Slavic: CS *kyla*, Ru. (dial.) *kilá* (which also means 'knag on a tree'), Lith. *kū́las* 'navel rupture', *kū́la* 'thickening, swelling, knag'. All forms mentioned must go back to an ablauting *l*-stem **keh₂u-l-*, **k(e)h₂u-el-*, *kh₂u-l-* (cf. on ►ἥλιος). The precise derivation of the Greek forms, however, remains unclear.

κηλίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'stain (of blood), spot, defilement' (trag., Antipho, X., Arist.). ◄IE? **keh₂l-* 'white spot'►
•DER κηλιδόω (καλ- Ecphant. *apud* Stob. 4, 7, 64) 'stain, soil' (E., Arist., Ph.), κηλιδωτός (Suid., gloss.). Further κηλάς, -άδος [f.] epithet of storm clouds (Thphr.), acc. to H. also χειμερινὴ ἡμέρα 'stormy day' and αἴξ, ἥτις κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον σημεῖον ἔχει τυλοειδές 'goat having a knob-like sign on its forehead'; also κηλήνη· μέλαινα 'black; (also) name of a disease' (H.).
•ETYM Formation like κληΐς, κνημίς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 347), derived from a noun. In Italic, we find an adjective with comparable meaning: Lat. *calidus* 'with a bless on the head' = U (*buf*) *kaleřuf* 'boves calidos', where it is unknown whether the Lat. *a* is long or short. To the same semantic sphere also belongs Lith. *kalýbas, -ývas* 'white-necked (of dogs)' and OIr. *caile* 'stain' < IE **kh₂l-io-*. Nussbaum 1999: 381f. suggested that the Latin word was borrowed from a Greek pre-form **kālad-*.

***κῆλον** 'arrow, projectile'. ⇒ κῆλα.

κήλων, -ωνος [m.] 'stallion, male ass' (Archil., Cratin., Ph., H.) often metaph. 'swing-beam (for drawing water), swipe' (Delos III[a], pap.). ◄?►
•DIAL Dor. κάλων.
•COMP As a first member in κηλωνο-στάσιον 'support or base for the swing-beam' (*PBerl. Leihg.* 13, 14).
•DER κηλωνεῖον (Ion. -ήϊον) 'machine for drawing (water)' (Hdt., Ar., Arist.), κηλωνεύω [v.] 'to turn the swing-beam' (Hero, Ath. Mech.).
•ETYM A secondary formation in -ων (Chantraine 1933: 161f.). Vendryes *REGr.* 25 (1912): 461 proposed to start from κῆλον in the unattested sense of 'penis', but this cannot be further substantiated.

κημός [m.] 'muzzle, plaited lid of the balloting urn, fyke for fishing, cover for nose and mouth, etc.' (A., S., Ar., X.); on the mg. Schenkl *WuS* 5 (1926): 172ff. ◄PG(V)►
•DIAL Dor. κᾱμός.
•COMP As a second member in εὐκαμία· ἡσυχία, ἤτοι εὐφημία 'quiet, silence' (*EM*, H.), as if from *εὔκᾱμος.
•DER κημόω [v.] 'to muzzle' (X., 1 *Ep. Cor.* 9, 9, sch.), κήμωσις· φίμωσις 'silencing' (H.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with Arm. *k'amem* 'to press (out)' (LIV² s.v. **kem-*) is formally possible, but is incompatible with the probable basic meaning of the Greek word, 'wicker'; the same holds for the Balto-Slavic and Germanic group

meaning 'to press, etc.', e.g. Lith. *kāmanos* pl. 'harness with bit', Ru. *kom* 'clump', MHG *hemmen*, *hamen* 'to restrain, bind, hamper'. Fur.: 220 connects the adjectives χαβός and χαμός (both H.); the connection with ►χάβος 'muzzle' is self-evident, and the interchange μ/ β points to Pre-Greek origin (see Fur.: 203-227). It seems evident to connect κημός as well, and all variants derive from a pre-from **kām-*. Lat. *cāmus* 'muzzle' was borrowed from Dor. καμός; Osman., Arab. *ǵem* 'bit, mouth-piece of the harness, bridle' (which later gave rise to MoGr. τὸ γέμι 'bridle') are from κημός. See ►κῶμος, ►κώμυς.

κῆμος [f.] a plant, λεοντοπόδιον or Evax (Dsc., Orph.). ◅?▻
•ETYM No etymology. See André 1956 s.v. *cēmus*.

κήξ ⇒ καύαξ.

κῆπος 1 [m.] 'garden, orchard, plantation' (Il.), 'uncultivated piece of land' (Cypr.). ◅IE? **keh₂p-* 'enclosure', EUR?▻
•VAR Dor. κᾶπος.
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κηπουρός 'gardener' (Att., Hell.) < *κηπο-ϝορός, also κηπ-ωρός (Archipp.), probably after θυρωρός (see ►θύρα); κηπο-λάχανον 'garden of vegetables' (pap.) of the type ἱππο-πόταμος, see ►ἵππος and Strömberg 1944: 7, also κηπο-λαχαν-ία 'id.' (pap.); κηπ-εργός 'gardener' (Corycus), for -ουργός (Poll.) after ἔργον. Also as a second member, e.g. περί-κηπος [m.] 'garden around the house' (Ptol. pap., D. S.), probably after περί-χωρος; ἀγρό-κηπος (Att. inscr., Rom. Emp.), ἀγρο-κήπιον (Str.) 'field worked as garden'.
•DER Diminutives κηπίον (Halic. V^a, Th.), -πίδιον (Plu., D. L.), -πάδιον (pap.); κηπαῖος 'of the garden' (Arist.), κηπεύς 'gardener' (Philyll. Com. 14, *AP*), Dor. καπεύς; κηπίδες Νύμφαι 'garden Nymphs' (Aristainet.). Denominative κηπεύω [v.] 'to work in the garden, cultivate' (E., Eub., Arist.), whence κηπεῖαι [f.pl.] 'gardens' (Pl. *Lg.* 845d), plur. κηπεύματα 'products or fruits of the garden' (Ar. *Av.* 1100), κηπευτής = κηπεύς (gloss.), κηπεύσιμος 'grown up in a garden' (Alex. Trall.), after φυτεύσιμος, see Arbenz 1933: 86.
•ETYM Except for the ending, PGr. **kāpo-* could be identical with a WGm. word of comparable meaning, OHG *huoba*, OS *hōba*, MoHG *Hufe*, *Hube* [f.] 'piece of land of a certain size', MoDu. *hoeve* 'farm', from IE **keh₂p-h₂-*. Alb. *kopshtë* 'garden' (with suffix *-shtë-*) also belongs here. Further connections are either uncertain or wrong (►κάπετος, Lat. *capiō*, OHG *habaro* 'oats'). Could the word be from a European substrate language?

κῆπος 2 'ape'. ⇒ κῆβος.

κήρ, κηρός [f.] 'death, doom, goddess or demon of death' (Il.), plur. 'types of death, accidents'. ◅PG▻
•COMP κηρεσσι-φόρητος 'driven (into death) by the Keres' (Q 527), κηρι-τρεφεῖς 'brought up for death' (ἄνθρωποι, Hes. *Op.* 418), κηρο-τρόφος 'deadly' (ὄφις, Nic. *Th.* 192); ἐπί-κηρος 'fallen to death' (Hp., Arist., Hell.); also ἀκήρατος, with ἀκηράσιος and ἀκήριος 'unharmed', see ►ἀκήρατος 1 and Sommer 1948: 152.

•DER κηρέσιον· ὀλέθριον, νοσηρόν 'deadly, diseased' (H.), after θεσπέσιος; κηραίνω [v.] 'to damage, destroy' (A. *Supp.* 999, Ph.), after πημαίνω; κηρόομαι [v.] 'to be injured' (*EM*).

•ETYM The main question is whether the long α in Alc. (κᾱρι B 6 A 7) and Alcm. (κᾱρα *Fr.* 56; κάραν was handed down) points to PGr. **kā́r*. We may compare the glosses κάρ· θάνατος 'death' (H.), καριῶσαι· ἀποκτεῖναι 'to kill', and ἐκαρίωσας· ἀπέκτεινας (H.), where α was probably long. Further evidence is provided by the Attic proverb θύραζε Κᾶρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια. It has been suggested that Κᾶρες meant 'Carians', i.e. 'slaves', but this is clearly an aetiological story made up in order to explain the α. See also Brunel *RPh.* 41 (1967): 81-104. On the other hand, κῆρες and κήρ occur both in Pi. *Fr.* 277 and in the choral songs of tragedy. In order to explain this, an ablauting paradigm κήρ, *κᾰ́ρός has been suggested, from which a secondary nom. *κᾰ́ρ was formed, but this cannot be maintained. The most likely conclusion is that the long α is original, and that the IA development η spread over a large area. Since there was no IE root **kār-*, the most likely conclusion is that the word is Pre-Greek. See Beekes *MSS* 63 (2003): 7-10.

κῆρ 'heart'. ⇒καρδία.

κηραφίς ⇒κάραβος.

κηρός [m.] 'wax' (Od.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. κηρό-δετος 'fixed together with wax' (Theoc.), κηρο-πλάστης 'wax sculptor' (Pl.), κηρο-τακίς [f.] 'hot plate' (to keep wax paints hot) (*PHolm.* 6, 33; cf. Lagercrantz 1913: ad loc.).

As a second member e.g. in πισσό-κηρος [m.] 'propolis, a mix of resin and wax by which bees stop up their hives, bee-bread' (Arist., Plin.); also κηρό-πισσος 'ointment from wax and resin' (Hp.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 58, μελί-κηρος 'bee-wax' (pap.); μελι-κήριον 'honeycomb' (Sm.), μελι-κηρίς 'id.', metaph. 'cyst or wen' resembling a honeycomb (Hp., pap.), the same metaph. in μελί-κηρᾰ [f.] 'spawn of the murex' (Arist.).

•DER 1. κηρίον 'wax-cake, honeycomb' (IA, *h. Merc.* 559), κηρίδιον (Aët.), κηριώδης 'like a honeycomb' (Thphr.), κηρίωμα 'tearing eyes' (S. *Fr.* 715), κηριάζω [v.] 'to spawn', of the murex, as its spawn resembles a honeycomb (Arist.). 2. κήρινος 'of wax' (Alcm., Att.), κηρίνη (sc. ἔμπλαστρος) name of a plaster (medic.); 3. κήρινθος [m.] 'bee-bread' (Arist., Plin., H.); 4. κηρίων, -ωνος 'wax-candle, -torch' (Plu., Gal.); 5. κηρών, -ῶνος 'bee-hive' (sch.); 6. κηρίς fish name, perhaps = κιρρίς (Diph. Siph., Alex. Trall.; see ▶κιρρός), probably after its yellow color; cf. Strömberg 1943: 20f., Thompson 1947 s.v. 7. κηρῖτις (λίθος) 'wax-like stone' (*cerae similis*, Plin. *HN* 37, 153); 8. *κηροῦσσα in Lat. *cērussa* 'white lead' (Plaut.).

Denominative verbs: 1. κηρόομαι [v.] 'to be covered with wax', -όω 'to cover with wax' (Hp., Herod., *AP*), whence κήρωσις 'bee-wax' (Arist.); κήρωμα 'wax-ointment, -plaster' (Hp.), cf. Lat. *cērōma*, with -ματικός, -ματίτης, -ματιστής; κηρωτή 'id.' (Hp., Ar., Dsc.), κηρωτάριον 'id.' (medic.); 2. κηρίζω [v.] 'to look like wax' (Zos. Alch.).

•ETYM Baltic has a similar word for 'honeycomb': Lith. *korỹs*, Latv. *kâre(s)*; however, these point to a pre-form **kāri-*, and comparison with κηρός is doubtful because all

Greek evidence points to PGr. **kēro-*. As there is no evdience for Indo-European apiculture, we have to reckon with foreign origin for κηρός, cf. Chantraine 1933: 371. From κηρός, Latin may have borrowed *cēra* (details in WH s.v.); from Lat. *cēreolus*, Greek took κηρίολος 'wax candle' (Ephesus II^{p}). The word κήρινθος 'bee-bread' seems Pre-Greek.

κηρύλος [m.] name of a bird, identified with or compared to the kingfisher ἁλκυών (Alcm., Archil., Ar., Arist.); see Thompson 1895 s.v. ◁PG?(S)▷
•VAR In Ar. *Av.* 299f. it is written κειρύλος, as a nickname referring to κείρειν.
•DER κηρύλος· ἄρσην ὄρνις συνουσιαστικός 'sociable male bird' (H.).
•ETYM No etymology. With the root κηρ- (or perhaps κηλ- with dissimilation), it has been compared with Skt. *śārá-* 'motley', *śāri-* a kind of bird, but such comparisons amount to nothing. The suffix -υλο- occurs in Pre-Greek words.

κήρῡνος [m.] a throw of the dice (Eub. 57, 2). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also κάρυννος (Phot.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Probably Pre-Greek.

κήρυξ [m.] 'herald, messenger', also 'trumpet-shell' (Il.). ◁PG(S,V)▷
•VAR Accented κῆρυξ in Hdn. (cf. Schwyzer 391); Dor. Aeol. κάρυξ, -ῡκος.
•DIAL Myc. *ka-ru-ke* /kārūkes/.
•COMP As a second member e.g. in δρομιο-κήρυξ 'courier' (Aeschin.).
•DER 1. Feminine: κηρύκαινα 'heraldess' (Ar. *Ec.* 713), cf. Chantraine 1933: 108; 2. Patronymic Κηρυκίδαι [m.] 'descendants of the Athenian family of the Κήρυκες' (Poll.). 3. Adjectives: κηρύκειος 'belonging to the herald' (S.), mostly ntr. κηρύκ(ε)ιον, Dor. κᾶρ-; Ion. κηρυκήϊον 'herald's wand' (IA Dor.); borrowed into Lat. *cādūceum, -eus*, cf. WH s.v., also as a constellation (Scherer 1953: 200); 'auctioneer's fee, tax on auction sales' (Hell. inscr. and pap.); Καρυκήϊος Boeotian name of Apollo (Tanagra, Thebes, VI^{a}); κηρυκικός 'regarding the herald' (Pl.), -ινος 'belonging to the herald' (pap., Suid.), -ώδης 'like the trumpet-shell' (Arist.).
Denominative verbs: 1. κηρύσσω 'to be herald, broadcast, announce' (Il.), Att. -ύττω, Dor., etc. κᾶρ-; κήρυγμα 'herald's cry, announcement' (IA), κηρυγμός (sch.), κήρυξις (D. C.) 'id.'; 2. κηρυκεύω [v.] 'to act as a herald, announce' (Att.), whence κηρυκεία, -ηΐη 'herald's service' (IA), κηρύκευμα 'announcement' (A. *Th.* 651), -ευσις 'id.' (Suid.).
•ETYM Traditionally compared with Skt. *kārú-* 'singer, poet'. However, Beekes 2003: 109-116 showed that Greek does not have an 'enlargement' -κ- (the examples in Schwyzer: 496 are few and doubtful); furthermore, in this manner, the long ῡ could not be explained. Words in -ῡκ- all have very different meanings and are probably non-IE. Therefore, the word is most probably Pre-Greek. In this way, the gloss κορύγης· κῆρυξ. Δωριεῖς (H.), hitherto unexplained, can also be understood: Pre-Greek **a* interchanging with **o* before a following **u*. The **a* that we must assume for the gloss was short, so this is another variant of the same word.

κῆτος, -εος [n.] 'big sea-animal, sea-monster' (Il.), 'whale' (Arist.); also name of a constellation (Arat.; Scherer 1953: 187). ◁PG?▷

•COMP κητό-δορπος (συμφορά) 'giving the κήτεα their evening meal' (Lyc.); μεγα-κήτης 'with big κήτεα' (Hom.), epithet of πόντος, also of δελφίς = '(being) a big κῆτος', thence also of ναῦς (cf. Sommer 1948: 184f.), βαθυ-κήτης (πόντος) 'having κήτεα in the deep' (Thgn. 175), πολυ-κήτης 'with many κήτεα' (Theoc. 17, 98).
•DER κήτειος 'belonging to the κῆτος' (Mosch., Nonn.), κητώδης 'belonging to the whale' (Arist.); κητεία [f.] 'catching of κήτεα (tunnies)' (Str., Ath., Ael.), after ἁλιεία; κήτημα 'salted tunnies' (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 121b; uncertain), κητήνη· πλοῖον μέγα ὡς κῆτος 'large ship, like a sea-monster' (H.) (cf. ἁπήνη 'wagon', and the ship name Πετήνη); κητόομαι [v.] 'to become a κῆτος' (Ael.). See ►κητώεσσαν.
•ETYM Unexplained. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

κητώεσσαν [adj.] epithet of κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα (B 581, δ 1; verse-final), generally taken as 'full of crevices, abysses', later said of the wooden horse (Q. S. 12, 314) and, by confusion with κήτειος, κῆτος, said of πώεα, φάλαγξ (Nonn.). ◄PG►
•ETYM Not well explained. Zenodotus (sch. on δ 1) read καιετάεσσαν in its place, and understood it as 'καλαμινθώδη', derived from καιέτα· καλαμίνθη. Βοιωτοί (H.) or καιετας (unaccented, Apoll. *Lex.* s.v. κητώεσσαν) = καλαμίνθη, a sweet-smelling plant. Call. (*fr.* 639 Pf.) calls the river Eurotas καιετάεις. Other informants (see Str. 8, 5, 7 and Eust. 1478, 41) connected it with the gloss καιετοί· οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν ῥωχμοί 'clefts due to earthquakes' and καιέτας = ►καιάδας. This may be a learned guess, but it is difficult to explain κητ- from it. Bechtel 1914 s.v. assumed a word κῆτος 'crevice, abyss'. For κητώεσσαν, a metrical lengthening of *κητόεσσαν was assumed, but this is unnecessary if we follow Ruijgh *Lingua* 28 (1971), who posits a pre-form *κητοσ-ϝεντ-, with Achaean ω as a result of the first compensatory lengthening.
It seems evident to connect καιέτας, καιάδας 'crevice in Sparta'. Fur.: 180[6] points to the gloss ἄμυσσος· κῆτος. Λάκωνες (see ►βύθος), which shows that a crevice could be called κῆτος.

κηυα [?] in θυεν ... τρικτευαν κηυαν (Delph., *IG* 2², 1126: 34 [IV[a]]), meaning unclear. ◄GR?►
•ETYM τρικτευαν could belong to τριττο(ι)α, τρικτύα 'sacrifice of three animals'. Then κηυαν may be an adjective belonging to καίω 'to burn', perhaps from *κηϝ-ιαν 'destined for burning' (cf. κηώδης and κήϊα, κεῖα· καθάρματα H.). The opposite analysis (κηυα as a substantive) may also be considered; cf. Schwyzer: 459[7], 349 (assuming *κήϝ-ᾱ). Unclear.

κῆϋξ name of a sea-bird. ⇒καύαξ.

κηφήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'drone', often metaph. 'lazy vagabond' (Hes.), also used for Asiatic peoples by the Anatolian Greeks, e.g. for the Persians (Hdt. 7, 61), like in Slavic languages, *Némec* 'German' originally means "someone dumb". ◄PG(S)►
•VAR Also καφάν (H.).
•DER Diminutive κηφήνιον (Arist.); κηφηνώδης 'drone-like' (Pl.). Further Κηφεύς (Hdt.) and several short names like Κῆφις, Κᾶφις, Κάφων, Καφώ; differently Bechtel 1914 s.v. ►κεκαφηώς.

•ETYM Perhaps a substantivization in -ήν, -άν of an adjective *κᾱφός, whence κωφός 'dumb, deaf' with ablaut. Mechanically, one could reconstruct a root *ke/oh_2b^h- or *g^he/oh_2b^h-. However, it is impossible to connect Lat. *hebes* 'dumb', not only because of its *e*-vocalism (as opposed to *ā*, *ō* in καφάν, κωφός), but also because of the vowel quantity (*g^hHb^h- would vocalize as *hab-* in Latin). DELG notes that ablaut *$\bar{a}/\bar{o}$ is rare in Greek; note that a suffix -ᾱν is rare, too. The insect name may well be original; the chances are high that the word is Pre-Greek. Cf. on ►κεκαφηότα.

κῆχος [?] only in the question ποῖ κῆχος, which acc. to some grammarians stands for ποῖ γῆς, acc. to others for ποῖ δή (Ar. *Fr.* 656, Pherecr. 165). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also κῆγχος, κηγχός

•ETYM The prenasalization clearly shows the Pre-Greek character of the words.

κηώδης [adj.] 'full of perfume, sweet-smelling' (Z 483, after it D. P. 941). ◅IE? *keh_2u- 'burn'▻

•VAR By shortening of the vowel κεώδης· καθαρός 'clear, pure'; κεῶεν ὄζει· εὐωδεῖ (H.).

•DER κηώεις (Hom., *AP*, Nonn.).

•ETYM For earlier *κηϝώδης and *κηϝόεις (with metrical lengthening), the words have been derived from a neuter *κῆϝος 'fire, incense', from the root of ►καίω. However, provided that this etymology is correct, the lengthened grade *$k\bar{e}u$- assumed by Frisk and DELG is wrong; the word is based on *$k\bar{a}wV$- > *keh_2uV-. Beside the *s*-stem *$k\bar{a}wos$-, Greek also had *$k\bar{a}wion$ in κήϊα and in κεῖα· καθάρματα 'purifications' (H.), cf. τεῖχος : τειχίον, and further, a form with *-l-* in ►κηλέος 'burning'. For the interchange of suffixes, cf. ►ἔτος / ►ἔταλον, ►ἄγκος / ►ἀγκάλη.

κιάθω ⇒ κίω.

κίβδηλος [adj.] 'false, fake, tampered' (of gold, coins, etc.), 'deceitful' (Thgn., Pi. *fr.* 70b 3, IA). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Fur. 316 quotes κίβαλος· ὁ λῃστής 'pirate' (Su.) (but = διάκονος 'servant' H.); the connection is unclear (not mentioned by DELG).

•COMP Negated ἀ-κίβδηλος 'untampered' (Hdt., Pl. *Lg.*).

•DER κιβδηλία, -ίη 'falsification, deceit' (Hp., Ar.); denominatives: 1. κιβδηλεύω [v.] 'to falsify' (E., Ar., Arist.), whence κιβδήλευμα, -λεία 'falsification' (Pl. *Lg.*);, 2. κιβδηλιάω [v.] 'to look like forged gold; to have jaundice' (Arist.), after the verbs of illness in -ιάω. Besides κίβδης· κακοῦργος, <κά>πηλος, χειροτέχνης 'malefactor, huckster, artisan' (H.), κίβδωνες = μεταλλεῖς 'miners' (Poll., Moer.), κιβδῶνες (Phot.). The basis is κίβδος 'dross of metal' (Poll.); in the same mg. also κίβδηλις (H.), see κιβδηλιῶντας; on the suffix -ηλο- see Chantraine 1933: 242.

•ETYM It remains uncertain whether κίβαλος belongs here. In spite of Frisk, there appears no basis to connect ►κίβον · ἐνεόν. Πάφιοι 'dumb (Paph.)' (H.). Of course, the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 316); on the suffix -ηλο-, see Fur.: 115[5]. In the root κιβδ-, -βδ- was most probably one phoneme, for which we propose (the voiced representative of) PG *p^y. A final -δος is also found in λύγδος 'white marble' and

►μόλυβδος 'lead'. Von Blumenthal finds a related verb in κίψει· κακοποιεῖ 'does wrong' (H.).

κίβῐσις [f.] 'sack, pack' (Hes. *Sc.* 224, Pherecyd., Call.). Acc. to H. Cypr. for πήρα 'leather pouch'. ◁PG▷
•VAR Also κίβησις (Suid., Orion), κύβεσις, κυβησία (H., see Fur. 365); besides, probably as a popular hypocoristic form with gemination, κίββα· πήρα, Αἰτωλοί (H., see Fur. 305); further κίρβα· πήρα (cod. πεῖρα), διφθέρα. Αἰτωλοί 'leather pouch (Aetolian)' (H.), MoGr. κιρβέλλα 'small sack'; see Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 247.
•ETYM Given the variants, most probably of Pre-Greek origin. See ►κιβωτός.

κιβώριον [n.] 'seed-vessel of the Egyptian water lily (κολοκασία)'; metaph. 'cup; tomb' (Hell.). ◁LW Eg.▷
•ETYM Probably a loan from Egyptian (thus H.), but not attested there; see Meyer 1896: 140, Nencioni *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 16 (1939): 11. Lat. *cibōrium* was borrowed from the Greek; cf. E-M s.v.

κῐβωτός [f.] 'wooden chest, box, cupboard' (Hecat., Simon., Att.), also of Noah's ark and of the alliance (LXX). ◁PG▷
•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34[2].
•DER Diminutives κιβώτιον (Ar., Arist.), -ίδιον (Delos IV[a]), -άριον (Hero).
•ETYM Perhaps cognate with ►κίβισις 'sack', thus probably Pre-Greek. A shorter form κίβος (κῖβος?) is found in Suid. Semitic hypotheses in Lewy 1895: 99f. From κιβωτός, Syr. *qēbūthā* and MoP *kēbūt* 'box' were borrowed (cf. Bailey *TPS* 1933: 50). Lat. *cibus* perhaps also belongs here; see WH s.v.

κίγκασος [?] · κυβευτικός τις βόλος 'a cast of dice', also κίκκασος· ...καὶ βόλου ὄνομα 'name of a cast of dice' (H.). ◁PG(S)▷
•ETYM Fur.: 281 assumes that the interchanges are due to "spätgriechische Geminatenauflösung", referring to Schwyzer *KZ* 61 (1934): 230. Still, the word must be Pre-Greek because of its suffix.

κιγκλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'latticed gate', especially those through which knights or counsellors entered the court of justice or the meeting hall (Ar., Luc., Plu.), also θυρο-κιγκλίδες (Attica). ◁PG▷
•VAR Mostly plur. -ίδες.
•ETYM Technical word without a certain etymology. Strömberg 1944: 15 assumed a back-formation from κιγκλίζειν 'to wag the tail, change continuously' (Thgn. 303); see on ►κίγκλος. It seems to be a reduplicated form with prenasalization κι-γ-κλιδ-. Probably Pre-Greek.

κίγκλος [m.] 'dabchick', acc. to H. ὄρνεον πυκνῶς τὴν οὐράν κινοῦν 'a bird often wagging its tail' (com., Arist.); details in Thompson 1895 s.v. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also as a fish name κίγκαλος (Numen. *apud* Ath. 7, 326a), perhaps after the color, cf. Strömberg 1943: 116.
•COMP As a first member in κιγκλο-βάτᾱς 'going like a dabchick' (ῥυθμός, Ar. *Fr.* 140).

•DER κιγκλίζω [v.] 'to change constantly' (Thgn. 303), perhaps originally "to move like a dabchick", with regard to the tail (cf. H. on κίγκλος: κιγκλίζειν, ὅ ἐστι διασείεσθαι 'which means: to be shaken'), also trans. with δια- (Hp., Ar.) and ποτι- (Theoc. 5, 117); thence κίγκλισις (Hp.), -ισμός (Hp., Men.). Cf. on κιγκλίς.

•ETYM The variation κί(γ)χλος, κίγκαλος, κέγκλος, etc. in the tradition shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Not from *κέγκλος, related to Skt. *cañcala-* 'movable, uncertain', which rather derives from **cal-cal-a-* (with dissimilation), and belongs to *cálati* = *cárati* 'to move' (see ►πέλομαι).

κίδαλον [?] · κρόμμυον 'onion' (H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Cf. σχιστά· τὰ γράμματα. καὶ τὰ κρόμμυα 'letters, also onions' (H.); the words are probably Pre-Greek.

κίδαρις [f.] name of a turban-like headgear, worn by the Persian kings only (Ctes., Ph., Plu.), also of the turban of the Jewish high priest (LXX); name of an Arcadian dance (Ath. 14, 631d). ◄LW Orient.►

•VAR Also κίτ(τ)αρις; gen. -εως.

•ETYM Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 16 supposes Hittite or Oriental origin; Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 63 mentions Hebr. *ktr mlkwt* and Aram. *kitrā*.

κίδαφος [?] = ἀλώπηξ 'fox' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Fem. κιδάφη; also κινδάφη, κι(ν)δάφιος; further σκίνδαφος [f.] (Ael.), σκιδάφη (Arc.).

•DER Adjectival: κίδαφος = δόλιος 'cunning', κι(ν)δάφιος = πανοῦργος 'knavish' (H.). Denominative κιδαφεύειν· πανουργεῖν 'play the knave' (H.).

•ETYM Animal name in -φο- (see Chantraine 1933: 263); the adjectival function is clearly secondary. Wood *Class. Phil.* 3 (1908): 76 compares it to Lith. *skiedžiu, skiesti* 'separate', etc. as "the cunning one". Another variant is ►κίραφος; all these variations show the Pre-Greek character of the word.

κίδναμαι 'to be spread out'. ⇒σκεδάννυμι.

κιδνόν [adv.] · ἐνθάδε. Πάφιοι '(to) here, (to) there (Paphian)' (H.). ◄IE? **ḱo, ḱe* 'this'►

•ETYM From the deictic particle PIE **ḱi* in Lat. *ci-s*, Gr. ►ἐκεῖ, etc., but unclear in detail. Bechtel 1921, 1: 349 assumes a derivative in *-no-* from a neuter **ḱid*, by comparison with Go. *und hit-a* 'ἕως ἄρτι'. Pisani *AnFilCl* 6 (1953-54): 213ff. identifies *κιδ with Go. *hita* as well, but -νον would be from νῦν 'now' (cf. Hitt. *kinun* 'now') with Cyprian development of υ to ο. Blanca Prósper *KZ* 108 (1995): 75-83 explains the word as from **ki-dinom* 'at this day here'.

κίδραι ⇒χῖδρον.

κιέλλη [f.] · φέγγος, αὐγή, φῶς· πάχνη· ὁμίχλη 'light, sunlight; hoarfrost, frozen rain; mist' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

κιθάρα [f.] 'lyre' (IA). ◄PG►

•VAR Ion. -ρη; also κίθαρις, -ιος [f.] (Il.).
•COMP κιθαρο-αοιδός (com.), usually contracted κιθαρῳδός (IA) 'lyre-singer', whence κιθαρῳδέω [v.], etc.; ἀ-κίθαρις 'without lyre' (A.).
•DER κίθαρος [m.] 1. 'thorax' (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*; after its shape); 2. name of a flatfish (com., Arist.; after the shape); κιθάριον (Ptol. Euerg.); also κιθαρῳδός name of a fish in the Red Sea (Ael.; after the patterning of the colors; Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 38).
Denominative κιθαρίζω [v.] 'to play the lyre', also of string instruments in general and of the accompanying songs (Il.; on the mg. Diehl *RhM* N.F. 89 (1940): 96f.), with several derivatives: κιθαριστύς [f.] (Il.), κιθάρισις (Pl.), -ισμός (Call.) 'playing the lyre, the art of the lyre'; attempt at semantic differentiation in Benveniste 1948: 69, see also Porzig 1942: 181; κιθάρισμα 'piece of music for the lyre' (Pl.); κιθαριστής 'lyrist, etc.' (*h. Hom.* 25, 3, Hes.), -ίστρια (Arist.), also -ιστρίς (Nic. Dam.), -ιστικός (Pl.), -ιστήριος (Hell.) 'belonging to lyre-playing'.
•ETYM Pre-Greek. Earlier explanations from IE and Semitic in Bq. are incorrect.

κίθρα [f.] a vase for preserving grapes (Herod. Med.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM See *Rh. Mus.* 57: 100 and 110. On κύθρα, see ▶χέω.

κῐ̓κᾰμα [acc.pl.n.] name of a plant, acc. to H. (cod. κικαμία) similar to the καυκαλίς (Nic. *Th.* 841). ◁PG▷
•ETYM Formation like βάλσαμον, σήσαμον, etc.; further unknown. No doubt Pre-Greek.

κῖκι [n.] 'castor oil' (Hdt. 2, 94, Pl. *Ti.* 60a, pap.), which is oil from a tree, the 'wonder-tree, Ricinus communis' (Str., Dsc.). ◁LW Eg.▷
•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως; indeclinable in Mayser 1906-1938, I: 2: 24; also κίκι (Hdn. Gr. 1, 354; 2, 766). In the last mg. also κικέα (Aët., Paul. Aeg.); after συκέα, etc.
•COMP As a first member in e.g. κικιο-φόρος 'producing ricinus oil', of γῆ (pap.).
•DER κίκινος 'originating from the ricinus', of ἔλαιον (Dsc., Gal.); κίκιον 'the root of the ricinus tree' (Gal.).
•ETYM An Egyptian word, acc. to Hdt. 2, 94; cf. Hehn-Schrader 1911: 207 and Mayser 1906-1938, I: 1: 37. Perhaps the Egyptian word was *têqi*; cf. Hdt. τῆκι (Loret in Legrand [ed. Hdt.] ad loc.). See also Nencioni *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 16 (1939): 9.

κικίβαλος [m.] a kind of shell-fish (Epich. 42); reading uncertain. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR κικοβαυλιτιδες· κογχυλίου τι γένος μέλαν· καὶ τὰ ἐκ στέατος σκωλήκια 'species of dark mollusk; little worm-shaped cakes of flour or spelt' (H.).
•ETYM Pre-Greek. The variants point to *kikVbal^{w}-it-*.

κίκιννος [m.] 'curly hair, lock of hair' (com., Theoc., *AP*). ◁PG(V)▷
•DER PN Κικιννᾶς, L. Robert 1963: 268.
•ETYM See Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 420, who assume a foreign cultural word (Aegaean or Anatolian). From Greek came Lat. *cincinnus* (cf. WH s.v.). Fur.: 278 is probably right in assuming a prenasalized form *κιγκιννος as a source for the Latin word. Pre-Greek origin must be asssumed.

κίκιρρος [m.] · ἀλεκτρυών 'cock'; κίκκα· ἀλεκτορίς 'hen'; κικκός· ἀλεκτρυών 'cock' (H.). ◂ONOM▸

•DER PN *Cicirrus*, see WH s.v.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic words; cf. MoHG *kikeriki*, imitating the natural sound of the cock, etc. Osc. *Cicirrus*, cognomen of Messius (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 52), probably originally meant 'game-cock', referring to the cock-masks used in lower Italy (WH s.v.).

κικκαβᾶ [exclam.] natural sound of the screech-owl (Ar. *Av.* 261). ◂PG(V)▸

•DER κικκάβη 'screech-owl' (sch.) and κικκαβάζω [v.] 'to cry like an owl' (Ar. *Lys.* 761, conj. Dobree for κακκαβάζω, -βίζω). Further κικκάβη (gloss.), κίκυμος, -υβος (H.), κικυμωΐς (Call. *fr.* 318), -ωνίς acc. to Latte 'id.'; cf. Heubeck *Würzb. Jb.* 4:2 (1949-1950): 208ff. Note κικυμωνεῖν· δυσβλεπτεῖν 'to see badly' (H.). Further κίκυμος· λαμπτήρ 'lantern'· ἡ γλαυκός· ὁμοίως καὶ κίκυβος 'little owl, Athene noctua' (H.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic words; on the suffix -β-, see Chantraine 1933: 261. Cf. ▸κακκάβη and ▸κίκιρρος; see also ▸κίκκαβος and ▸κύμινδις; also, WH s.v. *cucubiō*, the sound of the screech-owl. The words κικυβ/μος show the Pre-Greek interchange β/ μ (note, however, the doubts in Fur.: 221). There is also Lat. *cicuma* 'screech-owl'. There is no explanation for the interchange α/ υ in, e.g., κικκ-αβ- / κικ-υμι-.

κίκκαβος [m.] comic name of a small coin in the Underworld, an eighth of a ψωθία = three obols (Pherecr. 1, 167 *apud* Poll. 9, 83); also 'niggard' (Phot. s.v. κίμβικας). ◂?▸

•DER κικκάβι(ο)ν· ἐλάχιστον, οὐδέν 'very small, nothing' (H.).

•ETYM Ending like in ▸κόλλυβος with related meaning; as per Pisani *Paideia* 6 (1951): 291ff., it is perhaps derived from the screech-owl, κικκαβᾶ or κικκάβη, after the owl which was depicted on the back of the Athenian coin. The word *κίκκος 'shell of the pomegranate' is based on a conjecture for unclear κικαῖος in H.; see Pisani l.c.

κίκκασος [m.] · ὀβόλου ὄνομα 'name for an obol' (Phot.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Cf. κίκκασος· ὁ ἐκ τῶν παραμηρίων ἱδρὼς ῥέων, καὶ βόλου ὄνομα 'sweat flowing from the inside of the thighs; name for a cast of the dice' (H.).

•ETYM DELG doubts the first gloss, and for the second, compares ▸κίγκασος (for which Fur.: 281 refers to 'spätgriechische Geminatenauflösung'; Schwyzer *KZ* 61 (1934): 230).

κίκκη [f.] · συνουσία, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰδοίων συνοσμία 'sexual intercourse, emitting the same smell(?) from the private parts' (H.). ◂PG▸

•ETYM See ▸κίκκασος.

κικλήσκω 'to call, name'. ⇒ καλέω.

κίκους [?] · ὁ νέος τέττιξ 'the young cicala'; κίξιος· τέττιξ 'cicala' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Acc. to Gil Fernández 1959: 126f., it is onomatopoeic, reminiscnet of Lat. *cicāda*. The variation κ/ ξ rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

κικριβιντίς ἀνδράχνη 'purslane' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *cicirbita*, a plant. The prenasalization points to Pre-Greek origin. See Fur.: 273.

κικυμωΐς ⇒ κικκαβαῦ.

κῖκυς, -υος [f.] 'strength, power' (λ 393). ◂PG?▸
•COMP ἄ-κικυς, -υος 'without strength, weak' (Od., Hp.).
•DER κικύω = ἰσχύω (Hdn. Gr. 2, 533).
•ETYM Meier-Brügger (apud DELG *Supp.*) assumes a reduplicated form of **ḱu̯eh₁-* 'to be strong' in κυέω, κῦμα. This is accepted by de Lamberterie in DELG, but the long ῑ cannot be explained in this way.

***κίκω** •VAR in ἔκιξα. ⇒ κιχάνω.

Κίλικες [pl.] 1. 'Cilicians, inhabitants of the province in the south-east of Anatolia; 2. a people in the valley of Thebes, Θήβη, the town of Eetion, the father of Andromache, south of Troy (Il.). ◂LW Assyr.?▸
•VAR Sg.msc. Κίλιξ, fem. Κίλισσα (A.).
•DER κιλικίζεσθαι· κακοηθίζεσθαι (H.), ἐγκιλικίζεατι· κακοηθεύεται, κακοποιεῖ· διεβέβληντο γὰρ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ οἱ Κίλικες (H.); κιλίκιον 'a coarse cloth of goat's hair' (Procop.). Κίλιξ mythical name; Κιλικᾶς PN (Cyprus, see O. Masson Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί 32 (1968): 9ff. Κιλικία 'Cilicia' (Hdt.). κιλκισμός 'Cilician behaviour, i.e. drunken butchery (Theopomp. Hist.).
•ETYM The country Cilicia (in Hittite times *Kizzuwatna*) was called *Hilakku* by the Assyrians since 858 (but the name may be local); later there were local kingdoms where hieroglyphic Luwian was used. The Greeks arrived in the 8th-7th c. On the Greek kingdom of *Mopsos* = *Musa/us* and its king *Hiyawa*, see now Oettinger 2008b.

κιλλίβᾱς, -αντος [m.] 'three-legged stand, frame' (Ar. *Ach.* 1121, Poll.). ◂PG▸
•VAR Usually plur. -αντες; also κελλίβας (pap.).
•ETYM Perhaps from κίλλος 'ass', with a suffix as in the synonymous ὀκρίβας (cf. Schwyzer: 448). For the development of meaning cf., e.g., ὄνος, ὀνίσκος 'winch', MoFr. *chevalet* 'support', MoHG *Esel*, *Bock* 'id.', etc. The suffix may be Pre-Greek; connection with βαίνω is probably folk-etymological.

κίλλιξ 1 [?] · στάμνος 'jar' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•ETYM Fur.: 132 connects it with κύλιξ 'id.'; the interchange λ/ λλ points to Pre-Greek origin.

κίλλιξ 2 [adj.] · βοῦς τὸ ἓν κέρας ἔχων διεστραμμένον 'cow with one twisted horn' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•ETYM Fur.: 356 connects it with κελλόν· στρεβλόν. πλάγιον 'twisted, athwart' (H.).

κιλλός [adj.] 'grey' (Eub. 103, Phot., H., Eust.). ◂?▸
•COMP As a first member, e.g. κιλλ-ακτήρ· ὀνηλάτης, κυνηγός 'donkey-driver' (Poll., H.; Dor.), Κιλλ-άκτωρ PN (*AP* 5, 28; 44). As a second member perhaps in Macedonian Επό-κιλλος (with ἐπο- = Gr. ἵππο-).

•DER With shift of accent κίλλος [m.] 'ass' (*Sammelb.* 5224, Poll. 7, 56, H.), metaph. 'cicada' (H.), after its color, cf. Strömberg 1944: 11, Strömberg 1943: 100, Gil Fernández 1959: 100. Derivative κίλλιος 'ass-colored, ὀνάγρινος' (Poll.), probably also κιλ<λ>ίας· στρουθὸς ἄρσην 'male sparrow' (H.). See ►κίλλ(ο)υρος.
•ETYM For the root vocalism, we may compare πιλνός 'grey' beside πελιός 'id.'. Formally, κιλλός is reminiscent of ►κελαινός, if this is from **kel-n-io-* (but see s.v.), and if the geminate λλ derives from **-ln-* (though its most straightforward explanation would be from **-lj-*). In sum, there is no convincing etymology.

κίλλ<ο>υρος [?] · σεισοπυγίς 'wagtail' (H.). ◅PG?(S)▻
•ETYM Schrader *BB* 15 (1889): 127f. connected it with a Baltic word for 'wagtail', Lith. *kíelė*, Latv. *ciẽlava*, OPr. *kylo*, which would be derived from a verb 'to move' (seen in ►κινέω, ►κίω); Lith. *kíelė* could then be identical with Gr. *κίλλα < *κιλ-ᵢα, if this was the first compound member. Another possibility is that the wagtail was named for its grey color (see on ►κιλλός). In both cases, the second member would be οὐρά 'tail', but note that the o is only a conjecture. Moreover, -ουρος is also a frequent suffix in Pre-Greek words. DELG connects κίγκλος, analyzing *κελ-κλος, but this is completely uncertain. On unclear Lat. *mōtacilla* 'white wagtail', see WH s.v.

κιμβάζει · στραγγεύεται 'loiters' (H.). ⇒σκιμβάζω.

κίμβιξ, -ικος [m.] 'niggard, skinflint' (Xenoph., Arist., Plu.). ◅PG(V)▻
•DER κιμβικία· πανουργία, ἐνδοιασμός (corrected to ἐνεασμός) 'villainy, perplexity' (H.); also κιμβ(ε)ία 'stinginess' (Artist., H.).
•ETYM Reminds one of the gloss σκιπός· σκνιφός, ὁ μικρολόγος 'dim-sighted, penurious' (H.), and of σκιφία (H.) as an explanation of κιμβεία. These variants, as well as those found s.v. ►κνίψ in the meaning 'niggard', point to a Pre-Greek word (prenasalization, interchange of stops, etc.).

κινάβρα [f.] 'smell of a (male) goat' (Luc., Poll.). ◅PG▻
•DER κιναβράω [v.] 'to smell like a goat' (Ar. *Pl.* 294).
•ETYM Unexplained. Doubts about the usual connection with κενέβρειος in Schwyzer: 350. No doubt a Pre-Greek word.

κίναβεύματα [n.pl.] · πανουργεύματα (H., see also Phot. κάννα). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR κιναφεύειν· πανουργεύεσθαι 'to fabricate by ruse' (H.).
•DER κιναβεύεσθαι (-βρ- codd.)· τὸ σκευωρεῖσθαι 'fabrication, fraud' (Phot.).
•ETYM The variants show that it is a Pre-Greek word; see Kuiper 1956: 245 and Fur.: 169f., who assumes a Pre-Greek word **kinapo-* 'deceiver, fraud'.

κίναδος, -εος [n.] Sicilian word for 'fox' (Call. Com. 1 D., sch. Theoc. 5, 25), 'beast, monster' (Democr. 259), of people 'cunning, rogue' (Att.); acc. to H. = θηρίον, ὄφις 'wild animal, serpent'. ◅PG?▻
•DER Diminutive κινάδιον (Harp.). PN Κινάδης, Κινάδων (Bechtel 1917b: 582). κινάδρα· ἀλώπηξ 'fox' (H.).
•ETYM Not related to ►κνώδαλον. Reminiscent of ►κίδαφος 'fox'.

κινάθισμα [n.] 'noise, rustling', of flying birds (A. *Prom.* 124 [anap.]). ◅PG?▻

•DER κιναθισμός 'id.' (Phot.); from κιναθίζειν· ἰδιάζειν, ἀποθησαυρίζειν κατὰ μικρὸν συλλέγοντα. ἔνιοι μινυρίζειν καὶ κινεῖν 'to devote oneself to, to hoard up for a small collection; to complain in a low voice; to move' (H.). κίναθος· θησαυρισμός 'accumulation' (Phot.), κιναθίας· κρυπτός 'hidden' (H.).
•ETYM For the initial syllable, cf. ►κινυρός. Probably Pre-Greek.

κίναιδος [m.] 'lewd man, catamite' (Pl., Herod.), also name of a sea fish (Plin.), a bird (= κιναίδιον, Gal.). ◄PG?►
•COMP In compounds, e.g. κιναιδο-λογέω (Str.).
•DER κιναίδιον (-ιος) name of the ἴυγξ (H., Phot.), the wagtail (sch.), etc.; κιναιδίας [m.] a stone found in the fish κίναιδος (Plin.), -ία 'lewdness' (Aeschin.), -ώδης 'like a κ.' (sch.); κιναιδίζω [v.] 'to be a κ.' (Antioch. Astr.), κιναίδισμα (Eust.); also -δεύομαι (sch.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Acc. to Archigenes *apud* Gal. 12, 800, it is a Syrian word. Probably Pre-Greek.

κινάρα [f.] 'artichoke' (Hell.). ◄PG?(V)►
•VAR Also κύναρα (S. *fr.* 348; also other plants); κύναρος 'white rose' (S. *fr.* 718).
•COMP κιναρη-φάγος (Juba).
•DER κιναρέων (pap.) 'bed of artichokes'.
•ETYM Unexplained. Does the variation ι/ υ point to Pre-Greek origin?

κίνδαξ [adj.] · εὐκίνητος 'easily moved' (H.). ◄PG►
•VAR κίνδακας· εὐκινήτους (H.).
•COMP ὀνο-κίνδιος (Eup.), -δας (H.) 'ass-driver'.
•DER κινδαύει (κινδάνει, see Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 189ff.)· κινεῖται, κερατίζει 'move, butt with horns' (H.), Κίνδων name of an ὀψοφάγος (Ath. 8, 345c).
•ETYM Explanations from Indo-European, assuming a form with nasal infix *ki-n-d-, should be discarded. Fur.: 291 compares σκίναξ, implying that the word is Pre-Greek. This nicely illustrates that some forms of substrate words may closely resemble inherited material. For the variation νδ/ν, cf. Kuiper 1956: 216, e.g. ἀθήρ / ἀνθέριξ, κίδαφος / κινδάφη. See ►κίνδυνος.

κίνδυνος [m.] 'danger, risk' (Thgn., Pi., IA; on the mg. Mette *Herm.* 80 (1952): 409ff.). On κίνδυνος = ἡ ἐν πρῴρα σελίς 'bench in the prow of a ship' (H.), whence MoGr. (Naxos) 'bed', see Andriotis *Glotta* 25 (1936): 19f. ◄PG►
•VAR Dat. -υνι (Alc. Z 92); also gen. -υνος (Sapph. 184)?
•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἐπι-κίνδυνος 'connected with danger' (IA).
•DER κινδυνώδης 'dangerous' (Hp., Plb.), κινδυνεύω [v.] 'to wage, take a risk' (IA), whence κινδύνευμα 'risk' (S., E., Pl.), -ευτής 'dare-devil' (Th., D. C.), -ευτικός 'dangerous, adventurous' (Arist.).
•ETYM The connection with κίνδαξ, ὀνο-κίνδιος (which do not belong to ►κῑνέω; s.v.) is formally attractive. For the semantics, Prellwitz 1892 and Vendryes *REGr.* 25 (1912): 461f., compare Lat. *solli-citus* 'to be in danger' < *'to be wholly stirred'. See also Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 189-194.

Attempts at an IE etymology should be given up (thus still, e.g., Knobloch *Glotta* 53 (1975): 78-81), and the old etymology **kun-du-no-*, κύων being an unlucky cast of the dice (older litt. in Frisk), should be discarded. The Pre-Greek character is clear in view of the ending -ῡν- in κίνδῡν (Alc., Sapph.), with its long ῡ, as seen by Kuiper 1956: 217. Debrunner in Ebert 1924-1932: 526 and Kretschmer *KZ* 55 (1928): 90f., too, are in favor of foreign (Pre-Greek or Anatolian) origin. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 208.

κῑνέω [v.] 'to set in movement, drive away, shake' (Il.). ◂IE **ḱeih₂-* 'set in motion'▸
•VAR Aor. κινῆσαι.
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, μετα-, παρα-, συν-.
•DER κίνημα, κίνησις 'movement, agitation' (IA), παρα-κινηματικός (Ph.), κινητικός 'moving, movable' (IA), see Chantraine 1956a: 101; κινηθμός 'movement' (Pi.), on the mg. Benveniste 1935: 201; κινώ = κίνησις (Emp. 123, 2; Doric acc. to H.); κινητήρ 'mover, agitator' (*h. Hom.*, Pi.), of Poseidon; cf. Fraenkel 1910: 108; 153; Benveniste 1948: 39 and 42; thence κινητήριος (A.); κινητής 'id.' (Ar., Plb.); κίνηθρον (Poll.), -ητρον (Eust.) '(stirring) spoon'; κινητήριον 'brothel' (Eup.; from κινεῖν in an obscene sense). A back-formation from ἀπο-κινεῖν is ἀπόκινος [m.] name of a comic dance (com.). Further κῑ́νυμαι [v.] 'to move (oneself), κινέομαι' (Il.), only present stem, incidentally with ἐν-, ἐπι-, ὑπο- (Q. S.); an intensive enlargement in κινύσσομαι [v.] 'to be heavily moved, be excited' (A. *Ch.* 196; Schwyzer: 716), whence κίνυγμα 'movable or light object, ball, toy' (A. *Pr.* 158 [anap.]).
•ETYM Because of the athematic middle κίνυμαι, a pre-form *κινέϝ-ω << *κι-νευ-μι has been assumed for the active κινέω. The present κίνυμαι is a poetic *medium tantum* and means 'to move to and fro, to shake (intr.)' in Hom. (see García Ramón 1993b: 125-139), while the active κῑνέω occurs only in Attic (see Kölligan 2007: 35). The non-presentic forms κινῆσαι, etc. are analogical formations. LIV² s.v. **ḱeih₂-* 'sich in Bewegung setzen' follows Harðarson 1993b: 192 in assuming root final **h₂* on account of the gloss κίατο· ἐκινεῖτο 'moved' (H.) and Hom. μετ-εκίαθον 'followed'. See ▸κίω, as well as ▸σεύω.

κιννάβαρι, -εως [n.] 'cinnabar, vermilion' (Arist., Thphr.). ◂LW Orient.?▸
•VAR Also -ις [m.] (Anaxandr. 14, Ps.-Dsc. 3, 143) 'serpent's blood' (painter's color); as a plant name = ἐρυθρόδανον (Ps.-Dsc.).
•DER κινναβάριον name of an eye ointment (Gal.), -άρινος 'cinnabar, vermilion' (Arist.), -αρίζω [v.] 'to be vermilion' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Foreign word from an unknown (but probably Oriental) source; cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 701f. From Greek, Latin borrowed *cinnabaris*, whence MHG *zinober*, etc. A remarkable by-form is τιγγάβαρι (Diocl. Com. 9, 10, Theognost. *Can.* 120, H.) with τιγγαβάρινος (Dam. *Isid.* 203), perhaps with *ki-* > *ḱi-* > *tsi-*?

κιννάμωμον [n.] usually taken as 'cinnamon' (Hdt., Thphr.), but acc. to Hennig *Klio* 32 (1939): 325ff. some other kind of sweet-smelling substance. ◂LW Phoen.▸
•VAR Rarely -ν-, also κίνναμον (Plin.), -ν- (Nic. *Th.* 947).
•COMP As a first member in κινναμωμο-φόρος (Str.), of γῆ; κινναμο-λόγος [m.] "cinnamon-gatherer", name of a mythical bird (Plin.), also called κιννάμωμον (Arist.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.

•DER κινναμωμίς [f.] a lesser kind of cinnamon (Gal.), κινναμώμινος 'prepared with cinnamon' (Antiph.), -μίζω [v.] 'to be similar to cinnamon' (Dsc. 5, 121).
•ETYM From Phoenician (Hdt. 3, 111); cf. Hebr. *qinnāmōn* 'id.'. The ending was modelled on that of the spice-plant ἄμωμον, or due to folk etymology, on that of ἄμωμος 'blameless'. See Lewy 1895: 37 and Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 695f.

κῑ́νυμαι 'to move (intr.)'. ⇒κινέω and κίω, as well as σεύω.

κινύρα [f.] name of a stringed instrument (LXX, J.). ◁LW Hebr.▷
•ETYM Borrowed from Hebr. *kinnōr* 'cither' and adapted to κινυρός. See Lewy 1895: 164; also, Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19 and E. Masson 1967: 69².

κινυρός [adj.] mg. uncertain; epithet of βοῦς (P 5), of γόος (A. R. 4, 605), of πέτηλα (Nonn. *D.* 38, 95). ◁?▷
•DER κιν[ν]υρίδες· τὰ μικρὰ ὀρνιθάρια (H.), apparently 'wailing, lamenting'; κινυρίζω [v.] 'to wail, lament' (I 612, acc. to Zenodotus), κινύρομαι [v.] 'to gnash, lament' (A. *Th.* 123 [lyr.], *Dict.* 804, Ar. *Eq.* 11, A. R., Call.). PN Κινύρης (Λ 20), -ρας (Tyrt.).
•ETYM The meaning was already unclear in antiquity; cf. H. on P 5: κινυρή· ἁπαλή, νέα, λεχώ, οἰκτρά, θρηνητική 'weak, young, woman in childbed, pitiable woman, inclined to lament' and (on A. R. 4, 605) κινυρόν· λεπτόν, καπυρόν, ὀξύ, οἰκτρόν 'small, crackly (of sound), i.a., sharp, pitiable'. The parallelism between κινυρός, κινυρίζω, κινύρομαι and μινυρός, ►μινυρίζω, μινύρομαι 'to twitter, complain' is clear. Other mixed forms are κιναθίζειν, -ισμός, ►κινάθισμα and κιναρύζεσθαι· θρηνεῖν μετὰ τοῦ γογγύζειν 'to lament together with grumbling' (H.), perhaps after κελαρύζειν (see Leumann 1950: 241[37]). Given the age of the attested forms, Leumann (l.c.) considers only κινυρός and μινυρίζω to be old; the other forms would have arisen by contamination, as did μύρομαι.

κινύσσομαι ⇒κινέω.

κινώπετον [n.] 'venomous animal, especially a snake' (Call. *Jov.* 25, Nic. *Th.* 27 and 195). ◁PG(V)▷
•COMP κινωπηστής, -οῦ [m.] 'id.' (Nic. *Th.* 141), see below.
•ETYM Endings like in ἑρπετόν, δακετόν, and ἑρπηστής. Probably related to ►κνώψ 'venomenous animal' (thus Persson 1891: 177). The vocalism points to Pre-Greek origin; cf. on ►πινυτός.

κιξάλλης, -ου [m.] 'highway robber, pirate, thief' (Democr. 260, *SIG* 38, 19 [Teos V[a]], H.); Jo. Gramm. (in Hoffmann 1898: 208) has κιττάλης = κλέπτης (on the phonetics see Schwyzer: 318). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Cf. κίξας· τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ λῃστας 'thieves on the road' (Phot.).
•DER κιξαλλεύω [v.] 'to commit robbery' (*SIG* l.c.), κιξαλλία· πᾶσα κακοτεχνία 'any malpractice' (H.).
•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of καβάλλης, δαμάλης, etc. Acc. to Hoffmann 1898: 612, the word was Anatolian (Carian/ Lycian), but it is a clear example of a Pre-Greek word (alternations λλ/ λ, ττ/ ξ). We could reconstruct PG **kikʲalʲ-*. See Fur.: 286.

κίρα [?] · ἀλώπηξ. Λάκωνες 'fox (Lacon.)' (H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR κίραφος· ἀλώπηξ (H.).
•ETYM Frisk *IF* 49 (1931): 98f. connected it with ▶κιρρός = πυρρός, ἐρυθρός, ξανθός 'red, yellow', suggesting that it was adapted from κίδαφος. The form κίραφος is from κιρα, extended by the animal suffix -φος.

κίρβα [f.]? · πήρα 'leather pouch' (H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR MoGr. κιρβέλλα 'small sack'.
•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 305.

κιρκαία [f.] scil. ῥίζα, 'black swallowwort, Vincetoxicum nigrum' (Dsc., Apollod.). ◁PG▷
•VAR = ▶διρκαία.
•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek; see ▶διρκαία.

κίρκιος [m.] = Θρασκίας, the north-northwest wind (Agathem.), = Lat. *circius*. ◁PG?▷
•DIAL κιρκίας (conjecture Arist.), also κέρκιος (v.l. Arist. *Mu.* 394b 31), Lat. *cercius* (Cato).
•ETYM Unknown. Pre-Greek because of the variation? See Fur.: 356.

κίρκος 1 [m.] a hawk or falcon (Hom., A., A. R.); see Thompson 1895 s.v. ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown; cf. on ▶κρέξ.

κίρκος 2 'circle, ring'. ⇒κρίκος.

κίρνημι ⇒κεράννυμι.

κίρρις ⇒ἀκιρίς.

κιρρός [adj.] 'red-yellow, yellow-brown', said of οἶνος, νέκταρ (Hp., Nic.), fem. κιρράς (Nic.). ◁?▷
•COMP ὑπό-κιρρος (Hp., Dsc., Gal.), ἔγ-κιρρος (Dsc.), κιρρο-ειδής (Apollod. Myth.).
•DER κιρρώδης (Hippiatr.); κιρρίς [f.] a sea fish (Opp.); cf. κηρίς s.v. ▶κηρός (κιρρά [for κίρρα?] H.); also = εἶδος ἱέρακος 'kind of hawk or falcon' (*EM* 515, 15); cf. κεῖρις· ὄρνεον, ἱέραξ, οἱ δὲ ἀλκυόνα 'bird, hawk or falcon, kingfisher' (H.), whence Lat. *cīris* 'sea-bird', see WH s.v.; also κίρις· … ὄρνεον (H.).
•ETYM The geminate -ρρ- also occurs in ▶πυρρός. Unexplained. The comparison with Lith. *šiřmas*, *šiřvas* 'grey' is problematic, since Lith. *-iř-* is from a zero grade. The group of CS *sěrъ* 'grey' (see Derksen 2008 for a reconstruction), MIr. *cíar* 'dark', etc. cannot be connected either for phonetic reasons.

κιρσός [m.] 'varicocele' (Hp., Philostr.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also κρισσός (Hippiatr., H.), κριξός (Poll.).
•COMP As a first member in κιρσο-κήλη 'varicocele', κιρσο-τομέω [v.] 'to operate a varicocele', whence -ία.
•DER κιρσώδης 'varicose', κιρσόομαι [v.] 'to become varicose', act. -όω (causative mg.), whence κίρσωσις (med.).
•ETYM The variation σ(σ)/ ξ shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

κίρτος [adj.]? mg. unknown; corrected to σκίρτος (Simon. 624 P). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

κίρων [adj.] · ἀδύνατος πρὸς συνουσίαν· καὶ αἰδοίου βλάβη· καὶ ἀπεσκολυμμένος· καὶ κυρίως μὲν ὁ σάτυρος, καὶ ἐντεταμένος, ὁ γυναικίας, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος χρῆσθαι 'unable to have intercourse; injury of the penis; stripped off; mainly used of a lewd man, one who has a penile erection, a weakling, one who is unable to use it' (H.). ◂?▸
•DER DELG cites the PNs Κίρος, Κίρων, Κιρωνίδης (cf. Bechtel 1917b: 497).
•ETYM Unknown.

-κις multiplicative suffix, in πολλά-κι(ς) 'often' (Il.), τετρά-κι(ς) 'four times' (ε 306), πεντά-κι(ς) 'five times' (Pi.), etc. ◂IE *k^wi- 'something'▸
•DIAL Epic, lyr., Dor. also -κι; Lacon. -κιν; Tarent. ἁμάτις 'once'.
•ETYM The word πολλά-κι(ς) agrees in meaning with Ved. *purū-cid* 'often'. The forms can be combined if we assume that the plural πολλά 'often' replaces older *πολῦ (which is unlikely), after which *k^w was delabialized in Greek. This hypothesis is confirmed by Tarent. ἁμά-τις 'once' = Cret. ἁμά-κις (H.).
From πολλάκι(ς), the forms in -κ- spread to the numeral adverbs τετράκι(ς), etc.; cf. also οὐκί. The final consonant of -κις, Skt. *cid* reminds one of the correspondence ἕως 'until': Skt. *yā́vat* (see on ►ἕως 2); Greek added adverbial *-*s* (cf. δίς, τρίς). Etymologically, -κι/ -τι = Skt. *cid* are identical with the indefinite pronoun τι 'something'; see ►τίς.

κῖς, κιός [m.] 'weevil' (Pi. *Fr.* 222, Thphr., gramm.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Acc. κῖν; also nom. κίς (Hdn. Gr. 2, 925). On the accent see Schwyzer: 378 and Berger *MSS* 3 (1953): 8; on the quantity of the ι in κιός, etc. Schwyzer: 571.
•COMP ἀκιώτατοι 'least damaged by weevils' (Hes.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Skt. *kīṭá-* [m.] 'worm, insect' is unrelated; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. Probably Pre-Greek.

κίσηρις [f.] 'pumice stone' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also κίσηλις (pap., Luc.); gen. -εως, -ιδος.
•DER κισήριον (*EM*), κισηρο-ειδής and κισηρώδης 'like κ.' (Diog. Apoll., Hell.); κισηρόομαι [v.] 'to be changed into κ.' (Thphr.), -ρίζω [v.] 'to smoothen with κ.' (Nic. Dam.).
•ETYM On the matter, cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 146. Fur.: 117 compares Car. γίσσα and Caucasian (and Basque) forms. Without a doubt Pre-Greek, in view of the variation ρ/ λ.

κίσθος [m.] 'cistus', family of low shrubs, of which the seperate types often produce the resin-like substance λήδανον (Dsc.). ◂PG▸
•VAR Also κισθός (Eup., Mnesim.) and κίστος (Hp., Gal.), κίσθαρος [m.] (Dsc.)
•DER ὑποκισθίς (-τίς) f. 'Cytinus hypocisthis', hypocist (Dsc., Gal.).
•ETYM The suffix of κίσθαρος may be compared with κόμαρος, κίσσαρος, and other plant names (Chantraine 1933: 227). The Cistus is a typical plant of the mediterranean world. Fur.: 190, 257[36] compares Ligurian *kústi*, MLat. *custrus*.

κίσιρνις [?] · ὄρνις ποιός 'kind of bird' (H.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Cf. κίσσιρις· εἶδος ὀρνέου 'kind of bird' (H.); also κίσινδις (Su.).

•ETYM Unknown. Pre-Greek has additional words with a nasal added after ρ; see Fur.: 48[126], 215[62], and 387.

κίσπρα [?] · πικρά τὸ ἦθος, παλίγκοτος. Κῷοι 'bitter disposition, spiteful (Cos)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Bechtel 1921, 2: 599 compares (with due reservation) Osc. *kaispatar*, of which the meaning is unknown. Pre-Greek?

κίσσα 1 [f.] 'jay, Garrulus glandarius', also 'magpie, Pica caudata' (Ar.); see Thompson 1895 s.v.; also = ἰχθῦς ποιός 'kind of fish' (H.); on the motivation of the name Strömberg 1943: 115. ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Att. κίττα.

•DER κισσαβίζω (-ττ-) [v.] 'to cry like a jay' (Poll.), cf. τιττυβίζω, etc.; also κισσάω, see ▶κίσσα 2.

•ETYM By comparison with νῆσσα 'duck' and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 98), one scholar reconstructed PGr. **kikia*, derived from an onomatopoeic root. For this sound-imitation, bird names like Skt. *kiki-* (lex.), *kikidīví-* [m.] (RV 10, 97, 13, TS) 'blue jay', and Gm. names like OE *higora* 'magpie' can be compared; the latter were apparently not restored after Grimm's Law.

κίσσα 2 [f.] morbid longing of pregnant women, craving for strange food (Dsc., S. E., Sor., Gal.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Att. κίττα.

•DER κισσάω, κιττάω [v.] 'to suffer from κ.' (Ar., Arist.), 'to become pregnant' (LXX), whence κίσσησις (Gal.). κισσώδης 'full of κίσσα' (Dsc.).

•ETYM The age and frequency of the attestations suggest that κίσσα 2 is a back-formation from κισσάω. The form κισσάω itself is a denominative of ▶κίσσα 1 'jay, magpie', and refers to the well-known gluttony of the bird (ὄρνεον ἀδηφάγον καὶ παμιφάγον, sch. Ar. *Pax* 496); thus, κισσάω originally means 'to behave like a magpie'. The connection with Skt. *kéta-* 'will, desire' must therefore be given up. The gloss κοῖται· γυναικῶν ἐπιθυμίαι 'longing of/for women' is only an incidental use of κοίτη 'marital bed, sexual intercourse'.

κισσός [m.] 'ivy, Hedera helix' (IA). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Att. κιττός.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κισσο-φόρος 'having ivy' (Pi., Ar.); also as a second member, e.g. κατά-κισσος 'crowned with ivy' (Anacreont.).

•DER Diminutive κισσίον = ἀσκληπιάς (Ps.-Dsc.); κίσσινος 'of ivy' (Pi., E.), κισσήεις 'id.' (Nic., Nonn.), on the formation Schwyzer: 527; κισσώδης 'enveloped with ivy' (Nonn.); κισσεύς epithet of Apollo (A. *Fr.* 341); κισσών 'forest with ivy' (Hdn. Gr.), κίσσαρος = κισσός (gloss.). Denominative κισσόω (Att. -ττ-) [v.] 'to crown with ivy' (E., Alciphr.), whence κίττωσις (Attica).

•ETYM Pre-Greek. See Fur.: 256, who compares κιθάρα in the sense of 'ivy' (Ps.-Dsc.); and ibid. 257[36] on the suffix -αρος in Pre-Greek words. We may reconstruct a form PG **kitʸ-*.

κισσύβιον [n.] name of a wooden drinking-cup (Od., Theoc., Call.), on the matter see Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358 and 365f. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also κισσύφιον (*IG* 2², 1424a: 265), acc. to Frisk after the diminutives in -ύφιον, but see below.

•ETYM The ancients connected it with κισσός, either after the material (Eumolp. *apud* Ath. 11, 477a) or after the ornamentation (Poll. 6, 97). The word is Pre-Greek because of the variation β/ φ, as seen by Schwyzer: 316 and 470; see also Debrunner in Ebert 1924-1932 4:2, §46 and Fur.: 170.

κίστη [f.] 'basket, chest' (ζ 76, Ar.). ◁EUR▷

•COMP As a first member in κιστα-φόρος 'basket bearer', -έω [v.] (Thrace, Macedon.), κιστο-ειδής 'like a chest' (H. s.v. ὀγκίον).

•DER Diminutive κιστίς [f.] (Hp., Ar.), κιστίδιον (Artem.).

•ETYM MIr. *cess* [f.] 'basket, causeway of wickerwork, bee-hive', OW *cest* [f.] gl. fiscina point to a pre-form QIE **kisteh₂-*. If these are conneted with Gr. κίστη, the most likely scenario is a European loanword. From κίστη was borrowed Lat. *cista*, whence most European forms, e.g. Ir. *ciste* [m.], OHG *kista*, etc.

κίτριον [n.] 'citron tree (Citrus medica), citron' (Juba, J., Epidauros II[P], Dsc.). ◁LW Lat.▷

•VAR Also κίτρον 'citron' (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 3, 85c).

•COMP κιτριο-ειδής (Gal.), κιτρό-μηλον 'id.' (Dsc., Gp.).

•DER κίτρινος 'belonging to the citron tree' (D. C.), also κίτρεος (pap. VI[P]); κιτρέα [f.] 'citron tree' (Gp.), after μηλέα, etc.; κιτρᾶτον 'citron drink' (Alex. Trall.).

•ETYM From Lat. *citrium*, *citrum*, *citreus*, *citrātus*, which all go back to *citrus* 'citron tree', which itself is somehow connected with Gr. ▶ κέδρος and perhaps came from Greek via Etruscan. See WH s.v. *citrus* with litt.

κίφος [n.] Messenian for στέφανος (Paus. 3, 26, 9). ◁PG?(V)▷

•COMP σκιφα-τόμος 'who cuts σκίφα' (*IG* 5(1), 212: 63 [Sparta I[a]]), perhaps palms, for ψίλινοι στέφανοι.

•DER σκιφίνιον· πλέγμα ἐκ φοίνικος 'plaiting of palm' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained; perhaps Pre-Greek because of the varying anlaut.

κιχᾶνω [v.] 'to reach, attain, hit, meet with' (Il.). ◁IE **ǵʰeh₁-* 'leave, abandon'▷

•VAR Att. κιγχᾶνω; several aorists: a) athem. (ἐκίχην), -χεις, (ἐ)κίχημεν, subj. κιχείω, opt. -χείην, inf. κιχήμεναι, -χῆναι, ptc. κιχείς, -χήμενος; b) them. 3sg. ἔκιχεν, 3pl. ἔκιχον, subj. κίχω, κίχῃσι, inf. κιχεῖν, ptc. κιχών; c) sigmatic κιχήσατο, act. ptc. κιχήσας (B. 5, 148); d) Dor. ἔκιξε = ἤνεγκε (Simm. 26, 7), ἀπέκιξαν (Ar. *Ach.* 869; Boeot.), κίξαντες· ἐλθόντες, πορευθέντες 'having come, been driven or carried', κίξατο· εὗρεν, ἔλαβεν, ἤνεγκεν 'found, took, brought' (H.); fut. κιχήσομαι.

•DER κίχησις· ἡ λῆψις 'taking hold' (H.).

•ETYM From a reduplicated root present *κίχημι (like τίθημι), found in κίχημεν, κιχήτην, etc. (ἐκίχεις after ἐτίθεις), which were taken as aorists when the new present κιχάνω arose. Innovations are the them. aor. ἔκιχεν, etc. and sigmatic κιχήσατο, whence fut. κιχήσομαι (Il.). Doric created a different *s*-aorist in ἔκιξε. The form κιχάνω arose at a recent date after the analogy of φθάνω to ἔφθην, φθήσομαι; the nasal infix in κιγχάνω was modelled on λαμβάνω, etc., on which see Schwyzer: 688[5], 698, as well as Chantraine 1942: 300, 392, 415, 446.
Except for the reduplication vocalism, *κίχημι < PIE *$ǵ^{h}i$-$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$- corresponds nicely to Skt. *jáhāti* 'to leave (behind), abandon', Av. *zazāiti* 'to let go'; Skt. also has an old root aorist *ahās*. It is unclear whether the Gm. verb for 'go' belongs here: OHG, OE *gān*, ON *gá* (the same development of meaning is found in Skt. med.3sg. *jíhīte*, 3pl. *jíhate* 'to go on, go away'). Remote cognates from the same root are supposed in ►χάζομαι, ►χατέω, ►χήρα, ►χώρος. Ruijgh and Van Krimpen *Mnem.* 22 (1969): 113-136 read the older meaning 'to abandon' in Myc. *ke-ke-me-na* /k^{h}ek^{h}emenā/ 'deserted (land)'. They suggest that the transition in meaning occurred in sporting contests, where a runner reaches and leaves, i.e. passes, another runner. LIV[2] considers κιχάνω together with Arm. *gam* 'I come', OE *gān* 'to go', and the other Gm. words under *$g^{h}eh_{1}$- 'kommen, erreichen' (with plain velar because of Armenian). This seems less attractive than the connection with Indo-Iranian, which is formally and semantically impeccable.

κίχλη [f.] 'thrush' (χ 468); also name of a fish, a kind of wrasse (Epich., Arist.), because it changes its color with the seasons, like the thrush; see Strömberg 1943: 116. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Younger κίχλᾰ (Alex. Trall., Gp.), see Solmsen 1909: 260; Dor. κιχήλα (Epich. 157, Ar. *Nu.* 339). Cf. ἴχλα· κίχλα (H.). and ἴσκλαι = κίχλαι (H.).
•DER κιχλίζω [v.] 'to giggle, laugh' (Ar., Theoc., Herod.), κιχλισμός; κιχλιδ-ιάω [v.] 'to have a desire to giggle' (*Com. Adesp.* 1038; not quite certain).
•ETYM Hardly belongs to ►χελῑδών. A by-form is ἴχλα (H.); the initial variation points to a Pre-Greek word. See Thompson 1895 s.v. (also on the different names of the bird), as well as Fur.: 130 on κιχήλα.

κίχορα [n.pl.] 'chicory, Cichorium intybus' (Nic. *Al.* 429, where ῑ verse-initially). ◁?, PG?▷
•VAR κιχόρη [f.] (Thphr.), κιχόριον [n.] (Thphr., Dsc., Plin.), -ια [pl.] (Ar. *Fr.* 293), perhaps for -εια = Lat. *cichorēa* [pl.]?
•ETYM No etymology. See *DNP* s.v. *cichorie*, stating that the plant grows in the Mediterranean area. Is the word Pre-Greek? However, one type of chicory comes from Egypt.

κίχρημι [v.] 'to lend', med. 'to borrow from' (D., Plu.). ◁?▷
•VAR Impv.3sg. κιχρέτω, etc. (Delph. IV[a]), ἐσκιχρέμεν [inf.] (Thess. III[a]); also κίνχρητι 'gives an oracle' (Cret. II[a]), med. κίχραμαι (Thphr., Plu., *AP*), aor. χρῆσαι, χρήσασθαι and fut. χρήσω, -ομαι (IA), perf. κέχρηκα (Hell.), -ημαι (D.).
•COMP Rarely with prefix δια-, ἐπι-, ἐσ-.
•DER κίχρησις (Tz.).

•ETYM Like δίδημι next to δῆσαι, δήσω (see ►δέω 1), the presents κίχρημι, κίχραμαι arose as innovations of the aorist χρῆσαι and other sigmatic forms. We must start from a middle aorist χρήσασθαι with original mg. 'to use', from which a factitive active χρῆσαι 'to give in use' = 'borrow' was created; later, χρήσασθαι also came to mean 'to borrow from'. See ►χρη.

κίω [v.] 'to set in movement', intr. 'to start to move, move away' (Hom., A.). ◄IE **ǩeih₂-* 'set in movement'►

•VAR Present 2sg. κίεις (A. *Ch.* 680), further only preterite and non-indicative forms: ἔκιε (κίε), κίομεν, κίον, ipv. κίε, subj. κίῃς, opt. κίοι, ptc. κιών. With enlargement -θ-: μετ-εκίαθε, -ον 'followed after, visited' (Il.), with ī by metrical lengthening; for the vocalism cf. κίατο· ἐκινεῖτο 'moved (intr.)' (H.).

•ETYM Except for two occurences in Aeschylus, the verb is only epic. Originally a thematic root aorist, interpreted as an imperfect, κίε received incidental present forms (see Chantraine 1942: 392f.), and it came to serve as a metrical variant for the imperfect of εἶμι (Kölligan 2007: 162f.). The nasal present ►κίνυμαι, ►κινέω was felt to be closely connected with ►σεύω. On κια- < **kih₂-e-*, see on ►κῑνέω. Cf. Strunk 1967: 88, 100, 114. Outside Greek, the root is only found in Latin, which has a *to*-derivative *citus* 'quick', originally 'set in motion' (for which cf. *con-citus*, *solli-citus*, etc.), while the present *ciēre* (next to *(ac)cīre*) probably developed from a causative; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.

κῐ́ων, -ονος [m., f.] 'column, pillar', also metaph. (Od.); as a medical term 'cartiledge, wart' (Hp.). ◄IE **(s)ǩiHu-* 'shin, post'►

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer: 486, Schwyzer 1950: 37.

•COMP As a first member in κιονό-κρᾱνον 'capital of a column' (v.l. in Str. 4, 4, 6; D. S.) beside earlier and more usual κιό-κρᾱνον (Pl. Com., X., Delos III[a], etc.), by haplology. Further ἀκρο-, τετρα-, μετα-, προ-κιόν-ιον (Ph.).

•DER Diminutives κιόνιον (Ph. *Bel.*), -ίσκος (Hero, J.), -ίς 'uvula' (medic.).

•ETYM Identical with Arm. *siwn* 'column' < **ǩīwōn-*, which like Greek reflects an *n*-stem. One of the traditional exclusive correspondences between Greek and Armenian, but the word has now also been recognized in other branches (see Lubotsky *JAOS* 112 (2002)): Skt. *aṣṭhīvánt-* [m.] 'shank, shin'; YAv. *ascuua-* [m.] 'shank, shin' < **ascīua-* reflect a compound PIIr. **ast-(s)čiHua-* < QIE **h₃est-(s)kiHu-* 'shin-bone'; further, OE *scīa* [m.] 'shin, leg', *scinu* [f.] 'shin' and MHG *schīe* [f.] 'post', OHG *skena, skina* [f.] 'id.' can be traced back to a PGm. paradigm **skīō, *skinaz* (Kroonen 2009); finally, Balto-Slavic forms like Lith. *šeivà* [f.] 'spool, forearm, shin' and SCr. *cȉjev* 'tube, spool, shin-bone' point to PIE **ǩoiH-u-*, with depalatalization of the initial **ǩ-* due to the *s*-mobile. Note that WGm. **skinō* is reminiscent of the *n*-stem in Gr. and Arm.; still, the semantic shift to 'pillar' may point to a common development.

κλαγγή [f.] '(shrill) sound, cry of an animal, etc.' (Il.). ◄EUR?, ONOM?►

•VAR Also κλαγγόν 'id.' (Babr.); dat. also κλαγγ-ί (Ibyc. 56; see below).

•DER κλαγγηδόν 'accompanied by crying' (B 463), κλαγγώδης 'full of sound, shrill' (Hp., Gal.). Further κλάζω [v.] 'sound, resound, cry' (Il.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-,

ἐκ-; aor. κλάγξαι, also κλαγεῖν (B. 16, 127, *h. Hom.* 19, 14, E., et al.), fut. κλάγξω (A.), perf. κεκλήγοντες (Aeolizing) and κεκληγώς, -ῶτες (Hom.), see Chantraine 1942: 430f.; κέκλᾱγα (Alcm. 7), κέκλαγγα (Ar., X.), perfect future κεκλάγξομαι (Ar.). Isolated presents: κλαγγαίνω (A. *Eu.* 131), -άνω (S.), -έω (Theoc. *Ep.* 6, 5), -άζω (Poll., Porph.). To κλαγεῖν: κλαγερός 'crying' (*AP*).

•ETYM As a *yod*-present, κλάζω may derive from *κλάγγ-ɟω, from a root noun κλάγγ- seen in the dat. κλαγγ-ί (or is this an innovation?). However, perhaps we are dealing with a primary nasal present, which took -ζω from other sound-verbs (ὀλολύζω, οἰμώζω, etc.; cf. Schwyzer: 716). The non-presentic forms κλάγξαι, κλάγξω, κέκλαγγα are innovations in any case. κλαγγή functions as a verbal noun. It is possible that κλαγεῖν and κέκληγα are original primary forms without a nasal infix, but analogical innovation with loss of the nasal is possible too.

Material for comparison is provided by Lat. *clangō* 'to cry' (almost only present), which has a counterpart in ON *hlakka* 'to cry' (*kk* < **nk*). Note that a pre-form **klag-* is impossible (PIE did not have **a*, and **klh₂g-* would have resulted in Greek *κλᾰγ-). Schwyzer: 692 assumes expressive nasalization, but this does not help, as *κλᾰγ- cannot be explained in this way. Cf. Fur. 274.

Wrong analysis in Pok. 599 and LIV²; the alternations cannot be accounted for in an Indo-European framework. The root must have been adopted from a non-IE language. See ►κλώζω.

κλαδαρός [adj.] 'invalid, infirm', of δοράτια (Plb. 6, 25, 5; beside λεπτά), of κάμιακες (*AP* 9, 322 beside ἄκλαστοι; v.l. κλαμαραί), of γραμμὴ ζωηφόρος (in palmistry, *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 7, 241). ◄PG(V)►

•COMP As a first member in κλαδαρόρυγχος 'kind of peewit' (Ael., H.), κλαδαρόμματοι· εὔσεισται τὰ ὄμματα 'liable to shaking in the eyes (?)' (H.).

•DER Further κλαδάσαι· σεῖσαι, κλαδάει· σείει, κινεῖ 'shakes, moves' (H.); κλαδάσσομαι [v.] 'to rustle, bubble, vel sim.', of sweet blood (τέρεν αἷμα) through the members (Emp. 100, 22); but Lobeck 1843: 89⁹ corrects into κλυδάσσομαι; Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 224 assumes influence of ταράσσω.

•ETYM For the suffix, compare other expressions for 'invalid, weak', like πλαδαρός, ψαφαρός, χαλαρός, λαπαρός (Chantraine 1933: 227); κλαδαρός to κλαδάω is like πλαδαρός to πλαδάω, χαλαρός to χαλάω, etc. Ultimately, it might be related to ►κλάδος, as well as to ►κραδάω. The gloss κράδαλοι· κλάδοι 'branches' (H.) then suggests that these words are Pre-Greek, with interchange ρ/ λ.

κλάδος [m.] 'branch, twig, sprout' (IA, Arist., Thphr.). ◄PG?, IE? **kl̥do-* '(piece of) wood'►

•VAR Also a few cases of monosyllabic κλαδ- in κλαδ-ί, κλάδ-α, -ας, and of an *s*-stem in κλάδεσι, -έεσσι, -έων (perhaps after δένδρεσι).

•COMP ὀλιγό-κλαδος (Thphr.), κλαδο-τομέω (pap.).

•DER Diminutives κλάδιον (Lib., pap.) and κλαδίσκος (Gal.); κλαδεών (Orph.), κλαδών (H.) = κλάδος; κλαδώδης 'full of branches' (sch., Eust.), κλάδινος = *rameus* (gloss.). Denominative κλαδεύω [v.] 'to cut off branches, clip' (Artem., -έω Arr.), whence κλάδευσις (Aq., Sm., Gp.), κλαδεία (Gp.) 'cutting off branches, clipping',

κλαδευτήρια [pl.] 'pruned leaves' (gloss.), κλαδευτής 'pruner' (gloss.), κλαδευτήριον, -ια 'pruning knife, pruning festival' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with **kelh₂-* 'to hit, cut off' (see ►κλάω) cannot explain the Greek form, which presupposes a root **kld-*. Connection with the Germanic word for 'wood', ON OE *holt* [n.], etc., to which also belongs the Slav. group of CS *klada*, Ru. *kolóda* 'log, block of wood', suggests itself. However, it may be accidental that all forms can be derived from **kl̥do-*, since κλάδος can also be connected within Greek with ►κραδάω, which points to an interchange ρ/ λ and therefore to substrate origin. Kuiper 1956: 121f connected κλάδος with ►κλών, κλῶναξ, with nasalization (replacement of a stop by the nasal of that series) of the δ; cf. κλῶναξ· κλάδος (H.). Lat. *clādēs* 'destruction, etc.' requires **klh₂-dʰeh₁-* and is therefore unrelated.

Independent of κλάδος is the δ-formation of ►κλαδαρός 'invalid'; further, καλαδία· ἑυκάνη 'plane' (H.; LSJ and Frisk s.v. give ῥυκάνη 'plane-tree', but this lemma does not exist), with different ablaut grade.

κλάζω 'to sound'. ⇒κλαγγή.

κλαίω [v.] 'to lament, bewail, weep over' (Il.). ◅IE?, PG? **klau-* 'weep'▻

•VAR Att. also κλᾶω, aor. κλαῦσαι (Il.), pass. κλαυ(σ)θῆναι (Lyc., J.), fut. κλαύσομαι (Il.), κλαύσω (Theoc.), κλα(ι)ήσω (Att.; cf. Chantraine *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 15), perhaps also κλαυσούμιεθα (Ar. *Pax* 1081; cf. Schwyzer: 786), perf. κέκλαυμαι (A., S.), -σμαι (Lyl., Plu.), fut. κεκλαύσομαι (Ar.).

•COMP Rarely with prefixes, e.g. μετα-, συν-.

•DER 1. κλαυθμός 'weeping' (Il.), with several derivatives: κλαυθμιώδης 'broken as if by weeping' (Hp.), κλαυθμηρός 'weeping' (sch.), κλαυθμιών 'place for weeping' (LXX); κλαυθμυρίζομαι, -ίζω [v.] 'to moan' (Hp., [Pl.] *Ax.*), a cross of κλαυθμός and μύρομαι, with suffixation after the verbs in -ίζομαι (cf. Schwyzer: 644), to which κλαυθμυρισμός (Is., Plu.). 2. κλαύματα [n.pl.] 'moaning, lamenting' (Att.), κλαύσματα (Porph.). 3. κλαυμοναί [f.pl.] 'id.' (Pl. *Lg.* 792a; acc. to Stob. κλαυθμοναί), cf. πημοναί. 4. κλαῦσις 'weeping' (Hell.), whence κλαυσιάω [v.] 'to long to weep' (Ar. *Pl.* 1099), κλαυσί-γελως [m.] 'weeping combined with laughing' (X.). 5. κλαυστήρ 'crier' (Man.) and κλαυστικός (Apoll. *Lex.*); κλαυ(σ)τός (A., S.). Highly uncertain is the present κλαύθονται (*PTeb.* 3, 7; epigram), perhaps an ad-hoc poetic formation, cf. Schwyzer 703.

•ETYM The present derives from *κλάϝ-ι̯ω, as is obvious from κλαύ-σομαι, κλαυθμός, etc. Alb. *klan, qan* 'to weep' from **klau-n-i̯ō*, with a combination of nasal and *yod*-suffix, is the only comparison that suggests itself; cf. Mann *Lang.* 26 (1950): 381. If the word is IE, we may mechanically reconstruct **kleh₂u-*. However, since there is no further connection with any IE language, the word could be Pre-Greek.

κλαμαράν [acc.sg.f.]? · πλαδαράν, ἀσθενῆ 'weak, feeble' (H.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also κλαμαραί as a v.l. for κλαδαραί (*AP* 9, 322).

•ETYM Belonging to the same semantic group as ►κλαδαρός, κλαμαρός has the appearance of an expressive innovation. The comparison with Skt. *klā́myati* 'to get tired' and other words mentioned in Pok. 602f. is not very attractive.

κλαμβός [adj.] 'cocked, cropped' (of ὦτα, Hippiatr.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM Formation like κολοβός 'id.', σκαμβός 'crooked', etc. (Chantraine 1933: 261). The similarity with Lith. *klumbas* 'limping, stumbling' (to *klùbti* 'to stumble'), OE *lempi-healt* 'limping', which Specht 1944: 130f. connected wih κλαμβός, is probably accidental. The word is typically Pre-Greek; cf. on ▸σκαμβός.

κλαμυστῆσαι [v.] · βοῆσαι, καλέσαι 'to cry aloud, call' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM The formation in -υσ-τέω could be denominative from -υστός, ppp. to *κλαμύζω, which would be formed like κελαρύζω, γογγύζω, etc. This form was connected with Lat. *clāmāre* 'to call loudly, cry', OHG *hlamōn* 'to rustle', but this is not possible since the Greek α is short. The word looks rather Pre-Greek.

κλανίον [n.] 'bracelet' (pap. imperial period). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also κλάνιον, κλάλιον (after ψέλιον? rejected by Fur. 131[60]); κλανία· ψέλια βραχιόνων 'bracelets for the arms', also κλαρ<ί>α· ψέλια 'armlets or anklets' (H.), probably by dissimilation. Cf. χλανίαι· περιβολαί 'garment' (Fur. 131 objects that this word belongs rather to χλανίς) and χλανίτιδες· οἱ ὅρμοι παρθένων 'maidens' necklaces' (H.).
•ETYM Connection with ▸κλάω seems improbable, in spite of κλαστός 'frizzly head', ἐγκλαστρίδια 'earring'. The forms with χ- have been explained away by assuming association with χλανίς 'upper garment', but see Fur. 131, who argues that χλανίτιδες cannot be explained in any such way. The variation between voiceless and aspirate shows the Pre-Greek origin of the word. Fur. 388 further compares πλανίς· τὸ τῆς νύμφης χρυσοῦν διάδημα 'golden headband of the bride' (H.).

κλάπαι [f.pl.] 'wooden shoes' (D. C. 77, 4, Suid.); also euphemistically 'stick', as a means of punishment (sch., Tz.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also -οι [m.pl.].
•ETYM No etymology. Perhaps sound-symbolic, after the clattering?

κλᾰ́ω [v.] 'to break (off)' (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR ἐνι-κλᾶν, κατ-έκλων (Il.), aor. κλάσ(σ)αι, pass. κλασθῆναι (Il.), athem. ptc. ἀπο-κλᾰ́ς (Anacr. 17), fut. κλάσω, perf. pass. κέκλασμαι (IA).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, περι-, συν-.
•DER κλάσις 'breaking' (IA), κλάσμα 'broken piece' (Att.) with κλασμάτιον (Delos III[a]), ἀνα-κλασμός 'bending back' (Heliod.), κλάστης· ἀμπελουργός 'vine-dresser' (H.), also ὀστο-κλάστης (Cyran.), etc., κλαστήριον 'knife for clipping the vine' (Delos II[a]); secondarily κλαστάζω [v.] 'to clip the vine', metaph. 'to chastize' (Ar. *Eq.* 166). On ▸κλών, κλωνός [m.] 'sprout' (Att.), see s.v.; on κλῶμαξ, ἀπόκλωμα see below. With different ablaut grade: ▸κλῆμα 'twig, tendril of the vine', ▸κλῆρος (κλᾶρος) 'lot', ▸κλῶμαξ 'heap of stones', ἀπόκλωμα. ἀπολογία ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον 'defense on behalf of an inferior' (H.). Very doubtful is the appurtenance of Κλαζομεναί TN (Anatolia), which acc. to Fraenkel *KZ* 42 (1909): 256; Fraenkel *KZ* 43 (1910): 216 would be a "place where the waves break" (just fantasy).
•ETYM The verbal system is based on **kla(s)-* and may be the result of analogical developments. There is an IE root **kelh₂-* 'to hit, strike' (LIV² s.v.), to which belong

Lith. *kálti*, 1sg. *kalù* 'to beat', Latv. *kaĺt* 'id.', OCS *klati*, 1sg. *koljǫ* 'to kill', Ru. *kolót'* 'to prick, stab', which point to Proto-BSl. **kolH-*, as well as Lat. *-cellō* 'to hit' < **-k(e)l-n-h₂-* (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). LIV² states that ἀποκλᾶς may have been built on the generalized stem **klā-* and replaced older athematic **kalant-* < **klh₂-ent-* (cf. ταλαντ-), but there are no indications for this within Greek, so it should be rejected. It is unclear how we can derive any of the above forms from a root **kelh₂-*. Chantraine 1942: 354 considers the present κλάω to be secondary as opposed to the aorist κλάσαι. The passive aorist κλασθῆναι seems to suggest a root **klad-* (Schwyzer: 761), but analogical extension of the aorist stem κλασ- is more likely (Chantraine 1942: 404f.). Since there is no good etymology, the verb may well be Pre-Greek. See ►κλαδαρός, ►κλάδος, ►κόλος.

κλεινός 'famous'. ⇒κλέος.

κλείς [f.] 'bar, bolt' (secondarily 'rowing bench', Leumann 1950: 209), 'hook, key, collar bone' (Att.). ◁IE **kleh₂u-* 'lock'▷

•VAR Gen. κλειδός, acc. κλεῖν (late κλεῖδα), older κλῄς, κληδός, κλῆδα (on the notation Schwyzer: 201f.), epic Ion. κληῖς, -ῖδος, -ῖδα, Dor. κλᾱῖς, -ῖδος beside -ίδος (Simon., Pi.; perhaps Aeol., cf. Schwyzer: 465); also κλᾰ́ξ (Theoc.), gen. κλαικος, acc. -κα (Epid., Mess.).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* /klāwi-pʰoros/.

•COMP κλειδ-οῦχος (or κληδ-) [m., f.] 'key-holder' (inscr.), κατα-κλείς, -κληῖς 'lock, case, quiver' (Att.), from κατα-κλείω.

•DER Diminutives κλειδίον (Ar., Arist.); κλειδᾶς [m.] 'locksmith' (pap., inscr., imperial period); late denominative κλειδόω (Smyrna, pap.), whence κλείδωσις (sch.), -ωμα (Suid.).

Old denominative κλείω [v.] 'to shut, block' (often with prefix, especially ἀπο-, κατα-, συν-), OAtt. κλῄω, Ion. κληῖω (Hdt.), late κλῄζω (*Hymn. Is.*, *AP*), Theoc. κλᾰ́ζω, aor. epic Ion. κληῖσαι, κληΐσσαι (Od.), OAtt. κλῆσαι, Att. κλεῖσαι, pass. κληϊσθῆναι (Ion.), κλησθῆναι, κλεισθῆναι (Att.), κλᾰσθῆναι (Theoc.), fut. κλήσω (Th.), κλείσω, perf. κέκληκα (Ar.), κέκλεικα (Hell.), med. κέκλημαι (-ήϊμαι), κέκλειμαι, Dor. κέκλᾰνται (Epich.); after this Dor. aor. κλαῖξαι, κλᾰ̃ξαι, pass. κλαιχθείς, fut. κλᾰξῶ (Theoc., Rhod.), backformed present ποτι-κλᾰ́γω (Heracl.). Thence κλήϊθρον, κλῆθρον, κλεῖθρον, κλᾶθρον 'lock, block' (IA, *h. Merc.* 146, Dor.), κλειθρίον (Hero), κλειθρία 'keyhole' (Luc.), κλάϊστρον (Pi.), κλεῖστρον (Luc.) 'lock', κλῆσις, κλεῖσις (Th., Aen. Tact.), κλεῖσμα, κλεισμός (Hell.); also ἀπόκλησις, etc. from ἀπο-κλείω, etc.; verbal adj. κληϊστός, κλῃστός, κλειστός (epic IA), κλαικτός (κλᾰκτός) 'what can be locked' (Argiv., Mess.). On κλεισίον see ►κλίνω.

•ETYM IA κλη(ϝ)ῑ-δ- and Dor. κλᾱ(ϝ)ῑ-κ- are enlargements of an ī-stem that is still found in denominative κληῖω. Att. κλεῖν can be explained as analogical to κλείς < κλῄς (after ναῦς: ναῦν, etc.). A corresponding formation is found in Lat. *clāvus* 'nail, pin', next to *clāvis* 'key, block', with the same meaning as the derivation κληῖς. The Latin forms presuppose an old root noun **kleh₂u-*, while Greek made an ī-stem **kleh₂u-iH-*, just as κνημῑ-δ- is based on κνήμη, and χειρῑ-δ- on χείρ (cf. Chantraine 1933: 346f.). Further, there is a Celtic group, perhaps borrowed from Latin, or simply

inherited (which is equally possible): OIr. *cló*, plur. *clói* 'nail', MW *clo* [m.] 'lock, bolt'. Slavic has a number of words pointing to **kleu-*, which has to replace **klaHu-*: OCS *ključь* 'key', SCr. *ključka* 'hook, key, clamp', etc. The original meaning of the word was probably 'nail, pin, hook', instruments that were traditionally used for locking doors.

κλεισίον 'hut, shed'. ⇒ κλίνω.

κλειτορίς, -ίδος [f.] 'clitoris' (Ruf., H., Suid.). ◁IE **klei-* 'lean'▷

•DER κλειτοριάζω [v.] 'to touch the clitoris' (id.).

•ETYM A medical term, formed like ἀλεκτορίς from ἀλέκτωρ, ἀκεστορίς from ἀκέστωρ, etc. We may assume an original meaning "small hill", from *κλείτωρ 'hill' (known as the name of an Arcadian town), a verbal noun from ▶κλίνω 'to lean, incline'. For the semantics, cf. κλειτύς 'slope, hill', Lat. *clīvus* 'hill'. See Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 201; also, Schwyzer: 531[2] and Benveniste 1948: 34.

κλειτός 'famous'. ⇒ κλύω.

κλείω 1 'to celebrate'. ⇒ κλέος.

κλείω 2 'to lock'. ⇒ κλείς.

κλεμμύς, -ύος [f.] 'turtle' (Ant. Lib. 32, 2, H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM The formation is similar to that of synonymous χέλυς, ἐμύς. Probably a foreign word; speculations in Frisk about folk-etymological adaptation to κλέμμα, κλέπτω 'to conceal', because turtles can hide their body under their shell. Acc. to Güntert 1914: 144, it is a cross of ἐμύς and unattested *κλωμός, which would correspond to Skt. *kūrmá-* 'turtle', with -μμ- from κλέμμα. This is too far-fetched. Fur.: 131 compares κρέμυς 'a fish with a hard head' and χρέμυς· ὁ ὀνίσκος ἰχθύς 'kind of gadus or cod' (H.); these variants confirm that the word is Pre-Greek. On geminates in substrate words, see Fur.: 387, where this word can be added.

κλέος [n.] 'rumour, fame, renown, reputation' (Il.). ◁IE **kleu-s-* 'word, fame'▷

•VAR Phoc. κλέϝος.

•COMP Especially in PNs, e.g. Κλεο-μένης (shortname Κλέομ(μ)ις), with transition to the *o*-stems, beside Κλει-σθένης (from *Κλεϝεσ- or *Κλεϝι-σθένης), Τιμο-κλέϝης (Cypr.), etc.; see Fick & Bechtel 1894: 162ff., Bechtel 1917b: 238ff.; on -κλέας for -κλέης in Thess., etc. see Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 37.

•DER Adjective κλεινός, Aeol. κλέεννος (< *κλεϝεσ-νός) 'famous' (Sol., Pi.), with PN Κλεινίας, etc. Enlargement after the nouns in -(η)δών (cf. Schwyzer: 529f., Chantraine 1933: 361): κληδών, -όνος [f.] (Od.), κλῃδών (δ 312; metrical lengthening), κλῃδών (Hdt., trag.) 'fame, (divine) pronouncement', by contraction or adaptation to κλῄζω, κικλῄσκω; thence κληδόνιος (sch., Eust.), κληδονίζομαι, -ίζω [v.] (LXX), -ισμα, -ισμός.

Denominative verbs: 1. κλείω (Il.), κλέω (B., trag. [lyr.]) [v.] 'to celebrate, praise, proclaim', Hell. also 'to call' (after κλῄζω, see below), κλέομαι 'to enjoy fame, be celebrated' (Ω 202), Hell. also 'to be called'; mostly derived from *κλεϝεσ-ι̯ω > *κλε(ϝ)έω, whence κλείω, κλέω by hyphaeresis; but see Frisk *GHÅ* 56 : 3 (1950): 3ff.,

discussing the possibility that κλέω (whence, only in epic poetry, κλείω by metrical lengthening) is a back-formation of κλέος after ψεύδω : ψεῦδος. Alternatively, κλέω, κλέομαι would be an old primary formation **ḱleu-e/o-*, see Chantraine 1942: 346[3] and DELG. From κλείω, κλέω as an agent noun: Κλειώ, Κλεώ, -οῦς [f.] "she who gives fame", name of one of the Muses (Hdt., Pi.). 2. κλεΐζω [v.] (Pi.) 'to celebrate, praise, proclaim', also 'to call' (after κικλήσκω, καλέω; thence the notation κλη-), also εὐκλεΐζω from εὐκλεής (Sapph., Tyrt.); forms: κληΐζω (Hp., Hell.), κλῄζω (Ar.), aor. κλεΐξαι or κληΐσαι, κλῆσαι, κλεῖσαι, fut. κλεΐξω, κληΐσω, κλήσω, etc.; probably from a basis *κλεϝεσ-ίζω with hyphaeresis.

•ETYM Old *s*-stem of the root **ḱleu-* 'hear', found in several languages: Skt. *śrávas-* [n.] 'fame' (κλέος ἄφθιτον: *ákṣiti śrávaḥ*), Av. *srauuah-* [n.] 'word', OCS *slovo* [n.] 'word'; also, OIr. *clú* and ToA (*ñom*)*-klyu*, ToB (*ñem*)*-kälywe* 'fame', Illyr. PN *Vescleves* (= Skt. *vásu-śravas-* 'having good fame'; cf. Εὐ-κλῆς). The denominative κλε(ί)ω, if from *κλεϝεσ-ιω, corresponds to Skt. *śravasyáti* 'to praise', and may therefore be old. Further forms s.v. ►κλύω.

κλέπας [adj.] · νοτερόν, πηλῶδες, ἢ δασύ, ἢ ὑγρόν 'moist, muddy or clayey, bushy, wet' (H.). ◂?▸

•VAR κλέπος· ὑψηλόν, νοτερόν, δασύ 'high, moist, bushy' (H.).

•ETYM The meaning νοτερόν suggests connection with OIr. *cluain* 'meadow' and the Baltic group of Lith. *šlàpti* 'to become wet'. Acc. to Matasović 2008, PIE **ḱlopni-* would have regularly given PCl. **klowni-*. Still, the formation of the Greek gloss does not match that of the proposed cognates, which makes the etymology uncertain.

κλέπτω [v.] 'to steal, conceal, do secretly, cheat, deceive' (Il.). ◂IE **klep-* 'steal'▸

•VAR Aor. κλέψαι (Il.), pass. κλεφθῆναι (Hdt., E.), κλαπῆναι (Th., Pl.), ptc. κλεπείς (pap. II[p]), fut. κλέψω (*h. Merc.*), perf. κέκλοφα (Att.), ptc. κεκλεβώς (Andania I[a], but cf. Schwyzer: 722), med. κέκλεμμαι (S.), κέκλαμμαι (Ar.).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἀπο-, ἐκ-, δια-, ὑπο-. As a second member in βοῦ-κλεψ (S. *fr.* 318), as a first member in governing compounds, e.g. κλεψί-φρων 'guileful' (of Hermes, *h. Merc.*); from κλέψαι, cf. Knecht 1946: 38, Zumbach 1955: 21; on ►κλεψύδρα s.v.

•DER A. With ε-vocalism: κλέπος [n.] 'theft' (Sol. *apud* Poll. 8, 34). 2. κλέμμα 'theft, deceit, ruse of war' (Att.), κλεμμάδιος 'stolen' (Pl.), after ἀμφάδιος, κρυπτάδιος, see Chantraine 1933: 39. 3. κλεπία· κλοπή 'theft' (Phot.). 4. κλέπτης [m.] 'thief' (Il.), superl. κλεπτίστατος (Ar.), see Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 10ff. Diminutive κλεπτίσκος (Eup.), -τάριον (Charis.), jocular patronymic κλεπτίδης (Pherecr.); fem. κλέπτις (Alciphr.), κλέπτρια (Sotad. Com.), formally from κλεπτήρ, see Fraenkel 1910: 75; κλεπτικός [adj.] 'thievish' (Pl., Luc.); κλεπτο-σύνη 'thievishness' (τ 396, Man.). 5. κλεπτήρ 'thief' (Man.). 6. κλέπιμος 'smuggled' (pap. III[a]), hardly to the rare word κλέπος, as per Arbenz 1933: 100, but rather from κλόπιμος with ε from κλέπτω; 7. κλεψιμαῖος 'acquired by theft' (LXX), a juridical term.

B. With o-vocalsim: 1. κλοπή 'theft, secret act' (trag., Att.), κλοπαῖος 'acquired by theft' (Att.), κλόπιμος 'id., thievish' (Ps.-Phoc.), -ιμαῖος = κλεψιμαῖος (Luc., Ant. Lib.), see above; κλοπικός 'thievish' (of Hermes, Pl. *Cra.* 407e; cf. Chantraine 1956a:

142); ἐπί-κλοπος 'deceitful' (Il.), ἐπικλοπίη (Nonn.); Ἐπικλόπειος epithet of Zeus (H.); on ὑπό-κλοπος see below. 2. κλοπός 'thief' (*h. Merc.* 276, Opp.), κλόπιος 'deceitful, thievish' (ν 295, *AP*, *APl.*). 3. κλοπεύς 'thief, secret author' (S.), κλοπεύω [v.] 'to plunder' (App.), κλοπεία (Str.; v.l. -ω-), -εῖον 'stolen good' (Max.). 4. iterative present ὑπο-κλοπέοιτο 'to hide' (χ 382), cf. ὑπο-κλέπτειν (Pi.), ὑπό-κλοπος 'deceitful, false' (B.) and Schwyzer 1950: 524.

C. With ω-vocalism 1. κλώψ 'thief' (Hdt., E., X.), whence κλωπικός 'secretly' (E. *Rh.* 205 and 512), see Chantraine 1956a: 119, κλωπῇϊος 'id.' (A. R., Max.), κλωπεύω [v.] (X., Luc.), -εία (Att.); 2. iterative present κλωπάομαι = κλέπτομαι (H.).

•ETYM Not related to ▸καλύπτω. The *s*-aorist κλέψαι is paralleled by Lat. *clepsī*, but κλέπτω is probably recent for an older thematic root present found in Lat. *clepō*, Go. *hlifan* 'to steal', although a pre-form **klép-ie/o-* is also presupposed by the ToB subj. *kälyp-* 'to steal' (acc. to Adams 1999 s.v.). Isolated nominal derivatives may have been preserved in MIr. *cluain* 'deceit, flattery' < **klop-ni-* and Slavic, e.g. CS *po-klopъ* 'cover', *za-klepъ* 'closure'. With a different anlaut, there is Lith. *slẽpti* 'to conceal', 1sg. *slepiù*, perhaps from **skl-*, or alternatively influenced by other words with *sl-*; the root was preserved in Baltic, as shown by OPr. *au-klipts* 'concealed'. It is possible that **klep-* 'to steal' is a special development in the Western languages of a root **klep-* that is probably found in ToB *klep-* 'to grab, touch with the hand' and *kälp-* 'to get, obtain'; see Adams *KZ* 102 (1989): 242-3.

κλεψύδρα [f.] 'water clock', constructed like a sandglass (IA). ◂GR▸

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•ETYM A governing compound from κλέψαι (κλεψι-) and ὕδωρ, with zero grade of the second member (as in ἄνυδρος, etc.) and derivation in -α (on which see Schwyzer: 452).

κλέω 'to celebrate, call'. ⇒κλέος.

κληδών 'fame, call'. ⇒κλέος.

κλήθρα [f.] 'alder, Alnus glutinosa' (Od., Thphr.). ◂?▸

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DER κλήθρινος 'of alder' (Ath. Mech.).

•ETYM It has been connected with MoHG (dial.) *lutter*, *ludere*, *ludern* 'Alpine alder, Betula nana', as if from QIE **klād^{h}rā-*. Cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 259, who comments on other IE names of the alder. Unclear.

κληΐζω 1 'to lock'. •VAR κληΐζω. ⇒κλείς.

κληΐζω 2 'to celebrate, call'. •VAR κληΐζω. ⇒κλέος.

κλῆμα [n.] 'twig, sprout, tendril (of the vine)' (IA); also as a plant name 'Polygonum aviculare' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1937: 184). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Aeol. κλᾶμμα (Alc.), with geminate μ, see Hamm 1957: §73c). Inscr. κλαμα [n.] 'fragment, κλάσμα' (Aigina V^{a}), rather κλᾶμα than κλάμα.

•DER κληματίς, -ίδος [f.] 'twig of the vine, faggot' (IA), also name of several plants, like 'Clematis vitalba' (Dsc.); κληματῖτις [f.] plant name (Dsc.); κλημάτινος

'consisting of (vine-)twigs' (Thgn.), κληματόεις 'id.' (Nic.), κληματώδης 'full of twigs, like vine-branches' (Dsc., Gal.), κληματικός 'belonging to a vine-branch' (gloss.). Denominative verbs: κληματόομαι [v.] 'sprouting' (S., Thphr.), κληματίζω [v.] 'to clip vines' (LXX).

•ETYM Connected with ►κλάω, but the meaning 'break' does not fit a sprout. For κλάω, we do not find evidence for a long α, and must conclude that this verb is rather of Pre-Greek origin. The form κλάσμα may rather belong to κλάω. Cf. on ►κλῆρος.

κλῆρος [m.] 'lot, allotment, inheritance, piece of ground' (Il.), '(Christian) clergy' (Just.). ⧼PG?⧽

•VAR Dor. κλᾶρος.

•COMP κληρο-νόμος 'heir' (IA; Dor. also κλᾶρο-), whence -νομέω, -νομία, -νομικός, etc.; ἄ-κληρος 'without lot, without inheritance, poor' (λ 490); but ναύ-κληρος, -κλᾶρος arose by dissimilation from ναύκρᾱρος (s.v. ►ναύκληρος). One also derived ὁλό-κληρος 'complete' (IA) from *ὁλό-κρᾱρος (Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1943): 174ff.), but it was rather derived from the present entry, see den Boer *Mnem.* 3:13: 143f.

•DER Diminutives κληρίον (*AP*, pap.), Dor. κλᾱρίον 'notes for debt' (Plu. *Agis* 13); κληρικός [adj.] 'belonging to the κλῆρος' (Vett. Val.); denominative verb κληρόω, κλᾱρόω [v.] 'to cast lots, choose by lot', med. 'to draw lots, obtain by lot' (IA, Dor.), whence κλήρωσις 'election by lot', κληρωτήριον 'urn for casting lots, room for voting', κληρωτός 'who is elected by lot' (IA).

•ETYM Originallly a shard of stone or a piece of wood that was used as a lot. Formally identical with a Celtic word for 'plank, etc.': OIr. *clár*, OW *claur*; also, as an expression of the cartwright Bret. *kleur* 'pitch-fork of a wagon'. However, the relationship is doubtful for semantic reasons. The word is usually connected with ►κλάω 'to break off', with the same ablaut grade as in ►κλῆμα, but see doubts s.v.

κλῆσις 'call'. •VAR κλητήρ, κλήτωρ 'herald, witness', etc. ⇒καλέω.

κλῑ́βανος [m.] 'baker's oven', properly an earthenware or iron pot, less wide on top and provided with air holes, in which bread was baked; metaph. of comparable objects, e.g. 'pot for drawing water, rock hole, etc.' (Hdt., Epich., LXX, pap., NT). ⧼PG?(V)⧽

•VAR Also κρίβανος [m.] (com.), κρίβανον [n.] (Str., Ael.), probably with λ > ρ, see Schwyzer: 259.

•DER Mostly from κλιβ-: κλιβάνιος, -ικός 'of the baker's oven' (pap.), -ιον 'oven for baking' (pap.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread baked in a κ.' (com.), κριβανωτός '(bread) baked in an oven' (Alcm. 20, Ar.), κριβάνας· πλακοῦντάς τινας 'flat cakes' (H.); κλιβανεύς 'baker', -εῖον 'bakery' (pap.). Hypostasis ἐπικλιβάνιος (θεά) 'ruling over the oven' (Carneades). κλιβανάριος (IV^{p}) is from Lat. *clībanārius* (thus Frisk; short *i* acc. to DELG) 'armored knight', and may derive from the soldiers' language, or perhaps it is after Aram. *tanûr* 'oven, armor', cf. Schwyzer: 39. Acc. to Rundgren *Orientalia Suecana* 6 (1957): 49f., the Latin word has nothing to do with the Greek group, but derives from MP *grībān* 'coat of arms' (comparing *grīva-pāna-* 'neck-protector').

•ETYM A technical loan in -ανος (see Chantraine 1933: 200 and Schwyzer: 489f.), of unknown origin. Unconvincing proposals: Walde 1910 s.v. *lībum* suggested connection with the Germanic word for 'loaf of bread', Go. *hlaifs*, etc., as a loan from the north; Lewy 1895: 105f. proposed Semitic origin. It is unknown whether ρ or λ is original; Fur.: 387 lists the words among examples of the interchange of ρ and λ in Pre-Greek words. Substrate origin is probable.

κλῑ́νω [v.] 'to bend, incline, lean on, sink' (Il.). ◂IE **klei-* 'lean'▸

•VAR Aor. κλῖναι (Il.), pass. κλιθῆναι (Od.), κλινθῆναι (Il.); see Chantraine 1942: 404², Schwyzer: 761; also κλινῆναι (Att.), probably for *κλι-ῆναι, see Schwyzer 760; fut. κλῑ́νῶ (Att.), perf. med. κέκλῖμαι (Il.), to which act. κέκλῖκα (Plb.).

•DIAL Myc. *ki-ri-ta-de*, /klitās-de/ [acc.pl.], *ki-ri-ta-i* /klitā^{h}i/ [dat.-loc.pl.], see Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 68 (1990): 167.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. άνα-, κατα-, παρα-, ἐν-, άπο-.

•DER 1. From the root with suffix -δ-: ▸δικλίδες [f.] 'two-winged [doors]', ἐγκλίς· ἡ καγκελλωτὴ θύρα 'railed door' (*EM*); παρα-, ἐγ-κλιδόν 'turning aside, inclining' (Od.). 2. From a prefixed present, with ending after the *s*-stems (Schwyzer: 513): κατα-, ἐπι-, άπο-, ἐκ-, συγ-κλινής, etc. 'bending downwards, slanting, etc.' (Hp., A.), to which ἐπικλίν-εια (Heliol. Med.), συγκλιν-ίαι [pl.] (Plu.). 3. Compounds with suffix -τη-: παρα-, συγ-κλί-της 'who lies beside or together [at the table]' (X., Plu.), ἐπι-κλίν-της 'moving to the side' (Arist.). 4. κλειτῦς (also κλῑτύς after κλῑ́νω), -ύος [f.] 'slope, hill' (Il.), on the notation see Schwyzer: 506⁷). 5. κλεῖτος [n.] (A. R. 1, 599), κλῖ́τος [n.] (Lyc., LXX, *AP*) 'slope, side'. 6. κλίσις, mostly in prefixed compounds, e.g. άνά-, κατά-, άπό-κλισις 'leaning back, etc.' (IA). 7. κλίμα [n.] 'inclination, slope, quarter, land' (with Hell. ῐ for ει, see Schwyzer: 523), also ἔγκλι-μα, etc. (Arist.); thence κλιματίας 'inclining' (Heraclit., Amm. Marc.), κλιματικός 'belonging to a given compass point' (Vett. Val.). 8. κλῖμαξ, -ακος [f.] 'staircase, ladder, climax, etc.' (Od.), whence κλιμάκιον (IA), -ίς (Att. inscr., Hell.), κλιμακίσκοι· πάλαισμα ποιόν 'a kind of grip in wrestling' (H.); κλιμακίζω [v.] 'to use the grip called κλῖμαξ in fighting', metaph. 'to bring down' (Att.); κλιμακωτός (Plb.), -ώδης (Str.) 'like a stairway'; also κλιμακ-τήρ 'rung of a ladder' (IA), 'critical point of a man's life' (Varro), to which κλιμακτηρικός, -τηρίζω (Gell., Vett. Val.); on the formation of κλῖμαξ (with ῑ from κλῑ́νω analogical for *κλεῖ-μα) Rodriguez Adrados *Emerita* 16 (1948): 133ff.; on κλιμακτήρ Chantraine 1933: 327f. 9. κλισμός 'armchair' (Il., Ion. poet.), whence κλισμίον, -άκιον (inscr., Call.), 'inclination, slope' (Arist.). 10. άνά-κλιθρον 'back of a chair' (Ptol.). 11. κλίτα· στοαί 'roofed colonnade, storehouse', κλίταν (καὶ τάν cod.)· στοάν (H.), originally "leaning"; thence κλισία, Ion. -ίη 'pile dwelling, barracks, chapel; armchair, resting place, tomb' (Il.), κλίσιον 'annex, stoa' (ω 208, Delos III[a]), 'annex, shed, chapel' (Lys., Paus.); often written κλεισίον (inscr.), also κλεισία [f.] 'tavern' (epic), perhaps by adaptation to κλείω 'to lock'; thence κλεισιάδες (θύραι) 'doors of the κλ(ε)ισία, of the κλ(ε)ισίον' (Hdt., Ph., D. H., Plu.); details on κλισίη in Frisk *Eranos* 41 (1943): 59ff., Scheller 1951: 61. 12. (ἐγ-, ἐκ-)κλιτικός 'inflecting, etc.' (gramm.); to (ἔγ-, ἔκ-)κλισις. From the present: 13. κλίνη 'layer, bed, litter' (IA), cf. Chantraine 1933: 192, whence κλινίς, -ίδιον, -ίον, -άριον (com.), κλίνειος 'belonging to a κλίνη' (D.), -ήρης 'censorius' (Ph., J.); as a

second member in σύγ-κλινος 'bedfellow' (Men.). 14. κλιντήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'id.' (Od.), whence κλιντήριον, -ίδιον, -ίσκος (Ar.), ἀνακλιν-τήρ 'neighbour at table' (Ps.-Callisth.); παρακλίν-τωρ 'id.' (*AP*); ἀνά-, ἐπί-κλιν-τρον 'back of a chair, etc.' (Erot. in Poll., Ar., inscr., etc.).

•ETYM The *yod*-present κλῑ́νω < **klin-je/o-* (a Greek innovation) goes back to an older nasal present, which is found in various forms: Lat. *clīnāre* 'to bend', Gm., e.g. OS *hlinōn*, OHG *hlinēn* > MoHG *lehnen* 'to lean', Balt., e.g. Latv. *slìet*, 1sg. *slìenu*, Eastern Lith. *šliñti*, 1sg. *šlinù* 'to lean', Av. *srinu-*, ptc. *srita-* 'to lean' (Arm. *linim* 'to become, be', given by Frisk, is now derived from **k^{w}el(h$_1$)-* 'to turn').

On the question of what the original form of the nasal present was (**ḱli-n-eH-*, **ḱl-n-i-*, vel sim.), see LIV^{2} s.v. Indo-Iranian and Baltic have a thematic root present, Skt. *śrayati* = OLith. (also dialectal) *šlejù* 'to lean'. The nasal, which was originally only presentic, conquered the entire inflexion in Latin and Germanic, but did not reach the perfect in Greek (κέκλιται; cf. Skt. *śiśriyé*). The Greek nominal derivations are innovations except for the following: the *to*-ptc. (ἄ)-κλιτος = Skt. *śritá-*, Av. *srita-* 'leaning', κλίσις which is formally equal to Lith. *šlitìs* 'shove-shed', κλίτον, which matches OHG *lit* 'cover' and MoE *eye-lid*. The full grade of κλει-τύς is found, e.g., in ON *hlíð* [f.] 'slope'.

κλοιός [m.] 'collar for dogs, iron collar for prisoners' (com., E. *Cyc.*, X., Babr.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also κλῳός (Ar. *V.* 897, E. *Cyc.* 235).

•DER κλοιώτης· ὁ δεσμώτης 'prisoner'; κλοιωτά· δεσμοῖς διειλημμένα 'arrested in chains' (H.).

•ETYM Probably from a preform **klōwjó-*, but without a good connection. Often connected to κλεῖς 'key'. Alternatively, the word could be Pre-Greek.

κλόνις, -ιος [f.] 'haunch' (Antim. 65). ◁IE? **ḱlouni-* 'buttocks, hip'▷

•DER κλόνιον· ἰσχίον, ῥάχις, ὀσφύς 'hip-joint, chine, loins' and κλονιστήρ· παραμήριος μάχαιρα, παρίσχιον 'dagger worn at the hips' (H.), cf. Lat. *clūnāc(u)lum* 'cultrum sanguinarium ..., quia ad clunes dependet' (Paul Fest. 50).

•ETYM The word resembles an old IE word for 'buttock, hip', found in Skt. *śróṇi-*, Lat. *clūnis*, MW *clun*, ON *hlaun*, Lith. *šlaunìs*, all from IE **ḱlouni-*. Phonetically, κλόνις cannot be combined with these forms, but the word may have been folk-etymologically adapted to κλόνος (sch. A. *Pr.* 499: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ κλόνις ὀνομάζεται διὰ τὸ ἀεικίνητον, scil. ὀσφύς has been compared). Cf. Schulze 1892: 105[1] and Schwyzer: 38[1]; doubts in Pok. 608. Different hypotheses in Petersson *IF* 35 (1915): 269ff. and Holthausen *IF* 62 (1956): 157.

κλόνος [m.] 'excitement, throng, turmoil (of battle)' (Il.), on the mg. see Trümpy 1950: 157f. ◁PG?▷

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἄ-κλονος 'without excitement, quiet' (Gal.), of the pulse.

•DER Denominative κλονέω [v.] 'to excite, urge', pass. 'be pressed, get in excitement' (Il.), mostly present, also with prefixes like ὑπο-, συν-, ἐπι-; thence κλόνησις 'excitement' (Hp.).

•ETYM Mostly derived from κέλομαι, with a formation κλ-όνος that is also assumed in ►θρόνος. This explanation is doubtful: words in -ονος are rare, and the analysis of θρόνος is also uncertain. Rather a Pre-Greek word.

κλοπή 'theft', etc. ⇒ κλέπτω.

κλοτοπεύω [v.] only T 149 together with διατρίβειν; the mg. was uncertain already in antiquity, cf. κλοτοπεύειν· παραλογίζεσθαι, ἀπατᾶν, κλεψιγαμεῖν, στραγγεύεσθαι 'to misreckon, deceive, seek illicit love, loiter' (H.), who further cites κλοτοπευτής· ἐξαλλάκτης, ἀλαζών 'vagrant, charlatan'. ◄PG(S)►

•ETYM Kuiper *Glotta* 21 (1933): 287ff. thought that the word was Pre-Greek, and compared ἠπερ-οπ-εύω for the suffix *-*op*-. The suggestion in DELG, that it is a cross of κλέπτω, κλοπή and τόπος, τοπάζω, is useless.

κλύβατις [f.] plant name = ἐλξίνη, 'bindweed, Convulvulus arvensis and Smilax aspera' (Nic., Dsc.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR By-form κουλυβάτεια [f.] (Nic.), perhaps for *κολυβατεια? See Fur.: 181. Cf. also κολύμβατος [f.] a plant (Gp.) and κολυμβάς, -άδος = στοιβή (Gal. 14, 18).

•ETYM Fur.: 207 further compares κλύμενον (Dsc. 4, 14) with dissimilation β-ν > μ-ν. The inserted -ο- may derive from PG *a*, i.e. a pre-form **k(a)lu(m)p-at-*.

κλύζω [v.] 'to wash (away), clean', pass. (intr.) 'to wash, surge, drench' (Il.). ◄IE **ḱluH-*, **ḱleHu-* 'wash, purify'►

•VAR Iter. ipf. κλύζεσκον (Ψ 61), aor. pass. κλυσθῆναι (Il.), fut. κλύσ(σ)ω (*h. Ap.* 75, Pi.), aor. act. κλύσαι (IA), perf. κέκλυκα, κέκλυσμαι (Att.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-, προσ-.

•DER κλύσις 'washing' (Hp.), mostly to the prefixed verbs: ἐπίκλυσις, etc. (IA); κλύσμα (also κατάκλυσμα, etc.) 'liquid by which something is rinsed, clyster', also 'surge, shore' (IA); κλυσμάτιον, -ματικός (Hp.); (ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.)κλυσμός 'inundation, etc.' (IA); κλυστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'clyster-pipe' (Hdt.), whence -τήριον, -τηρίδιον. Further σύγ-κλυς, -δος 'washed together, thrown together' (Th., Pl.), κλύδ-α [acc.sg.] 'beating of the waves' (Nic. *Al.* 170; perhaps an archaizing innovation), κλύδ-ων, -ωνος [m.] 'undulation, surf, turmoil' (μ 421), κλυδώνιον (A., E.), κλυδων-ίζομαι [v.] 'to be thrown around by the waves' (LXX, J.), κλυδωνισμός (Hdn.), -ισμα (Suid.). Expressive enlargement (ἐγ-, συγ-)κλυδάζομαι 'to splash, etc.' (Hp.), -άττομαι (D. L.), to which κλυδασμός, (ἐγ)κλύδαξις, ἐγκλυδαστικός (Hp.). Further κλυδάω 'to be soaked, soft, moldable' (Arist.), of σταῖς, πηλός, probably after φλυδάω.

•ETYM The present κλύζω is either derived from nominal forms with -δ- (κλύδα, κλύδων), i.e. denominative **klud-je/o-*, or arose as an independent enlargement in -ζω, in which case κλύδων, etc. should be analyzed as back-formations (which is the preferable explanation). Germanic also had an IE enlargement in *-*d*-, e.g. Go. *hlutrs*, MoHG *lauter* < **klūd-ro-*, but we find forms without -*d*- in Celtic, Latin, and Baltic: W *clir* 'clear, pure' < **klū-ro-*, and OLat. *cluere* 'to purify' (hapax Plin. 15, 119), *cloāre* 'id.' (glossed in Servius, hapax), the reconstruction of which is debated (see the discussion in De Vaan 2008 on the derivation of *clo(u)āca* 'subterranean drain,

sewer'). For Lith. *šlúoti*, 1sg. *šlúoju* 'to weap, wipe', one would like to reconstruct PIE **ḱloHu-*. In Greek, there is no evidence for long ū, which also makes a reconstruction **ḱleHu-*, **ḱlHu-* preferable. Greek would have generalized the zero grade **ḱlHu-* (which under certain conditions, apparently, did not undergo metathesis to **ḱluH-*).

κλύω [v.] 'to hear, understand, obey' (Il.), also (with εὖ, κακῶς) 'to have a (good or bad) reputation' (trag.). ◁IE **ḱleu-* 'hear'▷

•VAR Pres. since Hes. *Op.* 726; aor. ἔκλυον (Il.); athem. forms ipv. κλῦθι, -τε (Hom., Pi., trag.), κέκλυθι, -τε (Hom.), also κέκλῡκε (Epich. 190), ptc. κλῡ́μενος 'famous' (Antim., Theoc.), PNs Κλύμενος, Κλυμένη (Hom.).

•COMP Rarely with prefixes ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER κλυτός [m.] (also [f.], see Schwyzer 1950: 32[5]) 'famous' (Il.), often as a first member, e.g. κλυτό-τοξος 'with famous bow' (of Apollo), κλυτό-πωλος 'with famous foals' (of Hades); also Κλυται-μήστρα, -ρη (Il.), with second member derived from μήστωρ, and the first member reshaped after Κραται-, Παλαι-, etc. (see Schwyzer: 448, Sommer 1948: 147[1]). With different ablaut κλειτός 'famous' (Hom., Pi.) from **κλεϝετός* (see below).

•ETYM The present κλύω is an innovation of the thematic root aorist ἔκλυον, which corresponds to Skt. *śruvam* [aor.]. Both languages innovated this thematic aorist from an older athematic aorist, which is still seen in Hom. ipv. κλῦθι, -τε and ptc. κλύμενος. An exact counterpart of κλῦθι (which is always verse-initial and has metrical lengthening for **κλύθι*) is Skt. *śrudhi*. In Greek, κλῦτε was innovated after κλῦθι, perhaps for older **κλεῦτε* = Skt. *śróta*. Reduplicated κέκλυθι, -τε may be innovations after τέτλᾰθι, etc.

The *to*-ptc. κλυτός seems to be an old formation, preserved in several languages, e.g. Skt. *śrutá-* 'heard', Lat. *in-clutus* 'famous', Arm. *lu* 'known', OIr. *cloth* [n.] 'fame', PIE **ḱlu-tó-* (Gm. words like OHG *hlūt* 'loud' and ON *hljóð* 'hearing, etc.' continue a full grade formation **ḱleu-tó-*). The forms **κλεϝετός* > κλειτός (cf. Schwyzer: 502) and the old verbal noun ▶κλέος continue an ablauting full grade **ḱleu-eto-*. The other languages have various present formations, e.g. a nasal present in Skt. *śṛṇóti*, Av. *surunaoiti*, ToB *kalneṃ* 'to resound'; note the stative in Lat. *cluēre* 'to be called'. Further, Greek has a denominative κλέω 'to celebrate, praise'; see on ▶κλέος.

κλωβός [m.] 'bird-cage' (*AP*, Babr.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR Also κλουβός (*POxy.* 1923, 14 [V-VI^{p}], where mg. uncertain, Tz., gloss.).

•DER Diminutive κλωβίον (-ου-) 'small cage, twined basket' (Hdn. *Epim.*, pap.).

•ETYM A Semitic loan; cf. Hebr., Syr. *k^{e}lūb* 'bird-cage'. See Lewy 1895: 129, Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 19, and E. Masson 1967: 108[4].

κλῶδις [m.] · κλέπτης 'thief' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown. Latte thinks it could be a mistake for ▶κνώψ.

κλώζω [v.] 'to cackle, clack' (D., Alciphr., Poll.). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Only present stem; also κλώσσω (Suid. s.v. φωλάς, uncertain, perhaps a back-formation from κλωγμός, see Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 248).

•DER κλωγμός (Cratin., X.), also κλωσμός (Ph. 2, 599 beside -γ-, Harp.) 'cackling'.

•ETYM For κλώζω, cf. κλάζω (►κλαγγή) and, on the other hand, ►κρώζω. Like these, κλώζω is onomatopoeic.

κλώθω, -ομαι [v.] 'to spin' (Il.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Aor. κλῶσαι, -ώσασθαι (Ω 525 and Od.), pass. κλωσθῆναι (Pl.), κέκλωσμαι (com., LXX); κλώσκω (H.), cf. Schwyzer: 708.
•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-.
•DER κλῶθες [f.pl.] 'spinsters' (η 197), Κλωθώ [f.] "the spinster", one of the Moirai (Hes.); κλωστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'yarn, clew, spindle' (Att., Theoc., A. R.), κλωστήριον 'band, yarn' (*Ostr.* 1525 [?], Suid.); κλωστάς [m.] 'spinner' (Sparta); κλῶσμα 'thread, clew' (LXX, Nic.), κλῶσις 'id.' (Lyc.), 'spinning' (Corn., M. Ant.).
•ETYM The supposed connection with ►κάλαθος 'basket' cannot be supported in any way. Connection with Lat. *colus* 'distaff' has also been considered (see WH s.v. and *cōlum*). The word is probably Pre-Greek.

κλωκυδά [adv.] · τό καθῆσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ποσίν 'to be placed or seated on both feet' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM DELG reminds us of ὀκλάζω, but the word can hardly be cognate with this. It could be Pre-Greek.

κλῶμαξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'heap of stones, rock' (Lyc. 653). ◅PG(S,V)▻
•DER κλωμακόεσσα 'stony, rocky' (B 729), of Ἰθώμη.
•ETYM Formation like λίθαξ, βῶλαξ, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 379). It is usually connected with κλάω (κλῆμα, κλᾶρος) 'to break', by assumption of a verbal noun *κλῶμος 'crack, split' and comparison with περικεκλασμένος 'lying on uneven, rocky grund', said of τόποι, πόλεις, οἰκίαι (Plb.). This is unlikely, especially given the by-forms κρῶμαξ 'id.', κρωμακόεις· κρημνώδης 'precipitous' (H.), κρωμακωτός (Eust. 330, 40; Paphlagonian). Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 210 connected it to Lat. *grūmus* 'heap of earth, hill' as a word from the Aegaean substrate (i.e. Pre-Greek). The form with ρ could show Pre-Greek variation ρ/ λ as well.

κλών, -ωνός [m.] 'sprout' (Att.). ◅PG(V)▻
•DER Diminutives κλωνίον, -ίδιον, -άριον, -ίσκος (Thphr., Hell. inscr., Gp.), further κλωνίτης 'with sprouts' (Hdn.), κλῶναξ = κλάδος (H.), κλωνίζω [v.] 'to clip' (Suid.).
•ETYM Not from *κλα-ών (Schwyzer: 521), as a sprout can hardly be called 'broken'. Kuiper 1956: 221f. connected the word with ►κλάδος 'branch'. See further ►κλάω.

κλώσσω ⇒κλώζω.

κμέλεθρα [n.pl.] 'beam' (Pamphil. *apud EM* 521, 34, H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM The resemblance to ►μέλαθρον can hardly be accidental and strongly suggests substrate origin. Cf. on ►καμάρα.

κναδάλλεται ⇒-κναίω.

-κναίω [v.] 'to scrape, scratch' (Hp., trag. [lyr.], Att.). ◅IE? **kneh₂-* 'scratch, plane', PG?▻

•VAR Only with prefixes δια-, άπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-κναίω; Att. inf. κνῆν, κνῆσθαι (also exists as a simplex), 1 and 3sg. pres. κνῶ, κνῇ, ipf. ἐπὶ ... κνῆ (Λ 639), also κνᾶν (Hdt.), κνᾶσθαι, κνᾷ (Hell.); further κνήθω (Arist., Hell.), also with κατα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, etc. Non-presentic forms: -κναῖσαι, -κναισθῆναι, -κναίσω, -κεκναισμένος (Ar., E. [lyr.], Pl., Theoc.); more usual (both as a simplex and in compounded verbs) is κνῆσαι, Dor. κνάσαιο [opt.med.] (Theoc.), κνησθῆναι, κνήσω, κέκνησμαι (IA).

•DER Action nouns: 1. κνῆσις 'scratching, tickling' (Pl.), whence κνησιάω [v.] 'to wish to tickle' (Ar., Pl.), also κνηστιάω 'id.' (Gal., Jul.), after other verbs in -τιάω; κνηθιάω 'id.' (Hdn., *EM*), after κνήθω (cf. Schwyzer: 732). 2. κνῆσμα 'id.' (Hp., X.), rarely κνῆμα; 3. κνησμονή 'id.' (medic.), cf. πῆμα: πημονή, etc.; 4. κνησμός 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), κνησμώδης 'affected with itching' (Hp., Arist., Str.). 5. κνηθμός 'itching' (Nic.). Agent nouns and instruments: 6. κνῆστις [f.] 'knife for scratching, cheese-grater' (Λ 640, Nic., Opp.), also 'spine' (κ 161; cf. ►ἄκνηστις s.v.), perhaps from *κνήστης [m.]; 7. κνηστήρ 'scratching knife' (Nic.). 8. κνηστίς -ίδος [f.] 'hollow hairpin' (Plu.). 9. κνῆστρον 'stinging plant, Daphne oleoides, θυμελαία' (Hp., Dsc.); κνηστρίον 'scraper', (*Edict. Diocl.*). 10. κνήστικός [adj.] 'scratching, itching' (sch.).

•ETYM Of the presents, κνήθειν may be an innovation from κνῆσαι, etc. after πλῆσαι: πλήθω, λῆσαι: λήθω, etc.; the pair κνῆν: κναίειν matches the formation of the semantically close ψῆν: ψαίειν 'to rub, etc.'; -κναίω is probably secondary. The form κνῆν, which originally was probably athematic (see Schwyzer: 675f. and Chantraine 1942: 297 and 307), is usually connected with Baltic, Celtic and Germanic: e.g. Lith. *knóti* 'to peel, tear' < athematic *$*kneh_2$-*, OHG *nuoen* 'to make smooth by scratching, to make fit together' and OIr. *-cná* 'to bite, gnaw' < *yod*-present *$*kneh_2$-i̯e/o-*.

It has not been proposed that the words could be Pre-Greek. We may compare κναδάλλεται· κνήθεται (H.), to which belong, as variants, γνάφαλλον, γνόφαλον; these are clearly Pre-Greek (see ►κνάπτω). Is κναδ- a variant of κνηθ-? For κναδ-, no PIE pre-form can be reconstructed (cf. on ►γνάθος). The formation of κνήσων 'scratcher' (inscr. Delos II[a], see DELG) is reflected in the Latin loan *cnāsonas* [acc.pl.] 'scratching nails' (Paul. Fest. 52), which must have been borrowed from Hell. *κνᾶσων (cf. the gloss κνᾶσαι· ὀλέσαι, λυπῆσαι 'to perish, grieve' (H.), and see Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207). Verbs with a formation in -αίω are further unknown in Greek. See further ►κνέωρος, ►κνήφη, ►κνώδαλον.

κνάπτω [v.] 'to card, comb, full (cloth)' as a technical term, also metaph. 'to mangle, tear to pieces' (IA). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Rarely κνάμπτω, cf. ►γνάμπτω and Güntert 1914: 115f., ►γνάπτω (late Att., Hell., Ion.).

•DIAL Myc. *ka-na-pe-u* /knap[h]eus/.

•COMP Sometimes prefixed with άνα-, ἐπι-.

•DER Late Att. has γν- for κν- in most derivatives: κνάφος [m.] 'fullers' teasel', also 'tangle; carding comb (an instrument of torture)' (Hdt., Hp., com.), κναφεύς 'fuller' (IA), also as a fish name (Dorio; on the motive see Strömberg 1943: 93); κναφεῖον, -ήϊον 'fuller's shop' (IA), κναφευτική (τέχνη) 'art of fulling' (Pl.), κναφεύω [v.] 'to full' (Ar.) and, as a late feminine formation, κνάφισσα 'female fuller' (pap.), see Chantraine 1933: 110; κναφικός 'belonging to fulling' (Dsc., pap.). γνάψις 'fulling'

(Pl.), γνάπτωρ = κναφεύς (Man.). γνάφαλλον 'cushion of wool' (pap. and ostr.), with γναφαλ(λ)ώδης 'like a γ.', γναφάλλιον, -αλλίς plant name 'Diotis maritima' (Dsc., Plin.), see Strömberg 1940: 105; also κνέφαλλον 'cushion' (com., E.; v.ll. κναφ-, γναφ-) and γνόφαλλον (Alc. *Z* 14, 8), beside μόλθακον. Verbal adjectives: ἄ-γναπτος (Pl. Com., Plu.) and ἄ-γναφος (NT, pap.) 'unfulled, new', ἐπί-γναφος 'fulled again', of clothes (Poll.), to ἐπι-γνάπτω.

•ETYM The initial sequence has been compared with ►-κναίω, κνῆν, ►κνίζω, ►κνύω; the ending with ῥάπτω, which also denotes a technical operation of the clothing industry (κνάφος is reminiscent of ῥαφή, etc.). The forms with γν- cannot be explained in an inherited word (even if they are mostly younger), so they point to Pre-Greek origin. Note that Schwyzer: 414 unconvincingly took κνάπτω as assimilated from γνάπτω, and also the typical o for α in γνόφαλλον (Alc.) and the ε in κνέφαλλον, which can hardly be due to old ablaut (cf. Schwyzer: 343).

Outside Greek, a Celtic word for 'fleece' has been cited as cognate, e.g. MW *cnaif* [m.], OIr. *cnaí* [f.] < PCl. **knawī* (cf. Matasović 2008, who considers a relationship with PCl. **knā-i̯e/o-* 'to chew, bite' probable); forms in Germanic and Baltic are semantically farther away, e.g. ON **hnafa*, pret. *hnof* 'to cut off', Lith. *knabénti* 'to pick (with the beak)'. However, the variation κ/ γ, α/ o rather points to Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.). See ►κνήφη, ►κνώψ.

κνάψ [?] = δάλος 'piece of half-burned wood' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 404). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

κνέφας [n.] 'evening twilight, dusk, morning twilight' (Il., X.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Gen. -αος, -ους, etc. (on the inflection Schwyzer: 514f.); secondary nom.acc. κνέφος (H., Suid., Phot.), perhaps from κνέφους, -ει.

•DER κνεφαῖος 'of the dusk, dark' (trag., com., Hippon.); κνεφάζω [v.] 'to become dark' (A. *Ag.* 131 [lyr.]).

•ETYM Often connected with the Indo-Iranian word for 'night', Skt. *kṣáp-*, Av. *xšap-*, which belong with Hitt. *išpant-* 'id.'; nevertheless, it is unknown how this comparison would work. The word ►ψέφας is a rhyming formation; cf. also ►δνόφος. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, but the variation is not known from other examples.

κνέωρος [m.] name of a stinging plant, 'Daphne, Thymelaea' (Thphr., Dsc., Plin., H.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Also -ον [n.]; cf. perhaps κ<ν>εωρεῖν· πασχητιᾶν 'to feel (unnatural) lust' (H.), as per Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 42.

•ETYM Connected with κνῆν, like synonymous κνῆστρον. Perhaps from a pre-form **knā-ō̯ro-* (i.e. *κνή-ουρος, containing the plant suffix -ουρος), with quantitative metathesis. See ►-κναίω.

κνήθω ⇒ -κναίω.

κνῆκος [f.] 'safflower, Carthamus tinctorius' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.). ◅?, IE? **knh₂kó-* 'yellow (like honey, gold)'▻

•DIAL Myc. *ka-na-ko* /knāko-/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κνηκο-φόρος 'carrying safflower' (pap.).
•DER Adjective κνηκός, Dor. κνᾱκός 'yellow, safflower-colored', usually of a goat (Thespis, S. *Ichn.* 358, Theoc., *AP*), but also of the wolf (Babr.). κνήκιον 'clover, σάμψουχον' (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.); κνᾱ́κων, -ωνος [m.] 'he-goat' (Theoc.), κνᾱκίας [m.] 'wolf' (Babr.); κνήκινος 'from safflower' (pap., Dsc.), κνηκώδης 'safflower-like' (Thphr.); κνηκίτης (λίθος) name of a yellowish stone (Hermes Trism.); κνηκίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'bleak spot', especially in heaven (Call., Plu.), cf. κηλίς and Chantraine 1933: 347; also name of a kind of antelope (H.).
•ETYM Skt. *kāñcana-* [n.] 'gold', OPr. *cucan* 'brown', and the Germanic word for *honey*, OHG *honag*, etc. resemble words for 'yellow, etc.' or yellowish material; but the varying vocalism is unclear. The Greek word was probably originally an adjective; the plant was probably (Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 270) introduced from Egypt. The appurtenance of the Skt. word is doubted by Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. ("nicht überzeugend erklärt"), and a PIE paradigm cannot be reconstructed.

κνήμη [f.] 'part between knee and ankle, leg, shank' (Il.), 'tibia' (Gal., Ruf.), metaph. 'stem between two joints' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 48, 'spoke of a wheel' (Hom., etc. in compounds, Poll., Eust.). ◁IE *$konh_2$-m*, *knh_2-m-* 'bone, tibia, shank'▷
•VAR Dor. κνᾱμᾶ.
•COMP As a second member e.g. in ὀκτά-κνημος 'with eight spokes' (Il.), παχύ-κνημος 'with thick shanks' (Ar.). Substantivized hypostasis: ἀντικνήμ-ιον [n.] 'what is over against the shank', i.e. 'tibia' (IA).
•DER κνημίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'greave' (Il.), Aeol. κνᾱμις, κνάμῐδες [pl.] (Alc.); also κνημίδια [pl.] (Att. inscr.; mg. uncertain); see Trümpy 1950: 19f.; κνημία [f.] 'spoke' (Lys.), plur. = τὰ τῆς ἁμάξης περιθέματα 'what is put around the wheel' (H.), etc.; κνημ-(ι)αῖος 'belonging to the shank' (Hp., Gal.).
•ETYM κνᾱμᾶ corresponds with OIr. *cnáim* 'leg, bone' (*i*-stem), both of which derive from **knām-* < IE **knh_2m-*. A different ablaut grade is found in a Germanic word for 'shank, back of the knee': OHG *hamma*, OE *hamm*, ON *hǫm*, which may have assimilated from *hanma-*. We may therefore assume an ablauting paradigm nom. **$konh_2$-m(-)*, gen. **knh_2-m-os*, which was thematicized in different ways. On ►κνημός, see s.v.

κνημός [m.] geographical term (Hom., *h. Ap.* 283, Orph. *A.* 465), e.g. Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι (Il.), mg. uncertain, probably 'projecting part, shoulder of a mountain'; δημόσιος κνημός 'public grove' (*TAM* 2: 1, 64, Telmessos; not quite certain); also = ὄρίγανος (Arg., Eust. 265, 40). ◁IE? **knh_2-m-*, **$konh_2$-m-* 'mountain-forest'▷
•DER Denominative κνημῶσαι· περιχῶσαι, φράξαι, φθεῖραι, κλεῖσαι, ἐλθεῖν 'to be exceedingly angry, fence in, destroy, enclose, come'; κνημοῦμαι· φθείρομαι 'perish', κνημωθῆναι· φθαρῆναι 'id.', διεκνημώσατο· διέφθειρε 'ruined completely' (H.). In the sense 'encircle, etc.' cf. κνημός 'grove'; in the sense of φθεῖραι it remains unclear (cf. κνημίαι· φθοραί 'destruction' H.).
•ETYM The meaning of κνημός recalls MoLG *hamm* 'mountain forest' (cf. Fick *KZ* 21 (1873): 368), but this word rather belongs with MLG *ham* 'fenced in piece of land', MoLG *hamme* 'fenced in field', and therefore can be explained differently.

Connection with κνήμη as "shank of a mountain" (Eust. 1498, 42 explains it as 'what is above the foot') remains uncertain.

κνῆν, κνῆστις ⇒ -κναίω.

κνήφη [f.] 'itch' (LXX *De.* 28, 27, H. s.v. ξῦσμα, Suid. s.v. Ἀφροδίτη). ◁PG?▷
•DER κνηφάω = *prurio* (gloss.).
•ETYM Connected with κνῆν 'to scratch, itch' with a suffix -φ-, for which one compared ▶ἀκαλήφη. Direct connection with κνάφος, ▶κνάπτω is improbable. Note κνίφεα· κνίδας (H.), with an -ι- that is explainable by analogy with κνίδη, ▶κνίζω. The word σκνῆφαι (probably for ἀκαλῆφαι) as an explanation for κνῖδαι (H.) is doubtful; if it is correct, we may compare σκνίψ beside κνίψ for the variation.

κνῑ́δη [f.] 'nettle, sea-nettle' (Hp., Arist., Theoc.). ◁PG?▷
•DER κνίδειος 'of a κνίδη' (Theognost.); κνιδᾶται (κνηδ- cod.)· δάκνεται, ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς πόας 'be stung, perhaps by a grass' and κνιδῶντες (-δοντες cod.)· κνίδῃ μαστιγοῦντες 'whipped by a nettle' (H.); κνιδώσεις [pl.] 'itching, caused by a nettle' (Hp.), as if from *κνιδόω; cf. the numerous formations in -(ω)σις in medical and technical terms. See Chantraine 1933: 284ff.
•ETYM Taken with ▶κνίζω 'to scratch, sting'; yet the ῑ of κνῑ́δη is long, which may point to Pre-Greek origin. See ▶κνῖσα.

κνίζω [v.] 'to scratch, pound, chop up, provoke' (Pi., IA). ◁IE? **knid-* 'scratch'▷
•VAR Aor. κνίσαι, pass. κνισθῆναι, fut. κνίσω, perf. pass. κέκνισμαι.
•DIAL Dor. aor. κνίξαι (Pi.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, κατα-, ὑπο-.
•DER κνισμός, κνίσμα 'scratching, provocation, etc.' (Ar.), ἀπόκνισμα 'piece' (Ar.), ἀπό-, ἐπί-κνισις 'scratching' (Thphr.). As a back-formation *κνίς, acc. κνίδα (Opp.), plur. κνίδες (LXX) 'nettle', κνίζα 'id.' (gloss.). Compound with a verbal (aoristic) second member φιλό-κνῖσος 'desirous' (*AP*), also κνισότερος (Ath. 12, 549a).
•ETYM The basis is κνιδ- or κνιτ-, aor. κνισ-, which points to a root that seems to be found in Baltic and Germanic verbs, e.g. Latv. *knidêt* 'to itch, geminate, creep', ON *hníta*, pret. *hneit* 'to push against', both from root final **-d-* (also in MIr. *cned* 'wound' < **knidā*). A root-final *-t-* (which may also be continued by the Greek forms) is found as well, e.g. in Lith. *knìsti*, 1sg. *knintù*, pret. *knitaũ*, 'to scratch, itch, tickle'; a root-final *-s-* occurs in Lith. 1sg. *knisù* 'to grub up'. The forms ▶κνῑ́δη, ▶κνῖσα, with a long vowel, are probably not cognate.

κνῖσα [f.] 'steam and odor of fat, smell and savor of burnt sacrifice, fat caul' (Il., Arist., Hell.). ◁IE? **kniHd-s-* 'fumes'▷
•VAR Epic κνίση; also κνῖσος [n.] (*Com. Adesp.* 608, sch.), after λίπος, etc.
•COMP πολύ-κνισος 'with rich smell of the sacrifice' (A. R.).
•DER κνισήεις (κ 10, Pi.), κνισωτός (A. *Ch.* 485), κνισηρός (Achae. 7) 'smelling of fat', κνισώδης 'id., fat' (Arist., Gal.), κνισαλέος (H.), κνισός (Ath. 3, 115e), = κνισήεις. Denominative verbs: κνισάω 'to fill with the smell of fat' (E., Ar.), κνισόομαι 'to be changed into the smell of fat', -όω 'to give the smell of fat' (Arist., Ph.).

•ETYM Often compared with Lat. *nīdor* [m.] 'smell of roasted meat, vapor, smoke', which may continue **knīdōs*. This points to a neuter *s*-stem **knīd-s-h₂* [n.pl.] for κνίση, whence secondarily κνῖσα (Solmsen 1909: 238), so it is ultimately from IE **knīdos-* [n.] (cf. on ►ἔρση). Close to this form is ON *hniss* [n.] 'strong smell, bad taste in eating', from IE **knid-to-*. This word belongs to *hnītan* 'to push against' (cf. Go. *stigqan* 'to push' = OHG *stincan* 'to stink'), and one assumes a comparable origin for *nīdor* and κνῖσα, i.e. connection with ►κνίζω. However, for κνῖδη, κνῖσα, and *nīdor* we have to start from a form with long vowel, which is quite problematic for IE.

κνίψ, κνῖπός [m.] name of unknown insects (small ants acc. to Arist. *Sens.* 444b 12), that infest several trees and plants (Ar., Arist., Thphr., LXX). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also σκνίψ, σκνῖπός, plur. also σκνῖφες.

•COMP As a first member in κνιπο-λόγος [m.] name of a woodpecker, σκνιπο-φάγος 'eating σκνῖπες' (Arist.).

•DER κνίπειος 'belonging to a κνίψ' (Zos. Alch.). Several expressive words have been put in connection to κνίψ, σκνίψ, rarely found in literature, that indicate especially avarice or different eye diseases: κνιπός (*AP*), σκνιπός (Anon. in *EN*, H.), σκνιφός (Phryn.) 'niggard'; κνιπεύω [v.] 'to be stingy' and κνιπεία (Doroth. Astrol.); further in the mg. 'feeble-mindedness, etc.': κνιπός (Semon.), σκνιφός (H.), ὑπό-σκνιπος, -σκνιφος, -σχνιφος 'slightly short-sighted' (pap.), κνιπά· πτίλη '[female] suffering from a disease of the eyelids' (H.); with κνιπότης 'eye-inflammation' (Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 13, Erot.), κνιπόομαι [v.] 'to be inflamed, of the eyes' (H. in κεκνιπωμένοι), also 'to be infested with mildew', of fruits' (H. ib.). Beside the names for eye diseases, etc., there are expressions for 'dark': σκνιφαῖος (v.l. -παῖος) adjunct of ὁδίτης 'who walks in the darkness' (Theoc. 16, 93), perhaps after κνεφαῖος; σκνῖφος· τὸ σκότος 'darkness' (H.). Further two denominatives: κνιπεῖν· σείειν, ξύειν μέλαθρα καὶ δοκούς 'to shake, scratch or scrape balks and beams' (H.), perhaps originally of the κνῖπες; σκνίπτειν· νύσσειν 'to pierce' (H.).

•ETYM Formations rhyming with κνίψ, σκνίψ are ►θρίψ and ►ἴψ. Both (σ)κνίψ and the words for 'niggard' could go back to the idea of pinching and stinging (cf. ►σκνίπτω). Perhaps the terms for diminished sight come from closing the eyes, or perhaps from plant diseases caused by κνῖπες (see ►κνιπόομαι). It has been compared with words for 'pinching, etc.' in Baltic and Germanic, e.g. Latv. *kniêbt*, *knīpêt*, MLDu. *nipen*, but these are rather European substrate words. The whole picture is that of a Pre-Greek word: very small animals, the long ī, the variation π/φ, prothetic σ-.

κνόος, κνοῦς [m.] 'the grinding sound of the wheel against the axle', also (A. *Fr.* 237) 'the sound of feet when marching'; also (by confusion with χνόη) 'axle-box, nave' (H., Phot.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Not well attested and therefore hard to judge. It is most often considered to be a full grade noun from ►κνύω 'to scratch'.

κνύζα 1 a plant. ⇒κόνυζα.

κνύζα 2 'scratch'. ⇒ κνύω.

κνυζέομαι [v.] 'to whine, whimper', of dogs and children (S., Ar., Theoc., Opp., Nonn.). ◁ONOM?▷
•VAR Also -ζάομαι, -ζομαι; also act. -έω.
•COMP Rarely with προσ-, ὑπο-.
•DER κνυζηθμός 'whining', also of wild animals (π 163, A. R., Opp., Ath.); κνύζημα 'whimpering of children' (Hdt., Him.).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic; coincidental similarity with Lith. *kniaũkti* 'to miaow'. See ►κνυζόω.

κνυζόω [v.]◁IE? **kneu-g-*, *-k-* 'become somber'▷
•VAR Only κνυζώσω (ν 401), κνύζωσεν (ν 433), of the eyes of Odysseus, that, while earlier περικαλλέα ἐόντα, were made dim and dark by Athena.
•ETYM The basic form seems to have been preserved in κνυζοί· οἱ τὰ ὄμματα πονοῦντες 'who have trouble with the eyes', κνυζόν· ἀέρα ἐπινέφελον καὶ πνευματώδη 'cloudy and windy air' (H., unclear Anacr. 87); cf. Büchner *Herm.* 75 (1940): 156[1]. Connection with κνύζα 'scratch', ►κνύω is quite probable; the correspondence with κνυζάομαι is therefore probably accidental. A remarkable parallel gives Lith. *kniáuktis* 'to get cloudy, cover oneself (of heaven), take a gloomy aspect' beside *kniaũkti* 'to miaow'; *niaũras* 'cloudy, somber, troubled' is comparable, as well as 'grumbling, nasalizing', *niauróti* [v.] 'to growl, of bears'. The word can be of independent (onomatopoeic or other) origin or show semantic analogy; this can hardly be decided.

κνύω [v.] 'to scratch' (Ar. *Th.* 481, Men. 1021). ◁IE? **knu-* 'scratch'?▷
•VAR περι-κνύω 'to scratch round about' (Phot.).
•DER κνῦμα [n.] 'scratching (Ar. *Ec.* 36, Gal. 19, 112) and 'scratch'; κνύος [n.] (Hes. *fr.* 29, 1), κνῦσα [f.] (Herod. 7, 95 as a term of abuse; cf. δεῖσα, μύξα, etc.), κνύζα (Philox. Gramm. *apud EM* 523, 2, Eust.), cf. ἄζα, σκύζα, κνίζα, etc. Note the glosses in H. κνύθος· ἄκανθα μικρά 'small thorn', κνυθόν· σμικρόν 'small' (cf. τυτθός, -όν and plant names in -θος, Chantraine 1933: 367f.); back-formation κνῦ· τὸ ἐλάχιστον 'smallest', like γρῦ, βρῖ. On ►κνόος, κνοῦς, see s.v.
•ETYM Like in the case of ►-κναίω, κνῆν, ►κνάπτω, ►κνίζω, words formally comparable to κνύω can be found in Germanic and Baltic: OHG *hniuwan* 'to squash', ON *hnjóða* 'to push, hit, etc.' < **kneu-*, Latv. *knūdu*, and *knūstu* 'to itch'.

κνώδαλον [n.] 'wild or harmful animal' (ρ 317). ◁PG▷
•DER κνωδαλώδης (Tz.). κνώδᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'pin, pivot', also 'sockets for an axe' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*), κνωδάκιον, κνωδακίζω [v.] 'to hang on pivots' (Hero). κνώδων, -οντος [m.], plur. 'teeth of a sword or a javelin', sing. 'sword' (S., X.).
•ETYM The pair κνώδαλον : κνώδων recalls pairs like ἀγκάλη : ἀγκών, ὀμφαλός : Lat. *umbō* (Chantraine 1933: 246). Given the meaning 'teeth', κνωδον-τ- may well be secondary for *κνωδον- after ὀδοντ- (cf. Schwyzer: 526). Frisk assumed that κνώδαλον and κνώδων, κνώδαξ go back to a verbal noun *κνωδ(ο-) meaning 'tooth, biter, gnawer', belonging to κνῆν, etc. (see -►κναίω). The glosses κάναδοι· σιαγόνες,

γνάθοι 'jaws', κναδάλλεται· κνήθεται 'gnaws' (H.) belong here too. The words do not belong to Lith. *kándu* 'to bite', as this is formally impossible (see on ►γνάθος); they are no doubt Pre-Greek, since κναδ- cannot continue an IE pre-form. I am not sure that κνώδαξ belongs with the other words. See also ►κνώψ.

κνώσσω [v.] 'to sleep, slumber' (δ 809). ◅?▻
•VAR Only present stem.
•COMP Also with ἐνι-, κατα-.
•ETYM Like ►εὕδω, without etymology. Formally, cf. the opposite ἐγρήσσω (Λ 551), related to ►ἐγείρω.

κνώψ, κνωπός [m.] a wild animal, of snakes, etc. (Nic. *Th.*). ◅PG(V)▻
•DER κνωπεύς· ἄρκτος. ἔνιοι κνουπεύς 'bear' (H.); also κυνοῦπες· ἄρκτος (for -οι?). Μακεδόνες 'bear (Maced.)' (H.). Further also κινώπετον 'poisonous animal, snake' (Call., Nic.), with anaptyctic vowel.
•ETYM Not a cross of κνώδαλον and another word (e.g. κλώψ, κνίψ, σήψ), as suggested by Frisk. The variant forms point to a Pre-Greek word. On secondary vowels in Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 383f.

κοακτήρ [m.] name of a servant in the Spartan mysteries. ⇒κοῖον.

κοᾱ́λεμος [m.] 'blockhead' (Ar., Plu.), also name of a demon of stupidity (Ar. *Eq.* 221). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Cf. καυαλός· μωρολόγος 'speaking like an idiot' and κόαλοι· βάρβαροι 'foreigners' (H.).
•ETYM Ending like in ►ἰάλεμος; on the phonetics, see Schwyzer: 302. Björck 1950: 46 and 258 refers to onomatopoeic κο-. The word is clearly Pre-Greek because of the variants. See ►κόβαλος.

κοάξ interjection imitating the croaking of frogs (Ar. *Ra.*). ◅ONOM▻
•ETYM A sound imitation, like MoHG *qua(c)k, quaken.* Lat. *coaxāre* [v.] 'to croak' (Suet.) is probably a literary imitation of κοάξ (cf. WH s.v. *coaxō*). See ►κοῖ, ►κοΐζω.

κόαλοι [m.pl.] · βάρβαροι 'barbarians' (H.). ◅PG▻
•ETYM Perhaps related to ►καυαλός or ►κόβαλος. See ►κοᾱ́λεμος.

κόβαθος [m.] a vessel (*PLond.*). ◅PG▻
•ETYM Fur.: 346 compares κύβεθρον 'beehive' (H.) and κύαθος 'vessel, scoop'. If correct, the word is Pre-Greek.

κόβακτρα [n.pl.] · κολακεύματα, πανουργήματα 'pieces of flattery, knavery' (H.). ◅PG▻
•VAR κάβαξ· πανοῦργος 'crafty, knavish' (H.).
•ETYM The element κα/οβ-ακ- is clearly Pre-Greek.

κόβᾱλος [m.] 'rogue, mischievous knave', also (parodic) of mischievous genies (Ar., Arist., D. C.). ◅PG▻
•VAR As an adjective κόβαλον, -α [n.] 'knavish tricks' (Pherecr., Ar.).

•DER κοβαλεία (Din.), κοβάλευμα (*Et. Gen.*) 'roguery'; (ἐκ)κοβαλικεύομαι [v.] 'to swindle, deceive' (Ar. *Eq.* 270), κοβαλικεύματα [pl.] (Ar. *Eq.* 332), derived from *κοβαλικός (κοβαλικοῖσι is a conj. in Timocr. *fr.* 1, 7 Diehl). Also κοβαλεύω [v.] 'to transport' (pap., *EM*), MoGr. κουβαλῶ 'id.', κοβαλισμός 'transport' (pap.).
•ETYM Words from the vulgar language of comedy. Björck 1950: 46f. and 258f. assumed an original meaning 'porter, transport worker', whence contemptible 'rogue'. This original meaning would have been introduced into koine as a non-IA element. Against connection with Lat. *caballus* (Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 287ff.; cf. on καβάλλης), see Björck l.c. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

κόβειρος [adj.] · γελοιαστής, σκωπτής, λοιδοριστής 'jester, scoffer' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR κόβειρα· γελοῖα 'jests' [n.pl.] (H.).
•ETYM Hemberg 1950: 326 refers to the grotesque pictures of the Kabeiroi in Thebes. Since α may vary with ο in Pre-Greek words (Fur. 341-5), our word must be identical in origin with ▶Κάβειρος.

κόγχη [f.] 'mussel, cockle', also as measure and metaph. of several shell-like objects, e.g. 'hollow of the ear, knee-cap, brain-pan, case round a seal, knob of a shield, etc.' (Emp., Epich., Sophr., IA). ◁PG?, LW?▷
•VAR Also κόγχος [m., f.].
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κογχο-θήρᾱς [m.] 'mussel-fisher' (Epich.).
•DER 1. Diminutives κογχίον (Antiph., Str.), κογχάριον (Str., Aret.). 2. κογχωτός 'provided with a knob' (pap. III^{a}). 3. κογχίτης (λίθος) 'shelly marble' (Paus.). 4. κογχαλίζειν· πεποίηται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἤχου τῶν κόγχων '[a form] created after the sound of the mussel-shell' (H.), possibly after κροταλίζειν: κρότ-αλα: κρότος (Frisk); 5. As a back-formation κόγξ interjection, used for the sound of the sherd falling in the voting urn, etc. (H.). 6. κογχίζω [v.] 'to paint purple', whence κογχιστής 'painter' and κογχιστική 'trade of purple-dyeing' (*PGrenf.* 2, 87), for *κογχυλίζω, etc. (see below). 7. κογχῦλιον [n.] 'mussel', the animal and the shell, also 'murex, purpura' (Epich., Sophr., Hdt., Hp., Arist.), from κογχύλη (which only occurs as a v.l. in Ph. 1, 536 and *AP* 9, 214); from κογχύλιον: κογχυλίας (Ar.) and κογχυλιάτης (X., Philostr.) = κογχίτης (λίθος), see Redard 1949: 56); κογχυλιώδης 'like a κ.' (Str.), κογχύλιος 'purple-colored' (pap.), κογχυλιατός, -ιωτός 'painted with purple' (pap., gloss.); also κογχυλεύς 'purple-worker' (Korykos), either for *κογχυλιεύς or from κογχύλη, to which κογχυλευτής 'murex fisher' and κογχυλευτική 'trade of murex fishing' (Just.).
•ETYM The word κόγχος is compared with the similar Skt. *śaṅkhá-* [m.] 'mussel', but a common pre-form cannot be reconstructed. Latin borrowed *concha, conchȳlium, conchīta* from κόγχη, κογχύλιον, κογχίτης. The word is clearly cognate with κόχλος, which suggests that the forms are Pre-Greek (prenasalization); this is confirmed by thevariants κοκάλια, v.ll. -κκ- and κωκάλια (Arist. *HA*, see Fur.: 131). Alternatively, if the comparison with Sanskrit is correct, the word may be a common loanword (Fur.: 278). See ▶κόχλος.

κόδαλα [?] · ἰχθῦς, κεστρεύς 'fish, mullet' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR κοδαλεύεσθαι· ἔνδον διατρίβειν 'to waste away inside', κοδαλαύομαι· ἐνδομυχῶ 'to lie hidden', κοδαλευομένη· ἀρεσκευομένη, ἀπραγοῦσα 'obsequious, subservient; remaining quiet' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

κοδομεύς [m.] 'one who roasts barley' (Poll., H.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Special feminine forms κοδομή and -μεύτρια (also Phot. and Suid.). Remarks on the relation between these words in Boßhardt 1942: 84.
•DER κοδομεύω [v.] 'to roast barley', κοδομεία and κοδομεῖον 'pot for barley' (Poll., H.).
•ETYM Comparison with the Slavic word for 'smoke', e.g. OCS *kaditi*, cannot be upheld. A similar meaning is found in κίδναι· αἱ ἐγχώριοι πεφρυγμέναι κριθαί 'barley roasted on the countryside' (H.), but this has a different vowel. Probably Pre-Greek.

κοδύμαλον ⇒ κυδώνια.

κοδώνεα · σῦκα χειμερινά 'winter fruits' (H.). ⇒ κυδώνια.

κοέω [v.] 'to remark, learn, hear' (Anacr. 4, 14, Hellad. *apud* Phot.). ◂IE **(s)keuh₁-* 'note, see, hear'▸
•VAR Probably also in H. [cod. κοθεῖ].
•DER Also κοάω, in κοᾷ· ἀκούει, πεύθεται 'hears, takes notice'; ἐκοᾶμες· ἠκούσαμεν, ἐπυθόμεθα; ἐκοάθη· ἐπενοήθη, ἐφωράθη 'was contrived, discovered'; κοᾶσαι· αἰσθέσθαι 'perceive' (H.); ἐκόησεν (Call. *Fr.* 53). A primary verb seems to be found in ἔκομεν· εἴδομεν, ἐωρῶμεν, ᾐσθόμεθα 'saw, watched, perceived' (H.), see below. Verbal adjective in ►ἀνακῶς. Λαο-κόων, εὐρυ-κόωσα 'who learns from afar' (Euph. 112, H.), etc. (cf. Bechtel 1917a: 37f.).
•ETYM On κοίης, etc., see ►κοῖον. The form κο(ϝ)έω is identical in origin with Lat. *caveō* 'beware', which derives from **covēre* < PIE **kouh₁-éie-* by Thurneysen-Havet's unrounding of *oụ* in pretonic position; see now Vine *KZ* 119 (2006) on Thurneysen-Havet. A zero-grade primary formation is seen in Skt. *ā-kúvate* 'to have in view'; further forms in LIV² s.v. **(s)keuh₁-* 'wahrnehmen, schauen'. The gloss ἀκεύει· τηρεῖ (H.) rather belongs to ►ἀκούω; ἔκομεν is unclear, on which see Schwyzer: 721[10] and 740. Additionally, there was *(s)keuh₁-* with *s*-mobile; see ►θυοσκόος.

κόθορνος [m.] 'high boot, footware with high base for actors, tragic cothurn' (Hdt., Ar.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM Lydian, acc. to Jonkees *JHS* 60 (1940): 80, but more probably Pre-Greek.

κόθουρος [adj.] epithet of κηφήν or the drone, 'without sting' (Hes. *Op.* 304). ◂?▸
•VAR κόθουριν (cod. -οῦ-)· ἀλώπεκα 'fox' (H.).
•ETYM The formation recalls κόλουρος, fem. -ρις 'with cut (short) tail', said of the fox, etc., which is a compound of κόλος and οὐρά. Frisk connects κόθουρος "ohne Zweifel" with κοθώ· βλάβη 'damage' (H.), which is further unclear. In H., we also find κορθώ· βλάβη, which led to the assumption that κόθουρος stands for *κορθ-ουρος, and that κοθώ was back-formed from κόθουρος. Comparison of this κορθώ with Skt. *kṛdhú-* 'shortened, mutilated, invalid' is formally impossible (**krd*ʰ*-u-*

would have given **κραθ-υ- in Greek). Fur.: 198 connects κοντός, κονδός with a similar meaning (s.v. ►κεντέω).

κοΐ interjection, imitating the sound of young pigs (Ar. *Ach.*, Hdn. Gr.). ◄ONOM►

•DER κοΐζειν [v.] 'to squeak' (Ar. *Ach.*).

•ETYM Like MoE *squeak*, Ru. *kvičát'* 'id.', and other sound-imitations in various languages. Cf. ►κοάξ and ►γρῦ, γρύζω.

κοιακτήρ mystery servant in Sparta. ➡κοῖον.

κοικύλλω [v.] 'to gape about' (Ar. *Th.* 852). ◄?►

•DER Κοικυλίων PN (Ael.).

•ETYM Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 96 suggested relation to ►κύλα 'bags under the eyes, eye socket'. Cf. the synonyms δενδίλλω, δανδαίνω, παπταίνω, etc., which are of similar formation. Tichy 1983: 298 corrects the meaning to 'im Selbstgesprāch die Lippen bewegen, munkeln'. This would mean that the connection with κύλα is folk-etymological.

κοῖλος [adj.] 'hollow, hollowed out, spacious, deep' (Il.). ◄IE? **ḱeuH-* 'hollow'►

•VAR κόϊλος, see below.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κοιλο-γάστωρ 'with an empty stomach, greedy' (A.); on the formation see Sommer 1948: 150.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. κοιλία [f.] 'abdomen, belly, body cavity in general' (IA), κοιλιώδης 'like a belly' (Arist.), κοιλιακός 'belonging to the belly, suffering from diseases of the belly' (Plu., medic.), κοιλιτική (νόσος) 'disease of the belly' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*); diminutive κοιλίδιον (Str.). 2. κοιλάς [f.] 'hollow, ravine' (Hell.), adjectival 'hollow' (Tryph. Ep.). 3. κοιλότης 'hollow' (Arist.). 4. κοιλίσκος [m.] 'hollow, scoop-shaped knife' (medic.), cf. γραφίσκος and other names of instruments in Chantraine 1933: 408. 5. κοίλωμα (Arist., Hell.), κοίλωσις (Hp.) 'hollowing, deepening', cf. κοιλόομαι below.

B. Adjectives (το τὸ κοῖλον 'hollow, cavity'): 1. κοιλώδης 'rich in cavities' (Babr.). 2. κοιλαῖος = κοῖλος (Gal.).

C. Verbs: 1. κοιλαίνω 'to hollow out, excavate' (IA), aor. κοιλᾶναι (-ῆναι), perf. κεκοίλασμαι, whence κοίλανσις (Alex. Aphr.), κοίλασμα (LXX, Hero), κοιλασία (Hero) 'excavation, etc.'. 2. κοιλόομαι, only in κεκοιλωμένος 'hollowed' (D. S., Dsc.); also κοίλωμα, κοίλωσις (if not directly from κοῖλος, see above).

•ETYM κόϊλος can be or must be trisyllabic at all Homeric attestations, except verse-initially at χ 385. The basic form **κόϝιλος* is probably a derivative in -λο- from the root found in κόοι· τὰ χάσματα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τά κοιλώματα 'the depths of the earth, cavities' (H.) and Lat. *cavus* 'hollow' < **ḱouHo-*, MIr. *cúa* 'hollow', and other Celtic forms. Other cognate derivatives in *-l-* are Arm. *soyl* 'cavity' < IE **ḱeu-lo-* (vel sim.), PGm. **hula-* < **ḱuH-ló-* (with pretonic shortening), found in ON *holr*, OE, OFri., OS, OHG *hol* 'hollow' (G. Kroonen p.c.). The root is reconstructed with a laryngeal, because this is required by the cognate formation ►κύαρ 'eye of a needle, orifice in the ear' < **ḱuH-r*. Alb. *thellë* 'deep' may, like Greek, derive from a pre-form **kowilo-*

(thus first Pedersen *KZ* 36 (1900): 332), but could be a loan from Greek. The word ▸ κύλα is probably not connected. See ▸ κῶος.

κοῖλυ [n.sg.] · τὸ καλόν 'sth. good or beautiful' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Connected with a word for 'whole, unhurt, healthy' with representatives in Germanic and Balto-Slavic, e.g. Go. *hails*, OCS *cělъ* 'whole', OPr. *kailūstikan* [acc.sg.] 'health' < PIE **keh₂i-lo-* or European substrate **kailo-*. Frisk and DELG rightfully doubt the appurtenance of the Greek gloss, since the definition is open to many interpretations (does it stand for κοῖλον, with Latte?).

κοιμιάω 'to lay to rest'. •VAR κοιμίζω. ⇒ κεῖμαι.

κοινά · χόρτος 'pasture, fodder' (H.). ◂IE? **ḱoino-* 'grass, hay'▸
•ETYM The gloss corresponds nicely to a Balto-Slavic word for 'hay': Lith. *šiẽnas*, OCS *sěno* 'χόρτος'. However, Latte supposes that χόρτος should be taken in the sense of 'common ground'; in that case, it is simply a form of ▸ κοινός.

κοινός [adj.] 'common, public, usual, impartial', τὸ κοινόν 'the community, common good, public, leading authority, league' (IA, Hes.); Hom. has ξυνός. ◂IE **kom* 'with'▸
•COMP Numerous compounds.
•DER 1. **κοινᾶων* (see Chantraine 1933: 163) > Dor. Arc. κοινάν, -ᾶνος [m.] (Pi., Locris, Tegea), Att. κοινεών, -ῶνος [m.] (E. *HF* 149, 340), κοινών, -ῶνος [m.] (X. *Cyr.*) 'fellow traveler, companion', after κοινωνέω, etc.; thence Dor. κοινανέω (Dor. treaty *apud* Th. 5, 79, 1; Argos, Delphi), Att. κοινωνέω [v.] 'to be a participant, participate' (for **κοινεωνέω*), κοινανία (Pi.), Att. κοινωνία 'community, share', κοινωνός 'companion, etc.' (probably a back-formation, see Leumann 1950: 224); thence κοινανικός (Archyt.), κοινωνικός (Att.) 'common, social'; κοινωνιμαῖος 'regarding the community' (pap.; Chantraine 1933: 49); from κοινωνέω also κοινώνημα (Pl., Arist.). Further nominal derivations: 2. κοινότης [f.] 'community, affability' (Att., Hell.); 3. κοινεῖον 'public hall, community, etc.' (inscr.); 4. κοινάριον diminutive of κοινόν (written *cynarium CIL* 13, 10021, 199). Denominative verb κοινόω, -όομαι 'to make communal, share', also 'to make profane', med. 'to act as member of a community, participate, ask for advice' (IA), aor. κοινᾶσαι (Pi.), κοίνωμα, -μάτιον 'joint, band' (Ph. *Bel.*), κοίνωσις 'intercourse' (Plu.).
•ETYM The word κοινός may be related to the preposition and prefix found in Lat. *cum*, *com-* (*con-*), Gaul. *com-* 'with, together with', Gm. *ga-*, from IE **kom* 'together, with'. We have to assume that an adjective **kom-ió-* > **koṇió-* was formed (see Rix 1976: 67).

κόϊξ, -ϊκος [m.] a kind of palm, 'Hyphaene thebaica', and a basket made from its leaves (com., Thphr.). ◂PG?, LW Eg.?▸
•VAR κόϊς (Epich., *BGU* 972, 5).
•DER κοΐκινος 'made of κ.' (Str.).
•ETYM Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 170 thought that σκοίκιον 'vessel, receptacle' (Cyrene, Hell. pap.) was derived from this word, but it is improbable that the σ- was taken from σκεῦος or σπυρίς. This interchange σ/zero rather points to Pre-Greek origin. A

by-form is ►κοῦκι [n.] (pap., Plin.), which may point to Egyptian origin, see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 214.

κοῖον [?] κώϊον· ἐνέχυρον 'pledge' (H.). ◄LW?, PG?►

•VAR Also κοῦα, κῶα· ἐνέχυρα (H.).

•DER κοιάζει· ἐνεχυράζει 'takes a pledge from', κουάσαι· ἐνεχυριάσαι, κωάζειν· ἐνεχυράζειν, κωαθείς· ἐνεχυριασθείς (H.). As an agent noun κο(ι)ακτήρ, name of a mystery servant in Sparta (*IG* 5(1), 210ff.), meaning ἐνεχυρασ-τής (Fraenkel 1910: 158 after Meister)? Alternative explanations in Bourguet 1927: 112f.

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 41 analyzed it as *κόϝ-ιον, related to κοέω 'to remark, pay attention', with the same semantic development as in Lat. *caveō*, from 'to regard, take care of' to 'to serve as a surety'. He also connects κοίης, κόης· ἱερεὺς Καβείρων, ὁ καθαίρων φονέα 'priest of the Kabeiroi, who purifies a murderer' (H.) with κοιόλης· ὁ ἱερεύς (H., Suid.), κοιᾶται· ἱερᾶται, κοιώσατο· ἁφιερώσατο, καθιερώσατο (H.). However, cf. also Lyd. *kaveś* (Masson *Jb. f. kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1950-51): 182ff.). DELG tentatively adds κωταρχής 'priest' (Didyma). Even more uncertain is κοῖος = ἀριθμός (Ath. 10, 455e) which is supposed to be Macedonian. The group could well be Anatolian or Pre-Greek. The hypothesis connecting Hebr. *kōhēn* 'priest', etc. (Lewy 1895: 258) is now abandoned.

κοίρανος [m.] 'ruler, commander, lord' (Il.). ◄IE **kor(i)o-* 'war, army'►

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. πολυ-κοίρανος 'ruling many' (A. *fr.* 238, lyr.) with πολυκοιρανίη 'lordship over many' (Rhian. 1, 10) but B 204 = 'the presence of many rulers' with the first member as a subject, and the second member as a verbal noun to κοιρανέω.

•DER κοιρανίδαι [pl.] 'sons of rulers, members of the ruling house' (S. *Ant.* 940); κοιρανῆος and κοιρανικός 'belonging to the ruling house' (late poets); κοιρανίη 'dynasty' (D. P., *APl.*); κοιρανέω [v.] 'to rule' (Il.).

•ETYM Derived from a word for 'army, host of warriors' found in Go. *harjis* 'army', Lith. *kārias* 'id.', MIr. *cuire* [m.] 'crowd, group', Gaul. ENs *Tri-*, *Petru-corii* "consisting of three/ four tribes", from IE **korio-*. The Greek word seems to have a close counterpart in ON *herjann*, epithet of Odin, and in the Old British EN *Coriono-tōtae* (see Peters 1980a: 170ff., with an attempt to clarify the derivational history of these words). It is debated whether the suffix **-no-* is old in the type Lat. *dominus* from *domus*, Go. *þiudans* 'king' from *þiuda* 'people', etc. In Greek, the base form **korio-* still existed in proper names like Κοιρό-μαχος, Κοιρατάδας. Beside IE **kor-io-*, there was **kor(o)-* in Lith. *kāras* 'war', OP *kāra-* 'army, people'. In Greek, the old word κοίρανος was replaced by the substrate words ►ἄναξ and ►βασιλεύς.

κοκ(κ)άλια [n.pl.] 'small crustacaeans (Arist. *HA* 528a 9). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also κωκ-.

•ETYM On the meaning, see Thompson 1947 s.v., who points to similar Italian names like *cocciole*, *cozzule*. The word should be connected as Pre-Greek together with its variant ►κόγχη.

κόκκος [m.] 1. 'kernel of fruits, especially of the pomegranate' (*h. Cer.*, IA), cf. Strömberg 1937: 185; 2. 'berry (gall) of the kermes oak, scarlet, kermes oak' (Thphr., Gal., Dsc.), see Michell *Class. Rev.* 69 (1955): 246; 3. metaph. 'pill' (medic.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP κοκκο-βαφής 'painted with scarlet' (Thphr.), καλλί-κοκκος 'with beautiful kernels' (Thphr.); κοκκό-δαφνον, δαφνό-κοκκον (medic.) = κόκκος δάφνης, δαφνίς (Strömberg 1944: 7).

•DER Diminutives κοκκίον, κοκκάριον (medic.); κόκκων, -ωνος [m.] 'kernel of the pomegranate' (Sol., Hp.), 'mistletoe berry' (H.), κόκκαλος [m.] 'kernel of the stone-pine' (Hp., Gal.), see Chantraine 1933: 247; κοκκίδες [pl.] 'scarlet slippers' (Herod.), -ίδα· αἴγειρον 'black poplar' (H.); κόκκινος 'scarlet' (Herod., pap., Arr.), whence κοκκινίζω [v.] 'to be scarlet-colored' (sch.), κοκκηρός 'made of scarlet' (*Edict. Diocl.*), cf. οἰνηρός, ἐλαιηρός; κοκκίζω [v.] 'to take out the kernel' (A., Ar.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1945): 126 adduces Span. *cuesco* 'nut' and considers a Mediterranaean loan **kosko-*, from which κόκκος would also derive; this is rejected by Fur.: 293[4]. Probably Pre-Greek.

κοκρύδων ⇒ κορδύς.

κόκκῡ [interj.] cry of the cuckoo; also a cry in general (Ar.). ◁PG?, ONOM▷

•COMP As a first member in κοκκυ-βόας ὄρνις name of the cock (S. *fr.* 791; codd. Eust. κοκκο-).

•DER κοκκύζω of the cry of the cuckoo and of the cock (Hes.), κοκκυσμός 'shrill cry' (Nicom. Math.), κοκκυστής 'crier' (Timo); κόκκυξ, -ῡγος [m.] 'cuckoo' (Hes.), -υγος [nom.] (Alc.), also metaph., e.g. as a fish name (Hp., Arist.), a fig (Nic.); see Strömberg 1943: 116, Strömberg 1940: 73. From κόκκυξ: Κοκκύγιον name of a mountain (Paus.); κοκκυγία· ἀνεμώνη. Κροτωνιᾶται 'poppy anemone (Krotoniate)' (H.), "cuckooflower" acc. to Strömberg l.c.; κοκκυγέα 'Rhus cotinus', a tree (Plin.; conj. in Thphr. *HP* 3, 16, 6). With labial suffix the PN Κόκκυψ, Κοκκουβίας (Boeot.), cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 262f. Here perhaps also κόκκυς· λόφος (H.), if to be interpreted as 'cock's comb'.

•ETYM Cf. ▸κοκκύμηλον. Onomatopoeic, like Skt. *kokilá-* 'cuckoo', *kukkuṭá-* 'cock', Lat. *cucūlus*, MoE *cuckoo*, etc. On κόκκυξ, see Thompson 1895 s.v. The word could well be Pre-Greek.

κοκκύμηλον [n.] 'plum' (Archil.). ◁PG?▷

•DER κοκκυμηλέα [f.] 'plum tree' (Arar. Com., Thphr.), -μηλών [m.] 'plum garden' (gloss.).

•ETYM Connection with κόκκος as 'stone fruit' seems probable (see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 182); the -υ- would have to be folk-etymological after κόκκυξ, but no motivation for the replacement is indicated (cf. Strömberg 1940: 73). Note κοδύμαλον (s.v. ▸κυδώνια). The word could be Pre-Greek.

κοκύαι [pl.m., f.] 'forefathers' (*AP*, Call., H.). ◁?▷

•VAR V.l. κοκκ-. Cf. κουκᾶ· πάππων 'of ancestors' (H.).

•ETYM Grošelj *Razprave* 2: 12 and Schmidt ad loc. compared ▸γυγαί · πάπποι (H.). Cf. also Pfeiffer 1949-1953 ad *Call. fr.* 340.

κόκχος [?] = Lat. *coculum* 'a vessel for cooking' (*PHamb.* 12, 36). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM From the Latin word, which is derived from *coquō* 'to cook' (DELG).

κόλαβρος [m.] name of a song which accompanied the dance κολαβρισμός (Ath.), = χοιρίδιον 'little pig' (H. [cod. κοιλίδιον], Suid.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR καλαβρισμός (v.l. codd. Ath. 14, 629d). Cf. κολόβριον 'little pig' (Ar. Byz. *apud* Eust. 1817, 19), Fur.: 343.
•DER κολαβρίζειν· σκιρτᾶν 'to leap, bound' (H.), pass. 'to be derided' (LXX), κολαβρισμός (Ath., Poll.); κολαβρευομένη· κώλοις ἀλλομένη 'twitching with the limbs' (H.). See Lawler and Kober *Class. Phil.* 40 (1945): 98ff. with hypotheses on the etymology.
•ETYM Poll. 4, 100 calls the dance Thracian or Carian, so the word is probably foreign. Cf. Suid. κολαβρισθείη· χλειασθείη, ἐκτιναχθείη, ἀτιμιασθείη· κόλαβρος γὰρ ὁ μικρὸς χοῖρος 'was mocked, kicked out, dishonored; for a κ. is a small pig'. Fur.: 343 compares κολόβριον 'little pig' (Ar. Byz. *apud* Eust. 1817, 19), which means that the word is Pre-Greek. For the dance, he compares καλλαβίς 'a passionate dance'; note the v.l. καλαβρισμός (codd. Ath.).

κολάζω 'to chastize, punish'. ⇒ κόλος.

κόλαξ, -ᾰκος [m.] 'flatterer, fawner' (Att., Hell.). ◁PG(S)▷
•COMP Often as a second member (com.), e.g. κνισο-κόλαξ; see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 277.
•DER κολακεία (Democr., Pl.), κολακίς [f.] (Clearch., Plu.), κολακικός 'flattering' (Pl.) and κολακεύω 'to flatter' (Att. Hell.); κολάκευμα (X.) 'flattering', κολακευτικός 'id.' (Pl.), κολακευτής = κόλαξ (gloss.).
•ETYM A word from Attic everyday language without established etymology. As the suffix -ακ- originates from Pre-Greek, the same probably holds for this word.

κολάπτω [v.] 'to peck (of birds), strike, carve, engrave' (IA, Aeol.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Aor. κολάψαι.
•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐν-, ἐκ-.
•DER ἐγ-κόλαψις 'inscription', ἐκ- 'obliteration' (inscr., Arist.), ἐγ-κόλαμμα 'inscription' (LXX, Priene), (ἐγ-)κολαπτός 'carved out' (inscr., LXX); κολαπτήρ [m.] 'chisel' with δια-κολαπτηρίζω 'to engrave with a chisel' (Lebadeia); also δρυ(ο)-κολάπτ-[τ]ης 'woodpecker' (Ar., Arist.; see further ▸δρῦς), a compound of δόρυ and κολάπτειν with suffixal -της, similar κρᾱνο-κολάπτης name of a venomous spider (Philum.).
•ETYM Frisk and DELG assume that κολάπτω derives from an IE root **kelh₂-*, and that it replaces a primary verb by adding -άπτω after verbs with similar meaning, like σκάπτω, δαρδάπτω, κόπτω; the resultant form perhaps replaced a primary verb preserved in Lith. *kálti*, 1sg. *kalù* 'to forge, hammer', OCS *klati*, *koljǫ* 'σφάττειν', Ru. *kolót'* 'sting, split, chop'. Several other Greek words have been connected with this root; see discussion on ▸κόλος, ▸κελεός, ▸κλάω. Cf. LIV² s.v. **kelh₂-*. However, as long as the origin of the labial enlargement is not further clarified, it is best to assume that κολάπτω is derived from ▸κόλαφος and, therefore, of Pre-Greek origin.

κόλαφος [m.] 'punch, buffet' (Epich. 1 as a name of a παιδοτρίβης, H., *EM*). ◁PG▷
•VAR κόλαφος· κόνδυλος 'knuckle' (H.).
•DER κολαφίζω 'to punch, to box on the ear' (NT, *Sammelb.* 6263, 23); Κολαφίδιον Att. woman's name, see Fraenkel 1912: 86[3]).
•ETYM A lowly word without clear etymology. For the formation, it has been compared to ►κρόταφος (Chantraine 1933: 264). Frisk and DELG argued that κόλαφος derives from ►κολάπτω as a back-formation, if the two are cognate, but it remains unclear why they do not consider κόλαφος as basic. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, with κολάπτω as the accompanying denominative. Latin borrowed the word as *colap(h)us* (Plaut.); see Ernout *RPh.* 77 (1951): 155f. It received a wide distribution in Vulgar Latin and in the Romance languages (VLat. *colpus*, Ital. *colpo*, MoFr. *coup*, etc.); it perhaps also appears in Go. *kaupatjan* 'κολαφίζειν'.

κολέα [f.] · ποιά τις ὄρχησις 'kind of dance' (H.). ◁PG?(S)▷
•VAR κολία· ὀρχήσεως εἶδος 'id.' (H.).
•DER κολιάσαι· ὀρχήσασθαι 'to dance' (H.), ipf. ἐκολίαζε (*IG* 12 Supp. 244; cf. Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 39f.).
•ETYM The variant in -έα suggests Pre-Greek origin.

κολεκάνοι [m.pl.] · τοῦτο ἐπὶ μήκους σὺν λεπτότητι ἐτάσσετο 'used in the case of length combined with thinness' (H., citing Strat. 64). ◁PG?▷
•VAR κολοκάνοι· εὐμηκεῖς καὶ λεπτοί 'tall and thin, narrow' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown; probably Pre-Greek.

κολεόν [n.] 'sheath of a sword' (Il.), see Trümpy 1950: 62. ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also -ός [m.], lengthened κουλ-.
•COMP Also in compounds, e.g. κολεό-πτερος 'sheath-winged (of beetles)' (Arist.), σιδηρο-κόλεος 'with iron sheath' (pap. III[a]).
•DER Denominative κολεάζοντες· ὠθοῦντες εἰς κολεόν, περαίνοντες 'thrusting into the sheath, penetrating' (H.) (likewise *Ath. Mitt.* 59, 66; Syrus V[a]), κολεασμός· τὸ περαίνεσθαι 'penetration' (H.). It is unlikely that κόλυθροι [pl.] 'testicles' (Arist.) belongs here too; κόλυθρον, -τρον also means 'with ripe figs' (Ath. 3, 76f.); cf. on ►σκόλυθρον.
•ETYM The suffix recalls ►εἰλεός 'hole, den, etc.'. Acc. to Meillet *BSL* 30 (1930): 115[1], κολεόν comes from a Mediterranaean language, like Lat. *culleus* 'leather sack'; cf. WH s.v. Therefore, it is probably Pre-Greek. Connection with ►καλύπτω, ►κέλῡφος as an inherited word (*κολεϝόν) is formally impossible; these too are substrate words.

κολετράω [v.] 'to trample on' (Ar. *Nu.* 552). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Acc. to H., a term from oil preparation: ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς ἐλαίας πατούντων, ὅ δὴ λέγουσι κολετρᾶν 'after those treading olives, which is called κ.'. This presupposes a substantive *κόλετρον or *κολέτρα, which could be an instrument noun or nomen loci, but the meaning of which remains unknown. Connection with κόλος, κολάπτω, etc. does not help much. Probably a technical Pre-Greek term.

κολίας [m.] name of a mackerel-like fish, 'Scomber colias' (Epich., Ar., Arist.). ◁?▷

•DER Diminutive κολίδιον (medic.).

•ETYM Formation like ἀκανθίας, ξιφίας, and other fish and animal names (Chantraine 1933: 94); further unexplained. Cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.

κόλλᾰ [f.] 'glue' (Emp., Hdt., Hp., E.). ◂PG?, IE? **kol-* 'glue'▸

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κολλ-εψός 'glue-boiler' (Att. inscr., Poll.); as a second member in ταυρό-, ἰχθυό-κολλα 'bull-, fish-glue' (Plb., Dsc.); but ποτί-, σύγ-κολλος, etc. (Pi., A.) are back-formations to ποτι-, συγ-κολλάω, etc.

•DER κολλήεντα [n.pl.] (O 389 ξυστά, Hes. *Sc.* 309 ἄρματα) 'well-fixed', cf. κολλητός below; κολλώδης 'gluey, sticky' (Pl., Arist.). Denominative verb κολλάω 'to glue, stick together, make one, unite' (Pi., Emp., IA), often with prefixes like συν-, προσ-, ἐν-, κατα-; κόλλημα 'what is glued together, etc.', plur. 'papyrus leaves that form a scroll', κόλλησις 'glueing together, soldering' (IA) with (συγ-)κολλήσιμος, -ον 'glued together' (pap.); (συγ-)κολλητής 'who glues together' (Ar., pap.); κολλητήριον 'glue' (Ph. *Bel.*); κόλλητρα [pl.] 'cost of soldering' (pap.); κολλητός 'glued together, well-fixed' (Il.), Ammann 1956: 16, κολλητικός (Dor. -ᾱτ-) 'gluey, gluing together' (Arist., Epid., pap.), κολλητικὰ ἔργα 'plumber's work' (pap.). As a second member in the back-formation πρωτό-κολλον [n.] 'the first fixed (glued) leaf of a papyrus scroll' (Just.). Rarely ἐπι-κολλαίνω 'to stick to' (Thphr.), κολλίζω (Gp.), κολλιστής (gloss.).

•ETYM κόλλᾰ may be a derivation in *-ia* from a root **kol-*, but further details are obscure. The similarity with a Slavic word for 'glue' (e.g. CS *klějь*, *klejь*, Ru. *klej* < PSl. **klějь*; **klьjь*) is only apparent (there is no evidence for **kъlějь*, **kъlьjь* with reduced vowel). The Germanic verb MDu. and MLG *helen* 'stick' < PGm. **haljan* is limited to a small area, and is hard to connect with κόλλα. Because of the geminate -λλ-, the Greek word could be Pre-Greek in origin, i.e. **kolʲa*. It was taken over by Romance, e.g. Ital. *colla*, MoFr. *colle*, etc. See ►γλοιός.

κόλλαβος [m.] a kind of bread or cake (Ar., Philyll.); also = κόλλοψ (Luc., Iamb., H.). ◂PG▸

•DER κολλαβίζω "to play κόλλαβος", i.e. one holds his eyes, while the other strikes him, and asks him to guess by which hand he has been struck (Poll. 9, 129); the naming motive is obscure.

•ETYM Popular word in -βος (Schwyzer: 496, Chantraine 1933: 261f.) and, like so many words of the same formation, without etymology. Could the word originally mean 'buffet'? See ►κόλλοψ. Cf. further ►κόλλιξ and ►κολλύρα. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek; cf. also Guilleux *RPh.* 75 (2001) s.v.

κόλλιξ, -ῑκος [m.] 'round, coarse bread' (Hippon., com.), 'tablet' (medic.). ◂PG▸

•COMP κολλικο-φάγος (Ar.).

•DER κολλίκιος ἄρτος (Ath.), κολλίκιον (Greg. Cor.).

•ETYM The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, because of the suffix -ῑκ-.

κολλόροβον ⇒ καλαῦροψ.

κόλλουρος [m.] name of an unknown fish (Marc. Sid. 22). ◂PG(S)▸

•DER κολλουρίς 'marshmallow' (gloss.).

•ETYM Strömberg 1943: 48 proposes that the word replaced *κόλ-ουρος 'with stump tail', with expressive gemination; as a marsh-plant, the mallow would have been called after the fish (ibd. 25). André *RPh.* 45 (1971): 216f. separates κολλουρίς from the fish and and connects it with κολλ(ο)ύρα 'small, round flat bread', given the similarity of the fruit of the mallow with a cake. Probably Pre-Greek, given the geminate -λλ- (which is not a sign of expressiveness) and the suffix -ουρ(ος).

κόλλοψ, -οπος [m.] 'peg or screw by which the strings of the lyre were tightened' (φ 407, Ar., Pl., Luc.); 'thick skin on the upper part of the neck of oxen or pigs' (Ar. *fr.* 646 and 506, 3); 'bar by which a windlass was turned' (Arist. *Mech.* 852b 12); metaph. 'ἀνδρόγυνος, *cinaedus*' (Hell. com., *AP*). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•VAR Also κόλλαβος (in the first mg.).

•COMP κολλοπο-διώκτης (sch. Ar. *Nu.* 347, Eust., Suid.).

•DER κολλοπεύω 'to be a κόλλοψ' (Pl. Com.); other denominatives: κολλοπίζειν· καθέλκειν 'to draw or carry down' and κολλοπῶσαι· κατακολλῆσαι 'to glue upon' (H.), with folk-etymological connection with ▸κόλλα.

•ETYM A technical term, which was analyzed by H. as διὰ τὸ εἰς κόλλαν εὐθετεῖν (referring to the thick part of the neck of animals). Others have proposed relation to Lat. *callum* 'thick skin, callosity'; Bq suggested to connect it with ▸σκόλοψ 'pole'. The word is clearly Pre-Greek because of its suffix; this is further confirmed if κόλλαβος is a variant (-οπ-/ -απ-/ -αβ- is a Pre-Greek suffix variation).

κόλλυβος 1 [m.] 'small change' (Ar., Eup., Call.), 'small gold weight' (Thphr.); 'rate of exchange' (Hell., inscr., pap., Cic.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (Poll. 9, 72).

•DER κολλυβιστής 'money changer' (Men., NT, pap.), from *κολλυβίζω; κολλυβιστικός and κολλυβιστήριον 'exchange office' (pap. and ostr.).

•ETYM Explained as Semitic by Lewy 1895: 119f., who compared Hebr. *ḥālap* 'exchange'. However, the element -υβ- (which cannot be explained from the Hebr. word) rather points to a Pre-Greek word.

κολλῦρα mg. uncertain, probably 'cake, tablet' (Ar., Thphr., LXX, pap.), cf. κόλλιξ and κόλλαβος. ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Also κολλούρα.

•DER Diminutives κολλυρίς and κολλύριον (-ού-) (LXX, pap.); κολλύριον (-ού-) usually 'eyesalve, salve in general', in the form of a tablet (*Apoc.*, Arr., medic., inscr. and pap.); κολλυρικός 'made from κολλῦραι' (Plaut. *Pers.* 95), κολλυρίζω 'to bake κ.' (LXX), κολλυριόομαι in κεκολλυριωμένον (cod. -ρόμενον)· λευκῷ κεχρισμένον 'anointed with white' (H.); κολλυρίων [m.] name of a bird, probably 'thrush' (Arist.); also κορυλλίων (H.), naming motive unknown (cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.).

•ETYM Like other words in -ῦρα (ἄγκῦρα, γέφυρα, λέπῦρον), probably Pre-Greek (see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes). If the variation υ/ ου is old, this also points to Pre-Greek origin.

κολοβάφινος •VAR χολοβάφινος. ⇒χολή.

κολοβός [adj.] 'curtailed, maimed, short' (Pl., X., Arist., Hell.). ◂PG(S)▸

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κολοβό-κερκος 'with docked tail' (LXX).
•DER κολόβιον [n.] 'jacket without sleeves' (pap.), also κολόβαξ (gloss.); κολοβώδης 'stunted, stumpy' (Polem. *Phgn.* [v.l.]), κολοβότης 'stuntedness' (Plu.). Denominative verbs: 1. κολοβόω 'to stunt, shorten', κολόβωσις 'mutilation', κολόβωμα 'maimed, amputated member' (Arist.); 2. κολοβίζω 'id.' (Thera I^{a}-I^{p}).
•ETYM An enlargement of κόλος 'id.'; see also on ►κλαμβός. Since the suffix -(ο)βο- cannot be explained in IE terms, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

κολοιός [m.] 'jackdaw, Corvus monedula' (Il., Pi., Ar., Arist.). ◄PG(V)►
•DER κολοιώδης (Plu.), κολοιάω (Poll. 5, 89), -ᾱ́ω (B 212) 'to cry (like a jackdaw)', κολᾱ́εω 'id.' (Antim. 37); back-formation κολᾱός 'screeching' (A 575, A. R. 1, 1284), κολοιή· φωνή 'voice' (H.).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic origin cannot be further substantiated; neither does the word belong to καλέω. It would be highly unsatisfactory to separate κολᾱάω, -ᾱός from κολοιάω, -οιός, but an explanation of the notation with -ᾱ- (in ἐκολᾱ́α B 212) has not been found (cf. the hypotheses in Frisk and DELG). Cf. also κολουᾶν· θορυβεῖν 'to make noise' (H.). These variants may be of Pre-Greek origin. See ►κολοίφρυξ.

κολοιτία [f.] tree that grew on the Liparian islands 'Cytisus aeolicus', also 'sallow, Salix cinerea' (Thphr.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also κολουτέα, κολυτέα [f.] 'Colutea arborescens' (Thphr.), whence Lat. *colūtea* [n.pl.] 'its fruits'; in H. also κολοιτέα, κολωτέα, κοιλωτέα· δένδρον τι 'a tree'.
•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word, given the variation. Cf. on ►κολοκύνθη.

κολοίφρυξ [?] · Ταναγραῖος ἀλεκτρυών. καὶ ὄρος Βοιωτίας 'Tanagrian cock; mountain in Boeotia' (H.). ◄PG?►
•ETYM The second element is not in any way related to φάρυξ. Probably Pre-Greek.

κολόκυμα [n.] 'large heavy wall' before it breaks, said of the threats of Cleon, only (Ar. *Eq.* 692). ◄?►
•ETYM Explained in various ways since antiquity: κόλον κῦμα 'blunt wave' (sch. ad loc.); τυφλὸν or μακρὸν κῦμα 'blind or high wave' (H.); κωφὸν κῦμα καὶ μὴ ἐπικαχλάζον 'silent wave, not gurgling' (Suid.). See the suggestion by Taillardat 1962: §343 in DELG s.v.

κολοκύνθη [f.] 'round gourd, Lagenaria vulgaris' (Hp., com., Arist., pap.). ◄PG(S)►
•VAR Att. -τη, later -υνθᾶ, -υντᾶ (Solmsen 1909: 263), late also -υνθος (-υντος, -ιντος) [m.].
•COMP κολοκυνθαρύταινα [f.] 'spoon from κ.' (pap.).
•DER Diminutives κολοκύντιον (Phryn. Com.), -υνθίς 'κολόκυνθα ἀγρία' (Dsc., Gal.), -ύνθινος (-ύντινος, -ίνθινος) 'made with κ.' (pap., Luc.), -υνθιάς [f.] 'id.' (*AP*), -ών 'plantation of κ.' (pap.); ἀποκολοκύντωσις 'transformation into a pumpkin' (Seneca, D. C. 60, 35). Κολοκυνθώ [f.] PN; see Schulze 1933a: 309f.
•ETYM The suffix -υνθος, -ινθος, frequent in plant names, points to Pre-Greek origin. Cf. also κύκυον· τὸν σικυόν, κυκύϊζα· γλυκεῖα κολόκυντα 'sweet gourd' (H.). An informant in Ath. 2, 58f. says that it was introduced from India, but the comparison

with Skt. *kālinda-* [n.] 'watermelon' and Kurd. *kalak* 'melon' is not very informative. On the names of the gourd and cucumber, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 652ff.

κόλον [n.] 'large intestine, ileum' (Ar. *Eq.* 455, Arist., Nic., Poll.); name of food preserved in a pot (*PSI* 5, 535, 39; 46, III[a]), acc. to Ath. 6, 262a = ἡ τροφή 'food'. ◁?▷

•ETYM No convincing explanation. Bq hesitantly pointed to κυλλός 'curbed', κελλόν· στρεβλόν 'twisted' (H.); others have connected it with ►καλίδια · ἔντερα. Κύπριοι 'entrails (Cypr.)' (H.). Late Greek had the form κῶλον, influenced by κῶλον 'member'. Fur.: 131 connects χοάς 'intestines', and further χόλικες, γόλα· ἔντερα. Μακεδόνες (γόδα codd.), γάλλια· ἔντερα, γάλλος = χόλιξ; none of these is really convincing.

κόλος [adj.] 'hornless, with stunted horns', of cows and goats (Hdt., Theoc., Nic., H.), of a spear 'without point' (Π 117), of battle 'broken off' (sch.), as a name of book Θ. ◁PG?▷

•COMP As a first member in κόλουρος 'with short tail' (Plu.), as a mathematical and astronomical term 'blunt' (Hipparch. Astr., Hero, Nicom.); κολουραῖος 'broken off, steep' (of πέτρα, Call.), κολούρα 'hill, etc.' (Hermione, Epid.), κολουρίᾳ· τῇ ἀποτομίᾳ 'in a piece?', κολουρῖτις· γῆ. Σικελοί 'earth (Sicilian)' (H.), κολούρωσις = κολόβωσις (Iamb.); Lat. LW *clūra* '(kind of) monkey' (WH s.v., Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 206[8]).

•DER κόλ-ερος 'with short-sheared fleece' (Arist.), opposed to εὔ-, ἔπ-ερος, perhaps after κόλουρος; see on ►εἶρος; further κολόχειρ· χείραργος (H.). Derived from κόλος or closely related are two verbs: 1. κολάζω 'to wring in, chastise, punish, cut' (IA), aor. κολάσαι, rarely with συν-, άντι-, προ-; thence probably denominative κόλασις 'chastisement' (IA), -ασμια (Ar., X.), -ασμιός (Plu.) 'id.'; κολαστής 'punisher' (trag., Pl., Lys.), also κολαστήρ 'id.' (Arr.), fem. κολάστρια (Ezek.), κολάστειρα (*AP*); κολαστήριον 'punishment', -ος [adj.] 'punishing' (X., Ph.), κολαστικός 'punishing' (Pl.). 2. κολούω 'to mutilate, limit' (Il.), aor. κολοῦσαι, sometimes with περι-, κατα-, άπο-; formation unclear (cf. Schwyzer: 683, Chantraine 1942: 374 and see on ►κωλύω). From it κόλουσις 'docking, cutting short' (Arist.), κολούσματα· κλάσματα 'fragments' (H.).

•ETYM The archaic word κόλος was replaced by κολοβός, and also by κόλουρος. It is usually taken as a verbal noun from a Balto-Slavic primary verb: Lith. *kálti*, 1sg. *kalù* 'to beat, forge', OCS *klati*, 1sg. *koljǫ* 'to butcher'. In Greek, the root may have left some traces in ►κλάω, but see s.v. In any case, connection with ►κελεός and ►κολάπτω is improbable. The barytone accent may be connected with the passive meaning (Schwyzer: 459); perhaps κόλος was originally a substantive. The fact that κολάπτω and ►κολούω are of unclear formation might point to a Pre-Greek complex.

κολοσσός [m.] 'gigantic statue, colossus' (Hdt. [only about Egypt], Hell.), also 'statue' in general (A., Hell.), 'figure, puppet representing someone absent' (Cyrene, *SEG* IX, 72, 117 and 122), cf. Buck 1955: 112. ◁PG▷

•VAR -ττ- (D. S.), -σ- [f.] (Cyrene).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κολοσσο-ποιός (Hero).

•DER κολοσσιαῖος (D. S. [-ττ-], Ph., pap.), -ικός (D. S. [-ττ-], Str., Plu.) 'having the size of a κ., colossal'.

•ETYM Ample discussion of the word by Benveniste *RPh.* 58 (1929): 118ff. The element -σσ- typically points to Pre-Greek origin: it could represent PG *t^y or *k^y, like in ►θάλασσα. Bq compared ►κολεκάνοι (also -οκ-) 'tall, meager man' (Stratt., H.), which is possible if we start from *$kolok^y$- / *$kolok^y$-*n*-, with depalatalization before the nasal.

κολοσυρτός [m.] 'noisy rabble, tumult, uproar' (Il., Hes., Ar.). ◅?▻

•DER κολοσυρτεῖ· θορυβεῖ, ταράσσει 'makes troubles, agitates' (H.).

•ETYM Frequently analyzed as κολο-συρ-τός (cf. κονιορτός, ἀμιαξιτός, βουλυτός for this use of the suffix -τό-), of which the second member would be from ►σύρω 'to draw, sweep' (Suid. s.v.), and the first member remain unexplained.

κολούλια [n.pl.] 'gastropod mollusks' (Xenocr. *apud* Orob. 2, 58, 79). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also in Lat. *coluthia* (Plin. *NH* 32, 84, 147).

•ETYM Unknown.

κολούω ⇒κόλος.

κολοφών, -ῶνος [m.] 'summit, top, pinnacle', only metaph. (Pl., com. Adesp., Str.), acc. to H. also = κολιός 'green woodpecker' (i.e. ►κελεός; s.v.) and ἰχθῦς θαλάσσιος 'sea fish'. ◅PG▻

•DER κολοφωνέω [v.] 'to crown a work' (Steph. in Hp.). Also a TN, town in Ionia; Κολοφώνιος 'from K., inhabitant of K.'.

•ETYM A connection with κολωνός 'hill' via an analysis *κολαφών < IE *kol_{H}-b^h*o*- is highly doubtful; the Anatolian toponym rather points to substrate origin. See Chantraine 1933: 162.

κόλπος [m.] 'bosom, lap, gulf, bay, vale, womb' (Il.), also 'fistulous ulcer under the skin', = κολπάριον 'id.' (medic.). ◅IE *k^welp- 'curve, vault',▻ *k^wolp-*o*-▻

•COMP As a second member e.g. in βαθύ-κολπος 'with folds of the garment falling down deep' (Il.).

•DER κολπώδης 'bosom-like, full of bays' (E., Plb.); κολπίας 'puffing up' (πέπλος, A. *Pers.* 1060), 'wind blowing from the bay', ἐγκολπίας 'id.' (Arist.); Κολπίτης [m.] old name of Phoenicia (Steph. Byz.), plur. "inhabitants of the coast", name of an uncivilized people living by the Red Sea (Philostr.), cf. below on διακολπιτεύω; κολπόομαι, -όω 'to puff up' (B., Hp.), κόλπωσις, -ωμα 'puff', -ωτός. Several prefixed forms in various functions, of which most are Hell.: ἐγ-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-κόλπιος, ἀνα-, ἐγ-, ἐπι-κολπόω, ἐγ-, κατα-, περι-κολπίζω, etc. However, note (δια-)κολπιτεύω 'to smuggle' (*PTeb.* 709, 9; 14 [II^a]), which hardly belongs to κόλπος 'bosom, etc.', but rather with the ethnonym Κολπῖται "inhabitants of the coast" (see above); likewise ἔλαιον κολπιτικόν (*PTeb.* 38, 12 and 125 [II^a]) 'smuggled oil'.

•ETYM If we connect κόλπος with MoHG *wölben* as a verbal noun to the primary verb preserved in ON *holfinn* 'vaulted', causative ON *hvelfa*, OHG *(h)welben* 'to vault', we have to assume dissimilation *k^w ... *p* > κ ... π for Greek (see Schwyzer: 302, Lejeune 1972: §72^3). Germanic also has a verbal noun ON *hvalf*, OE *hwealf* [f.]

'vault', which would be identical with κόλπος. The comparison of OE *heofon-hwealf* 'vault of heaven' with αἰθέρος κόλποι (Pi. *O.* 13, 88) is not compelling, as the Greek expression could be based on the image of a bosom and the Germanic on that of a vault. Vulgar Latin borrowed κόλπος as *colphus* > Ital. *golfo*, MoFr. *golfe*, etc.

κόλσασθαι · ἱκετεῦσαι 'to supplicate' (H.). ⇒ κῶλον.

κολύβδαινα [f.] 'kind of crab' (Epich. 57). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Cf. κολύμβαινα 'id.', see on ▶κόλυμβος. A typically Pre-Greek word, with interchange βδ/ β and prenasalization. There is no reason to assume influence of μολύβδαινα 'bull of lead'.

κόλυβος ⇒ καλύπτω.

κόλυθροι 'testicles'. ⇒ κολεόν and σκόλυθρον.

κόλυμβος [m.] 'little-grebe, Podiceps minor' (Ar.), see Thompson 1895: 158, also a back-formation of ▶κολυμβάω. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Note κολυμφάω (*EM* 526, 2). In the same mg. κολυμβίς [f.] (Ar., Arist.), -άς [f.] 'id.' (Ath.), but more commonly of olives pickled in brine (Diph. Siph., pap.); κολύμβαινα = κολύβδαινα (Archig. *apud* Gal.), κολύμβατος name of a plant (Gp.), naming motive unknown, cf. Strömberg 1940: 113, and κολυμβάς name of a shrub (στοιβή) in Gal.
•DER Denominative verb κολυμβάω 'to dive, submerge, jump into the water, swim' (Att., Hell.), often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, κατα-, ἀνα-, δια-, κολυμβήθρα 'bathing place, pool, cistern' (Pl.), κολύμβησις 'diving' = 'pearl fishery' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), back-formation κόλυμβος = κολύμβησις (Str., Paus., Plu.) and -ήθρα (Hero); κολυμβητήρ (A.) and -ητής (Th., Pl.) 'diver' (cf. Fraenkel 1912: 14 and 17f.), κολυμβητική (τέχνη) 'art of diving' (Pl.); also κολυμβιστής (sch.); κολυμβιτεύω (= -ητεύω?) 'to throw into the water' (pap.).
•ETYM Lat. *columba* 'dove' is similar, but a common pre-form would make no sense. Apart from the suffix -υμβ-, the variant κολυμφάω proves that the word is Pre-Greek. The variation μβ / βδ is most easily explained from $*p^{y}$, the palatal feature of which was lost after prenasalization, giving μβ (cf. Fur.: 307[117], although ▶μόλυβδος / *plumbum* must now be given up).

κολύμφατος [?] · φλοιός, λεπίδιον 'bark, capsule' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Referring to a part of a plant, the gloss must be identical with κολύμβατος (see ▶κόλυμβος), with well-known Pre-Greek variation.

κολυτέα plant name. ⇒ κολοιτέα.

κολχικόν [n.] name of a venomous type of saffron, 'Colchicum speciosum' (Dsc.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Named after its homeland, Κολχίς; see Strömberg 1940: 122.

κολώνη [f.] 'hill, height, heap of stones, mound, etc.' (Il., Pi., S.), also as a TN (town in Troas, Att. deme). ◁IE **kolH-n-* 'rise, height'▷
•VAR κολωνός [m.] (*h. Cer.*, Hdt., X., A. R.).

•COMP As a second member in Καλλι-κολώνη hill near Troy (Il.), ὑψι-κόλωνος 'towering high' (Opp.).
•DER κολωνία· τάφος. Ἠλεῖοι 'funeral rite, tomb (Elean)' (H.), alphabetically misplaced, so perhaps for -ώνα (Schmidt); Κολωνέται [pl.] EN derived from the deme-name (Hyperid.).
•ETYM The forms κολών-η beside κολων-ός point to an old *n*-stem. This is also seen in Lith. *kálnas* 'mountain', Lat. *collis* 'hill' < **kolnis*, OE *hyll*, MoE *hill* < PGm. **huln-i-*. The *n*-stem **kolH-n-*, **klH-n-* belongs to a primary verb 'rise up', from which Lat. *-cellō* < **-kel-nH-* forms a nasal present (see De Vaan 2008), and for which Lith. *kélti*, 1sg. *keliù* 'to lift' proves a root-final laryngeal. On the suffix -ών-η, -ων-ός, see Chantraine 1933: 207f. and Schmeja *IF* 68 (1963): 36ff.; they probably arose by extending the vocalism of the nominative to the other cases.

κολῳός 'screeching'. ⇒ κολοιός.

κομάκτωρ, -ορος [m.] mg. uncertain (Rhinth. 9, *Inscr. Magn.* 217 [I^{a}]). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM Probably from Lat. *coactor* 'exactor pecuniae' (Fraenkel 1912: 70f.). Not from Osc. **comahtor*, as per von Blumenthal *Glotta* 18 (1930): 149.

κομαρίδες [acc.pl.f.] 'a fish' (Epich. 47). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

κόμαρος 1 [f., m.] 'strawberry tree, Arbutus unedo' (com., Thphr., Theoc.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also κύμαρος (H.).
•DER κόμ(μ)αρι [n.] 'red paint from the root of the plant Comarum palustre' (*PHolm.*, Alchim., etc.), also -ρις [f.], -ρον [n.]; cf. Lagercrantz 1913: 197f.; the *i*-stem reminds of κιννάβαρι(ς), etc.
•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 58 derives it from κόμη 'crown of a tree', with an added suffix -αρο-, for which he compares κίσθαρος to κισθός. However, the variant with κύμ- shows that it is a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 362).

κομ(μ)άραι ⇒ καμ(μ)άρος.

κόμβα [f.] · κορώνη. Πολυρρήνιοι 'shearwater, crow (Polyrrhenian)' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Bechtel 1921, 2: 788 connects it with κόμβησαν· ποιὸν ἦχον ἀπετέλεσαν 'produced a certain sound' and κομβακεύεται· κόμπους λέγει 'brags, boasts' (H.). It has been compared with ►κόμπος 'loud noise, bragging' and ►βόμβος, which are sound-imitating words, but at the same time Pre-Greek variants. If the bird name ►κύμβη 3 is related, it is yet another variant.

κόμβος [m.] 'band, belt' (Anon. *apud* Suid.). ◁PG▷
•COMP As a first member in κομβολύτης· βαλαντιοτόμος 'cutpurse, footpad' (H.), κομβοθηλεία [f.] 'buckle' (sch.), from κόμβος θῆλυς (or θήλεια); also κομπο-θηλαία 'band, belt' (sch.) and κομπο-θήλυκα [pl.] (Hippiatr.), v.l. for πόρπακας, which were thought to be influenced by κόμπος 'boast', but see below.
•DER κομβίον = περόνη 'buckle' (Eust., Sch.), κομβώσασθαι· στολίσασθαι 'to equip, dress', κόμβωμα· στόλισμα 'garment' (H.), κομβώματα = καλλωπίσματα, etc. (Suid., H.). Better attested is the hypostasis ἐγκομβόομαι [v.] 'to bind on, put on' (Epich.,

Hell. Com., 1 *Ep. Pet.* 5, 5), whence ἐγκόμβωμα 'protecting upper garment worn by slaves' (Longus, Thd.); further ἀνακομιβόομαι [v.] 'to gird on (intr.)' (Gp.).

•ETYM The old comparisons with Balto-Slavic words for 'hang', e.g. Lith. *kabìnti* 'to hang, hook on', *kibti* 'to hang oneself, hook on', CS *skoba* 'fibula', Ru. *skobá* 'iron hook, clamp', and, within Greek, with σκαμβός 'crooked (legs)', are quite dubious. As Frisk remarks, "Das Resultat dieser Vergleiche ist offenbar eine sowohl lautlich wie begrifflich wenig befriedigende Approximation". MoNw. *hempe* 'string, strap, handle' can hardly be separated from *hamp* 'hemp'.

The forms κομιβοθηλεία, κομιποθηλαία, κομιποθήλυκα clearly show that there was a variant with -π-, which points to Pre-Greek origin (confusion with κόμπος 'noise, bragging' is improbable). Also, note the variation in the suffix: -εια, -αια, -υκα, which are found more often in Pre-Greek (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes -αι/-ε(ι)).

κομέω [v.] 'to care for, ply' (Il.). ◂IE *$\acute{k}emh_2$- 'get tired'▸

•VAR Only present-stem, with iterative ipf. κομέεσκον; prefixed with ἀμφι- (*AP*); further κομίζω [v.] 'to care for, attend, look after, loot, save, fetch, bring, transport' (Il.), aor. κομίσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, Dor. (Pi.) κομίξαι, pass. κομισθῆναι, fut. κομιῶ, -οῦμαι (since o 546), see Schwyzer: 785, Chantraine 1942: 451; Hell. κομίσω, -ίσομαι.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, εἰσ-, ἐκ-, κατα-, παρα-, συν-.

•DER (ἀνα-, ἀπο-, etc.)κομιδή 'attendance, care, support, loot, rescue, supply, escape' (Il.); dat. κομιδῇ [adv.] 'exactly, definitely, certainly' (IA); κομιστήρ, -τής 'who takes care, provider' (E.), fem. κομίστρια (*AB*, Orph.); κόμιστρα [n.pl.] 'reward for saving or transportation' (trag., inscr.); κομιστικός 'fit for care, for transporting' (IA); ἐκκομισμός 'export, burial' (Str., Phld.), μετα-κόμισις, εἰσ-κόμισμα, etc. (sch., gloss.). As a second member in several compounds -κόμος, e.g. εἰρο-κόμος 'processing wool, spinner' (Γ 387, *AP*), ἱπποκόμος 'who takes care of horses, groom' (IA). On the semantic development of κομίζω and derivatives see Wackernagel 1916: 219f., Hoekstra *Mnem.* 4:3 (1950): 103f.

•ETYM Iterative deverbative κομέω from primary ▸κάμνω (type φορέω; see Schwyzer: 719), which was enlarged to κομίζω, whence as a back-formation κομιδή (Schwyzer: 421[3]). See further s.v. ▸κάμνω.

κόμη [f.] 'hair' of the head, also of the manes of a horse (Il.), metaph. 'foliage', also of growth in general (Od.), 'tail of a comet' (Arist.). ◂?▸

•COMP Bahuvrīhi ἱππό-κομος 'covered with horsehair', of a helmet (Il.), opposed to governing ἱππο-κόμος, see ▸κομέω; κομα-τροφέω [v.] 'to grow one's hair' (Amorgos, Str.), also with compositional -o-.

•DER Diminutives κομίσκη (Alcm.) and κόμιον (Arr.). Further κομήτης [m.] 'with (long) hair' (IA), 'comet' (Arist.). see Scherer 1953: 105 and 107f., also a plant-name 'τιθύμαλλος, Euphorbia' (Dsc.); κομήεις 'with leaves' (Orph.). Denominative κομάω [v.] 'to have long hair, show off' (Il.), Ion. -έω; late with ἀνα-, κατα-, etc.

•ETYM Not explained with certainty. The word κόμη may be taken as "well-tended hair", in opposition to ▸θρίξ, and connected with ▸κομέω 'to take care of'. Thus, it would originally mean 'care'. Schwyzer: 725[10] considers a back-formation from κομάω, which could be a by-form of κομέω. However, since κομάω is always

connected with hair and is never used in a different sense of 'to care', the assumprion is not very probable. Borrowed as Lat. *coma*; see WH s.v.

κόμμι [n.] 'gum' (Hdt., Hp., Arist., Thphr.). ◁LW Eg.▷

•VAR Indeclinable, but also declined -εως, -ει (-ιδι).

•DER κομμίδιον (Hippiatr., sch.), κομμι(δ)ώδης 'rubber-like' (Arist., Thphr.), κομμίζω [v.] 'to be like κ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM From Eg. *kemai*, *kema*, *kmjt*, Copt. *kommi* (see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 417). From κόμμι, Latin borrowed *cummi(s)*, younger *gummi*. The other European forms came from Latin. Independent loans from Egyptian (as assumed by Fohalle 1925: 171; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 166) would hardly have resulted in the same form in both languages.

κομμόομαι [v.] 'to embellish, adorn oneself' (Eup., Arist., Them.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP With ἐπι- (Them.).

•DER κόμμωμα 'ornament' (Luc.), -ωσις 'ornamentation' (Ath., H.); back-formation κομμός· περίεργος κόσμησις 'elaborate adornment' (Suid.); -ωτής 'dresser' (Arr., Luc., Plu.), κομμιωτίζω· ἐπιμελοῦμαι 'to take care of' (Suid.), -ώτρια [f.] 'servant-girl' (Ar., Pl.), -ώτριον 'cleaning product' (Ar.), -ωτικός 'belonging to cleaning, polishing', -ωτική (τέχνη) 'art of cleaning' (Pl., Hell.); κομμιώ· ἡ κοσμοῦσα τὸ ἕδος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια 'priestess arranging the (seated) statue of Athena' (*AB*).

•ETYM As a typical culture word, κομμιόω is suspected to have been a fashionable innovation or a loan. The similarity with κόσμος and κομψός led to unconvincing attempts to connect these two words. Solmsen *RhM* 56 (1901): 501f. assumes that κομμιώ is the oldest form, derived from *κομώ (to κομεῖν) with hypocoristic gemination. For lack of a clear solution, it seems best to assume that we are dealing with a substrate word.

κόμπος [m.] 'echoing noise, clattering when something is struck, any loud noise, bragging' (Il.). ◁ONOM▷

•COMP ὑπέρ-κομπος 'extremely noisy, bragging' (A., Men.).

•DER κομπώδης 'ostentatious' (Th., Plu.), κομπός [m.] 'resplendent, vaunting' (E.), on the accent see Schwyzer: 459), κομπηρός 'ringing loudly' (comm. Arist., sch.). Denominatives: 1. κομπέω [v.] 'to clash, ring' (M 151), 'to rattle, strike' (D. L.), usually 'to flaunt, boast' (Pi.), on the formation see Schwyzer: 726[5]. 2. κομπάζω [v.] 'to flaunt, boast' (B. and A.), 'to strike (a pot) to try its quality' (pap.), whence κομπάσματα [pl.] 'boasting' (A.), rarely sg., κομπασμός 'bragging' (Plu.), κομπασία 'rattling, striking' (pap.), κομπαστής 'parader' (Ph., Plu.), κομπαστικός (Poll.), κόμπασος (Hdn.), Κομπασεύς 'belonging to the district of Κόμπος' (Ar.). 3. κομπόομαι [v.] 'to show off' (D. C.).

•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic; cf. on ►βόμβος, ►κόναβος and ►κόμβα. Fur.: 380 compares κόναβος with interchange α/ zero, but there appears to be no basis for this.

κομψός [adj.] 'fine, elegant, to the point, cunning' (Att.). On κομψός as a stylistic notion see Wersdörfer 1940: 105f., 127f. ◁PG?▷

•COMP περί-κομψος 'very fine' (Ar.).

•DER κομψότης 'elegance' (Pl.), κομψεύομαι [v.] 'to be cunning or clever' (Pl.), also -εύω, with κομιψεία (Pl., Luc.), κόμψευμα (Arist., Luc., Gal.) 'sth. to the point, clever remark'.

•ETYM The old connection with Lith. *švánkus* 'decent, reasonable, etc.', as if from **ḱuonkʷ-so-*, is meaningless, since etyma in this kind of meaning are never old (thus Fraenkel 1955 s.v.), and since there is no suffix **-so-*. The latter objection also excludes connection with ►κομέω 'to take care', ►κομμιόομαι 'to adorn' (as per Chantraine *REGr.* 58 (1945): 90ff., DELG s.v.). The word can hardly be IE, so Pre-Greek origin is probable.

κοναβέω [v.] 'to din, ring, clash, resound' (*AP*). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Aor. κοναβῆσαι (Hom., Hes.), κοναβίζω (Il., Orph.), only ipf. On the metrically conditioned use of the different forms see Schwyzer: 105 and 736, Chantraine 1942: 340 and 350.

•DER Probably as a back-formation κόναβος [m.] 'clang, clash' (κ 122, A. *Th.* 160 [lyr.]); κοναβηδόν 'with clattering' (*AP*).

•ETYM The ending recalls other sound-words like ἀραβέω (to ἄραβος), ὀτοβέω (ὄτοβος), θορυβέω (θόρυβος), etc. (Chantraine 1933: 260, Schwyzer: 496). Fur.: 343 assumes a Pre-Greek sound-word, comparing καναχή 'clattering, rattling, etc.' with the interchanges α/ ο and χ/ β.

κοναρόν [adj.] · εὐτραφῆ, πίονα, δραστήριον 'well-fed, fat, active' (H.). ◅?▻

•DER κοναρώτερον· δραστικώτερον 'most active, efficacious'; κονάριχον· γλαφυρόν 'hollow' (H.).

•ETYM In the sense of δραστήριος, probably related to ►ἐγ-κονέω. It is unknown whether the glosses εὐτραφῆ, πίονα refer to a different word κοναρόν; they could be different suggestions for an obscure passage. On the Thessalian PN Κόναρος, see O. Masson 2000: 145.

κόνδαξ, -ᾱκος [m.] name of a gambling game, played with a blunt dart (*AP* 5, 60 [sens. obsc.], Cod. Just. 3, 43, 1, 4). ◅PG(S)▻

•ETYM A different name for the game is κονδο-μονόβολον (Cod. Just., ibd.). Cf. κόνδοι· κεραῖαι 'horns' (H.), κονδοκέρατος 'with short horns'. The word κόνδαξ must be Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -ᾱκ-; the structure (prenasalized consonant) fits this supposition well. On κόνδοι· ἀστράγαλοι 'vertebrae', see ►κόνδυλος.

κόνδυ, -υος [n.] 'name of a drinking-vessel (Hell.); acc. to H. = ποτήριον βαρβαρικόν, κυμβίον 'foreign drinking-cup, small cup'. ◅LW Sem.?▻

•DER Diminutive κονδύλιον (Hell.).

•ETYM Like many words in -υ, it is a loan (cf. Chantraine 1933: 119). Fur.: 181 compares κοτύλη 'beaker'; cf. κονδύλιον. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 674 refers to late Babylonian *kandu* 'vessel'.

κόνδῠλος [m.] 'knuckle, joint, bony knob, clenched fist, swelling of the gum, etc.' (IA). ◅PG(S,V)▻

•COMP As a second member e.g. in μονο-, δι-κόνδυλος (Arist.).

•DER κονδυλώδης 'like a knuckle', κονδύλωμα, -σις 'hard swelling, tumor' (Hp.), κονδυλωτός 'with κ.' (Att. inscr. [IV^a]), κονδυλόομαι [v.] 'to swell' (Aspasia *apud* Aët., H.). κονδυλίζω [v.] 'to hit the face with the fist, buffet, maltreat' (Hyp., LXX), κονδυλισμός (LXX).

•ETYM Other body parts in -υλος are δάκτυλος and σφόνδυλος (cf. Güntert 1914: 116ff.); the bare stem is seen in κόνδοι· ἀστράγαλοι 'vertebrae' (H.). Most connections outside Greek, like Skt. *kanda-* [m.] 'tuber', *kandúka-* [m.] 'playball', *kanduka-* [n.] 'cushion' can be rejected straightaway (cf. Mayrhofer *KEWA*: s.vv., who considers Dravidian origin). Lith. *kánduolas* 'kernel' belongs to *kąsti* 'to bite'; see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. The word is probably Pre-Greek because of its structure, κονδ-υλ- < **ka^{n}t-ul-*. Moreover, the gloss κανθύλας· τὰς ἀνοιδήσεις. Αἰσχύλος Σαλαμινίαις (*Fr.* 220) 'swellings' (H.), may show variation α/ο and δ/θ (Van Beek p.c.).

κονῖλη [f.] a kind of aromatic plant, 'Origanum, marjoram' (Nic., medic., Dsc.). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Formation like ζωμίλη, μαρίλη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249, Schwyzer: 483); further unclear. Borrowed into Latin as *cunīla*, for which Fur.: 361 assumes a Greek variant *κυνῖλη, given that *o* remains before *n* in Latin. He further compares (1972: 120) γονώνη· όρίγανος (H.), and perhaps γονής, κώνητες· θύρσοι (H.) (op. cit. 121), with variation γ/ κ. On -ῖλ- as a Pre-Greek suffix, see *Pre-Greek*: suffixes.

κόνις [f.] 'dust, ashes' (Il.). ◁IE **konis-* 'ashes'▷

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως (-εος); dat. -ι, -ει.

•COMP As a first member in κονι-ορτός [m.] 'cloud of dust' (IA), from ὄρ-νυμι with suffixal -το-, MoGr. κορνιαχτός (Hatzidakis *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 70ff.); κονῖ-σαλος [m.] (= κονίσ-σαλος, cf. below) 'cloud of dust' (Il.), 'dust mixed with oil and sweat of a wrestler' (Gal.), also name of a priapic demon (com., inscr.) and a lascivious dance (H.); κονῖ-ποδες [m.pl.] 'kind of shoe' (Ar. *Ec.* 848, Poll.), name of the slaves in Epid. (Plu.); French parallels in Niedermann *KZ* 45 (1913): 182.

•DER Denominative verb κονΐω (-ίομαι) 'to cover with dust, cover oneself with sand' (Il.; on the formation below), also with ἐν-, δια-, etc.; fut. κονῖσω, Hell. κονιοῦμαι, aor. κονῖσαι (κονίσσαι), perf. med. κεκόνι(σ)μαι. Further κόνιμα (Delphi III^a), -ισμια (Cythera) 'dust of the wrestling arena', κόνισις 'production of dust, training at the wrestling arena' (Arist.), ἐνκονιστάς [m.] mg. unclear (inscr. Thebes), κονίστρα (Arist.), κονιστήριον (Pergam. [II^a]) 'wrestling arena', κονιστικός 'fond of rolling in the dust' (Arist.). Enlarged form κονίζεσθαι· κυλίεσθαι, φθείρεσθαι, κονιορτοῦσθαι 'to roll, be destroyed, be covered with dust' (H.). Further derivatives: κόνιος 'dusty' (Pi.), 'creating dust' (Paus.), epithet of Zeus, κονιώδης 'like ashes' (Hp.). κονία 'dust, ashes, sand' (Hom., Hes. *Sc.*, A., E.), 'alkaline fluid' (Ar., Pl., Thphr., medic.), 'chalk, whitewash, plaster' (LXX, Hell.); epic Ion. -ίη, metrically lengthened -ΐη, cf. κόννα· σποδός 'ashes' (H.), which might be Aeolic. Thence κονιάω [v.] 'to plaster, whitewash' (D., Arist.), κονίαμα 'chalk, plaster' (Hp., D., Hell.), κονίασις 'whitewash' (Hell. inscr.), κονιατήρ 'whitewasher' (Epid. IV^a), κονιατής 'id.' (inscr., pap.); κονιατός 'whitewashed' (X., Thphr., pap.), κονιατικά (ἔργα) 'stuccowork' (pap., inscr.). Also κονιάζομαι [v.] 'to be covered with ashes' (Gp.).

•ETYM The form κόνις differs from Lat. *cinis*, *-eris* [m., f.] < **kenis-* by its *o*-vocalism. The *s*-stem seen in *ciner-is* and *cinis-culus* can also be assumed for κονίσ-σαλος, κεκόνισ-μαι, κονῑ́ω < **konis-je/o-*, κονί-α < **konis-h₂*. The word may be an original neuter *is*-stem, of which ToB *kentse* 'dust' < **koniso-* is a thematisation. The basis is unknown, but ►-κναίω is unrelated.

κονίς [f.] 'eggs of lice, fleas, bugs' (Arist., Antyll. *apud* Orib., Hdn.). ◅IE **ḱnid-* 'eggs of lice'▻

•VAR Mostly plur. κονίδες.

•DER κονιδισμός 'disease of the eyelids' (Cyran.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 142ff.).

•ETYM The closest cognate is Alb. *thëni* 'louse', which also goes back to IE **ḱonid-*; the Gm. group of OE *knitu*, OHG *(h)niz* 'nit' goes back to **ḱnid-*. Cf. further the BSl. group of Ru. *gnída*, Latv. *gnīda*, which may have *gn-* from *kn-* by regular development, thus **knid-* (the Slavic forms with Winter's Law). Lith. *glìnda* 'id.' has *-l-*, perhaps by dissimilation from **gninda*. Other forms: Lat. *lēns*, *lendis* 'id.', MIr. *sned* [f.] 'id.' < **snidā*, Arm. *anic* 'louse' < **Hnid-s-*, ON *gnit* 'louse'. Because of folk-etymological, euphemistic or taboo changes, no uniform proto-form can be reconstructed for PIE. Connection with κναίω, ►κνίζω poses a problem for Alb. *thëni*, which has an initial palatal.

κόνναρος [m.] name of a thorny evergreen shrub, 'παλίουρος, Zizyphus Spina Christi' (Theopomp. Hist.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR κόνναρον· καρπὸς δένδρου ὅμοιος (ὁμοίου?) παλιούρῳ 'fruit of a tree like the π.' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like ►κόμαρος, etc.; otherwise obscure. Probably Pre-Greek.

κοννέω [v.] 'to know, understand'. ◅PG?▻

•VAR Only in κοννεῖς, κοννῶ (A. *Supp.* 130 and164) and κοννεῖν· συνιέναι, ἐπίστασθαι 'understand, know'; κοννοῦσι· γινώσκουσιν 'know' (H.).

•ETYM Similarity with κόν· εἰδός 'appearance' and ἔκομεν· εἴδομεν, ἐωρῶμεν, ᾐσθόμεθα 'know, see, perceive' (H.), as well as with ►κοέω 'to remark, learn', has been noticed, but the details of any of these comparisons remain unclear. With its geminate, the verb looks non-IE, and might well be Pre-Greek.

κόννος [m.] 'beard' (Luc. *Lex.* 5), acc. to H. = ὁ πώγων, ἡ ὑπῆνη, ἡ χάρις 'beard, moustache, grace', similar in mg. to σκόλλυς, μαλλός. ◅?▻

•DER Further plur., beside ψέλλια, as the name of an ornament for girls (κόνοι Plb. 10, 18, 6, -νν- Suid.). PN Κόννος, Κόννιον, Κοννᾶς, see L. Robert 1964: 168.

•ETYM Unexplained.

κοντός 'pole'. ⇒κεντέω.

κόνυζα [f.] name of a plant with a strong scent, 'fleabane, Inula (viscosa, graveolens, britannica)' (Hecat., Arist., Thphr., Dsc.). ◅PG(S,V)▻

•VAR Also σκόνυζα (Pherecr.) and κνύζα (Theoc.), giving MoGr. (Calabr.) *kliza* (Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 53, Rohlfs 1930 s.v.).

•DER κονυζήεις 'like the κ.' (Nic.), κονυζίτης (οἶνος) 'seasoned with κ.' (Dsc., Gp.).
•ETYM Formation like other plant names, such as μώλυζα, μάνυζα, ὄρυζα, κόρυζα, etc. The assumption that it was formed from ►κονίς with this suffix -υζα, with dialectal κνύζα remodelled after κνύω, is unwarranted. The form κνύζα has also been analyzed as **knug-ja*, and compared with ON *hnykr* 'stench' < PGm. **hnuki-* < IE **knugi-*. The variation rather points to a Pre-Greek word; note the prothetic σ-. See Fur.: 183, 381.

κόπις 'prater, liar'. ⇒κόπτω.

κόππα [n.] 'name of the character *q*, which originally stood between π and ρ in the alphabet' (Parmeno 1); also a sign for '90' (pap.). ◅LW Sem.►
•DER κοππατίας [m.] 'horse with a κόππα burned into it' (Ar.), with allusion to κόπτω, cf. στιγματίας; also κοππα-φόρος (Luc.).
•ETYM From Phoenician; cf. Hebr. *qōph*.

κόπρος [f.] 'excrement, ordure, dung, filth' (Il.). ◅IE **ḱok*^{w}*-r* 'dung'►
•COMP κοπρο-λόγος 'dung-gatherer' (Ar.), κοπρο-φορά 'loaf of dung' (Amorgos IV^{a}).
•DER A. Substantives: κόπριον = κόπρος (Heraclit., Hp., inscr., pap.) with κοπριώδης 'dung-like, full of dung' (Hp., Thphr., pap.), κοπριακός 'belonging to dung' (pap.); κόπρανα [pl.] 'excrements' (Hp., Aret.); κοπρία 'dung-heap' (Semon., Stratt., Arist.); κοπρών (Ar.), -εών (Tz.), -ιών (Gortyn) 'privy'; κοπροσύνη 'manuring' (pap. VI^{p}); Κοπρεύς herald of Eurystheus (O 639); Κοπρεαῖος jocular PN (Ar.); κοπρίαι [pl.] 'buffoons' (D. C.), whence Lat. *copreae*.
B. Adjectives: Κόπρειος 'belonging to the demos Κόπρος' (inscr.), also referring to κόπρος (Ar.), Κόπριος 'id.' (Is.); κόπρινος 'living in κ.' (Hp.); κοπρώδης 'dung-like, dirty' (Hp., Pl., Arist.).
C. Verbs: κοπρέω 'to manure', only fut. ptc. κοπρήσοντες (ρ 299; v.l. κοπρίσσοντες); (ἐκ-, ἐπι-)κοπρίζω 'id.' (ρ 299 v.l., Hp., Thphr.), whence κόπρισις, -ισμός 'manuring' (Thphr., pap.); κοπρόω 'to defile with dung' (Arr.) with κόπρωσις 'manuring' (Thphr.), ἐκκοπρόω and -ωσις (Hp.); κοπρεύω = κοπρίζω (Chios V-IV^{a}), κοπρεῦσαι· φυτεῦσαι 'to plant, bring forth' (H.).
•ETYM A thematization of an old *r/n*-stem PIE **ḱok*^{w}*-r*, preserved in Skt. *śákṛt-t*, *śaknáḥ* 'dung'. A primary verb is assumed in Lith. *šikti*, 1sg. *šikù* 'to shit' from a root **ḱek*^{w}*-*. See also on ►σκῶρ, which is an old collective **sk-ōr* with a similar formation.

κόπτω [v.] 'to strike, smite, hew, hammer, disable, tire out' (Il.). ◅IE? **kop-* 'strike, smite, hew'►
•VAR Aor. κόψαι (Il.), pass. κοπῆναι (Att.), perf. κέκοφα (Att.), epic ptc. κεκοπώς (N 60 with v.l. -φώς and -πών, which may be Aeolic, Schwyzer: 772, but see Chantraine 1942: 397), med. κέκομμαι (A.), fut. κόψω (Alc., Hippon.).
•COMP Very frequent with prefix, in various shades of mg., e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, περι-, συν-.
•DER 1. κόπος *'stroke' (thus perhaps E. *Tr.* 794 for mss. κτύπος; cf. also A. *Ch.* 23), 'pain, trouble, labor' (IA); κοπώδης 'tiring' (Hp., Arist., Hell.), κοπηρός 'id.' (Hdn.);

κοπόομαι, -όω 'to get tired, tire' (J., Plu., etc.), κόπωσις (LXX), κοπάζω [v.] 'to get tired, leave off' (Ion. Hell.), whence κόπασμα (Tz.), κοπιάω (ἐγ-, συγ-, προ-) [v.] 'to get tired' (IA), κοπιαρός 'tiring' (Arist., Thphr.), κοπιάτης 'excavation worker, digger' (Cod. Theod., Just.), κοπιώδης = κοπώδης (Hp., Arist.), κοπίαι· ἡσυχίαι 'quietness' (H.). 2. (άπο-, ἐκ-, παρα-, προ-, etc.)κοπή 'hewing, etc.' (IA), κόπαιον (Alciphr.), κοπάδιον (gloss.) 'piece', κοπάριον 'kind of probe' (medic.), (ἐγ-, ἐκ-)κοπεύς 'oil stamper, chisel' (Hell.). 3. κόμμα (also with διά-, άπό-, περί-) 'stamp, coinage; piece' (IA), κομμάτιον 'small part' (Eup.), κομματίας 'who speaks in short sentences' (Philostr.), -ατικός 'consisting of short sentences' (Luc.); 4. κομμός 'beating the breast in lamentation, dirge' (A., Arist.). 5. κόπις, -ιδος [m.] 'prater' (Heraclit. 81 [?], E. *Hec.* 132 [lyr.], Lyc.), cf. ὠτοκοπεῖ· κεφαλαλγει, ἐνοχλεῖ λαλῶν 'suffers from (or causes) a headache, troubles by talking' (H.), and the expression κόπτειν τὴν άκρόασιν, δημο-κόπος = δημηγόρος (H.), "hitting the ears of the public", etc.; hence (or perhaps from κόπος) κοπίζειν· ψεύδεσθαι 'to be deceived' (H.); 6. κοπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'butchering knife, curved sabre' (Att.), also name of the meal on the first day of the Hyacinthia in Sparta (com.), whence κοπίζω 'to celebrate the K.' (Ath.); 7. κοπάς, -άδος [f.] 'pruned, lopped' (Thphr.), 'bush' (Hell. pap.), ἐπι-κοπάς 'land cleared of wood' (pap.). 8. κοπετός = κομμός (Eup., LXX, *Act. Ap.*). 9. πρό-, άπό-, πρόσ-κοψις, etc. from προ-κόπτειν, etc. (Sapph., Hp., Arist.). 10. κόπανον 'butchering knife, axe' (A. *Ch.* 890), 'pestle' (Eust.), whence κοπανίζω 'to pound' (LXX, Alex. Trall.), κοπανισμός, κοπανιστήριον (H.); ἐπικόπανον 'chopping block' (Hell.). 11. κοπτός 'pounded' (Cratin., Antiph.); κοπτή (σησαμίς) 'cake from pounded sesame' (Hell. epic), 'squill, θαλάσσιον πράσον' (Ath.), which Fur.: 318[5] considers to be Pre-Greek, also 'pastille' (Dsc.); 12. ἐπι-κόπτης 'satirist' (Timo), περι-'stonecutter' (pap.), Προκόπτας = Προκρούστης (B. 18, 28); 13. (άπο-, παρα-, προσ-, etc.)κοπτικός (medic.). 14. κόπτρα [pl.] 'wages of a hewer' (pap.); 15. κοπτήριον 'threshing place' (Hell. pap.). 16. Two plant-names: κοπίσκος = λίβανος σμιλιωτός 'a kind of frankincense-tree' (Dsc. 1, 68, 1), κόπηθρον· φυτὸν λαχανῶδες ἄγριον 'wild plant of the vegetable kind' (H.). Further verbal nouns like άπό-, ἐπί-, παρά-, ὑπέρ-κοπος and compounds like δημο-κόπος (cf. on 5. above).

•ETYM The present κόπτω may correspond to Lith. *kàpti*, 1sg. *kapiù* 'to hew, fell', intr. nasal present *kampù*, pret. *kapaũ* 'to be cut down, get tired', and umlauted Alb. *kep* 'hew' < **kop-eie-*. Lith. and Greek point to an IE *yod*-present. Further, there is a secondary formation in Lith. *kapóti* 'chop, hew', Latv. *kapât* 'id.', and the Slav. group of Ru. *kopát'*, 1sg. *kopájo* 'to hew, dig'. Alternatively, if related to ►σκάπτω, ►σκέπαρνος, etc. the word might be from the Pre-Greek or European substrate, with interchange α/ ο.

κορᾰ́λλιον [n.] 'coral' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Dsc.). ◄PG?(V), LW Sem.?►

•VAR κοράλιον (S. E.), κουράλιον (Thphr.), κωράλ(λ)ιον (Att., acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 537).

•DER κοραλλικός 'coral-like' (Ps.-Democr.), -ίζω 'to be like κ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 628 considered univerbation from κόρη (κούρη) ἁλός "daughter of the sea", which would be a calque of a similar Indian expression. The varying notations κορ-, κουρ-, κωρ- are ascribed to association with κόρη, etc. Semitic etymology in Lewy 1895: 18f. (Hebr. *gōrāl* 'small stone'); criticized by E.

Masson 1967: 110, although it looks convincing. See L. Robert 1963: 277-283. From Greek, Latin borrowed *corallium*, *cūralium*; cf. WH s.v.

κόραξ, -ακος [m.] 'raven' (Thgn., Pi.), also Κόρακος πέτρη 'raven rock' (ν 408), often metaph. 'hook (of a door), grappling-iron, etc.' (Hell.); also as a fish name (Diph. Siph.) and the name of a constellation (Eudox.), see Scherer 1953: 191. ◁IE **kor-* 'raven'▷

•COMP κορακο-ειδής 'raven-like' (Arist.), ὀξυ-κόρακος 'with a sharp hook' (Paul. Aeg.).

•DER Some fish and plant names, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 114f., Strömberg 1940: 119 after their color or voice, or after the place where they grow: diminutives κοράκιον 'small hook' (pap.), the plant ἱεράκιον (Arist.), κορακίσκος (gloss.), κορακῖνος [m.] 'young raven' (Ar.), but usually a fish name 'Sciaena nigra' (Epich., Ar., Arist.), fem. κορακινίς (Gp.), diminutive -ινίδιον (com., pap.); Lat. LW *coracīnus* > Ital. *coracino*, etc.; κορακίας [m.] 'chough, Pyrrhocorax alpinus' (Arist., H.), Κορακιαί [pl.] TN on Delos (inscr. III[a]), with oppositive accent; κορακεύς· εἶδος ἰχθύος 'kind of fish' (H.); κοράκεως [m.] = κορώνεως 'fig-tree with raven-black fruits' (Hermipp. 51), cf. on ἐρινεώς s.v. ἐρινεός; κορακησία plant name (Pythag. *apud* Plin.), Κορακήσιον TN (Pamphylia), -ήσιος, -ησιωτικός (pap. III[a]); on -ήσιος Chantraine 1933: 42, Schwyzer: 466; κορακώδης 'raven-like' (Arist.), κοραξός 'raven-black' (Str.), κόραξος fish name (Xenocr.), with a suffix -σο- (Schwyzer: 516, Chantraine 1933: 434); (κατα-)κορακόω 'to lock (with a door hook)' (*Mon. Ant.*), κοράξαι· ἄγαν προσλιπαρῆσαι. πεποίηται παρὰ τοὺς κόρακας 'to persevere excessively, built on κόραξ' (H.), probably with original mg. 'to hook oneself onto'; back-formation κόρακος [m.] 'plaster' (Paul. Aeg.)? σκορακίζω originally "to wish to go to the raven (ἐς κόρακας)", 'chase away, revile' (Att., Hell.) with σκορακισμός 'revilement, curse' (LXX, Plu.), cf. Schwyzer 413. Extensively on κόραξ, κορακίας, κορακῖνος Thompson 1895 and Thompson 1947 s.vv.

•ETYM Cognate with the different formations in Lat. *corvus* 'raven', Gr. κορώνη, Lat. *cornīx* 'crow', Gr. κόραφος bird name (H.). Greek -αξ is a productive suffix, so there is no need to derive it from **-n̥-k-* and connect it with the nasal in Lat. *cornīx*, Gr. κορώνη. T. Pronk (p.c.) suggests that the same formation is found in Balto-Slavic, e.g., Ru. *soróka* 'magpie', both branches continuing **ḱorh₂k-*. The alternation between suffixes (containing) **-n-* (κορώνη, *cornīx*) and **-u-* (*corvus*) is often found in animal names. See ▶κορώνη.

κόρδᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] name of a dance in old comedy (Ar., Thphr.), also in the cult of Apollo (Amorgos) and Artemis (Sipylos, Elis; Paus. 6, 22, 1). ◁PG▷

•DER Κορδάκα [f.] epithet of Artemis in Elis (Paus. l.c.), κορδακικός 'like κ.' (Arist.), κορδακίζω [v.] 'to dance the κ.' (Hyp.), whence -ισμός (D.), -ισμα (H.), -ιστής (Amorgos, pap.).

•ETYM A Doric word (Björck 1950: 61) of uncertain origin. It is reminiscent of ▶κραδάω 'to swing' and derivatives. Note that the ending -ᾱξ is typical of Pre-Greek.

κορδύλη [f.] 'tumor, swelling' (Semon. 35, *EM*); name of a hairdo = Att. κρωβύλος (Creon *apud* sch. Ar. *Nu.* 10, *EM*); 'club, κορύνη, ῥόπαλον' (H.). Frisk notes that the mg. is the same as that of τύλη. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also σκορδύλη (Arist.) and κορύδῡλις (Numen. *apud* Ath.).
•COMP As a first member (with haplology) in κορδυ-βαλλῶδες (πέδον, Luc. *Trag.* 222) 'pavimentum'; 'young tunny' (Str.), cf. in Lat. *cordȳla* (Plin., Mart.), *cordula* (Apic.), on the mg. see Thompson 1947 s.v.
•DER Denominative ptc. ἐγκεκορδυλιημένος 'ἐντετυλιγμένος, wrapped up' (Ar. *Nu.* 10).
•ETYM Formation like κανθύλη, σχενδύλη (see Chantraine 1933: 251). The mg. 'younger tunny' may go back to 'club'; see Strömberg 1943: 36. Proposals like those by Güntert 1914: 117f., who assumes a cross of ►κόνδυλος 'swelling' with κόρυς, κορυφή, κόρση, or κορύνη, are mostly incorrect. The prothetic σ-, the suffix -ῡλ-, and the anaptyctic υ (Fur.: 384) point to Pre-Greek origin. The form κορδ- might be from **kard-* with o < **a* before **u*.

κόρδυλος · θαλάσσιος ἰχθύς. ἔνιοι κορδύλη 'a sea fish' (H.). ◅PG▻
•ETYM The suffix -υλ- and the meaning make Pre-Greek origin plausible.

κορδύλος [m.] probably 'water-newt, Triton palustris' (Arist.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also κουρῦλος (Numen. *apud* Ath.).
•ETYM Perhaps related to κορδύλη 'swelling', after the crest on the back. Probably Pre-Greek.

κορδύς [m.] · πανοῦργος 'crafty' (H.). ◅IE? **ḱerd-* 'cunning'▻
•ETYM Fur.: 362 proposed connection with κοκρύδων· λῃστῶν, κλεπτῶν 'robbing, stealing', but this should be forgotten since Schmitt *Glotta* 51 (1973): 24f. argues that κορδύς is the Aeolic positive of κέρδιον (which also means 'more cunning'), κορδ-, coming from **kr̥d-*. This is accepted by Minon *RPh.* 74 (2000): 271. See ►κέρδος.

κορέννυμι [v.] 'to satiate, fill, be satiated' (epic Ion.). ◅IE **ḱerh₃-* 'feed, grow'▻
•VAR The present (also -μαι) only Them., Orph.; other presents κορέω, κορέσκω (Nic.), κορίσκομαι (Hp.); aor. κορέσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι (Il.), pass. κορεσθῆναι (Od.), perf.ptc.act. (intr.) κεκορηώς (Od.), perf. med. κεκόρημαι (Il.), κεκόρεσμαι (X.), fut. κορέω (Il.), κορέσω (Hdt.).
•COMP Sometimes prefixed with ὑπερ- (Thgn., Poll.), ἀπο- (gloss.). As a second member in ἄ-κορος 'insatiable, untiring' (Pi.), ἀκορία 'unsatiated condition, moderation' (Hp.), 'insatiability' (Aret.). διά-, κατά-, πρόσ-, ὑπέρ-κορος 'satiated, etc.' (IA); also as an *s*-stem ἀ-, δια-, προσ-κορής, whence the verb προσ-κορίζομαι 'to vex, annoy' (sch.). As a privative also ἀ-κόρητος (Il.), ἀ-κόρε(σ)τος (trag.). Uncertain the appurtenance of Αἰγι-κορεῖς [m.pl.], Αἰγικορίς [f.] name of one of the old Ionic phylai (E., inscr.), cf. Hdt. 5, 66.
•DER With lengthened grade: κώρα· ὕβρις 'excess, insolence' (H.). κόρος [m.] 'satiety, surfeit, insolence' (Il.). On κόρος (epic κοῦρος, Dor., etc. κῶρος) 'youth' see ►κόρη 'young girl'.
•ETYM The starting point of the whole paradigm was the aorist κορέσαι: thence pass. κορεσθῆναι (Chantraine 1942: 406), perf. κεκόρημαι, -εσμαι (Schwyzer: 773), fut. κορέω, -έσω, and finally also the presents κορίσκομαι, κορέω, -έσκω, -έννυμι, which are sparsely attested and late. The formation of κορε- (with *o*-vocalism) is also found

in στορέσαι, θορεῖν, μολεῖν, πορεῖν, and is mostly explained from root-final *-h_3. This gave rise to the aorist **kero-s-*, which apparently underwent a metathesis of some sort to yield κορέ-σ-.

In other branches, we find Lith. *šérti* 'to feed', the acute accent confirming the laryngeal, and Arm. *ser* 'origin, gender, offspring' < **ḱér-o-*, *serem* 'to produce'. It is uncertain whether Lat. *creō* 'to procreate, etc.', *crēscō* 'to grow', and *Cerēs* 'goddess of the growth of plants' should be connected (see De Vaan 2008 s.vv., in which *Cerēs* is connected and the two verbs are separated).

κορέω [v.] 'to sweep out, purify' (υ 149, com.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also *κορίζω, in κεκορισμένος 'purified' (*BGU* 1120, 40 [I^a]); aor. κορῆσαι.

•COMP Mostly with ἐκ-, rarely with ἀνα-, παρα-, ἀπο-. As a second member in σηκο-κόρος 'groom' (ρ 224, Poll.), νεω-κόρος (Att.), Dor. να(ο)-κόρος 'warden of a temple' (inscr.), whence derivations in -κορέω, -ία, -ίη, -εῖον, -ιον (Att., Hell.).

•DER κόρημα 'dirt, broom' (com.), κόρηθρον 'broom' (Luc.), as a back-formation also κόρος 'broom' (Bion, H.). On ▸ζακόρος, see s.v.

•ETYM An iterative deverbative verb, lacking a good etymology.

κόρη [f.] 'young girl, daughter' (since *h. Cer.* 439), metaph. 'pupil', in architecture 'female figure', also name of the daughter of Persephone (IA, Arc.). ◁IE *$\acute{k}erh_3$- 'grow'▷

•VAR Epic Ion. κούρη (Il.), Dor. κώρα, κόρα, Arc. Cor. κόρϝα.

•DIAL Myc. *ko-wo* /korwos/, *ko-wa* /korwā/.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κορο-πλάθος [m.] 'sculptor of female figures' (Att.).

•DER Several diminutives: κόριον, Dor. (Megar.) κώριον (Ar., Theoc.), κορίδιον (Delphi, Naupaktos); κορίσκη (Pl. Com.), -ίσκιον (Poll.); also Κορίσκος [m.] name of an arbitrary man (Arist.), also as a PN (D. L.); κοράσιον (Hell.), whence -ασίδιον (Arr.), -ασίς (Steph. Med.), -ασιώδης (*Com. Adesp.*, Plu.); κόριλλα, Κόριννα (Boeot.), see Chantraine 1933: 252 and 205; κορύδιον (Naupaktos).

Adjectives: κουρίδιος (Il., Ion. poet.), original mg. 'of a young lady, untouched', thence 'matrimonial, lawful' (ἄλοχος, πόσις, λέχος, etc.; on the mg. see Bechtel 1914 s.v., on the formation Schwyzer: 467, Chantraine 1933: 40; κουρήϊος 'of a young lady' (*h. Cer.* 108); Κόρειος 'of Κόρη', Κόρειον 'temple of Κόρη', -α [pl.] 'festival of K.' (Attica, Plu.); κοραῖος 'of a girl' (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 8), κορικός 'id.' (Hell.). *Κορίτης (-τις) 'servant of Κόρη' in Κορειτῆαι [pl.], which may stand for *Κοριτεῖαι 'service of Κόρη?' (Lycosoura).

Verbs: κορεύομαι [v.] 'to pass one's maidenhood' (E.), 'to lose one's maidenhood' (Pherecyd.), κόρευμα 'maidenhood' (E.), κορεία 'id.' (D. Chr., *AP*); κορίζομαι 'to caress' (Ar.), originally "treat like a child", ὑπο- 'to call by endearing names, address' (Pi., Att.).

Beside κόρη, or perhaps derived from it (see below): κόρος (trag., Pl. *Lg.*, Plu.; also Dor.), epic κοῦρος, Theoc. κῶρος [m.] 'youth, boy, son' (Il.). Compounds, e.g. ἄ-κουρος 'without son' (η 64), κουρο-τρόφος 'educating youths' (Od.); on ▸Διόσκουροι s.v. Derivatives: κούριτες [m.pl.] 'young warriors' (Il.), Κουρῆτες, Dor. Κωρ- (Hes., Crete, etc.) 'Kuretes', name of divine beings who dance in armor

around an infant Zeus (Hes. *Fr.* 198, Crete, etc.), whence Κουρητικός, -ῆτις, κουρητεύω, κουρητισμός (Hell.); on the formation of κούρητες see Schwyzer: 499, Chantraine 1933: 267. From κοῦρος also κουρώδης 'boy-like', probably also κούριος 'youthful' (Orph. *A.*, Orac. *apud* Paus. 9, 14, 3), κουροσύνη, Dor. -α 'youth' (Theoc., *AP*), -συνος 'youthful' (*AP*). κουρίζω 'to be a young man or maiden' (χ 185), 'to educate a youth' (Hes.), κουριζόμενος· ὑμεναιούμενος 'singing the wedding-song' (H.).

•ETYM The more limited attestation of msc. κοῦρος, κόρος, compared with general κούρη, κόρη, seems to indicate that the msc. was an innovation from fem. PGr. **korwā*. However, the Mycenaean evidence shows that the masculine is old as well. In the meaning 'boy', Greek also had παῖς and νεανίας.

It is generally accepted that κόρϝα and *κόρϝος derive from the root of κορέννυμι, but the exact semantic development is difficult to reconstruct. Perhaps an abstract formation "growth, flourishing"? The rare meaning 'sprout, branch' is hardly old for κόρος (Lysipp. 9, Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 113), and may have developed from 'son' or the like; alternatively, it may derive from κείρω, for which see ►κοῦρος. Note κόρυξ· νεανίσκος 'boy' (H.) (beside κόριψ 'id.' and Κόρυψ Boeot. PN; see Bechtel 1917a: 29f.), which could continue the *u*-stem from which Myc. *ko-wa*, *ko-wo* were derived. See ►κορέννυμι.

κορθίλαι [pl.] in κορθίλας ποιεῖν (*IG* 2², 2493: 16 [IV^{a}]), of garden work, but exact mg. unknown. ◅PG?▻

•VAR Cf. κορθίλας καὶ κόρθιν· τοὺς σωρούς. καὶ τὴν συστροφήν 'heaps, mass' and κορθέλαι· συστροφαί, σωροί 'masses, heaps' (H.).

•ETYM Connection with (the root of) ►χόρτος is most certainly wrong. Probably a Pre-Greek formation; cf. ►κόρθυς.

κορθίλος [m.] · ὄρνις, ὅν τινες βασιλίσκον 'a bird,' (H.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR κόρθ- (cod.).

•ETYM Formation like τροχίλος, σποργίλος, and other bird names (Chantraine 1933: 249). Related to κόρθις, κορθίλαι? Fur.: 195 derives it from κόρυς 'helmet'. The form looks Pre-Greek.

κόρθις ⇒ κορθίλαι.

κόρθυς, -υος [f.] 'heap (of grain?), sheaf(?)' (Theoc. 10, 46: κόρθυος ἁ τομά); cf. κόρθυας· τὰ κατ' ὀλίγον δράγματα 'handfuls little by little' (H.); 'heap, σωρός' (*EM* 530, 3), of sand, ἄμμου κόρθυς (Anon. *apud* Suid. s.v. κορθύεται). ◅IE? **ḱerd*^{h}-, *skerd*^{h}- 'herd'▻

•DER κορθύομαι (κῦμα I 7, ὕδωρ A. R. 2, 322) 'to form a heap or sheaf(?), rise up'; κορθύνω 'to raise high', aor. κορθῦσαι, in: Ζεὺς κόρθυνεν ἐὸν μένος (Hes. *Th.* 853); εὖτέ με θυμὸς κορθύσῃ (*Hymn. Is.* 150).

•ETYM Frisk assumes that κόρθυς and ►κορθίλαι are related. Related to Skt. *śárdha*- [m.], *śárdhas*- [n.] 'band, troop, host', and Gm. words like Go. *hairda* 'herd'. Connection of MW *cordd* [f.] 'troop, band, family' is less probable, as this may also derive from PCelt. **koryo*- 'troop, tribe' (Matasović 2008 s.v.).

κορίαννον [n.] 'coriander, Coriandrum sativum' (Anacr., com., Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also κορίανδρον (gloss.), dissimilated κολίανδρον (Gp., sch.); κορίαμβλον (H.); shortened κόριον (Hp., Nic., pap.).
•DIAL Myc. *ko-ri-ja-do-no, ko-ri-a$_2$-da-na* /kori^{h}adnon, -na/.
•ETYM It is doubtful that the forms in -ανδρον and -αμβλον are folk-etymological, as Frisk supposes. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971): 674 points to the comparison with Akk. *huri'ānu* 'id.', but this does not explain the Myc. *-d-*. The cluster *-dn-* rather points to a Pre-Greek word. It is possible that PG **koria^{n}dro-* dissimilated to **koria^{n}dno-*, with subsequent (post-Mycenaean) assimilation *-ndn-* > *-nn-* in the classical form.

κορίαξος [m.] 'a kind of fish'? (Alex. Trall.); acc. to Strömberg 1943: 115 rather 'spiced meat'. ◁PG?▷
•ETYM If 'spiced meat' is the correct translation, does it belong to κόριον, ▶κορίαννον? However, the formation remains unclear in any case. Probably Pre-Greek.

κόρις, -ιος [m., f.] 'bug, Cimex lectularius' (Ar., Sor., Phryn.); also a fish (Dorio, Boeot. inscr.), see Lacroix 1938: 52; called after its flat shape acc. to Strömberg 1943: 124. As a plant name 'Hypericum empetrifolium' (Dsc., Aët.), after the shape of the leaves acc. to Strömberg 1937: 50. ◁IE **(s)ker-* 'cut'▷
•VAR Gen. also -ιδος, -εως.
•DER Denominative κορίζω [v.] 'to be full of bugs' (gloss.).
•ETYM The *i*-stem also occurs in τρόπις, τρόφις, τρόχις, etc. (Schwyzer: 462). Identical with Ru. *kor'* [f.] 'moth', and traditionally analyzed as an old verbal noun from **(s)ker-* 'shave, split, cut' seen in ▶κείρω, etc. (s.v). However, an old isogloss is highly improbable for a word of such a specialized meaning. Literature: Jouanna *RPh.* 50 (1976): 32-40; Gil Fernández 1959: 109.

κορκόρας [?] · ὄρνις. Περγαῖοι 'bird (Pergaian)' (H.). ◁LW Anat.?▷
•ETYM Neumann 1961: 42 connects it with Hitt. *kallikalli-* 'falcon', with *a* borrowed as *o* and interchange of *l* and *r*.

κορκορυγή [f.] 'dumb sound, battle cry' (A., Ar.). ◁ONOM, PG?▷
•DER (δια-)κορκορυγέω [v.] 'to fill with noise, storm, rumble' (τὴν γαστέρα, Ar. *Nu.* 387 with sch.); κορκορυγμός 'rumbling in the belly' (Ps.-Luc. *Philopatr.* 3).
•ETYM Onomatopoeic word with reduplication; the ending like in βορβορυγή, -γμός, ὁλολυγή, -γμός (see Chantraine 1933: 401). See Tichy 1983: 275f.

κορμός 'piece cut off, clump, trunk'. ⇒κείρω.

κόρνοψ, -οπος [m.] 'locust'. ⇒πάρνοψ.

κόρος 1 'satiety, surfeit, insolence'. ⇒κορέννυμι.

κόρος 2 [m.] 'youth, boy, son'. •VAR Ion. κοῦρος. ⇒κόρη.

κόρος 3 [m.] name of a measure of capacity for grain, flour, etc.; acc.to J. *AJ* 15, 9, 2 it equals 10 Att. medimnes (LXX, J., *Ev. Luc.*, pap.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•ETYM A loan from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kōr*, originally a round vessel (Lewy 1895: 116).

κόρση [f.] 'temple, hair on the temple', metaph. 'parapets, etc.' (Il.); mainly poetic, except in Att. expressions like πατάσσειν, τύπτειν, ῥαπίζειν ἐπὶ κόρρης; prose usually has κρόταφος 'temple'. ◂IE *(*s*)*ker-* 'cut'▸

•VAR Att. κόρρη, Aeol. κόρσα, Dor. κόρρα.

•COMP πυρσόκορσος "with red temples (hair)", i.e. 'with red manes' (λέων; A. *Fr.* 110), ψιλο-κόρσης [m.] 'bald-headed' (Call., Hdn.); κορσο-ειδής (λίθος) "with the color of the temples", i.e. 'gray' (Plin.); cf. MiGr. κορσίτης, see Redard 1949: 56; Κορρί-μαχος (Thess.), see Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 350.

•DER κορσεῖα, κόρσεα [pl.] 'temples' (Nic.); κορσήεις = κορσοειδής (Orph. *L.* 498 [?]).

•ETYM Probably from **kors-ó-* 'that which is shaven' (H. has κορσός· κορμός 'cut-off piece' and κορσοῦν· κείρειν 'to shave'; cf. the *-s-* in ἀ-κερσε-κόμης, s.v. ▸κουρά). This interpretation goes back to antiquity, e.g. Poll. 2, 32: καὶ κόρσας τινὲς ἐκάλεσαν τὰς τρίχας διά τὸ κείρεσθαι 'some called hair κόρσας because it was shaven'. However, 'hair' is not the original meaning; we have to start from 'haircut (at the temples)'. For parallels, see Frisk 1951: 14ff. Cf. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 191-205.

κορσός, -όω, κορσωτήρ, etc. ⇒ κουρά.

Κορύβαντες [m.pl.] 'Corybantes', priests of the Phrygian Cybele (E., Ar., Str.), sg. Κορύβας· Ῥέας ἱερεύς (H.); also Κύρβαντες, sg. -ας (Pherecyd., S.). ◂PG(V)▸

•DER κορυβάντειος 'Corybantian' (*AP*), -αντικός 'id.' (Plu.), -αντίς [f.] 'id.' (Nonn.), -αντώδης 'C.-like' (Luc.), -αντεῖον [n.] 'C.-temple' (Str.); κορυβαντιάω [v.] 'to be filled with frenzy like the C.' (Pl., Longin.) with -ιασμός (D. H., Longin.); κορυβαντίζω [v.] 'to consecrate in the C. rites' (Ar. *V.* 119, Iamb.) with -ισμός· κάθαρσις μανίας (H.).

•ETYM Formation like Ἄβαντες, ἀλίβαντες etc. (Schwyzer: 526, Chantraine 1933: 269). Given their origin, a Phrygian word would be the first guess. However, the variation shows that the word was originally Pre-Greek, so Kretschmer's IE etymology connecting ON *hverba* 'to turn (intr.)' must be abandoned. For Kretschmer, the Phrygians were the only IE people in Anatolia; he liked to find Indo-European Phrygian etymologies, forgetting that the Phrygians borrowed much from earlier peoples in Anatolia.

It is very difficult to establish which of the two forms was original; Kretschmer thought is was Κύρβαντες (whence Κορύβ- would have arisen by adaptation to κόρυς, which seems improbable to me). Fur.: 359 holds that a sequence υ - υ became ο - υ in Pre-Greek. Therefore, he also thinks that Κύρβ- was original (giving *Κυρυβ- > Κορυβ-). Rejecting the traditional etymology from κοῦρος, he assumes a form Κορυ-β- as the stem of κόρυψ· νεανίσκος and thus explains Κορύβαντες. However, in this way he seems to forget that he took Κύρβαντες as the original form.

κόρυδος [m., f.] '(crested) lark, Alauda cristata' (Ar., Pl., Arist.). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•VAR Also -δός; enlarged forms with suffixes -ν- and -λ(λ)- (see Chantraine 1933: 360f. and 246f.). With different vocalism κάρυδοι· καρύδαλοι (H.). Cf. forms with

-θ- (like in κόρυθ- 'helmet'): κόρυθος· εἶς τις τῶν τροχίλων 'one of the Egyptian plovers' and κορύθων· ἀλεκτρυών 'cock' (H.).

•DER κορυδῶνες [pl.] (Arist. *HA* 609a 7), κορύδαλ(λ)ος (Arist.; v.l. -αλλός), -αλλός (Theoc., Babr.), -αλλά (Epich., inscr. Sicily), -αλλίς (Simon., Theoc.). PN Κόρυδος, -ύδων, -υδαλλός, -υδεύς (see Boßhardt 1942: 132).

•ETYM The connection with κόρυς 'helmet' may be correct, but only as a variant of the same Pre-Greek word. A suffix -δο- did not exist in Greek, and therefore the comparison with the Gm. word for 'deer' (OS *hirot*, OHG *hiruz* < QIE **ḱerud-* vel sim.) does not work. On κόρυδος, etc., see Thompson 1895 s.v. κορύδαλος. The form κάρυδος is the older one: PGr. *a often gives o before a following υ (so there is no need to correct the form; Fur.: 345 had not seen the rule); therefore, derivation from κόρυς is impossible. Note that -αλ(λ)- is the Pre-Greek suffix **-alʾ-*; see Beekes 2008. See ►κόρυς.

κόρυζα [f.] 'mucous discharge from the nostrils, rheum' (Hp., Gal., Luc.), metaph. 'stupidity' (Luc., Lib.). ◄PG?►

•DER κορυζώδης 'with a cold' (Hp.), κορυζᾶς 'id.' (Men. *Fr.* 1003; cf. Körte ad loc.), -ζάω 'to have a chill, be stupid' (Pl., Arist., Plb.), κορυζιᾷ· *pipitat* (gloss.). With intensifying βου-: βου-κόρυζα = ἡ μεγάλη κόρυζα (Men. *Fr.* 1003 from Suid.), βουκόρυζος· ἀναίσθητος, ἀσύνετος 'without sense, witless' (H.). Further κορύναι and κροῦμαι· μύξαι 'mucus' (H.).

•ETYM Ending like in ►κόνυζα, but without certain connection. It has traditionally been compared to a Gm. word for 'mucus', e.g. OE *hrot*, OHG *(h)roz* 'mucus', which is a verbal noun of OE *hrūtan*, OHG *hrūzzan* 'to grumble, snore' (see Pok. 571, 573). If Pre-Greek, it is from **karuʾa*.

κόρυμβος [m.] 'uppermost point of a ship' (I 241), 'top of a mountain' (Hdt., A.), 'cluster of the ivy fruit' (Mosch., Corn., Plu.), 'hair knot; = κρωβύλος' (Heraclid. Pont.). ◄PG(S,V)►

•VAR Plur. -α (next to -οι). Also κόρυμνα· κόσμιος τις γυναικεῖος περιτραχήλιος 'women's ornament worn round the neck' (H.).

•COMP κορυμβο-φόρος 'bearing fruit' (Longos), δι-κόρυμβος 'with two tops' (Hell. poetry).

•DER κορύμβη [f.] 'hair knot' (Asios), 'hairband' (Antim.). κορύμβιον 'grape' (Dsc.); κορυμβίας (Thphr.), κορύμβηλος (Nic.), κορυμβήθρα (Ps.-Dsc.) 'ivy, Hedera helix'; cf. Strömberg 1937: 91, Strömberg 1940: 53; κορυμβίτης (κισσός) 'id.' (medic., Plin., see Redard 1949: 73); κορυμβώδης 'grape-like' (v.l. Dsc. 3, 24); κορυμβόομαι [v.] 'to be tied together in a hair knot' (Nic. Dam.).

•ETYM Related to ►κορυφή, with a by-form of the suffix.

κορύνη [f.] 'club, mace, knobby bud or shoot, penis' (Il.). ◄PG?►

•VAR The quantity of the υ varies.

•COMP κορυνη-φόρος 'club-bearer' (Hdt.).

•DER κορυνήτης [m.] 'who uses a club' (Il., Paus.); κορυνώδης 'knobby' (Thphr.), κορυνιόεις 'id.' (v.l. Hes. *Sc.* 289); κορυνάω [v.] 'to put forth knobby buds' with κορύνησις (Thphr.).

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►κόρυς, referring to the thick end of the instrument in question? For the formation, cf. instrument names like τορύνη, βελόνη (Chantraine 1933: 207f.). The frequently suggested connection with κορυφή, κόρυμβος is undoubtedly wrong; the word is probably Pre-Greek.

κορύπτω 'butt with the head (the horns)'. ⇒κορυφή.

κόρυς, -υθος [f.] 'helmet' (Il.). ◅PG(S)►

•VAR Acc. -υθα, -υν.

•DIAL Myc. *ko-ru-to* /koruthos/ [gen.sg.]; *ko-ru-pi* /koruthphi/ [ins.pl.]. Also Lac. κόρυρ· θριγκός 'topmost stone' (H.).

•COMP κορυθ-άϊξ 'shaking the helmet' (X 132), from ►ἀΐσσω; -αἰόλος 'id.', mostly of Hector (Il., A. R.); accent after Hdn., Eust., codd. Ven.), κορυθήκη [f.] 'helmet case' (Delos II[a]; haplological for κορυθο-θήκη); τρί-κορυς 'with triple plume' (E. *Ba.* 123 [lyr.]), also τρι-κόρυθος 'id.' (E. *Or.* 1480); χαλκο-, ἱππο-κορυστής 'with bronze/red-haired helmet' (Il.).

•DER 1. Diminutive κορύθιον (gloss.). 2. κορυστής [m.] 'helm-bearer' (Il.). 3. κόρυθος· εἷς τις τῶν τροχίλων, περικεφαλαία 'one of the Egyptian plovers, helmet' (H.); to Κόρυ(ν)θος as an epithet of Apollo see below. 4. κορύθων· ἀλεκτρυών 'cock' (H.). 5. κορυθάλη, -αλίς = εἰρεσιώνη 'maypole' (*EM*), Κορυθαλία epithet of Artemis near Sparta (Polem. Hist., H.), also = κορυθάλη (H., gloss.); κορυθαλίστριαι· αἱ χορεύουσαι τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ θεᾷ 'women dancing for the goddess K.' (H.), after the fem. in -(ί)στρια, cf. Chantraine 1933: 106. 6. Denominative verb κορύσσω, -ομαι 'to raise high, rise', also in general 'to arm oneself' (Il.), originally 'to take a helmet'; aor. κορύσσασθαι (Il.), κορύξασθαι (Ath. 3, 127a; also Hp. *Ep.* 17?), ptc. perf. κεκορυθμένος (Il.), verbal adj. κορυστός 'heaped up', of a full measure (Attica); κορυ<σ>τόν· ἐπίμεστον 'filled up' (H.). Κόρυ(ν)θος epithet of Apollo in Messenia (inscr., Paus. 4, 34, 7), appurtenance uncertain; κορυνθεύς· κόφινος, κάλαθος. ἀλεκτρυών 'basket (narrow at the base), cock' (H.), cf. κορύθων above. On κόρυς and derivatives see Trümpy 1950: 40ff., Gray *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 114ff.

•ETYM Most often connected with κέρας 'horn', but the differences of meaning and the morphological problems render this improbable. Chantraine 1932: 165ff. therefore considered Mediterranean origin for κόρυς; we now know that this must be correct, since the alternating suffixes in ►κορυφή, ►κόρυμβος, ►κόρυδος, ►κορύνη, κορυδ-ών, -αλ(λ)ος all point to a Pre-Greek word (cf. Fur.: 195).

κορυφή [f.] 'top, skull', also metaph. (Il.). ◅PG(S,V)►

•VAR Dor. -φά.

•COMP E.g. κορυφᾰ-γενής 'born from the head', properly of Athena, metaph. (Pythag. in Plu. 2, 381f.), δι-κόρυφος 'with two summits' (E., Arist.).

•DER κορυφαῖος [m.] 'the main figure, leader of the chorus' (IA), secondary 'at the head' [adj.] (Plu., Hdn.), κορυφαιότης 'leadership' (*Corp. Herm.*); κορυφαῖον 'the upper part of a hunting-net', -φαία 'head-stall of a bridle' (X., Poll.). κορυφώδης 'with summits' (Hp.). κορυφάς [f.] 'edge of the navel' (Hp. *apud* Gal.); -φίς, -φών = κορυφή (gloss.), κόρυφος [m.] = κορυφή (Epid.), = κόρυμβος γυναικεῖος 'hair knot of a woman' (H.); κορύφαινα [f.] name of a fish, ἴππουρις (Dorio *apud* Ath.); on the

naming motive Strömberg 1943: 59, on the suffix ibd. 137; κορύφια [pl.] kind of mollusks (Xenocr. *apud* Orib.). κορυφιστήρ = κορυφαῖον (Poll.), also 'headband' (sch.), cf. βραχιονιστήρ (Chantraine 1933: 328); -ιστής 'id.' (H.).
Denominative verbs: 1. κορυφόομαι 'to rise up high' (Il.), 'to count together, sum up' (Hell.), -όω 'to bring to the top' (medic.), κορύφωμα 'summit' (Ath. Mech.), -ωσις 'top of a pyramid' (Nicom.). 2. κορύπτω 'to butt with the head' (Theoc.), κορυπτίλος 'butting' (Theoc.), after τροχίλος, σποργίλος (Chantraine 1933: 249), probably hypocoristisc; also κορύπτης, -τόλης 'id.' (*EM*, H.); ἐκορυπτίας· ἐγαυρίας (H.).
•ETYM Long recognized as Pre-Greek, due to the alternation of κορυφ- with prenasalized κορυμβ-. See ►κόρυμβος.

κόρχορος [m.] plant name, 'blue pimpernel, ἀναγαλλὶς ἡ κυανῆ, Anagallis caerulea'; on the mg. Thiselton-Dyer *Journ. of Phil.* 33 (1914): 201. ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR κόρκορος (Ar. *V.* 239, Nic. *Th.* 626). Msc. in Thphr. and Ps.-Dsc.
•ETYM A reduplicated Pre-Greek formation (see Strömberg 1940: 21).

κορχυρέα [f.] 'subterranean drain' (*IG* 9(1), 692: 8 [Corcyra II[a]]: περι ταν κορχυρε[αν]). ◅PG(V)▻
•ETYM Dittenberger ad loc. *IG* 9(1), 692: 8 refers to ►γοργυρα, γέργυρα, γοργύριον 'id.' (Hdt. 3, 145, H.; cf. s.v.) and κορκόδρυα (κορκορρόα Lobeck)· ὑδρόρυα 'drain' (H.); the variation points to a Pre-Greek word.

κορώνη [f.] 'crow', also 'shearwater', 'Corvus corone, cornix, frugilegus, Puffinus yelkuan' (Od.). Often metaph. of all kinds of curved or hook-formed objects (cf. below): 'tip of a bow' (Il.), 'grip of a door' (Od., Poll.), 'tip of the plough pole' (A. R.), 'back of a ship' (Arat.), 'pathological tumor of the elbow, etc.' (Hp.), 'kind of crown' (Sophr. 163, H.). ◅IE **kor-u/n-* 'crow, raven'▻
•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. κορωνο-βόλος 'shooting crows', τρι-κόρωνος 'have three times the age of a crow' (*AP*).
•DER κορωνιδεύς [m.] 'young crow' (Cratin. 179); κορώνεως [f.] 'tree with raven-black figs' (Ar. *Pax* 628), cf. on ἐρινεώς s.v. ►ἐρινεός. κορωνίς [f.] 'curved, with tail', of ships (Hom.), of cattle (Theoc.), as a noun 'crown' (Stesich.), 'curved line, ornament' at the end of a book, etc., as an orthographic sign 'end' (Hell.); also κορωνός [m.] 'curved, etc.' (Archil., Hp., *EM*), also PN Κόρωνος (B 746), κορωνόν [n.] 'knob of bone(s)', τὰ κόρωνα 'elbow' (medic.); κορώνιος· μηνοειδῆ ἔχων κέρατα βοῦς 'bull having crescent-shaped horns' (H.), also a month name (Knossos), κορώνιον [n.] plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 42; κορωνίης [m.] 'who proudly bends the neck' (of ἵππος; Semon.), whence κορωνιάω [v.] 'to bend the neck proudly, be proud' (Hell.), also 'to curve oneself' (κορωνιόωντα πέτηλα Hes. *Sc.* 289; metrically conditioned). Denominative verb κορωνίζω 'to end, finish' (of κορωνίς; Pontos); also of κορώνη as a basis of κορωνισταί [pl.] "crow-singer", κορωνίσματα [pl.] "crow-songs", i.e. 'singing beggar', 'begging songs' (Ath.). On κορώνη see Thompson 1895 s.v.
•ETYM The Italic words for 'crow' (Lat. *cornīx*, U *curnaco* 'cornicem') suggest that κορώνη also continues an old *n*-stem **kor-ōn*, **kor-n-os*. The root is also found in ►κόραξ and ►κόραφος. A *u*-stem alternating with this *n*-stem is seen in Lat. *corvus*

(MIr. *crú* 'raven' is perhaps a ghost word; see De Vaan 2008). As a name for curved objects, κορώνη, κορωνίς, κορωνός are sometimes separated from κορώνη 'crow' and connected with ►κυρτός 'curved, hunchbacked', but the unique formation of the Greek word speaks against such a separation. Moreover, the metaphorical use of κορώνη 'crow' is nothing remarkable given the use of its cognates (κόραξ, Lat. *cornīx*, MoFr. *corbeau*, MoE *crow*, etc.): the metaphors may have originated from the shape of the beak or the claws of the bird. From Greek comes Lat. *corōna*, *corōnis*, whence Western European loans like MoE *crown*.

κόσκινον [n.] 'sieve' (Semon., Democr., Att.). ◅PG?▻

•COMP A few compounds, e.g. κοσκινο-ποιός 'sieve-maker' (com.), τυρο-κόσκινον kind of cheesecake (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647f).

•DER Diminutive κοσκίνιον (Chrysipp. Tyan.); κοσκίνωμα 'fencing' (Sm., Thd.); κοσκινηδόν [adv.] 'like a sieve' (Luc.). Denominative verbs: 1. κοσκινεύω 'to sieve' (Democr., pap.), whence κοσκινευ-τής 'siever', -τικόν 'fee for sifting', -τήριον 'place for sifting' (pap.); 2. κοσκινίζω 'id.' (medic., Aq., Sm.), whence -ίνεσις 'sieving' (pap.).

•ETYM No etymology; perhaps Pre-Greek (Chantraine 1933: 203).

κοσκυλμάτια [n.pl.] 'cuttings of leather', metaph. of the flattering words of the tanner Cleon to Demos (Ar. *Eq.* 49). ◅GR?▻

•ETYM Uncertain. A reduplicated formation *(σ)κο-σκυλ-μάτ-ια (Schwyzer: 423) has been assumed, related to ►σκύλλω 'to dishevel, maltreat'. The similarity with Lat. *quisquiliae* [pl.] 'waste, dirt' may be accidental (Walde assumed a loan from Greek).

κόσμος [m.] 'order, propriety, good behavior; ornament' (Il.), 'world-order, world' (Pythag. or Parm.; Kranz *Phil.* 93 (1938): 430ff.), 'government' (IA); name of the highest officials in Crete (back-formation from κοσμέω acc. to Leumann 1950: 285f.; against this Ruijgh 1957: 109). ◅IE **keNs-* 'order'▻

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. κοσμο-ποιία 'creation of the world' (Arist.), κοσμό-πολις [m.] name of an official of the town (Hell.), properly a governing compound = ὁ κοσμῶν πόλιν; independent is κοσμο-πολίτης 'citizen of the world' (Hell.); εὔ-κοσμος 'in good order' (Sol.).

•DER 1. Diminutives κοσμ-άριον, -ίδιον, -αρίδιον 'small ornament' (late); 2. κόσμιος 'well-ordered, decent, quiet' (IA), 'regarding the world' (Plu., Arr.), whence κοσμιότης 'culture, civilization' (Att.); 3. κοσμικός 'worldly, earthly, of the world' (Hell.); 4. κοσμωτός 'changed in a world' (Hell.); 5. Κοσμώ [f.] name of a priestess (Lycurg.); PNs Κοσμίας, Κοσμᾶς, etc. 6. Denominative verb κοσμέω 'to order, govern, adorn' (Il.), with several derivatives: κοσμητός 'well-ordered' (η 127); κόσμησις 'order, ornamentation' and κόσμημα 'id.' (Att.); κοσμήτωρ 'who orders, commander' (Il.) and κοσμητήρ 'id.' Epigr. *apud* Aeschin. 3, 185), fem. κοσμήτειρα (Ephesus, Orph.; -ήτρια H.); κοσμητής 'orderer, commander, who orders, adorns', also name of an official (Att.), whence κοσμητεύω (-τέω) 'to be κοσμητής' (inscr., pap.), -τεία (pap.); κοσμητήριον 'place with toilets' (Paus.), κόσμητρον 'broom' (sch.); κοσμητικός 'belonging to adorning' (Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM The most probable reconstruction is **ḱoNs-mo-*. This implies that the word is related to Lat. *cēnseō* 'to estimate', *cēnsiō* 'assessment, rating', etc., OCS *sętъ* 'said he', and the Indo-Iranian group of Skt. *śaṃs-* 'to praise', OP *θah-* 'to declare, announce'. Acc. to Schumacher *apud* LIV² s.v. **ḱeNs-*, MW *dan-gos-* 'to show, point out' is related as well. It is probable that the element -κάς in ►ἑκάς, ἀνδρακάς, Skt. *sahasraśás* [adv.] 'a thousand times' (RV+) is also related. The original meaning was probably 'to put in order (by speaking)'. The meaning 'to adorn' is probably secondary within Greek. On the semantics of this root, see García Ramón 1993a: 109-15; he also connects (ibid.: 120) Myc. PNs like *ka-e-sa-me-no* /ka^{h}esamenos/.

κόσσυφος [m.] 'blackbird, Turdus merula' (Arist., Matro, *AP*), metaph. as a name of the cock (Paus. 9, 22, 4; Tanagra); also a wrasse (Numen. *apud* Ath. 7, 305c, medic., Ael.), because it changes colors with the seasons, like the blackbird; or perhaps named after their sounds (Strömberg 1943: 116).

•VAR Att. -ττ-, gloss. -υκος. Also κόψιχος (-ικος, -υκος) [m.] (com. since Ar., Suid., Moer.).

•DER κοσσυφίζω 'to sing like a κ.' (Hero). Fem. Κοσσύφα, Doric name of a hetaira (Schulze 1933a: 707[9]).

•ETYM Previous scholars connected ►κόψιχος with the Slav. name of the blackbird, CS *kosъ*, etc., from **kopso-*. Meillet *MSL* 18 (1914): 171ff. explained κόσσυφος by assuming a dissimilation from *κοψυφος. However, this does not explain the phoneme expressed by σσ/ττ, so the explanation must be given up. Knobloch *Glotta* 55 (1979): 76f. connects the verb κόπτω, which beside 'to blow, strike' also means 'to dig', like in OCS *kopati*, which would fit the bird. However, there is no element **-so-* that would create agent nouns, as he states, so the formation remains obscure. Given the variants, the word is clearly Pre-Greek. Not in Fur.

κόσταί [f.] 'a fish' (Diphn. Siphn. *apud* Ath. 357a), occurring in a list of fish. ◄?►

•VAR κοστίας· κοιλίας κόμορος (= κάμμαρος?) (H.).

•ETYM No etymology.

κόστος [m.] name of a plant and of its root, which was used as a spice, 'Saussurea lappa' (Thphr., D. S.). ◄LW Skt.►

•VAR Also -ον [n.].

•DER κοστόϊνος 'made of κ.' (pap.), cf. Kalbfleisch *RhM* 94 (1951): 345.

•ETYM From Skt. *kúṣṭha-* [m.] 'id.'. Lat. *costum, -us* was borrowed from κόστος (-ον). See Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.

κοσυβ[άτ]ας [m.] 'sacrificer' (Gortyn V-IV[a], *SEG* 1, 414, 10).

•VAR κοσ<ύ>βατοι (-βάται?)· οἱ ἐπὶ θυσιῶν τεταγμένοι 'appointed for sacrifices' (H.) (υ added, because it stands after κοστίας). ⇒κοσύμβη.

κοσύμβη [f.] name of a cloak which acc. to D. Chr. 72, 1 was used by herders and countrymen; by *EM* 311, 5, H. and others is was explained with ἐγκόμβωμα 'kind of apron' (see κόμβος), by *EM* 349, 15 called an ἀναβολή 'mantle'; the mg. 'κρωβύλος' in Poll. 2, 30 (different readings) must be a hybrid with ►κόρυμβος. ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also κότθυβος, a piece of military equipment, perhaps περίζωμα? (*Rev. Arch.* 1935 : 2, 31); cf. also κοσυβάτας, which confirms the form without nasal (Fur. 283). Further Lat. *gossypion*, (Plin. N.H. 19, 14), *-inum* (ibid. 1, 12, 21, etc.), which point to *γοσσυπιον. Also κόσυμβος [m.], which acc. to H. (with -σσ-) = κοσ(σ)ύμβη; also 'hair-net' (LXX *Is.* 3, 18); thence κοσυμβωτός (*Ex.* 28, 35, χιτών; v.l. κόσυμβος), acc. to H. = κροσσωτός, i.e. 'with fringes'.

•ETYM Lewy *KZ* 58 (1931): 26ff compares Assyr. *guzippu*, *kuzippu* 'a cloak', Arab. *korsuf* 'cotton'. Pre-Greek origin is likely, given the prenasalization and the variants with -σ-, -σσ/ττ-, etc. This does not exclude that the word is found in Semitic too, since it may be an old culture word (Fur.: 283).

κότθυβος ⇒ κοσύμβη.

κοτίλιον [n.] mg. not certain, probably name of a vessel to preserve things (inscr. Delos 1429 B II 25 [II^{a}]). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Unexplained. The formal similarity with vulgar κότιλον, κοτίλλιν (Latte gives κοτίλλιον)· ἀνδρὸς αἰδοῖον 'male private parts' (and κόθημα· ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου, also κότιλον H.) cannot be denied. The variation in κοτιλ(λ)- points to a Pre-Greek word.

κότινος [m., f.] 'wild olive, ἀγριελαία' (Ar., Thphr.), on the name Strömberg 1937: 166[1]. ◂PG?▸

•COMP As a first member in κοτινη-φόρος 'carrying wild olives' (Mosch.), etc.

•DER κοτινάς [f.] 'the fruit of the wild olive' (Hp.), '(olive) grafted upon a wild olive' (Poll.); on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 353.

•ETYM Probably a loan, perhaps from Pre-Greek. Cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 131. From Greek was borrowed Lat. *cotinus* 'Rhus cotinus' (Plin.).

κότος [m.] 'grudge, hatred' (Il.). ◂?▸

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. bahuvrīhi ἔγ-κοτος 'grudging' (A.), whence denominative ἐγκοτέω [v.] 'to be full of grudge' (A.); thence ἐγκότημα, -ησις (LXX) and, as a back-formation, ἔγκοτος (Hdt.) 'grudge'; also ἐγκότιος [adj.] (Salamis on Cyprus).

•DER κοτήεις 'grudging' (E 191); -ήεις analogical for κοτόεις (A. D., *EM*); further (probably a denominative, see below) κοτέω, -έομαι 'to grudge' (Il.), aor. κοτέσσασθαι, -έσαι, fut. κοτέσσομαι, perf.ptc.dat. κεκοτηότι; also κοταίνω 'id.' (A. *Th.* 485), after θυμαίνω, etc., see Fraenkel 1906: 18 and on ▸θυμός.

•ETYM It has been compared with a Celto-Germanic word for 'struggle, fight', e.g. W *catu-* in *Catu-rīges*, OHG *hadu-* in *Hadu-brand*, ON *hǫd* [f.] 'battle, contest' and, with a different suffix, MHG *hader* 'quarrel, fight', as well as perhaps Slav., e.g. CS *kotora* 'fight'. Further, perhaps, with palatal anlaut, Skt. *śátru-* 'enemy'. Machek 1958: 49f. additionally compares Cz. *katiti se* 'to be annoyed'. If κότος were an old *s*-stem (Fraenkel *KZ* 43 (1910): 193ff.), it would fit the *u*- and *r*-stems in *catu-*, *hader* better. All in all, not very clear.

κότταβος [m.] name of a game (Anacr., Pi., trag., com., Hell.) from Sicily, in which the player throws the rest of the wine from a cup against a target, either against a slice

that is in balance on top of a stick, which falls (soc. κότταβος κατακτός), or against an empty saucer, which floats in a basin with water, and sinks when hit (κ. ἐν λεκάνῃ or δι' ὀξυβάφων). However, κότταβος indicated not only the game itself, but also several objects and movements used in it. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Ion. -σσ-.

•COMP As a second member in μεθυσο-κότταβος [adj.] 'drunken while playing κ.' (Ar. *Ach.* 525).

•DER κοτταβίς [f.] 'cup with two handles for throwing' (Hell.); κοτταβεῖον (-βιον) 'kottabos-basin, -stander' (Dikaiarch., Hell.), also 'winner's prize at κ.' (com.); κοτταβική ῥάβδος 'κ.-bar' (Hell.). Denominative verb κοτταβίζω 'to play κ.' (Ar., Antiph.), euphemistic for 'vomit' (Poll., *EM*), also with ἀπο-, κατα-, συν- (X., com.); thence κοττάβισις, (ἀπο-)κοτταβισμός (late).

•ETYM As the original meaning of κότταβος is unknown, all etymologies are necessarily uncertain. Formally, it has been compared with ▶κοττίς 'head, back of the head', κόττειν· τύπτειν 'to hit, stamp' (H.), κόττος 'κύβος, etc.'. For various hypotheses, see Frisk. Lat. *cottabus* 'slapping blow' (Plaut.) was borrowed from Greek; cf. Friedmann 1937: 46ff. The variation ττ/σσ points to a Pre-Greek word. See ▶κοτύλη.

κόττανα [n.pl.] kind of small figs (Ath., H.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *qāṭān*, *qᵉṭannīm* 'small' (Lewy 1895: 22). Also to be connected is κοτάννα [f.], acc. to H. = παρθένος παρὰ Κρησί 'maiden (Cret.)'; cf. Hebr. *qāṭōn*, fem. *qᵉṭannā* 'small, young', also 'immature boy, girl' (Lewy 1895: 65). Lat. LW *cottana* [pl.] 'kind of small Syrian figs' (Plin.).

κοττάνη [f.] 'name of a fishing device (Ael. *NA* 12, 43). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From κόττος, name of a river fish; see on ▶κοττίς.

κοττίς, -ίδος [f.] 'hairdress with long hair on the forehead', Doric for κεφαλή (Poll., H., Phot.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also κοτίς (Hp.), = ἰνίον, παρεγκεφαλίς 'occipital bone, cerebellum' (Gal.), τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ κορυφή 'top of the head' (Erot.).

•COMP As a second member in προκοττίς· ἡ χαίτη 'loose, flowing hair' (H.) and προκόττα [f.] (Dor.).

•DER κόττικοι· αἱ περικεφαλαῖαι 'head coverings'; κοττάρια· τὰ ἄκρα τῆς κέγχρου 'ears of millet' (H.). Further κόττος = κύβος (*Cod. Just.*), κοττός (κόττος)· ὄρνις. καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον 'bird; cocks, because of the crests or tufts on their heads' (cf. MoGr. κόττα 'chicken'); κοττοβολεῖν· τὸ παρατηρεῖν τινα ὄρνιν 'observing a certain bird' (H.). On κόττος as a name of a river fish (Arist. *HA* 534a 1) see Strömberg 1943: 119 (named after the cock). PN Κοττίς, Κόττταλος, -άλη (Herod.).

•ETYM Connection with κοτύλη 'bowl, dish' is a mere guess. Fur.: 362 connects κοτ(τ)ίς, (προ)κόττα with σκύτη· κεφαλή 'head' (H.); the geminate is not expressive, but rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

κοτύλη [f.] 'bowl, dish, small cup' (Il.), on the mg. Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358 and 366, also as a measure for liquids and dry materials, = 6 κύαθοι or = 0,5 ξέστης (IA), metaph. 'socket, especially of the hip-joint' (Il., Hp.), 'cymbals' [pl.] (A.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Also κότυλος [m.] 'id.' (Hom. *Epigr.*, com.).

•COMP κοτυλ-ήρυτος 'to be scooped with cups' (Ψ 34), ἡμι-κοτύλη 'half a κ.' (pap.), δι-κότυλος 'measuring two κ.' (Hp., pap.).

•DER Diminutives κοτυλίς 'socket' (Hp.), κοτυλίσκος, -ίσκη, -ίσκιον 'small cup' (com.), κοτυλίδιον (Eust.). κοτυληδών, -όνος [f.] name of different cup-like holes (on the formation Chantraine 1933: 361), e.g. 'sucker, suction cup' (ε 433, etc.), also as a plant name, probably 'Cotyledon umbilicus' (Hp., Nic., Dsc.), after its leaves like suckers, Strömberg 1940: 44f., whence κοτυληδονώδης 'nipple-like' (Gal.). κοτυλιαῖος, -ιεῖος 'measuring a κ.' (Hell.), Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 95; κοτυλώδης 'cup-like' (Ath.); κοτύλων, -ωνος [m.] 'drunkard' (Plu.). Denominative verb κοτυλίζω 'to sell per κ., i.e. in small quantities' (IA), whence κοτυλισμός, -ιστής, -ιστί (Hell.).

•ETYM A close relation is Lat. *catīnus* '(flat) dish'; the deviation in vowel and formation suggests that they are independent loans from a third party. A loan is probable in the case of a vessel. Fur.: 101, 181 adduces κόνδυ 'a cup', as well as κονδύλιον; he notes (op. cit. 205[14]) that -υλη is a well-known suffix in Pre-Greek.

κουβαρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'wood-louse' (Dsc. 2, 35 tit.). ◁?▷

•DER Diminutive of κόβαρος· ὄνος 'id.' (cod. ἄνθρωπος, i.e. ἄνος) (H.). Another diminutive formation is MoGr. κουβάρι 'clew' (Kukules Λεξ. Ἀρχ. 5: 34), with the denominative κουβαρίζω (v.l. -ιάζω) = μηρύομαι 'to wind (together)' (sch. Theoc. 1, 29, also MoGr.).

•ETYM Acc. to Kukules (see also Strömberg 1944: 12), the animal was called this way because it can roll itself together. The group itself remains unexplained.

κοῦκι [n.] name of a palm-like tree, 'Hyphaena thebaica', also used for its fiber (*PBaden* 35, 23 [I^{p}], Plin.). ◁LW Eg.▷

•COMP κουκιοφόρον δένδρον (Thphr.).

•DER κούκεον 'fruit of the kouki-tree' (Ostr.); κούκινος 'of the kouki-tree; made from its fiber' (pap.).

•ETYM Foreign word, perhaps of Egyptian origin (but see on ▶κόϊξ). Cf. Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 244.

κουκούφας, -ατος [m.] Egyptian name of the ἔποψ (Horap. 1. 55, *PMag. Berol.* 2, 18). ◁LW Eg.▷

•VAR Also κοκκ-.

•DER Diminutive κοκκοφάδιον (*PMag. Lond.* 121, 411), cf. Dölger *ByzZ* 38 (1938): 213.

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word. Comparable with Skt. *kukkubha-* 'Phasianus gallus', Lat. *cucubiō, -īre* from the cry of the screech-owl. Cf. on ▶κικκαβᾶυ.

κουρά [f.] action noun 'cropping', of hair, beard or wool; 'lopping, cutting' of trees and grass; also 'lock of hair, virgin wool, fur' (IA); 'cut-off end, slips of wood' (Ph.). ◁IE **kers-* 'shave'▷

•VAR Ion. -ρή.

•DER Nouns: 1. κουρεύς [m.] 'shaver, barber' (Att.); also name of a bird (H.), after its sound; thence κουρεῖον 'barber-shop' (Att.), κουρεακός 'talkative' (Plb.), on the formation Schwyzer: 497; also κουρευτής 'id.' (gloss.), fem. κουρεύτρια (Plu.), κουρευτικός 'used for shaving' (sch., Olymp.). 2. κούρειον (-εον) [n.] 'sacrifice of hair, etc. on the Apaturia (S., Is., inscr.), Κούρειος epithet of Apollo (Teos), κουρεῶτις, -ιδος (ἡμέρα, ἑορτή) [f.] 'the third day of the Apaturia, on which the hair of the young boys and girls was sacrificed' (Pl., inscr.); Κουρεών (-ηϊών), -ῶνος [m.] month name in Magnesia on the Maeander (inscr.). Perhaps also in αἱμα-κουρίαι [pl.] 'sacrifice of blood to the dead' (Pi.), with faded second member. 3. κούριμος 'belonging to cropping; shaved' (trag., Plu.), also κουρεύσιμος (sch.) as if from *κούρευσις (κουρεύομαι); see Arbenz 1933: 79f. 4. κουρικός 'used for cropping' (pap.). 5. κουρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.', of μάχαιρα (Cratin.), also 'cleaning girl' (com., Plb.). 6. κουρίας [m.] 'who has his hair shaved' (Luc., D. L.). 7. κουράς· ἡ ἐν τοῖς ὀροφώμασι γραφή, ὀροφικὸς πίναξ ' writing on the roofs, plank for a roof' (H.); also ἐγκουράς (A. *Fr.* 142, H.). 8. κουρῖτις [f.] plant name, 'περιστερεὼν ὕπτιος, Verbena officinalis' (Ps.-Dsc., Ps.-Apul.); naming motive unknown.

Denominative verbs: 1. κουριάω 'to need cropping, to have long hair' (Pherecr., Plu., Luc.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω, see Schwyzer: 732; 2. κουρίζω 'to shave, cut' (Thphr., H.), aor. -ίξαι; 3. κουρεύομαι 'to take the tonsure, have the hair cut' (Just., sch.). On ►κοῦρος and ►κουρίξ, see s.vv.

•ETYM As a primary verbal noun, κουρά continues *$korsā$; the verb is seen in Hitt. *karš-^{zi}* 'to cut off', Lyd. *fa-karsed* 'cuts off', and in ToAB *kärs^{ā}-* 'to know, understand', as well as ToA *kärṣt^{ā}-*, ToB *kärst^{ā}-* 'to cut off, destroy'. Traces of the same verb (but with a different development of *-rs-*, ultimately depending on the accent) are found in Gr. ἀ-κερσε-κόμης 'with uncut hair' (Y 39), Κόρσης nickname of a smooth-shaved man (Chrysipp.), κορσός· κορμός 'cut-off piece' (H.), κορσοῦν· κείρειν 'to shave' (H.), with κορσᾶς [m.] (pap.), κορσω-τήρ (Call., Poll.) 'barber', -τεύς 'id.' (Ath. 12, 520e), -τήριον 'barber-shop' (ibd.). Further details under ►κόρση and ►κείρω.

κούρητες •VAR κουρίδιος. ⇒κόρη.

κουρίξ [adv.] in ἔρυσάν τέ μιν εἴσω κ. 'draw him inside κ.' (χ 188), κ. ἑλκομένη 'being drawn κ.' (A. R. 4, 18), κ. αἰνυμένους 'taking κ.' (H.); meaning uncertain. ◅GR▻

•ETYM From κουρά, after the adverbs in -(ῐ)ξ (Schwyzer: 620, Chantraine 1942: 250). Acc. to Aristarchus, it means τῆς κόμης ἐπιλαβόμενοι, 'taking by the head of hair', which would make perfect sense, though κουρά in the sense of 'head of hair' raises some doubts. Others have assumed an original mg. 'holding the hair like when shaving', which fits the usual meaning of κουρά better.

κοῦρος [m.] probably collective 'loppings, twigs lopped from a tree' (*IG* 2^2, 1362: 6 [end IV^a]): ξύλα ... κοῦρον ... φρύγανα ... φυλλόβολα. ◅GR▻

•ETYM Verbal abstract from *$korsó$-, like ►κουρά from *κορσά; cf. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 238. The form κόρος 'twig, sprout' does not show a trace of *-*s*- and therefore rather belongs to ►κόρη, etc.

κοῦφος [adj.] 'light, easily movable, nimble, vain, empty' (N 158 and θ 201: κοῦφα and κουφότερον as adverbs); on the mg. Treu 1955: 76, etc. ◁?▷

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. κουφό-νοος 'with a nimble mind' (trag.), ὑπό-κουφος 'rather light' (Dsc., Plu.).

•DER κουφοτής [f.] 'lightness' (Hp., Pl.), accent after βαρυτής, Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1909: 59, Schwyzer: 382; κουφεῖαι [pl.] probably 'vase shards, debris'? (*PTeb.* 5, 199 [II^{a}]), κοῦφον κεράμιον also 'empty vessel'; MoGr. (άγριο-)κουφίτης [m.] plant name 'Fumaria' (Redard 1949: 68 and 73). Denominative κουφίζω [v.] 'to lighten, mitigate, cancel, nullify' (Hp., Att.), rarely intr. 'to be light' (Hes. *Op.* 463, Hp., trag.), whence κούφισις (Th.), -ισμα (E.), -ισμός (Hell.) 'mitigation'; κουφιστήρ 'ring-pad' (to lighten the pressure; medic.); κουφιστικός 'mitigating' (Arist.).

•ETYM Unknown. The full grade of the stem and the barytonesis are remarkable in the case of an adjective (Schwyzer: 459), which suggests that it could originally have been a noun. The form κοῦφος replaced or pushed back the old forms ἐλαχύς, ἐλαφρός, which in the process assumed a different meaning.

κόφινος [m.] 'big basket' (Att., Hell.), on the mg. Schulze *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1905: 727f., also as a measure of capacity = 9 Att. χοίνικες (Boeot. inscr.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•DER Diminutive κοφίνιον (pap.); κοφινώδης 'basket-like' (sch.), -ηδόν 'per basket' (*EM*); κοφινόομαι [v.] 'to have a basket put over one's head' (Nic. Dam.).

•ETYM Borrowed as Lat. *cophinus*, whence MoE *coffin*, MHG *koffer*, etc. Fur. compares κόφος, probably 'basket-load', as well as κοψία· χύτρα 'earthen pot' and κόψα· ὑδρία 'water bucket, urn'; on the suffix, see Fur.: 129^{54}.

κόχλος [m., f.] shell-fish with a spiral-shaped shell, 'sea-snail, land-snail', also 'purple-snail, kohl' (E., Arist., Theoc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Several diminutive formations: κοχλίς [f.] (Luc., Man.); also name of an Arabic stone (Plin.); κοχλία = ξιφύδρια 'shell' (H.); κοχλίδιον (pap., Epict.), -άδιον (sch.). Further κοχλίας [m.] 'snail with spiral shell', often metaph. 'waterscrew, spiral stair, etc.' (com., Arist., Hell.); borrowed as Lat. *coc(h)lea*, cf. Ernout 1954: 54f.; κοχλιός 'id.' (Paul. Aeg., Aët., gloss.); κόχλᾶξ [m.] = κάχληξ (LXX, Dsc.); Lat. LW *coclāca* (Orib. lat.), cf. Ernout l.c. Unclear κοχλιάξων (-άζων), -οντος [m.] kind of machine-screw (Orib.), perhaps after ἄξων? From Lat. *coc(h)lear*, *-āris* [n.] (derived from *coc(h)lea*), Greek borrowed κοχλιάριον 'spoon', also as a measure (Dsc., medic.); originally name of a spoon, of which the sharp end was used to draw the snail from its shell; cf. WH s.v. *coc(h)lear*.

•ETYM Connection with ▶κόγχος, ▶κόγχη is evident; it has (Pre-Greek) prenasalization. Note also the vocalic variation in κόχλαξ/ κά-.

κοχυδέω [v.] 'to stream forth copiously' (Pherecr. 130, 4). ◁GR?▷

•VAR Ipf. κοχύδεσκεν (Theoc. 2, 107; v.l. κοχύεσκεν), pres. also κοχύζει (Stratt. 61; cod. κοκκύζει).

•ETYM Explained by Frisk as an intensive reduplicated formation from χύδην (on the dissimilated vowel, see Schwyzer: 647), with back-formations κοχύ· πολύ, πλῆρες 'much, full' (H.), κόχος 'mighty stream' (sch. Theoc. ad loc.). Are the latter words

learned contructions to explain the unclear forms? Reduplication from an adverb seems very strange in Greek.

κοχώνη [f.] 'buttocks' (Hp., com., Herod.). ◅IE? *$ǵ^{h}eng^{h}$- 'step'▻

•ETYM The almost complete identity with Skt. *jaghána-* [m., n.] 'buttocks' can hardly be a coincidence, but the further analysis remains hypothetical. Since Schmidt *KZ* 25 (1881): 112 and 116, as well as Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 373f., κοχώνη has been explained as assimilated from *καχώνα, with *καχ- equivalent to Skt. *jagh-* as the zero grade of *jáṅghā* [f.] 'lower thigh-bone' (to Go. *gaggan* 'to go', IE *$ǵ^{h}eng^{h}$-). Objections by Specht *KZ* 66 (1939): 197ff., who separates κοχώνη from *jaghána-*, etc. because of προχῶναι 'buttocks' (Archipp. 41), and compares χάσκω and cognates. However, προχῶναι could be a comic distortion of κοχώνη after πρωκτός (acc. to Güntert 1914: 122). Notice, too, that the Skt. word shows no trace of Brugmann's Law. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 563 finds no solution either.

κόψιχος [m.] 'blackbird'. ⇒ κόσσυφος.

κραναίνω ⇒ κραιαίνω.

κράββατος [m.] 'couch, mattress' (Rhinth., Criton Com., Arr.). ◅LW Macedonian?▻

•VAR κράβαττος, κράβατος, also -ακτος, -ον (so-called 'reverse writing'? See Schwyzer 317[1]).

•COMP κραβατο-πόδιον = ἑρμίς 'leg of a bed' (sch.).

•DER Diminutives: κραβάτιον (Arr.), -άκτιον (pap. V-VI^{p}), κρεβαττάριον (Ed. Diocl.), MoGr. κρεββάτι. κραβακτήριος [adj.] (pap. VI^{p}). Unclear κραβάτριος, perhaps 'chamberlain' (*IPE* 2, 297).

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *grabātus* (*-attus*). Acc. to Kretschmer 1921: 91ff., it is a loan from a Macedonia-Illyrian word for 'oak', *γράβος, which is seen in ▶γράβιον. Fur.: 126[41] calls this semantically arbitrary. On anlauting κ- for γ-, see Schwyzer *ZII* 6 (1926): 242. See further Kramer *AfP* 45 (1999): 205-216; the word would have been adopted independently by Greeks and Romans (likewise Fur.: ibid.). Hardly related to ▶γάβαθον.

κράβυζος [m.] name of a shell-fish (Epich. 42). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Probably a substrate word; for -υζος, see Schwyzer 472[3] and s.v. ▶κόνυζα. Acc. to Strömberg 1943: 121, it stands for *κραβό-βυζος, from κράβος· ὁ λάρος 'mew' (H.) and βῦζα 'eagle-owl' (Nic.); highly unlikely. Fur.: 238, 283 connects it with κράμβος 'dry', for which there seems no reason.

κραγγών, -όνος [f.] name of a small crustacean, probably 'Squilla mantis' (Arist. *HA*). ◅PG?▻

•VAR κραγών, κράγγη (v.ll.).

•ETYM On the formation in -ών, see Chantraine 1933: 159. The meaning suggests a loan. The connection with Skt. *śṛ́nga-* 'horn' (which belongs to ▶κέρας, etc.) is rightly rejected by Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 508. Instead of κραγγών· κίσσα 'jay', von Blumenthal 1930: 41f. proposes to read κραγών, i.e. "crying bird" (to

►κράζω), and to change κραγών· ἔνυδρον ζῶον 'water animal' to κραγγών, which would fit the alphabetical order.

κραδάω [v.] 'to swing, brandish', med. 'to tremble, be agitated' (post-Hom.). ◄?►

•VAR In Hom. only ptc. κραδάων and κραδαίνω (Il.). Also κραδεύειν (H.) as an explanation of κραδαίνειν.

•COMP Rarely with prefix: ἐπι-κραδάω (A. R., Opp.); ἐπι-, δια-, συγ-κραδαίνω (Tim. *Pers.*, Arist.); ἀνακραδεύει· σείει, σαλεύει 'shakes, causes to rock' (H.).

•DER κράδη [f.] 'spray at the end of branches, twig, especially of figs' (IA, Hes. *Op.* 681), ἀπο-κράδιος 'plucked from a fig tree' (*AP*), ἀπο-κραδίζω [v.] 'to pluck from a fig tree' (Nic.); also 'diseased formation of small shoots in trees', whence κραδάω [v.] 'to have κράδη' (Thphr.); also name of a contrivance that shows actors hovering in the air (Poll. 4, 128, H.). Also κράδος 'blight in fig-trees' (Thphr. *HP* 4, 14, 4), after Thphr. l.c. also a name of the twig. Further κραδησίτης· φαρμακός 'scapegoat', ὁ ταῖς κράδαις βαλλόμενος 'who is being hit with a branch' (H.); κραδίης [m.] 'prepared with fig twigs, provided with fig twigs' (H., Hippon.); κραδιαῖος 'made of fig-shoots' (Orph.); κράδαλοι· κλάδοι 'branches' (H.); κραδαλός 'trembling' (Eust.). On κραδευταί see ►κρατευταί.

•ETYM It seems certain that κράδη and κράδος belong with κραδάω, of which κραδαίνω is an enlargement. It is probable that κραδάω is a denominative, so an original meaning 'swinging' may be assumed for κράδη. This fits well with the meanings 'crown (of a tree)' and 'suspension-machine' (cf. Fraenkel 1906: 19f.). Alternatively, κραδάω could be a zero grade iterative, derived from a lost primary verb, with κράδη, -ος as back-formations. Acc. to Schwyzer: 682 and Chantraine 1942: 356, κραδάω is an old (originally athematic) root present, but this can hardly be correct. The word ►κόρδᾰξ, name of a dance, is unrelated. The connection with Lat. *cardō* remains hypothetical. Schulze *KZ* 57 (1930): 75 supposed that the IE word for 'heart' (Gr. ►κῆρ, ►καρδία) is a very old root noun from κραδάω, but this must remain uncertain.

κράζω [v.] 'to croak, cry' (individual attestations since Ar.). ◄ONOM►

•VAR Perf. κέκρᾱγα (trag., Ar.), to which pret. ἐκέκραγον (LXX), fut. κεκράξομαι (com., LXX), κεκραγήσει· κραυγάσει 'will cry aloud' (H.), aor. κεκρᾱξαι (LXX); aor. κρᾰγεῖν (ξ 467, Pi., Antiphon, Ar.), later κρᾰξαι (Thphr., LXX) with fut. κράξω (*AP*, *Ev. Luc.*).

•COMP Also prefixed, especially with ἀνα-.

•DER κεκράκτης [m.] 'cryer' (Hp., Ar., Luc.), κέκραγμα (Ar.), κεκραγμός (E., Plu.) 'crying'; κεκραξι-δάμας [m.] 'control by crying', comic epithet of Cleon (Ar. *V.* 596), after Ἀλκι-δάμας (see Sommer 1948: 174); κρᾱγέτας [m.] 'crier' (Pi.), κρᾱγός 'crying' (Ar. *Eq.* 487 κραγὸν κεκράξεται), κράκτης 'id.' (Adam., Tz.), κράκτρια (H. s.v. λακέρυζα), κρακτικός 'crying, making noise' (Luc.).

•ETYM The original system had a thematic root aorist κρᾰγεῖν beside an intensive perfect κέκρᾱγα with present mg. (Schwyzer 1950: 263f.). The central position of the perfect is testified by the derived verbal and nominal forms κεκράξομαι, κεκράκτης, etc. Later formations are the rare present κράζω and the aorist κρᾰξαι, etc.; a further

innovation was ἐκ-, ἐγ-κραγγάνω (Men., H.). As an original onomatopoeia, κέκραγα and κραγεῖν show similarity with ►κρώζω 'to croak'. The form ►κάραγος· ὁ τραχὺς ψόφος, οἷον πριών 'raw sound, like a saw' (H.) is not a regular disyllabic form beside κραγ-. See ►κόραξ, ►κραυγή.

κραιαίνω [v.] 'to complete' (Il.), intr. 'to end' (medic.), 'to rule' (θ 391, S., E.). ◅IE **ḱrh₂-s-n-* 'head'▻

•VAR κρᾱαίνω (v.l.), aor. κρηῆναι (Il.), κραᾶναι (H.), pass. κρᾱανθῆναι (Theoc.), perf.3sg. κεκρᾰ́ανται (Od.), verbal adj. ἀ-κρᾰ́αντος (Hom.); κραίνω (Od., medic.), fut. κρᾰνέω, -ῶ (Emp., A., E.); ἐπι-κρᾱνεῖ (A. *Ag.* 1340), intr. κρᾰνέεσθαι (*I* 626), aor. κρῆναι (*O* 599), κρᾶναι (A., S.), pass. κρανθῆναι (Pi., trag.), perf.3sg. κέκρανται (trag.), ἄ-κραν-τος (Pi., trag.).

•COMP Also with ἐπι-.

•DER From κραίνω: κράντωρ, -ορος 'ruler' (E. [lyr.], *AP*), 'who fulfills' (epigr. *apud* Paus. 8, 52, 6), with dissimilation κάντορες· οἱ κρατοῦντες 'who are ruling' (H.); κραντήρ, -ῆρος 'ruler' (Orph.), plur. 'wisdom teeth', originally "completer" of the tooth row (Arist.), sing. 'tusk' (Nic., Lyc.); fem. κράντειρα 'governess' (*APl.*, Orph.); on κράντωρ, -τήρ see Benveniste 1948: 46f.; κράντης 'fulfiller' (Lyc.); κραντήριοι· οἱ κραίνοντες, καὶ ἐπιτελοῦντες 'who are fulfilling, completing' (H.). Compound αὐτό-κρανος 'completing itself, self-evident' (H., *EM*; also A. *Fr.* 295f.); acc. to H. also = κίων μονόλιθος 'stone pillar', but in the last mg. rather to κάρᾱ 'head'; see -κρανον and κρανίον.

•ETYM The variant reading κρᾱαίνω points to an old denominative **krāhn̥-je/o-*, from the old *n*-stem found in gen. κρᾱ́ατος < **krāhn̥t-os* << PIE **ḱrh₂-s-n-ós* (cf. on ►κάρᾱ 'head'), like ὀνομαίνω to ►ὄνομα. The original meaning must have been 'to crown' (cf. καρᾱνοῦν 'to complete' to κάρᾱνον 'head'). Beside κρᾱαίνω, the aorist κρηῆναι shows Ionic phonetics. It was contracted to κρῆναι, and from this a new present κραίνω was made (cf. φῆναι to ►φαίνω), whence κρᾰνέω, etc. The form κραιαίνω may owe its root syllable κραι- to influence of the later form κραίνω (Leumann *IF* 57 (1940): 157).

κραιπάλη [f.] 'hangover, headache' (Hp., Ar.). ◅PG?▻

•COMP ἀ-κραίπαλος 'without intoxication, liberating' (Arist., Dsc.), κραιπαλό-κωμος 'rambling in drunken revelry' (Ar.).

•DER κραιπαλώδης 'prone to drunkenness' (Phld., Plu.), κραιπαλάω [v.] 'to have a hangover' (Ar., Pl., Plb.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ἀγκάλη, μασχάλη, σκυτάλη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 245ff.); further unclear. Connection to κραιπνός with interchange ν/ λ cannot be excluded semantically, but it is not evident. Latin has a LW *crāpula* 'id.' (yielding MoFr. *crapule*) with long *ā*, which might continue the Pre-Greek variation αι/ ᾱ (for which see Fur.: 336ff.). See also André *Ant. class.* 33 (1964): 92f.

κραιπνός [adj.] 'swift, rushing' (Il.); cf. Treu 1955: 6f. ◅PG?▻

•COMP κραιπνό-συτος, -φόρος 'swiftly rushing, leading' (A.).

•ETYM Unknown. Cf. on κραιπάλη. Could it represent a Pre-Greek pre-form **krap'-n-* (cf. on ►ἐξαίφνης, ►ἐξαπίνης)?

κραῖρα [f.] · ἡ κεφαλή, καὶ ἀκροστόλιον 'the head, terminal ornament'; also κραῖροι· στόλοι νεῶν, μέτωπα, κεφαλαί 'prows, fronts, heads of ships' (H.). ◁IE **ḱerh₂-* 'head, horn', **ḱrh₂-s-r-ih₂*▷

•COMP Further only as a second member: ὀρθό-κραιρα 'with upright standing horns or beaks' (Hom., verse-final), in βοῶν, νεῶν ὀρθοκραιράων; ἐῦ-κραιρα 'with beautiful horns', e.g. βουσὶν ἐϋκραίρῃσιν (*h. Merc.* 209); ἡμί-κραιρα 'half the head or face' (com., inscr.); μελάγ-κραιρα 'with black heads' (Lyc., [Arist.] *Mir.*); δί-κραιρα 'forked' (A. R.). Thematicized εὖ-κραιρος [f.] (A., Opp., Tryph.; v.l. in *h. Merc.* 209); ὀρθό-κραιρος [f.] (*AP*); τανύ-κραιρος [m., f.] 'with long horns' (*AP*, Opp.); δί-κραιρος [m.] 'two-horned' (*AP*); βοό-, ἰσό-, ὁμιό- κραιρος (Nonn.). Reshaped after the nouns in -ης, -ητος: εὐκραίρης (Max. 84).

•ETYM The apparent simplices κραῖρα and κραῖρος have clearly been taken from compounds. The only old form is the feminine second member -κραιρα. This extremely complicated form was extensively discussed in Nussbaum 1986: 222-247, as well as in Peters 1980a: 228-286. It has been recognized for a long time that -κραιρα belongs to ►κέρας (►κάρā). As a basic form, we may posit **ḱrh₂-s-r-ih₂* > **krāh-ar-ja*, where the contraction product *-ā-* was regularly shortened before *-rj-*. After the other compounded adjectives, Greek created a thematic form -κραιρος, indifferent to gender, which eventually survived.

κράμβη [f.] 'cabbage' (IA). Up till now, the word was mentioned under ►κράμβος, but it has nothing to do with it. Cf. also *RPh.* 71 (1997): 165, where it is noted that a reading **γάμβρη is wrong. Fur. did not split the words either (see on ►κράμβος). ◁?▷

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κραμβο-κέφαλος 'cabbage-headed' (pap.).

•DER Diminutive κραμβίδιον 'id.' (Antiph.), κραμβίον 'cabbage soup' (Hp.; MoGr. forms, part of which has γρ-, in Georgacas *ByzZ* 41 (1941): 362); κραμβίς 'cabbage-worm' (Ael.), see Strömberg 1944: 9; κραμβήεις 'cabbage-like' (Nic.), κραμβίτας [m.] 'greengrocer' (Thess.).

•ETYM No etymology. Strömberg 1940: 24 connected the word with ►κράμβος, assuming that the plant was called after its shrunken leaves; however, the connection with the Gm. group of OHG *(h)rimfan* 'to shrink' must now be forgotten. Borrowed as Lat. *crambē* (Plin.), MoP *karaṃb* 'cabbage'.

κράμβος [adj.] = καπυρός, ξηρός 'loud or clear, dry', of sounds (Ar. *Eq.* 539, H., Suid.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER κραμβαλέος 'dry, roasted' (Ath.), after αὐαλέος, etc.; κραμβαλίζουσιν· καπυρίζουσι 'revel' (H.); κρομβόω [v.] 'to roast, bake' (Diph.). κραμβότατον στόμα 'loudest voice' (H., Suid.); as a msc. subst. 'blight in grapes, when they shrivel before they are ripe' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 167. One also connects κράμβαλα· μνημεῖα 'monuments' (H.), supposing it denotes the urn with ashes, but this is uncertain. Further κράμβωτον· ἰκτῖνος τὸ ζῷον 'kite, the animal' (H.) (perhaps after its claws, but see Thompson 1895 s.v.).

•ETYM For the structure, cf. σκαμβός, ►κλαμβός. The accent is remarkable and may point to original substantival function.

The word has been compared with OHG *(h)rimfan* 'to wrinkle, curb, etc.', as if from IE **kremb-*, **kromb-*. However, Fur.: 238 compares ►κραῦρος 'dry, frail, fragile', assuming it is a form without prenasalization and with *u̯* for β (on which see Fur.: 228-242). This seems convincing; note Frisk's comment s.v. ►κραῦρος: "ebenfalls mit bemerkenswerter Barytonese." Fur.: 343 further adduces κόμβος· ὁ κόνδυλος. καὶ ὁ καπυρός 'ball, swelling; also dried, parched'; κρομβότατον· καπυρώτατον. κατακεκονδυλωμένον 'very dry, swollen' (H.). Further, ►κράβυζος may perhaps be added. Therefore, the word is without a doubt Pre-Greek. The further connection of κράμβωτον 'kite' with κράμβος· λάρος 'mew' (H.), Fur.: 283, is uncertain.

κραναός [adj.] 'hard, raw, rocky' (Il.), also of Athens and the Athenians, called Κραναὰ πόλις and Κρανααί (Ar.), or Κραναοί (Hdt.); also Κραναός, a mythical king of Athens. ◅?▻

•COMP κραναή-πεδος 'with rocky soil' said of Delos (*h. Ap.* 72), -η- metrically conditioned (Zumbach 1955: 18).

•ETYM Evidenced by comparison of κερα(ϝ)ός and τανα(ϝ)ός, it probably derives from *κραναϝός. No convincing etymology. The traditional connection with words for 'hard' (see ►κράτος) makes no sense, as long as the formation has not been explained.

κρᾱνίον [n.] 'skull, brain-pan', also of the head in general (Θ 84, Pi. *I.* 4, 54, Att.). On the long ᾱ in Hom. see Wackernagel 1916: 225, Chantraine 1942: 18, Shipp 1967: 21. ◅IE **ḱerh₂-* 'head, horn'▻

•COMP As a first member in κρανιό-λειος 'bald-headed' (*Com. Adesp.* 1050); quite frequent as a second member, especially in medical expressions, e.g. ὀπισθο-κράνιον 'occiput', ἐγ-κράνιον 'cerebellum' (after ἐγ-κέφαλος), but also βου-κράνιον 'oxhead' (*EM*), also a plant name (Ps.-Dsc., Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 47. Adjectival hypostasis περι-κράνιος 'round the skull' (Plu., medic.). Older and more common is -κρᾱνον, e.g in ἐπί-κρανον 'capital, headband' (Pi., E., inscr.), ποτί-κρανον 'cushion' (Sophr., Theoc.), ὀλέ-κρανον 'point of the elbow' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), κιο(νό)-κρανον (see ►κίων). Also adjectives like βού-, ἐλαφό-, δί-, τρί-, χαλκεό-, ὀρθό-κρανος. Rarely as a first member: κρανο-κοπέω [v.] 'to cut off the head' (pap.); on κρανο-κολάπτης see ►κράνον.

•DER Denominative verbs: κρανίξαι· ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἀπορρῖψαι 'to throw (down) upon the head', κριηνιῶν· καρηβαρῶν 'being heavy in the head' (H.); hypostasis ἀποκρανίξαι 'to tear from the head' (*AP*), 'to cut off the head' (Eust.).

•ETYM The secondary formation κρᾱνίον goes back to a nominal basis. It seems best to start from the old oblique stem **krān-* < **ḱrh₂-s-n-* of κάρη, which was later replaced by **krāhn̥t-*. In this context, note the gloss κράνα· κεφαλή (H.). See further ►κάρα and ►κέρας.

κράνον [n.] 'Cornelian cherry' (Thphr., medic.). ◅IE **ker-* 'cornel'▻

•VAR Also κράνος [f.] (pap., Gp.).

•COMP As a first member perhaps in κρανο-κολάπτης name of a spider (Philum. *Ven.* 15, 1, sch. Nic. *Th.* 764), see Strömberg 1944: 22.

•DER More common and attested earlier is κράνεια [f.] 'cornelian cherry' (Hom., E., Thphr., Hell.), also κρανία (Hp., Dsc.), -έα (Gp.). Hence κράνειον (-ιον) 'id.' (Thphr., Gal.), κρανέϊνος 'of cornel wood' (Hdt., X.), also κρανάϊνος 'id.' (Hp., X., Str.), after ἐλάϊνος; κράνινος 'id.' (Paus.).

•ETYM Lat. *cornum*, *-us*, with the same fluctuation as to the gender, has been compared to reconstruct IE **krno-*. Lith. *Kirnis* name of a 'god who protects cherries' is of doubtful appurtenance. Mediterranean origin is also possible, which has to be assumed for ►κέρασος in any case.

κράνος [n.] 'helmet' (IA), see Trümpy 1950: 45f. ◅?▻

•COMP As a first member in κρανο-ποιέω 'to forge helmets', whence -ποιΐα, -ποιός (Ar.).

•DER Diminutive κρανίδιον (Att. inscr.).

•ETYM The word κράνος must be connected with the group of words for 'head, horn', but cannot contain a laryngeal. Connection with ►κάρυον, ►κραναός, etc. is less probable.

κραπαταλλός [m.] name of a worthless fish (Hdn., H.); also metaph. = μωρός 'dull' (H.), see Strömberg 1943: 95², and as a name of a coin (= δραχμή) in Hades (Pherecr. *apud* Poll. 9, 83). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also -αλλός (Hdn. 1, 158).

•DER κραπαταλίας· ἀνεμώδης καὶ ἀσθενής. καὶ ἀνίσχυρα λέγων, ἄμεινον δὲ ληρώδης 'vain or idle and weak; speaking without foundation, or better: frivolously' (H.) (Pherecr. 99).

•ETYM A formation in -αλ(λ)ός with variation λ/ λλ (not noticed by Chantraine 1933: 245ff.). Therefore, clearly a Pre-Greek word in *-alʸ-* (see Beekes 2008).

κράσπεδον [n.] 'edge, border of a cloth', metaph. of a country, a mountain, also of an army = 'wing of the army' (S., E., Ar., X., Theoc., NT). ◅?▻

•DER κρασπεδίτης 'hindmost person in a chorus' (Plu.), opposed to the κορυφαῖος; κρασπεδόομαι [v.] 'to be bordered' (E.).

•ETYM Analyzed as an old compound of κάρᾱ 'head' (in the form κρᾱσ-) with a faded second member πέδον 'plain, ground', for which Skt. *dru-padá-* [n.] 'wooden post' is compared. The first member would point to an original meaning 'upper border', acc. to Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 14. However, Nussbaum 1986: 71 is very sceptical; there is no indication whatsoever that it would contain the word for 'head'.

κράστις 'green fodder'. ⇒ γράω.

κράταιγος [m.] 'hawthorn, Crataegus oxyacantha' (Thphr.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also -αιγών, -όνος.

•ETYM Connection with κρατύς 'hard' and αἰγ- in ►αἰγίλωψ explains nothing. The etymology therefore remains unknown.

κρατευταί [m.pl.] 'stone or metal blocks on both sides of the altar, on which the spits rested' (*I* 214, Eup., Att. inscr.), see Chapouthier *REA* 43 (1941): 12ff.; also 'supporting stone of the pavement' (Lebadea). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR κραδευταί (Att. inscr.), Solmsen *KZ* 42 (1909): 221ff.
•DER κρατευτήρια [pl.] 'id.' (Poll. 6, 89), after the instrument nouns in -τήριον.
•ETYM The formation in -ευτᾱ- is remarkable, but it does not help to assume a verb κρατεύω = κρατύνω 'to strengthen, prop'. The rare by-form κραδευταί (Att. inscr.) can hardly be explained as a folk-etymological transformation after ►κραδάω, nor does the form in -τ- point to folk etymology after κρατύς. Fur.: 181 is right in concluding to a Pre-Greek loan with δ/ τ; cf. on ►βασκευταί for the formation.

κράτος [n.] 'strength, power, authority' (Il.), on the mg. Trümpy 1950: 202ff. ◁IE **kret-s-* 'strength', **krt-u-*, **krt-ero-*▷
•VAR Epic Ion. (Dor.) also κάρτος, Aeol. κρέτος.
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ά-κρατής 'without strength, powerless', opposed to ἐγ-κρατής 'having power over, controlling (oneself)', whence ἐγκράτεια, -έω, etc.; αὐτο-κρατής 'having power over oneself, independent'; more usual αὐτο-κράτωρ 'with unlimited power' (Ar., Th.); also -κρέτης in Aeol. and Arc.-Cypr. PNs, e.g. Σω-κρέτης.
•DER Beside the noun κράτος, κρέτος, several adjectives exist:
1. κρατύς 'strong, powerful' (Hom.); only verse-final κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης; κρατύνω 'to strengthen, consolidate, rule' (Il.), epic also καρτ-; thence κρατυσμός 'strengthening', κρατυντήριος 'id.', -τικός 'id.' (medic.), κρατύντωρ 'controller' (*PMag. Leid.*).
2. κρατερός (Il., A. *Pr.* 168 [anap.]), καρτερός (Il.) 'id.' (IA); also as a first member, e.g. κρατερό-φρων (Il.). Thence καρτερέω [v.] 'to be steadfast, hold out, overcome onseself' (IA), also with prefix, e.g. δια-; thence καρτερία (Pl., X.), -ρησις (Pl.) 'holding on, firmness', -ρικός (Att.); καρτερόω [v.] 'to strengthen' (Aq., Herm.).
3. κραταιός 'id.' (Il.), also as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 82; rarely as a first member, e.g. κραταιό-φρων (*PMag.*). Thence κραταιότης = κράτος (LXX), κραταιόω 'to strengthen' (LXX, NT), κραταίωμα, -ωσις (LXX). Fem. κραταιΐς (Od.), see Schwyzer: 385.
4. Grades of comparison: comp. κρείττων (Att.), κρείσσων (epic) with secondary -ει- for κρέσσων (Ion., Pi.); Dor. κάρρων < **kr̥t-i̯ōn*, Cret. κάρτων; denominative κρειττόομαι [v.] 'to have excrescences', of wine, whence κρείττωσις (Thphr.). Superl. κράτιστος (Il.), epic κάρτ-, whence κρατιστεύω [v.] 'to be the best, surpass' (Pi., Att.); also -(ε)ία 'highness' (pap.), as a title. 5. Adverb κάρτα 'in a high degree, very' (Ion., trag.). 6. As a first member often κρατ-αι- (καρτ-αι-), e.g. κρατ-αι-γύαλος 'with strong breast-pieces' (*T* 361). Further Κρατι-, Καρτι- in PNs, e.g. Κρατί-δημος, Καρτί-νικος; also Κρατ(ο)-, Κρατε-, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 256). Short hypocoristic names Κρατῖνος, Κρατύλος, Κράτυλλος, Κρατιεύς. On Κρεσφόντης see below.
7. Verb: κρατέω 'to control, possess, rule, conquer' (Il.), Aeol. κρετέω, aor. κρατῆσαι (post-Hom.), κρέτησαι (Sapph.), often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-; thence (ἐπι-, etc.) κράτησις 'power, rule' (Th., LXX), (δια-, ἐπι-) κρατητικός 'controlling' (late), (δια-)κράτημα 'support, grip' (medic.); κρατητής 'possessor' (Procl.); κρατῆρας· τοὺς κρατοῦντας 'who are in power' (H.), for κρατητῆρας (Lewy *KZ* 59 (1932): 182). But ἐγκρατέω from ἐγ-κρατής, ναυ-κρατέω, -τία from ναυ-κρατής, etc.; see above. Also καρταίνειν· κρατεῖν 'to rule' (H.).

•ETYM The full grade in Aeol. κρέτος interchanges regularly with the zero grade in κρατύς, κάρτα (the distribution of αρ and ρα in this root is not well understood; discussed in Schwyzer: 342). Both κράτος, κάρτος and the compounds Dor. κάρρων < *κάρσ(σ)ων < *κάρτι̯ων, κάρτων arose analogically beside the old full grade κρέσσων < *κρέτι̯ων (details in Seiler 1950: 53ff.). A zero grade of the *s*-stem κρέτος is supposed in Κρεσ-φόντης < *Κρετ-σ- (see Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 237 and Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1954): 26).

The derivational history of the forms is unclear in some cases. The adjective κρατερός, καρτερός was supposed to contain an *r*-stem alternating with the *s*-stem (Benveniste 1935: 17), but it may also be a Greek formation in *-ero-* (cf. e.g. θαλερός, γλυκερός). For κάρτα, cf. e.g. τάχα, ἅμα, and see Ruijgh 1980: 189-198. The first member κραται- may have been modelled after παλαι-; thence perhaps κραταιός, like παλαιός. Acc. to Risch 1937: 126, however, κραταιός is a back-formation from κραταιή for *κράταια, the old fem. of κρατύς (comparing Πλαταιαί to πλατύς).

An exact correspondence to the group of κράτος is not found in other IE languages. The closest are Skt. *krátu-* [m.] '(magical) power, mind, will', Av. *xratu-* [m.] 'id.' (for the semantics, cf. OE *cræft* 'force, physical strength, power', but also 'insight, craft, etc.'). The Germanic word for 'hard', Go. *hardus*, etc., which is usually adduced, has Schwebeablaut (**kortú-* as opposed to **kr̥tú-*, **kret-*); the connection is rejected by Strunk *MSS* 34 (1976): 169f.

κραυγή [f.] 'cry, loud crying' (Att.). ◂IE **krau-g-* 'cry'▸

•DER κραυγίας· ἵππος, ὁ ὑπὸ κραυγῆς καὶ ψόφου ταρασσόμενος 'horse that is stirred by a shout and noise' (H.) and κραυγός· δρυοκολάπτου εἶδος 'kind of woodpecker' (H.). Denominative κραυγάζω [v.] 'to cry, crack' (unknown poet *apud* Pl. *Resp.* 607b, D., Hell.), κραυγασμός 'crying' (Diph.), -αστής 'cryer' (*AB*), -άστρια [f.] (H.), -αστικός 'crying' (Procl., sch.). Also κραύγασος 'crier' (gloss.), see Schwyzer: 516, Chantraine 1933: 435; Κραυγασίδης (Batr.), κραύγαζος (Ptol.). A different formation κραυγανάομαι in κραυγανώμενον (Hdt. 1, 111), v.l. -γόμενον, cf. Schwyzer: 770; uncertain sch. Call. *Aet. Fr.* 1, 20. Further the PNs Κραῦγις, Κραυξίδας, Κραυγαλίδαι (Bechtel 1917b: 496).

•ETYM The form κραυγή could be an action noun pointing to a primary verb, corresponding to several forms in Germanic and Balto-Slavic. Thus, ON *hraukr* 'sea-raven' could be directly equated with κραυγός; further, with ablauting, *ū* Go. *hruk* [acc.sg.] 'crowing' and *hrukjan* 'to crow'. A voiceless root-final stop is found in Lith. *kraũkti*, 1sg. *kraukiù* 'to screech', and Slav. words like Ru. *kruk* 'raven' (**krauk-o-*). Note further, with palatal final, Skt. *króśati* = Av. *xraosaiti* 'to screem, cry'. Like the comparable sound imitations ►κράζω, ►κρώζω, κραυγή is probably an old onomatopoeia.

κραῦρος [adj.] 'dry, brittle, fragile' (Pl., Arist., Thphr.). ◂PG(V)▸

•DER κραυρότης 'frailty' (Thphr., Gal.), κραυρόομαι [v.] 'to become dry' (Ph., D. C.). Further κραῦρος [m.] (Arist.) = κραῦρα [f.] (Suid., Phot., perhaps Gortyn, see Collitz 5001) 'feverish disease of swine and cattle', whence κραυράω [v.] 'to suffer from κ.' (Arist.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek variant of ►κράμβος, with interchange ϝ/ β and prenasalization.

κρέας [n.] 'meat, piece of meat' (Il.). ◄IE *$kreuh_2$- 'flesh'►
•VAR Gen. κρέως (secondary κρέατος; Att. inscr. 338[a]); plur. nom. κρέᾰ (Il.), which must be an innovation; very uncertain κρέατα (Od.); gen. κρεῶν (IA), also κρειῶν (Hom.), probably for κρεέων, κρεάων (*h. Merc.* 130), dat. κρέασι (Il.), also κρέεσσι (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 47), κρεάεσσι (late Ep.).
•DIAL Dor. κρῆς.
•COMP As a first member usually κρεο- (after the o-stems), e.g. κρεο-κοπέω [v.] 'to cut meat' (A., E.), also κρεω- (after γεω-, λεω-, etc.) as a v.l. and e.g. in κρεω-δαίτης 'meat distributor' (Phld.), κρε-άγρα 'meat pincer' (Ar.), with elision from κρεο-; κρεᾱ-νόμος 'distributing meat', whence -έω, -ία (E., Is., Hell.), after ἀγορᾱ-νόμος; thence κρεᾱ-δοτέω, -σία; κρειη-φαγέω [v.] 'to eat meat' (Hp.), analogical beside κρεο-φαγέω. Details on the inflexion in Schwyzer: 516, Chantraine 1942: 209f.; on the shape of the first member Solmsen 1901: 23[1]. Rarely as a second member: πάγ-κρεας 'sweetbread, pancreas' (Arist., medic.), γλυκύ-κρεος 'with sweet meat' (Sophr.), etc.
•DER Diminutive κρεᾰ́διον (IA), κρεΐσκος (Alex. 189), κρεύλλιον (Theognost.); κρεώδης 'meaty' (Arist., Thphr.), κρεῖον 'butcher's stall' (I 206), κρήϊον (H.), after ἀγγεῖον, etc.; quite uncertain κρηστήριον (Attica IV[a]).
•ETYM Except for the accent, κρέας is identical with Skt. *kravíṣ-* [n.] 'raw flesh', from a base form *$*kreuh_2$-s-* [n.]. An *s*-stem is probably also continued in Lat. *cruor, -ōris* 'blood from a wound', as well as in OIr. *crú* [n.] 'gore, blood' and OCS *kry* 'blood', which derive from zero grade *$*kruH$-s*. Further forms: Skt. *krūr-á-* 'raw, bloody' < *$*kruh_2$-ro-*, Skt. *kravyá-* [n.] 'raw flesh' = OPr. *krawian* [n.], Lith. *kraūjas* [m.] 'blood', all from *$*kreuh_2$-i-*. See ►κρύος.

κρείττων ⇒ κράτος.

κρείων, -οντος [m.] 'ruler, prince' (Il.). ◄IE *$*ḱreiH$-* 'splendour'►
•DIAL κρέων (Pi., A. [lyr.]), -οντος.
•DER Fem. κρείουσα (X 48), κρέουσα (B.) 'ruler, princess'; PNs Κρέων, -ουσα (post-Hom.), patronymic Κρειοντιάδης (Τ 240).
•ETYM An inherited word from Indo-European poetic language. For example, Gonda *KZ* 73 (1956): 153f. compared εὐρὺ κρείων with Skt. *pṛthu-śrī-* 'with broad *śrī-*'. The Greek *nt*-stem (after ἄρχων, μέδων, etc.) probably replaced an older *n*-stem.
In Indo-Iranian, we find a noun Skt. *śrī-* [f.] 'magnificence, riches, splendor, fame' < *$*ḱriH$-*. Narten *KZ* 100 (1987): 270-96 points out that the oldest Greek forms must be those in PNs in -κρέων, e.g. Φιλο-κρέων (Cyprus). Therefore, the old connection of epic κρείων with the Indo-Iranian comparative Av. *sraiiah-* 'more beautiful', Skt. *śréyāṃs-* (with secondary *e* for *a*) 'more shining, superior' is untenable. Instead, Greek has a plain *n*-stem *$*ḱreiH$-ōn*, and the epic form κρείων may have metrical lengthening for κρέων. Cf. also Peters 1993b: 106-8.

κρέκω [v.] 'to weave, strike a stringed instrument with a plectrum', metaph. 'to produce a sound, raise (a song)' (Sapph., Pi., Ar. [lyr.], *AP*). ◄IE? *$*krek̑$-* 'strike'►
•VAR Aor. κρέξαι (late).

•COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, δια-, συν-.

•DER κροκ- [f.] in κρόκ-α [acc.sg.] (Hes. *Op.* 538), κρόκ-ες [nom.pl.] (*AP* 6, 335), κρόξ [nom.sg.] only H., Theognost.; further κρόκη (IA) 'thread which is passed between the threads of the warp, woof, (woollen) cloth'. From κρόκη: κρόκιον 'woollen band' (Anticl. 13), κροκίς [f.] 'sundew, fly-strap, Drosera' (Apollod. *apud* Plin. *HN* 24, 167), κροκύς [f.] 'flock of wool' (IA), κροκύδιον (Gal.), κροκυδίζω [v.] 'to pluck off flocks of wool' (com., Gal.), -ισμός (Gal.); κροκόω [v.] 'to weave, envelop in wool' (Dionys. *apud* St. Byz., Phot.) ; κροκισμός 'cloth' (sch.); as if from *κροκίζω. κρεγμός [m.] 'sound of stringed instruments' (Epich., A. R., Poll.).

•ETYM Originally a term of weaving, κρέκω was also transferred to the playing of stringed instruments. The present κρέκω is isolated, though Germanic has several nouns pointing to a primary verb: ON *hræll* [m.] 'staff to fasten the cloth' < PGm. **hráhila-*, OE *hrēol* 'reel' < PGm. **hréhula-*. A trace of Verner's Law exists in OE *hrægl* [n.] 'cloth, garment', OHG *hregil* [n.] 'indument, spolium'. Several Balto-Slavic words have also been compared: Lith. *krẽklės* 'rags, tatters', Latv. *krẽkls* 'shirt', "Stuhl, der Teil des Spinnrockens, in dem die Beine ruhen", as well as words for 'loom', e.g. Ru. *krósno*. Further Slavic expressions for 'strike fire, etc.': Ru. *kresít'*, 1sg. *krešú*, SCr. *krèsati*, 1sg. *krẽšēm* (thus LIV² s.v. **kreḱ-*), which seems the most promising comparison.

κρεμάννυμι [v.] 'to hang', intr. 'to be suspended' (Att.). ◁IE **kremh₂-* 'hang'▷

•VAR Other presents κρίμνημι and κρήμνημι, -άω (Pi., Hp., trag., com.), also κρεμαννύω and κρεμάω (Arist.), κρεμάζω (LXX), κρεμνάω (Demetr. *Eloc.*); intr.med. κρέμαμαι (Il.); aor. κρεμάσαι (Il.), pass. κρεμασθῆναι (Hdt., Att.); fut. κρεμόω (*H* 83), κρεμῶ (Att.), κρεμάσω (com., LXX), pass. κρεμήσομαι (Ar., Hell. pap.); perf. κεκρέμακα, -αμαι (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐκ-.

•DER κρεμάθρα [f.] 'hammock' (Ar.), 'rope hung from a hook' (Arist.; v.l. -άστρα, see below); κρεμάς [f.] 'beetling, precipitous' (A. *Supp.* 795 [lyr.]); κρέμασις, -ασμός (Hp.), -ασμα (sch., Eust.), -ασία (gloss.) 'hanging'; κρεμαστήρ name of certain muscles (medic.), 'stalk by which a grape cluster hangs' (Gp.), -άστρα 'stalk by which a flower hangs' (Thphr.), Strömberg 1937: 116; ἐκ-, ἀπο-, περι-κρεμής 'hanging down, hanging all around', from ἐκ-κρεμάννυμι, etc.

•ETYM The original situation in Greek seems to be that of an active aorist κρεμάσαι 'to hang' (trans.) beside a medial athematic present κρέμασθαι 'to be suspended' (perhaps reshaped after the aorist?). Several secondary active presents arose subsequently: κρίμνημι, κρήμνημι (perhaps after κρημνός), κρεμάννυμι, as well as κρεμάω, -άζω, κρεμνάω. However, ►κρημνός is unrelated.

Sanskrit has a root *śram*ⁱ- 'to become weary, tire' with a root aor. Ved. *śramat* 'will tire me' and a ptc. *śrānta-* 'tired'. The oldest meaning could be 'be flaccid, weak'. Go. *hramjan* 'to crucify' is better left out (it belongs to OE *hremman* 'lock in, hinder', ON *hremma* 'grasp, clench'; Pok. 623f.). See LIV² s.v. *ḱremh₂-*.

κρέμβαλα [n.pl.] 'clapper, castanets' (Ath. 14, 636c, *Carm. Pop.* 3); on the realia Weber *RhM* 82 (1933): 194f. ◁PG?▷

•DER κρεμβαλιάζω [v.] 'to play the κ., clapper' (Hermipp. 31), Schwyzer: 735; thence κρεμβαλιαστύς (*h. Ap.* 162), see Zumbach 1955: 8, Porzig 1942: 181, and cf. on ►βαμβαίνω.

•ETYM The suffix -αλο- is also found in κρόταλα, ῥόπαλον and other loans; cf. Chantraine 1933: 245f. Connection with the group of sound-words with anlauting **(s)kr-* (Pok. 569f.), e.g. Lat. *crepō* 'to creak', Lith. *skrebĕti*, 1sg. *skrebù* 'to rustle', Ru. *kropotát'* 'to growl', is impossible, as Gr. β cannot be due to the preceding nasal (as per Schwyzer: 333). This nasal rather points to a non-IE word, quite possibly Pre-Greek (prenasalization?). A word of this meaning is likely to be a loan.

κρέμυς ⇒ κλεμμύς.

κρέξ, κρεκός [f.] name of a long-legged bird, perhaps 'ruff, Machetes pugnax', or 'corn-crake, Rallus crex' (Hdt., Ar., Arist.); also metaph. of a noisy braggart (Eup.). ◅IE? **kerk-* 'bird'▻

•ETYM As the identification of the bird is uncertain (see Thompson 1895 s.v.), all etymologies remain hypothetical. Onomatopoeic origin is quite possible. It has been compared with other bird names, like Skt. *kr̥kara-* a kind of partridge, MIr. *cercc* 'hen', OPr. *kerko* 'diver', Ru. *kréčet* 'gerfalcon' (Pok. 568). Cf. also κερκάς· κρὲξ τὸ ὄρνεον, κερκιθαλίς· ἐρῳδιός 'stork' (cf. αἰγίθαλος), κέρκος· ἀλεκτρυών 'cock' (H.); also, κέρκνος· ἱέραξ ἢ ἀλεκρυών 'hawk or cock' and κέρκαξ· ἱέραξ (H.). About the possibility of confusion with ►κέρκος 'tail of an animal', nothing can be said.

κρήγυος [adj.] 'appropriate, right, useful' (epic poet.) and, by misunderstanding in *A* 106, also 'true' (cf. Leumann 1950: 33f.). ◅?▻

•VAR Dor. κράγυος.

•DER Adv. κρηγύως (Call.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Schwyzer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 18ff. thought it was a compound from κάρᾱ, κρη- 'head' (see ►κρῆδεμνον) and γυῖα 'members', as well as 'hand' (sg.), in which case it would mean 'having head and hand'; highly doubtful. Fur. 105 considers the word to be Pre-Greek. See ►κάρᾱ.

κρήδεμνον [n.] 'women's head-dress, veil', metaph. 'battlements, cover, lid (of a jar)' (Il.), cf. Leumann 1950: 296[60], Haakh *Gymnasium* 66 (1959): 374ff. ◅IE **ḱerh₂-* 'head, horn'▻

•VAR Often plur.

•DIAL Dor. κρᾱ̃-.

•ETYM A compound from κάρᾱ 'head' and the root of δέω 'to bind', but unclear in detail. The first member could stand for κρηνο- by dissimilation, i.e. thematic enlargement of the zero grade of ►κάρᾱ (see ►κρᾱνίον), but acc. to Frisk it may also have arisen from κρησ- with loss of σ before δ (this seems unlikely, and is rejected by DELG). The word ►κράσπεδον is probably unrelated. The second member -δεμνον, -α contains a derivation **dh₁-mn-* of ►δέω 'to bind', for which we may compare βέλεμνα for the suffixation (see ►βάλλω) and ►δέμνια.

κρῆθεν in κατὰ (ἀπὸ) κρῆθεν 'down from the head' (Hom.), probably false for κατ' ἄκρηθεν. ⇒κάρᾱ.

κρῆθμον [n.] 'samphire, Crithmum maritimum' (Hp., Call., Nic., Dsc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also -ος [m.], κριθ- and κρίταμον.
•ETYM Unexplained. Probably a foreign word; cf. Chantraine 1933: 133. Acc. to Amigues *RPh.* 75 (2001): 272, the plant obtained its name because it has its grains like barley (thus already Dsc. II 129).

κρηματίς, -ίδος [f.] name of an instrument, probably a cup (*IG* 7, 3498: 15; 20 [Oropos; temple inventory]). ◁?▷
•COMP In κρημιο-φόροι (beside οἰνο-χόαι *IG* 2², 1425: 358), the first member could stand for *κρηματιδο-φόροι, if it is not from κρῆμα.
•ETYM A diminutive of κρῆμα (Att. κρᾶμα) 'mixing, mixed drink'; cf. πτωματίς 'cup that falls down (without foot)'.

κρημνός [m.] 'steep incline' (Il.). ◁?▷
•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἀπό-κρημνος 'inclined, steep' (IA), βαθύ-κρημνος 'with steep inclination' (Pi.); rarely as a first member, e.g. κρημνο-φοβέομαι [v.] 'to be afraid of chasms' (Hp.).
•DER κρημνώδης 'slanting' (Th.); (κατα-, etc.)κρημνίζω [v.] 'to have a steep slope' (Att., etc.), -ισμός, -ισις (late).
•ETYM Traditionally considered an old verbal noun from ▸κρεμάννυμι, with ablaut κρημ-: κρεμα-; however, this is impossible if the root was **kremh₂-* (a zero grade **kr̥mh₂-* would give *κραμα-). DELG notes that the *ē* is proven by Pindar, which makes the case even worse: a *h₂* can never result in PGr. **ē*. The present κρήμνημι is rather influenced by κρημνός than the other way around. The present entry therefore remains unexplained.

κρήνη [f.] 'source, fountain' (Il.); on the mg. as against πηγή see Wycherley *Class. Rev.* 51 (1937): 2f. ◁IE? **krs-* 'spring, flood'▷
•VAR Dor. Arc. κράνα, Aeol. κράννα.
•COMP Compounds like καλλί-κρανος 'with beautiful springs' (Pi.).
•DER Diminutives: κρηνίς, -ῖδος [f.] (E., Call., D. H.; Chantraine 1933: 347), also as a TN (Str.); κρηνίον (Delos III[a], Str.), -ίδιον (Arist.). κρηναῖος 'of the/a source' (since ρ 240), κρηνήϊος 'id.' (Orac. *apud* Dam. *Pr.* 344); νύμφαι Κρηνιάδες (A. *fr.* 168 [hexam.], after ὀρεστιάδες), cf. Chantraine 354f.; κρηνῖτις [f.] 'of the/a source' (Hp.). TN Κραννούν (Thess.).
•ETYM The different dialectal forms (see above) point to PGr. **krasnā-*. Att. -ρη- for -ρᾱ- has been explained variously (Proto-Ionic-Attic dissimilation, an Ionism or a hyperatticism; see Schwyzer: 189f.). Since Whitney Tucker *TAPA* 93 (1962), it has generally been accepted (as by Peters 1980a) that the dissimilation assumed for κρήνη was regular.
One hypothesis connects κρήνη with ▸κρουνός 'spring', κροῦναι· κρῆναι τέλειαι (H.). The IE base forms would then be **krosno-* and **kr̥sneh₂-*, respectively; but note that all dialects have the vocalization **-ra-*, so the etymon probably did not have vocalic **r̥*. Therefore, the explanation remains uncertain. The words κρουνός, κροῦναι may correspond to a Germanic word for 'wave, flood', except for the accent: ON *hrǫnn* [f.], OE *hræn, hærn* [f.], from PGm. **hraznṓ*, IE **krosn-éh₂-*.

κρηπίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'man's high boot, half-boot' (X., Theoc., Plu., Poll.), also 'groundwork, foundation, quay' (IA, Pi.). ◁PG?, IE? **krh₂p-ih₂*▷

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ὀπισθο-κρηπίς name of a shoe (Att. inscr., Poll., H.).

•DER κρηπίδια [pl.] 'bordering stones' (Didyma II[a]), κρηπιδαῖον (Lys.), -εῖον (Ostia) 'foundation of a house', κρηπιδιαῖος 'of the foundation' (Att. inscr.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 49. Denominative κρηπιδόω [v.] 'to give a basis, found, support' (D. C., Plu.), -ωμα 'foundation' (inscr., D. S., Aq.).

•ETYM Derived from a nominal base form (like κνημίς and χειρίς), or perhaps κρηπίς just took over their ending. The technical meaning suggests a loan (Chantraine 1933: 347, Schwyzer: 465). The connection with words for 'shoe', e.g. Lith. *kùrpė* < **krHp-ih₂* is formally impeccable (see ►καρβάτινος) but is rejected by Fraenkel 1955 s.v. Borrowed as Lat. *crepida* 'half-boot', *crepīdō* 'stone basis, etc.'. Note that the suffix -ῑδ- occurs in Pre-Greek.

κρησέρα [f.] 'fine sieve' (Ar. *Ec.* 991, medic., Poll.). ◁?, IE? **kreh₁(i)-* 'sieve'▷

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•DIAL κραᾶρα· κόσκινον ἢ ὄρυγμα 'sieve; ditch' (H.), Elis.

•DER Diminutive κρησέριον (Poll.), -ρίτης ἄρτος 'bread from fine-sieved meal' (Diph. 26).

•ETYM Isolated words in -έρα (like ►διφθέρα, ►ἀσκέρα, ►χολέρα, ►κυσέρη) are likely to be loans. Theoretically, derivation from a old noun *κρῆσις 'sieving' < **kreh₁-ti-* is possible, which would belong to ►κρίνω < **krh₁i-n-*, and have the same ablaut grade as Lat. *excrēmentum* and *crēvi*.

κρησφύγετον [n.] 'place of retreat, refuge' (Hdt., D. H., Luc.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 56f. posits *χρησφύγετον, with contraction and Grassmann's Law. It would be a compound with suffix -ετο- (DELG), from φυγεῖν and χρῆος 'debt', so originally "fleeing from debt". Chantraine calls this proposal more ingenious than convincing. The connection with ►κᾰρᾱ 'head' (Kretschmer *KZ* 31 (1892): 410, Solmsen *RhM* 53 (1898): 155f.) is semantically hardly convincing. To be rejected, Kapsomenos *Glotta* 40 (1962): 43-50.

κρίβανος ⇒ κλίβανος.

κρίζω [v.] 'to scream, creak' (Men. 879). ◁IE **krik-* 'cry'▷

•VAR Perf. ptc. κεκρῑγότες (Ar. *Av.* 1521), them. aor. ὑπο-κρῑγεῖν (S. *Ichn.* 171 [lyr.]), sigm. aor. (ὑπο-)κρῖξαι or -ἶξαι (Ael. *NA* 5, 50, H.); also them. aor. κρίκε (*H* 470), of ζυγόν. Cf. κριδδέμεν = γελᾶν (Stratt. 47, 7; Boeot.).

•DER Verbal nouns κρῑγή (Hippon. 54), κριγμός (Zonar.) 'screaming, creaking'; κριγή· ἡ γλαῦξ 'the shrieking little owl' (H.).

•ETYM The system κέκρῑγα: κρῑγεῖν: κρίζω: κρῖξαι corresponds nicely with κέκρᾱγα: κρᾱγεῖν: ►κράζω: κρᾶξαι. The word κρίζω has a direct cognate in the root present ON *hríka* 'to creak' < IE **krig-*. Lith. *krykti* (*krykšti*), 1sg. *krykiù* 'to cry, creak', and the Slav. group of Ru. *kričát'* 'to cry', *krik* 'cry' show root-final *-k*. An old isolated nominal formation is the Germanic name of the heron, e.g. OHG *(h)reigaro, heigaro* (with dissimilation), MoDu. *reiger*.

κριθή [f.] 'barley-corns', usually plur. 'barley' (Il.); also metaph. = 'swelling on the eyelid' (medic.), see Strömberg 1937: 192, Strömberg 1944: 63. On the mg. of κριθή, πυρός, σῖτος see Moritz *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 129ff. ◁?▷

•VAR Short form κρῖ [n.], see below.

•COMP κριθό-πυρον [n.] 'mix of barley and wheat' (pap.; cf. on ▶διόσπυρον), εὔκριθος 'rich in barley' (Theoc., *AP*).

•DER Diminutives: κριθίον (Luc., Longos), κριθίδιον, also 'decoction of barley' (Hp., Posidon.), κριθάριον (pap.). Further substantives: κριθαία 'barley soup' (Hom. *Epigr.* 15,7), after ἁλμαία, etc., Chantraine 1933: 86; κριθανίας [m.] name of a kind of wheat (Theophr. *HP* 8, 2, 3, beside σιτανίας), perhaps after νεανίας (Strömberg 1937: 91), see also Chantraine 1933: 94. Adjectives: κρίθινος 'of barley' (Ion., Hell.), κριθάμινος 'id.' (Polyaen.), after σησάμινος; κριθικός 'consisting of barley' (pap.), κριθώδης 'like barley, full of barley-corns' (Hp.).

Denominative verbs: κριθάω 'to feed oneself with barley' (A., S.), also κριθιάω (Arist.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω, Schwyzer 732; thence κριθίασις 'surfeit caused by overfeeding with barley' (X.); κριθίζω 'to feed with barley' (Aesop., Babr.). TN Κριθώτη (-ωτή) name of a spit of land in Acarnania (Krahe *IF* 48 (1930): 223ff.). Epithet Κρίθων (H.) from κριθή = πόσθη (Ar. *Pax* 965); see Schulze *KZ* 29 (1888): 263.

•ETYM The epic by-form κρῖ [n.], occurring only in the nom. and acc., points to an original root noun **krīt^{h}*, from which κριθ-ή is an enlarged form. Attempts to connect κρῖ with Western European words for 'barley', Lat. *hordeum*, OHG *gersta*, have failed thus far. The word κρῖ corresponds better with Alb. *drithë*, 'barley, wheat', of which the *-ri-* may come from IE **-r̥-*. Further, Arm. *gari*, gen. *garwoy* 'wheat' < IE **g^{h}r̥i̯o-* also recalls κρῖ, and a similar word appears in Georgian *qeri* 'barley'; cf. Deeters *IF* 56 (1938): 140f. We may be dealing with a Wanderwort. Egyptian origin has been considered too (Schwyzer: 61, Debrunner in Ebert 1924-1932: 4, 525).

κρίκος [m.] 'ring' at the end of a carriage-pole, on a sail; 'curtain-ring, arm-ring, finger-ring, etc.' (Ω 272, Hdt. 2, 36, Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr.). ◁?▷

•VAR Acc. κρίκα· κρίκον (H.). Also κίρκος (Hell.), cf. κιρκόω below.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. in κρικ-ηλασία 'trundling of hoops' (Antyll. *apud* Orib. 6, 26. 1).

•DER κιρκίον 'small ring' (Delos II^{a}), κρικέλ(λ)ιον 'id.' (Alex. Trall., sch.), like ψέλ(λ)ιον, and cf. Lat. *circellus*; κρικωτός 'consisting of rings' (Hell.); cf. κρικόομαι 'to be fastened with a ring' (Str.), κρίκωσις (Heliod. *apud* Orib.), -ωμα (Eust.); κιρκόω 'to fetter with a ring' (A. *Pr.* 74). Several glosses in H.: κρικάδεια· τὸ ἐναλλάξαι τοὺς δακτύλους ὥσπερ [†] κρυβούς; ἐγκρικάδεια· συναφὴ χειρῶν εἰς τοὐπίσω; ἐγκρίκια· ξύλα κεκκαμμένα. See also on ▶κιρσός (and κρισσός, κριξός).

•ETYM The form κίρκος would have an impossible root structure in PIE, and, on chronological grounds, κρίκος must be original as well. Further analysis remains hypothetical. Lat. *circus* 'circle' is probably a loan from κίρκος (thus De Vaan 2008); from the former, and from *circulus*, derive all Western European words for 'circle'.

κρίμνον [n.] 'coarse barley-meal, coarse bread', plur. also 'crumbs' (Hp., Herod., Eup., Arist., pap., Lyc.). ◁?▷

•VAR Or -ῑ-? The length of the ι is unclear.

•DER κριμνώδης (Hp., Ar.); κριμνίτης ἄρτος 'coarse bread' (Iatrocl. *apud* Ath. 14, 646a); κριμνῆστις· πλακοῦντος εἶδος 'kind of flat cake' (H.), cf. on κυλλῆστις.

•ETYM Unexplained. The connection with κρῖ, κριθή is formally unwarranted, and an analysis as κρι-μν-ον (to κρῑ́νω) does not seem preferable. Fur.: 245 compares κρίνον 'kind of bread' (Ath. 3, 114f., not in LSJ), assuming **kriwno-*.

κριμνός [m.] 'purple color?' (*PHolm.* 8, 43[written κριμμον, acc.], Ps.-Democr. Alch. p. 42B. [cod. κριημνός]). ◁LW Orient.?▷

•VAR κριμνούς· λευκάς τινας βοτάνας 'light pastures or plants' (H.).

•ETYM From Arab. *qermez* 'scarlet'; see Amigues *RPh.* 74 (2000): 272 (with complicated details).

κρίνον [n.] 'white lily' (IA), also name of a dance (Apolloph.), see Lawler *AmJPh.* 65 (1944): 75ff. ◁?▷

•VAR Plur. κρίνεα, -εσιν.

•COMP Some compounds like κριν-άνθεμον 'houseleek, ἡμεροκαλλές' (Hp., Ps.-Dsc.), καλαμό-κρινον 'kind of κάλαμος that is reminiscent of κρίνον' (Aët.), see Strömberg 1944: 13.

•DER κρίνινος 'of lilies' (pap., Gal.), κρινωτός 'ornamented with lilies' (Aristeas); κρινωνιά 'bed of lilies' (Suid.), 'lily' (Thphr.); see Scheller 1951: 71, and also ἰωνιά (s.v. ►ἴον).

•ETYM Foreign word; cf. Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 11 and Hehn-Schrader 1911: 245.

κρῑ́νω [v.] 'to separate, choose, select, decide, judge, condemn, accuse, apply' (Il.); ὑπο-κρίνομαι 'to answer' (Il.), 'to answer on stage (of the choir), to be an actor' (Att.); ἀπο- 'to answer' (Att.). ◁IE **kre(h₁-)i-* 'separate, distinguish, sieve'▷

•VAR Aor. κρῖναι, pass. κριθῆναι (epic also κρινθήμεναι for metrical reasons, Chantraine 1942: 404), perf. med. κέκριμαι, act. κέκρικα (Pl. *Lg.*), fut. κρινῶ, epic Ion. κρινέω, Dor. -ίω.

•DIAL Thess. κρεννέμεν, Lesb. aor. κρίνναι.

•COMP Very frequently prefixed, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, δια-, ἐκ-, συν-, etc.

•DER 1. (ἀπό-, διά-, etc.)κρίσις 'decision, judgement, tribunal, etc.' (Pi., IA), κρίσιμος 'decisive, critical' (Hp., Arist.), ἀποκρισιάριος 'secretary' (pap. VI^{p}). 2. (ἀπό-, ἐπί-, σύν-, πρό-)κρίμα 'decision, etc.' (Hell.), κρῖμα = κρεῖμα (A. *Supp.* 397); σύγκριμα 'body formed by combination' (Hell.) with συγκριμάτιον 'small body' (M. Ant.), -ματικός (Gal.). 3. (ἀν-)κριτήρ 'judge, examiner' (Dor.), κριντήρ 'id.' (Gortyn), κριτής 'judge, arbiter' (IA), often from prefixed compounds, e.g. ὑποκριτής 'actor, etc.' (Att.); κριτήριον 'distinguishing mark, tribunal' (Att., Arg.), ἐπι- 'court of justice' (Crete); ἐγκριτήριος 'for admission' (Corinth II^{p}); further details on κριτήρ, -τής, -τήριον in Fraenkel 1910-1912 (index). 4. κριτός 'selected, excellent' (Il.), PNs Κρίτων, Κρίτυλλα; also ἔκ-, σύγ-κριτος, etc. (IA); (δια-, ἐπι-, συν-)κριτικός 'of κρίσις (judgement), etc.' (Pl., Arist.). 5. -κριδόν, e.g. διακριδόν 'separated' (Il.), διακριδά 'id.' (Opp.). 6. On ►κρίμνον, see s.v.

•ETYM The present κρῑ́νω derives from PGr. **krin-je/o-*, unless it was innovated from the aorist κρῖναι. It has a nasal suffix which originally belonged only to the present, but was later extended to the other aspectual stems (this also happened e.g. in ►κλῑ́νω). Italic and Celtic have corresponding nasal presents in Lat. *cernō* 'to select, discern' < **kri-n-oH*, MW *go-grynu* 'to sieve' < IE **upo-kri-n-oH*. The verbal adj. κριτός matches Lat. *certus* 'decided, certain' < **kr(H)i-tó-*, but in other respects the two languages behaved differently: the lengthened grade in *(dē)crēvī*, *excrēmentum* 'separation' < **-kreh₁-* (which is an argument for reconstructing the root as **kreh₁-i-* rather than **krei-*) perhaps lives on in isolated ►κρησέρα 'fine sieve', but was otherwise lost in Greek.

The Greek paradigm results from large-scale levelling; only Att. κρῖμα could continue an older full grade κρεῖμα comparable to Lat. *dis-crī-men*. Other languages have numerous nominal formations, especially Latin, Celtic, and Germanic: e.g. Lat. *crībrum* 'sieve', Gm., e.g. Go. *hrains* 'pure', originally 'sieved'. The root must have been used specifically for sieving in PIE, given the many derivations pointing in this direction.

κρῖός [m.] 'ram' (Od.); on the mg. as opposed to ἀρνειός see Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 103, often metaphorical, especially in the sense of 'battering ram' (X., Plb., Hell. inscr.); also name of a plant, a kind of chick-pea (Thphr., Hell. pap., Dsc.), and a sea-monster (Ael., Opp.), see Strömberg 1943: 102. ◅?▻

•COMP κριο-πρόσωπος 'with a ram's face' (Hdt.), ἀντί-κριος 'enemy battering ram' (Aen. Tact.).

•DER κριώδης 'ram-like' (Ph.); κρίωμα 'kind of ship' (Aq.), also 'battering ram' (Apollod. Poliorc.?); on the formation Chantraine 1933: 187.

•ETYM The word points to something like **kriH-uo-*. Connection with κέρας 'horn' < **ḱerh₂-s-* is formally impossible. Another attempt connected it with the Germanic name of the reindeer, ON *hreinn*, OE *hrān* < **kroi-no-*, but this too is formally awkward. Closer are some Balto-Slavic words for 'curved', e.g. CS *krivъ* 'σκολιός', Lith. *kreĩvas*, *kraĩvas* (Eastern dial.) 'oblique, curved, bent' (cf. on ►κροιός). In case these words are related, the ram would have been named after its curved horns. Forssman *IF* 101 (1996): 304 recently suggested connection with Go. *hrisjan* 'to shake, dally', from **kris-io-*. Formally, this is quite possible (there is in fact no trace of a *wau*). As the name of a kind of chickpea, κριός has nothing to do with Lat. *cicer* (Pok. 598), as the plant was named after its curved shells; see Strömberg 1937: 50.

κροαίνω 'to push, stamp'. ⇒κρούω.

κροιός [adj.] acc. to H. = νοσώδης, ἀσθενής 'sickly, feeble'; acc. to Theognost. *Can.* 21 = κολοβός 'curtailed'; also in Att. inscr. (*IG* 2², 244: 63 [IV^a], cf. Ἀρχ.Ἐφ. 1923: 39), of building stones (λίθοι). ◅?▻

•ETYM Compared with Lith. *kraĩvas* 'oblique, bent', etc. by Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 466f.; cf. on ►κριός. It is probably better to posit **krow-jo-* 'cut off, broken off' and to connect it with ►κρούω.

κρόκη 1 'thread of the woof'. ⇒κρέκω.

κρόκη 2 [f.] 'rounded pebble on the seashore' (Arist., Lyc.). ◂?▸

•VAR κροκάλαι [pl.] (E. *IA* 210 [lyr.], *AP*, Agath.) is attested earlier; unclear is κροκάλην [acc.sg.] (*AP* 7, 294), which could be adjectival.

•ETYM No etymology. Connection with Skt. words like *śárkarā* [f.] 'grit, gravel' or *kṛ́śana-* [n.] 'pearl' (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia*: s.vv.) is meaningless. See ▸κροκόδιλος, ▸σάκχαρ.

κροκόδῑλος [m.] 'lizard, crocodile' (Hdt., Arist.). ◂?▸

•VAR Also κορκ- (pap.), κροκύδ- (Hippon.), κρεκύδ- (*Et. Gen.*).

•COMP As a first member in κροκοδιλο-τάφιον 'burial place for crocodiles' (pap.).

•DER κροκοδιλίτης [m.] (Chrysipp.), of λόγος = Lat. *crocodilina ambiguitas* (Quint.), "crocodile syllogism", a kind of fallacy; κροκοδίλεον (Dsc., Gal.), -διλιάς (Gal., Alex. Trall.) 'Eryngium maritimum, sea-holly'; -διλέα 'excrements of the κροκ. χερσαῖος', used as an eye-salve (Plin.).

•ETYM Acc. to Hdt. 2, 69, it was originally the Ionic name of a lizard, which was transferred to the crocodile and the alligator. Frisk's etymology as a compound from κρόκη 'gravel' and δρῖλος 'worm' (with dissimilation) should be forgotten. See Diels & Brugmann *IF* 15 (1903-1904): 1ff. and Solmsen *BPhW* 1906: 758f. on variant spellings of the word, especially the itacistic writing with -ει-.

κρόκος [m.] 'saffron, Crocus sativus' (since Ξ 348). ◂LW Sem.?▸

•COMP E.g. κροκό-πεπλος 'with saffron-colored cloth' (Il.), see Treu 1955: 244 and 258, Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 1ff.

•DER Especially adjectives of color: κρόκεος 'saffron-colored' (P. [v.l. -όεις], E. [lyr.]), -ήϊος 'id' (*h. Cer.* 178), metrically conditioned, see S. Schmid 1950: 48, Zumbach 1955: 14; -όεις 'id.' (Tyrt., Sapph., E., Ar.), see Treu 1955: 268); κρόκινος 'of saffron, saffron-colored' (Stratt., Hell.), -ώδης 'id.' (Dsc., medic.), -ηρός 'of saffron' (Gal.), after οἰνηρός, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 233; κροκίας [m.] 'saffron-yellow stone' (Plu.), like καπνίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94; κροκωτός [adj.] 'saffron-yellow' (Pi.), [m.] 'saffron cloth' (com., Att. inscr.), whence -ώτιον (Poll.), -ωτίδιον (Ar.), -ώτινος (pap.); κροκών [m.] 'saffron-bed' (Hdn.); κροκᾶτον [n.] 'saffron-yellow parchment' (*Edict. Diocl. Asin.*), from Lat. *crocātus*, see below. Denominative verbs: κροκίζω 'to be saffron-like' (Dsc., Plu.), κροκόομαι (κισσῷ) 'to be surrounded with saffron-colored ivy' (*AP*).

•ETYM Identical with the Semitic word for 'saffron', e.g. Akk. *kurkanū*, Arab. *kurkum*, Hebr. *karkōm*, and with Skt. *kuṅkuma-* 'id.' (which is MInd. for **kurkuma-*); further details on the origin are unknown. Acc. to E. Masson 1967: 50, the Semitic words could be loans themselves. From κρόκος came Lat. *crocus*, as well as *crocōta* [f.] 'saffron-cloth' (from κροκωτός) and *crocōtinum* 'saffron cake' (: κροκώτινος); there is Lat. innovation in *crocātus* 'saffron-yellow' (> Gr. κροκᾶτον, see above). Another word for the same notion is ▸κάγκαμον.

κρομβόω 'to roast, bake'. ⇒κράμβος.

κρόμμυον [n.] 'onion, Allium Cepa' (IA). ◂EUR?▸

•VAR Also κρόμυον (Λ 630, τ 233, Philem. 122), κρόμβυον (pap.) < -μμ-, cf. Schwyzer: 231.
•COMP κρομμυο-πώλης 'onion handler' (pap.).
•DER Diminutive κρομ(μ)ύδιον (*Gp.*, sch.).
•ETYM A similar word for onion and garlic is attested in Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic, e.g. MIr. *crim*, MW *craf* 'garlic', OE *hramsan* [pl.], MoE *ramsons* 'wood-garlic', MoHG (Bav.) *rams* 'id.', Lith. *kermùšė* 'wild garlic', Ru. *čeremšá* 'Allium ursinum'. The *e*-vowel of Celtic and Balto-Slavic is also found in κρέμυον (H.) and in the TN Κρεμμυών (also Κρομμ-, near Corinth). Therefore, Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 346 assumed vowel assimilation κρεμ- > κρομ-, but this is hardly acceptable; see Van Beek fthc.b. Note that Gm. also has **hram-* < **krom-*.
It is difficult to reconstruct a PIE pre-form, given the alternations pointing to **kremus-*, **kromus-*, **kermus-*, and also the Greek geminate -μμ-. Beekes 2000: 29 therefore considers the word to be non-IE. The interpretation of *Cremōna* near Venice (Krahe 1955: 104) as an Illyrian TN is speculative. On the distribution, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 710ff.

κρομπος [?] a piece of land. ◂PG?▸
•VAR With secondary prop vowel κορομποι dat.sg. (Arcadian Orchomenos, 369[a]), see *Del.*[3] 664, 12; 16.
•ETYM Connection with OHG *hrimfan* 'to wrinkle, curb', OCS *krǫpъ* 'small', Lith. *krumplys* 'finger-knuckle', etc. (Fraenkel 1955 and Pok. 948f. *apud* Frisk) hardly makes sense. Fur.: 381 considers the word to be Pre-Greek, because of the anaptyctic vowel (see also Fur.: 378-385).

κρόσσαι [f.pl.] 'stepped copings of parapets' (*M* 258, 444), 'courses, steps of the pyramids' (Hdt. 2, 125); πρό-κροσσοι 'arranged in rows, ranks' (Ξ 35, Hdt.). ◂?▸
•COMP κροσσοί [m.pl.] 'tassels, fringes' (Gal., Poll., H.); δί-κροσσος 'double-bordered' (Poll., *EM*), whence δικρόσσια [n.pl.] (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*).
•DER Diminutive κροσσίον (Hdn.); also as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.); also κροσσωτός 'with fringes' (LXX, Lyc., Plu.), 'with steps' (Lyc. 291?), v.l. κορσ-.
•ETYM Frisk's suggestion that the expression originally derives from weaving (connecting κρόξ, κρόκη 'thread of the woof' [see ►κρέκω]) is not likely. As he notes, it seems that κροσσοί (which is late and rare) was back-formed from κροσσωτός, which is attested much earlier and better. The word κροσσωτός (also δίκροσσοι, δικρόσσια) was formed to the original κρόσσαι after θυσανωτός 'provided with tassels, fringes', and was transferred from the sphere of architecture to that of tailor-work. From κροσσωτός, the back-formation κροσσοί was formed (cf. θύσανοι from θυσανωτός).
The word κρόσσαι itself is a technical expression of unknown origin. Derivation from **krok-i̯ai* and connection with Balto-Slavic words for 'bar, rod, rafters' (e.g. Lith. *krãkė* 'rod, staff', which formally matches κρόσσα, *krẽklas* 'rafters', Ru. *krókva* 'bar, club, rafters') seems rather speculative. Fur.: 257 connects ►κόρση 'temple', which is unwarranted.

κρόταφος [m.] 'temple', metaph. 'side, profile, steep mountain slope' (Il.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Usually plur. By-forms with metathesis: κόρταφος (*EM*, *Et. Gud.*, perhaps also Pl. Com., see Maas *KZ* 46 (1914):159), κότραφος (*PMag. Osl.* 1, 152).
•COMP πολιο-κρόταφος 'with gray temples' (Θ 518).
•DER κροταφίς [f.] 'pointed hammer' (Att. inscr., Poll., H.), on the mg. see below, κροτάφιος 'of the temples' (Gal.), κροταφίτης 'temple muscle' (medic.), -ίτιδες πληγαί [fem.pl.] (Hp.). Denominative κροταφίζω [v.] 'to hit on the temple, box on the ear' (pap.), κροταφιστής (gloss., H. s.v. κόβαλος).
•ETYM Often derived from κρότος as "beating (of the veins in the temples)". In this case, κρόταφος would refer to the sound that is heard after being hit on the temple. Fur.: 257 connects it with ▸κόρση 'temple' (like Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 258ff.) and remarks that it is unsatisfactory, from a semantic viewpoint, to separate κόρση and κρόταφος from κρόσσαι.

κρότος [m.] 'stamping of the feet, clapping of the hands, of the oars, etc.; clapping, applause' (Att.). ◂IE? **kret-* 'shake'▸
•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. μονό-, δί-, τρί-κροτος 'with one, two, three rows of rowers' (E., X., Plb.), see Morrison *Class. Quart.* 41 (1947): 122 ff.; ἱππό-κροτος 'trodden by horses, resounding of the hoofbeat of horses' (Pi., E.), ἀπό-κροτος 'well-pounded' (Th., X.).
•DER κροτέω [v.] 'to rattle, beat, stamp' (*O* 453, IA), also prefixed, especially with συν-, in various mgs.; thence κρότημα (S., E.), -ησμός (A. *Th.* 561), perhaps after ὀρχησμός, Chantraine 1933: 141; -ησις (Pl. *Ax.*, Ph. *Bel.*), -ητικός (Dosith.). κρόταλα [n.pl.] 'rattle, castanets' (*h. Hom.*, Pi., Hdt.), [sg.] 'boaster' (Ar., E.), κροτάλια [n.pl.] '(clappering) ear-rings' (pap.), MoGr. κροταλίας, -ίτης 'rattlesnake' (cf. Redard 1949: 83), κροταλίζω 'to rattle' (*A* 160, Hdt.), -ίστρια, -ιστρίς 'castanet player' (pap.).
•ETYM Cf. ▸κρόταφος, -φίς. The earlier and more frequent attestations of κροτέω, as compared with κρότος, point to priority of the verb. The comparison with a Gm. verb, OE *hrindan*, *hrand*, ON *hrinda*, *hratt* 'to push' (Pok. 621) should probably be rejected; note that it has an inner nasal which need not be an infix. LIV² s.v. **kret-* compares OHG *redan* 'to sieve', Lith. *krẽsti*, 1sg. *krečiù* 'to shake' and OCS *krotiti*, 1sg. *krošţǫ* 'to tame'. Although formally impeccable, the semantics are not wholly satisfactory. See LIV² s.v. **kret-*.

κροτών, -ῶνος [m.] 'tick, louse of a sheep, Pediculus ovis, Ixodes' (Arist., Dsc., Plu.), also 'tree of castor oil, Ricinus communis' and its seeds (Hp., Thphr., Hell.); acc. to Dsc. 4, 161 διὰ τὴν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ζῷον τοῦ σπέρματος ἐμφέρειαν 'because of the likeness of the seed to the animal', cf. Strömberg 1937: 50. ◂?▸
•COMP E.g. κροτωνο-φόρος, of γῆ (Hell. pap.).
•DER κροτώνη [f.] 'knag, pathological excrescence on the stem (of the olive tree), fragments of bronchial cartiledge' (Thphr., Hp., Gal.); for the formation cf. Chantraine 1933: 207.
•ETYM Unexplained.

κρούναι [f.pl.]? · τὰ ἄφορα δένδρα 'barren trees' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•ETYM Fur.: 120 compares γρυνός 'faggot, firebrand' and γρουνός 'dry wood, torch', so the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

κρουνός [m.] 'source, fountain, stream, torrent', also as a TN (Il.). ◁IE? **kros-n-* 'wave, flood'▷

•COMP E.g. Ἐννεά-κρουνος name of a source on the Hymettos (Hdt., Th.).

•DER Diminutives κρουνίον (Hdn.), -ίσκος (sch.); further κρουν-εῖον a cup (com.), -ωμα 'flood' (Emp. 6, 3), -ίτιδες (νύμφαι, Orph.), -ηδόν 'like a spring' (LXX, Ph.); κρουνίζω [v.] 'to bring forth a stream', -ομαι 'to catch a stream with the mouth' (com.), -ισμός 'gushing, spray' (Aq., medic.), -ισμα 'stream', -ισμάτιον 'small nozzle or spout' (Hero). κροῦναι· κρῆναι τέλειαι 'perfect springs' (H.).

•ETYM Probably from **kros-nó-*; to which the group of ON *hrǫnn* < PGm. **hraznō-* < **kros-neh₂-* is compared. Within Greek, it has been connected with ▸κρήνη (see s.v. for details).

κρούπεζαι [f.pl.] 'wooden shoes to press olives or to indicate the rhythm of a dance' (Paus. Gr., Poll., Phot.). ◁GR?, PG?▷

•VAR Also -ζα [sg.]. By-forms κρούπαλα (S. *Fr.* 44), for which cf. κρόταλα; κρούπανα (H.), after instrument names in -ανον; κρούπετα (H.), example unknown.

•COMP κρουπεζο-φόροι [pl.] name of the Boeotians (Cratin.).

•DER Diminutives κρουπέζια [pl.] (Poll., H.) and κρουπεζούμενος 'provided with κ.' (H.).

•ETYM A governing compound, analyzed as τὸν πόδα (τῷ ποδὶ) κρούειν 'to bump the foot, stamp with the foot' (Frisk s.v.), where the second member is modelled after ἀργυρό-πεζα, etc. The variant forms may also point to substrate origin: we have **krou-pan/l-*, *-pet-*. It is not *a priori* certain that these are due to folk etymology.

κρούω [v.] 'to strike, stamp, knock' (Hp., Att.). ◁IE **krou(s)-* 'push, bump, strike, break'▷

•VAR Aor. κροῦσαι, pass. -σθῆναι, perf. med. κέκρου(σ)μαι, act. κέκρουκα.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-, παρα-, συν-.

•DER Special mgs. from the prefixed compounds are not especially noted: κροῦμα, -σμια 'sound made by striking: tone, melody' (Hp., Att.), κρου(σ)-ματικός (Hell.), κροῦσις 'striking (especially of the strings), string music' (Hp., Att.), κρουσμός 'id.' (Hell.); ἀνακρουσία· παιδιᾶς εἶδος ἐπὶ σφαίρας 'kind of ball game' (H.); ἐπικρούστιον name of a rnedical instrument (medic.), -τήριον 'hammer' (gloss.); κρουστικός 'good for striking' (Hp., Ar., Arist.); Προκρούσ-της name of a mythical brigand (X.). Instead of κρούω, Homer has the enlargement κροαίνω (*Z* 507 = *O* 264 κροαίνων 'stamping, galloping'), imitated in Opp., Philostr.; cf. Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 43. Cf. ▸κροιός.

•ETYM The Greek verbal system, including nominal derivations, is based on a root κρουσ-. The present may derive from **krous-i̯e/o-* or be analogical after the aorist. Cf. on ▸ἀκούω. Acc. to Frisk, it is unnecessary to assume a root variant without *-s-*, as he explains κροαίνω in the same way as ἀκοή < PGr. **akowsā* (however, note that Homer still has ἀκουή without shortening in hiatus). The form ▸κροιός may go back to **krou̯-i̯o-*, if it was derived after the present had already developed to **krowwo-*.

The form κρούω is from IE **krous-*, and corresponds to a Balto-Slavic verb built on **krous-eie/o-* (cf. LIV² s.v. **kreu̯s-*): OCS *sъ-krušiti* 'συντρίβειν, θραύειν, κρούειν', Ru.

krušít'; Latv. *kràusêt* 'to stamp (off)', Lith. *kraušýti* 'id.'. Zero grade **krus-* is found in nominal derivations, e.g. CS *krъxa*, Ru. *kroxá* 'morsel, crumb', Lith. *krùšti*, 1sg. *krušù* 'to stamp, push (apart)'; an *e*-grade also appears in Lith. *kriaũšti* 'to sting'.

κρυερός •VAR κρυμιός. ⇒κρύος.

κρύος [n.] 'icy cold, frost' (Hes. *Op.* 494, A. [lyr.], Arist., Jul.). ◅IE? **kreus-* 'shiver', **kruh₂-* 'bloody'▻

•DER κρυόεις 'horrible, sinister' (Il., Hes., Pi.), 'icy-cold' (A. R., *AP*, Orph.), with analogical -o-; see also on ►ὀκρυόεις; κρυώδης 'id.' (Plu., Poll.); further κρυερός 'horrible, sinister' (Hom., Hes., Ar. [lyr.]), 'icy-cold' (Simon., Ar. [lyr.]); cf. below. Independent formation from κρύος: κρῦμιός [m.] 'frosty cold, frost, horror' (Ion., trag., Hell.), κρυμιώδης 'icy-cold' (Hp., Ph., *AP*), κρυμαλέος 'id.' (S. E.), see Chantraine 1933: 254; κρυμαίνω [v.] 'to make cold' (Hdn.), -ώσσω 'to be stiff out of cold' (Theognost.). On ►κρύσταλλος, which is Pre-Greek, see s.v.

•ETYM The etymology is difficult to assess, as there are two alternatives. The most obvious connection for κρύος is that with ON *hrjósa* 'to shiver', OHG *hroso* 'ice, crust' from **kreus-*. This means that κρύος may represent **krus-*, derived from the root **kreus-* 'to stamp, strike'. Lat. *crusta* has often been compared with κρύος; acc. to De Vaan 2008 s.v. *crusta*, the Latin word can be explained from a basic meaning 'hardened part' (by beating or pounding). Semantically, connection with ToB *krośce*, etc. 'cold' (Adams 1999 s.v.) is perfect for the Greek group, but the ToB *-o-* is difficult (did it arise by umlaut < **kreus-tōn*, as Adams suggests?).

Alternatively, the group of Av. *xrūma-* 'horrible', which must be reconstructed as **kruh₂-mo-* and connected with the group of **kruh₂-* 'blood', could agree with κρῦμιός (κρύος going back on **kruh₂-s-*). This group is represented by e.g. Skt. *krūrá-*, Av. *xrūra-* 'wounded, raw, bloody, horrible' < **kruH-ro-* (Lat. *crūdus* 'raw' is probably from not **crūrus*, see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). The form κρυερός is probably a recent formation after the adjectives in -ερός.

κρύπτω [v.] 'to conceal, hide' (Il.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Fut. κρύψω, aor. κρύψαι, pass. κρυφθῆναι (Il.), -φῆναι (S.), -βῆναι (LXX), fut. -βήσομαι (E., LXX), perf. med. κέκρυμμαι (Od.), act. κέκρυφα (D. H.), iter. ipf. κρύπτασκε (Θ 272), see Risch 240, -εσκε (*h. Cer.* 239), late pres. κρύβω, ipf. ἔκρυβον, -φον.

•COMP Often prefixed, e.g. with ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER 1. κρυπτός 'hidden, secret' (Ξ 168), κρυπτάδιος 'id.' (Il., A.), after ἀμφάδιος; κρυπτικός 'concealing' (Arist., Alex. Aphr.), κρυπτίνδα παίζειν 'to play hide-and-seek' (Theognost.); κρυπτεύω [v.] 'to hide' (E., X.), κρυπτεία 'secret service at Sparta' (Pl., Arist.). 2. (ἔγ-, ἀπό-, ἐπί-)κρύψις 'hiding' (E., Arist., Plb.). 3. κρυπτήρ "hider", name of an instrument (Delos II[a], sch.), -τήριος 'serving as a hiding place' (Orac. *apud* Paus. 8, 42, 6), κρύπτης 'member of the κρυπτεία' (E. *fr.* 1126[?]). 4. κρυφῇ, Dor. -φᾶ (Pi., S., X.), κρύφᾰ (Th.) [adv.] 'secretly'; thence κρυφάδᾰν (Corinn.), -άδις (Hdn.), -ηδόν (Od., Q. S.), -ανδόν (H.) 'id.' (Schwyzer 550, 626, 631); κρυφαῖος 'secret' (Pi., trag., LXX), κρύφασος name of a throw of the dice (Poll.), see Chantraine 1933: 435. 5. κατα-, ἀπο-κρυφή 'hiding place' (S., LXX); κρύφιος 'secretly'

(Hes., Pi., trag., Th.), on κρύφιος to κρύπτω see Schulze 1933a: 362; κρυφία [f.] 'hiding place' (*PFlor.* 284, 8 [VI^{p}]), κρύφιμιος = κρύφιος (Man.), -ιμαῖος 'id.' (Ephesus [IV^{p}]), -ιώδης 'id.' (Eust.); ἀπό-, ἐπί-, ἔγ-, ὑπό-κρυφος 'concealed' (Pi., Hdt., E.), from ἀποκρύπτω, etc.; κρυφός (κρύφος) 'hiding' (Emp. 27, 3, LXX), 'secret' (conj. Pi. *O.* 2, 97), see Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 164f.; ἐγκρυφίας ἄρτος 'bread hidden under the ashes, i.e. baked' (Hp.), ἐγκρυφιάζω [v.] 'to hide' (Ar.); κρυφιαστής 'interpreter of dreams' (Aq.). 6. κρύβδᾰ = κρύφα (Σ 168, A., Pi.), κρύβδην, Dor. -δᾶν (Od.). 7. (άπο-)κρυβή 'concealment' (LXX, Vett. Val.), κρυβῆ = -φῆ (LXX); κρυβηλός· κρυπτὸς [πύργος] 'hidden [tower]', κρύβες· νεκροί 'the dead' κρυβήτας· τετελευτηκότας 'the dead', κρυβήσια· νεκύσια 'festivals of the dead', κρυβάζει· ἀποκρύπτει 'hides (from)' (H.).

•ETYM The word κρύπτω is formally and semantically reminiscent of ►καλύπτω; the verbs may have influenced each other. The variation π/ φ/ β may be partly analogical; cf. Schwyzer: 333, 705^{2}, 737. Although there is no formal match with κρύπτω, it does recall the Balto-Slavic group of OCS *kryti* 'κρύπτω, ἀποκρύπτω', Lith. *kráuti*, 1sg. *kráuju* 'to pile up' (on the meaning, see Schulze *KZ* 50 (1922): 275). However, since there is no good IE etymology, the word could be Pre-Greek. This seems confirmed by the frequent variations in the root-final labial stop.

κρύσταλλος [m.] 'ice' (Il.), also 'rock-crystal' [f.] (Str., D. S.), with gender after λίθος. ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR κρόσταλλος· εἶδος ὑέλου 'kind of crystalline stone' (H.), where Latte notes "h.e. κρύσταλλος (κρούστ- S.)".

•DER κρυστάλλιον 'id.' (*PHolm.*), also plant name = ψύλλιον (Dsc.), because of the cooling effect, see Strömberg 1940: 83); κρυστάλλινος 'icy-cold' (Hp.), 'of rock-crystal' (D. C.), -ώδης 'icy, crystal-clear' (Ptol., *PHolm.*); κρυσταλλόομαι 'to freeze' (Ph.), -ίζω 'to glow like crystal' (Apoc.); further κρυσταίνομαι 'to freeze' (Nic. *Al.* 314), probably a free analogical formation to κρύσταλλος, after other cases of the interchange ν/ λ (differently, Schwyzer: 706).

•ETYM The word has been connected with Lat. *crusta* 'bark, crust', but this is wrong, as the Latin word has a quite different meaning: 'the hard surface of a body, the rind, shell, crust, bark, which protects it' (Lewis and Short). The collocation with *flumen*, indicating a covering or crust of ice, is just an incidental use. The etymology with κρύος must therefore be given up. As Kuiper 1956: 215^{16} remarked, the word is Pre-Greek because of the suffix -αλλο-. All Greek words in -αλλο- are of Pre-Greek origin; there are no Greek words of IE origin with this suffix. The suffix is not -αλ- with expressive gemination (as Chantraine often states), but goes back to *-*al^{y}*-. This is confirmed by the variant κρόστ-. The word means 'ice' and was also used for rock-crystal, because it is transparent, and in this respect looks like a piece of ice. Pliny (37, 23) still thinks it *is* ice. We now know that rock-crystal is a mineral; it is quartz, a silicate (SiO_2). The semi-precious amethyst and agate are varieties of it. See Beekes 2008 and also on ►κρύος.

κρωβύλος [m.] 'roll or knot of hair on the crown of the head' (Th., X., Antiph.), on the mg. see Hauser *Jahresh. d. Österr. arch. Inst.* 11 Beibl.: 87ff. ◅PG?▻

•VAR The accent after Hdn. Gr. 1, 163.
•DER κρωβυλώδης 'κ.-like' (Luc. *Lex.* 13); κρωβύλη [f.] 'hair-net' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 323, Serv. ad *Aen.* 4, 138).
•ETYM Semitic explanation in Lewy 1895: 89; cf. Knauer *Glotta* 33 (1954): 116[1]. Rabin *Orientalia* 32 (1963): 123f. points to Late Bab. *karballatu* and Hitt. *kariulli*. Fur.: 205 points to -ύλη as a common Pre-Greek suffix.

κρώζω [v.] 'to croak, creak' (Hes. *Op.* 747, Ar.). ◁IE? **kroh₂k-*▷
•VAR Aor. κρῶξαι, fut. κρώξω.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, ὑπο-.
•DER κρωγμός 'croaking' (*AP*, Jul.), κρῶγμα 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*).
•ETYM Originally an onomatopoeic word, which differs only in the auslauting stop from Lat. *crōcīre*, CS *krakati*, 1sg. *kraču*. Cf. also Lith. *kr(i)ōkti*, 1sg. *kr(i)okiů* 'to ruckle, grumble' and (with *-g-*) *kriogŭoti*, 1sg. *kriogŭoju* 'to speak or cry with hoarse voice'. IE **-g-* is also found in the Gm. group of ON *hrókr* 'crow'. Cf. ▶κράζω, ▶κραυγή, ▶κόραξ.

κρωμακίσκος [m.] 'young pig' (Antiph. 215, dubious). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

κρῶμαξ ⇒ κλῶμαξ.

κρώπιον [n.] 'sickle, scythe' (Pherecyd. 154 J.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Better -ίον; in H. also κρώβιον (cod. also κρόπ- and κρόβ-).
•ETYM Probably derived from a noun (*κρώψ vel sim.), in view of forms like λυχνίον, χαλκίον, ἀκόντιον, and other instrument names in -ιον (Chantraine 1933: 58).
The Greek word recalls the verbal root in Lith. *kiřpti*, 1sg. *kerpů* 'to cut, shave', Lat. *carpō* 'to pluck off'; see on ▶καρπός 1, as well as on ▶σκορπίος and ▶σκέπαρνος. Further compared with Skt. *kṛpāṇa-* 'sword', MIr. *corrán* 'sickle'. However, this is not even a root etymology, in view of the Schwebeablaut **kerp- / *krōp-* involved. Given the variation, the word must be Pre-Greek. Fur.: 148 refers to Hurrit. *hurubbi* 'sword'.

κρωσσός [m.] 'water pail, pitcher, salve bottle, cinerary urn' (trag., Theoc.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also [f.] after λήκυθος, etc.
•DER Diminutive κρωσσίον (*AP*).
•ETYM The element -σσ-, as well as the technical meaning, points to a Pre-Greek word. Previously, Celtic and Germanic words for 'jar, pot' were compared, e.g. MIr. *crocán*, OE *crocca*, OHG *kruog*; see Pok. 389 and Vendryes *REGr.* 32 (1932): 495ff. Fur.: 369 compares Hurr.-Hitt. *aḫrusḫi* 'incense-pot'.

κτάομαι [v.] 'to acquire, win', perf. 'to possess' (Il.). ◁IE? **tkeh₁-* 'rule, gain, acquire'▷
•VAR Ion. ipf. ἐκτέετο (v.l. Hdt. 8, 112), aor. κτήσασθαι (Il.), pass. κτηθῆναι (Th., E.), fut. κτήσομαι (post-Hom.), perf. ἔκτημαι, κέκτημαι (Hes., Att.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, προσ-.
•DER (prefixed compounds are not indicated seperately): 1. dat.pl. κτεάτεσσι (Hom., Pi., E.), sg. κτέαρ (Hell.) '(acquired) goods, possessions, property', whence κτεατίζω

[v.] 'to acquire' (Il.), κτεατισμός (Man.), cod. κτεαν-. 2. κτέανα [n.pl.] 'id.' (Hes., also Hp.), secondary and rare -ον [sg.], φιλο-κτεανώτατε [voc.] (*A* 122), see Sommer 1948: 69; πολυ-κτέανος (Pi.). 3. κτήματα [n.pl.] (Il.) 'goods, landed property', also 'domestic animals' (also [sg.], o 19), κτημάτιον (Alciphr., pap.), -ίδιον (pap. VI^{p}), -ικός 'rich' (Hell.), -ίτης 'id.' (Lycurg.); as a second member, e.g. in πολυ-κτήμων 'rich in possessions' (Il.), whence -μοσύνη (Poll.). 4. κτήνεα, -νη [n.pl.] 'domestic animals' (especially Ion., Hell.), rarely -νος [sg.], probably directly from κτάομαι with a suffix *-nos-* (Chantraine 1933: 420); thence κτηνηδόν 'like beasts' (Hdt.), κτηνύδριον (pap.); often as a first member, e.g. κτηνο-τρόφος 'cattle-keeper' (Hell.). 5. κτῆσις 'acquisition, possession' (Il.), κτήσιος 'regarding possessions', Ζεὺς Κτήσιος as a protector of possessions (IA); diminutive κτησ(ε)ίδιον (Arr.). 6. κτεάτειρα [f.] 'who possesses' (A. *Ag.* 356), archaizing for -κτήτειρα, -τρια, which are found in προ-κτήτρια 'former possessor' (pap.), after κτεάτεσσι, etc.; κτήτωρ [m.] 'possessor' (D. S., pap., *Act. Ap.*), κτητορικός (pap.); details in Fraenkel 1912: 29f., 1, 183[1], Schwyzer: 474[3]. 7. Φιλο-κτή-της PN (Il.), compound from φίλος and κτάομαι with suffix -τη-; Att. Φιλοσκήτης (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 351). 8. Verbal adjectives: κτητός 'acquired' (*I* 408); usually ἐπίκτητος 'newly acquired' (IA); κτητικός 'of acquisitions' (Att.). 9. Unclear is ἀκτῆνες· πένητες, ἠργηκότες 'poor, unemployed' (*EM* 55, 11), for which Solmsen 1909: 143 proposed *ά-κτη-ῆνες.

•ETYM All forms have κτη-, except for the present κτάομαι, but this is relatively rare and late; ἔγκτασις is a hyperdorism after ἔμπᾶσις; see ►πέπᾶμαι. Tichy *Glotta* 56 (1978): 237-245 has shown that the forms Hdt. ἐκτέατο, ἐκτέετο are due to palaeographical difficulties. An old heteroclitic stem PGr. **ktē-war, -w(a)n-* must be assumed for κτεάτεσσι, κτέαρ, and κτέανα, whence secondarily κτέανον.

The old comparison with the Indo-Iranian present Skt. *kṣáyati*, Av. *xšaiieiti, -te* 'to rule, order, have power' is semantically attractive. We have to assume that Skt. *kṣáyati* continues **tkH-ei-*, and that Skt. *kṣa-trá-* [n.] = Av. *xša-θrəm* 'dominion, rule' was formed after a root **kṣa-* had been extracted from the present **kṣa-ya-*. If this is true, the root-final laryngeal must be **h$_1$*, which is confirmed by the fact that the Greek forms almost exclusively show -η-. Since the equation of the formations of κτάομαι and Skt. *kṣáyati* is less evident, LIV^{2} (s.v. 1. **tek-*) gives up the etymology, and suggests that κτάομαι is denominative from a noun **tk-eh$_2$-* 'possessions'. See also Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 56 (1978): 224-236.

κτείνω [v.] 'to kill, put to death' (Il.). ◅IE **tken-* 'injure'▻

•VAR Att. pres. also κτείνυμι, -ύω, Aeol. κτέννω (Hdn.), fut. κτενῶ, epic also -έω, κτανέω, aor. κτεῖναι, Aeol. κτέννα (Alc.), and κτανεῖν, epic also κτάμεν(αι) and med.pass. κτάσθαι, pass. 3pl. ἔκταθεν (epic), Hell. κταν(θ)ῆναι, perf. ἀπ-, κατ-έκτονα (Hdt., Att.), Hell. also ἀπ-εκτόνηκα, -έκτα(γ)κα, pass. -εκτάνθαι.

•COMP Att. prose mostly with ἀπο-, poet. also with κατα-. As a second member -κτόνος, e.g. πατρο-κτόνος 'who kills his father' (trag.), whence -κτονέω, -ία; rarely in passive sense: νεό-κτονος 'recently killed' (Pi.); the simplex κτόνος (Zonar.) probably from the compounds; also -κτασία, e.g. ἀνδρο-κτασία [f.] 'murder of men' (Il.), usually -ίαι [pl.], as if from **ἀνδρό-κτατος*.

•ETYM The present κτείνυμι (incorrectly, -εινν- and -ινν-) has a secondary full grade after ἔκτεινα (cf. δείκνυμι to ἔδειξα, etc.). It replaces a zero grade *κτάνυμι, corresponding to Skt. *kṣaṇóti* 'to injure' (the sense 'to kill' of κτείνω is euphemistic). The Greek system seems to be based on an athematic root aorist sg. **kten-* (cf. Gortyn subj. κατασκένē, with σκ for κτ; Schwyzer: 326), pl. and med. **ktn̥-*, which is directly continued by ἔκτατο (Il.). The present **kten-je/o-* > κτείνω, the thematic aorist ἔκτανον, and sigmatic ἔκτεινα go back to this formation. The ptc. *-κτα-τος (assumed for ἀνδρο-κτασίαι) corresponds to Skt. *ákṣata-*, OP. *axšata-* 'uninjured'. Without a doubt, ►καίνω is related too, but it is unclear under which circumstances the initial **t-* was lost.

Literature: Harðarson 1993a: 186. Opposed to connection with Skt. *akṣata* is Strunk 1967: 99[265].

κτείς [m.] 'comb, comb in the loom', often metaph., e.g. 'rake, rib, finger' (Att. inscr.). ◅IE **peḱt-en-* 'comb'▻

•VAR κτήν (Jo. Gramm. [VI^{p}]), κτενός (IA).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κτενο-πώλης 'comb-handler' (Poll.), πεντέ-κτενος 'with five teeth' (com.).

•DER κτένιον 'id.' (Epich., pap.), κτενωτός 'with teeth' (Att. inscr.), κτενᾶς [m.] 'comb-maker, wool-carder' (Corycus), κτενωδῶς 'comb-like' (gloss.); κτενίζω [v.] 'to comb, card' (IA), -ισμός 'combing' (E.), -ιστής 'comber, hairdresser' (pap., Gal.), -ιστικός 'belonging to combing' (pap.).

•ETYM Because of Lat. *pecten* 'comb', the Greek word is explained as from **pḱt-en-* with zero grade root and loss of the initial **p-*. Several Modern Iranian forms, e.g. Pashto *žmanj*, MoP *šāna*, point to **pḱ-en-* (Morgenstierne 1927: 106; see Charpentier *Acta Orbis* 7 (1929): 197 with a remark by Morgenstierne ibd. 199). It may be that the root was originally **peḱ-*; see on ►πέκω.

κτέρας [n.] 'gift' (*K* 216, Ω 235, A. R. 4, 1550). ◅?▻

•VAR Sing. only nom.; usually plur. κτέρεα, -έων 'gifts for the dead, sacrifice' (Il.); see Chantraine 1942: 210.

•COMP As a second member in ἀ-κτερής 'unburied' (*Orac. Sibyll.*, H.).

•DER κτερεΐζω 'to bring gifts for the dead, bury ceremoniously' (Il.), fut. -ίξω, aor. -ίξαι (see Ruijgh 1957: 83), also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, συν-; also κτερίζω (Il.) 'id.', fut. -ιω, aor. -ίσαι; thence κτερίσματα [pl.] = κτέρεα (S., E.), -ισταί (H.) = ταφῆες, ἀ-κτέριστος (S., Lyc.), -έϊστος (*AP*). κτέρες· νεκροί 'the dead' (H.) is probably a constructed back-formation (Solmsen *IF* 3 (1894): 98 in spite of Fraenkel 1910: 68); further probably Πολύ-κτωρ (Hom.), after which Γανύ-κτωρ (Plu., Paus.), where the second member may originally mean 'giving presents' (Fraenkel and Solmsen l.cc.). Uncertain ►διάκτορος.

•ETYM No etymology. See Arena *RILomb.* 98 (1964): 3-32.

κτηδών, -όνος [m.] 'line of fissure, grain of wood, layers' in the body, wood, stone, etc. (medic., Theophr.). ◅IE? **peḱt-en-* 'comb'▻

•VAR Mostly plur. -όνες.

•COMP εὐ-κτήδων, -ονος 'with strong fibres' (Thphr.); not here εὐ-κτέανος 'id.' (Theophr., Plu.).

•ETYM It has been compared with the glosses εὐθυ-κτέανον· ἰθὺ πεφυκυῖαν, εἰς ὀρθόν 'grown straight', ἰθυ-κτέανον· τὸ ἰθὺ πεφυκὸς καὶ ὀρθὸν δένδρον 'upright tree' (H.). Amigues 1989: 151f. derives it from *[π]κτ-ηδών 'in the way of a comb', metaphorically of the fissures of wood, etc.

κτίδεος 'of marten'. ⇒ἴκτις.

κτίζω [v.] 'to found, establish, build, create' (Emp.). ◁IE *tḱ-ei- 'settle, found'▷

•VAR Aor. κτίσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. κτισθῆναι (IA), fut. κτίσω (A.), perf. med. ἔκτισμαι (Hdt.), act. ἔκτικα (Hell.); on the reduplication see Schwyzer: 649.

•DIAL Myc. 3pl. root present *ki-ti-je-si* /ktijensi/ 'they cultivate', *ki-ti-me-no* /ktimenos/ 'cultivated', *ko-to-(i-)na* /ktoinā/ 'part of land', *a-ki-ti-to* /a-ktitos/ mg. unclear. Also (*me-ta-*)*ki-ti-ta* /meta-ktitai/, perhaps '(transported) settlers'?

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. συν-, ἐπι-, ἀνα-.

•DER κτίσις [f.] 'foundation, creation' (Pi., IA), κτιστύς [f.] 'foundation' (Hdt. 9, 97), κτίσμα 'foundation, colony, building' (Hell.), κτισμός 'foundation' (Asia Minor [imperial period]); κτίστωρ 'founder' (Pi., E.), κτιστήρ 'id.' (Corinth [IV^{a}]), fem. κτίστρια (Asia Minor [imperial period]), κτίστης 'founder, builder' (Arist.), κτίστιον (-εῖον) 'temple of a founder' (pap. [IV^{p}]), older συγκτίστης 'co-founder' (Hdt. 5, 46); κτιστός 'laid out, founded' (*h. Ap.* 299, pap.), see Zumbach 1955: 26; subst. κτιστόν [n.] 'building' (pap.).

Several formations have the intransitive mg. 'to live, abide': ἑῦ κτίμενος 'where one can live well' (Hom.); περι-κτί-ονες [pl.] 'those living around, neighbours' (Il.), ἀμφι-κτί-ονες 'id.' (Pi.), also as a PN (Att. inscr. V^{a}), also -κτύονες (Hdt., inscr. IV^{a}) with unclear υ (cf. Hoffmann 1898: 290); περικτίται [pl.] 'id.' (λ 288), after which the simplex κτίται 'id.' (E. *Or.* 1621), κτίτης = κτίστης (Delph. II^{a}); ἑῦ-κτιτος = ἑῦ κτίμενος (B 592), ὀρεί-κτιτος 'living in the mountains' (Pi.); but e.g. θεό-κτιτος 'founded by the gods' (Sol.).

Rhod. κτοίνα (also πτοίνα with unexplained πτ-) designates an administrative region in Rhodos and is also found as a cadastral term in Myc. *ko-to-(i-)na*. Thence κτοινᾶται, -ἑται (see Lejeune *REGr.* 78 (1965): 13ff.).

•ETYM The Mycenaean athematic root present *ki-ti-je-si* corresponds with Skt. 3sg. *kṣéti*, 3pl. *kṣiyánti*, Av. *šaēiti*, *šiieinti* 'to live', which is only used intransitively. Probably, the root **tḱei-* should be analyzed as continuing an older *i*-present **tḱ-éi-ti*, **tḱ-i-énti* of the root **teḱ-* 'to procreate'. The transitive meaning 'to cultivate, found' (a Greek innovation) first arose in the aorist κτίσ(σ)αι, which developed beside an intransitive root aorist still preserved in athematic κτίμενος (cf. ἔστησα to ἔστην; see ►ἵστημι). The form κτίζω, whence most derivations developed, was built on κτίσ(σ)αι. The formation of περικτίται and Myc. *pe-ri-ki-ti-ta* recalls Skt. *pari-kṣí-t-* 'living round about', and the *to*-ptc. -κτιτος is mirrored by Av. (*ana*)-*šita-* 'uninhabited'. The form κτίσις has a parallel in Skt. *kṣi-tí-*, Av. *ši-ti-* 'dwelling, residence', but the deviant meaning suggests an independent formation from κτίζω.

Finally, κτοίνα can be compared with Arm. *šēn*, gen. *šini* 'inhabited (place)', if the latter continues **kti-n-*. See ►κτίλος.

κτίλος [adj.] 'obedient, tame', also msc. 'ram' (Il.), acc. to H. = ὁ προηγούμενος τῆς ποίμνης κριός 'the ram taking the lead of the flock'; cf. Thompson *Class. Rev.* 46 (1932): 53f. ◄IE **tki-lo-* 'of the dwelling place'.►

•DER κτιλίς· τιθασός, πρᾷος, ἡγεμών 'tame, leader' (H.) and the denominatives ἐκτιλώσαντο 'they tamed' (Hdt. 4, 113), ἐκτιλωμένος 'tamed' (Paus. Gr.), κτιλεύονται 'they are being tamed' (Pi. *Fr.* 238).

•ETYM Connected to ►κτίζω as 'belonging to the dwelling place'. The suffix is found in χωλός, φαῦλος and various expressions for defects (Chantraine 1933: 238).

κτύπος [m.] 'strong noise, cracking, stamping' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►

•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. βαρύ-κτυπος 'with loud noise' (*h. Cer.*).

•DER κτυπέω (Il.) 'to crack, rumble', trans. 'to make rumble', probably intensive; aor. κτυπῆσαι (S., E.), also them. aor. κτυπεῖν (Il.), cf. Porzig 1942: 25, often prefixed (late), e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, ὑπο-. Thence κτύπημα = κτύπος (Critias, E.), -ητής 'one who makes noise' (Suid.), κτυπία· ὁ ἐπιθαλάμιος κτύπος 'the nuptial din' (H.).

•ETYM Reminiscent of ►δοῦπος, δουπέω, but further details are unknown. No doubt of Pre-Greek origin, with variation between voiced and unvoiced stop; see Fur.: 120. A prefix κ-, as assumed by Meillet *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 117, followed by Ruijgh 1957: 148, is unknown.

κύαθος [m.] 'ladle for drawing wine' (IA). ◄PG(V)►

•DER Diminutive κυάθ-ιον (Pherecr.), -ίς (Sophr.), -ίσκος (medic.); κυαθ-ώδης 'like κ.' (Eratosth.), -ιαῖος 'measuring a κ.' (comm. Arist.), -ότης 'the idea κύαθος' (Pl.), -ίζω 'to scoop with a κ.' (com., Plb.).

•ETYM The ending appears also in ►λήκυθος, ►γυργαθός, etc. Lat. LW *cyathus* (Plaut.). Often connected with ►κύαρ (opposed to this, Chantraine 1933: 367; yet it is accepted in DELG s.v.); cf. on ►κύαμος. Szemerényi *Gnomon* 43 (1971) compares Ugar. *qb't*, Hebr. *qubba'at* 'cup'. However, the word is clearly Pre-Greek: Fur.: 237 compares the variants κόβαθος 'a vessel' and κύβεθρον 'beehive'. The sequence -υα- is also typical of 'foreign' (i.e. Pre-Greek) words.

κύαμος [m.] 'bean' (Il.), 'lot', in which those who drew white beans won (Att.), metaph. 'swelling of the paps' (Ruf., Poll.), 'woodlouse' (Gal.), name of a coin (Taurom. I^{a}). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also πύανος (H.); κύμιηχα· κύαμιον (H.) also πύανος (H, Poll., Phot.).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κυαμο-τρώξ 'bean-eater' (Ar.), ὑοσ-κύαμος 'henbane' (Hp., X.), see Strömberg 1940: 31 and 155.

•DER Diminutives κυάμιον (Nubien, Eust.), -ίδες· *fabacia* (gloss.); κυάμ-ινος 'of beans' (com., Gal.), -ιαῖος 'as large as a bean' (Dsc., Luc.); κυαμ-ίας [m.] 'stone like a bean' (Plin.), like καπνίας, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 94), -ίτης [m.] 'god of beans = chairman of the bean market' (Paus.), -ῖτις (ἀγορά) 'bean market' (Plu.), cf. Redard

1949: 193 and 108; κυαμιών, -ῶνος [m.] 'field with beans' (Thphr.), -ωνίτης 'laborer of the bean-fields' (pap.), see Redard 1949: 37).
Denominative verbs: κυαμεύω 'to draw a lot with beans' (Att.), -ίζω 'to be ripe for marriage' (Ar.). Beside κύαμος also πύανος (H., Poll., Phot.), acc. to Heliod. Hist. 3 = ὀλόπυρος, whence compound Πυαν-έψια, -όψια [n.pl.] name of a Ion.-Att. festival, whence the month name Πυανεψιών, -οψιών; also Κυαν-εψιών, -ο- (Ceos, Asia Minor) and Παν-όψια (non-Att. acc. to Lycurg. *fr.* 84).
•ETYM Since no IE suffix *-am-* is known, κύαμος cannot be derived from κυέω (root **ḱuh₁-*). The word κύαμος has often been considered foreign (Chantraine 1933: 133, Schwyzer: 494, Kuiper 1956: 215[19]). The variation in κυάμος: πύανος, as well as the forms suffixed with -εψ-, -οψ-, point to Pre-Greek origin. Fur., following Kuiper l.c., remarks that the variation between κυαμ- and κυμ-ηχ/κ- proves the Pre-Greek character of the word. On the variation π-/κ-, see Fur.: 388.

κύανος [m.] name of a dark blue substance, 'enamel, lapis lazuli, blue copper carbonate' (Il.); also a bird name (Arist., Ael.), see Thompson 1895 s.v.) and a plant name 'blue cornflower' (Plin.). ◁?▷
•DIAL Myc. *ku-wa-no* 'smalt', also *ku-wa-no-wo-ko* /kuano-worgos/ 'smalt-worker'.
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. κυανό-πρῳρος 'with a dark blue prow' (Hom., B.), -πρῴρειος with metrical lengthening at verse end; -χαίτης 'with dark hair' (Hom.), -πεπλος 'with dark cloth' (*h. Cer.*, Hes.), cf. Treu 1955: 244.
•DER κυάνεος (ῡ metrically lengthened) 'made of κ.', usually 'dark blue' (Il.); on the mg. Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 10 and 35.
•ETYM Perhaps a loan from Hitt. *kuu̯anna(n)-* '(blue as) copper, ornamental stone' (Friedrich 1952 s.v.). Danka & Witczak *JIES* 25 (1997): 361ff. derive it from **ḱwn̥Ho-*, which seems unlikely.

κύαρ [n.] 'eye of a needle, orifice of the ear' (Hp., Poll.). ◁IE **kuH-r/n-* 'swelling, hole'▷
•ETYM An old *r/n*-stem, which is found thematicized in Av. *sūra-* [m.] 'hole, lacuna' < IE **ḱuH-r-o-*, as well as in Arm. *sor* 'hole' if from IE **ḱou-er-o-*; a thematic *n*-stem occurs in Skt. *śūna-* 'swelled up, grown up', *śūna-* [n.] 'emptiness, lack', *śūnyá-* 'empty, hollow'. An *l*-stem is supposed in ►κύλα · τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν βλεφάρων κοιλώματα 'holes under the eyelids' (H.), but see s.v. and under ►κοῖλος 'hollow' < **kouHi-lo-*. The words are generally connected with the group of ►κυέω 'to be pregnant' < 'to swell', assuming a basic mg. 'curvation', whence both 'hole' and 'vaulting'.

κυβάββα · αἷμα, Ἀμαθούσιοι 'blood (Amathousian)' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

κυβερνάω [v.] 'to steer, head for', metaph. 'to govern, rule' (γ 283). ◁PG▷
•VAR Aor. κυβερνῆσαι, Cypr. inf. κυμιερῆναι; Aeol. κυμιερνήτης.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-.
•DER κυβερνητήρ, Dor. -ατήρ [m.] 'steersman, coxswain' (θ 557, Pi.), fem. -ήτειρα (*AP*, Nonn.) and -ητήριος (Orac. *apud* Plu.); κυβερνήτης (Aeol. κυμιερνήτης [-άτας]

acc. to *EM* 543, 3) 'id.' (Il.) with fem. -ῆτις (pap.) and -ήσια [n.pl.] festival of the steersmen in Athens, in memory of Theseus (Plu.); κυβέρνησις, -ᾱσις 'steering, government' (Pi., Pl.); κυβερνητικός 'belonging to steering' (Pl.); κυβερνισμός = κυβέρνησις (Aq.).

•ETYM From κυβερνάω, Lat. *gubernō* was borrowed; see WH s.v. Given Cypr. κυμερῆναι, the form κυβερνάω has been thought to be due to dissimilation μ-ν > β-ν (Lejeune 1972: 152). See also Neumann *KZ* 100 (1987): 64-69, Neumann *KZ* 105 (1992): 188, and Neumann *Kadmos* 13 (1974): 146-155, who reconstructs a denominative from **kurb-na-* from the root **k^{w}erb-* 'to turn' in κύρβις. This is highly doubtful.

As Frisk remarks, the word has no cognates. The comparison with Skt. *kū́bara-*, *-rī́* 'pole (?)' and with Lith. *kumbras* 'grip on the steering oar', *kumbryti* 'to steer' must be given up; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. and Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *kumbrỹs*. Foreign origin is probable; see references in Frisk s.v. The group -ρν- is typical for non-IE material.

Κυβέλη [f.] Anatolian goddess (Pi.*fr.* 8 Snell, Ar.). ◁LW Anat.▷

•VAR Κυβήβη (Hippon.*fr.* 127 M, Charon of Lamps. *F.Gr.H.* 262 *fr.* 9, Hdt. 5, 102).

•ETYM In Old Phrygian, she is called *Matar Kubileya* or *Kubeleya*. The exact meaning of the adjective is unknown; does it refer to a mountain? The goddess originated in Karkhemish, around 1200, where she was called *Kubaba*. See Laroche 1949: 113-128. Her Lydian name was *Kuvava*. From Locri Epizephyrii we have her name as *Qubalas* (end 7th c.). See now Rein 1996: 223-237.

κύβηλις, -εως [f.] acc. to H. μάχαιρα, ἄμεινον δὲ πέλεκυς, ᾧ τὰς βοῦς καταβάλλουσι· τινὲς τὴν τυρόκνηστίν φασιν 'large knife, properly an axe, with which cattle were slain; cheese-grater' (com., Lyc.). ◁PG?▷

•DER κυβηλικός 'regarding a κ.' (com.), κυβηλίσαι· πελεκίσαι 'cut off with an axe, behead' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. On ἀγερσι-κύβηλις, see Chantraine, *REGr.* 75 (1962): 390. Probably Pre-Greek.

κυβιστάω [v.] 'to tumble head-first' (Il., Pl., X.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Also -ἐω (Opp. *K.* 4, 263).

•COMP Also with prefix, ἐκ-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER κυβιστητήρ 'who tumbles head-first' (Hom., E., Tryph.), also with haplology κυβιστήρ (H.) and κυβιστής (Delos; uncertain; cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 2 (1910): 31 n. 2 and below); κυβίστησις (Plu., Luc.), -ημα (Luc.) 'cartwheel, somersault'.

•ETYM One may consider a pre-form *κυβίζομαι for κυβιστής, if this is old; thence perhaps κυβιστάω. Further, a few words in *EM* are compared: κύβη = κεφαλή (κυβιστάω = εἰς κεφαλὴν πηδῶ 'to jump on the head'), κύβηβος = ὁ κατακύψας 'bent down, stooped', κυβηβᾶν = κυρίως τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ῥίπτειν properly 'to throw on the head' (acc. to H. = θεοφορεῖσθαι, κορυβαντιᾶν 'to be inspired by a god, be enthousiastic'); further, κυβητίζω· ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ῥίψω, κυβησίνδα· ἐπὶ κεφαλήν, ἢ τό φορεῖν ἐπὶ νώτου, ἢ κατὰ νώτου 'on the head; bearing on one's back; in rear' (H.).

Frisk considers connection with κύβος 'dice' and κυφός, ►κύπτω 'to stoop', assuming that the words with -β- are from a northern source (Thracian or Macedonian), with β instead of φ. However, they may rather be Pre-Greek variants, like κύμβη 'head' (*EM* 545, 27) and κύμβαχος 'head first', ἀνακυμβαλιάζω 'to tumble' (see Kuiper 1956: 213f.), which are prenasalized forms clearly containing the same word. Then there is a variant with κυμ- in κυμίνδαλα· καταστροφή. Ταραντῖνοι 'rotation (Tarant.)' (H.). The variants are clearly of Pre-Greek origin.

κύβιτον [n.] 'elbow' (Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 6), Sicilian acc. to Ruf. *Onom.* 72 and Poll. 2, 141. ◅LW Lat.▻

•DER κυβιτίζω 'to push with the elbow' (Epich. 213). Also κύβωλον 'id.' (Poll. l.c.), which would be a cross with ὠλένη acc. to Bq, not an independent derivation from κύβος (Solmsen 1909: 7).

•ETYM From Lat. *cubitum* (pace Bechtel 1921, 2: 284).

κύβος [m.] 'dice' (IA), also of the eyes of the dice (E., Pl.) and the gaming table (Hermipp. 27, pl.); metaph. of dice-like objects, 'cubus' (Ti. Locr.), 'cubic number' (Pl., Arist.), 'dice-like block of stone or wood' (Hell. pap. and inscr.), 'cake, piece of salted fish' (com.); also 'vertebra' (Rhian. 57; after ἀστράγαλος) and 'hollow above the hips of cattle' (Ath. 9, 399b). ◅PG?▻

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. φιλό-κυβος 'who loves the dice' (Ar., Arist.).

•DER 1. κύβιον 'fish salted in κύβοι' (com., pap.), κυβιάριον name of a pot related to κύβιον (pap.) 2. κυβίας 'kind of tunny' (Opp.). 3. κυβοστόν [n.] name of a fraction (Dioph.), after εἰκοστόν, etc. 4. κυβεών [m.] 'gambling house' (Tz.). 5. κυβικός 'quadrangular' (Pl., Arist.). Denominative verbs : 1. κυβεύω [v.] 'to dice, gamble' (Att.), also 'to deceive' (Arr.), whence κυβεία 'dice', κυβευτής 'gambler', -τικός, -τήριον (Att.). 2. κυβίζω [v.] 'to raise to the cube' (Hero), whence κυβισμός (*Theol. Ar.*). 3. κυβᾷ (H.) as an explanation of πεττεύει 'to play π.'.

•ETYM Words for dice are often loans (Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 423). Acc. to Hdt. 1, 94, the Lydians claimed to have invented the game of κύβος. Lat. *cubus* is from Greek. In view of the incidental meaning 'hollow above the hips of cattle', κύβος was wrongly connected with the Germanic group of Go. *hups* 'hip'. Lat. *cubitus* 'elbow' is probably derived from *-cumbāre*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. On κύβος = τρύβλιον 'cup, bowl' (Paph., H.), cf. the words s.v. ►κύπελλον.

κυδάζομαι [v.] 'to revile, jeer at' (A. *Fr.* 94, S. *Aj.* 722, A. R. 1, 1337). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Act. -ω (Epich. 6; 35, 6); aor. κυδάσσασθαι.

•DER Further κύδος [m.] 'scorn' (sch.), probably a back-formation. On ►κυδοιμός 'din of battle', which is formally unclear, see s.v. Glosses κυδάγχας· μάχας, λοιδορίας 'battles, slanderings'; κυδαγχόμενα· λοιδορούμενα 'jeers'; κυδάττειν· ἐπιφωνεῖν 'call by name, exclaim'.

•ETYM Words for 'blame, revile' are found in Slav., e.g. OCS *kuditi* 'μέμφεσθαι, to blame', Gm., e.g. MHG *gehiuze* 'noise, crying, derision, insult', and in Skt. *kutsáyati* 'blame, revile' (rejected by Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 365), MoP *ni-kūhīdan* 'blame, revile' [Pok. 595]). In view of the glosses with structure κυδ-αγχ-, the Greek words are

probably Pre-Greek. Moreover, κυδ-αγχ- could be the prenasalized form of *κυδ-αχ- seen in κυδαττειν. See on ▶κυδοιμός, ▶κῦδος.

κύδαρος [m.] name of a small ship (Antiph. 321). ◀?▶
•VAR Also -ον [n.] (pap., *AB*, *EM*).
•ETYM Origin unknown.

κυδίας [?] · τὰ ἄνθη 'flowering' (= ἐξανθήματα 'eruption') τῶν ὀδόντων 'of the teeth' (H.). ◀?▶
•ETYM Hypotheses in Pok. 956, who translates 'Zahnkeim', a tooth which has not yet erupted.

κυδοιδοπάω 'to make noise, bring about confusion'. ⇒κυδοιμός.

κυδοιμός [m.] 'din of battle' (Il.), see Schwyzer: 492 and Trümpy 1950: 158f. ◀PG▶
•DER κυδοιμέω [v.] 'to rage, confuse' (Il.). Unclear κυδοιδοπάω 'to make noise, bring about confusion' (Ar.), cf. on ἐχθοδοπέω.
•ETYM Unknown, but given the unusual formation, the words are without a doubt Pre-Greek. Frisk and Chantraine discuss it under ▶κυδάζομαι 'to insult', but there appears to be no semantic relation.

κῦδος, -εος [n.] 'fame, honor, glory, renown' (Il.), see Trümpy 1950: 196ff., Greindl *RhM* 89 (1940): 220, Benveniste 1969:2: 57ff. ◀IE **keud-s-* 'miraculous power'▶
•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἐπι-κυδής 'famous' (Il.); very often in PNs, e.g. Φερε-κύδης, Κυδό-νικος (Bechtel 1917b: 269f.).
•DER Caland-forms: 1. κυδι-άνειρα [f.] conventional epithet, interpreted as 'in which renowned men partake' (Il.), of μάχη, thence of ἀγορά; see Schwyzer: 447, 474; Sommer 1948: 181; with -ι- further κύδιμος 'famous' (Hes., *h. Merc.*, Pi.). κυδιάω [v.] 'to boast, be proud' (Il., Hes. *Sc.*, *h. Cer.*, *h. Hom.* 30, 13, A. R., Q. S.), many forms with diectasis, cf. Chantraine 1942: 359.
2. κυδρός 'famous' (Il.), to which κυδρότερος (Xenoph., B.) beside primary κύδιστος (Il.), see Seiler 1950: 76, and κύδιον (E.); also κυδέστερος (Plb.) and κυδίστατος (Nic. *Th.* 3), -τε [voc.] for κύδιστε (Il.). Late denominative κυδρόομαι [v.] 'to boast' (Ael., Polyaen.).
3. κυδαίνω 'to honor, glorify' (Il.), aor. κυδῆναι; also pres. κυδάνω 'to glorify, boast' (Il.), see Chantraine 1942: 315; κυδνός = κυδρός (v.l. in Hes., *IG* 14, 2117). Here also κυδάλιμος = κυδρός (Il.), for which Arbenz 1933: 27 suggests a cross of *κυδαλέος and κύδιμος; κυδήεις (*AP*, Man.), Dor. -ᾱεσσα (Epid.) are late analogical formations; ὑπερ-κύδᾱς [ptc.] 'boasting' (Il.), only -αντα(ς); probably analogical, see Risch 1937: 23[189]. Perhaps here the deme name Κυδαντίδαι (Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 54)?
•ETYM The word κῦδος is connected with a Slavic word for 'wonder, miracle', e.g. OCS *čudo*, gen. *-ese*, SCr. *čȕdo* (acute). Ablaut **keuHd-os-* next to **kuHd-es-* has been assumed, which would give Gr. **kūd-es-* (cf. Porzig 1954a: 170). However, assuming a root **keuHd-* seems superfluous, especially given that the Slavic acute accentuation can be due to Winter's Law. Meier-Brügger 1992a: 269 assumed that Greek replaced the old ablaut pattern **eu / u* with **ū / u*, like in the nasal presents. Thus, κῦδ- is a morphological full grade replacing older **keud-*. As far as the

meaning is concerned, the Slavic group has the connotation of sorcery (e.g. ORu. *kudesъ* [m.] 'magic, sorcery'; Ru. (dial.) *kudesá* [nom.pl.] 'miracles performed through an evil force'). The Greek words denote the "force rayonnante des dieux ou celle qu'ils confèrent" (DELG, following Benveniste l.c.). Any further connection with the verb 'to learn, understand, hear' found in OCS *čujǫ, čuti*, Gr. ▸κοέω is gratuitous, as this has no root-final **-d.*

κυδώνια (μᾶλα) [n.pl.] 'quinces' (Stesich., Alcm., com.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also κυδώνιαι μηλίδες (Ibyc.).

•DER κυδωνέα (-ία) [f.] 'quince tree, Pirus Cydonia' (Hell. pap., Dsc.), -ίτης (οἶνος) 'wine from the quince' (Dsc., Colum.), -ᾶτον 'drink of quince' (Aet., Paul.Aeg.), -ιάω [v.] 'to swell like quinces' (*APl.*). κυδωνό-μελι [n.] 'mead from quince' (Dsc., Orib.), cf. Strömberg 1944: 30).

•ETYM From an older Anatolian word still retained in κοδύ-μαλον (Alcm. 90); Greek connected the word with the famous city of Κυδωνία (on the north coast of Crete) by folk etymology. Cf. also the town Κυτώνιον on the Lydian border. The interpretation by H. in κοδώνεα· σῦκα χειμερινά. καὶ καρύων εἶδος Περσικῶν 'winter-figs; kind of Persian nut' is based on confusion with ▸κόττανον. Lat. *cydōneum* 'quince-juice, -wine' (Ulp.) is from Greek; Lat. *cotōneum* 'quince' (Cato) also belongs here, but probably as an independent loan. The Western and Eastern European forms derive from *cotōneum* and *cydōneum*, e.g. Ital. *cotogno*, MoFr. *coing* (> MoE *quince*), OHG *chutina*, MHG *quiten*, ORu. *gdunja*. See Hehn-Schrader 1911: 241, Trump *Herm.* 88 (1960): 14-22, and Berger *MSS* 9 (1956): 8ff.

κυέω [v.] 'to be or become pregnant' (Il.), with τινά or τί 'with a young'. ◂IE **ǩeuh₁-* 'swell'▸

•VAR κυήσω (Hdt.), κυῆσαι (IA), κεκύηκα (Hell.), κυηθῆναι, -θήσεσθαι (late); older aorist κῦσασθαι (Il.), causative active κῦσαι (A.); younger present κύω (since Arist., LXX); also κυΐσκομαι, -ω (IA).

•COMP Sometimes with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἀπο-, συγ-κυέομαι, -κυίσκομαι (-ίσκω), ὑποκυσαμένη (Il.). Compounds, e.g. κυο-φορέω [v.] 'to be pregnant, be with young', whence -φορία, -ησις (LXX, med., etc.), -φόρος (pap., *EM*); ἔγ-κυος 'pregnant' (Ion., Arist.); κύ-ουρα [f.] name of a plant that was used to procure abortion (Stob.), see Strömberg 1940: 95.

•DER Verbal nouns: κύημα 'foetus, embryo' (IA), -ησις 'conception, pregnancy, embryo' (Pl., Arist., Thphr.), κύος [n.] = κύημα (Ar. *Fr.* 609, inscr. Ceos), κυόεις (Cos [III^a]); ἀποκυητικός 'capable of giving birth' (Astrol.), κυητήριος 'promoting pregnancy' (Hp.), κυήτωρ 'begetter' (Cyran.), of a bird; κυηρόν· ἔγκυον, ἁπαλόν, βλαστόν 'pregnant, tender, offspring' (H.). See on ▸κῦμα, ▸κύριος.

•ETYM The present κυέω can be equated with Skt. *śváyati* 'to be or become strong, increase' < IE **ǩuh₁-éie-*. As LIV^2 s.v. **ǩ̬eh₁-* remarks, the Ved. aorist *áśvat* may be an innovation based on the pair *hváyati* : *áhvat*. More forms s.v. ▸κύριος. The words ▸κύαμος, ▸πᾶς, ▸πέπᾶμαι are not related. On the supposed connection to words for 'hollow, empty', see ▸κύαρ.

κυθνόν [adj.] · τὸ ἄκυον φάρμακον. καὶ πολύκυθνα πολύσπερμα. κυθνὸν γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα 'seed' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Because of ἀκυητήριον· φάρμακον πρὸς τὸ μὴ κυεῖν γυναικεῖον 'philter for contraception' (H.), a correction to <ἄ>κυθνον (LSJ) was assumed necessary. Frisk does not consider it necessary, and instead assumes a euphemistic ellipsis of the negation. DELG supports the correction, and refers to ἄκυθος (Call. *H. Ap.* 52), connecting ▸κεύθω (unclear).

κῠκάω [v.] 'to stir, mix, bring in confusion' (Il.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Aor. κυκῆσαι, -ηθῆναι.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, δια-, συν-, etc.

•DER κυκεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'mixed drink' (post-Hom.), poet. also -ε(ι)ῶ [acc.] (Λ 624, 641), which may be after the comparatives in -ω, but acc. to Risch 1937: 147 and Chantraine 1942: 212 it is an old *s*-stem); Dor. κυκᾶν, -ᾶνος (Epid.); instrument noun κύκηθρον 'stirring spoon', metaph. 'turbulent person' (Ar.); action noun κύκησις (Pl., Epicur.), -ησμός (S.), -ηθμός (Max. Tyr.) 'mixing'; also κύκημα· τάραχος 'disorder', κυκήθραν· ταραχήν 'disorder' (H.).

•ETYM Intensive formation in -άω (cf. Schwyzer: 719) without etymology. Pok. 597 connects it with Lith. *šáukštas* 'spoon', which seems unlikely. Fur.: 305 compares ▸κυρκανάω (with further examples of insertion of a liquid) and concludes to a Pre-Greek form.

κύκλος [m.pl.] 'circle, ring, wheel', also metaph. of circular objects, e.g. 'circular square, wall around the city' (Il.). ◅IE **k^{w}e-k^{w}l-o-* 'wheel, circle'▻

•VAR Also τὰ κύκλα, originally a collective.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. κυκλο-τερής 'made round, round' (Il.), cf. on ▸τείρω, εὔ-κυκλος 'forming a beautiful circle' (Il.); also in hypostases, e.g. ἐγ-κύκλιος 'going around in a circle, circular; general' (Att. Hell.), on the mg. Koller *Glotta* 34 (1955): 174ff.; on ▸Κύκλωψ s.v.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. diminutives κυκλ-ίσκος (medic., Ptol.), -ίσκιον (Dsc.). 2. -ίστρια [f.] 'cyclic danceress' (Att. inscr.), after κιθαρίστρια, etc. 3. κυκλά-μινος [f., m.] plant name, 'Cyclamen graecum, Lonicera periclymenum' (Thphr., Dsc.), also -αμίς (Orph.), after the circular radical tuber (Strömberg 1940: 36; formation after σησάμινος, etc.). 4. Κυκλειών, -ῶνος [m.] month name (Ceos [IV^{a}]), after the festival τὰ Κύκλ(ε)ια. 5. Κυκλεύς PN (Ael.), Boßhardt 1942: 130.

B. Adjectives: 1. κυκλάς [f.] 'forming a circle', also Κυκλάδες [pl.] TN "circle-islands", the Cyclades (IA), Lat. LW *cyclas* name of a circular cloth; κυκλιάς [f.] epithet of τυρός 'cheese' (*AP*). 2. κύκλ-ιος 'circular' (Att.). 3. -ικός 'circular, belonging to a circle' (Arist.), 4. -όεις (S. [lyr.], *AP*). 5. -ώδης (Hp.) 'id.'. 6. κυκλ-ιαῖος 'turning in a circle' (Att. inscr.). 7. -ιακός, in τὰ κυκλιακά, title of a treatise on the circle (late); 8. κυκλατός 'shod', of horses (pap. VI^{p}).

C. Verbs: 1. κυκλέω 'to turn in a circle, surround' (*H* 332), whence κύκλησις 'revolution' (Pl.). 2. κυκλόω 'to make circular; surround' (IA), whence -ωμα 'rounding, round object, wheel, etc.' (E.), -ωσις 'surrounding' (Th., X.). 3. κυκλεύω 'to surround, go in a circle', e.g. of a water-wheel, 'to irrigate' (Hp., Str., pap.),

whence κύκλ-ευμα 'water-wheel', -ευτήριον 'id.', -ευτής 'watcher of a water-wheel' (pap.). 4. κυκλίζω 'to turn around' (Agatharch.), -ισμός (comm. Arist.). 5. κυκλάζει· κύκλῳ περιέρχεται 'goes around in a circle'. 6. κυκλαίνει· στρογγυλοῖ 'is round' (H.).
•ETYM Old name of the wheel, preserved in several languages: Skt. *cakrá-* [m., n.], Av. *caxra-* [m.], Gm., e.g. OE *hwēol* [n.] (also *hweowol, hweogol*) > MoE *wheel*, from reduplicated IE **k^{w}e-k^{w}l-o-*. With *u*-coloring of the reduplication vowel, due to the surrounding labiovelars, Gr. κύκλος and ToA *kukäl* (B *kokale*) 'wagon'. Related, but unclear in detail, is Phr. κίκλην· τὴν ἄρκτον τὸ ἄστρον (H.), originally 'wagon' (cf. Porzig 1954a: 183). An archaic formation with full grade and without reduplication is found in ON *hvel* (beside *hjól* = OE *hwēol*) and OPr. *kelan*, from IE **k^{w}élo-* [n.]; o-vocalism, in OCS *kolo*, gen. *-ese* 'wheel, wagon'. The word is derived from the root **k^{w}el(H)-* 'turn'; see ►πέλομαι. Given that the meaning 'wheel' (> 'wagon') is represented almost everywhere, one may wonder if the meaning 'circle' is secondary. An original meaning 'turning, turner' is suspected for the Baltic word for 'neck', e.g. Lith. *kāklas* < IE **k^{w}o-k^{w}l-o-* (?).

κύκνος [m.] 'swan' (Il.), also name of a ship, after the front part (Nicostr. Com.), and of an eye-salve, after its color (Gal.), whence κυκνάριον 'id.' (Aët., Gal.); also as a PN (Pi.). ◅IE? **(s)keuk-* 'lighten, be white'▻
•DER κύκνειος 'of the swan' (Pi., S., Hell.), fem. -ῖτις (S.); κυκνίας [m.] name of a white eagle (Paus.), cf. κορακίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94.
•ETYM Abundant discussion on κύκνος in Thompson 1895 s.v. Connected with Skt. *śócati* 'to lighten, glow', *śukrá-* 'light, clear, white'; the root is now reconstructed as **(s)keuk-* by Lubotsky *Inc. ling.* 24 (2001) (formerly **ḱeuk-*).

κυκύιζα · γλυκεῖα κολόκυντα 'sweet κολόκυντα' and κύκυον· τὸν σικυόν 'cucumber' (H.). ⇒σίκυος.

κύλα [n.pl.] 'the parts under the eyes' (Hp., Sor.), cf. κύλα· τὰ ὑποκάτω τῶν βλεφάρων κοιλώματα. τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μῆλα. τὰ ὑπώπια 'the cavities under the eyelids; the swellings under the eyes; the parts of the face under the eyes' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Var. lectio κοιλ- (cf. LSJ s.v.). Also κύλλια· ὑπώπια μέλανα 'black eyes' (H.), κύλλαβοι· ὑπώπια 'parts of the face under the eyes' (H.).
•COMP As a first member in κυλ-οιδιάω 'to have a swelling under the eyes' (Ar., Theoc.), compound of κύλα and οἰδέω (οἶδος) after the verbs of disease in -ιάω; κυλοιάζειν· τὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπικλίνειν χλευάζοντα 'scornful shutting of the eyes' (Theognost. *Can.* 21).
•DER Diminutive κυλίδες, -άδες (Poll., Eust.); ἐπι-κυλίδες 'the upper eyelids' (Poll.), probably a hypostasis. PN Κύλων (Argos), Κύλασος (Larisa), Κύλαhος (Argos), see Solmsen 1909: 88f.; on Κυλωϊ̈δας, -ϊ̈άδας (Delph.) see Bechtel 1917a: 31ff.
•ETYM Not related to ►κύαρ, for we would expect long ῡ from **kuh$_1$-l-*. The connection with Lat. *super-cilium* 'eyebrow' is probably wrong: cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v. *cilium*, connected with the root **ḱel-* 'to hide'. The variants with κυλλ- rather show that the word is from Pre-Greek **kul^{y}-*.

κυληβιϛ · κολοβή 'curtailed'. ⇒κύλληβις.

κυλίνδω [v.] 'to roll, turn over' (Il.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Also intr. med. -ομαι; -έω, -έομαι (Att.), fut. κυλῑ́σω (Att.), κυλινδήσω (late), aor. κυλῖσαι (Pi., IA), pass. -ισθῆναι (Il.), -ινδηθῆναι (Str.), perf. med. κεκύλισμαι (Luc., Nonn.); secondary present κυλῑ́ω (Ar.) to κυλῖσαι < -ίνδ-σαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. προ-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀμφι-.

•DER 1. κύλινδρος [m.] 'rolling stone, tumbler, cylinder, etc.' (Democr. 155, Hell.), whence κυλίνδρ-ιον, -ίσκος, -ικός, -όω (Hell.). 2. κύλῑσις 'rolling, turning over' (Arist.), -ισμός 'id.' (Thd.), -ισμα 'roll, etc.' (Sm.), -ίστρα 'place for horses to roll in' (X., Poll.), -ιστός [m.] 'roll of papyrus, packet' (pap.); τρι-κύλιστος (Epicur. *fr.* 125) with unclear mg., see De Witt *Class. Phil.*35 (1940): 183. 3. κυλίνδησις 'rolling' (Pl., Plu.).

•ETYM The same element -νδ- is found in the synonyms ▶ἀλίνδω, -έω, ▶καλινδέομαι; further unclear. Most often connected with ▶κυλλός 'curved, lame' "zu einer allumfassenden Wurzel *(s)kel-* 'bent, curved' (s. κῶλον, σκέλος)". The word is hardly IE.

κύλιξ, -ικος [f., m.] '(drinking) cup' (post-Hom.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Note κυλίσκη, -ίχνη.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κυλικ-ήρυτος 'scooped with a cup' (Call.), εὐ-κύλικος 'with beautiful cups' (*AP*).

•DER Diminutives: κυλίκιον (Thphr.), κυλίσκη (D. H., Poll.), hardly from -ικ-ίσκη (Schwyzer: 542), -ίσκιον (Poll.); -ίχνη (Alc., Ar.), Chantraine 1933: 195; Lat. LW *culigna*; -ίχνιον (Ar., Hell.), -ιχνίς (Achae.); further κυλικ-εῖον 'cup-stander' (com., pap.), -ειος 'belonging to a cup' (Poll.), -ώδης 'like a κ.' (sch.).

•ETYM The word looks similar to Lat. *calix* 'deep bowl, cup', but a variation **a/u* is unknown in Indo-European words. For the same reason, ▶κάλυξ 'seed-vessel, husk' is not identical with our word. One might assume a pre-form **k^{w}lH-ik-* in order to explain both Greek and Latin, but this is an improbable formation for PIE.
With anlauting *sk-*, U *skalse-to* 'ex patera' has been connected (by comparison with ▶σκαλλίον), but it does not belong here for the same reason. As with so many names of cups, etc., we must reckon with loans. See Fur. 110, 132[65], who points to κυλί-σκ-η and κυλίχν-ιον, etc., with aspiration before the nasal. As this feature is non-IE, the word may be Pre-Greek; note that -ικ is a typical Pre-Greek suffix (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes), and that κυλ-ικ- is a typical Pre-Greek structure.

κύλλα · σκύλαξ. Ἠλεῖοι 'puppy (Elis)' (H.). ⇒σκύλαξ.

κύλληβις · κολοβόν[τα] . οἱ δὲ τὰ κέρατα κολόβια παρ' Ἰππώνακτι 'short horns' (*fr.* 122). ◁PG▷

•VAR κυληβίς· κολοβή 'curtailed' (H.). Cf. Theognost. 21, 19.

•ETYM Unknown. The glosses are unclear, but a variation typical for Pre-Greek may be recognized in κυλ(λ)ηβις· κολοβ- (note λ/λλ).

κυλλός [adj.] 'deformed, crippled, crooked', of hands, feet, etc. (IA). ◁IE? **(s)kel-* 'bend, crook'▷

•COMP As a first member in κυλλο-ποδίων (-ον [voc.]) epithet of Hephaistos, 'with crippled feet, limping' (Il.), from κυλλό-πους 'id.' (Hell.) after the nouns in -ίων (Schwyzer: 487).

•DER κυλλόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to be crippled' (Hp., Gal.), -ωσις, -ωμα; κυλλαίνω (intr.) 'id.' (S., Ph.). Also κύλλαιος· βόστρυχος 'lock of hair' (H.).

•ETYM Probably connected with κελλόν· στρεβλόν, πλάγιον 'twisted, athwart' (H.); see ▶κελλάς. The word ▶κυλίνδω does not belong here, nor do Skt. *kuṇi-* 'lame (of the arm)', *kuṇḍá-* [n.] 'jar'; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. The form was recently explained differently by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990): 20-23, who derives the word from **k^{w}el-* 'turn' as **k^{w}l-no-* 'turned outward or inward'. Vine 1999b: 566 accepted the etymology of the root, but assumed **k^{w}ol(H)-ió-*, according to a variant of Cowgill's Law (**o* > υ before **-l̥i̯-*). In view of its semantics and problematic IE etymology, the word may as well be Pre-Greek (cf. Fur.: 354[55]).

κῦμα, -ατος [n.] 1. 'wave, breakers', also metaph. (Il.); 2. = κύημα 'foetus, embryo' (A., E., *AP*), 'young sprout' (Thphr., Gal.), see Strömberg 1937: 79. ◁IE **ḱuh$_1$-* 'swell'▷

•COMP κυματωγή < *κυματο-ϝαγή 'breaking of the waves, beach' (Hdt.); ἀ-κύμων 'without waves' (Pi., trag.), also 'without foetus' (E.), opposed to ἐγ-κύμιων (Att.); also ἄ-κυμος (E., Arist.), ἀκύματος (*Trag. Adesp.*) 'without waves'.

•DER Diminutive κυμάτιον 'the volute on the Ionic capital' (inscr.); κυματ-ίης, -ίας [m.] 'causing waves, stormy' (Ion. poet.), -ώδης (Arist.), -όεις (Arist., Opp.), -ηρός (gloss.) 'full of waves'.

Denominative verbs: 1. κυμαίνω 'to rise in waves, swell' (Il.), 'to become pregnant' (γαστέρα; late Epic), also with ἐκ-, etc.; thence κύμανσις (Arist.); 2. κυματόομαι, -όω 'to rise in waves, cover with waves' (Th., Luc., Plu.), whence -ωσις (Str.); 3. κυματίζομαι 'to roll with the waves' (Arist.).

Here also belongs Κυμώ [f.], name of a Nereid (Hes.); also Κύμη (Kretschmer *Glotta* 24 (1936): 277ff.)?

•ETYM In the meaning 'foetus', κῦμα is clearly a verbal noun of ▶κυέω. The meaning 'wave', which is more common and older, may also derive from 'swelling' (cf. οἴδμα).

κύμβαχος [adj., subst.] 1. adjectival, 'falling head-first' (*E* 586; imitated by Call., Lyc.); 2. substantival, probably 'crest of a helmet' (*O* 536). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Acc. to Leumann 1950: 231ff., the divergent meanings should be explained from an original substantival, technical sense. The formation favors this as well; cf. especially οὐρίαχος 'end of a spear', στόμαχος originally 'end of the mouth', i.e. 'throat'. The form κύμβη 'drinking cup' has been taken as the basis, but this is unconvincing. Others, e.g. Kuiper 1956: 213f., have started from a nasalized form of ▶κύβη 'head', ▶κυβιστάω: these forms in κυβ- without prenasalization show that the word is Pre-Greek.

κύμβη 1 [f.] 'cup, bowl' (Nic., Ath.), 'boat' (S. *fr.* 127). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also κόμβος = τὸ ἔκπωμα 'drinking-cup' (H.), but does it really belong here?

•DER κύμβος [m., n.] 'hollow vessel' (Nic., H.); κυμβίον (-εῖ-) [n.] 'small cup' (Att., Hell.), 'small boat' (H., Suid.). Also κύμβαλον [n.], usually -α [pl.] 'cymbal' (Pi., A., X.), cf. κρόταλον, whence the diminutive κυμβάλιον (Hero) and denominative

κυμβαλίζω 'to play the cymbals' (Hell.), -ισμός, -ιστής, -ίστρια (late). Probably ἀνεκυμβαλίαζον 'they clashed together like κύμβαλα', of δίφροι (Π 379), also belongs here.

•ETYM Previously connected with Skt. *kumbhá-*, Av. *xumba-* [m.] 'pot', and Celtic vessel names like MIr. *comm*, *cummal*. More forms in Pok. 592, WH s.v. *cubō*. Because of the sequence **kumb$^{(h)}$-* (either with *b, which did not exist in PIE, or with both voiceless and aspirated stops **k - b^h*, which is an impossible root structure in native Indo-European words), the word cannot be inherited. It is rather a 'Wanderwort', which fits a vessel term very well. From κύμβη, Lat. borrowed *cymba*, *cumba* 'ship' (acc. to Plin. *HN* 7, 208 it is Phoenician). Fur.: 284 compares κύπη 'ship, etc.' (H.) and considers the word to be Pre-Greek; likewise, DELG. See ▸κύπη.

κύμβη 2 [f.] = κύβη 'κεφαλή' (only *EM* 545, 27). ◂PG(V)▸

•DER κυμβητιάω 'to fall head first' (ibd.); cf. κυβητίζω, etc. s.v. ▸κυβιστάω.

•ETYM Perhaps identical with ▸κύμβη 1 'cup' (cf. Lat. *testa* > Fr. *tête*, etc.). The prenasalization in the pair κύμβη / κύβη proves Pre-Greek origin. Of course, κύμβαχος 'head first' belongs here too.

κύμβη 3 [f.] name of an unknown bird, in πτεροβαμοσι κύμβαις (Emp. 20, 7). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Cf. κόμβα· κορώνη. Πολυρρήνιοι 'crow, shearwater (Polyrrhenian)' (H.); κύμβας· ὄρνιθας 'birds' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. See Thompson 1895 s.v. If κόμβα is a variant, the word is Pre-Greek.

κύμινδις, -ιος, -ιδος [f., m.] name of an unknown bird (Ξ 291, Ar. *Av.* 1181, Arist.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR κύβινδις (v.l.); this form was borrowed into Latin (Plin. *N.H.* 10, 24), see André 1967 s.v. *cybindis*, also as *cibinnus* (Pol. Silv.). In Greek also κυβήναις [read κύβινδις?]· γλαῦξ[αις] 'little owl' (H.) (thus Fur.: 216[67]); v.l. κόμινδις (Procl.).

•ETYM The sch. on Ar. *Av.* 291 identified the bird with κικυμωΐς (Call., cf. κίκυμις, -υβος H.); therefore, it was understood as 'owl'. Clearly a loanword, because of the suffix -νδ-; perhaps of Anatolian origin, or Pre-Greek, which may amount to the same.

κύμῖνον [n.] 'cumin' (Hp., Sophr., com.). ◂PG?▸

•DIAL Myc. *ku-mi-no* /kuminon/.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in κυμινο-πρίστης "cumin-splitter", i.e. 'skinflint' (Arist., com.).

•DER κυμινώδης 'like κ.' (Thphr.), -ινος 'of κ.', -ᾶς 'κ.-seller' (inscr. Jaffa), -εύω 'to besprinkle with κ.' (Orac. *apud* Luc.).

•ETYM Thought to be a loan from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kammōn*, Akk. *kamūnu*, etc. (Lewy 1895: 38), although Kretschmer *KZ* 29 (1888): 440 rather saw these reflected in the plant names κάμων (Nic.) and σκαμ(μ)ωνία, -ώνιον (com., Nic.) 'kind of bindweed'. Frisk suggests that the word may have been borrowed from Semitic twice. See also Masson 1967: 51.

However, Ruijgh *Lingua* 58 (1982): 209 suggested that the word, with its typical Pre-Greek suffix -ῑν-, was in the first place a loan from Anatolia (or the Aegaean); Semitic could have taken it from the same source; cf. Fur.: 187[18] on βράθυ. Borrowed as the Lat. LW *cumīnum*, whence the modern European forms (Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 655).

κυνάμυια [f.] 'dog-fly' (Il.), usually as a term of abuse. ◂GR▸

•VAR Later κυνό-μυια (LXX, *AP*), with analogical -o-.

•ETYM Frisk assumes older *κυά-μυια from IE **ḱuu̯ŋ-* > Skt. *śuva-*, with -ν- from κυνός, etc. This seems improbable, but no other solution is apparent. For the meaning, cf. Lith. *šun-musė̃* 'id.'; further, Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 59.

κύνδαλος [m.] 'wooden nail' (Poll., H.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Plur. both -οι and -α.

•COMP κυνδαλο-παίκτης (Poll.), -παίστης (H.) 'κ.-player'.

•DER κυνδαλισμός 'the game of κ.' (Poll.), also called κυνδάλη (H.).

•ETYM The formation recalls that of the synonymous πάσσαλος. The word has a typical Pre-Greek appearance: prenasalization(?) and the structure **CuNC-aR-*.

κυνέω [v.] 'to prostrate (oneself at), to kiss the ground, to honor by prostrating' (Hom.), also 'to throw kiss-hands' (cf. Marti *Lang.* 12, 272ff.). Mostly poetic (prose uses φιλέω). ◂IE **ku(e)s-* 'kiss'▸

•VAR Aor. κύσ(σ)αι (Hom.), fut. κυνήσομαι (E.), κύσσω (Babr.).

•COMP The compound προσ-κυνέω occurs in prose: aor. προσ-κυνῆσαι (IA), -κύσαι (S., Ar.), fut. -κυνήσω (Hippon., Pl.), -κεκύνηκα (LXX.). Thence προσκύνη-σις (Pl., Arist.), -μα (Hell.) 'prostration, reverence', -τής 'adorer' (oriental inscr., NT), -τήρ 'footstool for prayer' (*Mon.Ant.*).

•DER From the simplex only κυνη-τίνδα (παίζειν, Crates Com.).

•ETYM Interesting for the interpretation of the Greek is the Hittite verb *kuu̯aš̌š̌-zi* 'to kiss'. As remarked by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v., it is consistently spelled with a geminate *-šš-*, which acc. to him points to an IE pre-form **Kuens-*. The Greek nasal present κυνέω, which seems to go back to **ku-ne-s-*, may somehow reflect the same archaic formation, though admittedly the Schwebeablaut is difficult. This means that the root may be reconstructed as **ḱues-*, not **ḱuas-* (Eichner in LIV[2] s.v. **ku̯as-*). As has been remarked by Puhvel *HED* s.v., the word may be onomatopoeic in origin. This may explain the deviating initial in the Germanic word for 'kiss', e.g. OHG *kus, kussen*, which escaped Grimm's Law (it may also be unrelated). A formally identical root **ḱues-* (perhaps even **ḱuns-*; cf. Kloekhorst ibid.) is found in Skt. *śvas-* 'to hiss'.

κυπάρισσος [f.] 'cypress' (ε 64). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Att. -ιττος.

•DIAL Myc. *ku-pa-ri-se-ja* [n.pl.] 'made of cypress-wood', probably the ethnic name *ku-pa-ri-si-jo*.

•DER Diminutive -ίττιον (Alciphr.); further -ίσσινος, -ίττινος 'of cypress-wood' (ρ 340), -ισσίας 'Euphorbia aleppica' (Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 35), -ισσών, -ῶνος [m.] 'cypress forest' (Str.). Town name Κυπάρισσος (in Phocis, B 519), also -ισσοῦς,

-ισσία, -ισσιαί, -ισσήεις (of Elis, B 593), κυφαρισσινος (inscr. Aegina); also Κυπαρίσσιος epithet of Apollo (Cos), Κυφαρισσία of Artemis (Lacon., *IG* 5(1), 977), Κυφαρισσίτας of Pan (Crete).

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word, because of the 'foreign phoneme' -σσ-/-ττ-, and notably the variant Κυφ- in the toponym and the epithets. Latin has *cupressus* (note the *-e-*). Perhaps Hebr. *gōfer* is from the same source. See Fur.: 159f., index. On other names of the cypress, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 671.

κύπασσις, -εως [m.] name of a (short) frock, also worn by women (Alc. *Z* 34, 7, cf. Hamm 1957: 53, Hecat., Ion Trag., *AP*). ◁LW Anat.▷

•VAR Plur. -ιδες (Alc.).

•DER Diminutive -ίσκος (Hippon. 18).

•ETYM An Anatolian loanword, connected with Lydians and Persians in our sources (cf. Gow *Class. Rev.*69 (1955): 238f.). A striking agreement is shown by Hitt. *kupaḫi-* (von Blumenthal 1930: 27ff.), which however seems to indicate a headgear; see Friedrich 1952.

κύπειρον [n.] name of a meadow-plant with an aromatic root, 'galingale, Cyperus longus, rotundus' (Φ 351, δ 603, Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 79f. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also -ος [m.] (*h. Merc.* 107, com., Thphr., Theoc.); κύπερος [m.] (Ion., Dsc., Plu.), κύπαιρος (Alcm. 16), κύπερα· τὰ σχοινία ἐκ κυπείρου πεπλεγμένα 'the cords plaited from the galingale' (H.).

•DIAL Myc. *ku-pa-ro* /kupa(i)ros/.

•DER Diminutive κυπαιρίσκος (Alcm. 38), κυπερίζω 'to be like the galingale' (Dsc.).

•ETYM A foreign Pre-Greek word; on the varying form, cf. Schwyzer 471f. Cf. on ▶κύπρος 1. The word probably reflects **kupar^{y}-*, which explains the variants κυπα(ι)ρο- and κυπε(ι)ρο-; the **a* was phonetically colored to ε before a palatal consonant, which also explains the lack or presence of ι. Cf. on ▶Κάβειροι. See Mayer *RILomb.* 94 (1960): 316 and E. Masson 1967: 111f.

κῦπελλον [n.] 'bulbous drinking vessel, beaker, goblet' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Note κύφελλα 'hollows of the ears' (Lyc.).

•DIAL Myc. *[ku]-pe-ra* (uncertain, cf. Palmer 1963: 364).

•COMP Some compounds, notably ἀμφι-κύπελλον [n.], epithet of δέπας (Hom.), literally "with cups at both sides", i.e. 'double beaker'; acc. to Aristarchus (*EM* 90, 43; cf. Ath. 11, 783b) 'double-handled'; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 20 (1932): 248, Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 358f., 366.

•ETYM Acc. to a witness in Ath. 11, 483, a κύπελλον was known to both Cyprians and Cretans; cf. Bowra *JHS* 54 (1934): 73. In the traditional interpretation, -ελλο- is a combination of suffixes -λ- and -ιο- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 253 and Schwyzer: 483). One may then connects κύπη· τρώγλη 'hole' (H.), with corresponding forms in Lat. *cūpa* 'vat', Skt. *kū́pa-* [m.] 'pit, hole', etc.; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kū́pa-*. However, Furnée compares not only κύπη (H.) in various meanings (Fur.: 121), but also κύβος … τρύβλιον (H.) and κύμβη 'cup', κύμβος 'id.' (op. cit. 176 and 284). The word was a widespread 'Wanderwort', but given the variants it was probably Pre-Greek. Moreover, -ελλο- rather continues the Pre-Greek suffix *-al^{y}-*.

κυπρῖνος [m.] 'carp' (Arist., Opp.). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Formation like ἀτταγῖνος and other fish names (see on ►ἀτταγᾶς and Strömberg 1943: 41), derived from ►κύπρος 'henna' after the color (cf. Strömberg 1943: 20ff.). Other names for the carp are not connected (e.g. Skt. *śaphara-* [m.] = Lith. *šāpalas*, or OHG *karp(f)o*, etc.). The suffix -ῖν- is well-known in Pre-Greek.

κύπρος 1 [f.] 'henna, Lawsonia inermis', also a salve made of it (Thphr., LXX, Dsc.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•DER κύπρινον (of μύρον, ἔλαιον, Dsc. Aret.); κύπριον· τὸ ἀρνόγλωσσον 'plantain' (H.). Denominative verb κυπρίζω 'to bloom', whence κυπρισμός 'blooming' (of olive or vine, LXX, Eust.). On ►κυπρῖνος, see s.v.

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *kōfer* (Lewy 1895: 40f.). The word ►κύπειρον, -ος does not belong here. See also E. Masson 1967: 52.

κύπρος 2 [m.] a corn measure (Alc., inscr.); ἡμί-κυτρον (Hippon.), acc. to H. = ἥμισυ μεδίμνου 'half a medimnus'. ◁?▷

•ETYM Persson 1912(1): 104[4] compares κύπελλον, κύπη; rather a loan. Lewy 1895: 263[1] recalls Hebr. *k[e]pōr* 'beaker'.

Κύπρος 3 [f.] the island Cyprus (Il.). ◁?▷

•DIAL Myc. *ku-pi-ri-jo* /Kuprios/.

•DER Κύπρις, -ιδος, -ιδα, -ιν [f.] name of Aphrodite (Il.); Κύπριος 'Cyprian' (IA), Κυπριακός 'id.' (D. S.).

•ETYM The similarity with Sumer. *zabar* 'copper' ("gleaming stone"), whence Assyr. *siparru* > Elam. *čupar* 'id.', is accidental, see Ipsen *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 232ff.

Neu 1987: 181f. (see also Neu 1988: 37, Neu *Glotta* 73 (1995): 1-7) points to Hurr. *kab/pali-* from a root *kab/p-* 'copper' as the possible origin of the name. It is remarkable, though, that this word has no *-u-*. The word might come from a substrate language. The word is found in a Middle-Hittite text from 1400 BC, where *kup-* may stand for *kab/p*.

Cyprus was famous for its copper in antiquity. In the Bronze Age, the island (or a part of it) was called *Alaš(ḫ)iya*; the name lives on in the epithet Ἀλασιώτης of Apollo.

It was borrowed as Lat. *cuprum*, older (*aes*) *cyprium* 'copper'. From Latin originate MoFr. *cuivre*, MoE *copper*, MoHG *Kupfer*.

κύπτω [v.] 'to bend forward, stoop, to run with the head down' (IA). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aor. κύψαι (Il.), fut. κύψομαι, -ω (Att., Hell.), perf. κέκῡφα (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, παρα-, ὑπο-, ὑπερ-.

•DER ἐπί-, κατά-, παρά-, πρό-κυψις 'stooping' (medic., Hell.); συγκύπται [pl.] 'rafters, sloping beams' (Ath. Mech.), παρακυπτικός 'looking inside, inspecting inquisitively' (*Cod. Iust.*). Adverb κύβδα 'bent forward' (Archil., com.). Enlarged present κυπτάζω 'to keep stooping, go poking about' (com.). Besides κῡφός 'bent forwards, hunchbacked' (β 16), with several derivatives: κύφων, -ωνος [m.] 'bent yoke of the plough; pillory; one who has had his neck in a pillory; curved beam., etc.' (Thgn., Archil., com., etc.); κυφώνιον a kind of salve (Alex. Trall.), -ισμός 'punishment by

the κ.' (sch.); κυφότης 'being bent' (Hld.), κῦφος [n.] 'hump, hunch' (Hdn.). Denominative κυφόομαι 'to be bent, hump-backed', κύφωσις 'being hump-backed', -ωμα 'hump' (medic.); κύφω, in κύφοντα ὀφθαλμοῖς 'with downcast eyes' (LXX), perhaps a back-formation (to κυφός or κέκυφα?). With factitive mg. κυπόω 'to overthrow', only in (ἀνα-)κυπώσας (Lyc., Nic.); perhaps after τύπτω: τυπόω?

•ETYM The formation of κῦφός is isolated within Greek, and therefore it may contain the original root shape. The word κυφός has been compared with Skt. *kubhrá-* [m.] 'humpbacked bull', *kubjá-* 'humpbacked, crooked', but for these Munda origin has also been claimed. A direct comparison of κῦφος [n.] with Av. *·kaōfa-* [m.] 'mountain, camel-hump' (Brandenstein 1956: 53) is deceptive, as κῦφος is late and was derived from κυφός within Greek. Other branches of IE show words with root-final *-*p*-: Lith. *kuprà* 'hump', OHG *hovar* 'id.', etc. Glosses like κύφερον ἢ κυφήν· κεφαλήν. Κρῆτες 'head (Cretan)' (H.) probably do not belong here; see ►κύμβη 2. It has also been compared with words for 'pot, jar', like Skt. *kumbhá-*, Av. *xumba-* [m.] (cf. Sturtevant *Lang.* 17 (1941): 10). The variation κυφ-/ κυπ- (in κυπόω) points to a Pre-Greek word. Cf. on ►κύπελλον, ►κύμβη 1, ►κύβος, ►κυψέλη.

κυρβασία [f.] name of a Persian hat with a pointed crown (Hdt., Hp., Ar.), acc. to H. = ὀρθὴ τιάρα 'upright tiara'. ◄LW Pers.►

•ETYM Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 172 compares Hitt. (Hurrit.) *kurpiši-* 'part of a helmet, helmet' (precise meaning uncertain).

κύρβεις [pl.f., m.] name of rotating pillars or columns, in the form of a three-sided pyramid, on which the laws of Solon were inscribed in Athens; also used of other inscribed tables (Att., Arist.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Also -ιες, gen. -εων; rarely κύρβις [sg.].

•ETYM As a technical expression, suspected of being a loan (perhaps Pre-Greek?). Of course, the older connection with ►καρπός 'hand-root' is unacceptable. Fick *BB* 29 (1905): 239 and Kretschmer *Sprache* 2 (1950-1952): 68 also adduced the ►Κύρβαντες, which would have been named after their whirling dances. Discussion in Jeffery 1961: 53f.

κυρήβια, -ίων [n.pl.] 'husks, bran' (Crat., Hp., Ar.). ◄?►

•DER κυρηβιο-πώλης [m.] 'seller of clay' (Hp., Ar., Epicur.). Κυρηβίων, -ίωνος [m.] epithet (D., Ath.).

•ETYM Formation and origin both unknown. Fur.: 271 connects it with Hitt. *kurimpa-* 'residue, dregs', but there seems little reaon for this. On κυρηβάζω, etc., see ►κυρίττω.

κύριος [m.] 'lord, ruler, possessor', also as an adjective 'ruling, decisive, valid, decided' (post-Hom.). ◄IE **ḱeuh*$_1$- 'swell, be strong'►

•VAR κυρία [f.] '(lady) who rules' (Hell.).

•DER κυρία (from κυρι-ία) [f.] 'control, possession' (Arist., Hell.), κυριότης [f.] 'lordship, rule' (Christian literature); κυριακός 'belonging to the lord (= Christ), to the emperor' (imperial period); κυριεύω [v.] 'to be or become lord, to possess, obtain power' (X., Arist.), whence κυριεία, κυρεία (Schwyzer: 194) 'possession, proprietary

rights' (Hell.), κυριευτικός, -κῶς 'regarding the proprietary rights' (pap.). κυρόω 'to become or make lawful' (IA), aor. pass. κυρωθῆναι, act. κυρῶσαι, whence κύρωσις 'ratification' (Th., Pl.), κυρωτής 'who ratifies' (Att. inscr.); back-formation κῦρος [n.] 'authority, confirmation' (IA). ἄκῦρος 'without authority, invalid' (Att.), whence ἀκυρόω [v.] 'to render invalid' (Din., Hell.), whence ἀκύρωσις, -ωτος, -ωσία (late).

•ETYM ἄ-κῦρ-ος 'without authority' presupposes an *r*-stem also found in κύριος (another example is ἄν-υδρ-ος 'without water', based on ὕδωρ). A trace of this *r*-stem is probably found in ἔγ-κυαρ 'pregnant' (Miletus [VI^{a}]), from *κύαρ 'foetus' < **ǵuh$_1$-r* (Kretschmer *Glotta* 8 (1917): 250). Beside κύριος, there may have been a simple thematic derivative *κῦρος, which would correspond to Skt. *śū́ra-*, Av. *sūra-* 'hero': cf. the Skt. words for 'sun', *sū́r-ya-* and *sū́r-a-*, derived from the ntr. *súvar-* (an old *l*-stem; see on ►ἥλιος). From this *κῦρος [m.], κυρωθῆναι and κυρόω may derive as well; however, κυρωθῆναι can also be derived directly from the *r*-stem (cf. ἀνδρωθῆναι to ἀνήρ). Other derivations: Skt. *śávīra-* 'strong, powerful' (**ḱeuh$_1$-ro-*), Celtic, e.g. Gaul. Καύαρος, W *cawr* 'giant'; the appurtenance of Κυάρη· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ (H.) is uncertain. Further details s.v. ►κυέω.

κυρίττω [v.] 'to butt with the horns' (A., Pl., Arist.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Fut. κυρίξω.

•COMP With prefix: ἀγκυρίττει· μεταμέλεται. Κρῆτες 'repents (Cretan)' (H.); cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 777.

•DER κύριξις (Ael.), κυρίττιλος· κορύπτης, πλήκτης 'one that butts with the head, striker' (H.). Also κυρίζω (*EM*); cf. κυρίζεσθε· τρίβεσθε 'are rubbed (down), worn out' (H.). An unclear by-form is κυρηβάζω (Ar., Cratin.), aor. med. -άσασθαι, whence κυρήβασις, -σία (sch.); metaphorically, it also means λοιδορεῖσθαι 'to slander': κυρηβάτης καὶ κύρηβος· ὁ ἀσελγὴς ἐν τῷ λοιδορεῖν 'sbd. brutal in slandering' (H.).

•ETYM The old connection with ►κορύπτω, ►κέρας does not explain the formation. Frisk follows Curtius and Prellwitz, who connected ►κύρω 'to hit, meet with, obtain', but this seems improbable (thus also DELG). Cf. Fur.: 363, who gives no solution; the suffix -ηβ- in κυρηβάζω is hardly inherited.

κυρκανάω [v.] 'to stir, mix, contrive' (Hp., Ar., Epin., *EM*). ◄PG?►

•COMP Also with συν-.

•DER Backformation κυρκάνη = ταραχή (*EM*, Hdn. Gr.); also κυρκαίη (Suid. s.v. Ὅμηρος) for κυρβαίη, epithet of μάζα (Hom. *Epigr.* 15, 6).

•ETYM Expressive enlargement of κυκάω (cf. Schwyzer: 700) with infixed ρ; cf. τύρβη or φύρω. The inserted ρ may be a Pre-Greek element; cf. Fur. 305.

κύρνοι [m.] · οἱ νόθοι 'bastards' (H.), acc. to Phot. Macedonian; also as a PN (cf. Solmsen 1909: 104). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 363 compares κορινᾶος 'id.' (Marsyas Phil., 24 J.), which is also called Macedonian. Perhaps the two forms can be explained from Pre-Greek **kur^{y}n-*?

κῦρος 'authority'. ⇒κύριος.

κυρσάνιος 'young man'.
•ETYM Laconian for ►σκυρθάλιος.

κυρτός [adj.] 'vaulted, rounded, bulging, hunchbacked' (Il., Hell.). ◄?►
•DER κυρτότης 'vaulting, rounding, lumpiness' (Arist., Str., Plu.). Denominative verbs: κυρτόομαι, -όω 'to form a vault, belly out' (λ 244, X.), κύρτωμα (Hp.), -ωσις (medic., Vett. Val.) 'vaulting, bellying out', κυρτωτός 'hunchbacked' (Vett. Val.); κυρταίνω 'to form a vault, rounding' (*PMag.*, Suid.).
•ETYM The word remains without direct agreement. The comparison with Lat. *curvus* 'vaulted, bellied, crooked' presupposes that κυρτός continues a reduced grade *$k^{(w)}r$-*to*- with *u*-coloring. As a *u*-colored reduced grade is difficult, it is doubtful whether this comparison (and others) is valid at all. Schrijver 1997: 297 assumes an IE root **kur*-, but such a root structure is foreign to IE. The comparison with ►κορώνη (Frisk, DELG) is also unfounded, as this does not continue **kor-ōu-n*-.

κύρτος [m.] 'weel, lobster pot' (Sapph., Pl., Arist., pap.), also 'bird-cage' (*AP*). ◄PG(V)►
•COMP κυρτο-βόλος 'fisherman' (Smyrna).
•DER κύρτη [f.] 'bird-cage' (Archil.), 'bow-net' (Hdt., D. S.), 'strainer' (Nic.). Diminutives κυρτίς 'strainer' (Nic., Dsc., Opp.), -ίδιον 'strainer' (Dsc.); also κυρτίον name of an unknown part of a chariot (Poll. 1, 143). Further κυρτία 'wicker shield' (D. S.), κυρτεύς 'fisherman' (Herod., Opp.), κυρτευτής 'id.' (*AP*) and κυρτεία 'fishing with the bow-net' (Ael.), from *κυρτεύω or analogically after ἁλι-ευτής, -εία. Here further κυρσερίδες· τὰ τῶν μελισσῶν ἀγγεῖα, κυψελίδες 'honeycomb, beehives' (H.), pointing to *κυρσέρα, but this was rather not formed after κρησέρα 'fine sieve' (as per Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 202).
•ETYM There is no convincing etymology. ►κάρταλλος, which was connected by Frisk and DELG, is clearly Pre-Greek. Müller-Graupa *Glotta* 31 (1951): 132 implausibly suggested that κύρτος properly means 'wicker-work', and is a substantivized form of κυρτός 'curved'. IE **kr̥t-o*- (Schwyzer: 351) was traditionally assumed, based on comparison with Skt. *kárṭa*- [m.] 'wicker-work, mat' (phonetically impossible) and a European term for 'wicker-work, hurdle': OHG *hurt*, plur. *hurdi* and Lat. *crātis*; however, this comparison formally points to a disyllabic root **krH-ti*-. The Greek word is excluded from such a reconstruction, and there is no further evidence for a root **krH*- in this meaning in Indo-European (**kert*- 'to plait', in the Skt. nasal present *kr̥ṇátti* 'to spin', is formally deviant from the Latin word). In Baltic, we find OPr. *corto* 'hedge', which is unclear. If κυρσ-ερ- belongs here, the word could be Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 258, who also tentatively compares Hitt. *kurtal(i)*- 'container of wood or wicker-work'.

κῦρω [v.] 'to hit (upon), meet with, attain, obtain' (Il.), cf. Trümpy 1950: 118. ◄?►
•VAR Aor. κύρσαι (Il.), fut. κύρσω (Democr., S.); later pres. κυρέω (A., S.), κυρῆσαι (Hes.), κυρήσω (Hdt., A.), κεκύρηκα (D. S.). On the inflection see Chantraine *BSL* 28 (1927-1928): 26f. and 38.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι-, προσ-, συν-.

•DER Few derivatives: κύρμα 'catch, booty' (Hom.); συγ-, προσ-, ἐγ-κύρησις, συγ-κύρημα 'meeting, concurrence, etc.' (Hell.), συγ-κυρία 'coincidence' (Hp., *Ev. Luc.*).
•ETYM No etymology. Not related to ►καιρός or ►κυρίττω.

κύσθος 1 [m.] 'pudenda muliebra' (Eup., Ar.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR κυσός· ἡ πυγή. ἢ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον 'buttocks; pudenda muliebra' (H.), also in the sense of ►κύστις (Herod., Call.), with long υ acc. to Pfeiffer 1949-1953 ad *Call.* 191, 98.
•COMP κυσθο-κορώνη = νύμφη, 'clitoris' (*Com. Adesp.*); κυσολαμπίς. ἡ περιλαμπομένη ταῖς νυξὶ κανθαρίς 'beetle lighting up at night' (H.); cf. Strömberg 1944: 13f.; κυσο-βακκαρις· ὁ τὸν κυσόν μυρίζων 'who is rubbing the κ. with ointment' (*Com. Adesp.* 1062); κυσο-λάκων = παισεραστής 'pederast' (*Com. Adesp.* 1066); κυσο-νίπτης· πόρνος 'catamite' (H.); κυσο-χήνη (H.); κυσο-δακνιᾷ· ψωριᾷ 'has the itch, scab or mange' (from δάκνω, with -ιάω after other verbs of disease); also κύσσαρος 'anus' (Hp., Gal., Erot.); on the formation Chantraine 1933: 226; cf. also ►κύτταρος.
•DER κυσιᾷ· πασχητιᾷ 'feels lust'; κυσανίζει (H.).
•ETYM The previous explanation, as a derivation **kud^h-d^{h}o-* from ►κεύθω 'to hide', is doubtful, as it does not explain ►κυσός. The alternation of κύσθο- with κυσό- suggests a Pre-Greek word. Perhaps κύτταρος is a further variant. Cf. the variation in μασθός, μαζός, μαστός 'breast'.

κύσθος 2 [n.] of unclear mg. (*PHolm.* 22, 42 ; 23, 2), see Lagercrantz 1913: ad loc. ◄PG?(V)►
•VAR Also χύστος.
•ETYM Unknown. If κύσθος = χύστος, the word is probably Pre-Greek, with variation -σθ- / -στ-.

κύστις, -εως [f.] 'bladder, pouch, small bag' (Il.). ◄IE? **ḱues-* 'hiss, sigh'; PG?►
•VAR Gen. also -ιος, -ιδος; also κύστιγξ (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 116), perhaps after φῦσιγξ (Chantraine 1933: 400, Schwyzer: 498).
•DER κύστη· ἄρτος σπογγίτης 'sponge-like bread' (H.) and κύστιον· τὸ ἁλικάκκαβον (H.), a plant name, after the shape of the fruit.
•ETYM Wackernagel 1916: 227 analyzed it as a suffix -τι-, added to the zero grade of a root 'to blow, hiss', found in Skt. *śvas-iti*, ptc. *śuṣ-ántam* [acc.] < PIE **ḱues-*. The further comparison of this Skt. root with Lat. *queror* is far from evident (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). The connection is possible, but not evident; as an alternative, the suffix -ιγξ could point to a Pre-Greek word. Not to be connected are ►κύσθος, κυσός, etc.

κύτινος [m.] a flower, properly the calyx of the pomegranate (Thphr., Dsc., Gal.) also 'Cytinus hypocisthis' (Dsc. 1, 97), because of the similarity with the flower of the granate. ◄PG(V)►
•DER κυτινώδης (Thphr.).
•ETYM Because of the mg. 'calyx', the word has been connected with κύτος 'hollow, vessel' (like ἄνθινος with ἄνθος). However, Fur.: 182 compares κύταρον· ζωμήρυσις 'spoon', κύδαρος, ον 'small ship', ►κύτταρος 'cell of a honeycomb', as well as 'calyx

of the Egyptian bean' (Thphr.), 'calyx of an acorn' (Thphr.), κυττοί 'receptacles', κύστεροι = ἀγγεῖα τῶν μελισσῶν 'honey-comb' (H.). This points to a Pre-Greek word (variation τ/ δ/ ττ, etc.).

κύτισος [m., f.] 'cytisus, Medicago arborea' (IA). ◂PG▸
•DIAL Myc. *ku-te-so* /kutesos/.
•ETYM A foreign word, like ▸κέρασος. The variation *e/i* shows that it is Pre-Greek.

κυτμίς, -ίδος [f.] a soothing salve prepared from the fat of goats (Luc. *Alex.* 22, 53). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM Diminutive formation. Origin unknown; probably Pre-Greek.

κύτος [n.] 'rounding, vault of a shield, of a cuirass or a vessel, etc.', 'vessel, trunk, body' (trag., com., Pl. *Ti.* and *Lg.*, Arist., Plb.). ◂IE? **(s)kHu-t-* 'cover, skin, etc.'▸
•DER ▸ἐγκυτί 'to the skin'. Uncertain is κυτίς 'cupboard, box' (sch. Ar. *Pax* 665), which may stand for κοιτίς.
•ETYM Best connected with the group of σκῦτος 'leather, skin', Lat. *cutis* 'skin', the Gm. group of OHG *hūt* 'hide', as well as OPr. *keuto* 'skin', Lith. *kiáutas* 'shell, rind' < **keHu-to-*, ToA *kāc* probably 'skin' < **kwāc* < **(s)kuHt-i-/-es-*. The variation of long and short *u* in σκῦτος next to κύτος is problematic, but may be explained by assuming a root **(s)kHu-* and pretonic shortening of the resulting long vowel in Latin (see Schrijver 1991: 239f.). In Greek, the sequence would undergo metathesis only in accented position, thus **sk(é)Hu-t-* > σκῦτος, while **kHu-t-és-* [obl.] and **-kHu-tí-* would yield κύτος and ἐγκυτί.
The word is sometimes split in two: 1. 'skin', 2. 'sth. hollow', with connection of the second group to the group of ▸κυέω (see Frisk), but this has to meet the difficulty that it would have to show long ῡ < IE **ḱuh₁-*, which it does not. There seems no reason to connect ▸κυέω.

κύτταρος [m.] 'cell of a honeycomb, pit in the receptacle of the searose (Nelumbium speciosum), the calyx in which the acorn is located, the male flower of the pine' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•VAR Also κύσσαρος 'anus'.
•DER Diminutive κυττάριον 'bee-cell' (Arist.).
•ETYM Uncertain, but probably Pre-Greek. κύσσαρος may be the Ionic form of κύτταρος, but in any case the most likely option is that both are variants of ▸κύτινος, κυσός, and ▸κύσθος.

κῦφελλα [n.pl.] 'hollows of the ears' (Lyc.), 'clouds of mist' (Lyc., Call.). ◂PG▸
•ETYM An Alexandrian word. Probably the same Pre-Greek word as ▸κύπελλον (variation π/ φ). The meaning 'clouds' is explained by reference to Lat. *cava nubes*, *umbra* (Persson 1912(1): 195).

κυφός ⇒κύπτω.

κύχραμος [m.] name of an unknown migratory bird, which accompanies the quail (Arist.); see Thompson 1895 s.v. ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also κέ-, κί- (v.ll.); κιγκράμας· ὄρνεον 'bird' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Clearly a Pre-Greek word, because of the variants.

κυψέλη [f.] 'chest, box, beehive' (Hdt., Ar., Plu.), 'earwax' (com.), 'hollow of the ear' (Poll., H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also -άλη (pap.), cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 22.
•DER κυψέλιον 'beehive', -ελίς 'bird-nest' (Arist.), 'earwax' (Ruf., Aret.), with κυψελίτης ῥύπος (*EM*), see Redard 1949: 112; back-formation κύψελος [m.] name of a bird like the swallow (Arist., H.), cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.
•ETYM Not related to κύπη, etc. (s.v. ▸κύπελλον), nor derived from κύπτω 'to bend (forward), stoop'. Fur.: 327 compares κυψέλον· κύβερτον μελισσῶν '... of bees' (H.), etc. Clearly a Pre-Greek word, given the variants; cf. also κυβέλη 'hollow'.

κύων [m., f.] 'dog, bitch' (Il.). ◂IE **ḱuon-* 'dog'▸
•VAR Gen. κυνός, acc. κύνα.
•DIAL Myc. *ku-na-ke-ta* /kun-$^{(h_2)}$āgetās/.
•COMP Several compounds, e.g. κυν-ηγέτης, Dor. -āγέτας, -āγός "leader of dogs", 'hunter' (ι 120); see Chantraine 1956a: 83ff.; ἀπό-κυνον plant name 'Marsdenia erecta' (Dsc., Gal.); see Strömberg 1940: 65 and 143; on ▸κυνάμυια s.v.
•DER Diminutives κυν-ίσκος (Hdt.), -ίσκη (Ar.), -ίδιον, -άριον (Att.); κυνώ [f.] 'female dog', also as a PN (Hdt.); κυνέη 'dog's skin' (Anaxandr.), 'cap, helmet', originally made of dog's skin, later from other materials (cf. αἰγείη, χαλκέη, etc.; Schwyzer: 37, Trümpy 1950: 40ff.); κυνάς [f.] 'belonging to a dog, dog hair, etc.' (Theoc.); κύνειος, -εος 'belonging to a dog' (Ar.), 'shameless, impudent' (Il.), κυνικός 'dog-like, cynical' (X., Men.), κυνώδης 'dog-like' (Arist.); comp. and superl. κύντερος, -ον, -τατος 'more shameless, impertinent'; κυνηδόν [adv.] 'like a dog' (S., Ar.); κυνίζω "to play the dog", i.e. 'to live as a cynic', κυνισμός (Apollod. *Stoic.*).
•ETYM The name of the 'dog' is preserved in most IE languages: e.g. nom. κύων, Skt. *śvā́*, Lith. *šuõ*, gen. κυνός, Skt. *śúnas*, Lith. *šuñs*, etc. (the Gr. accentuation is oldest), from IE **ḱuō(n)*, gen. **ḱun-ós*, etc. For Lat. *canis*, Schrijver 1991: 461 assumes that a development **wo* > **wa* in open syllable yielded an acc.sg. PIt. **kwanem*. The word is also found in Anatolian: Hitt. ^{LÚ}*kuuan-* [c.] 'dog-man', gen.sg. *kūnaš*, HLuw. *ṣwan(i)-* [c.] 'dog'. The paradigm is strange because of the lack of an old *e*-grade in the ablaut pattern.

κῶα · ἐνέχυρα 'pledges' (H.).
•VAR Also κώϊον· ἐνέχυρον (H.).
•ETYM See on ▸κοῖον.

κῶας [n.] 'soft, hairy skin; fleece' (Il.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR κῶς (Nicoch. 12); plur. κώεα, -εσι.
•DIAL Myc. *ko-wo* /kōwos/.
•DER Diminutives κῴδ-ιον (Att.), -άριον (com.); κωδᾶς, -ᾶτος [m.] 'dealer in fleece' (pap.).
•ETYM Without etymology. If the group of ▸κύτος < IE **(s)kHu-t-* is connected, it is unnecessary to assume a lengthened grade, since **koHu-es-* or **keh$_3$u-es-* would do for the oblique forms. However, this does not explain the nom. in -ας. The inflection

is unusual: the -ε- would fit the Myc. nom. *ko-wo*, but -ας can hardly be explained by analogy. Perhaps these inflectional irregularities can be understood if we assume that the inflection of a Pre-Greek word was adapted to Greek.

κῶβαξ [m.] · ὁ μέγας τέττιξ 'the large cicala' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Acc. to Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 321f., it belongs to ▶καύαξ, etc. with β for ϝ. In any case, it is a Pre-Greek word.

κωβιός (-ίος) [m.] name of a fish like the goby or gudgeon (IA). ◁LW Akk.?, PG?▷

•DER Diminutive -ίδιον (com., Arist.); also as a plant name 'τιθύμαλλος, Euphorbia' (Dsc., Plin.); κωβῖτις 'kind of ἀφύη' (Arist.), see Redard 1949: 83; κωβιώδης (Plu.).

•ETYM Probably a loan from a Mediterranean language, perhaps from Pre-Greek. Lat. *gōbius (c-)*, *gōbiō (c-)* is borrowed from Greek. Fur.: 328[21] compares Akk. *kuppū*, *gubbu* name of a fish.

κώδεια [f.] 'poppyhead, capsule of the grape hyacinth, etc.' (Ξ 499, Nic.), also other plants and comparable objects. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Variants κώδεα, -υια, -ύᾱ, -ία (Delos, Att. inscr., Arist., Thphr.).

•DER κώδυον 'head of purse tassels' (Thphr.), like κάρυον to καρύη.

•ETYM No cognates. Kalén 1918: 24 has shown that κώδυια is the oldest form, but this does not necessarily imply that the variants are secondary analogical creations. Fur.: 195, 198 showed that the variants point to Pre-Greek origin; he compares words for 'cup', e.g. ▶κώδων 'bell', κοτύλη 'cup', κόνδυ, ▶κώθων, but also Etr. *qutum*. Cf. Beekes 1998: 25f. and *Pre-Greek*: Suffixes sub -αι-/-ε(ι)-.

κώδων, -ωνος [m., f.] 'bell, (sound of a) trumpet' (IA). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP κωδωνο-φορέω 'to carry the bell round (of inspection of the guards), etc.' (Ar.).

•DER Diminutive κωδώνιον (J.); κωδωνίζω [v.] 'to test a coin by its sound' (Ar.). Cf. Κώδαλος PN (Hippon.), Nehring *Sprache* 1 (1949): 166.

•ETYM Previously taken as a formation like ἄμιβων, κώθων from κώδεια, -υια, analogous to αἴθων: αἴθυια (Kalén 1918: 26). As Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 232 remarks, there is no corresponding verb, which makes the construction doubtful. The word has been shown to be Pre-Greek by Fur.: 198f.; see on ▶κώδεια.

κώθων, -ωνος [n.] name of Laconian drinking utensils (Archil., Ar., X., inscr.), 'drinking-bout, feast' (LXX, Thasos), = κωβιός (Sicilian; Nic., Apollod. *apud* Ath. 7, 309c); also name of the inner harbor of Carthage (Str., App.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP κωθωνο-πλύται [pl.] 'washers of the fish κώθων (?)' (Sophr.).

•DER Diminutive κωθώνιον (inscr. V[a], etc.); κωθωνία 'deep potation' (Aret.), Scheller 1951: 41; κωθωνίζομαι 'to drink hard, carouse' (Arist., Hell.), κωθων-ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήριον (Arist.). Also κῶθα· ποτήρια 'drinking-cups' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 199 compares ▶κώδων. He further compares Mingrel. *koto* 'cup' and Georg. *kotoxi* 'id.'. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

κώκαλον [adj.] · παλαιὸν καὶ εἶδος ἀλεκτρυόνος 'old; kind of cock' (H.). ◁?▷

•DER PNs like Κώκαλος, Κῶκος, Κωκᾶς, etc. (L. Robert 1963: 312ff.).

•ETYM Unknown.

κωκύω [v.] 'to lament, wail' (Il., late prose). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Aor. κωκῦσαι.
•COMP With prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-.
•DER κωκῡτός [m.] (Il.), κώκῡμα (trag.) 'lamenting, wailing'; Κώκυτος name of a river in the underworld (κ 514, etc.).
•ETYM It has been assumed that the verb has intensive reduplication, by comparison with Skt. *káuti, kokūyate* 'to wail' (intens.), but these are only attested in grammarians; as argued by Tichy 1983: 266, the word is non-Indo-European.

κωλακρέται [m.pl.] name of financial officers in early Athens, chairmen of the main treasury (inscr., Ar., Arist.). ◁GR▷
•DER κωλακρετέω [v.] 'to be a κ.' (inscr.).
•ETYM From earlier *κωλ-αγρέται with assimilation, thus originally "collector of the κῶλα", i.e. the sacrificial pieces, and an old sacral expression; for the second member, see on ▶ἀγείρω. See further ▶κῶλον.

κῶλον [n.] 'member (of animal or human being), body part, especially the leg' (IA), also metaphorical, e.g. of part of a period (Rhet.), often plur., e.g. in the mg. 'corpse' (LXX, NT). ◁PG?▷
•COMP Several compounds, e.g. ἰσό-κωλος 'with equal members' (Arist.), ἀκρο-κώλια 'extremities', ὑπο-κώλια 'thigh of an animal'.
•DER Diminutives κωλάριον (Ael.), κωλύφιον (Phryn., Plaut.), cf. Lat. *cōlyphium*; κωλέα, -ῆ (Att.), κωλήν, -ῆνος [f.] (IA), κωλεός [f.] (Epich., Hp.) 'bones of the hip together with its flesh, ham' (Solmsen 1909: 124); κώληψ, -ηπος [f.] 'hollow of the knee' (Ψ 726, Nic.); with a different suffix κώληξ 'id.' (sch.), which shows that the second member probably does not contain the root of ▶ἅπτω, as assumed by Bechtel 1914 s.v.; κωλώτης [m.] 'lizard' (Hp., Arist., Babr.), cf. Lat. *lacerta* 'lizard' to *lacertus* 'upper arm' (see WH s.v.). Denominative κωλίζομαι 'to be arranged in κῶλα' (late).
•ETYM No obvious cognates. The Balto-Slavic group of OCS *kolěno* 'knee', Ru. *koléno* 'knee, stem, lineage', Ru. *člen* 'member, body-part', Lith. *kelỹs* 'knee' (root *$k^{w}el(H)$- 'to turn' or **kelH-* 'to raise') can hardly be related because of the Greek vocalism. Specht *KZ* 55 (1928): 19 presumed that an *o*-grade aorist was found in κόλσασθαι· ἱκετεῦσαι 'to supplicate' (H.), but is this form cognate at all? The word ▶σκέλος is unrelated. It should be noted that Pre-Greek has a suffix -ηξ (as in νάρθηξ, κύμηξ).

κωλύω [v.] 'to hinder, prevent' (Sapph., Pi., IA). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. κωλῦσαι.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-, ἀπο-.
•DER κώλυμα 'obstacle' (IA), κωλυμάτιον 'catch, clutch in a machine' (Hero); κωλύμη (Th.), κώλυσις 'hindering' (Pl., Arist.); κωλυτήρ (Archyt.), -τής (IA) 'who hinders', κωλυτήριος (D. H.), κωλυτικός (X., Arist., Hell.) 'hindering'.
•ETYM One hypothesis (which goes back to Meillet) starts from from *κῶλος in the sense of 'wooden pin': the word would originally mean "to fasten with a pin", to hinder the freedom of movement of animals; the ending would have been reshaped

after λύω (hardly credible). Others (Meillet *MSL* 16 (1910-1911): 244, Fraenkel 1937: 357) connected it with ►κολούω 'to mutilate'. There is no etymology.

κῶμα [n.] 'deep, sound sleep' (Il.), 'lethargy, coma' (medic.). ◅?▻

•DER κωματώδης 'lethargic'; κωμαίνω, κωματίζομαι [v.] 'to lie in a coma', κωμόομαι 'to fall into a coma' (medic.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Brugmann's proposal (Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 317) to connect it with ►κεῖμαι as **kōi-mn̥* is unacceptable because of the lengthened grade. Cf. Porzig 1942: 281.

κώμη [f.] 'village', as opposed to a strengthened πόλις, also 'district, part of a city' (Hes.). ◅?▻

•COMP E.g. κωμό-πολις 'town with the position of a κώμη, market town' (Str., NT), cf. Schulze 1933a: 523[2].

•DER Diminutives κώμιον (Str.), κωμάριον (H.), -ύδριον (Porph.); further κωμήτης (IA), κωμέτας (Mycenae II[a]) 'inhabitant of a village or district', κωμητικός 'belonging to a κώμη (or a κωμήτης)' (pap.); κωμαῖος 'regarding a κ.' (St. Byz.); κωμηδόν 'per village' (Str., D. S., D. H.).

•ETYM The reconstruction of a lengthened grade form **ḱōi-m-h₂*, connected with the Germanic group of Go. *haims* 'village' and the Baltic group of Lith. *káima(s)* '(farmers') village', *kiẽmas* 'farmstead' has now been abandoned, because such lengthened grade formations cannot be accounted for in PIE terms. Thus, the word remains unexplained.

κῶμος [m.] 'revel, carousal, merry-making of youths, Dionysiac festive procession and festive songs, festival' (post-Hom.). ◅IE? **ḱomso-* 'praise', PG?▻

•COMP κωμ-ῳδός 'singer of a κῶμος' (Att.), 'comic player' (Hell.) with -έω, -ία, etc., σύγ-κωμος 'comrade of a κ.' (Att.; rather back-formation from συγ-κωμάζω).

•DER κωμικός = κωμῳδικός 'belonging to a comedy' (Aeschin., Arist., Hell.); κωμάζω 'participate in a κῶμος, drink' (post-Hom.) with κωμασία 'festive procession', κωμαστής 'drinker, member of a festive procession' (Att., pap.), κωμαστήριον 'place where κωμασταί assemble' (pap.), κωμαστικός 'belonging to a κωμαστής or a κῶμος' (D. H., Ph.).

•ETYM As the precise development of the meaning of κῶμος is uncertain, etymological suggestions remain highly hypothetical. Recently, connection with Skt. *śáṃsa-* 'praise, judgement' has been assumed; see e.g. Schlerath *RPh.* 74 (2000): 273 (discussion in Hackstein 2002: 190). I suggest that this is a Pre-Greek word.

κώμυς, -ῦθος [f.] 'bundle, truss of hay' (Cratin., Theoc.), also = δάφνη, ἣν ἱστῶσι <πρὸ> τῶν πυλῶν 'laurel, which is put in front of the gate' (H.), 'place where the reed is closely grown with the roots' (Thphr.). ◅PG(S)▻

•ETYM The formation with the suffix -ῡθ- clearly points to Pre-Greek origin.

κώνειον [n.] 'hemlock, Conium maculatum, hemlock drink, poisonous drink' (IA). ◅PG(V)▻

•DER κωνειάζομαι 'to be dosed with hemlock' (Men., Str.).

•ETYM The word can hardly be separated from ►κῶνος. The plant may owe its name to its narrow leaves with pointed teeth. On the European names, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 294f.; on the many Greek epithets of the plant, see Strömberg 1940: 64. Fur.: 121 connects not only ►κῶνος, but also κονή and ►ἀκόνῑτον, so it is a Pre-Greek word.

κῶνος [m.] 'fruit of the pine cone, cone' also 'pine' [f.], 'top' (Democr., Arist., Thphr., Theoc.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR κώνητες· θύρσοι 'thyrsoi' (H.), κώνης 'the stave of Bacchus and the Bacchantes, ending in a pine cone'. Further cf. γονής· νάρκισσος τὸ φυτόν 'narcissus' (H.); κῶνα = πίσσα 'pitch'; κώνα· βέμβιξ 'whipping-top' (H.).

•COMP E.g. κωνο-φόρος [f.] 'conifer' (Thphr.), κωνο-κόλουρος 'truncated cone', beside κολουρό-κωνος 'id.' (Hero), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 284, Strömberg 1944: 8.

•DER Diminutive κωνίον, -ιον (Posidon., *AP*), κωνίς· ὑδρίσκη 'little water vessel' (H.); κωνῖτις πίσσα 'pine resin' (Rhian.), κωνίας (οἶνος) 'resinated wine' (Hp. *apud* Gal.; Chantraine 1933: 94 f.); κωνάω 'resinate, pitch', also 'spin' (Ar., H.), with κώνησις 'resinating, pitching' (Arist.), -ητικός 'suitable for pitching' (pap.); περι-κωνέω 'smear with pitch' (Ar.).

•ETYM Often identified with Skt. *śāṇa-* [m.] 'whetstone, touchstone' (assuming MInd. *ṇ* for *n*), derived from a verb 'to whet, sharpen' in Skt. *śíśāti* < **ḱi-ḱeh*$_3$-. To this root also belongs Lat. *cōs*, gen. *cōtis* 'whetstone' and *catus* 'sharp, clever', OIr. *cath* 'wise, able', etc. Schwyzer: 458, however, considered foreign origin; this is confirmed by the variants adduced in Fur.: 121 (most notably ►ἀκόνῑτον).

κώνωψ, -ωπος [m.] 'gnat, mosquito' (A., Hdt. 2, 95. Arist.). ◅PG(S)▻

•COMP κωνωπο-θήρας· ὄρνις ὁ κώνωπας θηρεύων 'bird hunting gnats or mosquitoes' (H.).

•DER Diminutive κωνώπιον (Gal.), usually 'couch with mosquito curtains' (LXX); also -εών, -ῶνος [m.] 'id.' (*AP* 9, 764 tit.).

•ETYM As Frisk already remarked, the connection with κῶνος and ὤψ (ὄψ) is far from evident semantically, and formally it is also improbable. Spiegelberg *KZ* 41 (1907): 131 derives it from Eg. *ḥamś* 'gnat', with adaptation to κῶνος. The form κωνώπιον would have been remodelled by folk etymology from earlier *κανώπιον, the Egyptian town *Canōpus*; see WH s.v. *cōnōpium*. Since there is no good etymology, and since the suffix -ωπ- is frequent in Pre-Greek words, substrate origin is the only plausible option.

κῶος [m.] 'cavern, prison' (Str., St. Byz.). ◅?▻

•VAR Usually plur. κῶοι.

•ETYM A variant with long vowel of κόοι· τὰ χάσματα τῆς γῆς 'clefts of the earth' (H.); see on ►κοῖλος.

κώπη [f.] 'grip (of a sword, an oar), oar, stalk' (Il.). ◅IE **k(e)h*$_2$*p-* 'take, hold'▻

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. κωπ-ήρης 'provided with oars' (trag., Th.).

•DER Diminutive κωπίον (Ar.); κωπήεις 'with a good grip' (Il.), see Trümpy 1950: 62; κωπεῖς [m.pl.] 'wood fit for making oars, spars' (IA), κωπεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'id.'

(Thphr.); κωπητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'leather thong for the oar' (cf. Bergson *Eranos* 55 (1957): 120ff.); κωπεύω [v.] 'to row' (*AP*), κωπάω (-έω) in perf. med. κεκώπηται 'is provided with oars' (Att. inscr., H.). On ►κωπώ, see s.v.

•ETYM Old verbal noun from ►κάπτω, so IE **koh₂p-h₂-* (without a lengthened grade, cf. Hamp *MSS* 43 (1984): 51f.). For the meaning, cf. Lat. *capulus* 'grip'.

κωπώ, -οῦς [f.] 'wreathed staff used in the Daphnephoria' (Boeot.; Procl.). ◅GR▻

•DER Also as a PN.

•ETYM Personification in -ώ (Schwyzer: 478) of κώπη. Not related to κῆπος 'garden', as per Schönberger *Glotta* 29 (1942): 87ff. and Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 558ff.

κώρυκος [m.] 'leather sack' (Od.). ◅PG▻

•DER κωρυκίς (com., Thphr.), κωρύκιον, -ίδιον (Poll., Suid., H.) and κωρυκώδης 'sack-like' (Thphr.). Cf. the TN ►Κώρυκος, a promontory in Cilicia.

•ETYM The resemblance with Lat. *corium*, etc. (Pok. 939) is deceptive. Fur.: 328[21] compares Hitt. *kurk-* 'to retain'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, with the suffix -υκ-.

Κώρυκος [m.] a promontory in Cilicia (*h. Ap.*). ◅PG▻

•DER Also -αῖος; also Κωρύκιον ἄντρον a cave on the Parnassos, with Κωρύκιαι νύμφαι, etc. (Hdt., trag.).

•ETYM The structure of the word looks like Pre-Greek. It could represent **kāruk-*, for which see κῆρυξ, but I see no way to connect 'messenger'; neither does it belong to the 'leather sack'.

κωτίλος [adj.] 'chattering, babbling' (Thgn., Arist.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also -άς [f.] Boeot. name of the swallow (Stratt.).

•DER κωτίλλω [v.] 'to chatter' (Hes., D. H.); κωτιλίζω 'id.' (Call.); κωτιλία 'chattering' (gloss.).

•ETYM Formation like ποικίλος, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 248), but without etymology.

κωφός [adj.] 'blunt, dumb, mute' (Il.), post-Hom. also 'deaf' (*h. Merc.*). ◅IE?, PG?▻

•COMP E.g. ὑπό-κωφος 'hard of hearing' (IA).

•DER κωφότης 'deafness' (IA), κωφεύς 'deaf man' (Call.), κωφίας [m.] kind of snake = τυφλίας (Ael., H.); κωφεύω [v.] 'to be silent' (LXX), κωφάομαι (-άω) 'to become (make) blunt, etc.' (Clearch., Opp.), κωφῆσαι· κολοῦσαι 'to cut short', κώφησις· κόλουσις 'cutting short' (H.); κωφόομαι 'to become silent or deaf', -όω 'to silence', whence κώφωμα, -ωσις (Hp.).

•ETYM To be connected with ►κηφήν, ►κεκαφηότα; the vocalism could be reconstructed as ablauting **k/gʰ(e/o)h₂bʰ-*, but there is no IE comparandum. If κηφήν is Pre-Greek, the same probably holds for this word.

κώψ 'owl'. ⇒σκώψ.

Λ

λα- prefix with intensifying function. ◂?▸

•COMP Only in isolated and rare words: λᾱ-καταπύγων (Ar. *Ach.* 664, λᾱ- rhythmical lengthening?), λα-κατάρατος (Phot.; λακκ- cod.), λαπτυήρ· σφοδρῶς πτύων, λάφωνοι (Latte: λάφονοι?)· λίαν ἄφωνοι (H.); λαισ- in λαίσπαις· βούπαις. Λευκάδιοι (H.), also λάσπαις (Latte, codd. λαοπαις); λι- in λιπόνηρος· λίαν πονηρός (H.); cf. on ►λίαν. λαι- in PNs, e.g. Λαι-κλῆς, Λαι-σποδίας (Bechtel 1917b: 273, Bechtel *Herm.* 50 (1915): 317).

•ETYM Unknown. Does λαισ- represent Pre-Greek **las*ʸ-?

λᾶας [m.] 'stone' (Il.). ◂PG?(V)▸

•VAR Case forms: gen. λᾶος, -ι, -αν (-α Call. 11, 4), plur. λᾶ-ες, etc.; also as an o-stem λᾶος, -ου, etc. (Hes. *Fr.* 115[?], S., Cyrene, Gortyn), details in Schwyzer: 578. Late also fem.

•DIAL Myc. *ra-e-ja* /lāhejā/ and Cypr. *la-o-se* show that the word did not have a **-w-*.

•COMP Compounds like λᾱ-τόμος (beside uncontracted or restored λαο-) 'stone cutter', with λᾱτομ-ίαι 'quarry' (Arg., Syracus., Hell., see Ruijgh 1957: 125f.), = Lat. *lātomiae* beside *lautumiae* < *λαο- (see WH s.v.); λα(ο)-ξό(ο)ς with λαξεύω, etc. (Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 165f.), λατύπος; as a second member in κραταί-λεως (< *-ληος or *-λᾶος, see below) 'with hard rock' (A., E.), probably also in ὑπο-λαΐς, -ίδος (H. also -ληΐς) [f.] name of an unknown bird (Arist.); cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.; see also ►λαιός 2.

•DER As a TN (Laconia) Λᾶς and Λᾶ (Th., Paus., St. Byz., et al.), with Λᾶᾶν [acc.] (B 585). Further λάϊγγες [f.pl.] 'small stones' (Od., A. R.); λάϊνος, -ῖνεος '(made of) stone' (Il.); uncertain λαιαί [f.pl.] (Arist.), λεῖαι (Gal.), λεία [sg.] (Hero) 'stones used as weights to keep the threads of the warp straight in the upright loom'; unclear are λαίεται· καταλεύεται 'is lapidated' (H.) and λαυστήρ· μοχθηρός 'troublesome' … ἢ οἴκου λαύρα 'alley [or privy] of a house', λαύστρανον· τινὲς λύκον (in the sense of 'hook', see LSJ), τινὲς φρέατος ἅρπαγα 'the hooks of a well (for drawing up buckets)' (H.).

•ETYM The unique stem formation of λᾶας is unexplained. An old neuter has been supposed, with secondary transition to msc. (later fem.) gender after λίθος, πέτρος. An IA form seems to be reflected in κρα·ταί-λεως, but it may be an epicism.

Since the Mycenaean and Cypr. forms show that the word had no **-w-*, all earlier hypotheses starting from a pre-form with **-ϝ-* can now be forgotten (unless the ϝ was lost between like vowels at a very early stage). The relation to ►λεύω, ►λαύρα

has therewith become unclear; all we can do is assume a stem **lāh-*. See Heubeck *IF* 66 (1961): 29-34. Fur.: 239 compares λέπας 'rock'; he considers λαίνθη· λάρναξ λιθίνη (Cyr.) to be proof of Pre-Greek origin.
Non-Greek correspondences to λᾶας are all doubtful, e.g. Alb. *lerë, -a* 'stone, heap of stones, stony plain, rockslope' from PAlb. *leurā* (Demiraj 1997), OIr. *líe*, gen. *líac* < PCl. **līu̯ank-* (taken up by Matasović 2008 s.v. **līwank-*).

λαβά [f.] · σταγών 'drop' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Macedonian for λοιβά, acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 18f.

λαβάβηρ [?] · λακανίσκη 'small dish' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Lewy *KZ* 59 (1932): 187f. considers it a loan of Lat. *lavābrum* 'bathing-tub' by Palestinian Jews (otherwise unknown).

λάβδα [n.] the eleventh letter of the Greek alphabet (Att.); later (with secondary nasal) λάμβδα (Ar., Arist. as a v.l.). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Indeclinable.
•DER λαβδακισμός [m.] 'special use or pronunciation of the λ' (Quint.); cf. s.v. ▶ἰῶτα on ἰωτακισμός.
•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *lāmedh*. Gr. λαβδ- corresponds to Sem. *lamb-*; see Schwyzer: 140², 826 and Schulze 1933a: 283f. Doubts in Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 307.

λάβρος [adj.] 'furious, boisterous, violent, fierce; gluttonous' (Ion. poet., late prose). ◁PG?(V)▷
•COMP λαβρ-αγόρης 'fierce boaster' (Ψ 479), κατά-λαβρος 'very furious' (Eup. 293), after κατα-λαβεῖν?
•DER Fish-names: λάβρᾶξ, -ᾶκος [m.] 'bass, Labrax lupus' (Alc., com.), see Chantraine 1933: 381, Björck 1950: 262, Strömberg 1943: 34f.; Thompson 1947 s.v.; thence λαβράκιον (com.); λάβριχος (Boeot. [II^a]); see Lacroix 1938: 51.
Abstracts: λαβροσύνη 'furiousness, fierce conversation' (*AP*, Opp.), λαβρότης 'id.' (Ath.) with λαβροσιάων· χορτασμοῦ ἀκόσμου 'disorderly feeding' (H.). Denominative verbs: 1. λαβρεύομαι [v.] 'to discuss furiously' (Ψ 474 and 478), probably after ἀγορεύω (Risch 1937: 333) or μωμεύω, ἐπι-λωβεύω (Debrunner *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 199); 2. λαβρόομαι [v.] 'to rush violently' (Lyc.); 3. λαβράζω = λαβρεύομαι and λαβρόομαι (Nic., Lyc.), whence λαβράκτης = λαβραγόρης (Pratin. Lyr. 5); 4. λαβρύσσει· λαβρεύει, δειλαίνει 'is a coward' (H.); cf. λαφύσσω, etc. (Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 244).
•ETYM The traditional connection with λαβεῖν, λάζομαι is improbable. Fur.: 208 compares λαμυρός 'gluttonous', and further λαφύσσω 'to swallow' (op.cit. 177) and λαῦρος (as an orthographic variant of λάβρος, op.cit. 242). This is uncertain, because these alternations do not conform to a known pattern. If λάβραξ beside λάβριχος is typical, the word seems to be Pre-Greek.

λάβρυς ⇒λαβύρινθος.

λαβρώνιον [n.] 'a large, wide cup' (Men., Diph., H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also λαβρώνιος [m.], -ία [f.] (Eust.).
•ETYM Acc. to Ath. 11, 484c, ἐκπώματος Περσικοῦ εἶδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πίνειν λαβρότητος ὠνομασμένον 'a kind of Persian cup, thus called after the greediness during drinking'. Folk-etymological explanation?

λάβυζος [f.] an unknown spice plant, used by the Persian king (Dinon Hist. [IV^a] *apud* Ath. 12, 514a, H. s.v. κίδαρις). ◅LW Ind.▻
•ETYM The hypothesis by Petersson *KZ* 46 (1916): 146f. (a Persian word, related to Skt. *líbujā* 'liane, climber') is untenable. Acc. to Charpentier *MondOrbis* 13 (1919): 32ff., it is rather an Indic LW, related to the Pāli plant-name *labuja-*. See Brust 2005: 378ff.

λαβύρινθος [m.] 'labyrinth', a great building with many corridors and turns, in Egypt (Hdt., Str.), Crete (Call., D. S.), Anatolia (inscr. Miletus), etc.; metaph. of complicated thoughts (Pl.). ◅PG(S,V)▻
•DIAL Myc. *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* /dap^{h}urint^{h}oio/.
•COMP λαβυρινθώδης 'labyrinth-like, complicated' (Arist.).
•ETYM A Pre-Greek word in -ινθος. The traditional connection with λάβρυς (acc. to Plu. 2,302a Lydian for πέλεκυς), and interpretation as "House of the Double Axe" (a sign of royalty), is speculative. Perhaps the Carian god Δαβραυνδος also belongs here. Connection with λαύρα as a substrate word is possible, but that with λᾶας is difficult, as it has no *-w-*. Cf. Fur.: 397f.

λαγαίω [v.] 'to release' (Crete). ◅EUR?▻
•VAR Aor. λαγάσαι; λαγάσσαι· ἀφεῖναι 'let go' (H.).
•COMP Also with ἀπο-.
•DER ἀπολάγαξις 'release' (Crete).
Several nouns, not directly depending on the verb: 1. λαγαρός 'slack, emaciated, thin' (IA), whence λαγαρότης 'slackness, etc.', λαγαρόομαι [v.] 'to get slack' (*AP*) with λαγάρωσις (Eust.), of στίχοι λαγαροί; also λαγαρίζομαι mg. unclear (com.). 2. λάγανον 'thin cake' (Hell.) with λαγάνιον (late) and λαγανίζω (?; Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 13).
A nasal suffix is also found in semantically deviant 3. λάγνος, -νης 'lascivious, voluptuous' (on the barytone accent see Schwyzer: 489), with λαγνεύω [v.] 'to be lascivious, be lecherous', λαγνεία 'the act of coition, etc.' (IA). 4. *λαγος (*λάξ) 'slack, thin' in λαγόνες [f.pl.] (also msc.), rarely -ών [sg.] 'the hollows on the side, flanks' (IA), and also in ►λαγώς 'hare'.
•ETYM Disyllabic λαγάσαι (: λαγαρός) has a model in the synonym χαλά-σαι (: χαλαρός); λαγαίω is an innovation like κεραίω, ἀγαίομαι (see ►κεράννυμι and ►ἀγα-). A different ablaut grade is usually recognized in ►λήγω, ►λωγάνιον.
A direct correspondence to *λαγος, if from **slago-* (see on ►λήγω), yields a Germanic adjective for 'slack': ON *slakr*, OS *slac*, OE *slæc*, etc., with initial *l-* MLG *lak* 'id.'. In Celtic, we find OIr. *lac* 'id.'. The formal identity of λαγών and MoNw. *lake* 'flap' on the one hand, and of λάγανον and OS *lakan*, OHG *lahhan* 'cloth' on the other, rests on parallel innovations in the separate languages.

Further, λαγαρός is compared with ToA *slākkär* 'sad'. Beside it exists Lat. *laxus* 'slack, weak, etc.' with an *s*-suffix; perhaps also Skt. *ślakṣṇá-* 'slippery, meagre, thin' (if assimilated from **slakṣ-*).
However, as **slh₂g-* would have given **slāg-*, and since Indo-European had no phonemes **a*, *ā*, the above correspondences have not been explained. Perhaps it is necessary to assume a secondary zero grade for the Greek forms. Alternatively, we may be dealing with a European substrate word.

λαγγάζω [v.] 'to slacken' (Antiph., Phot., *AB* [= ἐν- δίδωμι]); λαγγάζει· ὀκνεῖ 'is slow', οἱ δὲ λαγγεῖ (H.); λαγγάσαι· περιφυγεῖν 'to flee' (H.). ◅PG?(V), EUR?▻
•DER Other formations in H.: λαγγεύει· φεύγει, λαγγανώμιενος· περιϊστάμενος, στραγγευόμενος 'avoiding, hesitating', λαγγαρεῖ· ἀποδιδράσκει 'runs away'. λαγγών (for λάγγων?)· ὁ εὐθὺς λανθάνων τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τοῦ φόβου (*EM* 554, 15, cf. Chantraine 1933: 160). With -o-: ►λογγάζω, λογγάσαι.
•ETYM Expressive and popular words, which correspond formally and semantically to Lat. *langueō*, *-ēre* 'to be faint, slack' (with secondary *-u-*) and, like the latter, can be understood as nasalized present formations from λαγάσαι (►λαγαίω). The same problem as with ►λαγαίω holds here: the pervasive *a*-vocalism. Do the forms with -o- point to substrate origin? It is quite possible that the variation λαγ-/λαγγ- is due to Pre-Greek pre-nasalization.
We must separate several Baltic words in the meaning 'to rock, sling, vacillate', like Lith. *langóti*, *lingúoti*; see Fraenkel 1955: 331 (s.v. *láigyti*). The same holds for Gm. words like OHG *slinc* 'left', MoSw. *linka*, *lanka*, *lunka* 'to limp, go slowly, etc.'.

λάγιον [n.] 'kind of cup or vessel' (Delos II[a]). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 121 compares λήκυθος, but this is uncertain. Kronasser 1956: 225 compares Hitt. *laḫan(n)i*, Akk. *laḫannu*, etc. See ►λάγῡνος.

λαγκρύζεσθαι [v.] · λοιδορεῖσθαι 'to be slandered' (Phot.). ◅PG(V)▻
•ETYM A prenasalized form beside λακερύζεσθαι 'id.'; see λακέρυζα s.v. ►λάσκω. Therefore, clearly a Pre-Greek word.

λάγιατα ⇒λαίγματα.

λάγνος ⇒λαγαίω.

λάγῡνος [m., f.] 'flask with a small neck', also as measure (Arist. *Fr.* 499, Hell.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also -ŭ-.
•COMP τρι-λάγυνος 'containing three λ.' (Stesich. 7, pap.), λαγυνο-φόρια [n.pl.] name of an Alexandrinian festival (Eratosth.).
•DER Diminutive λαγύνιον, -υνίς (Hell.); λαγυνάριος 'manufacturer, handler of flasks' (Corycos), Λαγυνίων [m.] name of a parasite (Ath.).
•ETYM Many names for vessels are loans. This one is probably Pre-Greek, because of the interchange ŭ/ū. Puhvel *HED* 5: 6f. compares Hitt. *laḫan(n)i*, Akk. *laḫannu*, etc. From λάγυνος was borrowed Lat. *lagūna*, *-ōna*; also, *lagēna*, from which was taken λάγηνος (Gal.). Cf. ►λάγιον.

λαγχάνω [v.] 'to obtain by lot' (an office, the right of a lawsuit), 'to obtain one's share' (Od.). ◁IE? **leng^{h}*- 'obtain (by lot)'▷

•VAR Aor. λαχεῖν (Il.), caus. λελαχεῖν (Il.), perf. λέλογχα (λ 304), λέλᾰχα (Emp.), εἴληχα (A., Att.), fut. λάξομαι (Hdt.), λήξομαι (Pl.), perf. pass. εἴληγμαι, aor. ληχθῆναι (Att.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἀντι-, συν-.

•DER 1. With old *o*-grade: λόγχη [f.] 'share' (Ion.), with εὔ-λογχος = εὔ-μοιρος (Democr.) and εὔλογ<χ>εῖν· εὐμοιρεῖν (H.). 2. With zero grade: λάξις 'portion, share (of land)' (Hdt., Miletus), Ἀπόλαξις (Eretria); Λάχεσις [f.] name of one of the Moirai, also as an appellative 'share, lot' (Hes., Pi.), perhaps after γένεσις, Νέμεσις; younger formations are λάχος [n.] 'lot, share' (Thgn., Pi., A.; also Arc.) and λάχη (λαχή?) [f.] 'id.' (A. *Th.* 914, H.); cf. on λαχαίνω; PN Λάχης, -ητος [m.] (Th.); λαχμός = λάχος 'id.' (sch., Eust.). 3. With a secondary full grade (see below): λῆξις (σύν-, διά-, ἀντί-) 'allotment, written complaint' (Att.).

•ETYM Old forms are the *o*-grade perf. λέλογχα, λόγχη and the zero grade aor. λαχεῖν, λάξις. Later, εἴληχα, λήξομαι, λῆξις, etc. arose as innovations by analogy with εἴληφα, λήψομαι, λῆψις (after λαγχάνω : λαμβάνω, λαχεῖν : λαβεῖν). No known cognates exist. A noteworthy agreement with Λάχεσις is Messap. *Logetibas* [dat.pl.], to which belongs Λάγεσις· θεός. Σικελοί (H.); if correct, it must be an old loan; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 278ff.

λαγών 'the flanks'. •VAR Plur. -όνες. ⇒λαγαίω.

λαγώς [m.] 'hare', also metaph. of a bird (Thompson 1895 s.v.; cf. λαγωῖς below), of several sea-animals (Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 111), of a constellation (Scherer 1953: 189, 192), and of a bandage (medic.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Att. also λαγῶς (on the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 31[4]); gen. λαγώ (-ῶ), acc. λαγών, analogical -ώ (-ῶ), etc.

•DIAL λαγωός (epic, Arist.), λαγός (Ion., Dor., poet.).

•COMP As a first member in λαγο-δαίτᾱς [m.] 'hare-devourer' (Λ.), λαγω(ο)-βόλον [n.] 'stick for flinging at hares' (Theoc., *AP*), etc.

•DER Diminutives: λαγῴδιον (Ar., pap.), λαγωδάριον (Ph.); λάγιον (X.), λαγίδιον (M. Ant., Poll.), λαγιδεύς (Str.). Adjectives: λαγῷος 'ptng. to a hare', τὰ λαγῷα 'hare-meat, delicacy' (Hp., com.), λαγώειος 'id.' (Opp.), λαγώνεια· λαγοῦ κρέα 'hare's meat' (H.), cf. ταών(ε)ιος from ταώς, -ῶς; λάγειος (of κρέας, Hp.), λάγινος 'ptng. to a hare' (A.). Bird-names: λαγωῖς [f.] (Hor. *Sat.* 2, 2, 22; *leporini coloris* Porph.; cf. WH s.v.). λαγωῖνης· ὄρνις ποιός (H.), cf. κεγχρίνης, ἐλαφίνης, etc.; λαγωδίας = ὦτος a kind of owl (Alex. Mynd. *apud* Ath. 9, 390f); cf. καχρυ-δ-ίας, Chantraine 1933: 203.

•ETYM Traditionally analyzed as *λαγ(ο)-ω[υσ]-ός 'with flabby ears', an adjectival bahuvrīhi of *λαγο- (see on ▸λαγαίω) and οὖς. Cf. Oss. *tærqus* 'hare', properly "long-ear", MoP *xargōš* 'id.', properly "donkey-ear", Berber *bu tmezgīn* "the animal with the long ears" (litt. in Frisk). Probably a taboo word from the language of hunters (e.g. Schwyzer: 38, Havers 1946: 51f.). By contraction and analogy arose λαγώς, λαγός (Schwyzer: 557[1]).

Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967): 85ff. shows that the compound formation *λαγωϝης 'having flabby ears' (which is more probable than an *o*-stem) can actually be restored in Homer, and that it accounts for the Attic forms as well. DELG calls this plausible.

λάδας [?] · ἔλαφος νεβρίας 'a deer dappled like a fawn' (H.). ◅PG?(V)▻
•DER Also PN (Paus. 3, 21, 1).
•ETYM Fur.: 195 connects it with λῆθον· βαλιόν 'dappled' (H.).

λᾰδρέω [v.] 'to run, flee', of the μυκτῆρες, nostrils (Sophr. 135). ◅?▻
•ETYM Uncertain. Fur.: 199 compares λατραβός, λαιδρός, λαθροῦν, λαιθαρύζειν.

Λᾱερτης [m.] name of the father of Odysseus. ◅GR?▻
•ETYM Connected with the root of ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη 'was incited' (H.). DELG adds: "C'est l'homme qui met en mouvement le peuple." For the meaning, one compares the Myc. PN *e-ti-ra-wo*, which is interpreted as Ἐρτι-λαϝος (Palmer 1963: 78). Acc. to Ael. *NA*, it is the name of an insect (a bee or an ant), which we cannot explain; see Gil Fernández 1959: 193.

λάζομαι [v.] 'to seize, grasp, take hold of' (Il.). ◅IE **sleh₂gʷ-* 'seize, grasp'▻
•VAR Also λάζυμαι (*h. Merc.* 316), also Megar., Thess. λαδδουσθη, ουπο-λαδδουνθη, only present stem.
•COMP Also with άντι-, άνα-, προσ-.
•ETYM The more recent formation λάζυμαι was probably created after αἴνυμαι (Schwyzer: 698, Fraenkel *IF* 60 (1952): 132). As a *yod*-present, λάζομαι may continue a pre-form **lag-i̯e/o-* or **lang-i̯e/o-;* given λαβεῖν, ἔ-λλαβε (see ►λαμβάνω), from which λάζομαι can hardly be separated, a labiovelar must be reconstructed: IE **(s)leh₂gʷ-ie/o-*. Connection with the isolated OE *læcc(e)an* 'to seize, grasp', MoE *latch*, seems possible.

λᾰ́θαργοι [m.pl.] 'bit of leather' (Nic. *Th.* 423), acc. to H., τὰ ξυόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βύρσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρβήλων 'what is carved from the hide with a cobbler-knife'; also = σκώληκες 'worms' (H.). ◅PG?(V)▻
•ETYM Technical term without a clear origin. Fur.: 374 connects it with λαίθαργος, and λήθαργος with λάθαργος (Phryn. *PS* 87 B.), but these have a quite different meaning. See ►λαίθαργος.

λαθικηδής, λάθρα ⇒λανθάνω.

λᾰ́θυρος [m.] 'a kind of pulse, chickling, Lathyrus sativus' (Hell.). ◅PG?(S)▻
•VAR Plural also -α.
•DER λαθυρίς [f.] name of a purging plant, 'Euphorbia Lathyris' (Dsc., Gal.); hence Lat. (gloss.) *latridus* [f.] (see André *Ét. class.* 24 (1956): 41f.).
•ETYM No etymology. Only a remote resemblance with the word for 'lentil' (Lat. *lens*, OCS *lęšta*, Ru. *ljača*). The structure (suffix -υρ-) could point to a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.).

λαιαί 'stones of the weaver'. ⇒λᾶας.

λαίγματα [n.pl.] · πέμματα, οἱ δέ σπέρματα, ἱερὰ ἀπάργματα 'cakes, others: seeds, holy firstlings' (H.); λαῖγμα· τὸ ἱερόν (Theognost. *Can.* 9). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Cf. λάγματα (Cyr., Phot.), λαῖτμα· θῦμα 'sacrifice' (H.), cod. λαιτμάθημα; also as a v.l. (cod. Ven.) in Ar. *Av.* 1563 beside λαῖμα, in an uncertain mg.; thus also Suid. with many interpretations (αἷμα, λαιμός, etc.).

•ETYM The variation λα-/λαι- points to a Pre-Greek word.

λαιδρός [adj.] 'bold, impudent, shameless' (Hell. poet.: Call., Nic., Max.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Stem vowel and suffix as in φαιδρός, αἰσχρός. Fur.: 199 connects it with λατραβός, λαθροῦν, λαιθαρύζω, λαιθυράζω, λαδρέω; uncertain. Origin unknown, but possibly Pre-Greek. Note the rather late attestation of the word.

Traditional etymologies do not have much to recommend themselves: Krahe 1955: 129ff. connects Messapian / Illyrian PNs like *Ledrus*, *Laidius*, Σκερδι-λαΐδας, as well as the semantically unclear *laidehiabas* (adj. of *Logetibas*; see ►λαγχάνω), *Polaidehias*. Another suggestion is Lith. *pa-láidas* 'loose, free', *pa-láida* 'looseness', assuming that λαιδρός properly meant 'loose, elated'. A different root grade is found in Lith. *léisti* 'release'. On the Baltic group, see Fraenkel 1955 s.v.

λαιετόν 'townhall' (Su.).

•ETYM See λήϊτον s.v. ►λαός.

λαίθαργος [adj.] 'guileful, treacherous', of dogs which bite unexpectedly (S. *Fr.* 885, Orac. *apud* Ar. *Eq.* 1068); also λαιθάργῳ ποδί (*Trag. Adesp.* 227), explained by H. as λαθραίῳ. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR λαθαργοι· κύνες κρυφίως δάκνοντες 'dogs that bite unexpectedly' (H.).

•ETYM Frisk and others consider it to be identical with ►λήθαργος 'forgetful, lethargic' and take it as a reshaping based on popular words in λαι- (λαιδρός, λαίμαργος, etc.). However, the variation αι/η rather points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 338, 374). Acc. to DELG, the gloss λάθαργοι 'dogs which bite unexpectedly' in H. arose from confusion with λαίθαργοι, but it may also be a different variant. See also ►λάθαργοι.

λαιθαρύζειν · λαμυρῶσαι, διαπράξασθαι 'to be wanton, get something done (by seduction?)' (H.). ⇒λατραβός.

λαικάζω [v.] 'to wench' (com.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR fut. λαικάσομαι.

•DER λαικάστρια [f.] 'strumpet' (com.), also λαικαστής [m.] (Ar. *Ach.* 79); back-formation λαικάς [f.] (Aristaenet. 2, 16; not quite certain); also λαικαλέος (Luc. *Lex.* 12).

•ETYM Resembles ►ληκάω, of which λαικάζω is probably only a variant (cf. ►λαίθαργος). The variation αι/η is typical for Pre-Greek; cf. *Pre-Greek*: section B 6.

λαῖλαψ, -απος [f.] 'furious storm, hurricane' (Il., Hell.). ◁PG?(S)▷

•VAR On λαῖλαμψ see Fur.: 287 Anm. 4.

•DER λαιλαπώδης 'stormy' (Hp.), λαιλαπετός = λαῖλαψ (sch. A. on Λ 495), after ὑετός, etc. Denominative λαιλαπίζω [v.] 'to quake by storms' (Aq.). λαιλαφέτης [m.] 'sender of storms' (*PMag. Leid.* W. 8, 21), haplological for λαιλαπ-αφέτης.
•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek, with intensive reduplication. Fur.: 225 refers to λάλαμις· λαῖλαψ (H.); the corrections by Latte are unnecessary.

λαῖμα ⇒λαίγματα.

λαιμός [m.] 'throat, gullet' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•COMP As a first member in λαιμο-τόμος 'cutting the throat' (E.); on λαίμαργος see below.
•DER Denominatives: 1. λαιμάσσω, -ττω [v.] 'to be voracious' (Ar., Herod.) with λαίμαστρον 'voracious animal', as a term of abuse (Herod.), cf. on ζύγαστρον; 2. λαιμώσσω [v.] 'id'. (Nic. *Al.* 352 as a v.l.); 3. λαιμάω [v.] 'id'. (Hippon.); 4. λαιμάζουσιν· ἐσθίουσιν ἁμέτρως 'eat without a limit' (H.); λαιμίζω [v.] 'to cut the throat, slaughter' (Lyc.).
Nouns: λαιμά [n.pl.] = λαμυρά 'voracious, greedy' (H.; Men. 106, codd. λαῖμα, λῆμα), probably a back-formation to λαιμάω, -άζω, -άσσω; λαιμώρη· ἡ λαμυρίς (Theognost. *Can.* 9, Suid.); cf. especially πληθώρη (on the accent Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 181f.).
A compound that became unclear as such is λαίμαργος 'voracious, carouser' (Arist., Thphr.), from *λαιμό-μαργος (cf. especially γαστρί-μαργος); see Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 165.
•ETYM There seems no basis for the comparison with ►λαῖτμα. Fur.: 225 compares λαιμός 'gefrässig' with λαιφός and λαιφάσσω, which proves Pre-Greek origin. Does λαῖπος belong here, too?

λαινόχειρ · σκληρόχειρ 'with a hard hand' (H.). ◁GR?▷
•ETYM The first member is probably λάϊνος 'of stone'; see ►λᾶας. There is no context, so further analysis is uncertain.

λαῖον [acc.sg.] name of a part of the plough, probably 'ploughshare' (A. R. 3, 1335). ◁?▷
•ETYM No etymology. The -αι- remains unexplained by the comparison with a Gm. word for 'sickle', ON *lé*, MLG *lē*, *lehe* [m.], from PGm. **leu̯an-*, IE **leuon-*. Further, Skt. *laví-* [m.] (Uṇ. 4, 138), *laví-tra-* [n.] (Pāṇ. 3, 2, 184) 'sickle', from a pres. *lunā́ti* 'to cut' (see ►λύω).

λαιός 1 [adj.] 'left' (poet. since Tyrt., A.; late prose). ◁IE **leh₂iuo-* 'left'▷
•VAR ἡ λαιά 'the left hand'.
•DER Diminutive λαίδιον· ἀριστερόν, εὐώνυμον 'left' (H.).
•ETYM Old word for 'left', identical with Lat. *laevus*, OCS *lěvъ*, Ru. *lévyj*, from IE **leh₂i-uo-* (or **lh₂ei-uo-*?). Comparison of λαίβα· ἀσπίς, πέλτη 'shield' (H.) as *λαίϝα "carried in the left hand" is unlikely. On spread and use of λαιός, σκαιός, ἀριστερός, see Chantraine 1956b: 61ff.

The attempt by Fur.: 339 to compare λαφός· ὁ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ χρώμενος 'who uses the left hand' (H.) and establish a substrate etymon should be neglected: λαιός cannot be separated from Lat. *laevus*, etc.

λαιός 2 [m.] a kind of thrush, 'Petrocichla (cyanus, saxatilis)'. ◁GR?▷
•ETYM Perhaps from λᾶας 'stone'; cf. MoGr. πετρο-κόσσυφος 'thrush'. See Thompson 1895 s.v.

λαισήϊα [n.pl.] a kind of shield, made of raw skins (Ε 453 = Μ 426 λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα, Hdt. 7, 91 ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα), used by the Cilicians. ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM For the ending, compare the instrument names in -ήϊον, -εῖον; it recalls λάσιος 'rough', but is further unclear. See Trümpy 1950: 38f.
Fur.: 182 compares λαῖτα· πέλτη 'shield' H., λαίδας· ἡ ἀσπὶς ἀπὸ βύρσης 'shield made of a hide' (Theognost. *Can.* 9, Zonar.), as well as λᾶδος, etc. 'light, cheap cloth', although the latter is not very convincing. The gloss λαισάς· ἡ παχεῖα ἐξωμίς 'thick, one-sleeved tunic' (H.) should probably be excluded as well. If the comparison with λαῖτα and λαίδας is correct, the word must be Pre-Greek.

λαῖτμα [n.] 'depth, gulf of the sea' (Il.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Connected with ►λαιμός 'throat', assuming suffixes -τ-μα (like in ἄε-τ-μ-α, Chantraine 1933: 180). If this connection is correct at all (the semantics are not compelling), it rather points to Pre-Greek origin, from a pre-form **lat^{w}m-* (Fur.: 322[69] rather connects it with the obscure word λαῖμα [n.] [Ar. *Av.* 1563]).

λαῖφα [?] · ἀσπίς (H.); cf. λαίβα· ἀσπίς, πέλτη (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Given the variant, the gloss is clearly Pre-Greek. Note also λαίας· ἀσπίδας (H.); cf. Fur.: 238. Fur.: 170 compares λαῖφος, λαίφη 'old garment, sail', but he gives no further explanation. One may imagine that the sails were made of skins, like the shield.

λαιφάσσω [v.] 'to swallow, gulp down' (Nic. *Th.* 477); λαιφάσσοντες· ψηλαφοῦντες 'groping' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM A cross between λαιμάσσω and λαφύσσω has been proposed, but such crosses are posited too easily, and can hardly be demonstrated. If correct, the gloss λαιφάσσοντες is after ἀφάσσοντες. On the other hand, the variation φ/μ is well-known in Pre-Greek words. The meaning of λαιφαί· ἀναιδεῖς, θρασεῖς, στυγναί, τολμηραί 'shameless, bold, hated, daring' (H.), where Schmidt reads λαιδραί, deviates too much. The word λαιφύς· δάπανος ἢ βορός 'extravagant, gluttonous' (H.), which too is uncertain, looks like a back-formation (acc. to Maas *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 380, it is an error for λάφυξ).

λαῖφος [n.] 'ragged cloth, old garment' (Od., *h. Hom.*); 'cloth, sail' (poet. Alc. Z 2, 7; *h. Ap.* 406). ◁?▷
•VAR λαίφη [f.] 'id.' (Call.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 170 unconvincingly compares ►λαῖφα · ἀσπίς.

λαιψηρός [adj.] 'swift, quick, nimble' (Il.). ◁?▷
•DER λαιψηρά [adv.] (E.; perhaps also X 24, see Leumann 1950: 165f.).

•ETYM The analysis as an expressive transformation of αἰψηρός after e.g. λάβρος 'violent, boisterous' may be possible, but it is not evident. Frisk compares Ζέφυρος ... λάβρος B 148 beside ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα 'the quick paths of the winds', Ξ 17. Another possibility is a compound of ►λα- and ►αἰψηρός.

λακάζω •VAR λακεῖν, λακέρυζα, etc. ⇒λάσκω.

λακάρα, -η [f.] tree-name, probably 'bird cherry, Prunus avium' (Thphr.). ◅?▻
•VAR v.ll. λευκάρα, λακάθη. Cf. the gloss λακάρτη <ἢ> λακάρη· δένδρον τι (H.).
•ETYM Unexplained.

Λακεδαίμων, -ονος [f.] town and country on the river Eurotas (Il.). ◅PG?▻
•DIAL Myc. *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo* /Lakedaimnios/ and *[ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo* /Lakedaimonios/, cf. Lejeune *RPh.* 68 (1994): 165-168.
•DER Λακεδαιμόνιος [m.] 'inhabitant of L.' (Hdt.), also as adj. (fem. almost only Λάκαινα, see ►Λάκων); λακεδαιμονίζω = λακωνίζω (Ar. *Fr.* 95).
•ETYM The meaning of the appellative is unknown, so the name remains without etymology. Several proposals: a) to λακεδάμια· ὕδωρ ἁλμυρὸν ἁλσὶ πεποιημένον [ἅλικι ἐπικεχυμένον Latte], ὅ πίνουσιν οἱ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγροῖκοι 'bitter water [poured over groats] which the M. countrymen drink' (H.); b) the second member is δαίμων in the sense 'part' (Bechtel 1921, 2: 370); c) dissimilated from *Λακεν-αίμων, to ►Λάκων and another ethnonym Αἵμων (Szemerényi *Glotta* 38 (1960): 14ff. with ample discussion).
Acc. to Fick 1905: 90, however, it is rather a Hellenisation of a Pre-Greek word. Frisk thinks that Λάκων is a shortened form of Λακε-δαιμόνιος; the element Λακε- is found in Λάκε-θεν, a deme of Eretria.

λακέρυζα 'sbd. who cries'. ⇒λαγκρύζεσθαι.

λακίς, -ίδος [f.] 'rent, rag, tatters of clothes' (Alc., A.). ◅IE? *lh_2k-▻
•VAR Often λακίδες [pl.].
•DER Denominative λακίζω (also with περι-) [v.] 'to tear' (Lyc., *AP*) with λακίσματα 'shreds' (E.), λακιστός 'torn to shreds' (Antiph.); also λακιδ-όομαι [v.] 'to be torn (to shreds)' (Dsc.). Besides λάκη· ῥάκη. Κρῆτες 'rags' (H.), λάκημα 'rent, fragment' (pap.), cf. on ►λάσκω.
•ETYM The plural λάκη may belong to the *s*-stem **lacus*, supposed in Lat. *lacerāre* 'to tear' (cf. *vulnerāre* : *vulnus*), unless it is a recent innovation from ῥάκη. The adjective *lacer, -era, -erum* 'torn', which is attested later, would then be a back-formation. For λακίς, one could assume both a nominal (*λάκος?) and a verbal basis (Chantraine 1933: 338, Schwyzer: 465), and likewise for λάκημα (cf. Chantraine 1933: 178). The only trace of an old primary verb (which was replaced by λακίζω) is ἀπέληκα· ἀπέρρωγα. Κύπριοι (H.). Latin, too, has given up this verb in favor of denominative *lacerāre*. The Latin *n*-stem *lacin-ia* [f.] 'edge of a garment' belongs here too. An *n*-stem is surmised in MoP *raxna* 'rent, cleft' (Benveniste 1935: 15; doubted by WH s.v. *lacer*).
It is difficult to posit an IE root for λακ- and related forms: perhaps *lh_2k-?

λάκκος 1 [m.] 'pond, cistern, pit, reservoir' (IA). ◁IE? **loku-* 'lake, pond'.▷
•COMP As a first member e.g. in λακκό-πλουτος [m.] 'who hides his wealth in a cistern', epithet of Callias, etc. (Plu.); as a second member in the hypostasis προ-λάκκ-ιον (Arist.), προσ-λάκκ-ιον (Gal.) 'pre-, side-cistern'; cf. προ-άστ-ιον.
•DER λακκ-αῖος 'sprung from a λ.' (Hell.), -ώδης 'full of λ'. (*Gp.*), -άριος 'guard of a λ.' (gloss.), -ίζω [v.] 'to dig a λ.' (Suid.). Λακκίον name of the small harbour in Syracuse (D. S.).
•ETYM Perhaps from IE **loku-*; see Schrijver 1991: 422ff, 475. Greek would have to go back to a zero grade **l̥kṷo-*.
Beside the *o*-stem λάκκος, there are several western and northern languages with an *u*-stem: Lat. *lacus* 'lake, pond, pit, etc.', OIr. *loch* 'lake, pond', OS *lagu* 'lake, water', OCS *loky* 'λάκκος'. It has been assumed that λάκκος stands for *λάκϝ-ος, but the development of **-kṷ-* > -κκ- is unexpected.

λάκκος 2 [m.] 'kind of dye, lac' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 6). ◁LW Ind.▷
•DER λακκόω [v.] 'to dye with lac' (*PLond.* 2, 191, 10 [II^{p}]: σκούτλια ξύλινα λελακκωμένα).
•ETYM From Prākr. *lakkha* < Skt. *lākṣā* 'lac'.

λακπατέω, λακτίζω ⇒λάξ.

λακχά [f.] a plant-name, = ἄγχουσα (Ps.-Democr.). ◁LW Ind.▷
•DER λακχάϊνος (*Edict. Diocl.*).
•ETYM A foreign word, probably from Prākr. *lakkha* 'lac' (see ▶λάκκος 2); cf. the explanation of the borrowing into Lat. *lacca(r)* in Plin. Val. 2, 17: *herba quaedam unde vermiculatae pelles tinguntur*, 'certain herbs by which vermiculated skins are painted'.

Λάκων, -ωνος [m.] 'Laconian, Lacedaemonian', name of an inhabitant of Laconia (Lacedaemon), also as an adjective (fem. also Λακωνίς) 'Laconian, Lacedaemonian' (Thgn., Pi.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Λάκαινα [f.].
•COMP Few compounds like λακωνο-μανέω 'imitate Lacedaemonian manners', μισο-λάκων 'enemy of Sparta' (Ar.).
•DER Λακωνικός 'Laconian' (IA), Λακώνιον name of a female cloth (pap.); λακωνίζω 'behave, be minded or speak like a Laconian' (Att.) with Λακων-ισταί [m.pl.] 'supporters of the L.', -ισμός 'Laconian-friendly behaviour' (X.).
•ETYM Acc. to Dittenberger *Herm.* 41 (1906): 196, hypocoristic for official Λακεδαιμόνιος, which is why the fem. Λάκαινα (for Λακεδαιμονία) is found almost everywhere. Krahe *IF* 57 (1940): 119 supposes the name to be Illyrian and connects *Lacinium*, a promontory in southern Italy, *Iuno Lacinia*.
Fur.: 171[117] thinks that the suffix -αινα is Pre-Greek.

λαλέω [v.] 'to talk, chat, prattle' (Att.), 'to speak' (Arist., Hell.), MoGr. also 'to drive' (of cattle, etc.), properly 'to talk into going'. ◁IE? **lal-* ONOM▷
•VAR Aor. λαλῆσαι.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-, περι-, συν-, ἐκ-.

•DER Backformations: 1. λάλος 'chattering' (Att.) with λαλίσ-τερος, -τατος, also κατάλαλος from κατα-λαλέω; poetical transformations λαλιός, λαλόεις 'id.' (*AP*); 2. λάλη [f.] 'chatter' (*Com. Adesp.*, Luc.).

Other derivations: 1. λαλιά 'chatter, talk' (Att., Hell.), also with κατα-, συν- from κατα-λαλέω. 2. λάλημα, λάλησις 'id.' (Att.). 3. λαλητός 'able to speak' (LXX), περιλάλητος 'much discussed' (Agath.); λαλητικός 'chattering' (Ar.). 4. λαλητρίς [f.] 'gossip' (*AP*), λάληθρος 'twaddler' (Lyc., *AP*), cf. στωμύληθρος, Chantraine 1933: 372f. 5. With extension -γ- (cf. σμαραγέω, οἰμώζω, the suffix -ωγή, etc., Chantraine 1933: 401): λαλαγέω [v.] 'to babble, chirrup, chirp', of unarticulated sounds (Pi., Theoc., *AP*), also λαλάζω, -άξαι [v.] 'id.' (Anacr., H.); also λαλαγ-ή, -ημα, -ητής (Opp., *AP*, H.); λάλαγες· χλωροὶ βάτραχοι … οἱ δὲ ὀρνέου εἶδός φασι 'pale green frogs, … others: a kind of bird' (H.). With geminate: λάλλαι [f.pl.] 'pebbles' (Theoc., H., *EM*).

•ETYM The ending is like in σμαραγέω, κελαδέω, βομβέω and other sound-verbs (cf. Schwyzer: 726[5]). An onomatopoeic elementary formation, like e.g. Lat. *lallāre*, Lith. *lalúoti*, MoHG *lallen*.

λαμβάνω [v.] 'to take, grasp' (post-Hom.). ◁IE **sleh$_2$g^w*- 'take, grasp'▷

•VAR Aor. λαβεῖν (Il.), reduplicated med. λελαβέσθαι (δ 388), pass. λαφθῆναι (Ion.), ληφθῆναι (Att.), λημφθῆναι (Hell.); fut. λάψομαι (Ion.), λά[μ]ψεται (Alc.), see Hamm 1957: 145, 2sg. λαψῇ (Dor.), λήψομαι (Att.), λήμψομαι (Hell.); perf. εἴληφα (Att.), εἴλαφα (Dor.), λελάβηκα (Ion. Dor. Arc., also Att.), med. εἴλημμαι (Att.), λέλημμαι (trag.), λέλαμμαι, λελάφθαι (Ion.).

•COMP Very often with prefixes in various mgs.: ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, παρα-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο-.

•DER Many derivatives are technical words with specific mgs.:

A. From λαβεῖν: 1. λαβή 'grip, point of application, etc.' (Alc. [λάβα], IA), compounds like συλλαβή 'grip, syllable, etc.' (A., Att.); λαβίς [f.] 'grip, clamp, tweezers' (Hell.) with λαβίδιον (Dsc., Gal.), ἀντι-, κατα-, περι-λαβεύς 'handle of a shield, peg, etc.' (H., medic.), λάβιον 'grip' (Str.), ἀπολάβειον 'clamp' (Ph. *Bel.*). 2. -λάβος in compounds like ἐργο-λάβ-ος [m.] 'contractor', whence -έω, -ία (Att., Hell.). 3. -λαβής, e.g. εὐ-λαβ-ής (to εὖ λαβεῖν) 'careful', with -έομαι, -εια (IA). 4. ΛηαβΕτος PN (Att. epigr.).

B. From full-grade forms (λήψομαι, ληφθῆναι): 1. λῆμμα (ἀνά-, etc.) 'acceptance, assumption, etc.' (Att.). 2. λῆψις (ἀνά-, etc.), Hell. λῆμψις 'capture, apprehension, attack of a disease' (Hp., Att.), ἀπό-, διά-λαμψις = ἀπό-, διά-ληψις (Mytil. and Cyme, etc.). 3. -λη(μ)πτωρ, e.g. συλ-λήπ-τωρ with συλλήπτρ-ια 'participant, assistant' (Att.). 4. ἀνα-, κατα-ληπ-τήρ 'scoop', 'clamp', resp. (Hell.), ἀνα-ληπτρ-ίς [f.] 'connection' (Gal.). 5. παρα-λή(μ)π-της 'tax collector' (Hell.), προσωπο-λήπ-της 'who looks after the person' (NT). 6. ληπτικός 'receptive' (Arist.), further in compounds like ἐπιληπτικός 'epileptic' (to ἐπίληψις, Hp.). 7. συλ-λήβ-δην [adv.] 'taken together' (Thgn., A.).

On ►λάβρος, see s.v.; on ἀμφι-λαφής see ►λάφυρον.

•ETYM From Aegin. ληαβών, Att. ΛηαβΕτος and εἴληφα (as well as Hom. ἔλλαβον), we have to infer IE **sl-*. The Hom. present λάζομαι (λαμβάνω was an innovation)

points to IE *-g^w-, so the root must have been IE *$sleh_2g^w$-. The aspiration in εἵληφα may be secondary (cf. Schwyzer: 772); however, perhaps another verb for 'grasp' (see ►λάφῡρα) was involved; some other forms may have been influenced by this verb as well.

The zero grade λαβ- must be secondary anyway, for *$s\underline{l}h_2g^w$- would have yielded a form with long ā. LIV² connects OE *læcc(e)an* 'to seize', but this presupposes two secondary developments: loss of *s*-mobile and creation of *a*-vocalism in the present. See LIV² s.v. *$sleh_2g^w$-. See ►λάζομαι.

λάμβδα ⇒λάβδα.

λάμια ⇒λαμυρός.

λάμπη [f.] 'foam', e.g. on the surface of wine, 'phlegm, mucus'; metaph. 'filth, decay', of the underworld (A. *Eu.* 387, Dsc., Plu.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also λάπη (Hp., Diph.). Fur. 316 adduces λαπτής· λαπτὴν ἔλεγον τὸν παχὺν ἀφρόν 'thick foam' (H.), etc.

•DER λα(μ)πώδης (also -ππ-) 'covered with foam' (Hp., Erot., Gal.), λαμπηρός 'id.' (Hp. *apud* Gal.).

•ETYM The connection with ►λάμπω (see Frisk) does not explain the forms without nasal. These point to a Pre-Greek word. Grošelj Živa Ant. 2 (1952): 212 connects it with ►λέπω. See ►λέμφος.

λαμπήνη [f.] 'a covered wagon' (S. *Fr.* 441, Hell., com., LXX; acc. to Polem. Hist. a Tegeatan word, acc. to others Thessalian). Also ἕδρα, θρόνος (Porphyr. in Ptol. 49). ◅PG(S,V)▻

•VAR Also λαπίνη· ἡ ἅμαξα 'wagon' (Su., Lex. Ambr. ined. 137), probably itacistic for *λαπήνη (Fur.: 285).

•DER λαμπηνικαὶ ἅμαξαι (LXX).

•ETYM Ending like in ἀπήνη, καπᾶνᾱ. The word is evidently Pre-Greek, because of the prenasalization and the suffix -ήνη.

λάμπω [v.] 'to lighten, glow', act. also 'to illuminate' (Il.). ◅IE? *leh_2p- 'glow, light'▻

•VAR Aor. λάμψαι, fut. λάμψω (IA), perf. 3sg. λέλαμπε with present mg. (E.), aor. pass. λαμφθῆναι (J.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. λαμπάς, -άδος [f.] 'torch, torch-race' (IA), also poet. adj. 'lit by torch' (S.); λαμπάδιον 'small torch' (Att.); λαμπαδ-ίας [m.] name of a comet and of the constellation Aldebaran (Chrysipp.), see Scherer 1953: 121f., -ίτης 'torch-runner' (Pergamon III^a); λαμπάδ-ιος 'ptng. to a torch' (pap.), -ιεῖος 'id.' (Delos III^a), see Chantraine 1933: 93; -ικός 'id.' (sch.); λαμπαδεῖον 'torch-holder' (Eleusis IV^a), cf. λυχνεῖον. Denominatives: a. λαμπαδίζω [v.] 'to participate in a torch-run or a torch-procession' with λαμπαδισταί [pl.] 'participants in a torch-run' (Delphi II^a); b. λαμπαδεύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'id., to treat as a λαμπάς' (D. S., Ph.) with λαμπαδεία 'torch-procession' (Priene III-II^a). 2. λαμπτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'lighter, torch, lantern' (Od.), with λαμπτήρια [n.pl.] name of a festival (pap.). 3. λάμψις [f.] 'lighting' (LXX, Ph.), especially in compounds like διάλαμψις (Arist.), etc. On ►λαμψάνη 'cabbage,

Brassica arvensis', see s.v. 4. λαμπηδών, -όνος [f.] 'lustre, glow' (Epicur., D. S.). 5. λαμπυρίς [f.] 'glow-worm' (Arist.), with λαμπυρίζω [v.] 'to shine like a glowworm', also 'to illuminate' (Thphr., pap.), perhaps dissimilated from *λαμπ-υλίς? 6. λαμπρός 'shining, gleaming' with λαμπρότης, λαμπρύνω 'to illuminate', med. 'to show' (IA), with λαμπρυν-τής (late); as a first member with dissimilation in Λάμπουρος name of a dog (Theoc.), -ουρις [f.] 'fox' (A. *Fr.* 433, Lyc.). 7. ὑπο-, περι-λαμπ-ής 'shining below, around' (Hes. *Sc.*, Ph., Plu.). 8. Lengthened verbal forms: λαμπετάων (-όων) [ptc.] 'shining' (A 104); explanation uncertain, see Schwyzer: 705, Leumann 1950: 181f., Chantraine 1942: 358; λαμπάζω = λάμπω (Man.). 9. Several PNs: Λάμπος, Λαμπετίδης, Λαμπετίη, Λάμπιτος, -τώ, Λαμπαδ-ίων, -ίσκος, Λαμπ(τ)ρεύς; see Bechtel 1917b: 621, Fraenkel 1910: 236, Schwyzer: 337.

•ETYM Both the verbal and the nominal forms derive from the nasal present λάμπω. Without a nasal, we find Hitt. *lāpp-^{zi} / lapp-* 'to glow, flash'; with a long vowel (from IE **leh$_2$p-* or **loh$_2$p-*), some Baltic words for 'torch, flame': Lith. *lópė*, Latv. *lāpa*, OPr. *lopis*; with short *a*-vowel, but deviating in auslaut, we find OIr. *lassaim* 'flame', W *llachar* 'glow', which can go back to **laps-*. LIV^2 reconstructs **leh$_2$p-* 'aufleuchten', but it is doubtful whether this material proves IE origin. Cf. ►λαμψάνη and ►λοφνίς. Is it possible to explain λαμπηδών, λαμπυρίς as Greek formations? The nasal present is difficult, for what would be the outcome of **lh$_2$mp-*?

λαμυρός [adj.] 'voracious, avaricious, eager, coquettish' (X., com., Hell.). ◄PG(S,V)►

•DER λαμυρία 'voluptuousness, coquetry' (Plu.), λαμυρίς [f.] 'dewlap' (sch. Luc. *Lex.* 3), λαμυρῶσαι H. s.v. λαιθαρύζειν. Further λάμια [f.] name of a man-eating monster (Ar.), of a shark (Arist.); in this mg. also λάμνᾰ or -νη (Opp.); (τὰ) λάμια = χάσματα 'chasms' (*EM*, H.); cf. λαμυρὰ θάλασσα (*EM* 555, 57). Name of a hero Λάμος (κ 81). Lycian TN Λάμυρα (Λίμυρα), HN Λάμυρος; suggestion in Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 281.

•ETYM For the formation of λαμυρός, cf. γλαφυρός, βδελυρός, etc. λάμι-ιᾰ has retained -ιᾰ, like πότνια (see Chantraine 1933: 98). There seems no basis for the comparison of λαμυρός with Lat. *lemurēs* 'roaming ghosts of those who died at a wrong time, or who died a violent death'.

From λάμια was borrowed Lat. *lamia* [f.] 'vampire'; perhaps also *lamium* [n.] 'dead nettle', from **λάμιον? The form λαμός 'cleft' (sch. Hor. *Ep.* 1, 13, 10; λάμος LSJ) does not exist.

The word (note the suffix -υρ-) is probably Pre-Greek, and related to λαφύσσω 'to swallow' with interchange μ/φ; see Fur.: 225. Perhaps ►λαμιός is also related. Fur.: further connects λάβρος, which is possible but uncertain.

λαμψάνη [f.] 'kind of cabbage, Brassica arvensis' (Dsc., Gal.; pap.), acc. to Strömberg 1940: 24 because of the gleaming color. ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also λαψ-, λεψ-. Further λαψάνη· τῶν ἀγρίων λαχάνων ἐσθιομένη 'edible wild vegetable' (H.). and λάψα· γογγυλίς. Ιlεργαῖοι 'turnip' (H.).

•ETYM The variants prove Pre-Greek origin (note the different vocalism in λεψ-), while connection with ►λάμπω remains doubtful.

λανθάνω [v.] 'to escape notice, be unknown or unnoted; to make sbd. forget sth.', med. 'to forget' (Il.+). ◁IE *leh_2- 'remain unnoticed or hidden'▷

•VAR Also λήθω (ληθάνω η 221), aor. λαθεῖν, λελαθεῖν, -έσθαι (ἐπι-λῆσαι υ 85), fut. λήσω (Il.), perf. λέληθα (IA), med. λέλασμαι (Hom.), λέλησμαι (Att.), late aor. λήσασθαι, λησθῆναι, Dor. Aeol. λᾶθω, λᾶσω, λᾶσαι, λέλᾶθα.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-.

•DER A. from λαθεῖν, -έσθαι: 1. λάθρη, -ᾱ [adv.] 'secretly' (Il.), λάθρᾰ (*h. Cer.* 240) with λαθραῖος 'secret' (IA); λάθριος (S. *Ichn.* 66 [lyr.], Hell.), -ίδιος, -ιμαῖος (late) 'id.'; λαθρᾰδᾶν [adv.] (Corinn.), like κρυφᾰδᾶν; λαθρη-δόν, -δά, -δίς (late); as a first member λαθρο- in compounds like λαθρό-νυμφος 'secretly married' (Lyc.), instead of the older variant λᾰθι- in forms like λαθι-κηδής (X 83), properly "hiding sorrow", but also 'making forget sorrows'; cf. λᾰθι- sub C. 2. λαθητικός 'which escapes notice' (Arist.), λάθησις (sch. Gen. A 36) ; 3. λάθος [n.] 'forgetfulness' (MoGr. for *λῆθος, λᾶθος sub B.).

B. From λήθειν: 1. λήθη, Dor. λάθα 'forgetfulness' (B 33) with ληθαῖος 'forgetful' (Call., Lyc.), also ληθήμων, ληθώδης, λήθιος (H.). 2. λᾶθος [n.] = λήθη (Theoc.); λαθοσύνα [f.] 'id.' (E. *IT* 1279, uncertain). 3. ληθεδών, -όνος [f.] 'id.' (*AP*, *APl.*) with ληθεδανός = ληθαῖος (Luc.). 4. ἔκ-λη-σις (ω 485), ἐπί-λᾰ-σις (Pi. *P.* 1, 46) 'forgetfulness', from ἐκ-, ἐπι-λήθειν; from the simplex further λῆσ-τις 'id.' (S., E.), which is typologically older. 5. λήσ-μων 'forgetting, forgetful' (Them.) with λησμοσύνη (Hes. *Th.* 55, S. *Ant.* 151), after μνημοσύνη; ἐπιλήσ-μων 'id.' (Att.) with ἐπιλησμον-ή, -μοσύνη (Crat., LXX), ἐπιλησμον-έω (late), λησμον-έω (MiGr. and MoGr.); details in Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 167f. (not always correct).

C. As a first member in verbal governing compounds: 1. λησί-μβροτος 'taking men by surprise, deceiver' (*h. Merc.*); 2. λᾰθί-πονος 'forgetting (or: making forget) sorrows' (S.), cross with λᾰθι-; 3. λᾰθ-άνεμος 'escaping the wind' (Simon.).

Cf. also ▸ἀληθής and ▸ἄλαστος; unrelated is ▸Λητώ.

•ETYM At the base of the Greek system stands the present λήθω, λᾰ́θω. Beside this are found, from the earliest sources on, the thematic zero grade aorists λᾰθεῖν and λελᾰθεῖν, -έσθαι together with the perf. med. λέλασμαι and some isolated nominal derivatives, especially the couple λάθρᾱ : λαθι- (Beckwith *KZ* 112 (1999): 78-85 argues that the reduplicated thematic aorist of the type λέλαθον is a Greek creation).

The nasal present λανθάνω (beside λήθω, which is better attested in Hom.) is perhaps an innovation after μαθεῖν : μανθάνω. Though parallels (πύθω : πύος, βρίθω : βριαρός) are not very strong, the -θ- must be a presentic element in λήθω. A form without dental enlargement indeed seems to be found in λῆτο· ἐπελάθετο, beside λήιτο· ἐπε<λά>θετο (H.) (on the -ι- see below). Lat. *lateō* 'to be hidden' is probable a denominative from **lato*- 'hidden'.

The combination with ToB *lät*- 'to go out, emerge' is wrong, both formally and semantically (see Adams 1999 s.v.), while the comparison with OCS *lajati* 'ἐνεδρεύειν, to ambush, lie in wait for' and OCz. *lákati* 'id.' is now once again defended, e.g. by LIV² s.v. 3. *leh_2- (see also *leh_2d^h-) and Derksen 2008. The words ▸λαίθαργος and ▸λήθαργος are Pre-Greek.

λάξ [adv.] 'with the heel or foot' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also (very rare) subst. (secondary back-formation) = λάκτισμα (H.), 'sole of the foot' (sch. A. R. 2, 106), see Thierfelder *Sächs. Abh.* 43:2: 42[3].
•COMP As a first member in λακ-πατέω 'to tread (with the foot), trample underfoot' (Pherecr. 136, S. *Ant.* 1275 v.l.; cf. λεω-πάτητος s.v. λεῖος).
•DER λάγ-δην = λάξ (S. *Fr.* 683, 3). Denominative verbs: 1. λακτίζω [v.] 'to kick with the foot or the hoof' (Od.), also with prefix, e.g. άντι-, ἐκ-; rather after the verbs in -τίζω than from *λακτι, as per Schwyzer: 620; thence λάκτισμα (A., S.), λάκτιμα (pap., H.); (ἐκ-)λακτισμός (H.) 'treading, pushing'; -ιστής 'who kicks with the foot' (X.), -ιστική, scil. τέχνη (in boxing; late). 2. λάξας = λακτίσας (Lyc. 137), λάζειν· ἐξυβρίζειν 'to break out, go crazy' (H.) with λαχμός = λακτισμός (Antim.); λάκτις [f.] 'pounder' (Call., Nic.), back-formation from λακτίζω (see Schwyzer: 270)?
•ETYM Formed like πύξ, γνύξ, ὀδάξ, etc., but without a certain explanation. The connection with Lat. *calx* 'heel' is semantically adequate, but even assuming dissimilation from *κλάξ, formal problems remain. Within Greek, the gloss ληκᾶν· τὸ πρὸς ᾠδὴν ὀρχεῖσθαι 'dance on a song' (H.) could be compared; further, ληκῆσαι, λακῆσαι· πατάξαι 'strike, beat, knock, etc.' (H.) and several expressions for 'limbs', like Lat. *lacertus* 'upper arm'. Semantically, none is very convincing. Since a good IE etymology is lacking, we may ask whether the word is Pre-Greek. See on ►όδάξ.

λαός [m.] '(the common) folk, crowd, the military, tribe' (Il., Dor., Hell.), in the NT especially 'the Jewish people', plur. 'the military, servants, subjects, serfs', also 'laity' (LXX); sing. 'follower' (Hecat. 23 J.); elaborate discussion of use and spread by Björck 1950: 318ff. ◄IE? **leh₂-uo-* 'band of people', PG?►
•VAR Ion. ληός (rare), IA λεώς (archaic and rare).
•DIAL Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta* /lāw-āgetās/, cf. Chantraine 1956a: 88[1].
•COMP Many old compounds: Λαϝο-πτόλεμος, Γιό-λαϝος (Cor.), λαγέτας [m.] 'leader of the people' (Pi.) from λᾶϝ-ᾱγετᾶς (see Myc. above), Λαέρτης, λαο-σσόος 'urging the men' (Hom.), from ►σεύω, λαο-, λεω-φόρος 'carrying the people, public', of streets, as a subst. 'road' (Il.), Μενέλαος (Il.), -λεως Att. (cf. Björck 1950: 104ff.), etc.
•DER Few derivatives (in part due to the synonym δῆμος, in part to homonymous forms of λᾶας 'stone'): 1. λαϊκός 'of the people, common' (Hell.). 2. λαώδης 'popular' (Ph., Plu.). 3. Λήϊτος PN (Il.), λήϊτον [n.] (on the very rare suffix -ιτο- Schwyzer: 504), 'town hall' among the Achaeans (Hdt., Plu.) with the IA form for λάϊτον· τὸ ἀρχεῖον 'town hall', λαΐτων· τῶν δημοσίων τόπων 'place of public affairs' (H.); other glosses: λᾖτον (cod. λητόν)· δημόσιον, ληΐτη, οἱ δὲ λήτη (cod. λητή)· ἱέρεια; cf. λαιετόν 'townhall' (Su.). λειτόν· βλάσφημον (H.). Fur.: 238[45] objects that -ιτο- is a Pre-Greek suffix (cf. ibid. 163, 187). Derivation λητιαί· ἡγεμονίαι, στρατιαί 'leaders' (H.).
As an adjectival first member in λητουργέω (λειτ-) [v.] 'to fulfill a public office on private means, provide a (public or ecclesiastical) service', with λητουργ-ία (λειτ-) 'service, liturgy' (Att.), -ός, -ημα, etc. (Hell.), compounded **λῃϊτο-ϝεργ-έω* to **λήϊτα ἔργα*, cf. ►►δημιουργός; also λήτ-αρχος [m.] 'public priest' (Lyc. 991). Cf. also ►λείτωρ.

•ETYM Like the Gm. word for 'people' (OHG *liut*, OE *lēod*), λᾱ(ϝ)ός was originally a collective; from this form, the plural λᾱ(ϝ)οί arose (just like *liuti*, *lēode*), from which the sing. ληός 'follower' was built, like *liut* 'man'.
Most often connected with Hitt. *lāḫḫ-* 'campaign' and OIr. *láech* 'warrior'. On λήιτον, etc., see Gschnitzer *Glotta* 55 (1977): 190-207. Gschnitzer assumes that the writings η and ει instead of ᾳ show that the form came from the IA area. For the etymology, he follows Heubeck and assumes that λη-ι-το- is a compound 'von den Leuten betreten', i.e. 'publicus'. This interpretation is not convincing, as the PN Λήιτος (Il.) cannot be explained in this way. The form λαός is rather Pre-Greek, and has a Pre-Greek suffix -ιτ(ο)-, which was recognized as such by Fur.: 163, 238, 303f., etc. This suffix is also found in e.g. βάρβιτος, βόλ(β)ιτον, πόφιτον.
The word λεία 'booty' is not related.

λάπαθον 1 [n.] 'monk's rhubarb, Rumex acetosa' (Epich., Thphr.). ◅PG(S)▻
•VAR Also -ος [m., f.]; -η [f.].
•COMP Also in compounds, e.g. όξυ-, ἱππο-, βου-λάπαθον (Dsc.).
•ETYM Because of the formation (cf. ἄνηθον), foreign origin is suspected. The gloss as βοτάνη κενωτική 'purgative plant' (sch. Theoc.), with λάπαθα [pl.] 'faeces' (sch. Gen. E 166), recalls λαπάσσω.

λάπαθος 2 [m.] 'pitfall for wild animals' (Democr. 122, plur.). ◅PG(S)▻
•VAR Also -ον [n.] (H., Phot., Suid.).
•ETYM Words in -θος are often Pre-Greek; cf. ►λάπαθον 1.

λαπαρός [adj.] 'weak, slack, hollow' (Hp., Arist.). ◅PG?▻
•DER λαπαρότης 'weakness' (Hp.); λαπάρη [f.] 'the weak flanks', plur. 'the flank(s)' (Il.).
Further λαπάσσω, -ττω (-ζω Ath., H.) [v.] 'to weaken, hollow out, empty' (Hp.), also 'destroy' (A.), aor. λαπάξαι, fut. λαπάξω; thence λάπαξις 'evacuation' (Arist., medic.), λαπαγμῶν· ἐκκενώσεων 'emptying' (H.), λαπακτικός 'evacuating' (medic.). On ►λάπαθον 'pitfall', see s.v.
•ETYM For the formation of λαπαρός, cf. λαγαρός, χαλαρός, πλα-δαρός, etc., all with similar meaning (Chantraine 1933: 227). A basic primary verb may have been retained in ἔλαψα· διέφθειρα. Κύπριοι 'weakened, destroyed (Cypr.)' (H.).
It is usually assumed that λαπάσσω, -ττω is an extension of this, perhaps after μαλάττω (cf. λαπάττων· μαλάττων, λαγαρὸν ποιῶν H.). The meaning 'to hollow out' arose in the medical language from 'to weaken', referring to the stomach and the intestines.
In the sense 'to destroy', λαπάξειν, -ξαι agrees with ἁλαπάζω, the relation of which to λαπάσσω, -ζω has not been explained before, but the ἁ- could well be the Pre-Greek prothetic vowel (see on ►ἁλαπάζω). Cf. Fur.: 350 and 371, who also combines forms with λεπα-.

λάπη 'foam'. ⇒λάμπη.

λαπίζω [v.] 'to boast, swagger' (S. *Fr.* 1062, Cic. *Att.* 9, 13, 4, *AB*, Phot., H.). ◅PG?(O)▻

•DER λάπισμα 'boasting' (Cic. l.c.), λαπιστής 'swaggerer' (LXX, H.), -ίστρια, -ικτής (Phot., H.).
•ETYM Compared with Skt. *lápati* 'to chatter' and the Slavic group of Ru. *lepetát'* 'to stammer', etc. (Pok. 677f.). However, a root of the shape λαπ- is rather Pre-Greek than cognate with Sanskrit.

λάπτω [v.] 'to lap with the tongue, drink greedily, gulp down', especially of dogs, etc. (Arist.). ◅PG?, ONOM▻
•VAR Fut. λάψω (II 161, Ar.), -ομαι (Ar.), aor. λάψαι, -ασθαι (Ar., Pherecr., LXX), perf. λέλᾰφα (Ar. *Fr.* 598).
•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, περι-.
•DER λάπτας· τοὺς ῥοφοῦντας 'gulping down' (H.); also supposed in λατταμυῖα· Ἱολυρ<ρ>ήνιοι (H.) by Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 197, who reads λάττα<ς> (Cret. for λάπτας)· μυῖα 'fly'; further λάψις 'gulping down' (Arist.).
•ETYM An onomatopoeic word. In other IE languages, we find Alb. *lap* 'id.', of dogs, cats, Ru. *lópat'* 'to devour', Lith. *lapènti* 'to absorb greedily' (of swines), OE *lapian*, MHG *leffen* 'to gulp down', MoHG *lappen*, MoFr. *laper* 'id.'. Since λάπτω, λέλαφα may be secondary to λάψω, λάψαι, Schulze *KZ* 52 (1924): 105 (= *Kl. Schr.* 372) refers to BSl. synonyms with *k*, like Lith. *làkti*, Ru. *lokát'* 'λάπτειν', to which λάψω, λάψαι (if with IE **k*^{w}) may correspond. However, as PIE had no **a*, the word is rather Pre-Greek. See ►λαφύσσω.

λάρδος [m.] 'salted meat' (pap. IV^{P}). ◅LW Lat.▻
•COMP λαρδηγός 'supplier of λ.' (Abydos V-VI^{P}).
•ETYM From Lat. *lardum* 'id.'; gender after τάριχος [m., n.]? See ►λᾱρῑνός.

λᾱρῑνός [adj.] 'fattened, fat' (Xenoph., Ar., Eratosth.). ◅?▻
•DER λαρινεύομαι 'be fattened' (Sophr.).
•ETYM Unclear. Athough it is remarkable that λᾱρῑνός has final stress and a long *ī*, it recalls Lat. *lāridum* > *lardum* (see on ►λάρδος) 'bacon, salted meat'.

λαρινός [m.] name of an unknown sea-fish (Opp. *H.* 3, 399, H.). ◅?▻
•DER λαρινευτής· ἁλιεύς 'fisher', λαριναῖον κύρτον 'fishing net'· οἱ ἁλιεῖς τὸν ἐκ λε<υ>κέας, ἢ μέγαν (H.).
•ETYM Both the long ᾱ and the meaning refute the connection with λάρος 'sea-gull' (as per Strömberg 1943: 120).

λάρκος [m.] 'charcoal-basket' (Ar.). ◅?▻
•COMP λαρκ-αγωγός (E. *Fr.* 283), λαρκο-φορέω (D. C.).
•DER λαρκίον (Poll.) and -ίδιον (Ar.).
•ETYM Because of ναρκίον· ἀσκόν 'bag, wineskin' (H.), it has been derived from *νάρκος by influence of ►λάρναξ. Doubtful. On ναρκίον, cf. ►νάρκη. Fur.: 305[46] compares νάκος 'fleece', which is semantically far-fetched.

λάρναξ, -ᾱκος [f.] 'chest, box, coffer, coffin' (Il.). ◅PG(S)▻
•COMP λαρνακοφθόρος 'killing in a λ.' (Lyc.).
•DER λαρνάκιον (Sm.).

•ETYM The suffix is seen in other instrument names, like πίναξ, κάμαξ, κλῖμαξ, δίφραξ. Note the gloss νάρναξ· κιβωτός 'id.' (H.) with dissimilation. There is no etymology and the suffix is typically Pre-Greek. This means that the word itself is probably Pre-Greek. Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 185 points to Λάρνασσος, which is an old name of the Ιάρνασσος acc. to *EM* 655, 5 et al.

λάρος [m.] name of a rapacious sea-bird, perhaps 'sea-gull' (Thompson 1895 s.v.), often metaph. of demagogues (ε 51, Ar., Arist.). ◅ ONOM?▻
•DER Cf. λαρίς [f.] 'id.' (*AP*); perhaps also in σισίλαρος· πέρδιξ. Ιεργαῖοι 'partridge' (H.).
•ETYM Often considered to be onomatopoeic, e.g. by Pok. 650. Cf. Arm. *lor* 'quail', with a different vocalism. Perhaps the same word as ▻λᾱρός. See ▻λῆρος.

λᾱρός [adj.] 'delicious, sweet, fine' (Il.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Blanc *Glotta* 76 (1998): 162-167, connects this word and ▻λαρινός with ▻ἀπολαύω 'to enjoy, have the benefit of'. Λᾱρός means 'invigorating, reinforcing'. The superlative λαρώτατος shows that the word was contracted from *λαϝαρος or *λαϝερος (the first syllable can be replaced by two short syllables everywhere; Chantraine 1942: 33). The form λᾱρῑνός may simply be derived from λᾱρός.
The root is given by Pok. 665 as **lāu̯-*, but cognates are unclear: Slavic *lovъ* 'dexterous' is hardly cognate on account of the meaning, while W *llawen* 'merry' points to **lau̯-*, which itself points to a non-IE word rather than to **lh₂eu-*.

λάρυγξ, -υγγος [m.] 'upper part of the windpipe' (Hp., com., Arist., Gal.). ◅PG(S,V)▻
•DER Diminutive λαρύγγιον (Gal.), -ικός 'rapacious' (Pherecr.) and a few denominatives: 1. λαρυγγ-ίζω [v.] 'to cry loudly' (Ar., D.); 2. -ιάω 'id.' (*AP*); 3. λαρύζει· βοᾷ· ἀπὸ τοῦ λάρυγγος 'cries; after the λ.' (H.); also 4. λαρύνει, of the dove (*Stud. itfilcl.* 1, 95; 3, 496). Backformation λαρυγγός· ματαιολόγος 'talking idle' (H.).
•ETYM The suggestion of a cross between φάρυγξ and λαιμός, which have earlier attestations, is found in Strömberg 1944: 59ff., who discusses the meaning. Nevertheless, such crosses should not be posited at random.
Formerly connected with Lat. *lurco(r)* 'to devour, carouse', MHG *slurc* 'throat' (Pok. 965f.). Frisk concludes, in accordance with Güntert 1914: 119: "If this analysis is correct, then λάρυγξ must have been reshaped after φάρυγξ in any case." However, in addition to the suffix -υγγ-, the by-form λάρυγος [gen.] (*EM* 788, 37) confirms Pre-Greek origin (secondary origin is far from convincing; cf. DELG).

λάσανα [n.pl.] 'tripod or stand of a pot', usually 'nightstool' (Hp., com.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Rarely sing. -ον.
•COMP λασανο-φόρος [m.] name of a slave (Plu.).
•DER λασανίτης δίφρος (pap.), mg. unclear; λάανα· ἐπίστατον 'support, stand' (H.).
•ETYM Instrument name in -ανον (Chantraine 1933: 199), but otherwise obscure. Borrowed as Lat. *lasanum*. On λάσα· τράπεζα πληρεστάτη 'overfull table' (H.), see ▻λάσιος. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

λάσαρον [n.] 'ὀπὸς σιλφίου, asafoetida' (Aët., Alex. Trall., H.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Also -αρ.

•DER -άριον (Aët.).
•ETYM Unexplained foreign word. Cf. André 1961: 208f. Probably Pre-Greek.

λάσθη [f.] 'insult, mockery' (Hdt. 6, 67, *AP* 7, 345, H.). ◁PG?▷
•DER Cf. the glosses, all from H.: λάσθω and λασάσθω· χλευαζέτω 'scoff'; λάσθαι· παίζειν 'to joke', ὀλιγωρεῖν 'neglect', λοιδορεῖν 'revile'; λάσθων· κακολογῶν 'speaking badly'; λάσθον· αἰσχρόν 'shameful'; λάσθας· συμφοράς 'misfortunes'. λασθαίνειν· κακολογεῖν (H.).
•ETYM Connection as λάσ-θη with a root **las-* as in Lat. *las-cīvus* 'wanton, luxuriant, lascivious', Skt. *lā-las-a-* 'greedy' is semantically inadequate. Perhaps Pre-Greek?

λάσιος [adj.] 'shaggy, woolly, overgrown with' (Il.). ◁?▷
•COMP Compounds like λασι-αύχην 'with a hairy neck' (*h. Merc.*).
•DER λασιών, -ῶνος [m.] 'thicket' (Nic.), also as a TN; λασιῶτις, epithet of ὕλη (*Epic. Alex. Adesp.*), cf. δενδρῶτις (E.), etc.
•ETYM If it is from *ϝλατ-ι̯ος, λάσιος can be connected with words for hairy things, as in OIr. *folt* 'hair' < IE **uolto-*, OPr. *wolti* 'ear (of corn)', Lith. *váltis* 'bunch of oats', Ru. *vólot'* 'fiber, ear; panicle', SCr. *vlât* 'ear' < IE **uolti-*; acc. to Solmsen *KZ* 42 (1909): 214[4], the Gm. group of MoHG *Wald* 'forest' < IE **uóltu-* belongs here as well. If from **u̯l̥ti̯o-* < IE **ult-io-*, λάσιος would differ from the words mentioned in root ablaut. Speculations by Blanc *RPh.* 73 (1999). See ►λάχνη.

λάσκω [v.] 'to ring, crack' (only for λᾰκεῖν), 'to splash' (-ληκέω), 'to bang' (λᾱκέω), 'to shout, scream, speak loudly' (A., E., Ar.); for the mg. see Björck 1950: 280ff. ◁?▷
•VAR Lengthened λασκάζει· φλυαρεῖ, θωπεύει 'talks nonsense, flatters' (H.), ἐπι-ληκέω (θ 379), (δια-)λᾱκέω (Ar. *Nu.* 410, Theoc., *Act. Ap.* 1, 18), λᾰκάζω (A.), also λάω in (ὀξὺ) λάων? (cf. s.v. ►λάω), aor. λᾰκεῖν (Il., trag.), λελᾰκέσθαι (*h. Merc.*), λᾰκῆσαι (Ar. *Pax* 382), -λᾱκῆσαι (Ar. *Nu.* 410), fut. λακήσομαι (Ar. *Pax* 381, 384), perf. λέληκα (X 141), λέλᾱκα (A. [lyr.], E., Ar.).
•DER 1. From λακεῖν: λάκος· ἦχος, ψόφος 'cry'; λακερόν· ἠχαῖον 'resounding', cod. εἰκαῖον (H.), λακέρυζα 'screaming', of κορώνη (Hes.), also κύων; secondarily -ζος (Schwyzer: 473, 472[3]); thence λακερύζω, -ομαι (*EM*, H., Phot., Suid.), but see on λαγκύζεσθαι; λακέτᾱς (λᾱκ-?) 'kind of cicada' (Ael.; cf. Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 318); λάκημα 'fragment' (cf. Björck 1950: 282). 2. From ληκέω, λᾱκέω: Λακητήρ spit of land of Cos (Fraenkel *Nom. ag.* 1: 162); Ληκήτρια [f.] name of a goddess (Lyc. 1391) belongs here too, acc. to Schwyzer *RhM* 75 (1926): 448 (codd. Ληκτηρ-); ληκιτής 'cryer' and λᾱκεδόνες [f.pl.] 'shouting' (Timo).
•ETYM The system was created starting from the pair λᾰκεῖν : λέλᾱκα, -ηκα (cf. κρᾰγεῖν : κέκρᾱγα, etc.). From λᾰκεῖν: λάσκω < *λάκ-σκω, λᾰκάζω, λᾰκῆσαι, λελᾰκέσθαι; from λέλᾱκα, -ηκα: λᾱκέω, ληκέω, λᾱκῆσαι, as well as perhaps ►λάω. The form λακήσομαι admits both interpretations, as the quantity is uncertain.
No etymology.

λάσται [f.] · πόρναι 'whores' (H.). ◁PG(O)▷
•DER Further λάσταυρος 'κίναιδος, catamite' (Theopomp., *AP*), ἡμι-λάσταυρος (Men.). Shortened form λάστρις (*EM* 159, 30).

•ETYM λάσταυρος was hardly formed after κένταυρος (as per Frisk), in spite of the gloss κένταυροι· … καὶ οἱ παιδερασται (H.). Fur.: 383 connects λασιτός· κίναιδος and λεσιτός· πόρνη. The element λασ-/λασι-/λεσι- is clearly Pre-Greek, and probably represents **lat^{y}-* or **las^{y}-*. Therefore, it is unrelated to ▸λιλαίομαι.

λᾰ́ταξ 1, -αγος [f.] 'drop of wine, dregs of wine (also in the game of kottabos)' (Alc., com.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Mostly plur. -αγες, sing. also -άγη.

•DER λαταγέω (Luc. *Lex.* 3), λατάσσω (Dor. vase-inscr.) [v.] 'to throw away the dregs (=λάταγες)', λαταγεῖον 'vase into which the λ.s fall' (Suid.).

•ETYM Borrowed as Lat. *latex, -icis* 'fluidity', and reshaped after other nouns in *-ex*. The -σσ- in λατάσσω may be analogical and does not necessarily point to a variation γ : κ (Schwyzer 496). Still, the word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -αγ- and the semantic field (viticulture).

λάταξ 2, -αγος [f.] name of a quadruped that lives in the water, perhaps 'beaver' (Arist. *HA*). ◂PG(S)▸

•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps somehow connected with λάταξ 1? Cf. Keller 1909: 186. Like its homonym, this word is probably Pre-Greek.

λατμενεία [f.] · δουλεία 'slavery' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Contamination of ἀτμενία and λατρεία has been assumed, e.g. in Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 24. Such proposed cross-forms are doubtful. Fur.: 392 points to other instances of variation λ- / zero; therefore, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

λατραβός [adj.] · λαμυρός 'gluttonous, lascivious' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also λατραβῶν· ἁλαζονευόμενος 'boastful' (H.); ἐλατράβιζον· τὸ βωμολοχεύειν καὶ πανουργεῖν λατραβίζειν ἔλεγον 'to play low and villainous tricks' (H.); λατραβίζειν· ἐσπουδασμένως καὶ ἀσήμως λαλεῖν 'to talk hastily and [therefore] meaningless' (H.); cf. λατραπία· λαμυρία μετὰ ἐρυθριάσεως 'voluptuousness with blushing' (H.). Also λάτραψ· ὑετός 'rain, shower' (H.), cf. λαῖλαψ with similar mg.

•ETYM Fur.: 199 proposes to connect the following as well: λατράζειν· βαρβαρίζειν 'to speak incomprehensibly' (H.), λαθροῦν· βλάπτειν 'to hinder, damage' (H.), λαιθαρυζειν· λαμυρῶσαι, διαπράξασθαι 'to be wanton or gluttonous, get something done (by seduction?)' (H.), and λαιθυράζω. These attempts are uncertain. However, the forms with λατραβ/π- are clearly Pre-Greek, because of the interchange they display.

λάτρον [n.] 'payment, hire' (A. *Supp.* 1011), = μισθός (Suid., *EM*). ◂PG▸

•DER λάτρις, -ιος [m., f.] 'hired servant, handmaid' (Thgn., S., E.); λάτριος 'ptng. to a hired servant or to the payment, etc.' (Pi., Man.); λατρεύω, El. -είω [v.] 'to serve (for wages), serve a god (with prayer and sacrifice)' (Sol., Olympia VI^{a}, trag., Isoc., X.), with λατρεία (trag., Pl., LXX, *Ep. Rom.*, etc.), λατρεύματα [pl.] (S., E.) 'service, worship', λατρευ-τός (LXX), -τικός (Ptol.) 'ptng. to a servant, obedient'; λατρεύς 'servant' (Lyc.), from λατρεύω or λάτρον; λατρώδης 'obedient' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM As a North-West Greek word, λάτρον and derivatives were originally unknown in Aeolic and Ionic, and even in Attic (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 207, Kretschmer *Glotta* 17 (1929): 79). There is no convincing IE connection. Usually, λά-τρον is considered to contain a zero grade of words in Gm., BSl., and IIr., which go back to a full grade IE **lē(i)-* 'provide, gain' (Pok. 665). However, this is impossible, as a root **lē-* = **leh₁-* could never yield Greek λα-. Therefore, we can be quite sure that the word is of Pre-Greek origin.
From Hell. *λάτρων was borrowed Lat. *latrō* 'hired soldier'.

λατύσσομαι [v.] 'clap, strike with the wings' (Opp.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Expressive formation in -ύσσω (cf. αἰθύσσω, πτερύσσομαι), but otherwise unclear. The word λατάσσω (see ►λάταξ 1) is conceptually too far off.

λαυκανίη [f.] 'throat' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Later usually λευ-, see below.
•ETYM Formation like ἀρτηρία, etc., from an unattested *λαύκ-ανον (or -ανος, -άνη). An aspirated by-form appears in λαυχάνη· γλῶσσα 'tongue, language' (H.). Since there are no certain correspondences (Lith. *liaukà* 'gland' has been proposed, but does not convince), and as there is a variant with -χ-, Pre-Greek origin is almost certain. The form in λευκ- (v.l. in Hom.) may be folk-etymological after λευκός, but may also be due to substrate origin.

λαύρα [f.] 'narrow street, narrow passage, alley, quarter' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Ion. -ρη.
•COMP διάλαυρος· οἰκία μεγάλη πανταχόθεν λαύραις διειλημμένη 'a large house surrounded by narrow streets on all sides' (H.).
•DER Perhaps Λαύρειον (-εον, -ιον) [n.], a mount in Attica with famous silvermines (Hdt., Th.), after the mine galleries?; in H. also λαῦρον· μέταλλον ἀργύρου παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις 'a silvermine (Athens)'. Adjective Λαυρε(ι)ωτικός 'belonging to A.' (Ar.).
•ETYM Used to be connected with λᾶας 'stone', and further with Alb. *lerë*, *-a* 'rock-slip', but this comparison must be dropped, as ►λᾶας did not have a *-w-*. Doubts already in Schwyzer: 481 and 578[1]. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (note the name of the mountain).

λάφῡρα [n.pl.] 'booty' (IA). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Also -ον [sg.].
•COMP As a first member in e.g. λαφυρο-πώλης [m.] 'who sells booty' (X.).
•DER λαφυρεύω (LXX), -έω (Aq.) [v.] 'to plunder'.
•ETYM The traditional analysis as a suffix -ρ-, added to a *u*-stem from the root of Skt. *lábhate* 'to take, seize', is wrong. The word has the suffix -ῡρ-, which is Pre-Greek (*Pre-Greek*: Suffixes).

λαφύσσω [v.] 'to swallow, gulp down' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Aor. λαφύξαι.
•DER λαφυγμός (com., *AP*), λάφυξις (Ath.), λαφύγματα [pl.] (epigr.) 'gluttony'; λαφύκτης 'gourmand' (Arist.); also λαφύστιος 'gluttonous, devoured' (Lyc.), cf. Ζεὺς

Λαφύστιος (Hdt. 7, 197; from Λαφύστιον ὄρος in Boeotia), in whose cult human sacrifices occurred.

•ETYM Formation in -ύσσω related to ►λάπτω as a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 225 also connects it with ►λαῖλαψ 'storm, hurricane', ►λαμυρός 'voracious, eager', and the family of λαιφός 'impudent'.

λαχαίνω [v.] 'to dig' (A. R., Call., prefixed since ω 242). ◄PG?(S)►

•VAR Aor. λαχῆναι.

•COMP Also with ἀμφι-, ἐκ-, δια-.

•DER λάχανον [n.], usually -α [pl.], 'garden-herbs, vegetables' (IA); often as a first member, e.g. λαχανο-πώλης 'greengrocer' (Critias, pap.).

Thence: 1. diminutives λαχάνιον (D. L., pap.), -ίδιον (H.). 2. λαχανική, -όν 'taxes on vegetables' (*Inscr. Magn.*, *Sammelb.*), λαχανάριον· *herbarium* (gloss.). 3. λαχαν-ᾶς (Hdn. Gr.), -εύς (Procl.) 'greengrocer'. 4. λαχαν-ώδης (Arist., Thphr.), -ηρός (Thphr.), -ιος (Jul., Ostr.) 'ptng. to vegetables'. 5. λαχανεύω [v.] 'to plant, cultivate, harvest vegetables' (pap., Str., App.) with λαχανεία 'cultivation, etc. of vegetables' (LXX, pap., J.), also λαχαν-ιά 'gardenbed' (H., sch., also pap., but cf. Scheller 1951: 68f.); λαχάνευ-μα 'cultivation of vegetables' (Procl.), -τής 'greengrocer' (pap.). 6. λαχανίζομαι, -ω [v.] 'to harvest vegetables, graze (of horses)' (*EM*, *Hippiatr.*), with -ισμός (Th., pap., *Hippiatr.*). Doubtful is λαχή in A. *Th.* 914 (lyr.): τάφων πατρῴων λαχαί 'the digging of the forefathers' graves' (sch.), which should rather be read as λάχαι to ►λαγχάνω, s.v.

•ETYM The substantive for 'vegetables' is probably of Pre-Greek origin, as suggested by the suffix -ανον. The denominative simplex λαχαίνω, which has only late attestations, is probably a back-formation from compounded forms; cf. especially ἀμφι-λαχαίνω (ω 242). See the remarks by Perpillou in DELG *Supp.* and Perpillou *RPh.* 73 (1999): 96.

λάχεια [adj.] epithet of νῆσος 'island' (ι 116), ἀκτή 'cape' (κ 509), v.l. ἐλάχεια (see ἐλαχύς for the accent; cf. Schwyzer: 474[1], Chantraine 1942: 191). Mg. uncertain, explained by H. as εὔσκαφος καὶ εὔγειος, παρὰ τὸ λαχαίνεσθαι, ὅ ἐστι σκάπτεσθαι πυκνῶς 'easy to cultivate, with good soil, after λ., which means to dig in dense rows'. ◄?►

•ETYM The commentary by H. is folk etymology. The connection with a Gm. adjective for 'low, flat' (ON *lágr*, MHG *lāge*) must be wrong, as these presuppose IE **leh₁ǵʰ-*, from which form the Greek -α- cannot be understood. Following this etymology, modern interpreters have understood λάχεια as 'low, flat', which does not fit ἀκτή at all. In sum, no etymology.

λάχνη [f.] 'woolly hair, down' (Il.), metaph. of leafage (Nic., Opp.). ◄IE **u(o)lḱ-* 'hair'►

•VAR Rarely λάχνῳ [dat.sg.], of the wool of a sheep (ι 445).

•COMP λαχνό-γυιος 'with hairy members' (E.).

•DER λαχν-ήεις, -ᾶεις (Il., Pi.), -ώδης (E.), -αῖος (*AP*) 'woolly, hairy, shaggy'; λαχνόομαι [v.] 'to become hairy' (sol., *AP*) with λάχνωσις (Hp.).

•ETYM Reconstructed as *λακ-σν-ᾱ and corresponding with an Iranian and Slavic word for 'hair' via a pre-form *ϝλακ-σν-ᾱ < IE **ulḱ-sn-eh₂*: Av. *varəsa-* [m., n.], MoP

gurs, OCS *vlasъ*, Ru. *vólos*, all from IE **uolḱ-o-*. Less probable, because of the meaning, is the connection with OCS *vlakno*, Ru. *voloknó* 'thread', Skt. *valká-* [m.] 'bark, sap-wood', from IE **uolk-*. See ►λάσιος.

λάω [v.] mg. unclear, cf. λάε· ἐψόφησεν, οἱ δὲ ἐφθέγγετο 'cried, uttered', λαήμεναι and λαίειν· φθέγγεσθαι, but λάετε· σκοπεῖτε, βλέπετε 'look, see' (H.). ◄?►
•VAR Only ptc. λάων (τ 229 κύων, *h. Merc.* 360 αἰετός), ipf. λάε (τ 230 κύων).
•ETYM The ancient interpreters of τ 229f. hesitated between 'see' (βλέπων) and 'bark' (ὑλάων). In modern times, Lobeck has proposed a meaning 'grasp' and two different verbs: 1. 'seize' (τ 229f., completely isolated), 2. 'see' (*h. Merc.* 360), the last of which was also seen in ►ἁλαός and in Skt. *lasati* (epic class.) 'to glow' (see Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἁλαός).
Leumann 1950: 233ff. takes ὀξὺ λάων (*h. Merc.*, 'crying loudly') as an innovation from ὀξὺ λεληκώς (κίρκος X 141), which was wrongly analyzed as λε-λη-κώς (but belongs to ►λάσκω), and then interpreted as 'having sharp sight' on the one hand, and connected with a barking dog on the other.

λεβηρίς 1, -ίδος [f.] 'skin or slough of serpents' (Hp., J.), acc. to H. also = τὸ λέπος τοῦ κυάμου 'skin of a bean'; proverbially of empty or thin objects (com.), cf. H. τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρα λεβιρην γενέσθαι πτωχόν 'beggar'. ◄PG(S)►
•ETYM The IE analysis in Frisk seems misplaced. It is rather a Pre-Greek word, because the suffix is also found in ►ἴμβηρις and κύπηρις (s.v. ►κύπαιρος). Note λεβινθοι (cod. -ίνθιοι)· ἐρέβινθοι 'chick-peas' (H.); see also ►λεβίας and ►λέβης.

λεβηρίς 2 [f.] 'rabbit' (Str. 3, 2, 6); Massaliotic acc. to Polemarch. *apud* Erot. ◄LW Iberia►
•ETYM Of Iberian origin, like Lat. *lepus* and *laurex*, see WH s.vv. with litt. See also Fur.: 347.

λέβης, -ητος [m.] 'kettle, cauldron' (Il.), on the mg. Brommer *Herm.* 77 (1942): 359 and 366f., also a monetary unit (Crete), see Leumann 1950: 282ff., Ruijgh 1957: 107. ◄PG(S)►
•COMP ἱπνολέβης 'kettle' (Luc., Ath.).
•DER Diminutive λεβήτ-ιον, -ίσκος (IV^{a}), -άριον (Poll.); λεβητ-ώδης 'kettle-shaped' (Ath.); -ίζω [v.] 'to cook in a kettle' (Lyc.).
•ETYM On the suffix, see Fur.: 172^{118}. Pre-Greek origin is most likely; cf. ►κελέβη.

λεβίας, -ου [m.] name of an unknown freshwater fish (Hell. com.); acc. to H. also = τὰ λεπίδας ἔχοντα ταρίχη 'dried meat of a fish having scales'. ◄PG?(O)►
•ETYM Formation like ἀκανθίας, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 94); otherwise unclear. Thompson 1947 s.v. recalls the Eg. fish ἀλ(λ)άβης (Str., Ath.), but see ►ἀλλάβης. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

λέγνον [n.] 'colored edging, hem of a cloth' (Poll., H., sch.), also of the side of the womb (Hp.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Also -νη [f.].

•DER λεγνωτός 'provided with λ.' (Call., Nic.), λεγνώδεις· ποικίλας 'varicolored', λεγνῶσαι· ποικῖλαι (H.).
•ETYM No etymology. Perhaps Pre-Greek.

λέγαι epithet of γυναῖκες (Archil. 179). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM LSJ cite it as λέγος 'lewd'. Fur.: 346 connects it with λάγνος. Is it Pre-Greek? See ►ἐλεγαίνειν.

λέγω [v.] 'to collect, gather' (Il.; Att. prose only with prefix), 'to count, recount' (Il.), 'say' (post-Hom.). On use, mg. and inflexion see Fournier 1946: 53ff., 100ff., Chantraine *BSL* 41 (1940-1941): 39ff., Wackernagel 1916: 220ff. Beside it stand the synonymous and suppletive verbs ἀγορεύω, φημί, εἰπεῖν, ἐρῶ, εἴρηκα (see Seiler *Glotta* 32 (1952): 154f.). ◁IE **leg-* 'collect'▷
•VAR Aor. λέξαι, -ασθαι (epic ἐλέγμην, λέκτο), pass. λεχθῆναι, fut. λέξω, -ομαι, perf. λέλεγμαι, δι-είλεγμαι, συν-είλοχα (ει analogical).
•COMP Very often with prefixes like δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-.
•DER 1. λόγος [m.] 'computation, account, esteem, reason; speech, word, statement' (*O* 393, α 56); see Fournier 1946: 217ff., Boeder *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 4 (1959): 82ff.; also from prefixed compounds, e.g. διά-, κατά-, ἐπί-, σύλ-λογος (to διαλέγομαι, etc.), also in hypostases like ἀνά-, παρά-λογος (to ἀνὰ, παρὰ λόγον).
From λόγος: a. diminutives: λογ-ίδιον, -άριον (Att.), -αρίδιον (pap.). b. adjectives: λογάς [m., f.] 'selected', substantivized 'choice soldier, etc.' (IA), semantically rather to λέγω, cf. Chantraine 1933: 351; λόγιος 'notable' (Pi., etc.), τὸ λόγιον 'oracle' (IA); on the development of mg. E. Orth, *Logios* (Leipzig 1926); λόγιμος 'worth mention, notable' (Hdt., pap.), usually ἐλλόγιμος (to ἐν λόγῳ); λογικός 'regarding reason, etc., logical' (Philol., Hell.); λογαῖος 'chosen' (Str. 1, 3, 18; after Ibyc. 22), perhaps to λογή, see 2.; c. λογάδην [adv.] 'by accidental selection' (Th.; cf. λογάς). d. substantives: λογεύς [m.] 'orator, prose writer' (Critias, Plu., sch.) with λογεῖον 'speakers' place, scene' (Delos III[a]); κατα-, ἐκ-, συλ-λογεύς from κατάλογος, ἐκλογή, etc.; e. verbs: λογίζομαι [v.] 'to count, calculate, consider, estimate' (IA), often with prefix, ἀνα-, etc., with λογ-ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστεύω, -ιστικός, etc.; λογεύω [v.] 'to collect taxes', also with ἐπι-, ἐκ-, (pap., inscr.), with λογεία, λόγ-ευμα, -ευτής, -ευτήριον.
2. λογή [f.] 'reasoning, way' (= MoGr.; only late pap.; LSJ and DELG translate 'attention, heed'); isolated from compounds with ἐκ-, κατα-, συν-, δια-, etc. (IA, etc.)?
3. λέξις [f.] 'reason, way of speech, diction, style, (specific) word, phrase', also with δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, (Att., etc.); thence λεξίδιον, -εί- (Arr., Gal.), Lat. *lexīdium*; see Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 205; λεξικόν (scil. βιβλίον) 'containing λέξεις, lexicon' (*AB*, Phot.).
4. λέγμα· τὸ εἰπεῖν 'speaking' (H.), ἐπίλεγμα 'excerpt' (pap.), κατά-λεγμα 'tragic song' (Sm., Al.), cf. καταλέγεσθαι· ὀδύρεσθαι τὸν τεθνεῶτα 'to bewail the deceased' (H.).
5. διάλεκτος (to δια-λέγομαι) 'speech, dialect' (IA) with (δια-, ἐκ-)λεκτικός 'capable of speaking, etc.' (Att., etc.: λέξις, λέγω).

•ETYM The thematic root present λέγω, from which all stem forms and nominal derivatives are derived, is identical with Lat. *legō* 'to collect, etc.'. Also related is Alb. *mb-ledh* 'to collect, harvest', which points to a palatal *-ǵ-*. A synonymous root **les-* is found in Germanic, Baltic, and Hittite, e.g. MoHG *lesen*, Go. *lisan* 'to collect, harvest', Lith. *lèsti*, 1sg. *lesù* 'to pick, eat picking' (beside *lasýti* 'to collect, select'), Hitt. *lešš-^{zi}* / *lišš-* 'to pick, gather', (Hitt. *lišāe-^{zi}* is unclear; cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), but the relation between **les-* and **leǵ-* is unclear. See ►λώγη.

λεία [f.] 'booty, spoils', especially of plundered cattle, of war, of hunting, also 'cattle, herd' (Att.); cf. Edgerton *AmJPh.* 46 (1926): 177f. ◅IE **leh$_2$u-* 'capture, seize'▻
•VAR Ion. ληΐη, Dor. (Pi. *O.* 10, 44) λᾱ́α [f.]; also ληΐς (Dor. λαΐς), -ίδος [f.] (Il.).
•COMP Compounds like λε-ηλατέω [v.] 'to drive away prey, especially cattle; to pillage' (Hdt., S., E., X.), after βο-, ἱππ-ηλατέω, etc. from βο-, ἱππ-ηλά-της) with λεηλασ-ία, -ίη (X., A. R.), -άτησις (Aen. Tact.); ἀγε-λείη [f.] epithet of Athena: 'who provides booty' (Il.).
•DER ληΐάς [f.] 'the seized or captured one' (Υ 193, A. R.); ληΐτις [f.] 'ἀγελείη' (K 460), 'ληΐάς' (A. R., Lyc.); ληΐδιος 'belonging to the booty, captured' (*AP*, *APl.*).
Denominative verb ληΐζομαι, λεΐζομαι 'to seize, plunder' (Il.), whence several nouns: 1. ληϊστός, λεϊστός 'to be carried off as booty' (I 406, 408); 2. ληϊστύς [f.] 'capturing, plundering' (Hdt. 5, 6); 3. **ληισμός* in λη(ι)σμιαδία· αἰχμάλωτος, λελησμένη 'captive, prisoner of war' (H.); 4. ληϊστήρ, ληστήρ [m.] 'plunderer, pirate, robber', fem. λῃστειρα (Ael.), ληστρίς (D., Herod.), with ληστρικός 'plundering' (IA), cf. ληστ-ικός below; ληστή-ριον, Dor. λᾱσ- 'gang or den of robbers, robbery' (Att., Cret.), λᾱστήριοι [pl.] 'pirate' (Hell. poetry); 5. ληΐστωρ, λῃσ- 'id.' (ο 427); 6. ληϊστής, λησ-, λᾱσ- 'id.' (IA) with ληστικός (often interchanged with ληστρικός); ληστεύω [v.] 'to rob, plunder', with ληστεία 'robbery' (Att.).
•ETYM The abstract λεία, ληΐη (from **λᾱϝ-ία*) and the ιδ-derivation ληΐς (from **λᾱϝ-ίδ-*) that exists alongside it may either go back to a noun **λᾱϝ(-ο)-* vel sim., or directly to a verbal root, the zero-grade of which is supposed in ►ἀπολαύω. See further ►λᾱρός and ►λήϊον.

λείβω [v.] 'to pour, drip, make a libation' (Il.). ◅IE? **leh$_1$-i-*, **lei-* 'pour out, drip'▻
•VAR Aor. λεῖψαι.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐπι-.
•DER A. λειβῆνος· ὁ Διόνυσος (H.), λείβηθρον (λίβ-) [n.] 'wet place, gutter' (Eup. 428), λείβδην 'in drops' (*EM*).
B. Ablauting: λοιβή [f.] 'libation' (Il.) with λοιβ-εῖον (Plu.), -ίς (Antim., inscr.), -άσιον (Epich.) 'vase for libations', -αῖος 'ptng. to libation' (Ath.); λοιβᾶται· σπένδει, θύει 'makes a libation, sacrifices' (H.), cf. below.
C. Zero-grade: 1. **λιψ* [f.] 'libation, drop', only in gen. λιβός, acc. λίβα (A., A. R.), with λιβηρός 'wet' (Hp. *apud* Gal.); 2. λίψ, λιβός [m.] "the dripper", name of the rain-bringing southwest or west wind, also of the point of the compass: 'southwest, west' (Hdt., Arist.), with λιβικός '(south)westerly' (pap.). For λίψ· … πέτρα, ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ στάζει 'rock from which water drips' (H.), cf. ►αἰγίλιψ. 3. From λίψ: λιβάς, -άδος [f.] 'spring, etc.' (trag., etc.), diminutive λιβάδιον (Str., Plu.), also 'χωρίον

βοτανῶδες', i.e. 'wet meadow' (H., *EM*); λιβάζω, -άζομαι [v.] 'to drip' (*AP*, Poll.), with ἀπο- metaph. 'to throw away, remove oneself' (com.). 4. λίβος [n.] = λιβάς (A. *Ch.* 448 [lyr.], Gal.). On ►λιβρός, see s.v.

•ETYM The zero grade primary noun λίψ is unexpected beside the regelar full grade thematic λείβω, whence λεῖψαι. One compares νείφει : νίφα, while evidence of the gloss λίβει· σπένδει, ἐκχύνει 'libates, pours out' (H.) must be considered uncertain. Lat. *lībāre* 'pour out, spill' may either be a borrowing from Greek (LIV² s.v. 2. **leiH-*), or be unrelated in case it derives from the root **h₂lib^{h}-* 'to anoint' (De Vaan 2008 s.v. *lībō*). In the former case, the root is considered that of OCS *liti*, 1sg. *lьjǫ*, *lějǫ* 'to pour', Lith. *líeti*, 1sg. *líeju*, assuming that the Greek -β- is secondary, e.g. after ►εἴβω 'to drip'. λαβά· σταγών 'drop' (H.) may be a mistkae for λοιβά (DELG).

λείμαξ, -ακος [?] 'slug', only H. s.v. λείμακες (cf. λειμών): ἔστι δὲ καὶ ζῶον ὅμοιον κοχλίᾳ, ὃ καλοῦσι λείμακα 'there is also an animal similar to the snail, which is called λ.'. ◄IE? **lei-*►

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *līmāx* (Pl.) 'id.' (which is probably a Greek loan), but also with Ru. *slimák* 'snake' and other Slavic words. Thus, it has to be a derivative in *-āk-* of the *m*-stem seen in Gm. (ON *slím* 'slime', also OHG, OE; Lat. *līmus* 'id.'. Since IE did not have a suffix **-eh₂k-*, it is highly improbable that there is a direct connection between the Slavic and Greek forms.

λειμών, -ῶνος [m.] 'moist, grassy place, humid meadow' (Il.), metaph. of flowered surfaces and objects (Ach. Tat., Philostr.). ◄IE? **lei-mōn*, acc. **li-men-m*, gen. **li-mn-os*►

•COMP βαθυλείμων (Pi.), -λειμος (Il.), with transition to the *o*-stems, 'with grassy meadows'; ἀ-λίμενος 'without harbour or refuge' (Att.).

•DER λειμώνιος 'of the meadow' (A., Arist.), fem. -ιάς (S., A. R.), -ίς (D. P.), -ιον [n.] plant name, 'Statice limonium' (Dsc., Plin.); λειμων-ιάτης λίθος name of a stone green as grass (Plin.). With change of suffix (after πῖδαξ, βῶλαξ, etc.): λεῖμαξ, -ακος [f.] 'meadow' (E. [lyr.]), 'garden' (Pherecr.), with -ακώδης 'meadow-like, grassy' (Hp.), -ακίδες νύμφαι (Orph. *A.* 646; uncertain; codd. λιμνακίδων).

With different ablaut: λιμήν, -ένος [m.] 'harbour, protected creek', also metaph. 'refuge' (Il.), 'gathering place, marketplace' (Thess.; acc. to H. also Cypr.; cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 450f.). Diminutive λιμένιον (Str.; MoGr. λιμάνι is from Osman. *liman*; see Maidhof *Glotta* 10 (1920): 14); λιμένιος 'belonging to the harbour' (Paus.), λιμενίτης, fem. -ῖτις 'inhabitant of a harbour' (Corycos), of Priapos and Artemis, respectively, as deities of the harbour (*AP*, see Redard 1949: 23), λιμεν-ητικὰ χρήματα 'harbour taxes' (Cod. Just.), with analogical -ητικά, if not itacistic for -ιτικά), λιμεν-ίζω [v.] 'to build a harbour' (Polyaen.).

With a zero grade suffix, enlarged after the ᾱ-stems: λίμνη [f.] 'stagnant water, pond, lake, marsh' (Il.), Λίμναι [pl.] place in Athens, in Sparta, etc. (Att.); compounds like εὔ-λιμνος 'with many lakes' (Arist.). Thence many derivatives: 1. diminutive λιμνίον [n.] (Arist.). 2. λιμναῖος 'living in lakes, etc., belonging to the lake' (IA); 3. λιμνάς [f.] 'id.' (Theoc., Paus.). 4. λιμνήτης, -τις (-ῖτις) 'id.' (Theoc., Paus., inscr.), λιμνιτικά [n.pl.] name of a tax (pap.). 5. λιμνώδης 'like a lake or marsh' (IA). 6. plantname :

λιμν-ήσιον, -ησία, -ηστις, -ηστρον, -ηστρίς (Dsc., Gal.). 7. Denominative verbs: λιμνάζω 'to build a λ.; to stagnate, put under water' (Arist.), with λιμνασμός 'flood, inundation', -αστής 'surveyor of the inundation', -αστεία 'inundation works' (pap.), -ασία 'marshy ground' (Arist.); λιμνόομαι [v.] 'to build a λ.' (Thphr., Str.).

•ETYM The primary formations λειμών and λιμήν, λίμνη show old ablaut in both stem and suffix. They are isolated in Greek, and have no outer-Greek counterpart. One might start from an old paradigm nom. **lei-mōn*, acc. **li-men-m*, gen. **li-mn-os*. For the etymology, only suppositions are at hand. Starting from the idea 'moistness, standing water, etc.', it has been connected with Lat. *līmus* 'mud', to which may belong the words mentioned under λείμαξ with anlauting *sl-*. Also, words mentioned s.v. ►λείβω, e.g. Lith. *líeti*, might be considered as well. Pok. 309 defends connection with Lat. *līmus* 'oblique', *līmen* 'threshold', and without *m*-suffix, e.g. Latv. *leja* 'dale, valley', assuming a basic sense of *'dip, low place, bay'.

λεῖος [adj.] 'level, smooth', of the soil, of surfaces, etc. (Il.), also 'rubbed, well-ground' (Delos, pap., Dsc.), cf. λε(ι)αίνω, -όω below. ◄IE? **lei-* 'smooth'?►

•VAR λείως [adv.] (also λέως after τελέως, ἡδέως, etc., cf. also λε(ι)αίνω below) 'smoothly', also metaph. 'completely, totally' (IA), cf. Lat. *plānē*, MoHG *glatt*.

•COMP Frequent as a first member, like in λειό-φλοιος 'with smooth bark' (Thphr.), also with adverbial value (with -ω- after λε(ί)ως), e.g. λειώλης = πανώλης (Rhodos VI[a]), λεω-κόνιτος 'turned into fine dust', -κόρητος 'swept clean', i.e. 'utterly destroyed' (Theognost., H., Phot.), λεω-πάτητος 'completely trodden down' (S. *Ant.* 1275 with v.l. λακ-πάτητος, see ►λάξ); cf. further λεωργός = πανοῦργος, κακοῦργος (Archil. 88, 3, A. *Pr.* 5, X.), see Chantraine *Glotta* 33 (1954): 25ff.

•DER λειότης [f.] 'smoothness' (Att.), λείαξ 'beardless boy' (*EM*, H.); two denominatives: λε(ι)αίνω [v.] 'to smoothen, grind' (Il.), also with ἐκ-, συν-, ἀπο-, etc. Thence λε(ί)αν-σις, -τήρ, -τικός, ἐκλεα-σμός, etc. (Arist.); further λειόω [v.] 'id.' (Arist.), also συν-, ἀπο-, etc.; thence λείω-μα 'powder' (Thphr.); -σις 'grinding' (Gal.).

•ETYM Beside the *o*-stem in *λεῖϝος, Latin has an *i*-stem *lēvis* 'smooth', which may have replaced an older *u*-stem (cf. *brevis*). Schrijver 1991: 283f. proposed that *λεῖϝος and *lēvis* go back on a *u*-stem **leh₁i-u-*, with secondary thematicization in Greek. The root is also found in λῖτός and cognates (see ►λίς 2), and probably in ►λείμαξ.

λείπω [v.] 'to leave (behind)', intr. 'to be wanting, disappear', med. 'to depart' (Il.). ◄IE **leikʷ-* 'leave behind'►

•VAR λιμπάνω (Sapph., Hp., Th., v.l. Λ 604), fut. λείψω, aor. λιπεῖν, perf. λέλοιπα, med. λέλειμμαι (all Il.+), aor. pass. λειφθῆναι (*h. Merc.*, Pi.), aor. λεῖψαι (Ar.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα-, ὑπο-. As a first member in several governing compounds, partly with privative mg., like λιπό-τεκνος 'childless' (Pi.), see Schwyzer: 442. On the formation of the stem see Sommer 1948: 124f. Also with inversion of the members, like in σαρκο-λιπής (*AP*) for λιπό-σαρκος (Hp.). Also note λειψ(ι)- in λειψ-υδρ-ία 'lack of water' (Thphr.), etc.

•DER Substantives: 1. λεῖμμα (ὑπό-, κατά-, ἔλ-, etc.) 'rest' (IA, Arist.). 2. λεῖψις (ἔκ-, ἀπό-, etc.) 'leaving, continuing absence' (IA). 3. λείψανον, mostly plur. -α 'remainder' (E., Ar., Pl.). 4. ἐκλειπ-ία 'lack' (J.).
Adjectives: 5. λοιπός (also ὑπό-, κατά-, etc. from ὑπο-λείπω, etc.) 'remaining' (post-Hom.), with (ὑπο)λοιπ-άς [f.] 'rest' (pap.), ἀπολοιπ-ασία 'id.' (Hero, pap.). 6. ἐκ-, ἐν-, ὑπο-λιπ-ής, etc. (v.l. -λειπής) 'lacking, remaining, etc.' (Att.). 7. ἐκ-, ἐν-, παρα-, ὑπο-λειπτικός 'regarding the ἔκλειψις' (Hell.).
Apart stands λίσσωμεν· ἐάσωμεν 'let us leave/depart' (H.); the explanation is dubious, cf. Schwyzer: 692.
•ETYM The thematic root aorist ἔ-λιπ-ε has exact parallels in Arm. *e-lik'*, Skt. *áricat*, from IE **h₁é-likʷ-e-t* 'he left'. An old perfect **(le-)loikʷ-h₂e* is continued in Skt. *riréca*, λέλοιπα, and (without reduplication) in Germanic (e.g. Go. *laiƕ*) and Lat. *līquī*. The nasal present λιμπάνω best resembles Arm. *lk'-an-em* < IE **likʷ-n-*; nasal presents of various formation are found elsewhere too, e.g. Skt. *riṇákti*, Lat. *linquō*. The thematic root present λείπω corresponds to the Gm. verb in e.g. Go. *leihvan*, OHG *līhan* 'to let, lend', and to Lith. *liekù* 'to let'. The last stands for older athematic *liekmì*. The Gm. present may go back to a nasalized **liŋhu̯-*, which would correspond to Lat. *linquō*. For the various formations, see now LIV² s.v. **leikʷ-*.
The correspondence of λοιπός with the substantives Skt. *ati-reka-* [m.], Lith. *āt-laikas*, OCS *otъ-lěkъ* 'remainder' < IE **-loikʷ-o-* is noteworthy.

λείριον [n.] 'lily, Lilium candidum' (*h. Cer.* 427, Hp., A. R., Thphr., Dsc.; λείριον ἄνθεμον Pi.), also 'narciss' (Thphr., Dsc.). ◁PG(O)▷
•COMP As a second member in the PN Ἱοδα-λείριος (Il.).
•DER λείρινος 'prepared from lilies' (Dsc., Gal.), also 'lily-like' (ἄνθος, Thphr. *HP* 3, 18, 11; not entirely certain), λειρι-ώδης 'lily-like' (Thphr.), -όεις 'ptng. to the lily' (Nic. *Al.* 406). λειριόεις also of the skin (*N* 830), of the voice or the singing of cicadas (Γ 152), of the song of the Muses (Hes. *Th.* 41, Q. S. 2, 418); λείριος of the voice (A. R., Orph.), also of the eyes (B. 17, 95), λειρός, λειρά [n.pl.] of the song of the cicadas (*IG* 14, 1934: f6, metr. inscr.).
•ETYM Like Lat. *līlium*, the word comes from an eastern Mediterranean language; a comparable word for 'lily' is found in Coptic: *hrêri*, *hlêli* (Eg. *ḫrr-t*). We also find several like words for 'flower', Hamit. *ilili*, *alili*, Alb. *lule*, Hitt. *alil-*, *alēl*; see WH s.v. *līlium*, Benveniste *BSL* 50 (1954): 43, Fur.: 369.
The poetic word λειριόεις and (later attested – probably back-formations) λείριος and λειρός, as epithets of the skin and the voice, can be understood as derivatives of λείριον 'lily-white, soft as lilies'; see Wærn *Eranos* 50 (1952): 19f. Leumann 1950: 27f. doubts that intermediate phases can be reconstructed. Others (see Frisk) connected the gloss λειρός (cod. -ώς)· ὁ ἰσχνὸς καὶ ὠχρός 'thin and pale' (H.), arisen by dissimilation from *λειλός, which would belong to Lith. *leīlas* 'thin, slender'. Improbable.

λειτουργέω (ληϊτ-), -ία, -ός ⇒λαός.

λείτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'priest' (post-class. Att. inscr.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR ὁμο-λείτωρ = συλ-λειτουργός (Att. inscr. II^{p}), λείτορες· ἱέρειαι (H.); λητῆρες· ἱεροὶ στεφανηφόροι. Ἀθαμᾶνες (H.), fem. λήτειραι· ἱέρειαι τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν (H. = Call. *Fr.* 123), λείτειρη· ἱέρειαι (Boeot. *apud* H.); uncertain Arc. λετορο<ς> (*IG* 5(2), 405).

•DER Denominative λειτορεύω [v.] 'to be λείτωρ' (Thess. since II^{a}; perhaps also Eg., see Wilhelm *AfP* 9: 214ff.). Details on the distribution in Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 83f., also Fraenkel 1910: 145, Bechtel 1921, 1: 207f., Benveniste 1948: 47fn. Cf. also ἀλήτωρ· ἱερεύς (H.); further λετωρ 'priest' (inscr. Arc.).

•ETYM Because of the form λητῆρες, which is ascribed to the northwestern Athamanes, and (if correctly explained) because of Arc. λετορο<ς>, Thess. and Boeot. λει- seem to represent PGr. λη-. Att. λείτωρ may then perhaps be a loan from Boeotian. For the same reason, the semantically attractive connection with λῆϊ-τος, λῆΐτη and λήτη 'ἱέρεια', and also with λειτουργός (see ►λαός), presents difficulties. Moreover, -τωρ, -τηρ (instead of -της) is remarkable as a secondary suffix. Other hypotheses (see Frisk): relations to λάτρον; and to λίσσομαι, λιταί. To my mind, the prothetic vowel seems to point to a Pre-Greek word.

λειχήν, -ῆνος 'lichen'. ⇒λείχω.

λείχω [v.] 'lick' (IA). ◁IE **leiǵʰ-* 'lick'▷

•VAR Aor. λεῖξαι, fut. λείξω.

•COMP Also with περι-, δια-, ἀνα-, ἐκ-, etc. As a first member in Λειχ-ήνωρ and other parodising PNs (Batr.).

•DER λειχήν, -ῆνος [m.] "the licker", 'lichen, moss, rash' (A., Hp., Thphr.), with λειχήν-η plantname = μυρτάκανθος (Dsc.), -ώδης 'lichen-like', -ικός 'ptng. to moss' (medic.), λειχην-ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from λ.' (Thphr.). ἔκλειγ-μα (to ἐκ-λείχω) 'tablet, candy', ἐκλεικ-τόν 'id.' (medic.).

Ablauting: 1. λιχανός (δάκτυλος) [m.] 'forefinger' (Hp., pap.), with oppositive accent (Schwyzer: 380) λίχανος [m.] 'the string struck by the forefinger' (Aristox., Arist.); λιχάς, -άδος [f.] 'the distance between the forefinger and the thumb' (Hero, Poll.), after διχάς, πεντάς, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 358) for expected *λιχανάς. 2. λιχμιάομαι, -άω [v.] 'to lick' (since Φ 123; on λελιχμιότες Hes. *Th.* 826 see Leumann 1950: 218), also with ἀπο-, περι-, etc. Thence λιχμ-ήμων, -ήρης 'licking' (Nic.) and λιχμάς· θρῖναξ. καὶ ἁπαλὴ πόα καὶ χαμαιπετής, ἣν τὰ ἑρπετὰ ἐπιλείχουσι 'trident, also a delicate herb on the ground which snakes (animals) lick' (H.). Lengthened forms: λιχμιάζω (Hes. *Sc.* 235, Nic.), -αινω (Opp.) 'id.' 3. λίχνος 'fond of sweets, greedy, gluttonous, tasty' (Att., Hell.) with λιχνώδης 'id.' (Ael.), λιχνότης 'greediness' (sch.); denominative verb λιχνεύω, -ομαι 'to be greedy, swallow' (D. H., Ph., Plu.), also with ἐπι-, περι-; thence λίχνευμα 'delicacy' (Sophr.), λιχνεία 'dainty, rapacity' (Pl., X.).

•ETYM Beside the thematic root present λείχω, from which all other Greek forms derive, the related languages show several formations: a full grade *yod*-present in Lith. *liežiù*, OCS *ližǫ*; nasal present in Lat. *lingō*; iterative formations in Go. *bi-laigon*, Lith. *laižýti* < IE **loiǵʰ-*; several full grade formtions in Arm. *liz-um*, *-em*, *-anem*; zero grade in OIr. *ligim*, gemination in OHG *lecchōn*, etc.

An athematic present with old ablaut is retained in Skt. *léhmi*, *lihmás* [1pl.] < IE **léiǵʰ-mi*, **liǵʰ-més*. Greek too once had zero grade verbal forms, as evidenced by nouns like λιχανός (cf. πιθανός), λίχνος and the denominative λιχμάομαι, which presupposes an μ-stem λιχ-μ- (Schwyzer: 725[9]). See now LIV[2] s.v. **leiǵʰ-* on the various types of formation.

λεκάνη [f.] 'basin, dish' (Ar., inscr., pap.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR λακάνη (Hell.), -ίσκη (H.).

•DER λεκάν-ιον (Ar.), -ίδιον (Poll., Eust.), -ίς [f.] (Ar., Plu., Luc.), -ίσκη [f.] (com.). Also λέκος [n.] 'id.' (Hippon.) with λεκάριον (Hell.), λεκίς [f.] (Epich.), -ίσκος [m.] (Hp.) 'id.', -ίσκιον as a measure (Hp.).

•ETYM For λεκάνη, cf. πατάνη, οὐράνη, and other names of utensils in -άνη, -ανον (Chantraine 1933: 197ff.); also note λέκος beside the vessel name ἄγγος. The pair λέκος : λεκάνη is comparable with στέφος : στεφάνη, ἔρκος : ἑρκάνη (though the latter is late; see on ἔρκος).

Outer-Greek connections that were proposed (see Frisk) are almost certainly wrong; the word is Pre-Greek (thus already E-M s.v. *lanx*). The variants with λακ- are not due to a (late) assimilation, but rather point to substrate origin. See Fur.: 352.

The word λεκάνη was borrowed as Arab. *leken*, Osman. *lejen*, which in turn was borrowed as MoGr. τὸ λεγένι 'bowl, dish' and Ru. *legin* 'kind of vase'.

λέκιθος [m.] 'gruel or pulse of cereals' (Hp., Gal., com.), fem. 'yolk' (Hp., Arist.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER λεκίθιον [n.] (*PHolm.* 19, 41), λεκιθ-ώδης 'color of yolk' (Hp., Thphr.), -ίτης ἄρτος 'bread from leguminous plants' (Ath.).

•ETYM Because of the suffixes and the meaning, the word is clearly of Pre-Greek origin. DELG recalls the TN Λεκίθη.

λέκτρον 'bed, couch', etc. ⇒λέχος.

λελιημένος [adj.] 'longing for' (Il., Emp., A. R.). ◁?▷

•VAR Late finite forms λελίη-το (A. R.), -σαι (Theoc., Orph.).

•ETYM An isolated perfect formation, traditionally connected with λιλαίομαι; λελιημένος is then taken to be analogical after τετιημένος; critique of this in Tichy 1983: 230[7]. She suggests connection with λίην, or an epic "Streckform" for *λελήμενος to λῆν 'want'. Uncertain.

λέμβος [m.] 'small fast-sailing galley' (D., Anaxandr., Hell.). ◁LW Illyr.?▷

•DER λεμβῶδες πλοῖον (Arist.).

•ETYM Lat. *lembus* is a loan from Greek. A foreign word without etymology; perhaps Illyrian (see the litt. in WH s.v. *lembus*).

λέμφος [m., n.] 'mucous discharge from the nostrils, κόρυζα, μύξα' (Lib., Moer., H., Tz.); plur. also 'putrescent carcasses' (Phot., Eust.), metonymic 'simple man' (Men.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER λεμφώδης 'snivelling' (sch.).

•ETYM Fur.: 160 recognized that it is the same word as ►λάμπη, which shows characteristic Pre-Greek variations.

λέξις ⇒λέγω.

λεόπαρδος [m.] 'leopard' (Gal., Edict. Diocl.). ◄GR►
•VAR Also λεοπάρδαλις (see Wessely *Glotta* 6 (1915): 29f.).
•ETYM Starting from the Iliad, the normal word for 'leopard' was ►πάρδαλις. Probably, λεόπαρδος was formally influenced by Lat. *pardus*, *leopardus*, or even a borrowing from Latin (DELG). The analysis as a compound of λέων and πάρδος is doubtful, because πάρδος is only attested in Ael. *NA* 1, 31 (v.l. πάρδαλος), and λεο- instead of λεοντο- is rare, e.g. λεο-δράκων, name of a mythical being (Crete IV^{a}).

λέπαδνον [n.] 'broad leather strap, fastening the yoke to the neck and the girth' (Il., A., Ar., *AP*, pap.). ◄PG(S)►
•VAR Mostly plur. -να; also λέπαμνα (Apollon. *Lex.*), with δν > μν (Schwyzer: 208).
•DER λεπαδν-ιστήρ [m.] 'end of the λ.' (Poll.), like βραχιον-ιστήρ, κορυφ-ιστήρ, etc.
•ETYM Frisk's connection with λεπάς, -άδος 'limpet' (adducing ὀπιδ-νός, παιδ-νός; Chantraine 1933: 194) is semantically strange: the λέπαδνα would cling to the neck like snails (he compares Ar. *V.* 105 ὥσπερ λεπὰς προσεχόμενος τῷ κίονι 'clinging to the pillar like a snail'). Without a doubt, a Pre-Greek word.

λέπας [n.] 'bare rock, mountain' (Simon., A., E., Th.). ◄LW Medit.?►
•VAR Only nom. and acc. sg.
•DER λεπαῖος 'rocky' (E.); λεπάς, -άδος [f.] 'limpet' (Alc. Z 36, 2 [uncertain], Epich., com., Arist.), as the animal clings to the rock (cf. H. λεπάδες· τὰ πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις κεκολλημένα κογχύλια 'mussels sticking to the rocks'), but alternatively, derived from λέπος, λεπίς 'shell, scale'.
From λέπας: λεπαστή (-άστη) [f.] 'limpet-like drinking cup' (com.) with λεπαστίς, -ίδος 'id.' (vase-inscr., H.); on the formation Schwyzer: 503; borrowed as Lat. *lepista*, *-esta*; λέπαστρον· σκεῦός τι ἁλιευτικόν 'a fisherman's instrument' (H.), cf. δέπαστρον, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 333f.); λεπαδεύομαι [v.] 'to collect λ.s' (H., Phot.).
•ETYM The similarity between λέπας and Lat. *lapis*, *-idis* [m., f.] 'stone' is hardly accidental; a Mediterranean borrowing is most probable.

λεπαστή (-άστη) ⇒λέπας.

λέπω [v.] 'to peel (off)' (Il.). ◄PG(S,V)►
•VAR Aor. λέψαι, fut. λέψω (Il.), perf. med. ἀπο-λέλεμμαι (Epich.), aor. pass. ἀπελέπη· ἀπελεπίσθη (H.); ablauting λέλαμμαι (Att. inscr. around 330^{a}), ἐκ-λαπῆναι (Ar. *Fr.* 164).
•DIAL Myc. *re-po-to* /leptos/.
•COMP Sometimes with ἀπο-, ἐκ- (see above), περι-, ἐπι-.
•DER A. With *e*-grade (from the present): 1. λεπτός (cf. στρεπτός) 'peeled' (Υ 497), 'thin, lean, weak, fine, delicate' (Il.), often as a first member. Poetic and lengthened λεπτ-αλέος 'weak, fine' (Il.), see Chantraine 1933: 255; λεπτ-ακινός 'id.' (*AP*), perhaps from *λέπταξ (Bechtel 1914 s.v. φυζακινός); further λεπτίον 'mug' (pap.) from

λεπτόν (scil. κεράμιον) 'thin earthenware' (pap.), λεπτάγιον a kind of vase? (*PHib.* 1, 47, 13; III[a]), acc. to the editors perhaps = λεπτόγειον 'barren land'; λεπτάριον name of a medical instrument (*Herm.* 38, 282); λεπτίτιδες κριθαί kind of barley (Gp.); λεπτότης [f.] 'thinness, leanness, etc.' (IA), λεπτοσύνη 'id.' (*AP*); λεπτύνω [v.] 'to make thin, etc.' (Hp., X., Arist.), λεπτυσμός, λέπτυνσις (Hp.), -υντικός (Dsc., Gal.). 2. λεπρός 'scaly, leprous, uneven, raw' (Hp., Hippon., Hell.), fem. λεπράς (Theoc., Opp.); λέπρα (Ion. -ρη) 'leprosy' (Ion., Arist., Hell.), both probably first from an ρ-stem (cf. Schwyzer: 481); λεπρώδης 'uneven, leprous' (Ael., Dsc., medic.), λεπρικός 'relating to rash or lepra' (Dsc., pap.); denominative verbs: λεπράω [v.] 'to become scaly or leprous' (Ion.), also λεπρ-ιάω (Dsc.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω; λεπρόομαι 'id.' (LXX, pap.) with λέπρωσις = λέπρα (Tz.), λεπρύνομαι 'to become scaly, uneven' (Nic.). 3. λέπος [n.] (Alex., Nic., Luc.) with λέπιον (Hp.), usually λεπίς, -ίδος [f.] (Ion. Hell.) 'scale, shell, pod, metal plate' with diminutive λεπίδιον (Hero), also as a plant name 'pepperwort' (Dsc., Gal., Ath.; as a remedy against rash), λεπιδίσκη 'id.' (Imbros II[a]); further λεπιδ-ωτός 'scaly' (Hdt., Arist.), with λεπιδόομαι 'to become scaly' (Hp.); other denominatives: λεπίζω (to λέπος or λεπίς) [v.] 'to remove the scale, to peel off' (Hell.), with λέπισμα 'scale' (LXX, Dsc., Gal.); ἐλέπουν· οἷον ἐλέπιζον ... (H.); note λέπασμα 'pod, skin' (sch. Nic. *Th.* 184); rather lengthened from λέπος than from *λεπάζω. 4. On λεπάς, ►λέπας see s.v. 5. λέπῡρον 'shell, pod' (LXX, Batr.) with λεπυρώδης 'like a shell' (Thphr.); λεπύρ-ιον 'id.' (Hp., Arist., Theoc.), -ιώδης 'id.' (Arist., Thphr.), λεπυρίζομαι [v.] 'to be contained in a husk or shell' (sch.), λεπυριῶσαι· ἐξαχυριῶσαι (H.); besides λεπῡρός 'contained in a shell' (Nic.). On itself stands λεπύχανον 'skin of an onion, rind of fruit' (Theopomp. Com., Plu., Dsc.).

B. With *o*-grade: 6. λοπός [m.] 'peel, rind' (τ 233, Hp.) with λόπιμος 'easy to peel off', (Nic., Gal.), λόπιμα· κάστανα 'chestnuts' ... (H.); diminutive λοπάς [f.] 'dish', also name of a crustacean and of a botanical disease (com., Thphr., Luc.), with λοπάδ-ιον (com., pap.), -ίσκος (sch.); λοπίς 'scale, dish, etc.' (Ar., inscr.) with λοπίδιον (Delos); denominative λοπάω [v.] 'to flake off, let the bark peel off' (Thphr.), λοπίζω 'id.' (Thphr., pap.), λοπητός [m.] 'time of bark peeling off' (Thphr.). 7. On ►ἔλλοψ, see s.v.

C. With lengthened grade: 8. λώπη 'pod, coat' (Od., Theoc., A. R.), λῶπος [m.] 'id.' (Alc. [?], Hippon., Anacr., Herod.); as a first member in λωπο-δύ-της [m.] "who dresses in other peoples' clothes", 'thief of clothes' with λωποδυτ-έω, etc. (Att.); without a suffix λώψ· χλαμύς 'mantle, cloak' (H.). Diminutive λώπιον (Arist., inscr.); denominative ἀπο-, περι-λωπίζω 'to undress, put off' (S., Hyp.).

•ETYM The primary thematic present λέπω, from which all verbal forms were derived (λέλαμμαι, -λαπῆναι are innovations after ἔστραμμαι, στραφῆναι, etc.), has no direct correspondences outside Greek. There are a few nominal formations resembling the Greek forms: Lith. *lãpas* 'leaf', Alb. *lapë* 'rag, leaf, peritoneum' (~ λοπός), Lith. *lõpas* 'rag, piece' (~ λῶπος), together with Ru. *lápot'* 'shoe of bark', *lapotók* 'rag, piece'. The form λέπος was also compared with the *s*-stem Lat. *lepõs* 'grace', and the extension in Ru. *lépest* 'rag, piece, leaf of a flower'.

However, we may safely conclude that the verb is non-IE (and Pre-Greek): there is hardly any exact correspondence, and the semantics are not very convincing. Note the forms λεπάγιον, λεπακινός, λέπασμα, λέπυρον, λεπύχανον, λέπρα, λώψ, λῶπος, etc., with suffixes and/or alternations of Pre-Greek appearance.

λέσφος 'smooth'. ⇒λίσπος.

λέσχη [f.] 'lounge' (σ 329, Hes.), 'resting-place, grave' (Rhodos), 'public building' (Dor., Att.), 'talk, gossip' (Ion. poet.). ◂PG(S) / LW Anat.?▸
•COMP ἔλ-λεσχος 'subject to gossip' (Hdt. 1, 153), from ἐν λέσχῃ; πρό-λεσχος 'eager to talk' (A. *Supp.* 200), cf. πρό-χειρος, etc.; on ▸ἀδολέσχης see s.v.
•DER λεσχήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'chatterer' (Timo 46); λεσχηνεῖ· ὁμιλεῖ, μυθολογεῖ (H.). λεσχαῖος· ἐξηγητής, ὁμιλητής (H.); λεσχάραι· οἷον αἱ σχολαί ... (*EM* 561, 17), see Solmsen 1909: 124f. Two month names of unclear formation: Λεσχανάσιος (Tegea), Λεσχανόριος (Thessal., Gortyn); also Ἀπόλλων Λεσχηνόριος (from the λέσχαι which were under his protection?).
•ETYM Most often connected with λέχος 'bed' as PGr. **lek^h-skā-*. However, Greek had no nominal suffix **-sk-*, so a σκ-present *λέχ-σκ-εται > *λέσχεται has been assumed to underlie λέσχη. However, there is no trace of this verb. OHG *lescan* (MoHG *löschen*) 'to disappear' (supposed to derive from 'to lie down') and OIr. *lesc* 'lazy' are uncertain.
As the λέσχη was not necessarily a room for lying down, the whole etymology (even granting that *λεσχεται really existed) is improbable. Long ago, the agreement with Hebr. *liškāh* was observed. This cannot be ignored. It was assumed that Greek took the word from the East (cf. West 1997: 38), and not the other way round, and as the word is isolated in North West Semitic; Schrader 1911: 469 already assumed that both languages took it from Anatolia, which seems the most probable interpretation. This is accepted by Fur.: 295, 257, who points out that the suffix of λεσχάραι is non-Greek; he also points to the variant Hebr. *niškāh*, which may point to Anatolian interchange *l/n*, as in Fur.: 388.

λευγαλέος [adj.] 'wretched, unhappy, sore, baneful, etc.' (Il.). ◂IE? **leug-* 'break'▸
•DER λυγρός 'id.' (Il.).
•ETYM The pair λευγαλέος : λυγρός has a (late) parallel in ἐρευθαλέος : ἐρυθρός.The word λευγαλέος is isolated and archaic, and may derive from a noun (perhaps *λεῦγος, like ἔρευθος, and cf. ἀργαλέος : ἄλγος, θαρσαλέος : θάρσος, etc.; Schwyzer: 484). The word λυγρός is isolated, as well (perhaps it derives from a primary verb; see below).
The Greek adjectives have no direct correspondences in other languages, but there are several cognate forms, of which Lat. *lūgeō* 'to be sad' is semantically closest. This can be understood as an iterative-intensive secondary formation, or as a denominative (to **lūgus* < IE **lougo-*, beside *λεῦγος < IE **leug-os-*?).
Connection with primary verbs for 'to break' may be envisaged: Skt. *rujáti* 'to break, torment', Lith. *lūžti* 'to break' [intr.] (semantically, compare *širdìs lúžta* 'the heart breaks'), OHG *liohhan* 'to tear, draw', Arm. *lucanem* 'to set free'. LIV^2 s.v. **leug-*

reconstructs a plain velar because of forms like YAv. *uruxti-* [f.] 'breaking'. See ►ἁλυκτοπέδη.

λευκανίη 'throat'. ⇒λαυκανίη.

λευκός [adj.] 'clear, white' (Il.). ◅IE **leuk-* 'white'▻

•COMP Many compounds (some prefixed), like διά-, παρά-, ἐπί-, ὑπό-λευκος (Strömberg 1946: 161).

•DER 1. Substantives with oppositive accent: λεύκη [f.] 'white rash' (IA), 'white poplar' (Att., Hell.), whence λεύκινος 'made of white poplar' (Arist., Hell. inscr.), Λευκαῖος epithet of Zeus (Paus.), λευκαία (-έα) 'white poplar, etc.' (pap.); λεῦκος [m.] name of an unknown fish (Theoc.) with λευκίσκος [m.] 'white mullet' (Hikes. *apud* Ath., Gal.), see Strömberg 1943: 22f., Thompson 1947 s.vv. 2. λευκάς [f.] 'the white one' (Nic.), name of rocks and of an island (ω 11), also plant name 'Lamium' (Dsc.). 3. Further substantives: λευκότης [f.] 'whiteness, the color white' (IA), λευκίτας [m.] name of a he-goat (Theoc. 5, 147), λεύκηθρον plant name (Dsc. 3, 96; v.l. λάκηθρον; see Strömberg 1940: 147); Λεύκαρος (< -αλος?), -αρίων PN (Epich., inscr.), see Schulze 1933a: 115³, perhaps also Δευκαλίων with a different dissimilation (see Schulze l.c.).

4. Verbs: a. λευκαίνω 'to make or paint white' (μ 172), λεύκανσις (Arist.), λευκασία 'bleaching, whitening' (*PHolm.*, Cyran.); also as a HN in Messenia, Arc. TN Λευκάσιον; λευκαντής, -τικός 'one who makes or paints white' (gloss., sch.). b. λευκόομαι 'to become white', -όω 'to make white' (Pi., Att.), whence λεύκωμα 'whitened tablet' (Att.), 'white speck in the eye' (Arist., pap.), -ωματικός, -ωματώδης, -ωματίζομαι (medic., sch.); λεύκωσις = λευκασία (*PHolm.* 3, 6), -ωτής (or -ωτός? Att. inscr., mg. unknown). c. λευκαθέω, only in λευκαθεόντων [ptc.gen.pl.] 'gleaming white' (Hes. *Sc.* 146), metrical reshaping in verse-final position for λευκαθόντων from λευκάθω, acc. to Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 44ff.; Λευκαθέα, with secondary *o*-vowel Λευκοθέα (Od., Pi.) name of a goddess, τὰ Λευκάθεα festival on Teos, -θεών month name (Ion.); lengthened form λευκαθίζω 'to gleam white' (Hdt., LXX), also -ανθίζω (imperial period), after ἄνθος, Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 44ff.

•ETYM Originally a verbal noun, identical with Skt. *rocá-* 'bright' from *rócate* 'to shine, radiate, etc.'. Another old verbal noun is seen in Lat. *lūcus* 'wood, forest', properly 'glade', Lith. *laũkas* 'field', OHG *lōh* 'overgrown glade', Skt. *lokā-* [m.] 'free space, world', IE **louko-* [m.]. In Greek, ►λεύσσω, ►λύχνος, ►λοῦσσον also belong to this large group of words.

λευρός [adj.] 'open (of fields), spacious, even, smooth' (since η 123). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with Lat. *lēvis* (as defended by de De Lamberterie 1990b: 420f.) is improbable, as this rather belongs with ►λεῖος.

λεύσσω [v.] 'to see (clearly), look, examine' (Il.), cf. Ruijgh 1957: 132. ◅IE **leuk-* '(become) light'▻

•VAR Present stem only, except for the isolated and late aorist forms λεύσσατε, λεύσσειε(ν); on mg. and construction Treu 1955: 64.

•DIAL Arc. λεύσω, but see on ►λευτῶν.

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, εἰσ-, προσ-, προ-.
•ETYM Beside the full grade yod-present λεύσ(σ)ω from *λευκ-ι̯ω, Sanskrit has a full grade thematic root present *lokate* 'to discern, perceive' (also *locate*, with *locana-* [n.] 'eye'), which differs slightly from *rócate* 'shine' (see ►λευκός). An athematic middle present is preserved in Hitt. *lukk-*^{tta} 'to become light, dawn' < **leuk-to*; Lat. *lūceō* 'make light, dawn' = Skt. *rocáyati* 'to make shine' is from IE **louk-éie/o-*, iterative-intensive or causative; ToA *lkām* 'I see', ToB *lkāskau* 'id.' are from a *sk*-present, beside a full grade in ToB *lyuketrä* 'he is illuminated'. The meaning 'to see' arose from 'to light up'. See ►λύχνος, ►λοῦσσον.

λευτῶν [nom.sg.] 'negligent', 'seeing'? (Arc. *IG* 5(2), 3). ◅?▻
•ETYM Dubois 1988: 77-78 follows the traditional interpretation that the τ is a special way of writing the (old) affricate of λεύσσων. A different interpretation is suggested by Morpurgo Davies *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 459-468: she reads λευτοντες in *IG* 5(2), 16: 10, basing herself on the squeeze (though the back side of the squeeze does read λευσοντες, as she remarks op.cit. 468). This would eliminate Arcadian evidence for λεύσ(σ)ω, and she tentatively reconstructs a root **leut-*, at least for the two Arcadian forms, but perhaps also for λεύσ(σ)ω itself (**leut-ie/o-* instead of **leuk-ie/o-*).

λεύω [v.] 'to stone, lapidate' (IA). ◅?▻
•VAR Aor. λεῦσαι, aor. pass. λευσθῆναι, fut. λεύσω.
•COMP Also with κατα-.
•DER λευστήρ [m.] 'lapidator' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 5, 67, trag.), λευσμός [m.] 'lapidation' (A., E.), (κατα-)λεύσιμος 'connected with lapidation' (after θανάσιμος), λευστά· ... λιθοβόλητα 'hit by stones' (H.).
•ETYM Traditionally considered to be a denominative of ►λᾶας 'stone', but it now appears that λᾶας had no -ϝ-. Pedersen 1926: 45f. proposes relation to ON *ljósta*, pret. *laust* 'to slay' from IE **leus-t-*.

λέχεται [v.] · κοιμᾶται 'lies down in bed' (H.). ◅IE **leg^{h}-* 'lie'▻
•VAR Also perf. ptc. λελο[γ]χυῖα· λεχὼ γενομένη 'lying in childbed' (H., also Antim. in *PMilan.* 17 II 10), καλέχες· κατάκεισο. Πάφιοι 'lie down (Paph.)' (H.), to which belong the epic aorist and future forms λέκτο, λέξο, -λέχθαι, -λέγμενος (< λεχ-το, -σο, -σθαι, -μενος, Chantraine 1942: 296); λέξασθαι, λέξομαι (also with παρα-, κατα-, προσ-) 'to lie, lie down'; act. aor. λέξον, ἔλεξα 'to lay down, put to sleep' (Il.).
•DER 1. λέχος [n.] 'lair, bed', especially 'bridal bed', also 'deathbed' (Il.); as a first member in λεχε-ποίης 'having grass as a bed' (Il.), as a second member in e.g. ὀρει-λεχής 'having his lair in the mountains' (Emp.); with λεχαῖος 'belonging to the lair' (A. *Th.* 292 [conj.], A. R.), λεχήριης 'bedridden' (E. [lyr.]), λεχώ [f.] 'woman who has just given birth' (E., Ar., Cyrene), also λεκχώ (Delphi), with expressive gemination (Schwyzer: 478^{3} and Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 18), with λεχώϊος; λεχωΐς = λεχώ (A. R., Call.), see Schwyzer: 465.
2. λόχος [m.] 'childbed', but usually 'ambush, band (in ambush)', military 'armed band' (Il.), often as a second member, e.g. ἄ-λοχος [f.] 'spouse' (Il.); as a first member e.g. in λοχ-ᾱγός 'leader of a λόχος' (Dor.; S., Th., X.). Several derivatives: λόχιος 'ptng. to birth' (E., Ar.), ἡ Λοχία epithet of Artemis (E., inscr.), τὰ λόχια

'discharge after childbirth' (Hp., Arist.); λοχεῖος (E. [lyr.], Plu.), λοχαῖος (Arat., *AP*) 'id.'; λοχίτης [m.] 'sbd. belonging to the same λόχος, fellow soldier' (A., S., X.); λοχώ (-ώς, -ός) = λεχώ (LXX, Dsc.). Transformation λοχεός 'ambush' (Hes. *Th.* 178), after φωλεός, etc.; λοχή = λόχμη (late epigr.).

Denominatives: a. λοχάω, -ομαι [v.] 'to lie in ambush' (epic Ion., Hell.); after κοιμάω, -ομαι; thence λόχησις, -ητικός (late). b. λοχεύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to give birth, deliver', pass. 'to be delivered, be born' (*h. Merc.*, trag., etc.) with λόχευμα 'that which is born' (A., E.), λοχεία 'process of birth' (Pl., E.), λοχεύτρια [f.] 'woman who has just given birth' (sch.). c. λοχίζω 'to lie in ambush, to distribute men among companies' (Hdt., Th.), with λοχισμός 'the setting of traps' (Plu.). 3. λέκτρον, often plur. -α 'couch, bridal bed' (Il.); compounds like κοινό-λεκτρος 'sharing a bed, matrimonial, bedfellow' (A.); λεκτρίτῃ θρόνῳ· ἀνάκλισιν ἔχοντι 'leaning back against the bed' (H.). 4. λόχμη [f.] 'lair of wild beasts, thicket, bush' (τ 439, Arist.), perhaps after κώμη (Porzig 1942: 289; cf. also *κοίμη in κοιμάω), with λοχμαῖος 'living in the bush' (Ar. [lyr.]), -ιος 'id.' (*AP*), -ώδης 'overgrown with bushes, etc.' (Th., Thphr.), λοχμάζω [v.] 'to make up a thicket' (Pisand. Ep.).

The whole group of words was restricted in its use in Ionic-Attic (instead, κεῖμαι or (κατα)-κλίνομαι was used), see Ruijgh 1957: 153f.

•ETYM The thematic present λέχεται is exactly paralleled by ToB *lyaśäṃ* 3sg. 'lies down' < **leg^h-e-* and by Go. *ligan* 'to lie', which is suspected to be an innovation for the *yod*-present dominant in other Gm. and Slav. languages (e.g. OCS *ležǫ*), like *sitan* 'to sit'. A primary present, originally probably a *yod*-present too, is also found in Celtic: OIr. *laigid* 'lies down'. Italic once had this verb too, as appears from Falisc. *lecet* 'iacet'. Hitt. 3sg. *lāki* 'to fell, lay down' < **log^h-eie-*.

Nominal formations comparable to Greek verbal nouns: ON *lag* [n.] 'position', plur. *lǫg* 'law', Ru. *log* 'valley, cleft, fallow land', SCr. *lôg* 'lying', Pol. *od-łog* 'fallow field', Alb. *lagje* 'band, group', all from IE **log^h-o-* and formally identical to λόχος; OCS *lože* 'κλίνη, κοίτη = bed'; OHG *lehtar* 'uterus' = λέκτρον. In Slav., OCS *ložes-no*, plur. *-na* 'μήτρα, uterus' probably shows the *s*-stem of λέχος. For ἄ-λοχος, cf. Serb.CS *su-logъ* 'σύγ-κοιτος, spouse', CS *su-ložь*. Also, ToB *leke*, ToA *lake* 'lair'. See LIV^2 for further forms.

λέχριος [adj.] 'slanting, crosswise' (S., E., X.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER λέχρις [adv.] 'id.' (Antim., A. R.), after ἄχρις, μέχρις, Schwyzer: 620; also λικριφίς 'crosswise, sideways' (λ. ἀΐξας Ξ 463, τ 451). Glosses: λικροί· οἱ ὄζοι τῶν ἐλαφείων κεράτων 'the branches of the antlers of deer' (H.), with a variant λεκροί; λί(γ)ξ· πλάγιος 'sideways, athwart, etc.' (H.).

•ETYM As a basis of λέχριος, one formerly posited a ρ(ο)-stem *λεχρ(ο)- of unknown meaning, for which a pre-form *λεκ-σ-ρ- was reconstructed on account of λικροί/λεκροί (without -σ-). The form with -σ- is also seen in λοξός 'slanting' (cf. Schwyzer: 327).

However, the forms λεκροί/λικροί, λικριφίς and the gloss λι(γ)ξ display typical Pre-Greek alternations (interchange ε/ ι, κ/ χ and prenasalization). It is much more difficult to depart from IE forms with and without -σ- side by side, than to assume Pre-Greek origin. Note that the interchange ε/ ι is not the consequence of vowel

assimilation, as Frisk still assumed for λικριφίς, following Schwyzer: 256 et al. See ►λοξός.

λέων, -οντος [m.] 'lion' (Il.). ◄LW Sem.?►

•VAR Dat.pl. also λείουσι (Il.), on the supposed metrical lengthening of -ει- (Chantraine 1942: 102) cf. Wyatt 1969: 237³.

•DIAL Myc. *re-wo-pi* /lewont-pʰi/ [instr.], *re-wo-te-jo* /lewonteios/.

•COMP Compounds like λεοντό-πους 'lion-footed' (E., inscr.) with λεοντο-πόδιον plant name (Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 42; χαμαι-λέων kind of lizard, 'chameleon' (Arist.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 256, also as a plant name (Thphr., Dsc.), because of the varying color, Strömberg 1940: 110; on -λέων, -λέωνος in PNs (secondary) see Bechtel 1917b: 277. Cf. on ►λεόπαρδος.

•DER 1. Diminutives: λεόντ-ιον (Theognost. *Can.*, Med.), -άριον (inscr., pap.), also as a fem. PN (Epicur), -ίς 'lion-like ornament' (Lydia), -ιδεύς 'young lion' (Ael.). 2. λεοντέη, -τῆ [f.] 'lion skin' (IA). 3. Adjectives: λεόντ-ειος 'of a lion, lion-like' (A., Theoc., *AP*); -ώδης 'like a lion' (Pl., Arist.), -ικός 'of a lion' (Porph.), -ιανός 'born under the sign of the lion' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 4. λεοντ-ηδόν [adv.] 'like a lion' (LXX). 5. λεοντ-ιάω [v.], whence -ίασις name of a disease (medic.), cf. ἐλεφαντ-ιάω, -ίασις. 6. PNs Λεοντ-εύς, -ίας, etc. (see Boßhardt 1942: 72, Bechtel 1917b: 276f., Bechtel 1917a: 36). Fem. λέαινα 'lioness' (Hdt., A., Ar.).

•ETYM Judging by λέαινα, λέων was perhaps originally an *n*-stem, like δράκων. However, the fact that Myc. already has an *nt*-stem casts some doubt on this supposition.

λέων is a loan from an unknown source; Semitic origin is probable, but Hebr. *lābī'*, Assyr. *labbu*, Eg. *labu* are quite different phonetcally. Lat. *leō*, *-ōnis* was borrowed from λέων (the *n*-stem is a Lat. innovation). Thence were borrowed, either directly or indirectly, European forms like OIr. *leon* [gen.pl.], OE *lēo*, OHG *lewo* (whence the Slavic group of Ru. *lev*, together with Lith. *lēvas*).

On itself stands λῖς [m.] 'lion' (also λίς), acc. λῖν (Il.), which is often compared with Hebr. *lajiš* 'lion'.

λεωργός 'criminal'. •VAR λέως (λείως) 'completely'. ⇒λεῖος.

λήγω [v.] 'to cease, stop' (Il.), incidentally trans. 'to make stop, pause' (epic); on the mg. Porzig 1942: 48ff. ◄IE? **sleh₁/₂g-*, PG?(V)►

•VAR Aor. λῆξαι, fut. λήξω.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατα-, ἀπο-.

•DER λῆξις (ἀπό-, κατά-, etc.) 'cessation' (A., A. R., Ph.), as a grammatical term 'ending, desinence' (Demetr. *Eloc.*, A. D.); as a first member in governing compounds like ληξι-πύρετος 'allaying fever' (medic.); ἀπόληγμα 'border of a cloth' (Aq.); ἄ-(λ)ληκτος 'incessantly' (epic); ληκτικός 'terminal', κατα- 'coming to a premature end, incomplete', of a verse (grammatical and metrical).

•ETYM In view of ἄ-λληκτος, κατα-λλήξειαν (μ 224) and other forms, an original root *σλήγ- is probable. The thematic root present *σλήγ-ω, whence all the above forms are derived, has no direct counterpart in other languages. However, a zero grade nasal present is supposed within Greek in ►λαγγάζω 'to slacken' and Lat. *langueō* 'to

be slack' (for the formal difficulties, see s.v.). Besides, we find the primary zero grade aorist λαγάσαι (with the present ►λαγαίω 'to release') and several nouns, e.g. ►λαγαρός. A full grade form is retained in North Germanic, e.g. ON *slókr*. More forms in Pok. 959ff.

A pre-form IE **sleh₂g-* is possible; see Pok. 959. Joseph *Glotta* 60 (1982): 112-115 reconstructs **sleh₁g-*. However, one could also conceive of a Pre-Greek variation ληγ- / λαγγ- (long vowel alternating with prenasalization), cf. μηχανή / μάγγανον and κηκίς / καγχύλας.

See ►λωγάνιον, ►λογγάζω.

Λήδα [f.] mother of the Dioscuri and Helena (A. *Ag.* 914). ◄LW Lyd.?►

•VAR Λήδη (epic).

•ETYM Perhaps from Lyc. (not Lyd.!) *lada* 'wife, spouse'. See ►Λητώ.

λήδανον [n.] name of a resin-like substance, from the shrub called κίσθος (Hdt., medic., pap.). ◄LW Sem.►

•VAR Also λᾶδανον.

•DER Backformation λῆδον [n.] = κίσθος (Dsc.).

•ETYM A loan, originally from Semitic; cf. Arab. *lādan* > MoP *lādän*, Assyr. *ladunu* (λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον Hdt. 3, 112). Borrowed from Greek into Lat. *lēdanum*, *lādanum* (back-formations *lēda*, *lāda* 'Cistus cyprius'), Ru. *ládan* 'sweet-smelling resin, incense'. See Masson 1967: 55³. See ►λωτός.

ληδεῖν [v.] · κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκέναι 'to be tired'; ληδήσας· κεκμηκώς, κοπιάσας 'tired' (H.). ◄IE **leh₁d-* 'let (go)'►

•ETYM Because of ἀηδῆσαι· κοπιάσαι, καμεῖν; ἀηδέομεν· κοπιῶμεν; ἀηδής· κοπιώδης, ὀκνηρός 'reluctant, sluggish', the correctness of ληδεῖν, ληδήσας has long been doubted (cf. Maas *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 380).

If correct, however, the glosses may be compared with Alb. *lodh* 'to make tired', *lodhem* 'to get tired' < IE **leh₁d-*, Lat. *lassus* 'weary, tired' < zero grade IE **lh₁d-to-*, and Gm. forms like Go. *letan* < IE **leh₁d-* 'to let', *lats* 'weary, slow'.

λήδιον [n.] a light cloth = τριβώνιον (kind of garment) or ἱμάτιον εὐτελές 'cheap garment' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also ληδίον (Att. inscr. IV[a]), λῄδ-, ληδίον, λήιδ- (Men.). Basic form λῆδος in Dor. λᾶδος (Alcm.), λᾷδος, λαι- (H.) 'τριβώνιον'.

•DER Diminutive ληδάριον, v.l. ληδ- (Ar. *Av.* 715, 915). Adjective ληιδιώδεις· τριβωνιώδεις (cod. -ίδες) (H.).

•ETYM The variation between forms with and without ι shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

λήθαργος [m., f.] 'lethargy, lethargic fever' (Hp., Arist., Chrysipp. Stoic.), as an adjective also 'forgetful' (Men., *AP*). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also plur.

•DER ληθαργ-ικός 'affected by lethargy, lethargic' (medic., *AP*), -ώδης 'id.' (Dsc., Gal.), -ία 'lethargy' (*Com. Adesp.*), -έω [v.] 'to be forgetful' (pap., inscr.). Unclear is ἀλήθαργος *POxy.* 1381, 100 (literary, II[p]).

•ETYM Probably an original adjective (scil. νόσος, πυρετός). Cf. ►λαίθαργος, which shows that the word is Pre-Greek. The word, or at least its meaning, seems to have been influenced by ληθ-, λαθ- 'to forget', and perhaps also by ἐργ- 'work'.

λήθη •VAR λήθω, etc. ⇒λανθάνω.

λῆΐζομαι •VAR Also λῃΐη, λῃΐς. ⇒λεία.

λήϊον [n.] 'standing crop' (Il., Arist.), 'cornfield' (Theoc.). ◄?►
•VAR Dor. λάϊον, λᾱ̆ον (Sophr., Theoc.).
•COMP Compounds like λᾱ̆ο-τομέω [v.] 'to reap corn' (Theoc.), πολυ-λήϊος 'rich in crops' (E 613, etc.), cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. ἀλήϊος.
•ETYM If λάϊον is a real Doric form, λήϊον may belong to ►ἀπολαύω 'to enjoy', assuming a pre-form **lāw-io-* 'gain, produce'. For the formation, cf. ►λεία which derives from **lāw-iā-*. The connection with the group of λύω would seem to require PGr. **lēw-*, but it is semantically not convincing.

λήϊτον 'town hall'. ⇒λαός.

ληκάω [v.] 'to have intercourse' (com., H.), acc. to H. also = τὸ πρὸς ᾠδὴν ὀρχεῖσθαι 'to dance to a song'. ◄IE? **lek-* 'jump', PG?(V)►
•VAR Aor. ληκῆσαι.
•COMP Also with ὑπο-.
•DER ληκήματα [pl.] (Epicur. *Fr.* 414); ληκώ· τὸ μόριον 'genital part' (H.); also ληκίνδα παίζειν 'to beat time, drum with the fingers' (Luc., A. D.).
•ETYM Iterative-intensive formation like πηδάω (Schwyzer: 719), and as such identical with Latv. *lę̃kât*, 1sg. *lę̃kâju* 'to fly, jump, hop'. Of course, the meaning 'βινεῖν, to have intercourse' is euphemistic and secondary. The primary verb is seen in Lith. *lẽkti*, 1sg. *lekiù* 'to fly, run', Latv. *lèkt* 'id.'. Alternatively, we may consider the fact that Greek also has ►λαικάζω, which points to Pre-Greek variation αι/η.

λήκυθος [f.] 'casket for oil or perfume' (Od.), also metaph. 'rhetorical bombast' (Cic., Plin.), = Lat. *ampulla*. ◄PG(V)►
•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34².
•DIAL Epid. λάκυθος (IV^a).
•COMP αὐτο-λήκυθος 'who carries his own oil-casket' (out of poverty) = 'poor man, beggar' (Att.).
•DER Diminutive ληκύθιον (Att.), ληκυθιάδες· ἐνώτια ποιά 'earrings' (H.), ληκυτίαι [pl.] = λήκυθοι (pap.). Denominative ληκυθίζω [v.] 'to declaim in a hollow voice (as though speaking into a λ.)' (Call., Str., Phryn., Poll.), ληκυθ-ιστής 'who recites with hollow voice, κοιλόφωνος' (S. *Fr.* 1063, H.), -ισμός 'speaking in a hollow voice' (Plu.); also as a back-formation λήκυθος· τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ λαυκανίου καὶ αὐχένος ἠχῶδες 'the resounding part between the throat and the neck' (Clearch.).
•ETYM Also TN Λήκυθος (Macedonia). Evidently a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 121 connects λάγῡνος, λάγιον 'cup, vase', which seems convincing.

λῆμη [f.] 'humour in the corner of the eye, rheum', also metaph. (Hp., Ar., Plu.). ◄PG?(O)►

•VAR A Doric form seems to be found in λάμας· μύξας 'slime' (H., cod. λαμάς· μῦς 'mouse').
•DER Diminutive λημίον (Hp.), λημύδριον (Gal.); λημ-αλέος (Luc.), -ηρός (Heliod.), -ώδης (Alex. Trall.) 'full of λ.'; λημ-ότης (sch.), -ωσις (medic. pap.), cf. ἴλλωσις, κνίδωσις; λημ-άω [v.] 'to have bleary eyes' (Hp., Ar.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Connection with Lat. *lāma* 'puddle, marsh, mud', Lith. *lōmas* 'pit, hollow, lower spot' is semantically unconvincing. Rather Pre-Greek than IE.

λημνίσκος [m.] 'woollen tape, bandage, compress' (Hell.), acc. to Varro (in Plin.) originally made of lime-bark. ◁?▷
•ETYM Utensil name in -ίσκος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 408), Syracusan acc. to H. (τὰς ταινίας 'headbands'. Συρακούσιοι). Connection with the name of the island ▶Λῆμνος? Suggestion on Etruscan origin in Müller *Phil.* 78 (1923): 264f.

Λῆμνος [f.] a Greek island ◁PG▷
•DIAL Myc. *ra-mi-ni-jo* /lāmnios/ 'man from Lemnos'; *ra-mi-ni-ja* /lāmniai/ 'Lemnian women'. Dor. λᾶμνος.
•DER Λήμνιος, Λημνιακός 'Lemnian'.
•ETYM No doubt a Pre-Greek name, note the suffix -μνο-.

λῆν [v.] 'want'. ⇒λῶ.

λῆναι [f.pl.] 'Bacchantes' (Heraclit., Str.), Arc. acc. to H. (who has ληναί). ◁?▷
•DER Λήνα [sg.] as a PN (Ambracia, Aitolia); ληνίς 'Bacchante' (Eust., Suid.). Also Λήναια [n.pl.] name of a festival in Athens and elsewhere, with ληναιών, -ῶνος [m.] month name in Ionia (Hes. *Op.* 504, inscr.), Λήναιον [n.] name of a district in Athens dedicated to Dionysus (Ar., Pl.), ληναϊκός 'belonging to the Lenaians' (Hell.), ληναΐτης 'id.' (Ar.); ληναΐζω [v.] 'to celebrate the Lenaians' (Heraclit.); PN Ληναῖος, Ληναΐς. Ληνεύς (Myconos) and Ληναῖος (D. S.) epithet of Dionysus, ληνεύουσι· βακχεύουσιν (H.).
•ETYM If λῆναι (in H. and as the title of Theoc. 26) are real dialectal forms, the word cannot belong to ληνός 'winepress', which would otherwise be the most obvious solution. A better explanation has not been found.

ληνός [f.] 'trough (for pressing wine), winepress, sarcophagus, socket into which the mast fitted, etc.' (*h. Merc.* 104). ◁?▷
•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34². Dor. ληνός
•COMP Rare compounds like ληνο-βάτης 'one who treads the wine cask' (late), ἄ-ληνος 'not pressed', of almond oil (Aet.).
•DER Diminutives ληνίς, ληνίδιον (pap.); further λην(ε)ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'place where wine is pressed' (pap., Gp.), ληνᾶς, -ᾶδος [m.] (late inscr.; Anatolia), probably = ληνοβάτης, see Schulze 1933a: 300.
•ETYM Unexplained. Perhaps a technical term from the substrate. For Λήναια, Ληναιών, see on ▶λῆναι.

λῆνος, -ους [n.] 'wool, fillet, fleece' (A. *Eu.* 44, A. R. 4, 173, 177). ◁IE *h_2ulh_1-neh_2- 'wool'.▷

•ETYM Except for the ending -ος (which is perhaps an innovation after εἶρος, πέκος, Frisk suggests), λῆνος is the old inherited word for 'wool', which is preserved in several languages: e.g. Lat. *lāna*, Lith. *vìlna*, Ru. *vólna*, Go. *wulla*, Av. *varənā*, Skt. *ū́rṇā-*, all of which may go back on IE **(h₂)ulh₁-neh₂-*. An initial laryngeal is reconstructed on the basis of Hitt. *ḫulana-*, Luw. **ḫulani-* 'wool', but Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. hesitates to reconstruct **h₂ulh₁-n-* (see also Peters *Sprache* 33 (1987): 115f.). Celtic forms like MW *gwlan*, OIr. *olann* (pointing to a vocalisation PCl. *ulānā-* < IE **u̯l̥h₁neh₂-*) deviate.

The word probably belongs, as a verbal noun in *-nā*, to a verb for 'tear, pluck' retained in Lat. *vellō* 'pull out' (but not related to ►ἀλίσκομαι); Lat. *vellus* [n.] 'shaved wool' < IE **Huél-no-* and Arm. *gełmn* 'id.' < IE **Huél-mn-* (?) belong to this root as well. If we reconstruct an initial laryngeal, it must have disappeared in Greek at an early date, giving rise to a preform **u̯l̥h₁-n-* after revocalization.

λῆρος 1 [m.] 'trash, nonsense' (Att., Hp.). ◄ONOM, IE? **leh₂-* 'howl'►

•DER ληρ-ώδης 'silly' (Pl., Arist.) with -ωδία (Hdn.), -ωδέω (Phot.), -ώδημα (Suid.). Besides, probably as a denominative, ληρέω [v.] 'to be foolish, silly; to speak nonsense' (Att., Hp.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with prefix like παρα-, άπο-, κατα-; thence (παρα-)λήρ-ημα (Pl.), -ησις (Hp., Plu.); back-formation παρά-ληρος 'delirious' (Hp., Ph.). Also ληραίνω [v.] 'id.' (Ph., H.), after ἀφραίνω, etc. (Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 57), ληρεία = λήρησις (Phld.), as if from **ληρεύω.

•ETYM An analysis as λῆ-ρος offers the possibility to connect a widespread group of words with **lā-*, e.g. Lith. *lóti*, 1sg. *lóju*, OCS *lajati*, 1sg. *lajǫ* 'to bark, revile, abuse', Arm. *lam* 'to cry', Lat. *lāmenta* 'wailing'. Perhaps, the root is onomatopoeic, but we may also reconstruct **leh₂-* 'to howl'.

With short vowel, we encounter ►λάρος, ►λάσκω; also, λαίειν, λαήμεναι· φθέγγεσθαι 'to utter' (H.), but these are not necessarily related.

λῆρος 2 [m.] 'golden ornament on women's clothes' (Delos II[a], *AP*, Luc., Poll., H.). ◄?►

•VAR Or ληρός, Boeot. λειρος (*IG* 7, 2421).

•ETYM Unknown. A special use of ►λῆρος 1 'trash' is rather improbable.

λητουργέω, -ία, -ός ⇒λαός.

Λητώ [f.] Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis (Il.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Gen. -όος, -οῦς.

•DIAL Dor. Λατώ. Myc. *ra-to* /Lātō/, *ra-ti-jo* /Lātios/.

•COMP As a first member in Λητο-γενής (Λατο-), fem. -γένεια 'son (daughter) of Leto' (A., E. [lyr.], *AP*).

•DER Λητοΐδης, Λατοΐδας 'son of Leto' (*h. Merc.* 253); Λητῷος (Λατ-) (A., S.), fem. -ῴα, -ωΐς, -ωΐάς (Hell. poetry) 'born of Leto'; τὸ Λητῷον 'temple of Leto' (Arist.), τὰ Λ-α 'festival of Leto' (Delos III[a]).

•ETYM Unknown. Traditionally derived from Lyc. (not Lyd.) *lada* 'wife, spouse', together with Λήδα. Kretschmer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 187 and 196f. assumes Pre-Greek

origin, comparing Caucas. (Awar.) *ladi*. Pre-Greek origin also assumed by Bethe 1923: 2of. and Chantraine *Ant. class.* 22 (1953): 68.
Sources from antiquity tell that it was originally a name of the 'night'; hence the Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 23off. as well as the IE one (to Lat. *lateō*) by Osthoff *IF* 5 (1895): 369; both are unconvincing. Borrowed as Lat. *Lātōna*, see WH s.v. See also Fur.: 186.

λιάζομαι [v.] 'to collapse, incline, recoil, sink' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Aor. λιασθῆναι. Rare and late active forms (cf. Wackernagel 1916: 131) λιάζω (Lyc., H.), λιάσαι (H.), λίασσε v.l. Ψ 879 for λίασθεν; nasal present λίναμαι· τρέπομαι 'turn' (H.), verbal adj. ἁλίαστος 'inescapable, inflexible, obstinate, incessant' (Il., Hes.), on the mg. cf. Erbse *Glotta* 32 (1953): 236ff.
•ETYM The meaning is not very explicit, and may have changed through literary influence. This leaves much room for etymological speculations and makes a secure interpretation difficult.
The present λιάζομαι (whence hapax λίασσε) are innovations to λιασθῆναι. The nasal present λίναμαι (taken by Frisk to be an old formation) was supposed to correspond to Skt. *linā́ti* (gramm.) 'to lean against' and to OIr. *lenaid* 'to follow', but the latter is from **h₂leiH-* 'to stick' and the Skt. attestation is doubtful.
Semantically better is connection with a Germanic group: Go. *af-linnan* 'ἀποχωρεῖν, to go away, cede', OHG *bi-linnan* 'yield, stop, leave off', with *-nn-* from *-nu̯-*. LIV² s.v. **leih₂-* chooses for this connection, assuming that *-nH-* yielded the Germanic geminate, but this development is highly controversial; they also connect Ved. *-lī́yate* 'is (re)solved'.
A third option is Skt. *láyate* 'to hide (intr.)', which also presupposes a root **leiH-*. The appurtenance of Hitt. *ulae-^{zi}*, *ulēšš-^{zi}* 'to hide' to this root (defended by Oettinger 1979: 364) is very uncertain, as there is almost no trace of a prefix *u-* in Anatolian (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ulae-^{zi}*).
See further ►λιμός.

λίᾱν [adv.] 'very much, exceedingly' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Epic Ion. λίην (ῑ̆).
•DER Here λιάζειν [v.] 'to be over-enthousiastic' (A.D., Phot.).
•ETYM Like δήν, πλήν, etc., λίᾱν is a petrified accusative with an unknown basic meaning. A form λῑ is cited from Epich. 223 (Str. 8, 364), and also occurs as a first member in λι-πόνηρος· λίαν πονηρός 'extremely worthless' (H.); see also λήν· λίαν (H.). Connection with the intensifying adverb ►λα-, λαι- is uncertain. Has also been compared with λίηφος· δεινός (H.).
Etymologically unclear. Chantraine *Glotta* 33 (1954): 28 considers a remote connection with ►λεῖος 'level, smooth'.

λιαρός [adj.] 'tepid, mild' (Il.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Note the similarity with synonymous χλιαρός; cf. Güntert 1914: 147. Other semantically close formations in -αρός are given by Chantraine 1933: 227.
Unexplained. The comparison with λιβρός by Fur.: 240 is useless.

λίβανος [f.m.] 'frankincense' (Sapph., Pi., E.), 'frankincense tree' (Hdt., Melanipp., Thphr.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR λιβανωτός [m.] (or [f.]) 'id.' (Sapph., IA).

•COMP Some compounds like λιβανοφόρος (Herakleid. Com.), λιβανωτο-φόρος (Hdt.).

•DER 1. From λίβανος: diminutive λιβανίδιον (Men.); adjectives: λιβαν-ώδης 'like frankincense' (Philostr.), -ινος 'with the color of frankincense, made of frankincense' (pap., gloss.); λιβανᾶς [m.] 'trade of frankincense' (pap.), λιβανῖτις [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (Luc.), as she was venerated with incense; verbs: λιβανόομαι 'to be mixed with frankincense' (LXX), λιβανίζω 'to smell like frankincense' (Dsc., Gal.). 2. From λιβανωτός: λιβανωτίς [f.] 'rosemary, Rosmarinus' (Thphr., Nic., Dsc.), after the smell (Strömberg 1940: 62), also 'censer' (Delos, Hell.) like λιβανωτίδιον (Delos II[a]) and λιβανωτρίς (Anatolia, imperial period), after names of utensils in -τρίς (Chantraine 1933: 340f.), λιβαν-ωτικός 'consisting of frankincense' (Hell. inscr. and pap.), -ώτινος 'prepared with frankincense' (medic.); λιβανωτίζω [v.] 'to incense, smell like frankincense' (Str., Dsc.).

•ETYM A loan from Semitic, for which one compares Hebr. *l[e]bōnā* 'frankincense' and Phoen. *l[e]bōnat*, etc. 'id.' (from the root *lāban* 'to be white', probably after the white color of the sap of the tree. The meaning 'tree' is secondary to 'frankincense' itself. It was thought that the name of mount Λίβανος (= *L[e]bānōn*) had influenced the Greek vocalization (details in Lewy 1895: 44f., Masson 1967: 53). Acc. to Müller *Glotta* 52 (1974): 53-59, however, the word was taken from Southern Arab *libān*. The form in -ωτος comes from the plural *libānōt* 'the grains of the resin'. The word is derived from the adjective *lbn* 'white' (Arab *laban* 'milk'). This is confirmed by the fact that people from southern Arabia came to Delos.

λιβρός [adj.] epithet of ὁλός 'turbid liquidity' (*AP* 15, 25, 1), of νύξ (*EM* 564, 49), 'dark' or 'humid', of σέλας (*Trag. Adesp.* 232); explained by Erot. as σκοτεινὸς καὶ μέλας (on Hp. *Aër.* 15, where the codd. have διερῷ and θολερῷ, said of ἠήρ). ◁?▷

•VAR λιμβρός (*EM* 564, 52; Suid.).

•ETYM Fur.: 287[68] notes that the prenasalization could be due to late Greek/Byzantine nasalization. The merit of his comparison with λιαρός (ibid. 240, 287) is doubtful. The comparison with λείβω (Frisk, DELG hesitantingly) does not seem to make any sense.

λίγδην [adv.] 'touching superficially, grazing' (χ 278), ἐπιλίγδην 'id.' (P 599). ◁IE? **sleiǵ-* 'slide'▷

•DER λίγδος [m.] 'mortar' (Nic., also S. *Fr.* 35?), 'mould made of earthenware or of clay, funnel' vel sim. (Poll., Ael. Dion., H.), 'lye' (Eust.), λίγδα· ἡ ἀκόνη, καὶ ἡ κονία 'whetstone, plaster' (H.). Denominative verb λιγδεύει· ἀπηθεῖ 'filters' (H.).

•ETYM For λίγδα, cf. ἄρδᾰ, ἔπιβδᾰ and Solmsen 1909: 269. The suffixal agreement between the adverb λίγδην and the substantives λίγδος, -δα is not accidental (cf. Chantraine 1933: 360), but the adverb was first. As the semantic connection between λίγδος and λίγδην is not immediately clear, note the phonetic similarity of λίγδος with its synonym ►ἴγδις.

As a basis, a verb λίζω (otherwise unattested) was assumed by Eust. 1926,37, "ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ λίζειν, λέξεως ὠνοματοπεποιημένης", which he probably thought up. A verb with an original meaning 'to smear, glide, etc.' is compared: OIr. *(fo)sligim* 'to smear', also 'to beat' (from *'to brush'), OHG *slīhhan* 'to steel, creep' from 'to go gliding'; several nouns, e.g. OIr. *slige* 'comb', ON *slíkr* 'smooth', *slíkisteinn* 'rubbing stone', and from Slavic e.g. Ru. *slízkij* 'slippery, slimy'. This points to a root **sleiǵ-* 'to slide'. See further ►λισσός.

λιγνύς, -ύος [f.] 'thick smoke, smoking fire' (A., S., Ar., Arist.). ◄PG?(V)►
•DER λιγνυώδης (Hp., Gal.), λιγνυόεις (A. R.) 'smoky'.
•ETYM Fur.: 118 compares ἰκνύς 'dust, ashes' (λ-/zero), which is conceivable; but his comparison with ἁλισγέω (ibid. 292) is mistaken.

λιγύς [adj.] 'clear, resounding, shrill' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR Fem. λίγεια (on the accent Schwyzer: 474, Chantraine 1942: 191), ntr. λιγύ.
•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. λιγύ-φωνος 'with clear voice'; adverbs λίγα, λιγέως (Il.).
•DER With extended suffix λιγυ-ρός (perhaps dissimilated from -υ-λός?) 'id.' (Il.). Denominative verb λιγαίνω 'to cry, resound or sing with a clear voice' (Il.), with λιγάνταρ (= λιγαντήρ)· εἶδος τέττιγος. Λάκωνες 'a kind of cicada' (H.), see Strömberg 1944: 18. An old nasalized formation is the aor. λίγξε 'twanged' (of βιός 'bow' Δ 125); cf. λίγγω· ἠχῶ 'resound' (Theognost. *Can.* 16).
•ETYM Unexplained.

λίθος [m., f.] 'stone, boulder, rock, precious stones' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 37[6], Shipp 1967: 76.
•COMP Compounds like λιθο-βόλος [m.] 'stone-thrower' (Att.), μονό-λιθος 'consisting of one stone' (Hdt.).
•DER 1. Diminutives: λιθ-ίδιον (Pl., Arist.), -άριον (Thphr., Hell. inscr.), -αρίδιον (Alex. Trall.). 2. collectives: λιθάς, -άδος [f.] 'shower of stones, throw of a stone' (Od., A., Nic.), see Chantraine 1933: 352; λιθία 'rock' (Hell.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 81. 3. λίθαξ [f.] 'stone' (ε 415 [attributive], Hell. poetry), λιθακός 'id.' (Stesich.), Chantraine 1933: 384; λιθίς = λιθίασις (see below; Hp.). 4. Adjectives: λίθεος (Hom.), λίθιος (Thess.), -ειος (sch.) 'of stone'; λίθινος 'id.' (Pi., IA), λιθικός 'ptng. to a stone' (Hell.). λιθώδης 'stone-like, stony' (IA), λιθωδία (Eust.). 5. Verbs: λιθάζω 'to throw with stones, lapidate' (Arist., Anaxandr.), with λιθασ-μός, -τής, -τικός (A. D., sch.); λιθόομαι 'to be turned into stone' (Arist.), with λίθωσις (Aristeas, Plu.); λιθιάω (-θάω) 'to suffer from the stone' (Hp.; after other verbs of disease in -ιάω), whence λιθίασις (Hp., Gal.).
•ETYM Unexplained.

λικερτίζειν [v.] · σκιρτᾶν 'to leap, bound' (H.); Frisk wrongly gives πηδᾶν. ◄PG?►
•ETYM Connection with ►λάξ, ►λακτίζω is impossible. Pre-Greek origin is likely.

λικμάω [v.] 'to separate the grain from the chaff, winnow', metaph. 'to crush, destroy' (E 500, B., X., LXX, pap.). ◄IE **neik-* 'swing (cereals) for winnowing'►
•VAR Aor. λικμῆσαι.

•DER λικμητήρ 'winnower', λικμητρίς 'winnowing fan', also λικμήτωρ, -τής; -ητήριον 'winnowing fan, shovel'; -ητός 'winnowing, scattering'; -ητικός 'ptng. to winnowing'. Probably a back-formation is λικμός 'winnowing fan', λικμαία epithet of Demeter, λικμίζει· ἀλοᾷ 'threshes, crushes' (H.), λίκνον [n.] 'winnowing fan' (Arist.), also a sacred basket with the first fruits in the cult of Demeter (S., *AP*); λικνοφόρος also 'cradle' (*h. Merc.*, Call.), λικνίτης epithet of Dionysus (Orph. , Plu.), -ῖτις, of τροφή (S. *Ichn.* 269), λικνίζω = λικμάω (pap.).

With a different initial: ν(ε)ίκλον· τὸ λίκνον (H.), ἰκμᾶν· λικμᾶν, οἶτον καθαίρειν 'to cleanse grain'; ἰκμῶντο· ἐσείοντο, ἐπνέοντο 'to shake, blow' (H.), ἀνικμώμενα (Pl. *Ti.* 53a; v.ll. ἀναλικνώμενα, ἀναλικμώμενα), ἀπ-ικμῆσαι, δι-ικμῶνται (Thphr.). Further from H. εὐ<νί>κμητο<ν>· εὐλί<κ>μητον, ἀνικλώμενον· ἀνακαθαιρόμενον (cf. on ἀνικμώμενα above), and without a suffix νικᾷ· λικμᾷ; νικεῖν (for -κᾶν?)· λικμᾶν, νείκεσεν· ἔκρινεν 'sieved', εὐνικές· εὐκρινές 'well-sieved', νεικητήρ· λικμητήρ. Μεγαρεῖς.

•ETYM λίκνον and νίκλον, and probably also νικμᾶν (in εὐνίκμητον), can be understood as dissimilated from *νίκνον, *νικνᾶν. Perhaps, λικμᾶν and, with loss of the anlaut, ἰκμᾶν, derive from νικμᾶν. Cf. Danielsson *Eranos* 5 (1903-1904): 1ff. on the dark form ἀπολεικαι (inscr. Milete).

Starting from *νίκ-νον, it is attractive to connect the full grade verb Lith. *niekóti*, 1sg. *niekóju* 'to winnow (corn)', Latv. *niēkât* 'to swing groats in a mill'; cf. suffixless Greek glosses like νικᾷ.

λικριφίς ⇒λέχριος.

λιλαίομαι [v.] 'to desire, vehemently long for' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Only present; the perf. ►λελιημένος does not belong here.

•ETYM A reduplicated *yod*-present, which has been connected with Skt. *laṣati* 'to radiate, be pleased' (either a thematic root present with secondary *ṣ* for *s*, or from **la-ls-a-ti* with reduplication and zero grade). However, the nouns λάσται· πόρναι 'whores' (H.) and λάσταυρος (see ►λάσται, as well as λάσθη and λῆναι) point to Pre-Greek origin in view of their suffixes.

From other languages, comparisons have been made with, e.g., Lat. *lascīvus* 'luxuriant, wanton' (from **las-ko-*, cf. Ru. *láska* 'caress, affection'), Skt. *lā-las-a-* 'desirous', etc. Unrelated because of the deviant vocalism is the Gm. group of Go. *lustus* 'lust'.

An IE root **las-* is hardly possible. LIV² s.v. **las-* states that the appurtenance of the Skt. (epic class.) verbs *laṣati* and *lasati* to the Greek verb is uncertain.

λίμβος [adj.] 'λίχνος, desirous, fond of sweets' (comm. Arist., H.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also λιμβός.

•DER λιμβεύω [v.] 'λιχνεύω, to be desirous' with λιμβεία = λιχνεία (Hdn. *Epim.*, H.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

λιμήν 'harbour'. ⇒λειμών.

λίμινθες [?] · ἔλμινθες. Παφιοι 'intestinal worms' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻

•ETYM A Variant of ►ἔλμινθες, where the idea is discussed that λιμ- goes back to a Pre-Greek sequence *l̥m-. Influence of λῑμός 'hunger' seems improbable.

λῑμός [m., f.] 'hunger, famine' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 37³, Solmsen 1909: 109.

•COMP λιμ-αγχ-έομαι 'be weakened by hunger' (Hp.) from *λίμ-αγχ-ος (to ἄγχω, cf. Schwyzer: 726); on βού-λιμος see on ►βουλιμία; on πούλιμος 'strong hunger' (Boeot.) see Schulze *KZ* 33 (1895): 243f.

•DER λιμ-ώδης 'hungry' (Hp.), -ηρός 'hungry, ptng. to hunger' (Theoc., *AP*), -αλέος = ῥυσός, λεπτός (H.), after αὐαλέος, etc. Verbs: λιμαίνω, λιμῆναι 'to suffer from famine' (Hdt.), λιμώττω, -ώσσω 'id.' (Str., J.), with λίμωξις (late).

•ETYM A primary formation compared with λῑμός is suspected in ►λοιμός 'plague', where the long ῑ is sometimes explained by Saussure's Law: loss of laryngeal after *o*-grade root. For ►λειρός see ►λείριον.

λιμπάνω ⇒λείπω.

λιμφός [m.] · συκοφάντης. ἢ μηνυτὴς παρανόμων 'a denunciator, or accuser of illegal acts or people' (H.). ◅?▻

•DER λιμφεύειν· ἀπατᾶν 'to deceive' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

λίναμαι ⇒λιάζομαι.

λίνδος [m.] an aromatic plant (Mnesim. Com. 4, 63 *apud* Ath. 9, 403d, Eust. 315, 18). ◅?▻

•ETYM Named after the town Lindos on Rhodes? Cf. the plant name θάψος (after the spit of land and town of the same name) and other cases in Strömberg 1940: 121ff.

λινεύς [m.] fish name = κεστρεύς, 'mullet' (Call. Com. 3 *apud* Ath. 7, 286b, Phot., H.). ◅GR?▻

•ETYM Connected with λίνον 'fishing net', as a back-formation from λινεύω [v.] 'to catch fish with a λ.' by Boßhardt 1942: 50; cf. the description in Thompson 1947: 109 (s.v. κεστρεύς). Hardly related (as an inherited word) to Balto-Slavic names of the 'tench': Lith. *lýnas*, Ru. *lin'*, etc.

λίνον [n.] 'linen, flax, linen cloth, thread, cord, fishing net' (Il.). ◅EUR?▻

•DIAL Myc. *ri-no* /lino-/.

•COMP Several compounds like λινο-θώρηξ 'with linen cuirass' (Il., *AP*), λινό-ζωστις [f.] 'mercury, Mercurialis' (Hp., Dsc.), from a compound *λινο-ζώστης, cf. Strömberg 1940: 148; λευκό-λινον [n.] 'white flax' (Hdt.).

•DER Diminutives: λινάριον 'thread, net' (Delos II[a], D. Chr.), λινούδιον 'linen cloth' (pap.), probably from τὸ λινοῦν (ἱμάτιον); also λινούτιον (pap.; cf. below).

Adjectives: λίνεος, -οῦς, -ός (IA); λινέα, -αία [f.] 'cord, noose' (Hell.), λίνινος (Tanagra III[a]) 'linen', λιναῖος 'id., made of flax' (Hp., pap.), λινική [f.] 'tax on flax' (pap.).

Verbs: λινεύω 'to catch with nets' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*); also late hypostases: δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-λινάω 'to slip through the net, escape from the net, inspect the net' (Phryn., Eust., H.), ἐκ-λινίζω 'to escape from the net' (Byz.). On ►λινεύς = κεστρεύς, see s.v.

•ETYM λίνον has been compared with BSl. forms like Lith. *linaĩ* [pl.] 'flax, linen', Ru. *lën*, gen. *lʲná* 'id.', which go back on a short vowel. Opposed to this is Lat. *līnum* with long vowel, whence OIr. *lín* 'net' and other Celtic words, and Alb. *li-ri*, *lį-ni* 'linen' were borrowed. The Gm. group of Go. *lein*, OHG *līn* (also ON, OE) also agrees with Lat. *līnum*, and can therefore be considered loans from it, too.

Original identity is possible, however, since the cultivation of flax in Central Europe is very old. Still, it is more probable that λίνον and *līnum* derive from a Mediterranean word. The word is unknown in Indo-Iranian (but the concept is, of course).

Fur.: 375 cites the gloss καὶ λῖνος παρὰ Κυπρίοις (H.), a variant with long vowel. See also ►λῖτα and ►λίς 2.

λίνος [m.] name of a song (Σ 570, Hdt. 2, 79, Pi. *Fr.* 139, 5), also personified as a name of a mythical singer (Hes. *Fr.* 192, Theoc. 24, 105, Apollod. 1, 3, 2). ◅?▻

•ETYM Foreign word from an unknown oriental source. Cf. ►αἴλινος, which is the source of the PN Λίνος, acc. to Güntert 1921: 64. Acc. to Eißfeldt 1939: 161ff., αἴλινον (whence perhaps λίνος as a PN, as opposed to λίνος 'song' = λίνον 'linen') is from Phoenic. *'ij Alijan*, a lamentation for the god of vegetation Alijan.

λίπα [adv.] 'fat, gleaming' (Il.). ◅IE **lei̯p-* 'stick'▻

•VAR In Hom. in elided form only: (ἀλείψασθαι) λίπ' ἐλαίῳ, etc.; unelided λίπα in Hp., Th. (cf. Leumann 1950: 309f.).

•DER λιπαρός 'fat, gleaming (of oil or unguent), fruitful' (Il.), together with λιπαρία 'fatness' (Dsc.) and λιπαίνω 'to make fat, anoint' (IA) with λίπανσις 'anointing' (med.), λιπαντικός 'good for anointing' (sch.), λιπασμός 'anointing' (Dsc.), λίπασμα 'fat substance' (Hp., Hell.). Other verbs: λιπάω 'to be sleek from unguents' (τ 72, Hell.), trans. 'to anoint' (Nic.), λιπάζω 'id.' (Nic.). Innovated *s*-stem: λίπος [n.] 'fat' (A., S., Arist.) with λιπώδης 'fatty, oily' (Thphr.); also λίπας [n.] 'id.' (Aret.), after κρέας?

•ETYM A formal correspondence to λίπ-α, probably a derivative from a root noun, is found in Skt. *rip-* [f.] 'defilement, deceit'; λιπαρός looks like Skt. *rip-rá-* [n.] 'defilement, dirt', and λίπος like Skt. *rḗpas-* [n.] 'stain, dirt', but both could be independent formations. Appurtenance of Alb. *laparós* 'to defile' is doubtful.

The other languages show different formations: nasal present Skt. *li-m-p-áti* [3sg.pres.] 'to smear', with 3pl. aor. med. *alipsata*, Lith. *lìpti*, 1sg. *limpù* 'to stick, be sticky'; *yod*-present in OCS *pri-lʲpljǫ*, inf. *pri-lʲpěti* 'to stick'. A deviant meaning is found in the Gm. group of OHG *bi-līban* 'to stay, remain'. Unrelated is ►ἀλείφω 'to anoint', which requires **h₂leib*ʰ-. The comparison with Hitt. *lip(p)-*^{zi} 'to lick' should be discarded, because it is an onomatopoeia (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). See ►λίπτω.

λιπαρέω 'to persist'. ⇒λίπτω.

λιπερνής, -ητος [adj.] mg. uncertain, perhaps 'poor, deserted, orphaned' (Archil. 50 [πολῖται], *BCH* 11, 161 [Caria], gloss.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR λιφερν-οῦντας (see below).

•DER Also -ήτης (*AP* 9, 649, *EM*), -ῆτις [f.] (Call. *Fr.* 66e, Epic. *Oxy.* 1794, 17, Suid. [= πτωχή]), together with λιπερνοῦντας· πενιχρούς 'poor, needy' (Suid.), which has a variant λιφερνοῦντας (J. *AJ* 2, 5, 5), of στάχυας, parallel to ἀσθενεῖς, opposed to καρηβαροῦντας.

•ETYM The suggestion by Suid. and *EM* 566, 50: παρά τὸ λείπεσθαι ἐρνέων, ὅ ἐστι φυτῶν 'leaving behind the sprouts, i.e. the plants', is clearly folk-etymology. The variant with aspiration points to a Pre-Greek word. For the structure, cf. ►κυβερνάω.

λίπος 'fat'. ⇒λίπα.

λίπτω [v.] 'to desire' (A. R., Lyc., Nic.). ◁?▷

•VAR Perf. med. λελιμμένος 'desiring' (A. *Th.* 355, 380).

•DER Cf. λίψ· ἐπιθυμία 'desire' (H.), further λῑπαρέω [v.] 'to persist, ask persistently or repeatedly' (IA), with λιπαρίη 'persistence, endurance' (Hdt.) and λιπαρής 'persistent, persisting, earnest' (S., Ar., Pl.).

•ETYM λίπτω is traditionally compared with Lith. *liẽpti*, 1sg. *liepiù* 'to command, order, organize', OPr. *pallaips* 'order'. Alternatively, λίπτω and λῑπαρέω may belong to λίπα, λιπαρός; but a serious problem is the length of the ῑ. See ►λιψουρία.

λῑ̆πός [adj.] 'bold, shameless, lewd' (Call. *Fr.* 229, Alex. Aet. 3, 30). ◁?▷

•COMP Compound λιρ-όφθαλμος 'with lewd eyes' (Suid.), Λιρο-κλῆς PN (Ion. inscr.).

•DER λιραίνει· ἀναιδεύεται 'shows shameless behaviour' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 240 is unconvincing.

λῑ̆ς 1 'lion'. •VAR λίς. ⇒λέων.

λίς 2 [adj.] epithet of πέτρη 'rock' (μ 64, 79) and of σινδών 'cloth' (*SGDI* 5702, 19; Samos IV^{a}): 'smooth'. ◁IE? **lh$_1$i-t-* 'smooth'▷

•DIAL Myc. *ri-ta pa-we-a* /līta p^{h}arwe^{h}a/ 'smooth clothes'.

•DER 1. acc.sg. (also taken as pl.) λῖτ-α, dat. λιτ-ί 'smooth linen' (Hom.). 2. λῑτός 'simple, plain' (since IV^{a}), λίτως (Alc. F 7, 2; context unknown) together with λιτότης [f.] 'simpleness' (Democr. 274, Thphr.). 3. λισσός (Crete III^{a}, also TN), fem. λισσή (Od.), λισσάς, Boeot. λιττάς (Corinn., A., E., Theoc., A. R.) 'smooth, bare', also metaph. 'naked, insolvent' (Crete); hence λισσόομαι in [λισ]σωθέντων [ptc.] 'becoming insolvent' (Crete III^{a}) and in λίσσωμα '(bald spot on the) crown', λίσσωσις 'bald-headedness' (Arist.); cf. λισσούς· δεομένους 'lacking, in need'. καὶ τοὺς ἡσυχῇ φαλακρούς 'slightly bald' (H.). On ►λισσάνιος, see s.v.

•ETYM The basis of these words was the τ-stem λι-τ-, seen in λί-ς and in the substantives λῖτ-α, λιτ-ί. Thematic enlargement gave λιτ-ό-ς; beside this, there was a ḷα-derivative in fem. *λῖσσα < *λῖτ-ḷα, with a new nom. λισσή from the originally ablauting gen. λισσῆς, and a new msc. λισσός. For λίς : λῖσσα, compare e.g. θής : θῆσσα, Κρής : Κρῆσσα. The form ►λεῖος 'level, smooth' can hardly be separated

from λίς; this points to a reconstruction λῑτ- < **lh₁i-t-* beside full-grade **leh₁i-u-* (Schrijver 1991: 283f.).

λισγάριον [adj.] 'spade, mattock' (sch. Theoc. 4, 10, Suid. s.v. σκαφείδιον). ◅PG?▻
•DIAL MoGr. λισγάρι.
•ETYM A diminutive derived from *λίσγος, which is unexplained itself. Several hypotheses have been advanced: from *λίγ-σκος to Lat. *ligō* 'mattock'; from *λίδ-σκος or *λίδ-γος, related to ►λίστρον. Fur.: 294 objects to a suffix -σκ-, referring to Schwyzer: 541. So the word is rather Pre-Greek.

λίσπος [adj.] probably 'smooth, polished, flat' (Ar. *Ra.* 826, of γλῶσσα); αἱ λίσπαι as a word for the halfs of a dice, used by two friends as a tally (Pl. *Smp.* 193a), also οἱ λίσποι (Suid.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Aspirated by-form λίσφος (Attic acc. to Moer. and Tz.), λίσφοι = τά ἰσχία 'hip joints' (*EM* 567, 20). Cf. λίσφος = ἄπυγος; also λέσφος (*EM* 567, 21).
•COMP Compounds λισπό-πυγος (-πυξ) 'with smooth (flat) buttocks' (Phryn., Poll., sch.), ὑπό-λισπος (-φος) 'smooth, polished or flat underneath', especially of the buttocks and hips (Ar. *Eq.* 1368, Philostr., Poll.).
•DER Denominative λισφώσασθαι· ἐλαττώσασθαι 'to reduce, diminish' (H.).
•ETYM λίσφος and λέσφος are by-forms typical of a Pre-Greek word.

λισσάνιος [adj.] only in ὦ λισσάνιε (Ar. *Lys.* 1171; v.l. λυσσ-), a form of address of unknown mg., explained by H. and Phot. as ἀγαθός (cf. ὦ 'γαθέ). ◅?▻
•ETYM A Laconian word without etymology. The analysis as a compound pursued by Frisk fails to convince.

λίσσομαι [v.] 'to beg, pray, implore' (Il.). ◅IE? **leit-*▻
•VAR Aor. λιτέσθαι, λίσασθαι (Il., epic poet.), new pres. λίτομαι (*h. Hom.* 16, 5, Ar. [lyr.], *AP*).
•DER 1. λιταί [f.pl.], rare λιτή [sg.] 'prayer' (Il., Hdt.) with λιταῖος epithet of Zeus (Bithynia I^{P}), λιτήσιος 'praying' (Nonn.), after ἱκετήσιος (Chantraine 1933: 42); λιτάζομαι [v.] 'to pray, beg'. 2. With a suffix -ν-: λιτανός 'begging, suppliant' (A.), λιταίνω [v.] 'to implore, beg' (E.), λιτανεύω 'id.' (Il.); λιτανεία [f.] 'appeal, entreaty' (LXX, pap., D. H.), -ευτικός 'ptng. to prayer' (sch.). 3. λιτῆρα θαλλόν· τὸν ἱκέσιον (H.). 4. Verbal adjective -λιστος in compounds: τρί-, πολύ-, ἄ-λλιστος 'implored three times, much prayed for, etc.' (Il.), on -λλ- (also in ἐ-λλίσσετο, etc.) see Chantraine 1942: 176. An adj. *λιτός 'begging' does not exist, see Chantraine *RPh.* 79: 16ff.
•ETYM Unclear. Connection with Baltic words for 'touch', like Lith. *liẽsti, lytėti* is semantically unconvincing, that with ἁλίνω formally impossible. LIV^{2} (s.v. 2. **leu̯it-*) defends the connection with the Baltic words: "Im Gr. über 'an den Knien berühren' zu 'anflehen' weiterentwickelt, vgl. hom. λισσέσκετο γούνων". Does the borrowing Lat. *litāre* 'to sacrifice under prosperous omina' from **litā* < Gr. λιτή?

λισσός 'smooth'. ⇒λίς 2.

λίστρον [n.] 'tool for levelling, spade, shovel, etc.' (χ 455, Lyc., Mosch.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also -ος [m.].
•DER Diminutive λίστριον [n.] (Ar. *Fr.* 809, inscr. Lebadea), λιστρωτός 'flattened, smoothed' (Nic.) with λιστρόω (Eust.), λιστρεύω [v.] 'to dig up' (ω 227), λιστραίνω 'id.' (Suid.).
•ETYM An instrument name in -τρον without explanation. Assuming *λίτ-τρον, it may belong to λίς, λιτ-ός 'smooth, even'. Comparisons with Latv. *līst*, 1sg. *līdu*, Lith. *lýdyti* 'to dig up, unearth, smoothen' and with Lat. *līra* 'furrow' have been given up.

λίσφος 'smooth'. ⇒λῐσπος.

λῖτα 'linen', dat. λιτί. •VAR λιτός 'simple'. ⇒λίς 2.

λιταί 'prayer(s)'. ⇒λίσσομαι.

λῐταργίζω [v.] 'to slip away' (Ar. *Pax* 562, *Nu* 1253, both fut.); λιταργίζειν· τροχάζειν 'to run quickly'; ἀπολιταργίσαι· ταχέως ἀποδραμεῖν 'to run off quickly' (H.); ◁?▷
•VAR Fut. -ιῶ.
•COMP Also with ἀπο-.
•DER λιταργισμός (sch. Ar. *Nu.* 1255), λίταργος 'running quickly' (*An. Ox.* 2, 236, *EM* 567, 38), perhaps an invented back-formation.
•ETYM Unexplained. The ending recalls ἀργός 'quick', but the beginning is unclear (λιτός 'simple'?).

λίτρα [f.] 'pound', as a weight and coin; as Sicilian silver money = half a mina or 50 drachmes (Epich., Sophr., [Simon.] 141, Hell.). ◁LW Western Medit.▷
•COMP Compounds like δεκά-λιτρος 'worth ten pounds' (Epich., Sophr.), λιτρο-σκόπος 'money-changer' (S. *Fr.* 1065).
•DER λιτραῖος (*AP*, Gal.), also λιτρ-ιαῖος (Gal.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 49) 'worth or containing a pound'; λιτρίζω [v.] 'to weigh, deliver by weight' with λιτρισμός (pap.); also λιτρασμός 'libratio' (gloss.).
•ETYM A Mediterranean word, originating from Sicily and identical with Lat. *lībra* 'balance, pound'. As common basic form, **lῑ́βrā* has been postulated; on the phonetics, see Schulze *KZ* 33 (1895): 223f., Schwyzer: 206, and Pariente *Emerita* 20 (1952): 389ff. The shortness of the ι in λίτρα, which would be Doric acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 546, 12, is unexplained. Details in WH s.v. *lībra*. Fur.: 182 further compares λιδρίον· τρύβλιον 'cup', also a measure (H.).

λιχανός •VAR λιχμάομαι, λίχνος. ⇒λείχω.

λίψ, λιβός ⇒λείβω.

λιψουρία [f.] 'desire to urinate' (A. *Ch.* 756). ◁GR?▷
•ETYM Abstract formation in -ία from a supposed *λιψ-ουρέω or *λίψ-ουρος, a governing compound from *λῖψαι 'desire', related to ▶λίπτω, and οὖρον. Was this the origin of the gloss λίψ· ἐπιθυμία (H.)?

λοβός [m.] 'lobe, lap, slip', a designation of various lap- or slip-like parts of the body or of plants, especially 'lobe of the ear' (Ξ 182), also of the liver (Hp., A., E., Pl.), of the lung (medic.), etc.; 'leaf of the elder' (Thphr.), 'capsula with seeds, pods of

leguminous plants'; also these plants themselves; 'pod, seedbox, skin of fruit' (Thphr., Dsc., Gal.). ◁EUR?▷

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. πρό-λοβος [m.] 'crop of birds, Adam's apple' (Arist., LXX), but προ-λόβιον 'the front part of the lobe of the ear' (Poll., H.); ἔλ-λοβος 'in a pod, having a pod' (Thphr.), lengthened ἐλλοβ-ώδης 'id.' (cf. Strömberg 1937: 164), but ἐλ-λόβιον 'earring' (Luc., S. E.); ἀντι-λόβιον, -βίς 'part of the ear-lobe opposite to the προλόβιον' (medic.); ἐπιλοβίς· μέρος τοῦ ἥπατος 'part of the liver' (H.); as an adjective in ἡ ἐπιλοβὶς γλῶσσα 'lobe of the liver', a sign of soothsayers (*PAmh.* 2, 14, 21; III-IV^{P}); as a term of construction καταλοβεύς [m.] 'cornice, crossbeam' (Epid., Hierapytna); ὀξυλοβέω 'τὸ ταχέως ἀκούω = hearing quickly' (Suid.), from *ὀξύ-λοβος, see Strömberg 1937: 164.

•DER Diminutive λόβιον (Gal, Dsc.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. The connection with MoHG *Lappen* 'piece, rag' is semantically attractive, as is that with its cognates, e.g. OE *læppa* [m.] 'tip, lap', *ēar-læppa* 'ear-lobe'. It sometimes appears without gemination, as in MoNw. *lape* 'to hang down', MLG *ōr-lepel* 'ear-lobe'.

A deviating vocalism is shown by Lat. *labāre* 'to waver', beside which with a long vowel *lābor*, *lābī* 'to glide'; both may derive from a root **(s)leh$_2$b-* (in which case they are unrelated). With initial *sl-* we find e.g. MLG *slap* 'slack', OCS *slabъ* 'slack', probably continuing **slob-*. The fact that all these words show IE **b* points to European substrate origin.

λογάδες [f.pl.] 'white of the eye, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν' (Sophr. 49, Call. *Fr.* 132, Nic. *Th.* 292), also = 'eyes' (*AP* 5, 269). ◁GR?▷

•VAR In Poll. 2, 70 sing.

•ETYM Metaphorical use of λογάδες (λίθοι): 'picked, chosen', i.e. 'unworked stones, pebbles' as opposed to 'cut stones' (Paus. 7, 22, 5); cf. also λογάδην 'by accidental selection', of stones (Th.), λιθο-λόγος (-έω, -ία) 'who works with unworked stones' (as opposed to λιθο-τόμος, -ουργός). Note the alternative explanation of λογάδας as ψήφους λευκάς 'white pebbles' in H. Likewise, Sw. *ögon-sten* 'eye-ball', properly "eye-stone". See also ▶λέγω, and on ▶λωγάλιοι. Fur.: 363, etc. connects λογάδες with λύγδος 'white marble', but this not evident semantically.

λογγάζω [v.] 'to linger, hesitate, abide' (A. *Fr.* 112, Ar. *Fr.* 811). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aor. λογγάσαι.

•DER λογγάσια [n.pl.], H. also -σίη [f.sg.], originally "abode", 'stones to fix cables of a ship' (H., Phot. s.v. λογγάζειν).

•ETYM Formation like γυμνάσιον, -σία to γυμνάζομαι, etc. (Schwyzer: 469f.); further λογγῶνες [m.pl.] 'id.', which acc. to *EM* 569, 42, is Syracusan, a shortened form after the place names in -(ε)ών.

It cannot be separated from the synonym ▶λαγγάζω; the variation α/ο points to Pre-Greek origin. Cf. also Fur.: 274 (on Lat. *langueō*).

λόγος, λόγιος ⇒λέγω.

λόγχη [f.] 'spearhead, javelin, lance' (Pi.). ◁?▷

•COMP Compounds like λογχο-φόρος 'lance-bearer' (E., Ar., X., Plb.), δί-λογχος 'with double lance' (A.).
•DER Diminutives: λογχ-ίον (Hell. inscr.), -άριον (Posidon., Luc.), -ίς (Hell. [?]), -ίδια (H. s.v. ζιβύννια).
Adjectives: λόγχιμος 'belonging to the lance' (A.), cf. μάχιμος; λογχωτός 'provided with a lance' (B., E., Hell. inscr.) with λογχόομαι, see below; λογχήρης 'id.' (E.), λογχαῖος· μετὰ τῆς λόγχης (Suid.).
Substantives: λογχίτης [m.] 'lance-bearer' (Hdn.), λογχῖτις [f.] plant name (Dsc., Gal.), after the form of the seeds (Strömberg 1940: 55).
Verbs: λογχόομαι 'to provide with a lance' (Arist., Str.), probably a back-formation from λογχωτός (above), rare λογχεύω [v.] 'to pierce with a lance' (*AP* 9, 300 in tit.), λογχάζει (H.) explaining δοράζει.
•ETYM Unexplained; all previous hypotheses are unconvincing: comparison with λαγχάνω as "the reaching one"; analysis as "the long one", related to Lat. *longus*; more in Frisk.

λοιγός [m.] 'ruin, havoc, death' (Il.). ◂IE **leig-* 'illness'▸
•COMP As a second member in βροτο-λοιγός 'destroying men', of Ares (Il.), also in ἀθηρη-λοιγός "destroyer of chaff", 'winnowing-fan' (Od.).
•DER λοίγιος 'destroying, bringing disaster' (Il.), also λοιγήεις, -ής 'id.' (Nic.), poetical transformations, cf. Schwyzer: 527 and 513); λοιγίστρια· ὀλοθρεύτρια (H.), to ὀλοθρεύω 'to destroy'.
•ETYM Properly an agent noun "destroyer" (cf. Porzig 1942: 307) of a primary verb preserved in Lith. *liegti* 'to be very ill, be ailing' (IE **leig-*), to which also belongs the zero grade action noun *ligà*, Latv. *liga* 'illness, plague'; further perhaps Alb. *lig* 'bad, meagre' and (with IE **k*) OIr. *líach* 'miserable, unhappy'. Unrelated are ▸ὀλίγος 'slight, small' (Saussure Effect is unlikely, especially in initial position), and Arm. *ałk'at* 'poor' (see Martirosyan 2010 s.v.).

λοιδορέω [v.] 'to slander, abuse, reprove, revile' (Pi., IA). ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. λοιδορῆσαι.
•COMP Sometimes with prefixes like ἀπο-, συν-, προσ-.
•DER λοιδορία 'slander' (Att.); also λοιδόρ-ησις (Pl., LXX), -ησμός (Ar.), -ημα (Arist., Plu.), -ημάτιον (Ar.); -ητικός 'abusive' (Arist.), -ιστής (H.) as an explanation of κόβειρος (after ἀγωνιστής, etc.); as a back-formation λοίδορος 'abusive, slanderer' (E. *Cyc.* 534, Arist., Hell.).
•ETYM Taken as a formation comparable to πολι-ορκέω, δειρο-τομέω, οἰνο-χοέω, etc., but further details are unclear. It is doubtful to compare the first part with Lat. *lūdus* 'play', λίζει· παίζει 'plays' (H.), as is done by Perpillou 1996: 112ff., who also adduces the gloss λίνδεσθαι· ἁμιλλᾶσθαι 'to contend', and proposes haplology from *λοιδο-δορέω. Note that several terms with this meaning are Pre-Greek (cf. ▸κερτομέω).

λοιμός [m.] 'plague' (*A* 61), metaph. 'pernicious man' (D.), also in adjectival function (LXX, christ. lit.). ◂?▸
•VAR λοίμη (H.), probably for λύμη.

•DER λοιμώδης 'like the plague' (Hp., Th.), λοιμικός 'belonging to the plague' (Hp., Hell.; Chantraine 1956a: 121), λοίμιος epithet of Apollo in Lindos (Macr.); λοιμότης 'plague-like situation' (LXX); λοιμεύομαι [v.] 'to be contaminated with the plague' (LXX), λοιμώσσω, -ώττω 'to suffer from the plague' (Gal., Luc.).
•ETYM Most often taken as ablauting with ▶λῑμός. The form λοιγός has also been considered as a root-cognate, and a third suffixal variant was seen in λοιτός· λοιμός (H.). The form λοιτός is taken by Schmidt s.v. as a mistake for λοιγός, and with good reason. A cross of λιμός and λοιγός has also been suggested, but this is a desperate attempt to explain everything.

λοιπός 'remaining'. ⇒λείπω.

λοῖσθος 1 [adj.] 'the last, utmost' (Ψ 536). ◁?▷
•DER λοίσθιος (Pi., trag., Theoc., A. R.), (τὸ) λοίσθιον [adv.] 'at last'. λοισθήϊος 'regarding the last', (τὰ) λοισθήϊα 'the last prize' (Ψ 785, 751), like ἀριστήϊον, -ϊα; λοίσθημα· τέλος, πέρας 'end, border' (H.). Unclear are the glosses λοίσθωνας· τοὺς ἀκρατεῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια 'the weak ones regarding sex' (H.) and λοισθώνη· ἡ θρασεῖα 'the bold one' (Suid.).
•ETYM No etymology. All suggested explanations are unconvincing (for literature see Frisk): from *λοιhισ-θϝ-ος "the weakest in the course", related to θέω and Gm. **laisiz* 'less' in MoE *less*, etc.; from *λοιhισ-τος; related to Lith. *léidžiu*, *léisti* 'let', Lat. *lūdus* 'game', etc.; from *λοhισ-τος to Go. *las-iws* 'weak, powerless', etc. (Solmsen *IF* 13 (1902/03): 140ff.). The problem is that the -θ- causes difficulties. Scheftelowitz *KZ* 56 (1929): 179 tried to get around this by positing **sloid^{h}-to-* (to OCS *po-slědьnjь* 'ἔσχατος, utmost, last' ~ *slědъ* 'trace', Lith. *slýsti*, 1sg. *slýdau* 'to glide', Gr. ὀλισθάνω, etc., from IE **(s)leid^{h}-* 'slippery, glide'), but it is unlikely that the cluster preserved its aspiration for such a long time.

λοῖσθος 2 [m.] 'beam' (*IG* 2², 1673: 17 [IV^{a}]), also an epithet of δόρυ, 'deck beam' vel sim. (E. *Hel.* 1597). ◁?▷
•ETYM MoGr. λοστός 'lever' seems to presuppose a pre-form λοϊσθός, see Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 168. Further unclear.

λοίτη [f.] · τάφος 'tomb' (H.). ◁IE **leit-* 'go away, pass away'▷
•VAR λοιτεύειν· θάπτειν 'to bury' (H.).
•ETYM Derived from an old verbal root **leit-* 'to go away, pass away' found in Germanic, e.g. Go. *(af)leiþan*, ON *líða*, OHG *līdan* > MoHG *leiden* 'to suffer', with the causative ON *leiða* 'to carry, conduct, bury', OHG *leiten* 'to lead, carry, etc.', to which also belong ON *leiði* [n.] 'burial place', OHG *leitī* [f.] 'conduct, exequiae'. In Iranian, the verb also remained as a euphemistic expression for 'pass away, die': Av. *raēθ-*, pres. *iriθiieiti*. Tocharian preserves the older mg. 'go away', e.g. ToA 3pl.pres. *litantär*, ToB 3sg.subj. *laitaṃ*, pret. *lita*.

λοιτός 1 · λοιμός (H.). ⇒λοιμός.

λοιτος 2 [adj.] epithet of νόος, perhaps = ἀγνός (*Supp. Epigr.* 8, 716, 14 [Balbilla]). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unexplained.

λόκαλος [?] name of an unknown bird, perhaps a stork (Arist. *HA* 504). ◁?▷
•ETYM Fur.: 345 Anm. 3 compares Georg. *laglagi, laqlaqi, lakvi,* (East Caucasian) Tsakhur *läglägʻ* 'stork', MoP *laglag, laġlaġ* 'id.'.

λόκκη [f.] · χλαμὺς, ἐφαπτίς (garment names) (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Fur.: 344 compares λάκκος 'a garment' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*). Given the interchange α/o, the word is probably Pre-Greek; compare Lat. *lacerna* 'mantle-like overcloth'.

λόλλα [f.]? name of a plant (pap. Byc.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

λολλώ word of child language (Hermipp. 89). ◁?▷
•VAR Cf. λολλοῦν· τὰ παιδία τὸν πόλτον 'porridge in child language' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown.

λοξός [adj.] 'bent to the side, slanting, oblique', metaph. 'ambiguous' (IA). ◁?▷
•COMP Late compounds like λοξο-κέλευθος 'with oblique paths' (Nonn.), παρά-λοξος 'slanting, oblique' (Sor.), cf. παρα-λοξαίνομαι below.
•DER Λοξίας, Ion. -ίης [m.] epithet of Apollo as a prophesying god (B., Hdt., trag.), also of the ecliptic (astron.), Λοξώ [f.] daughter of Boreas (Call., Nonn., *EM* 641, 57). λοξικὸς κύκλος 'the ecliptic' (astr.), λοξότης 'obliquity, ambiguity' (Str., Plu.).
Denominative verbs: λοξόομαι 'to be oblique' (Sophr., Hp., Herod.), also -όω, also with ἐπι-, ὑπο-, whence λόξωσις 'inclination, obliquity (of the ecliptic)' (Epicur., Str.); (δια-)λοξεύω 'to make aslant or ambiguous' (Lib.), with λοξεύματα [pl.] 'obliquities' (Man.); παρα-λοξαίνομαι 'to be placed obliquely' (Hp.).
•ETYM Several adjectives with comparable meaning also have a suffix -σο-: γαυσός, καμψός, φοξός, ῥυσός, etc. Connection with λέχριος, and further with λεκροί (see Λοκροί) seems probable, but it seems impossible to make a reconstruction. The *o*-vowel seems to point to a nominal base form.
Further connections are not very clear; words for 'elbow, arm' and other curved body parts have an initial vowel (e.g. Lith. *alkúnė* 'elbow', Ru. *lókot'* 'id.' < PSl. **ŏlkъt-*, Arm. *olokʻ* 'shin-bone') and should therefore be kept separate.

λομβρός [adj.] an indecent dance (Poll, 4, 105). ◁?▷
•ETYM It has been compared with λομβούς· τοὺς ἀπεσκολυμμένους 'stripped off'. Bechtel 1898: 61 gives the PN Λόμβαξ. Etymology unknown.

λοπός 'shell, bark, scale'. •VAR λοπάς, -ίς, etc. ⇒λέπω.

λορδός [adj.] 'bent backwards, so as to be convex in front', also sens. obsc., opposite κυφός (Hp., Arist.). ◁IE? **lerd-* 'curve'▷
•DER Λόρδων, -ωνος [m.] name of a demon (Pl. Com. 174, 17, beside Κύβδασος from κύβδα); λορδόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to bend supinely' (Hp., com.), whence λόρδ-ωσις, -ωμα 'curvature of the spine inward' (Hp., Gal.), opposed to κύφ-ωσις, -ωμα; also λορδαίνω = -όω (Hp.).
•ETYM Isolated in Greek. Cognates in Armenian have been supposed, as well as in Celtic and Germanic. Semantically, a neat comparison exists with Arm. *lorcʻ-kʻ* [pl.]

(*i*-st.) = ὀπισθότονοι (Pl. *Ti.* 84e), i.e. 'spasmodic inward curvature of the upper body' (cf. λόρδωσις, -ωμα above); however, *lorc'-k'* must be derived from IE **lor(d)-sk-(i)-*. A corresponding formation may be found in Celtic Gael. *loirc* [f.] 'deformed foot', which also admits of an IE basis **lor(d)-sk-eh₂-*. Further we have, without a suffix *-sk-* and deviating in ablaut, MHG *lerz, lurz* 'left, sly' < 'crooked' (cf. *lürzen* 'to deceive' = ME *bi-lurten* 'id.'), from IE **lerd-*, **lrd-*.

λούματα 'chaff'. ⇒λούω.

λοῦσσον [n.] 'white pith of the fir-tree' (Thphr. *HP* 3, 9, 7); details in Strömberg 1937: 126, 128, 166. ◁?▷

•ETYM May continue **λουκ-ιον* as a derivative of a root noun, as is seen in Lat. *lūx* 'light', if from IE **louk-s.* Further derivatives from this root are OCS *luča* [f.] 'ray, beam' with a suffix **ih₂.* An *o*-derivative IE **louk-o-* is seen in Lat. *lūcus* 'forest', etc.; the verbal adj. ►λευκός and the *yod*-present ►λεύσσω belong there, too, as does ►λύχνος. The etymology remains rather improbable, though.

λούω, -ομαι [v.] 'to bathe, wash (the body)' (Il.). ◁IE **leuh₃-* 'wash, bathe'▷

•VAR Also λοέω (ipf. λόεον δ 252). λόω (ipf. λό' [κ 361], λόον [*h. Ap.* 120], inf. λόεσθαι [Hes. *Op.* 749]); further λοῦσθαι (ζ 216), λοῦνται (Hdt.), λούμενος (Ar.); Dor. (Call. *Lav. Pall.* 72f.) λῶντο, λώοντο; aor. λοῦσαι, -σασθαι (Il.), epic also λοέσ(σ)αι, -έσσασθαι, Dor. λωσάμενος (Cyrene), pass. λουθῆναι (Hp.), -σθῆναι (LXX, pap.); fut. λούσω, -ομαι (IA), λοέσσομαι (ζ 221), perf. ptc. λελουμένος (*E* 6).

•DIAL Myc. *re-wo-te-re-jo* /lewotreios/, epithet of bathtubs.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, ἐκ-. As a first member e.g. in λοετρο-χόος 'pouring bathwater' (Hom.) = Myc. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*, see below.

•DER 1. λουτρόν, Hom. λοετρόν, Dor. λωτρόν (H.), usually plur. (always in Hom.) 'bath, bathing site' (Il.); λούτριον [n.] 'bathwater' (Ar., Luc.), ἀπολούτριος 'already used for washing' of water (Ael.), λουτρών, -ῶνος [m.] 'bathroom, public baths' (X., Hell.) with -ωνικός 'ptng. to a bathing site' (*Cod. Just.*), λουτρίς [f.] 'ptng. to the bath' (Theopomp. Com., H., Phot.), λουτρικός (H. s.v. ξυστρολήκυθον), λουτρόομαι [v.] 'to bathe' (Euboea). 2. λούτρα [f.] 'sarcophagus' (Corycos), for the mg. cf. μάκρα (from μάκτρα) 'bathtub, coffin'. 3. λουτήρ [m.] 'bathtub' (LXX, inscr.), -ήριον [n.] 'id.' (Antiph., inscr.; λωτ- *Tab. Heracl.*), whence diminutives -ηρίδιον (Hero, pap.), -ηρίσκος (gloss.); ἐκλουτήριος 'for washing out' (Aegina); ἐγλουστρίς [f.] 'bathing trunks' (Hell. pap.). 4. λούστης [m.] 'who loves bathing' (Arist., M. Ant.). 5. λοῦσις 'bathing, washing' (late pap., inscr.), ἀπόλουσις 'washing' (Pl.). 6. λοῦμα [n.] 'stream' (Sardes); probably also λούματα (cod. ἀούματα)· τὰ τῶν πτισσομένων κριθῶν ἄχυρα Κύπριοι 'the chaff of the barley-corns that are winnowed' (H.); cf. ἀπόλουμα = ἀποκάθαρμα (sch., Eust.); was the chaff drenched in water before feeding it? 7. λουτιάω [v.] 'to wish to bathe' (Luc. *Lex.* 2), after ἐμετ-ιάω : ἐμέω, etc.

•ETYM The aorist λο(ϝ)έσαι is of the same type as κορέσαι, στορέσαι; the rare present λο(ϝ)έω can be explained as an innovation. The form λοῦσαι may have arisen from **λοϝέσαι* by contraction, and hence λούω may have been formed. In Homer, the uncontracted forms can often be substituted, e.g. λόεσεν, etc. for λοῦσεν, etc., as well as λοέεσθαι for λούεσθαι (Z 508 = O 265).

Both λοῦσαι, etc. and the isolated forms λό', λόον, λόεσθαι are understandable if we start from a thematic verb *λόϝω; the last forms however, could also be due to hyphaeresis (cf. Schwyzer: 252f.). Likewise, λοῦσθαι, λοῦνται, λούμενος admit of basic forms *λόϝ-εσθαι *λόϝ-ονται, *λοϝ-όμενος, but they may alternatively be explained from λο(ϝ)έεσ-θαι, λο(ϝ)έονται, λο(ϝ)εόμενος.

A correspondence to the vocalism of *λόϝω is found in Lat. *lavō*, *lavere*, the *a*-vocalism of which Vine *KZ* 119 (2006): 239 explains from a pre-form **lou̯-V-* that originated in the frequent prefixed verbs (Lat. *lavāre* is mostly found as a simplex). It remains uncertain whether Arm. *loganam*, aor. *logac'ay* 'to bathe' has a disyllabic root too, given the productivity of the Arm. verbs in *-anam*.

Myc. *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* and *re-wo-te-re-jo* deviate in root vocalism from the Homeric and later forms; it is thought that their *e*-vocalism is original, and that λοετρόν, etc. arose by metathesis of **lewo-*. The Celt. and Gm. nominal derivatives show the same vocalization as the Homeric forms, e.g. Gaul. *lautro* 'bathing place', OIr. *lóathar* 'basin', ON *lauðr* [n.] 'lye, soap foam', OE *lēaþor* 'soap foam', which may go back to IE **louh$_3$-tro-* and be identical with λο(ϝ)ετρόν.

Hitt. *lāḫu-^{i} / laḫu-* 'to pour, cast (metal), overflow' points to **leh$_2$-u-* and can therefore not be related to λούω.

λοφνίς, -ίδος [f.] 'torch' (Lyc., *AP*, Cleitarch. gloss. *apud* Ath. 15, 701a [cod. λοφίδα]). ◅?▻

•DER λοφνίδια· λαμπάδια 'small torches' (H.); also λοφνία [f.] 'id.' (Anon. *apud* Ath. 15, 699d; Kaibel λοφνίδα); cf. Scheller 1951: 56.

•ETYM Formation in -ίς or -ία derived from *λόφνος, -νη. Because of the description in Ath., τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ τῆς ἀμπέλου λαμπάδα 'torch made of the bark of the vine', it may derive from **lop-sn-*, related to λέπω 'peel', λοπός 'shell, bark'; the suffix is also seen in λύχνος, with comparable meaning. Still, I find this solution rather improbable.

λόφος [m.] 'neck of draught animals and men, crest of a helmet, crest of a hill, ridge' (Il.), also 'tuft on the head of birds, crest of feathers, cockscomb' (Simon., Hdt., Ar., Arist.). ◅IE? **lob^{h}-o-* 'crest, top'▻

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. γή-, γεώ-λοφος '(earthen) hill' (Pl., X.); rarely as a first member, e.g. (τὰ) λόφουρα 'having a crest-like tail', of draught animals and animals of burden (horses, asses, τὰ ὑποζύγια) as opposed to ruminants (Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr.). λόφη [f.] 'comb' (D. S.), perhaps after κόμη?

•DER 1. Diminutives: λόφιον 'small crest of the helmet' (sch.), λοφίδιον 'small hill' (Ael.). Other substantives: 2. λοφιά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'manes, bristly back, dorsal fin, etc.' (τ 446, also Hdt., Arist.), cf. Scheller 1951: 72f.; 3. λοφεῖον 'crest case' (Ar.), also λοφίς· περικεφαλαίας θήκη 'chest around the head', i.e. 'helmet' (H.). 4. λοφίας [m.] 'fish with dorsal fins', denomination of the φάγρος (Numen. *apud* Ath.), like ἀκανθίας, etc., Chantraine 1933: 94, also 'the first dorsal vertebra' (Poll.); in the last mg. also λοφαδίας (Poll.); λοφιήτης [m.] 'inhabitant of a hill' (*AP*, of Pan, after πολιήτης). 5. λόφωσις [m.] 'crest ornament' (Ar. *Av.* 291); cf. ἀέτωσις (see ▸ἀετός). 6. Adjectives: λοφώδης 'crest-like, hilly' (Arist.), λοφόεις 'crested, hilly' (Tryph., Nonn.). 7. Verbs:

λοφάω 'to be crested' (Babr., Ar., H.), after κομάω, Leumann 1950: 307[77]; λοφίζω [v.] 'to raise the λ.' (Zonar.); λοφόομαι [v.] 'to tower, form a hill' (Eust.). 8. Hypostasis: καταλοφάδεια [adv.] 'hanging down from the neck' (κ 169 with metrically conditioned -εια, cf. κατωμιάδιος, κατωμιαδόν; Chantraine 1933: 39, Chantraine 1942: 101 and 176).

•ETYM As both Alc. (*Z* 65) and Hdt. (1, 171) consider the crest of the helmet to be a Carian invention, Schulze 1892: 257, 4 considers λόφος to be a Carian loan in this specific sense, which he separates from λόφος 'neck'. This is untenable.

An acceptable connection is that with ToA *lap* 'head' (Schulze 1933a: 252), the semantics of which are understandable if the Greek meaning was originally 'crest, crown'. However, ORu. *lъbъ* 'skull', together with OCS *lъbьnъ* 'belonging to the skull' (also Ru. *lob* 'forehead'), cannot be connected, since they point to **lub^{h}*-. Illyr. PN *Otto-(Atto-)lobus* is uncertain (Mayer *Glotta* 32 (1953): 83).

λόχμη 'lair of wild beasts'. •VAR λόχος [m.] 'ambush, childbed', etc. ⇒λέχεται.

λυγαῖος 'dark'. ⇒ἠλύγη.

λυγγούριον [n.] 'a kind of amber' (Thphr., Delos III[a], Str.). ◁PG?, EUR?▷

•VAR Also λιγγ-, λιγκ-; note λυγκούριον· τὸ ἤλεκτρον 'amber' (H.).

•ETYM Analyzed as a substantivized bahuvrīhi of λύγξ and οὖρον, as the stone was thought to be the urine of the lynx. However, λυγγούριον has variants λογούριον· ὕελος, Λάκωνες 'glass, crystal' (H.) and λογούριον· ὕαλος 'id.' (H.), which rather show that it is a foreign word. Therefore, the explanation as urine of the lynx is just a folk-etymological fantasy. See Fur.: 278[43]. See ▸λύγξ 2.

λύγδος [f.] '(white) marble' (D. S., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, *AP*). ◁PG?▷

•DER λύγδ-ινος 'made of marble, marble-white' (Babr., Philostr., *AP*, Cyrene), -ίνεος 'id.' (*AP*). λύγδη· τὸ δένδρον ἡ λεύκη 'white poplar' (H.).

•ETYM Ending as in ▸μόλυβδος, κίβδος, etc. and, like these, without etymology. A connection with λευκός and cognates is morphologically hard to explain, as the suffix -δος is not productive (except in sound-words like ▸κέλαδος, s.v.). Fur.: 307 connects λογάδες, but this is improbable. Still, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

λύγος [f.(m.)] 'flexible branch, twig which is suited for twisting' (Il.). ◁IE? **leug-* 'bend, twist'▷

•COMP Some compounds like Λυγο-δέσμια [f.] "bound with willow-twigs", Laconian epithet of Artemis (Paus.).

•DER λύγιον 'twig' (sch.), λυγέα 'willow' (Eust.), λύγινος 'made of λ.' (Heph. *apud* Ath.), λυγώδης 'like a willow' (Dsc., Eust.), λυγόω 'twist, bend' (*AP*, *APl.*). Also λυγίζομαι, -ω [v.] 'to turn, wind, bend' (Hp., Att., Theoc., *AP*), with λυγισμός 'turning, bending', of wrestlers, dancers, etc. (Ar., Luc.), λύγισμα 'sprain' (Dsc.), -ιστικός 'supple, flexible' (Poll.).

•ETYM Interpreted as verbal noun, λύγος can be connected with isolated formations in other languages: Lith. *lùgnas* [verb.adj.] 'supple', together with the denominative *yod*-present ON *lykna* < PGm. **lukn-jan* 'bend the knee'; Lat. *luxus* < **lug-s-o-* 'sprained' (cf. λύγισμα). Cf. also the frequentative Lat. *lucto(r)*, *luctāre* 'to wrestle'

(back-formation *lucta* [f.] 'wrestling match'), originally *"to turn (intr.)"; cf. λυγισμός.

The original meaning of λύγος would be "turning, bending"; perhaps λυγίζομαι, which is attested at a later date, retained a sense of this meaning.

λύγξ 1 'hiccup'. ⇒λύζω.

λύγξ 2, λυγκός [m., f.] 'lynx' (*h. Hom.* 19, 24, E., Arist., Thphr., Ael.). ◁EUR▷

•VAR Also gen. λυγγός (E.*fr.* 683).

•COMP As a first member in λυκό-λυγξ 'wolf-lynx' (pap. in Sb. Heidelb. 1923: 2, 14, 13); on ▶λυγγούριον (also λυγκ-, λιγκ-, etc.) [n.] a kind of amber (Thphr.), see s.v.

•DER Diminutive λυγκίον (Callix.), λύγγιος 'of the lynx' (Edict. Diocl.). On the ambivalent PN Λυγκεύς (Hdt., Pi.) see Boßhardt 1942: 130f.; thence λυγκεύς name of an eye-salve (medic.).

•ETYM Old name of the lynx, found also in Arm., Gm., and BSl. Except for the nasal, λύγξ has a counterpart in the Lith. consonant-stem *lūš-ų* [gen.pl.], which is found beside the innovated *i*-stem *lūš-is*. The same change of declension occurred in the Slav. group (which received an initial *r-* by influence of another word, e.g. **rysъ* 'sotted, red'): Ru. *rýs'*, etc.

Transformations have occurred elsewhere as well: with thematic vowel in MoSw. *lō* 'lynx' (PGm. **luh-a-*, IE **luḱ-o-*); with an *s*-suffix in West-Germanic: OHG *luhs*, OE *lox* (cf. MoHG *Fuchs*, OE *fox*); with an *n*-suffix in Arm. *lus-an-un-kʿ* [pl.], which also presupposes an old full grade IE **leuḱ-* or *louḱ-*. The Arm. *n*-formation might be connected somehow with the Greek nasal infix, which reappears in Lith. dial. (Žem.) *lynšis*.

Fur.: 121 argues, on the other hand, that the word is of non-IE origin. It has been connected with the root **leuk-* 'to see'; it would have referred to the sharp sight of the animal. However, this cannot explain the long *ū* of BSl., nor the *-n-* of Arm. nor the *g* of Gr. λύγγιος. So the word is non-IE, and probably a loan from a Eur. substrate language. There seems no reason to connect the gloss λουνόν· λαμπρόν 'shining' (H.). The PN Λυγκεύς may be cognate or not.

Lockwood *Glotta* 72 (1994): 41-43 thinks the name refers to the light color of the animal's skin. He simply declares that the nasal is secondary, and also connects the mythical name Λύγκεύς, but DELG *Supp.* (where Lockwood's interpretation is accepted in its entirety) thinks that the name rather comes from the geographical names with Λυγκ- mentioned by Lockwood, which indeed seems possible (these names may refer to the lynx or not, and they may well be of Pre-Greek origin). Therefore, there is as yet no conclusion to this discussion. Cf. Fur.: index. See ▶λυγγούριον.

λυγρός 'miserable, unhappy'. ⇒λευγαλέος.

Λῡδός [adj.] 'Lydian' (Alc.). ◁LW Luw.▷

•DER Λύδιος 'of Lydia, Lydian' (Pi.), Λυδία (Hdt.), Λυδικός (Hdt.), Λυδίζω 'speak Lydian' (Hippon.), Λυδιστί 'in Lydian' (Cratin.).

•ETYM The name derives from *Luwiy-a-* 'Luwian'. The Lydians came from the north and were originally called Μῆονες. Then coming southward, they occupied Luwian territory and thereby received the name of the older inhabitants. In Lydian, *-y-* > *-d-*, while *-i-* was syncopated. Thus **Luwiy-a-* > **Luwd-* gave *Lūd-* (with long *ū*). The change of name is mentioned by Herodotus (1, 7; 7, 74); it is not found in Homer. The later Lydian territory had a Luwian substrate. See Beekes *Kadmos* 42 (2004): 47ff., where the thesis is put forth that the Lydians were driven south on the arrival of the Phrygians, around 1200[a]; see also Beekes *BiOrbis.* 59 (2002): 205-242 (441f.).

λύζω [v.] 'to hiccup' (Hp., Ar., Arist.). ◁IE **sluk/g-* 'swallow'▷

•VAR Aor. λύγξαι (Gal.).

•COMP Sometimes with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.

•DER λυγμός 'swallowing' (Hp., Arist., Nic.), also = ὀλολυγμός (H.), with λυγμώδης 'accompanied by swallowing' (Hp.); λύγδην [adv.] 'swallowing' (S., *AP*). Also λύγξ, λυγγός [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Pl., Th.) with λυγγώδης = λυγμώδης (Hp.), λυγγανόμενον· λύζοντα ἐν τῷ κλαίειν 'during crying' (H.), λυγκαίνω [v.] 'to swallow' (Suid.).

•ETYM For λύζω : λύγξ, compare ἰύζω : ἴυγξ, κλάζω : κλαγγί, as well as βήσσω : βήξ. It cannot be decided whether the verb or the noun is more original. Morphologically, λύγξ can be a back-formation from λύζω < *λυ(γ)γ-ιω, but also its base form. Cognates are found in Celtic and Germanic, e.g. OIr. *slucim* 'to swallow' < **slu-n-k-*, W *llyncu* 'id.'; MLG *slūken* 'id.' < IE **slūg-*, MHG *slūchen* 'id.'; and with geminate MHG *slucken* 'id.', together with iterative MHG *sluckzen* 'to sob'. This means that Gr. λ- is from **sl-*, but there are forms without **s-*, e.g. Pol. *łkac* 'to swallow'. LIV[2] distinguishes two roots **sleuk-* and **sleug-* with identical meaning, which seems to call for a solution.

λύθρος, -ον 'clotted or thick blood'. ⇒λῦμα.

λυκάβας, -αντος [m.] attested since τ 306 = ξ 161, A. R. 1. 198, Bion *Fr.* 15: 15; grave-epigrams (imperial period) from Arcadia and Ionia. Time-indication of uncertain mg., usually explained as 'year' and used in this sense by later authors, who seem all to be based on τ 306; acc. to Leumann 1950: 212[4] rather 'new moon' (against this Ruijgh 1957: 147). The supposed Arcadian origin (*AB*) probably refers to the late Arcadian inscriptions, see Leumann: 273. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also acc. -βαν, also λυκαμας (inscr. Amorgos, Kretschmer *Glotta* 2 (1910): 319).

•DER λυκαβαντίδες ὧραι (*AP*).

•ETYM Unrelated is the TN Λυκαβηττός. All existing explanations are unconvincing: e.g. original meaning "light-circle", from *λύκ- 'light' (see on λύχνος) and ἄβα· τροχός 'wheel' (H.); or originally "Lycian king (or priest, god)", i.e. Apollo, so elliptical for 'festival of Apollo', and a Lydian word. More dated suggestions are found in Frisk (with lit.). Recently, Koller *Glotta* 51 (1973): 29-34 explained the word from *λύκα βάντα 'das weggegangene Licht', so the moonless night of the new moon. This cannot be correct: the variant with μ and the suffix -αντ- clearly point to Pre-Greek origin.

λυκάψος, -ός [f.] name of a poisonous plant, 'Echium italicum' (Nic., Dsc.). ◁PG? (S, V)▷

•VAR v.l. λύκοψος (Dsc. 4, 46).

•DER Also λυκαψίς.

•ETYM Frisk explains, following Strömberg 1944: 100f. on χορδαψός, that it originally meant "attacking wolves", because it was poisonous (like λυκο-κτόνον, etc., Strömberg 1940: 66 and 70f.). However, the suffix also occurs in σκινδαψός and in the town Galepsos, so it is more probably a Pre-Greek form (note the interchange α/ο).

Λυκηγενής [adj.] epithet of Apollo (Δ 101, 119). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Like for Λύκειος (A.), for Λυκη-γενής several connections have been attempted: with the wolf, the Lycians, and earlier also with light (cf. on λύχνος). There is little doubt nòw that it means 'born in Lycia', see e.g. Beekes *JANER* 3 (2003): 15f. The antiquity of the formation appears from the lack of the compositional -ι- in Λυκι-.

λύκιον [n.] 'dyer's buckthorn, Rhamnus petiolaris', also a decoction from it (*Peripl. M Rubr.*, Dsc., Gal.). ◁GR?▷

•ETYM Perhaps originally "the Lycian (plant)", named after its place of origin: cf. Dsc. 1, 100 φύεται δὲ πλεῖστον ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Λυκίᾳ 'it grows mainly in Cappadocia and in Lycia', though with the addition: καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ τόποις πολλοῖς 'but also in many other places'. Cf. Strömberg 1940: 122.

λύκος [m.] 'wolf' (Il.); often metaph., e.g. as the name of a kind of daw (Arist.; v.l. λύκιος, cf. Thompson 1895 s.v.), of a fish (Hikes. *apud* Ath.; Strömberg 1943: 105), = 'hook, sting' (Plu., Poll.), etc. ◁IE **ulkʷo-* 'wolf'▷

•COMP Compounds like Λυκό-(ϝ)οργος > Λυκοῦργος PN, properly "warding off wolves" (εἴργω), Λυκοσ-ούρα town in Arcadia; cf. ▶λυκαψός (also λύκ-) [m.] and -ψίς [f.].

•DER Feminines: λύκαινα 'she-wolf' (Arist.), after λέαινα, etc., with -αίνιον (Poll.), of a woman; λυκώ name of the moon (*PMag. Par.*); diminutives: λυκιδεύς [m.] 'younger wolf' (Sol. *apud* Plu., Theoc.), λυκίσκος· ἡ μὴ ἔχουσα ἀξονίσκον τροχαλία, τρῆμα δὲ μόνον 'pulley without a bolt, but with only a bolt-hole' (H.); also PN (Schwyzer: 542).

Further: λυκέη, -ῆ 'wolfskin' (K 459, etc.), λύκειος δορά 'id.' (E. *Rh.* 208), substantivized λυκεία [f.] (Plb. 6, 22, 3); λυκώδης 'like a wolf' (Arist.), λυκηδόν 'id.' (A.), λυκηθμός 'howling of wolves' (Anon. *apud* Suid.), after μυκηθμός; λυκόομαι [v.] 'to be lacerated by wolves' (X.). On ▶λύσσα, see s.v.

•ETYM An exact formal correspondence with λύκος is found in the North-Germanic name of the lynx, MoSw. *lō* < PGm. **luha-* from IE **luko-* (see ▶λύγξ 2). However, one would of course prefer to connect the widespread name of the wolf, which is preserved in e.g. Skt. *vṛ́ka-*, Lith. *vil̃kas*, OCS *vlъkъ*, Go. *wulfs*, Alb. *ulk*. λύκος can be derived from IE **ulkʷo-* if we assume metathesis. A comparable problem is found with Lat. *lupus*.

For the name of the wolf, taboo may have played a role (Havers 1946: 37ff.), causing phonetic irregularities. For IE **ulk^{w}o-*, such a taboo origin is possible as well; however, the interpretation as 'lacerater' (from **uel(k)-* 'to lacerate') can hardly be maintained, as that root has no labiovelar.

λῦμα, -ατος [n.] 'dirt, waste, garbage', metaph. 'contamination, defamation' (A 314 and Ξ 371, Hdt.); on the mg. Sinclair 1953: 330ff. (who wrongly connects λύω). ◁IE **luH-* 'dirt, pollute'▷

•VAR Mostly plur. -ατα. Also λύμη [f.], often plur. -αι, 'maltreatment (e.g. mutilation, flagellation), damage, violation, revilement' (Ion. poet., also Hell. and late).

•DER 1. From λῦμα: λύμακες· πέτραι 'rocks' (H.), at an alphabetically wrong position; cf. βῶλαξ, λίθαξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 379); κατα-λυμακόομαι [v.] 'to be covered with λύμακες (i.e. dirt)' (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 56); also Λύμᾱξ, -κος [m.] Arcadian HN (cf. ῥύᾱξ, σύρφᾱξ, etc.; Chantraine 1933: 381f.), acc. to Paus. 8, 41, 2 because of the afterbirth (λύματα) of Rhea that was thrown into the river, but in fact probably because of the ooze. 2. From λύμη: λυμεών, -ωνος [m.] 'destroyer' (S., E., Tim. *Pers.*, Isoc.), like ἀπατεών (Chantraine 1933: 163), with λυμεων-εύομαι [v.] 'to play the λ.' (Plb.); λυμάχη (-χή?)· ἡ εἰς διαφθοράν λύπη 'grief because of destruction' (H.), after ταραχή or στοναχή? A transformation of λῦμα, λύμη is λῦμαρ (Max. Astrol.), cf. Schwyzer: 519. Denominative λυμαίνομαι [v.], aor. λυμήνασθαι (rare λυμῆναι, -ᾶναι), in two meanings: a. derived from λῦμα 'to purify, remove dirt' (Hp.), usually ἀπο-λυμαίνομαι 'to wash, purify' (A 313f., A. R., Agath., Paus.) with ἀπολυμαν-τήρ 'table cleaner' (ρ 220, 377); b. more often from λύμη 'to maltreat physically, damage, destroy, violate', also with δια-, κατα- (IA, Arc.); on the mg. see Schulze 1933a: 169, Fraenkel 1906: 49); λυμαντήρ 'destroyer, violator' (X.), λυμάντωρ (Timo, Epigr. Cyrene), -τής (S.) 'id.' with λυμαν-τήριος (A.), -τικός (Ph., Arr.) 'destroying, violating'.

λύθρος [m.], also -ον [n.] 'clotted or thick blood' (Hom. [only dat. -ρῳ], Hp. *Ep.*), with λυθρώδης 'bloodstained' (LXX, *AP*).

•ETYM For λῦμα : λύμη, cf. γνῶμα : γνώμη, χάρμα : -μη, βρῶμα : -μη, etc. To λῦμα, -μη corresponds Alb. *lum* 'slime, mud' < IE **lum-*; an match for λύθρος is perhaps found in the Illyr. TN *Ludrum* (with IE *d^{h}* or *d*), and Alb. *ler* 'mud' (IE **leu-d$^{(h)}$r-*) is also close.

The nouns mentioned derive from a primary verb meaning 'to pollute, contaminate', lost in Greek and replaced by λυμαίνομαι. This verb lives on in Lat. *pol-luō* < **por-luō* and led to the verbal noun Lat. *lutum* = OIr. *loth* 'excrements, dirt'. Other derivatives are Lat. *lustrum* 'puddle, marsh' and German river names like *Lune* and *Lienz* (from **Luantia*); cf. Λύμαξ. On the geographical names, see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 6 (1955): 106ff. and 242ff. and Eisenstuck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 7 (1956): 53ff.

λῦπη [f.] 'pain, grief' (IA). ◁IE? **leup-* 'peel'▷

•COMP As a first member in λυπο-τόκος 'bringing grief' (Halicar.).

•DER λυπηρός 'painful, distressing' (IA); besides λυπρός 'id.' (trag.), often of the soil, opposed to εὐρεῖα (ν 243), πεδιάς (Hdt. 9, 122), also ὀρεινή (Arist. *HA* 556a 4),

'unfruitful, frugal' vel sim.; compounds παρά-λυπρος (Str.), λυπρόγεως, -χωρος, -βιος (Str., Ph., App.); λυπρότης 'frugality', of the soil (Str.).
Denominative verb λυπέω 'to cause sorrow, pain or distress', -έομαι 'to be distressed' (Hes., Sapph., IA), after ἀλγέω acc. to Debrunner 1917: §194, with λύπ-ημα 'sorrow' (Antipho Soph.), -ητικός 'full of sorrow' (Arist., Plu.).
•ETYM Without a certain explanation. In the same way as ►λευγαλέος and relatives could be related with Skt. *rujáti* 'to break', it was suggested that λύπη could belong, as a verbal noun, to synonymous Skt. *lumpáti, lupyáte* 'to break, tear apart'; however, *lup-* is rather dialectal for *rup-* in Skt. *rúpyati* (which is related to Lat. *rumpō* < IE **Hru-n-p-*).
Other words going back to IE **lup-* rather mean 'peel off' vel sim., e.g. Lith. *lùpti* 'to peel, fleece, flay', Ru. *lupít'* 'to peel', OHG *louft, loft* 'bark' (where IE **lub^{h}-* is also possible). In view of the semantics, this etymology must be considered uncertain. In λυπρός, an old primary derivative independent of λύπη may have been preserved.

λυπτά [f.] · ἑταίρα, πόρνη 'whore' (H.), in an alphabetically wrong position. ◅PG(S,V)▻
•ETYM Connection with Skt. *lubdha-* 'avaricious, desirous, eager' (to which belong Lat. *lubet, libet*, MoHG *lieb*, etc.), is phonetically impossible. Fur.: 316 compares λύπη 'id.', also λούπα 'id.'; he also connects ►λίπτω. For the ending, cf. θάπτα. Therefore, the word is Pre-Greek.

λῦρα [f.] 'lyre', four-stringed (or seven-stringed) instrument like the cithara (*h. Merc.* 423). ◅PG▻
•VAR Ion. λύρη.
•COMP Compounds like λυρο-ποιός 'fabricator of lyres' (Pl.), άντί-λυρος 'like the lyre' (S.).
•DER Diminutives λύριον (Ar.), λυρίς (Hdn. Gr.); further λυρικός 'ptng. to the lyre; lyre-player' (Phld., Plu.); λυρίζω [v.] 'to play the lyre' (Chrysipp.), cf. Schwyzer: 736; instead, κιθαρίζω is usual; thencewith λυριστής 'lyre-player' (Plin.), -ίστρια [f.] (sch.), -ισμός 'playing the lyre' (sch.).
•ETYM Technical loan from the Mediterranian area; cf. ►κιθάρα. IE etymologies should be rejected. Borrowed as Lat. *lyra*; OHG *līra* > MoHG *Leier*, etc.

λυσιτελής [adj.] 'useful, profitable, advantageous' (IA). ◅GR▻
•DER λυσιτελέω 'be profitable, useful' (IA), -τέλεια 'profit, advantage'.
•ETYM Properly "paying the costs", a governing compound of λύειν and τά τέλη.

λύσσα [f.] '(martial) rage, fury, frenzy' (Il.), 'rabies' (X., Arist.). ◅IE **leuk-* 'light', GR λυκ- 'wolf'▻
•VAR Att. λύττα.
•COMP Some compounds like λυσσο-μανής 'mad for rage' (*AP*), ἄ-λυσσος 'healing λυσσα' (Paus.), ἄ-λυσσον [n.] name of a plant, the seeds of which were used against rabies (Strömberg 1940: 91).
•DER λυσσάς [f.] 'raging' (E.), λυσσ-ώδης (*N* 53, etc.), -αλέος (A. R., Man.), -ήρης (Orph., Man.), -ήεις (H.) 'id.'; λυσσηδόν [adv.] (Opp.). Denominative verbs: 1. λυσσάω, -ττάω [v.] 'to rage, rave, be mad' (Hdt., Ar., S., Pl.), with λυσσητήρ epithet

of κύων (Θ 299; cf. *AP* 5, 265), and λυσσητής, Dor. -ατάς (*Anth.*) 'raging', λυσσητικός 'id.' (Ael.), -ήματα [pl.] 'attacks of rage' (E.); 2. λυσσαίνω [v.] 'to rage, rave' (S.); 3. λυσσόομαι [v.] 'to become raging' (Ps.-Phoc.).

•ETYM Formation like ὄσσα, γλῶσσα, αἶσα, etc., so a derived feminine. It has often been explained as "she-wolf" and identified with Skt. *vṛ́kīḥ*, ON *ylgr* 'id.'; acc. to Wackernagel-Debrunner 1930: 171, it is rather an abstract like φύζα 'flight, rout'. Specht 1944: 344 and 387, rather connects Skt. *rúc-* [f.] 'light' (the rage is called after the sparkling eyes) and recalls the expression λευκαῖς φρασίν 'with white/lighting φρήν' (Pi. *P.* 4, 194), λευκαὶ φρένες· μαινόμεναι 'raging' (H.). Pok. 687 agrees with this.

λύττει [v.] · πολλὰ λαλεῖ 'is talkative' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Cf. λύζει 'eructat' (Latte).

λύττος [adj.] = ὑψηλός (St. Byz. s.v. Λύκτος, H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Acc. to St. Byz., also the name of a town in Crete "διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι ἐν μετεώρῳ τόπῳ" 'because of its elevated location', = Λύκτος; thus, as an appellative, it probably also has Cretan assimilation κτ > ττ (Schwyzer: 316). Etymologically isolated, but see Fur.: 307.

λύχνος [m.] '(portable) light, lamp' (τ 34), also a fish name (Str., H.), cf. Lat. *lucerna*; perhaps called after its fluorescent organs, or after its shape Strömberg 1943: 55f.)? ◁IE **leuk-sn-eh₂-* 'moon, stars', etc.▷

•VAR Plur. also τὰ λύχνα, to which the sing. λύχνον was formed (cf. Schwyzer 1950: 37, Sommer 1948: 88).

•COMP Several compounds like λυχνοῦχος [m.] 'lamp-stand' (com.), also as a second member, like in θερμό-λυχνον = λυχν-έλαιον 'lampoil' (Att. inscr.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: λυχνάριον (pap.), λυχνίσκος fishname (Luc.). 2. name of the candlestick: λυχνεῖον (com., Arist., Hell. inscr.) with λυχνείδιον (-ΐδιον), λυχνίον, -ιον (Antiph., Theoc., Luc.), also 'lamp' (pap.), λυχνία, -έα, -εία (Hell.). 3. name of the ruby that emits light: λυχνίας λίθος (Pl. Com.), λυχνίτης (Str.), also name of Parian marble, because lamps were made of it (Varro *apud* Plin.; see Redard 1949: 56 and 244[13]), λυχνεύς (Callix., H.), also 'lighter' (Ath.), λύχνις [m.] (D. P., Orph. *L.*), λυχνίς [f.] (Luc.; cf. 4). 4. plant name: λυχνίς [f.] 'rose campion, Lychnis coronaria' (Thphr., Dsc.), because of its crimson color, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 49, λυχνῖτις [f.] 'candlewick, Verbascum' (Plin., pap., Dsc.), because the leaves were used as a candlewick (Strömberg 1940: 106, Redard 1949: 73; cf. on ►θρύον). 5. Other substantives: λυχνεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'place to store lamps' (Luc. *VH* 1, 29), λύχνωμα 'lint' (sch. Ar. *Ach.* 1175, = λαμπάδιον), with a nominal basis (Chantraine 1933: 187). 6. Adjectives: λυχν-αῖος (Procl.), also -ιαῖος (S. E., Gal.) 'ptng. to a lamp', -ώδης 'lamp-like' (Heph. Astr.). 7. Verb: λυχνεύω [v.] 'to light sbd.' (Areth. *in Apoc.*).

•ETYM Beside λύχνος < *λύκ-σν-ος we have, with full grade, Av. *raox-šn-a-* 'light, gleaming', OPr. *lauxnos* [pl.] 'stars', Lat. *lūna* = Praen. *Losna*, OCS *luna* 'moon', MIr. *luan* 'light, moon', all from IE **louk-sn-* or **leuk-sn-*; acc. to Frisk, the deviating zero grade in λύχνος may be related to a reluctance of Greek to use ου-diphthongs.

The words mentioned are all transformations of an old noun with suffixal *-sn-* from the verb for 'shine, gleam', which is represented in Greek by ►λεύσσω. An *s*-stem probably served as an intermediate form (Av. *raocah-* [n.] 'light' < IE **leuk-es-*, Lat. *lūmen* from **leuk-s-men-*, etc.). Uncertain is the appurtenance of λουνόν· λαμπρόν 'brilliant' (H.). The suffix *-sn-* is also found in synonymous Skt. *jyótsnā-* [f.] 'moonlight'.

A zero grade noun *λυκ- (= Skt. *rúc-* [f.] 'light') appears in the hypostasis ἀμφι-λύκ-η epithet of the night (H 433) 'dawning', also as a substantive 'twilight, dawn' (A. R., Opp.); and based on this, also in λυκ-αυγής 'of the grey twilight' (Luc.), λυκ-ό-φως, -ωτος [n.] 'twilight' (Ael., H. s.v. λυκοειδέος, sch.); see also on ►λύσσα.

λύω [v.] 'to loose, untie, release, (re)solve, destroy, pay' (Il.). ◁IE **lh₁u-* 'cut off, release'▷

•VAR Aor. λῦσαι, fut. λύσω, perf. med. λέλῡμαι, aor. pass. λῡθῆναι (Il.), aor. med. also λύμην, λύ(ν)το (Hom.); perf. act. λέλῡκα.

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, like ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, παρα-. As a first member λῡσ(ι)- in governing compounds like λυσί-πονος, ►λυσιτελής, PNs like Λυσί-μαχος, short name Λυσίας, etc.; as a second member in ►βουλῡτός.

•DER 1. λύσις 'solution, deliverance' (Ω 655 and ι 421), from the prefixed verbs also ἀπό-, ἀνά-, διά-, κατά-, ἔκ-λυσις, etc. (Thgn., Sol., IA); thence (κατα-, ἀπο-)λύσιμος 'fit for solving, etc.' (trag., Pl., Arist.); also λύσιος 'bringing release', epithet of the gods, especially Dionysus (Pl., Plu.). 2. λύματα [pl.] = ἐνέχυρα 'pledge, security' (Suid.); but κατάλῡ-μα [n.] 'inn' (Hell.), together with *-*μάτιον (Hell. pap.) derived from κατα-λύω in the mg. 'to lodge, visit'. 3. Aeol. Dor. λύα [f.] (Alc., Pi.), λύη (Hdn. Gr.) 'dissolution, separation, στάσις'; thence, but with deviating mg., Λυαῖος, -αία epithet of Dionysus or the Great Goddess (*Anacreont.*, *IG* 5(2), 287 [I-II^{p}]; Tim. *Pers.* 132), borrowed as Lat. *Lyaeus*. 4. (ἀνα-, κατα-)λυτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'deliverer, arbiter' (A., E., Hell. inscr.) with (ἐκ-)λυτήριος 'rescuing, liberating' (Hp., trag.); λυτήριον = λύτρον (Pi., A. R.), but καταλυτήριον = κατάλυμα (Poll., see above). Fem. λύτειρα (Orph.), also λυτηριάς (Orph.). 5. δια-λύτης 'deliverer', κατα- 'lodging guest', ἀνα- 'rescuer', συν- 'reconcilor' (Th., Plb.); also (after λύσις, λύω): (ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐκ-, παρα-, etc.)λυτικός 'fit for releasing or solving, etc.' (Pl., Arist.). 6. λύτρον 'ransom' (usually plur.), 'substitute, retribution' (Pi., IA), together with (ἀπο-, παρα-, ἐκ-)λυτρόω, -όομαι [v.] 'to release in exchange for ransom, etc.' (Att.), whence (-)λύτρωσις, λυτρώσι-μος, λυτρωτής, ἀπολυτρωτικός (Hell.).

•ETYM The regular Greek verbal system apparently resulted from levelling. The athematic aorist λύ-μην, λύ-το with short vowel is archaic; a more recent form is the thematic present λύω, originally with short υ (Hom.), but later also long (Att.; sometimes also Hom.), probably by influence of λῦσαι, etc. (cf. Schwyzer: 686 and Chantraine 1942: 372).

Correspondences to λῦω are Lat. *luō* 'to make amends, pay', to which belongs *solvō* (from **se-luō*) 'to loose, release'; the long vowel in *solūtus* and in the verbal adjective Skt. *lūna-* 'cut off' agrees with that in βου-λῡ-τός, and points to a laryngeal in the root. Since λύτο, λύσις, etc. have a short root vowel, the root must have been **lh₁u-*,

perhaps to be further analyzed as a *u*-present **leh₁-u-*. This is oncfirmed by the accentuation of Lith. *liáuti* 'to stop' and PSl. **lěviti* 'to diminish, weaken'.
The Skt. verb deviates formally (the nasal presents *lunā́ti*, *lunoti* are not found elsewhere, while the other finite forms are of much later date). Germanic has a verb with *s*-enlargement, e.g. Go. *fra-liusan* 'to lose' < IE **leus-*, *fralusts* 'loss' < IE **lus-ti-*, *fra-lus-nan* 'to be lost'. See LIV² s.v. **leu̯H-* for further forms.

λῶ [v.] 'want, wish' (Epich., Ar., Theoc., Dor., El. inscr.). ◁?▷
•VAR Pres. 2sg. λῇς, 3sg. λῇ, 1pl. λῶμες, etc., El. opt. ΛΕοιταν, Cret. opt. ΛΕ(ι)οι, ΛΕιοιεν, subj. ΛΕιωντι, ptc. ΛΕιοντος, -α, etc., inf. (conj. by Ahrens Th. 5, 77) λῆν; the gloss λεϙμι (H.) looks Ionic.
•DER 1. λῆμα [n.] 'will, spirit, courage, audacity' (Hdt.), with λημάτια· φρονήματα, βουλεύματα 'thoughts, resolutions' (H.), ληματίας [m.] 'high-spirited, daredevil' (Ar. *Ra.* 494), Chantraine 1933: 93; v.l. ληματιᾶς, as if from *ληματιάω; ληματόομαι in λελημάτωμαι· λῆμα ἔχω εἰς τὸ ἔργον 'I am desirous of work' (H.); 2. λῆσις· βούλησις, αἵρεσις 'will, purpose' (H.), to which one adds ληίς· … καὶ βούλησις (H.), for which Laconian loss of intervocalic sigma is assumed (DELG).
•ETYM Connection with λιλαίομαι (root **las-*) and λίαν (no etymology), found in older dictionaries, is impossible. According to DELG, we could start from a pre-form **lē-i̯ō*, which would enable derivation from IE **uelh₁-* (Lat. *velle*, MoHG *wollen*) as **u̯l̥h₁-ie/o-*. It is not clear, however, if this formation would vocalize to give *ϝλη-. Cf. ▶λωΐων.

λώβη [f.] 'outrage, dishonour, damage, mutilation' (Il.), 'kind of rash' (Gal.). ◁IE **sleh₂gʷ-* 'seize'▷
•COMP ἐπί-λωβος 'bringing damage' (Vett. Val.), -ής 'id.' (Nic.).
•DER λωβητός 'laden with λώβη' (Ω 531, Hes. *Sc.* 366, S.; Ammann 1956: 21), λωβή-εις (A. R.), -μων (Nic. *Al.* 536; v.l. -τωρ) 'outrageous'. Denominative verb λωβάομαι (-άω), rarely with prefixes like ἀπο-, ἐκ-, δια-, 'outrage, maltreat, mutilate' (Il.), or rather deverbative like πωτά-ομαι, νωμάω?; with λωβητήρ 'slanderer, corruptor' (Il.; on the mg. Benveniste 1948: 38 and 42), fem. -ήτειρα (*AP*); also -ήτωρ (Opp., *AP*), -ητής (Ar.); λώβησις = λώβη (Ptol., sch.). Rare λωβεύω 'mock, ridicule' (Od.; like ἀγορεύω, Chantraine 1942: 368; also Shipp 1967: 120: to avoid contracted forms).
•ETYM Formerly analyzed as a lengthened grade formation like κώπη, λώπη, λώγη, but such ad hoc lengthened grades can no longer be accepted.
Traditionally connected with a Baltic word for 'aggravation, objection, burden, nuisance, damage', Lith. *slogà*, Latv. *slāga* < IE **sloHgʷ-eh₂-*, a verbal noun to Lith. *slĕgti* 'to (op)press, aggravate', Latv. *slêgt* 'to shut, close'. Recently, Ragot *RPh.* 76 (2002) convincingly suggested, on the basis of Homeric evidence, that λώβη originally meant 'seizure' and that it is connected with λάζομαι 'to seize, take hold' < **sleh₂gʷ-* as a regular feminine *o*-grade derivation.
Fur.: 302[35] compares λυβάζειν· λοιδορεῖν 'slander, abuse' (H.), which (if correctly compared) would point to a Pre-Greek word **lub-*.

λώβηξ, -ηκος [m.] · γύψ 'vulture' (Cyran. 28). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR λούπης = ἰκτῖνος 'kite, Milvus regalis' (Hierocl., Facet. 257, Hdn. *Epim.* 46), λούππις 'milvus' (gloss.).
•ETYM See Fur.: 148, and cf. Lat. *lupiō* 'to cry, of the kite' (Suet. *Fr.* p. 251). Thus, a Pre-Greek word with interchange **lub/p-*.

λωγάλιοι [m.]? · ἀστράγαλοι ἢ πόρνοι 'dice or fornicators' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM In the first meaning, it has been connected to λέγω in the sense "die Aufgelesenen", with a lengthened grade as in λώγη, for which one also compared ▸λογάδες (λίθοι) 'accumulated stones'. However, such lengthened grades are unacceptable. In the sense of πόρνοι, it is related to λωγάς; see ▸λωγάνιον.

λωγάνιον [n.] 'dewlap (of oxen)' (Luc. *Lex.* 3, sch.), also λωγάλιον (H.) and λογάνιον (Suid.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Perhaps from ▸λαγαίω, ▸λαγαρός in the sense "(skin) hanging down"; intermediate forms (*λᾱ́γανον, *λώγη?) cannot be determined, however. The gloss ▸λωγάς· πόρνη 'whore' (H.) also belongs here.

λωγάς · πόρνη 'whore' (H.).
•ETYM Related to λάγνος 'lewd' and to ▸λωγάνιον (Persson 1912(1): 134 and 2, 939).

λώγασος [m.]? · ταυρεία μάστιξ 'whip made of ox-hide' (H.). ◂PG(S)▸
•ETYM Pre-Greek, on account of the suffix -ασος.

λώγη [f.] · καλάμη. καὶ συναγωγὴ σίτου 'reed, gathering of food' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM In the last meaning, clearly related to λέγω; a lengthened grade is also found in ἐλώγη· ἔλεγεν (H.), with Dor. contraction of the ending, from the deverbative λωγάω; the explanation καλάμη can also be understood as a collective, e.g. 'straw'.

λωΐων [adj.] 'better, more desirable, more agreeable' (Semon. 7, 30). ◂?▸
•VAR Att. λῴων; ntr. λώϊον (Il.), Att. λῷον, plur. λώϊα, λῷα (Thgn., Theoc.), gen. τῶν λῴων (Chalcis II^{p}), also msc. sing. λῷος (Hdn. Gr.); λωΐτερον (Od.), -ερος (A. R.), -έρη (Call., *AP*).
Superlative λῷστος (Thgn., trag.), ᾧ λῷστε (Pl.); details in Seiler 1950: 88ff.
•ETYM The neuter λῴϊον, which is the first attestation, can be interpreted both as an *o*-stem and as a *n*-stem; the *o*-stem is ascertained only in rare and late forms: λώϊα, λῷα, λῴων, λῷος. The *n*-stem is ascertained in λωΐων and λῴονος, -ι (S.); the *s*-stem alternating with it appears in λῴω [acc.sg.f.] (S., Pl.) and λῴους [acc.pl.f.] (S.). From these data, Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 7ff. concluded that the *o*-stem forms arose as analogical formations from the neuter λῴϊον, and that λώϊον is an old *n*-stem form.
As primary formations, λωΐων and λῷστος may go back to a verb as well as a noun (cf. Seiler 1950: 88ff.). Two possibilities are mentioned by Frisk: connection with λῆν, 1sg. ▸λῶ 'wish, want', or derivation from **lau-* seen in ▸ἀπολαύω, ▸λεία, ▸λᾱρός, for which we could reconstruct **loh$_2$u-is-*, perhaps connected with Arm. *law* 'good, better'.

λώδιξ, -ικος [f.] 'woven cover' (Peripl. M. Rubr., pap.). ◂LW Lat.▸
•DER Also diminutive λωδίκιον, etc.

•ETYM From Lat. *lōdix*, which itself might be taken from Celtic; see WH s.v.

λῶμα [n.] 'hem, fringe, border of cloths' (LXX *Ex.*). ◁?▷
•DER λωμάτιον (*AP*); acc. to *EM* = τὸ γυναικεῖον, ὃ ὑπὸ Ἀττικῶν ὄχθοβος λέγεται … καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸ κατώτερον τοῦ ἱματίου ἐπίβλημα 'woman's dress, which is called ὄ. in Attic … also the embroidery on the lower part of the dress'; acc. to H. also = ῥαφή 'seam, stitch', κλωσμός (a clucking sound).
Further ἀσύλλωτοι, of ὦμοι 'shoulders' (Call. *Dian.* 213), properly 'not tied together', i.e. 'uncovered'; εὔλωστοι· εὐυφεῖς 'well-woven', λωστοί· ἐρραμμένοι 'stitched', ἄλωστοι· ἄρραφοι 'unstitched', λωισμόν· λῶμα (H.); see Danielsson *IF* 4 (1894): 162ff.
•ETYM λῶμα has been connected with εὔληρα, αὔληρα 'rein', Lat. *lōrum* 'id.', Arm. *lar* 'noose, cord', but εὔληρα is Pre-Greek. Connection with the root **uel-* 'turn, wind, twist' is hardly possible, as it does not explain the ω in λῶμα. Both proposals are unconvincing. See ►λωτις, ►λωστυς.

λώπη 'cove, mantle, cloth'. ⇒λέπω.

λωστυς [f.]◁?▷
•VAR Only λωστυος [gen.sg.] (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1923, N° 123, 39 and 68; Oropos [IV^a]).
•ETYM Meaning end etymology unknown; cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 169.

λωτις [f.] mg. unknown (*SIG* 145, 26; Delphi IV^a); acc. to Danielsson *IF* 4 (1894): 164ff. designatin of a 'cloth with trimming and ornament woven and sewed on it', and related to λῶμα, ἀ-σύλ-λωτος, etc. (see ►λῶμα). ◁?▷
•DER The reading λ]ωτι (*SIG* 243 D 15) is uncertain, cf. Dittenberger ad loc.
•ETYM Related to λωστυς?

λωτός [m.] 'lotus', name of several nutrimental plants, 'Trifolium, Melilotus, Trigonella, etc.' (Il.), also of the Egyptian water lily, 'Nymphaea' (Hdt.), of the libyan lotus tree, 'Celtis australis' (ι 93 f.), and a flute made of it (E.); on the mg. Strömberg 1937: 184, Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 95f., Economos *Class. Journ.* 30 (1934-1935): 424ff. ◁LW Medit.▷
•COMP EN Λωτο-φάγοι (Od.), μελί-λωτος [m.], -ον [n.] 'Melilotus' (Sapph.).
•DER λωτόεις 'rich in lotus', probably in λωτεῦντα, -οῦντα for -όεντα, of πεδία (M 283), see Chantraine 1942: 35 and 351, Chantraine *REGr.* 63: 283; λώτινος 'consisting of λ., made of λ.' (Sapph., Anacr.); λωτάριον 'lotus flower' (medic.), λῶταξ 'αὐλητής, flute player' (Zonar., Eust.).
Denominative verbs: 1. λωτίζομαι 'to pick the flower, i.e. take the best part' (A. *Supp.* 963), -ω (H.), ἀπο-λωτίζω [v.] 'to take the flower from sbd.' (E.), with λώτισμα 'the flower, best part of sth.' (A. *Fr.* 99, 18, E. *Hel.* 1593). 2. λωτέω [v.] 'to play the flute' (Zonar.); hardly in λωτεῦντα (M 283), see above.
•ETYM A Mediterranean word. Acc. to Lewy 1895: 46, it was borrowed from Hebr. *lōṭ* 'στακτή, oil of myrrh' (LXX *Ge.* 37, 25; 43, 11); cf. also Arab. *lādan* > λάδανον, ►λήδανον. Hyllested 2004 assumes **luH̯$_3$-to-*, with vocalization of the laryngeal, but the evidence for such a development is too limited.

λωφάω [v.] 'to recover, take rest, let go' (Pl. *Phdr.* 251c), also trans. 'to quench, relieve' (poet.); on the mg. see Fowler *AmJPh.* 78 (1957): 176 and 179. ◁?▷

•VAR Also -έω (Hell.); aor. λωφῆσαι (since ι 459), fut. λωφήσω (Φ 292, etc.), perf. λελώφηκα (Th., Pl.).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. κατα-.

•DER λώφησις 'cessation' (Th.), λῶφαρ· λώφημα (H.), λωφήϊος 'relieving, expiatory' (A. R. 2, 485).

•ETYM Formally, cf. the type πωτάομαι, νωμάω, στρωφάω, which means that it is probably a deverbative (Schwyzer: 719). Etymology unknown; connection with ἐλαφρός, ἐλαχύς, etc. is impossible because these have an initial laryngeal. The comparison with the Germanic group of OHG *labōn* 'to quench, refresh' (Bezzenberger *BB* 5 (1882): 318) is doubtful; these may also be considered borrowings from Lat. *lavāre* 'to wash'. Not related to IE **sleub^{h}-* 'hang down' (as per Schwyzer: 719[4], followed by Pok. 964).

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M

μά [pcl.] asseverating 'really, indeed' (Il., IA), adversative = δέ 'but' (Thess.). ◁IE *(*s*)*me*(*h*$_2$) (?)▷

•ETYM Might be cognate with Skt. *smā́* [pcl.] 'really, truly' and/or with Hitt. *-ma* [encl.] 'but'. It is unclear whether μά continues *mh_2 or *mn. See ►μήν 1.

μᾶ [f.] 'mother', in μᾶ γᾶ voc. = μῆτερ γῆ 'Mother Earth' (A. *Supp.* 890, 899 [lyr.]), and also as a woman's exclamation (Hdt., Theoc.). ◁IE, ONOM▷

•ETYM Nursery word like Skt. *mā* 'mother' (lex.); likewise, πᾶς = ►πατήρ 'father'. See ►μαῖα, ►μήτηρ, ►μάμμη.

μάγαδις, -ιδος [f.] a stringed instrument, ascribed to the Lydians, but also to the Thracians (Alcm., Anacr.); also a Lydian flute (Ion Trag., Anaxandr.). ◁LW Lyd.▷

•VAR Acc. -ιν.

•DER μαγαδίζω 'to play the μάγαδις, imitate the μ., i.e. sing scales' (Theophil., Arist.), cf. Schwyzer 736. Further μαγάς, -άδος [f.] 'the bridge on a stringed instrument' (Ptol., Philostr., H.), with μαγάδιον (pap. I^a, Ptol.).

•ETYM A foreign word from an unknown, probably Lydian source. Others have proposed Semitic origin (Lewy 1895: 162f.). Fur.: 122, 226 reconstructs a pre-form *μαγδις, comparing πηκτίς, also a Lydian stringed instrument, with which it would be identical, according to Aristox *Fr. Hist.* 66 and Menaichm. 4 J.

μαγαρίς [f.] · μικρὰ σπάθη 'small blade' (H.). ◁LW Sem.?▷

•ETYM Lewy *KZ* 59 (1932): 192 compares Hebr. *m^{e}gērā* 'saw', *gārar* 'draw, pull', which remains questionable. Latte considers it a mistake for ματαρίς, comparing μαδάρεις· τὰς πλατύτερας λόγχας τῶν κεράτων. Κελτοί; see DELG s.v.

μάγγανον [n.] 'philtre, charm' (Heracl. *All.*, H.), 'block of a pulley' (Hero *Bel.*, pap. III^P), 'iron peg, bolt' (sch.), μ. πολεμικόν 'catapult, ballista, tormentum' (gloss., H.), · γάγγαμον 'fishing-net' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER μαγγανάριος 'enchanter' (pap. III^P), 'mechanic' (Papp.) is probably a loan from Latin. Denominative verb μαγγανεύω 'to deceive by machinations, bewitch, play tricks' with μαγγαν-εία 'trickery' (Pl. *Lg.*, Ph.), -εύματα [pl.] 'trickeries, quack medicines' (Pl., Plu.), -ευτής 'impostor, quack' (Suid., Phot.), -ευτικὴ τέχνη 'magical art' (Poll.), -εύτριαι [pl.] (H. s.v. βαμβακεύτριαι), -ευτήριον 'haunt of impostors' (Them.).

•ETYM As a loan, the word became widespread: Lat. *manganum* 'machine' (whence Ital. *mangano* 'sling'), with the by-form *mangō* 'fixer' (from Hell. *μάγγων?), whence

mangōnium 'the touching up of wares for sale'; a number of European languages may have borrowed the word from Latin: for example, Alb. *mangë* 'hemp brake, hackle', *mëngji* 'medicine'; MHG *mange* 'catapult', MoHG *Mange(l)* 'wringer for laundry' (whence e.g. Lith. *mañgalis* 'mangle'); MIr. *meng* 'deceit, cleverness, ruse'. Skt. *mañju-*, *mañjula-* [adj.] 'beautiful, sweet, charming', *maṅgala-* [n.] 'happiness, salvation, good omen' (all epic and class.) were proposed as cognates of μάγγανον, but this is not credible, as they are semantically too far off (Dravidian origin was considered by Mayrhofer *KEWA*: 547, 553 and Mayrhofer *EWAia*: 3: 379f.). Such an isolated comparison of Sanskrit and Greek words carries little weight. Oss. *mæng* 'deceit', MP *mang* 'id.', Sogd. *mnk* 'id.' are unclear. Connection to the group of ►μάσσω 'knead' is unconvincing too.

As Van Beek (p.c.) suggests to me, μάγγανον recalls μηχανή both semantically and formally. Although the Greek form cannot be derived from an IE root **meng-* (as per Pok. 731), the pair of words shows prenasalization and interchange of γ and χ, which both are typical reflexes of a Pre-Greek word. For the change in vowel quantity, we may compare ►καγκύλας · κηκῖδας. Αἰολεῖς (H.).

As regards the semantic development, Frisk assumes that the word originally denoted a concrete technical object. However, the technical meanings diverge strongly, and are attested at a later date. Rather, the connection with μηχανή shows that the oldest attestations depart from a meaning 'ruse, trick' (see ►μηχανή). Later, the word was used to denote all kinds of special tricks, and the divergent technical meanings, e.g. γάγγαμον 'fishing-net' (H.), can only be understood in this way.

μαγδαλιά late for ἀπομαγδαλιά. ⇒μάσσω.

μάγδωλος [m.] 'watchtower' (pap., H.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR Or ῶλος? Also μαγδώλ, -ῶλος.

•COMP μαγδωλο-φύλαξ 'watchman' (pap., H.).

•DER Eg. town name Μάγδωλος (Hecat. 317 J.), Μαγδῶλα (pap.).

•ETYM From Sem.; cf. Hebr. *migdal* 'tower' (also as a TN). Fur.: 312, 321 considers a non-IE loan in Hamito-Semitic (adducing Berb. *mogador* 'watchtower' and Akk. *madgaltu* 'id.').

μάγειρος [m.] 'slaughterer, butcher, cook' (Att., Hell. and late). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR Dor. μάγῖρος.

•COMP As a second member in ἀρχι-μάγειρος 'chief cook' (LXX, J., Plu.).

•DER Rarely fem. μαγείραινα (Pherecr. 84; nonce form), μαγείρισσα (LXX). Diminutive μαγειρίσκος [m.] (Ath.), with *magiriscium* 'small figure of a butcher' (Plin.). Adjective μαγειρικός 'of a cook or butcher' (Ar., Pl., Arist.) with -ικόν, -ική 'art of cooking, butcher taxes, etc.'; μαγειρώδης 'like a butcher' (Eun.). Denominative μαγειρεύω [v.] 'to be cook or butcher' (Hell.) with μαγειρ-εῖον 'butchery, soup kitchen' (Arist., Hell.), -εία [f.] 'boiled food' (Cato, Hdn. *Epim.*), -ηῖα [f.] 'butcher taxes?' (Eresos), -ευμα = -εία (H., Eust.), -ευτικός (late). Probably also Ἀπόλλων Μαγίριος (Cyprus).

•ETYM As an element of higher culinary culture, the profession μάγειρος seems to have entered Attic from Doric (for older δαιτρός?). The earlier history of the word is

unknown. Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 1 (1934): 255ff. supposes Macedonian origin, connecting μάχαιρα 'big knife, butchery knife'; Schwyzer: 471[12] recalls Lat. *mactāre*. Not related to ►μάσσω 'to knead', as earlier authors assumed.

The word looks non-IE, because of the alternations ει / ī and (if μάχαιρα belongs here) γ/χ. Is it Pre-Greek, deriving from **mak-ar$^{\gamma}$-*? Aeol. μάγοιρος, mentioned by LSJ s.v., is only attested in Greg. Cor., which is not a trustworthy source. See ►μάχαιρα.

μάγος [m.] 'member of the Median caste of priests, Magus', as an appellative 'interpreter of dreams, sorcerer, deceiver' (Hdt., Heraclit., S., E., etc. [Μᾶγος A. *Pers.* 318]), as an adjective 'magical, enchanting' (Philostr., *AP*). ◄LW Iran.►

•COMP ἀρχι-μάγος 'chief Magus' (Epigr. Hypaipa; cf. Wikander 1946: 49f.).

•DER μαγικός 'belonging to the Magi, magical' (LXX, Plu., etc.), μαγιανός 'magical, enchanted' (pap. I^{a}; after Ἀσιανός), μαγέταν αὐλόν· τὸν μαγεύοντα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους H.; μαγεύω 'perform as a Magus, enchant' (E., Hell.) with μαγεία (-ία) 'teachings of the Magi, magic' (Pl. *Alc.*, Thphr., *Act. Ap.*), μαγ-εύματα [pl.] 'id.' (E.), -ευτής = μάγος (D. C.), -ευτικός 'regarding the Magi, regarding magic' (Pl.).

•ETYM From Iranian; cf. OP *Maguš* (Av. *moγu-*), name of a Median tribe with priestly functions. As the appellative meaning is unknown, the etymology cannot be established. See Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 105-107; recent discussion in Brust 2005: 385ff.

μαγῦδαρις [f.] 'blossom, seed, root (and the sap obtained from it) of the plant called σίλφιον and of a related plant' (Thphr., Dsc., H.). ◄?►

•VAR Late μαγόδαρις (Gp. 2, 35, 9 codd.).

•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin (Libyan or Syrian?); cf. the litt. in WH s.v. *magūdaris* (Pl.).

μαδάω [v.] 'to drip, melt, be moist' (Thphr.; concerning a disease of a fir-tree), also 'to fall out', of hair. ◄IE **meh$_2$d-* 'be moist, drip'►

•VAR Aor. μαδῆσαι.

•COMP Also with ἀπο- (Hp., Ar., Arist., LXX).

•DER μάδησις 'hair loss' (Hp.), μαδαῖος 'moist' (Poet. *de herb.*), after ἰκμαῖος? Factitive μαδίζω [v.] 'to remove hair, pluck or singe' (medic.), also with ἀπο-; thence μαδιστήριον 'instrument for removing hair, place where depilation is carried out' = εὔστρα 'place for singeing slaughtered swine' (Halicarn. I^{a}, sch.), ὁλο-μάδιστος 'completely bald' (Cyran.), also μάδισος (see below); as an iterative μαδάσκομαι [v.] 'to drip, become moist' (medic. VII^{p}). Expressive enlargement μα[γ]δάλλει· τίλλει, ἐσθίει 'plucks, eats'; μα[γ]δάλλοντες· τίλλοντες, ἐσθίοντες (H.), cf. κναδάλλεται· κνήθεται 'scratches' (H.) and Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 91.

Further: μαδαρός [adj.] 'wet' (Hp., Arist.), 'bald' (Luc.) with μαδαρότης 'baldness, loss of hair and of the eyelashes' (Hp., Gal.), μαδαρόω 'to remove hair' (LXX *Ne.* 13, 25, v.l., Crete II^{a}), μαδάρωσις = -ότης (Gal., Vett. Val.), probably directly from μαδαρός; μαδαρ-ιάω [v.] 'suffer from hair loss' (Cleopatra *apud* Gal. 12, 405). Also μαδι-γένειος 'with bald chin' (Arist.); cf. χαλαρός beside χαλί-φρων. Note μάδος, -ον (back-formation?) = ἄμπελος λευκή (Dsc.), because its root was used for depilation;

rendered as ψίλωθρον by H., which may indicate the same plant. Further μαδωνάϊς = νυμφαία 'water-lily' (Boeot. according to Thphr. *HP* 9, 13), but Bechtel amends to μαδωνία. Also μάδισος· δίκελλα. οἱ δὲ μαδιβός (H.), probably from μαδίζω.

•ETYM For the shift of meaning from 'flow away' to 'fall out', compare ἐκρέω 'to flow away, fall out' and Lat. *dēfluō* 'to flow down', also 'to fall out', of hair. For the pair μαδάω : μαδαρός, cf. χαλάω 'slacken' beside χαλαρός 'loose' and πλαδάω 'to be moist' beside πλαδαρός 'wet' (rhyming), which are both semantically close. The aor. μαδῆσαι is an innovation as compared to χαλάσαι (which behaves like λαγαρός : λαγάσαι, etc.); it is unclear how the present stem μαδα- was derived. The root is also found in Lat. *madeō* 'to be moist, drip, be drunk' (after the intransitives in *-ēre*), OIr. *maidim* 'to break (out)' (intr.), 'to fall to pieces' (< *'to flow out or away' vel sim.; possibly formally identical with *madeō*), Skt. *mádati* 'to be intoxicated'. On the reconstruction **meh₂d-*, see Lubotsky *MSS* 40(1981): 133-138. See further ►μαστός, ►μήδεα.

μάδρυα [n.pl.] = κοκκύμηλα, βράβυλα 'plums, sloes' (Seleuc. *apud* Ath. 2, 50a). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also ἀμάδρυα· κοκκύμηλα. Σικυώνιοι (H., Phot.). Also ►ἄδρυα, in Σικελοὶ δε ἄδρυα λέγουσι τὰ μῆλα 'apples'. παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς ἀκρόδρυα 'fruits grown on upper branches of trees' (H. and Ath. 3, 83a). Maybe also βάδρυα, but see Fur. 221.

•ETYM ἀμάδρυα did not originally mean 'belonging to a tree', as tree names in ἀμα- meant 'blossoming at the same time as'. Rather, initial /h-/ was added by folk etymology to **ἀ-μάδρυα*, a form with (non-IE) prothetic vowel. This form (ἀ)μάδρυα must be a Pre-Greek etymon. If βαδρυα is reliable, we also have variation μ/β, to which ϝ may be added in order to explain ►ἄδρυα.

μᾶζα [f.] 'barley-cake' (IA), '(metal) nugget, mass, ball' (LXX, J., pap.). ◄IE? **meh₂ǵ-* 'knead'►

•VAR Accent acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 937; Att. acc. to Moer. Also μάζα (Hell. acc. to Moer.), Megar. μᾶδδα (Ar. *Ach.* 732, 835).

•COMP Compounds: μαζο-νόμος (pap. III^{p}), -νόμον (Hell. inscr.), -νόμιον (Callix. 2), -νομεῖον (com.) 'trencher for μ.'; ὁλό-μαζος 'with its whole mass, from top to bottom' (Hero *Stereom.*).

•DER Diminutive μαζ-ίσκη (Ar.), -ίον (Phryn. Com. et al.). Adjective μαζ-ηρός 'belonging to the μᾶζα' (Poll.), for the formation cf. σιτηρός; μαζεινός (for μάζινος?) βοῦς· ὁ ἐξ ἀλφίτων 'of barley groats' (H.). Denominative μαζάω [v.] 'to knead barley dough' (pap., H.), ὑπερ-μαζάω 'to be overfed' (Ath., Luc.); also μαζάω (Suid.), cf. κριθάω. Unclear μαζύγιον [n.] (beside μαζύς [f.]) 'amalgam' (Zos. Alch.).

•ETYM Derived from μαγ-ῆναι, pres. ►μάσσω with a suffix -i̯α-; cf. μᾶζα μεμαγμένη (Archil.). The long α would then be secondary. Borrowed from μάζα: Lat. *massa* 'clump, mass' (Plaut.). Not a Semitic loan word (Hebr. *maṣṣāh* 'unsoured bread' is rather from Greek). The comparison with OCS *mazati* 'to salve, smear', *mažǫ* [1sg.pres.] points to **meh₂ǵ-*. In this case, the long α may also represent an old full-grade.

μαζός 1 [m.] 'nipple, breast'. ⇒μαστός.

μαζός 2 [?] a fish (Epich. 69). ◂PG?(S)▸
•VAR Also μαζέας = the fish ἤπατος (Xenocr. *apud* Orib. 2, 58); μαζεινός or μαξεινός (Doris *apud* Ath. 315f).
•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v. The variation has no parallel, but rather points to a Pre-Greek word. LSJ notes: "probably for μαζίνης in Thphr. *Fr.* 171.2".

μαθαλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'name of a cup, used as a measure (Blaes. 2, H.). ◂PG?(S)▸
•ETYM Formation like ἀγκ-αλ-ίς, φυσ-αλίς, τρυφ-αλίς et al. (Chantraine 1933: 252), but there is no root etymology. Connection with μάθυιαι· γνάθοι 'jaws' or ▸μασάομαι 'to chew' seems impossible. Fur.: 212 compares Lat. *matula* 'pot for liquids' and βάτος, βάδος, βάδιον 'measure of liquids'.

μάθη •VAR μάθησις, μαθητής, etc. ⇒μανθάνω.

μάθυιαι [f.pl.] · γνάθοι 'jaws' (H.). ⇒μασάομαι.

μαῖα [f.] 'mother', mostly used to address elderly women (Od.), 'nurse, midwife' (Att.), 'grandmother' (Dor.); name of a big crab (Arist.), cf. γραῖα; of a plant, = λεπίδιον (Orib.), cf. γέρων and synonyms in plant names in Strömberg 1940: 56 and 159[1]. As a PN, mother of Hermes (*h. Merc.*). ◂GR▸
•DER μαιήϊος and μαιάς = μαιευτικός, -κή (Nonn.), Μαιάς = Μαῖα (ξ 435).
Denominatives: 1. μαιεύομαι [v.] 'to be midwife, deliver' (Att.) with μαιεία [f.] 'midwifery' (Pl.), μαίευ-μα 'product of delivery', -σις 'delivery', -τικός 'pertaining to delivery, able to deliver' (Pl.), μαιεύτρια 'midwife' (S.); 2. μαιόομαι [v.] 'id.' (Hell.) with μαίω-σις 'delivery', -τικός (Plu.), μαίωτρα [pl.] 'midwife's wages' (Luc.); μαῖοι 'adoptive parents' (Paros).
•ETYM Analogical enlargement of the nursery word μᾶ with the suffix -ι̯α, based on γραῖα (related to γραῦς, both 'old woman'). Borrowed as Lat. *maia* 'midwife'; the ancient roman goddess *Maia* was later identified with Μαῖα (WH).

μαιμάω [v.] 'to be eager, quiver with eagerness, rage' (Il.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR 3sg. μαιμᾶει, pl. μαιμώωσι, etc., aor. μαιμῆσαι (E 670); enlarged form μαιμάσσω (LXX, *AP*), also μαιμώσσω (Nic.) and μαιμάζω (Ph.).
•COMP Also with ἀνα-, περι-, ἐπι-.
•DER μαῖμαξ· ταραχώδης 'disturbing' (H.), μαιμάκτης, -ου [m.] "the boisterous one", of Zeus as god of the wind in Athens (Plu., Harp., H.), opposed to μειλίχιος; also Μαιμακτήρ name of a month (Phocaia), with Μαιμακτηριών, -ῶνος [m.] 'id.' (Att.), probably from *Μαιμακτήρια [pl.] name of a festival; μαιμάχης· ὑβριστής (Zonar.).
•ETYM The intensive reduplication can hardly be of IE origin; the aorist must be secondary. The original quantity of the middle syllable cannot be ascertained.
Although productive, the suffix -ακ- in μαῖμαξ, μαιμάκτης, etc. points to Pre-Greek origin. Late μαιμάσσω may just contain an enlargement -(α)σσω, but it might also be connected with the velar in μαιμάκ-της, etc. Additionally, ἀ-μαιμάκετος may belong here (cf. s.v.), but this is semantically unclear (assuming a pleonastic privative, like in ἀβέλτερος, is unlikely).

The connections with μαίομαι and μῶμαι are obsolete; see Tichy 1983: 331-334 for a discussion of the meaning of μαιμάω and an attempt to derive it from the perf. ptc. μεμαῶτ-.

μαίνη [f.] 'name of a small herring-like fish, Maena vulgaris' (*AP* 9, 412). ◁?▷
•VAR Further forms μαινομένη (sch. Luc.) with μαινομένιον (Alex. Trall.), MoGr. μαίνουλα, μανάλι, etc.; details in Thompson 1947 s.v. Also μαινίς, -ίδος [f.] (com., Arist.) with μαινίδιον (com., Arist.).
•ETYM No etymology. The connection with fish names in other languages (e.g. Ru. *men'* [m.] 'barbot', Lith. *ménkė* 'haddock', which derives from *meñkas* 'small', see Fraenkel 1955 s.v., and Skt. *mīna-* [m.]) is extremely doubtful. Strömberg 1943: 53ff. hesitatingly attempts to connect μαίνη with ▶μαίνομαι by interpreting it as "the wildly raging fish". Borrowed as Lat. *maena.*

μαίνομαι [v.] 'to rage, be furious, out of one's mind, excited' (Il.); rarely active ἐκ-μαίνω 'make furious' (E., Ar.), μαίνω (Orph.), aor. μῆναι (S., E.), intr. med. μήνασθαι (Z 160, Theoc.). ◁IE **men-* 'think of, remember'▷
•VAR Aor. μανῆναι (IA), fut. μανέεται (Hdt.), perf. (with present mg.) μέμηνα (A., S.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, περι-, ὑπο-, ἐν-.
•DER 1. From the present: μαινάς, -άδος [f.] 'the raging one, Bacchante' (Il.); μαινόλης (Aeol., Dor. -λας, fem. -λις) 'raging, excited' (Sapph., A.). 2. From the root: μανία, -ίη 'fury, madness' (IA); μανικός, μανιώδης 'furious, raging' (IA), fem. also μανιάς 'id.' (after λύσσα : λυσσάς, Schwyzer: 508). Verbal adj. ἐμ-μανής 'raging' (IA), probably a hypostasis (to μανία) after ἐμ-φανής, etc., as ἐμ-μαίνομαι does not occur before *Act. Ap.*, J. On ▶μάντις, see s.v.
•ETYM Several languages have a zero-grade *yod*-present corresponding to μαίνομαι < IE **mn-ie/o-*: Skt. *mányate*, Av. *mainiieite* 'to think'; OIr. *muinithir* 'id.'; OCS *mьnjǫ* 'to think, consider', Lith. *miniù* 'to commemorate, remember'. The intr. aorist μανῆναι has counterparts in the Balto-Slavic infinitive, Lith. *minėti*, OCS *mьněti.* Secondary origin may be considered for μανῆναι (which is post-Homeric) as well, cf. φαίνομαι : φανῆναι. Formations that arose in Greek are μήνασθαι < PGr. **man-s-* and μέμηνα (after τακῆναι : τέτηκα, etc.).
Related to the group of ▶μένος, ▶μέμονα, and probably ▶μιμνήσκω. For more cognates, see LIV² s.v. 1. **men-*.

μαίομαι [v.] 'to touch, investigate, search', present also 'to seek to attain' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aeol. also μάομαι (Sapph. 36?), fut. μάσσομαι, aor. -μάσσασθαι.
•COMP Usually with ἐπι-, in the aor. also with εἰσ-, ἐκ-, ἀμφι-, μετα- (Pi. *N.* 3, 81).
•DER Verbal adjectives ἀ-προτί-μαστος 'untouched' (T 263), ἐπί-μαστος epithet of ἀλήτης (υ 377), mg. unclear (cf. Bechtel *Lex.* s.v.).
Action nouns: μάσμα [n.] 'search, investigation' (Cratin. 424, Pl. *Cra.* 421b), μαστύς, -ύος [f.] 'id.' (Call. *Fr.* 277). Agent noun: μαστήρ [m.] 'searcher' (trag.), also [f.], Schwyzer: 530, also name of an Athenian officer (Hyp.); μάστειρα [f.] (A.), μαστήριος Ἑρμῆς 'Hermes, God of tracing' (A.); epic PN Μάστωρ; μαστρός [m.]

name of a financial officer (Pellene, Rhodos, Delphi), μαστρικός (Delphi II[a]), μαστρ(ε)ία, El. μαστράα = εὔθυνα (Messen. I[P], H.).
Denominative μαστεύω [v.] 'to search, track down' (Pi., A.; Epid., X.), μάστ-ευσις (Epid. IV[a], Archim.), -ευτής (X.), -εία (VI[P]); cf. ματεύω. Perhaps also related are PNs like Εὔμαιος, Οἰνόμαος, Μαίων (epic).
•ETYM The sigmatic forms (e.g. aor. -μάσσασθαι and ἀ-προτί-μαστος) suggest an analysis μαίομαι < **mas-i̯e/o-*, but they might also belong to ματέω, ►ματεύω as secondary formations. Often, μαίομαι 'to touch' and μαίομαι 'to strive for, try' (the latter with genitive) are considered to be two different verbs, but the meaning 'try to reach, strive for' can be easily explained from the conative aspect of the present stem. There are no clear cognates. In the sense 'to touch', μαίομαι has been compared with words for 'beckon with the hand', etc., e.g. OCS *namajati*, 1sg. *namajǫ* 'to beckon', Lith. *móti*, 1sg. *móju* 'id.', *mosúoti* 'to turn, swing'; but these clearly continue a root **meh₂-* or **meh₃-*, and thus are formally different from Greek. In the sense 'strive, try', the verb was compared with ►μαιμάω 'to be eager', ►μῶμαι 'to strive', but these connections cannot be formally substantiated. LIV² s.v. **mes-* reconstructs a present **ms-io-* > **ahio-* >> PG **ma[h]io-*, but such analogical replacement is questionable. ►μάστιξ, ►μάσθλης, ►μαστροπός were compared in Frisk, but are unrelated. See further ►μαστός.

μαῖρα [f.] 'the Dog Star'. ⇒μαρμαίρω.

μαίσων, -ωνος [m.] 'native cook' in Athens (Ath. 14, 659a); μαισωνικὰ σκώμματα (ibd.). ◅?▻
•ETYM No etymology. Acc. to Ar. Byz. (ibd.), it is originally the name of the comic mask of a cook or servant, which was named after an actor. Unrelated to μασᾶσθαι 'chew', as per Chrysippus (ibd.).

μάκαρ [adj.] epithet of gods and men, 'happy, blissful' (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Fem. also μάκαρ (E., Ar. [lyr.]), but more frequently μάκαιρα (*h. Ap.* 14), also ntr. in the obl. cases (*AP*, Nonn.). Further also μάκᾱρ (Archil. *Supp.* 3, 5, Sol. 14, Diph. 126, 6), μάκαρς (Alcm. 10, 11).
•DER Superl. μακάρτατος (Od., A., S.); μακάριος 'blessed, happy' (Pi.); often used as a form of address (Pl., Ar.), cf. δαιμόνιε; also μακαριότης 'blessedness' (Pl. *Lg.*, Arist.); μακαρία [f.] 'id.' (Ar., Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 293a); μακαρίτης, Dor. -τᾱς, fem. -τις "part of the blessed", 'blessed one' (A., Ar., Men., Theoc.). Denominative μακαρίζω [v.] 'to praise, glorify' (Od.) with μακαριστός (IA), also barytone μακάριστος; μακαρισμός [m.] 'act of blessing' (Pl. *Resp.*, Arist.), μακαριστής [m.] (J.). Also μακαρτός 'blessed' (*AP* 7, 740, 5; verse-final), as if from *μακαίρω. Obscure is μακαρίνη· ἀνδράχνη 'purslane, Portulaca' (H.).
•ETYM The idea of Brugmann *IF* 18 (1905-1906): 434 that μάκαρ is originally a neuter *'blessedness', whence occasionally msc. μάκᾱρ and fem. μάκαιρα, is not supported by the texts. It is rather Pre-Greek, because its formation is isolated within Greek, and because of the interchange -αρ/-ᾱρ.

μακεδνός [adj.] 'tall, slim', of trees, etc. (η 106, Nic., Lyc.); also name of a people related to the Dorians (Hdt.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER Also EN Μακεδόνες [m.pl.] 'Macedonians', -ών (IA) [sg.], whence Μακεδονία, -ίη, -ικός 'Macedonia, -nian' (IA), also ἡ Μακεδον-ίς (scil. γῆ) (Hdt.), -ῖτις (Ael.), -ισσα 'Macedonian woman' (Stratt.); μακεδονίζω [v.] 'to be pro-Macedonian' (Plb., Plu.). Long medial vowel in Μακη-δών (Hes. *Fr.* 5, 2, Call.), -δονία, -ίη (Hell. poet.).

•ETYM The pair Μακε-δόν-ες beside μακε-δν-ός is thought to contain an old ablauting suffix, which is also supposed in γοεδνός, etc., though a variant -δόν- is lacking there. A suffix -δόν- is found in animal names, in other appellatives, as well as in action nouns.

A by-form of the EN is Μακέτης 'Macedonian' (Gell.), -τις [f.] (Str., *AP*) and -τία, -τη (*AP*), -τᾰ (pap., see Mayser 1: 3, 24); cf. οἰκέτης, etc. Fur. does not discuss these forms. As an analysis μακε-δν-ος is impossible for an IE word, the ethnonym is probably of substrate origin (cf. Λακεδαίμων; Fick 1905: 90); the form with -τ- (which could be a variant alternating with -δ-) then points to Pre-Greek origin.

The meaning of the adjective strongly suggests that it is cognate with μακρός (Frisk), but this can hardly be accounted for in terms of IE morphology. On account of the strange suffixation, I assume Pre-Greek origin for it, too.

μακέλη [f.] 'mattock' (Hes. *Op.* 470, Theoc., A. R.), also a destructive instrument of Zeus (A., S., Ar.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR μάκελλα [f.] (Φ 259, Luc. *Hes.* 7).

•ETYM The formation has been compared with ἀγέλη, θύελλα, etc. The similarity with ►δίκελλα cannot be coincidental, but Frisk concludes that a convincing explanation has not yet been found. A cross of δίκελλα and a form *ματέλη, corresponding to Lat. *mateola* 'tool to stave in the earth', supposed by Güntert 1914: 122f., is not supported by any further evidence. Arm. *markeł* 'mattock' shows a remarkable similarity; it might be a loan from a common source. Unrelated are Lith. *makāras* 'big stave' and Arm. *mač* 'plough-tail' (the latter is an Iranian loan).

The following glosses from H. may belong to μάκελλα, -έλη: μάσκη· δίκελλα, βάσκα· μακέλη and μάκκορ (Lacon. for μάσκος)· ἐργαλεῖον γεωργικόν, ὡς δίκελλα 'agricultural tool like a δ.'.

The variation -ελλα/-έλη is best explained by a Pre-Greek ending *-*alʲa*. Therefore, μάκελλα, μακέλη are Pre-Greek, as is ►δίκελλα, see Beekes 2008. On variation κ/σκ, cf. Fur.: 295-301.

μάκελλον [n.] 'fence' (inscr. Epid. IV^{a}). ◁PG?(V), LW Sem.?▷

•VAR -ος [m.] 'id.' (sch. Ar. *Es.* 137); -ος [m.] and -ον [n.] 'meat market, hall for groceries' (Mantinea I^{a}, Sparta, 1 *Ep. Cor.* 10, 25, D. C.); μάκελ(λ)α· φράγματα, δρύφακτοι 'fence, railing; latticed partition'; μάκελος· δρύφακτος (H.).

•DER μακελλωταὶ θύραι 'latticed doors' (Delos II^{a}), borrowed as Lat. *macellōtae* 'id.' (Varro); μακελλεῖον· *laniatorium* 'butchery', μακελλίτης· *corporicida* (cod. *corpodicina*) (gloss.); details in Redard 1949: 117. Also μακελᾶς [m.] as "keeper of latticed doors" (*AP* 7, 709)? See O. Masson *Arch. Orbis* 18:4 (1950): 7ff.

•ETYM Frisk considers this to be a borrowing from Semitic (Hebr. *miklā* 'enclosure'), after Stowasser *apud* Lewy 1895: 111f. Borrowed from Greek was Lat. *macellum* 'market, etc.', whence *macellārius* > μακελλάριος 'butcher' (gl. *laniator*), -ιον [n.] 'food market' (pap. VI^{p}). The form μακελλωταί was not derived from Hebr. *miklā'ōt* [pl.], but from μάκελλον, like e.g. θυσανωτός from θύσανος. The TN Μάκελλα [f.], a town in western Sicily (Hell. and late), also belongs here. The primary meaning of μάκελλον is 'lattice, fence', and thence 'meat market', etc. The fence may have consisted of pointed objects, which would support relationship with ►μακέλη 'mattock'. If this is correct, the word must be Pre-Greek.

μακκοάω [v.] 'be stupid or out of one's mind' (Ar. *Eq.* 62, 396, *Com. Adesp.* 1210, Luc. *Lex.* 19); Μακκώ [f.] name of a stupid woman (Suid.). ◄?►

•ETYM Popular formation with expressive gemination; further details are unclear. Lat. (Osc.) *maccus* 'person of the Atellana, fool, buffoon' also belongs here, of which further details and various explanations are found in WH s.v.

μακκούρᾳ [f.] · χειρὶ σιδηρᾷ, ἣ χρῶνται πρὸς τοὺς ἵππους 'an iron hand, which is used with horses' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Improbable Semitic etymology by Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 24ff.

μακρός [adj.] 'long, great, high' also 'deep, tall, far, lengthy' (Il.). ◄IE **meh$_2$ḱ-* 'long, thin, tall'►

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. μακρό-βιος 'having a long life' (Hdt., Hp.), ἐπί-, ὑπό-, πρό-μακρος 'oblong' (Hp.), see Strömberg 1946: 100.

•DER Grades of comparison: μακρό-τερος (θ 20 = σ 195), -τατος (Ξ 288 a. 373); further primary forms μάσσων, μήκιστος (see on μῆκος).

Nominal abstracts: μάκρος [n.] 'length' (Ar. *Av.* 1131), probably an accidental formation, cf. Chantraine 1933: 417; μακρότης [f.] 'id.' (Hell.).

Denominative μακρύνω [v.] 'to lengthen, remove' (LXX, Hero), whence μακρυσμός 'long interval', μάκρυμμα [n.] 'sth. thrown away' (LXX; v.l. μάκρυνσις).

•ETYM Old adjective, which was also preserved in Latin and Germanic: Lat. *macer* 'meagre, thin', OHG *magar*, ON *magr* '*meagre*' < IE **mh$_2$ḱró-*. A parallel *l*-formation is found in Hitt. *mak-l-ant-* 'meagre'. μακεδνός cannot be formally explained in IE terms, however. In the sense of 'long, high', μακρός ousted δολιχός, which was inherited too. On the vocalisation of laryngeals in the position **RHC-*, cf. Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 25. See ►μῆκος.

μάκτρα [f.] 'kneading trough, bathing tub', etc. ⇒μάσσω.

μάλα [adv.] 'very, quite, by all means' (Il.). ◄IE **mel-* 'strong, better'►

•COMP Compar. μᾶλλον 'more, rather', superl. μάλιστα 'most of all, especially' (Il.).

•ETYM Formation like ἅμα, τάχα, πάρα, etc. (Schwyzer: 622). It is thought to contain a zero grade stem, as opposed to the full grade seen in Lat. *mel-ius* 'better' beside *multus* 'many' < *ml-tó-;* a zero grade also in Latv. *milns* 'very many'. The compar. μᾶλλον (with secondary length after θᾶσσον) probably replaced the original full grade **μέλλον*. The form μάλιον· μᾶλλον (H.), to be inserted in Tyrt. 12, 6 as well, is

an innovation; the same goes for μαλιωτέρα· προσφιλεστέρα 'more dear' (H.). See ►μαλερός, ►μέλω.

μαλάβαθρον [n.] name of an oriental spice, probably a kind of cinnamon (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Dsc., Gal., Plin.). ◄LW Ind.►

•DER -ινος 'prepared with μ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM From Skt. *tamāla-pattra-* [n.] 'leaf of the Tamāla tree', which was borrowed as τὰ μαλάβαθρα, Lat. *mālobat(h)rum* (after *mālum*), *-inus*, *-ātus*.

μαλακός [adj.] 'weak, soft, tender; effeminate, flabby' (Il.), on the mg. cf. Treu 1955: 183, 187f. ◄IE? **mlh₂-k-* 'weak'►

•COMP μαλακογνώμων 'of mild mood' (A.), μαλακο-κρανεύς "having a weak skull", bird-name 'grey shrike' (Arist.).

•DER μαλακία, -ίη (IA), μαλακότης (Pl., Arist., Herod.) 'weakness, effeminacy'. μαλακίων [m.] (form of address) 'sweetheart' (Ar. *Ec.* 1058), see Chantraine 1933: 165; τὰ μαλάκια 'molluscs' (Arist.); μαλακώδης 'softish' (St. Byz.). Denominative verbs: 1. μαλάσσω, -ττω 'to soften, appease' (Pi., IA), μάλαγμα [n.] 'emollient, padding' (Pl., Thphr., Ph. *Bel.*, etc.), μαλαγμα-τώδης (medic.), -τίζω [v.] (Zos. Alch.); μάλαξις 'softening' (Thphr., Plu.); μαλακ-τήρ "weakener", μαλακτὴρ ἐλέφαντος 'ivory worker' (Plu.); -τικός 'mitigating' (Hp., Plu.). 2. μαλακίζομαι [v.] 'to be soft' (Att.). 3. μαλακύνω [v.] 'to soften' (X., Hell.), with μαλάκυνσις 'softening' (Alex. Aphr.).

•ETYM The nearest cognate of μαλακός seems to be monosyllabic βλᾱ́ξ, so we are dealing with a primary κ-derivative. The forms point to a split paradigm: **mlh₂-k-* > **μλᾱκ-* and **mlh₂-ek-* > **μαλ-ακ-*. The comparison with the verb for 'rub, meal' (in ►μύλη) is outdated. See ►βλᾱ́ξ, ►μαλθακός.

μαλατῆρες · ναῦται 'sailors' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

μαλάχη [f.] 'mallow' (Hes.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also μολόχη (Epich. and Antiph. *apud* Ath. 2, 58d, *SIG* 1172, 8, etc.), μολάχη (Vase inscr. Naples). μάλβακα [acc.] (Orac. *apud* Luc. *Alex.* 25).

•DER μαλάχιον (Ar. *Fr.* 320, 10), μολόχιον (Clem. Al.) 'woman's ornament worn around the neck', also μάλακιον (Poll., H.), after μαλακός; μαλάχιος· ἰχθῦς ποιός a fish (H.), after the color (Strömberg 1943: 25); μολοχίτης (v.l. -τις) 'mallow-colored stone' (Plin., Isid.); μολόχινος 'made of mallow-fibre, mallow-colored' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), μολόχινα [n.pl.] 'clothes made of mallow' (ibd.) > Lat. *molochina* [f.]. Cret. TN ἐμ Μολοχᾶντι (nom. **Μολοχᾶς*, see Schwyzer: 528).

•ETYM Along with Lat. *malva* (whence MoHG *Malve*, etc.), from a Mediterranean language; traditionally compared with Hebr. *mallūaḥ*, name of a lettuce-like plant; does Georg. *balba* also belong here? The hapax μάλβακα [acc.] has a remarkable similarity with *malva* and points to **μαλϝακ/χ-*. We may therefore assume a Pre-Greek form **malʷak-*. This explains all Greek variants, including the different vocalizations. Pre-Greek may have taken the word from Semitic, or the other way around.

μάλδακον [n.] = βδέλλιον (Dsc. 1, 67, Plin. 12, 35) 'aromatic gum obtained from Balsomadendrum africanum'. ◁LW Near East▷
•ETYM Fur.: 212 thinks it is a non-IE loan from the Near East, standing for *μαδαλκον, and compares Hebr. *bᵉdōlaḥ*, Akk. *budulḫu, bidurḫu.*

μαλερός [adj.] mg. uncertain, said of fire (Il., Hes. *Sc.* 18, A. *Ch.* 325), of lions (A. *Ag.* 141), of singers (Pi. *O.* 9, 22), also of πόθος, Ἄρης; usually explained as 'violent, strong' (or 'consuming'), acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v. rather "zermalmend", 'crushing'. ◁?▷
•VAR μελερός· μαραντικόν. καυστικόν 'quenching, burning' (H.).
•ETYM Formation like θαλερός, φανερός, etc. There is no etymology, because of the uncertain meaning. Traditionally taken to be related to ►μάλα in the meaning 'violent', etc.; acc. to Bechtel, however, it belongs to ►μάλευρον and ►μύλη.

μάλευρον [n.] 'flour' (Alc. 70 LSJ, Achae. 51, Theoc. 15, 116). ◁IE *$melh_1$- 'meal, rub'▷
•VAR Cret. PN Μάλευρος (*SGDI* 5028 n 4).
•DIAL Myc. *me-re-u-ro* /meleuron/.
•ETYM Either a reshaping of ἄλευρον (s.v. ►ἀλέω) after μύλη, or an old word, cognate with OHG *melo* < PGm. **melwa-* 'meal', etc. The latter connection is possible if we reconstruct PIE **melh₁-uV-*, in which case Myc. *me-re-u-ro* < **melh₁-u̯r-* represents the old vocalism, cf. ἄρουρα 'arable land' (Myc. *a-ro-u-ra*) which is an extension of **h₂erh₃-u̯r*. μάλευρον must then have taken its vo
or even continue an old ablauting variant **mlh₁-eu-* (assuming that the heteroclitic inflection is secondary). The explanation of Myc. *me-le-ti-ri-ja* by vowel assimilation from *mela-* (as per LIV² s.v. **melh₂-*) is unacceptable, as there was no regular vowel assimilation in Greek (see Van Beek fthc.b).

μάλη [f.] 'armpit', almost only in the expression ὑπὸ μάλης 'under the armpit, secretly' (Att.), after this also ὑπὸ (τὴν) μάλην (Plb., Luc.), παρὰ τὴν μ. (*Hippiatr.*). ◁?▷
•DIAL Myc. *ma-ra-pi* /malāpʰi/?
•ETYM In the same meaning we find μασχάλη, but it does not seem probable that μάλη is a shortened form of μασχάλη.

μαλθακός [adj.] 'weak, tender, soft, mild' (P 588, also Hp., Pl.). ◁PG(S,V)▷
•VAR Aeol. μόλθακος (Alc.).
•DER μαλθακία 'softness' (Pl. *R.* 590 b); μαλθακώδης 'emollient' (Hp., Gal.), μαλθάκινος = μαλθακός (*AP*).
Denominative verbs: 1. μαλθάσσω = μαλάσσω (Hp., trag.), with μαλθακ-τήριον -τικός, -ξις (medic.). 2. μαλθακίζομαι [v.] 'to be or become soft' (A., E., Pl., Gal.). 3. μαλθακύνω = μαλακύνω (sch.). 4. Also μαλθάζω (Aret.), -αίνω (Stob.) = μαλθάσσω, both probably through replacement of the suffix, rather than to μάλθη, ►μάλθων. Unrelated is ►μάλθη.
Without suffixal -ακ-: μαλθώδης = μαλακτικὸς ἢ κηρώδης 'emollient or like wax' (Hp. *apud* Gal.); μάλθων [m.] 'sissy' (Socr. *apud* Stob.); Μάλθιον woman's name (Paros); μαλθώσω· μαλακώσω 'will soften' (H.). Here also ἐπίμαλθα· ἀγαθά, προσηνῆ. ἢ μαλακά, ἢ ἀσθενῆ λίαν 'good, soft, or soft, or very weak' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like μαλακός; the two synonymous adjectives may have influenced each other. If μαλακός belongs with βλᾰ̃ξ, then μαλθακός must have taken its ending from μαλακός. Solmsen 1909: 55 recognizes ►μάλθη as the feminine of an original adj. *μαλθός 'weak', which also left traces in μάλθων, etc. (though a reconstruction *-n̥-ko-* seems improbable for μαλθακός).

Outside Greek, the Germanic word for 'mild', e.g. OHG *milti*, Go. *unmildjai* 'ἄστοργοι', has been compared, which could belong to Skt. *márdhati* 'to neglect' (maintained in LIV² s.v. 1.**meld*ʰ-).

However, the following considerations may show that the word is Pre-Greek: 1) μαλθ- cannot be explained from IE **mld*ʰ-, as this would give **βλαθ-; 2) μαλθακός cannot be cognate with μαλακός, as the latter must go back to **mlh₂-ek-*, and there is no trace of the **h₂* in the former; 3) if μαλθάζω is old, it points to suffixal *-αγ-, which together with the (more common) variant seen in μαλθακός must derive from the well-known PG suffix *-ak-*.

It is now clear that words in -ακο- cannot be derived from an IE derivational type *-n̥-ko-*, as most words of this kind (like ὄστρακον) are of substrate origin.

►μάλθη should be separated from μαλθακός as a technical loanword. However, μαλθων, *μαλθόω, etc., which seem to be derivations of μάλθη, are rather variants of μαλθακός without the suffix **-ak-*. It is unclear whether ►ἁμαλός 'weak' can be connected; ►ἁμαλδύνω differs too much phonetically as well as semantically.

See further ►μαλακός.

μάλθη [f.] 'mix of wax and pitch', used to caulk ships, and on writing tablets (Cratin. 204); acc. to H. also = τρυφερή [adj.] 'delicate, tender'; is this correct? Also name of a large aquatic animal (Ael., Opp.), perhaps after its tender or wax-like meat, Strömberg 1943: 32. ◅PG(S)▻

•VAR Also μάλθᾰ (Ar. *Fr.* 157), μάλθης, -θῃ (Hippon., S., D.); on the variation -η : -ᾰ cf. Solmsen 1909: 265.

•ETYM This word probably has nothing to do with ►μαλθακός, as it is a technical loanword. The word is Pre-Greek, as μαλθ- cannot be explained from IE (**mld*ʰ- > βλαθ-). This also explains the nom. in -ᾰ (*Pre-Greek*: C 3,1). Borrowed as Lat. *malt(h)a*.

μαλιάω [v.] 'to suffer from glanders'. •DER μαλίασις, the disease. ⇒μῆλον 1.

μάλκη [f.] 'numbness from cold' in hands and feet, plur. 'chilblain' (Nic.); μάλκην· τὸ ἐπικόπανον. Πάριοι 'chopping-block' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻

•DER μάλκιον [n.]: φάρμακον ἀσθενές τε καὶ μάλκιον 'a weak and benumbing medicine' (Anon. *apud* Suid.), perhaps a compar. like ῥίγιον; superl. μαλκίστατον ἦμαρ (Call. *Fr. anon.* 45). Denominative μαλκίω [v.] 'to become numb with cold, freeze' (A. *Fr.* 332 [652 Mette], X., D., Ael.), after ἰδίω, often written μαλακίω after μαλακός; μαλκιό-ωντι [ptc.dat.sg.] (Arat. 294, m.c.), μαλκιῆν· ὑπὸ κρύους κατεσκληκέναι καὶ δυσκίνητος εἶναι 'to be stiff and unable to move for cold' (Phot.). Here also μαλκόν· μαλακόν (H.)?

•ETYM A convincing explanation is still lacking. There have been attempts connect Lith. *mùlkis* 'blockhead', OCS *mlъčati* 'be silent, dumb', and other words of doubtful

appurtenance. The connection with μαλακός is semantically unconvincing. A form μαλκ- can hardly be explained in IE terms. The variant spelling μαλακίω may indicate that the word is Pre-Greek.

μαλλός [m.] 'flock of wool' (Hes. *Op.* 234, Milete VI[a], A., S., Herod.). ◁PG?▷
•COMP πηγεσί-μαλλος 'thick-fleeced' (Γ 197).
•DER μαλλωτός 'provided or lined with flocks of wool' (Pl. Com., Str.) with μαλλωτάριον 'sheepskin' (pap. V-VI[P]); μάλλωσις 'lining with wool' (sch.). Further μάλλυκες· τρίχες 'hairs' (H.), after ἄμπυκες, κάλυκες, etc.; with simplification of the geminate: μάλιον 'long hair, pigtail' (*AP* 11, 157, Herm. Trism.).
•ETYM The connection with Lith. *mìlas* 'coarse homespun wool' has been abandoned. Greppin *Glotta* 59 (1981): 70-75 suggests that Arm. *mal* 'ram' is cognate with the Greek word. The latter only denotes the 'flock of wool', and never the animal, but this may be a later semantic development. An IE form **mh₂l-* is rather improbable, however. Greppin explains the form from **malyo-*, but this is not certain, as the -λλ- may also be a geminate of Pre-Greek origin. Clackson 1994: 232 (fn. 250) suggests that "the word is better explained as a loan from Arabic *māl* 'possession' with its transferred meaning 'sheep' (thus Ačaŕyan 1977: 224)."
The word may well be Pre-Greek.

μᾱλός [adj.] epithet of τράγος 'goat' (Theoc. *Ep.* 1, 5), explained as 'white' by H. ◁?▷
•ETYM May have been dissolved from μαλο-πᾰ́ραυος, properly 'apple-cheeked' (Theoc. 26, 1), but taken by H. to mean λευκοπάρειος; cf. μάλουρος (-ρις) = λεύκουρος, λευκόκερκος (H.). See ►μῆλον 1.

μάματα [n.pl.] · ποιήματα (v.l. πέμματα 'dressed food' Meineke), βρώματα 'prepared food (H.); μάμματα· βρώματα (sch. Pl. *Alc.* 1, 118e). ◁?▷
•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 21f. thinks it is dialectal (Doric-Macedonian) for μάγματα (and related to ►μάσσω 'to knead').

μάμμη [f.] 'mother' (Pherecr., Men., Epicur., *AP*), 'mother's breast' (Arr.), 'grandmother' (LXX, pap. I[a], Ph., Plu.). ◁ONOM▷
•COMP μαμμό-θρεπτος 'raised by grandmother' (Phryg., Poll.), also Μαμμᾰ́κυθος [m.] 'blockhead' (Ar. *Ra.* 990), properly "who hides with his mother" (κεύθω).
•DER Hypocoristic derivatives: μαμμία (Ar.), -ίον (Phryn.), -ίδιον (Plu., Hdt.). Adjective μαμμῷος, μαμμικός (pap.). Cf. παππία, etc. s.v. ►πάππα.
Denominative μαμμάω [v.] 'to cry for the breast' [thus LSJ] (Ar. *Nu.* 383).
•ETYM A nursery word, from reduplicated μάμμᾰ [voc.] (Ar. Byz.). Several cognates, e.g. Lat. *mamma* 'mother, nurse, grandmother, mother's breast', MoHG (Alem.) *mamme*, Lith. *mamà*, Ru. *máma*. See also Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 243 and Risch *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944): 119. On the geminate, see Schwyzer: 315; on the α-vowel, ibid. 339. See ►μᾶ, ►μαῖα, ►μήτηρ, ►μαστός.

μανδάκης [m.] 'δεσμὸς χόρτου (band to tie trusses), sheaf, bundle'. ◁LW Thrac.?▷
•DER μανδάκιον [n.] (pap.); μανδακηδόν 'in the form of a band' (*Hippiatr.*).

•ETYM Formation like ►γαυνάκης. Is it perhaps a loan from Old Iranian *banda-ka-* 'band, fetter' via Thracian, in view of the development *b* > *m*? See recently Brust 2005: 415ff. The formation can hardly be IE. See ►μάνδρα.

μάνδαλος [m.] 'bolt of a door' (Med. *apud* Erot., Artem.). ◄?►

•DER μανδαλώσας 'bolting(?)' (H. s.v. τυλαρώσας), μανδαλωτός 'with the bolt shot' (com., Phot.), also a lascivious kiss [LSJ].

•ETYM Technical word in -αλο- without etymology; cf. on ►μάνδρα. The formation can hardly be IE. Unrelated are ἀμάνδαλον = ἀφανές 'invisible' (Alc. *Z* 81), ἀμανδαλοῖ· ἀφανίζει, βλάπτει 'renders invisible, damages' (H.), in view of the divergent meanings.

μάνδρα [f.] 'fold, pound, stable' (S. *Fr.* 659, Call., Theoc., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Plu.), also 'cloister' in ἀρχι-μανδρίτης 'chief of a cloister, abbot, archimandrite' (Just.). ◄PG?►

•VAR μάνδραι· ἕρκη, φραγμοί, αὐλαι, σηκοί βοῶν καὶ ἵππων 'enclosures for cows and horses' (H.).

•DER Enlargement μάνδρευμα (D. H.), after the nouns in -ευμα.

•ETYM The word μάνδρα has been compared with Skt. *mandirá-* [n.] 'dwelling, house', *mandurā́* [f.] 'stable' since Fick, in which case we could be dealing with a loan from a common source (Asia Minor). The unification of μάνδρα, μάνδαλος, μανδάκης under one root *mand-* 'to fence in' or 'pound made of twisted rods', is ill-founded. Semitic etymology in Lewy *KZ* 58 (1931): 59 (to be rejected).

DELG mentions μανδρο- in names, on which see Nilsson 1941(1): 558[3]. Hardly an IE formation, as a root **mh₂n(d)-* is improbable.

μανδραγόρας [m.] 'mandrake' (Att., Thphr.). ◄?►

•DER μανδραγορίτης οἶνος (Dsc.), -ῖτις· Ἀφροδίτη (H.); the plant was known as an aphrodisiac; -ικός 'made of μ.' (Alex. Trall.); -ιζομένη 'drugged with μ.' (name of a comedy of Alexis).

•ETYM Unexplained. E. Fraenkel *Satura Berolinensis*: 23f. suspects that the plant was named after a person (a physician). Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 42 (following Lagarde) hesitatingly refers to the Persian plant name *merdum gijā* "plant of humans"; the Mandragora root is called ἀνθρωπόμορφος by an unknown informant, and is referred to by Columella as *semihomo*. It could be a folk-etymological adaptation of a foreign word.

From μανδραγόρας, MoE *mandrake*, Arm. *manragor*, etc. have been borrowed.

μανδύα [f.] a woollen garment (A. *Fr.* 364 = 711 Mette, LXX). ◄?►

•VAR -η [f.], -ας, -ης [m.].

•ETYM Unexplained foreign word: Persian acc. to Ael. Dion. *Fr.* 252 and H.; A. (l.c.) and St. Byz. 415, 7 speak of Λιβυρνικὴ μανδύη. Considerations in Brust 2005: 420ff.

μᾶνης [m.] 1. 'slave', also a typical slave-name (com.); 2. 'kind of cup' (Nico 1, Delos III[a], pap.); also the unlucky throw of the dice; also a bronze figure, used in the game of κότταβος (a cup, or a support?); see Ath. 487c d. ◄?►

•VAR μάνητες [nom.pl.], μάνᾶς [acc.pl.].

•DER Diminutive μανίον.

•ETYM The slave name is from Phrygian (Φρύξ means 'slave', among other things; see WH s.v. *mānēs*); the connection with κότταβος is secondary. Mazzarino *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 6:15 (1939): 366ff. thinks the word is Sicilian in the latter meaning, and connects it with Lat. *mānāre* 'to flow'. We may be dealing with two different origins.

μανθάνω [v.] 'to learn, get to know, experience' (Pi.). On the meaning, see Snell 1924: 74f. and Dörrie 1956. ◂IE *$mn(s)$-$d^{h}h_{1}$- ▸

•VAR Aor. μαθεῖν (Il.), fut. μαθήσομαι (Thgn., Parm.), perf. μεμάθηκα (Anacr., Xenoph., Emp.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐκ-, προ-, μετα-.

•DER Action nouns: 1. μάθη [f.] 'learning, insight' (Emp., H.). 2. μάθος [n.] 'what has been learnt, custom' (Alc., Hp., A.). 3. μάθησις = μάθη (Alcm., IA). 4. μάθημα 'what has been learnt, knowledge', plur. '(mathematical) sciences' (IA, Hell.), with μαθηματ-ικός 'fond of learning, scientific, mathematical' (Pl., Arist.), -ικεύομαι [v.] 'to argue mathematically' (Dam.). 5. μαθημοσύνη 'learning' (Phr., imperial period).
Agent nouns: μαθη-τής 'disciple' (IA), -τικός 'fond of learning; learnable' (Pl., Arist.), -τικεύομαι (Dem.), -τεύω [v.] 'to be a disciple, turn into a disciple' (NT, Plu.) with -τεία 'education' (Timo, D. Chr.), -τιάω [v.] 'to be eager to learn' (Ar.); fem. -τρίς (Ph.), -τρια (D. S., *Act. Ap.*); μαθετής 'id.' (Knossos II^{a}), after εὑρετής?

•ETYM The Greek forms all go back to the zero grade aorist μαθεῖν; the full grade could be represented either in μενθήρη 'φροντίς, μέριμνα' (H., *EM*) or in προμηθής 'premeditative, careful'. The latter is isolated (cf. s.v.), but μενθ- corresponds to OHG *mendī* 'gladness', *menden* 'to rejoice', beside a zero grade in e.g. Go. *mundon sis* 'to look at, σκοπεῖν', ON *munda* 'to aim (with a weapon), head for a goal'.
A full grade in Lith. *mañdras* 'lively, cheerful', OCS *mǫdrъ* 'φρόνιμος, σοφός'. A preform *mns-$d^{h}eh_{1}$- (related to *$mén$-s-) is assumed for Skt. *medhā́* 'wisdom, insight', Av. *mazdā* 'remembrance'. See ▸μενθήρη.

μανιάκης, -ου [m.] 'golden collar, worn by the Persians and Gauls' (Plb., LXX, Pln.). ◂?▸

•VAR Also -η [f.].

•COMP μαννο-φόρος (Theoc. 11, 41; v.l. for ἁμνο-).

•DER Diminutive -ιάκιον (sch. Theoc. 11, 41), also μανάκιν (pap.); μάννος, μόννος [m.] 'collar' (Poll.).

•ETYM Formation like ▸μανδάκης, ▸γαυνάκης. Usually considered to be a Gaulish word (cf. e.g. OIr. *muin-torc* 'collar', OW *minci* 'collar for horses', etc.) with cognates in Lat. *monīle* 'collar', OHG *menni* 'neck ornament', etc.; see WH s.v. *monīle*. Relation with ▸μόναπος 'aurochs' seems improbable.
It is now thought that the other IE languages must have acquired the word from the same (or a related) source as Greek. R. Schmitt *Sprache* 13 (1967): 61-64 connects Av. *zarənu-maini-* 'with golden collar'; see also Kronasser 1969: 61. Arm. *maneak* 'collar' could be of Iranian origin in view of the suffix *-*aka*-. The variants μάννος, μόννος point to a non-IE origin for the Greek word: geminate -νν-, interchange α/ο and presence of a suffix -(ι)ακ-. Still, the origin remains unclear.

μαννα 1 [f.] 'frankincense powder' (Hp., Dsc.). ◂PG?▸

•ETYM Probably a loan, possibly of Pre-Greek origin.

μαννα 2 [n.] 'manna' (LXX). ◁LW Sem.▷
•ETYM From Hebr. *mān* 'manna'.

μᾱνός [adj.] 'thin, loose, open in texture, rare' (IA, Emp. 75, 1). ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR μᾰνός (Telecl. 61); on βανόν see below.
•COMP μᾰνό-στημος 'with loose chain, thin, fine' (A. *Fr.* 297 = 688 Mette).
•DER μανότης 'thinness, rareness' (Pl., Arist., Thphr.), μανία 'id.' (*An. Ox.*); μανώδης 'thin' (Arist.); μανάκις 'rare' (Pl. Com., H.), to πολλάκις; μανόω [v.] 'to loosen' (Thphr.) with μάνωσις (Arist.). Variant βανόν· λεπτόν 'thin, delicate' (H.).
•ETYM Ion. μᾱνός and Att. μᾰνός derive from *μανϝός; beside these, we find a *u*-stem in μάνυ· μικρόν (cod. πικρόν). Ἀθαμᾶνες 'small' (H.). The *u*-stem is also seen in Arm. *manr*, gen. *manu* 'small, thin, fine', *manu-k* 'child, boy, servant' (see Clackson 1994: 117). Unrelated is ▶μάνυζα. Brugmann *RhM* N.F. 62 (1907): 634f. also adduces μαναύεται· παρέλκεται (H.), properly 'isolates himself', and, hesitatingly, ▶βάναυσος. However, the -αυ- remains unexplained.
Skt. *manāk* 'a little', Lith. *meñkas* 'short', Hitt. *maninku-* 'close, near', are all of unclear formation, as well as OIr. *menb* < **menu̯o-*. If Gr. μανυ- is from **mnh₂-u-* (cf. μανώδης, μαν-άκις), it conflicts with the etymology of OIr. *menb*.
Perhaps, μόνος could be included here. For Pre-Greek origin, see Fur.: 221 with good motivation. See ▶μόνος.

μαντία [f.] 'raspberry' (Dsc. 4, 37). ◁PG(O)▷
•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek. Cf. Alb. Gheg *mand* 'mulberry(tree)'; see Fur.: 209, 272, who compares Sardian and Basque forms and states that ▶βάτος cannot be separated from these words. He considers μαντία to be Dacian, but with no apparent reason.

μάντις, -εως [m., f.] 'seer, prophet' (Il.); also name of a plant (Nic.), of a grasshopper: 'praying mantis' (Theoc., Dsc.), a garden-frog (H.) as a predictor of the weather, cf. Strömberg 1940: 79. ◁IE? **men-ti-*▷
•VAR Ion. gen.sg. -ιος.
•COMP Often as a second member in trag., e.g. ἰατρό-μαντις 'soothsayer who is also a physician' (A.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 272f. Rarely as a first member, e.g. μαντι-πόλος 'predictive' (E. [anap.], Orac. *apud* Luc., Man.), which is formally like οἰωνο-πόλος 'bird-watcher', etc. (Wackernagel *KZ* 29 (1888): 143).
•DER 1. μαντεῖος, -ήϊος 'concerning the soothsayer, prophetic' (P., trag.), after βασιλεῖος, etc.; μαντεῖον, -ήϊον [n.] 'oracle, oracle site' (μ 272). 2. μαντικός 'id.', μαντική (τέχνη) 'the art of seeing' (IA). 3. μαντῷος 'id.' (*AP*), after ἡρῷος, etc. 4. μαντοσύνη 'faculty of prophecy' (Il., Pi., Emp.), after ἱππο-σύνη, etc.; -συνος [adj.] 'belonging to the seer or oracle' (Corinna, E. [lyr.]). 5. μαντεύομαι (late also -εύω) [v.] 'to predict, consult an oracle' (Il.), after βασιλεύειν, etc.; with μαντεία, -είη, η-ΐη 'prophecy, prophetic faculty, oracle' (*h. Merc.*), μάντευμα 'oracle' (Pi., trag.), μαντευτής = μάντις (Hdt.), -εύτρια (sch.). PN Μάντιος (Od.).

•ETYM As an agent noun in -τι-, μάντις stands isolated (most other *ti*-stems are abstract nouns); μάρπτις 'brigand' (A. *Supp.* 826f.; broken context) and πόρτις 'calf' are similar in formation. Benveniste 1935: 83 reconstructs an old neuter *τὸ μάντι 'divination', but μαντι-πόλος, adduced by Benveniste, can easily be explained in a different way (see above). μάντις seems to be derived from μαίνομαι, μανῆναι (cf. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται, Hdt. 4, 79). It is natural to take it as an original feminine abstract, like φάτις, with an Aeolic reflex of the suffix. However, the vocalism μαν- would have to be an analogical zero grade (after which example?), which makes the etymology a bit doubtful. See ►μέμονα, ►μένος.

μάνυζα [f.] · μονοκέφαλον σκόροδον 'garlic' (H.). ◅PG(S)▻
•ETYM No doubt a Pre-Greek plant name; it has nothing to do with μανός 'thin, loose'. For words in -ζα (with short -α, an ending characteristic for substrate words), cf. κόνυζα.

μάξεινος glossed as γαλλερίας, ὀνίσκος (diminutive of ὄνος 'ass', but also a fish-name) by Dorio *apud* Ath. 315f. ⇒μαζός 2.

μαπέειν [v.aor.] 'to take hold, grasp' (Hes. *Sc.* 231, 304). ◅?▻
•VAR Reduplicated μεμάποιεν [3pl.opt.aor.] (ibid. 252; v.l. μεμάρποιεν).
•DER Further *ἐμ-μαπεῖν in ἐμμαπέως 'immediately, quick'.
•ETYM Etymology unknown. In spite of its semantic agreement with μάρπτω (μέμαρπεν, -ώς Hes. ibd. 245, *Op.* 204), μαπέειν can hardly be connected with it in formal terms.

μάραγδος ⇒σμάραγδος.

μάραγνα [f.] 'whip' (A., E., Pl. Com., Poll.); H. also σμάραγνα (cf. on ►σμάραγδος). ◅LW Iran.▻
•ETYM The word corresponds to Syrian *māraynā* 'flagelli genus'. Hübschmann *KZ* 36 (1900): 175f. already assumed that both were loans from OP **māra-gna-* "killer of snakes". On the formal difficulty that MoP *mahr* points to **marθra- (mārθra-)*, instead of **māra-*, see now Brust 2005: 428ff., who assumes it is a loan from North-West Iranian.

μάραθον [n.] 'fennel, Foeniculum vulgare' (Epich., D., Thphr.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Also -ος [m., f.] (Hermipp.) and μάραθρον (Alex., Hell. pap., Dsc.).
•DIAL Myc. *ma-ra-tu-wo* /marat^{h}won/.
•COMP Compounds εὐ-μάραθος 'rich in fennel' (*AP*), ἱππο-μάραθ(ρ)ον 'Prangos ferulacea' (Diocl. Med., Thphr., Dsc.), διὰ τὸ μέγεθος (Strömberg 1940: 30).
•DER μαραθίς, -ίδος [f.] = ἱππο-μ. (Ps.-Dsc.), μαραθᾶς [m.] 'fennel-trader', μαραθίτης οἶνος (Dsc., Gp.), TNs like Μαραθών, -ῶνος [m., f.] (η 80).
•ETYM For a plant name, foreign origin is suspected. A cunning attempt at an explanation in IE terms was made by Hesselman 1932: 94ff., who compared MoSw. *mjärd(r)e*, OSw. *miærdher* [m., n.] 'fish-trap' (or its funnel-like entrance), from PGm. **merdra-* < IE **merH-d^{h}ro-*; the plant would have been named after its funnel-

like flower. Apart from formal problems, the Mycenaean form eliminates the proposed cognates. It is rather a Pre-Greek word.

μαραίνω [v.] 'to quench, destroy', med.-pass. 'to die away, wither' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. μαρᾶναι (*h. Merc.*), aor. pass. μαρανθῆναι (Il.), perf. med. μεμάρα(σ)μαι and fut. μαρανῶ (late).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, προ-, ἐκ-.

•DER μάρανσις [f.] 'fading away' (Arist.), μαρασμός 'withering', μαρασμώδης (medic.); μαραντικός 'withering' (Phryn., sch.).

•ETYM As an example for the above system of forms, Frisk suggested κηραίνω 'to damage, corrupt' with comparable meaning, or: ▶ἰαίνω, aor. ἰᾶναι 'refresh', with opposite meaning, which probably had an old primary nasal present (cf. s.v.). The precursor of μαραίνω may have been a nasal present as well; see ▶μάρναμαι with further connections.

DELG thinks that the root may be related to Lat. *morior*, etc. This idea finds support in the thesis of Meier-Brügger *KZ* 102 (1989): 62-67 that the verb meant 'to die out, let die out, let waste away', from the root **mer-* 'to die away'. However, his reconstruction **mr̥n̥-i̯e/o-*, with two consequent vocalic resonants, and hence the explanation of μαρ-, is hardly possible and does not solve anything.

μαράσσαι [f.pl.] · κύνες, ὄρνιθες 'dogs, birds' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also ἀμαράσαι· αἱ σῦς. οἱ δὲ κύνας 'swine, others: bitches' (H.), see Fur.: 372.

•ETYM The word is Pre-Greek in view of the prothetic vowel. It has been compared with ▶μαρίν.

μαραυγέω [v.] 'to contract the pupils when exposed to light; to be blinded', of the pupils of a cat (Plu.). ◁GR▷

•DER μαραυγία 'flicker, be blinded' (Archyt. *apud* Stob. 3, 1), -γεια also name of a fish (Xenocr.), because of its gaze, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 42f.

•ETYM Compound with second member as in χρυσ-, σκι-, βολ-αυγέω, and with an adjectival or verbal first member. Thus, either related to μαρμάρεος 'flashing' (μαρμάρεαι αὐγαί Ar. *Nu.* 187 [lyr.]), or to ▶μαρμαίρω, with compositional formation like in e.g. είλυ-σπάομαι, ▶δνοπαλίζω.

μαργαρίτης [m.] 'pearl' (Thphr., Str., Ael., Arr., NT). ◁LW Iran.▷

•DER μαργαρῖτις (λίθος) [f.] 'id.' (Ath., Isid. Char.), diminutive -ιτάριον (*PHolm.*). Besides, probably as a back-formation (cf. below), μάργαρον 'id.' (*Anacreont.*, *PHolm.*), -ος [m., f.] 'id.' (Tz.), also 'Indian pearl mussel' (Ael.), -ίς (λίθος) 'pearl' (Philostr., Hld.), -ίδες [pl.] name of a pearl-like kind of date palm (Plin.); -ίδης [m.] (Praxag.).

•ETYM An oriental loanword, mostly assumed to be from Iranian, MP *marvārīt*, MoP *marvā-rīδ* 'pearl' (acc. to Schiffer *RPh.* 63 (1937): 45ff.), but critical discussion in Brust 2005: 432ff. The older view derives it from Skt. *mañjarī* 'flowering bead' (epic class.), 'pearl' (lex.), with -ίτης added in Greek, like in numerous other stone names. The by-form *mañjara-* [n.] would agree well with μάργαρον, but the late and rare occurrence of both the Skt. and Greek form is no support for a direct identification.

Suggestion by Gershevitch 1989: from Iran. **mṛga-ahri-ita-* 'born from the shell of a bird' = 'oyster'.

From μαργαρίτης, Lat. *margarita*, etc.; see WH s.v.

μάργος [adj.] 'mad, furious, greedy' (Od.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also μόργος· ἄπληστος 'greedy', μοργίας· γαστριμαργίας, καὶ ἀκρασίας 'gluttony, being out of control, incontinence' (H.). Moreover ἄμαργος; μαρικᾶς· κίναιδος 'catamite' (H.), but see under the names; ἄβαρκνα· λιμός 'hunger, famine' (H.), which points to *ἄβαρκος. ἄβαρτος· ἄπληστος, οἱ δὲ ἄμαργος (H.), ἀβαρτία· ἀπληστία (H.). PNs Βάργος, Βάργη, Βρόγγος, Βάργασος, Μάργασος. Ἄβαρτος (Paus. 7, 3, 10).

•COMP As a first member in e.g. γαστρί-μαργος 'gluttonous' (Pi., Arist., Ph.) with γαστρι-μαργ-ία (Hp., Pl.), -έω (Ph.); Blanc *RPh.* 65 (1991): 59-66 connects στόμαργος from *στομά-μαργος.

•DER Μαργίτης [m.] name of the principal character of a satirical epic poem (Arist., Plb.), -ιτεία [f.] 'fury, madness' (Phld.); μαργότης [f.] 'madness, gluttony, wantonness' (Pl., trag.), -οσύνη 'id.' (Anacr., Thgn.); μαργηέντων· λυσσώντων 'raving' (H.).

Verbs: 1. μαργαίνω 'to rage, be furious', only pres. (E 882, Democr.); 2. μαργάω, only in pres. ptc. μαργῶν, -ῶσα 'furious, wanton' (trag., Call.); 3. μαργόομαι, only in ptc. μαργούμενος, μεμαργωμένος 'id.' (Pi., A.). With an unclear *e*-vowel: μέργιζε· ἁθρόως ἔσθιε 'eat at once!' (H.).

•ETYM The many variants (prothetic vowel, κ/γ, μ/β, α/ο, etc.) are typical for Pre-Greek words. The -ε- in μέργιζε probably represents a Pre-Greek variation as well; see Fur.: 217[72].

μάρδος [m.] 'reed-pipe' (Hdn. 1, 142, LSJ *Supp.*). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

μάρη [f.] 'hand' (Pi. *Fr.* 310). ◁?▷

•DER ▶εὐμαρής, whence εὐμάρεια; uncertain μάρις, -εως [m.] name of a measure for liquids, = 6 κοτύλαι (Arist., Poll.), = 10 χόες (Polyaen.), whence diminutive μάριον (pap.).

•ETYM Forssman 1966: 135-140 doubts the authenticity of μάρη 'hand'. Blanc *REGr.* 105 (1992): 548-556 and Blanc *RPh.* 70 (1996): 118 and 126 supposes that the form was coined to explain εὐμαρής. Schrijver 1991: 458 rejects an *r/n*-stem, as this would presuppose a root consisting of a single consonant *m-*, which is impossible in PIE. Former comparisons with Germanic and Celtic words, to be found in Frisk, are now obsolete.

μαριεύς, -έως [m.] 'stone that burns when in contact with water' (Arist. *Mir.* 833a 27; v.l. μαριθάν [acc.]); in H. μαριζεύς· λίθος τις, ὃς ἐπισταζομένου ὕδατος καίεται 'id.', also μαριθήν [nom.] without an indication of mg. (Hdn. 1, 16, 7). ◁?▷

•ETYM The correct form is uncertain; connected with ▶μαρμαίρω? In this case, it would properly mean "gleaming, sparkling". See ▶μαρίλη.

μαρίλη [f.] 'glowing ashes', opposed to ἄνθραξ 'glowing coals' and σποδός, -ιά 'ashes' (IA). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Arist. also has σμ-. Photius cites a form μαρείνη which he connects with μαραίνω.

•COMP μαριλο-καύτης 'charcoal-burner' (S.).

•DER Diminutive μαρύλλια [pl.] (*P.Leid.* X. 56), after other diminutives in -ύλλιον; μαριλ-εύω [v.] 'to change into glowing ashes; to burn coals', whence -ευτής (Poll.).

•ETYM Formation like μυστίλη, ζωμίλη, στροβίλη (-ῖλος), etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249). The form with σμ- probably shows that the word is Pre-Greek, as initial IE **s-* would disappear in Greek. See ▶μαριεύς.

μαρίν [f.] · τὴν σῦν. Κρῆτες 'swine (Cret.)' (H.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 372 cites ἁμαράσαι· αἱ σῦς. οἱ δὲ κύνας 'others say dogs' (H.) beside μαράσσαι· κύνες, ὄρνιθες 'birds' (H.). Because of the prothetic vowel in the former, μαρίν (if connected) is probably Pre-Greek.

μαρῖνος [m.] an unknown fish; perhaps a kind of barbel (Arist., H.), cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. H. glosses it κίθαρος 'chest', a kind of flatfish, ἰχθῦς θαλάσσιος 'seafish', καὶ ὄνομα κύριον 'an ordinary name'. ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Formation like ἀτταγ-ῖνος, etc. (see on ▶ἀτταγᾶς). The suffix -ῖνος is Pre-Greek.

μάρις [m.] a liquid measure (Arist., Poll.) = 6 κότυλαι, or 10 χόες (Polyaen.). ◁LW Iran.▷

•ETYM Schmitt 1989: 301-315 thinks it is a loan from OP **mari-*.

μαρίσκος [m.] 'bog-rush, Cladium mariscus' (Plin. *HN* 21, 112). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Formation like ἰβίσκος, ἀλθίσκος, and other plant names (Chantraine 1933: 407); further opaque. The suffix -ίσκος probably points to a Pre-Greek word.

μαρμαίρω [v.] 'to flash, sparkle, gleam' (Il., late also prose). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Only present. Rarely with ἀνα-, παρα-, περι-, ὑπο-.

•COMP πυρι-, περι-μάρμαρος 'sparkling (of fire)' (Man., Hymn. Is.).

•DER Besides μαρμάρεος 'gleaming, flashing, sparkling' (Il.) with μαρμαρίζω = μαρμαίρω (Pi., D. S.); μαρμαρυγή [f.] 'flashing, sparkling', of rapid movements, etc. (IA since θ 265), cf. on ▶ἀργός 1 for the semantics; formed after ἀμαρυγή. Thence μαρμαρυγώδης 'seeing sparks' (Hp.), μαρμαρύσσω (cf. ἀμαρύσσω) = μαρμαίρω (Them., Jul.); μαρμάρυγμα (Cael. Aur.).

•ETYM Analyzed as a reduplicated intensive *yod*-present μαρμαίρω < *μαρ-μαρ-ι̯ω, standing beside μαρμάρεος like δαιδάλλω beside δαιδάλεος. The discussion of the semantics and parallels in other IE languages by Tichy 1983: 289-296 shows that the word may well be an onomatopoeia in origin. This means that Pre-Greek origin is a strong possibility, and in fact, it is almost ascertained by ▶ἀμαρύσσω, with a prothetic vowel. The suffix -υγ- also speaks for this.

An element μαρ- is found in Μαΐρα [f.] "the sparkling one", name of Sirius (Call., Eratosth.), also as a PN in Hom., and in ▶μαραυγέω. Cf. further perhaps the PN Ἀμφί-μαρος, son of Poseidon (Paus. 9, 29, 6), perhaps from *Ἀμφι-μάρμαρος?

The connection with ►μαρίλη and ►μαριεύς is quite possible in terms of Pre-Greek origin. It was thought that Skt. *márīci-* [f., m.] 'beam of light, mirage in the air' was a certain outer-Greek cognate. Although accepted by Mayrhofer *KEWA* 2: 589 and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 321, the connection must be rejected, since the Greek vocalism μαρ- cannot be explained in this way (PIE has no phoneme **a*). See ►μάρμαρος.

μάρμαρος [m.] 'stone, (piece of) rock' (M 380, ι 499, probably also E. *Ph.* 663 [lyr.] and Ar. *Ach.* 1172 [lyr.]), also an attribute of πέτρος (Π 735, E. *Ph.* 1401); 'white stone, marble' (Hp., Thphr., Theoc.); also μάρμαρον [n.] 'id.' (Call., late inscr.); also 'callosity on the foot of asses' (*Hippiatr.*). ◄PG?(O)►

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. μαρμαρο-φεγγής 'gleaming like marble' (Tim. *Pers.*).

•DER μαρμάρ-ινος (Theoc., inscr.), -εος (inscr., pap., *AP*) 'of marble'; -όεις 'gleaming like marble' (S.), -ώδης 'marble-like' (*Et. Gud.*); uncertain μαρμαρικός, of ἄσβεστος (*PHolm.* 25, 19); probably rather to Μαρμαρική. Further μαρμαρῖτις (πέτρα) 'marble-like' (Ph. Byz.); also a plant name, 'peony, Fumaria' (Ps.-Dsc.), because of the blue-gray color; Strömberg 1940: 26, also 'peony' (Plin., who explains the plant's name from its location). μαρμαρ-άριος 'marble worker' (inscr.; = Lat. *marmorārius*).

Denominative μαρμαρόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to be changed into marble, to cover with marble' (Lyc., Hero); μαρμάρωσις 'callosity' (*Hippiatr.*) is best taken directly from μάρμαρον, cf. on ἀέτωσις s.v. ►αἰετός. μαρμαρωσσός 'with callosity' (*Hippiatr.*) is from Lat. *marmorōsus* 'id.'.

•ETYM Because of its original sense of 'stone, rock', Frisk connected it with μάρναμαι, assuming that the meaning 'marble' resulted from folk-etymological connection with μαρμαίρω, μαρμάρεος. P. Mazon prefers a connection with μαρμαίρω; cf. LSJ's 'a crystalline rock which sparkles'. Pre-Greek origin is probable.

The age of the veterinary meaning 'callosity' cannot be established; in any case, it does not represent an independent development from a supposed mg. *'hardening' vel sim., but is rather a direct metaphor from 'stone' or 'marble'. The same development is seen in Lat. *marmor*, which was borrowed from Greek. The forms found in Western European languages are from Latin. See ►μάρναμαι, ►μαρμαίρω.

μάρναμαι [v.] 'to fight, battle' (Il.). ◄IE? **merh₂-* 'seize, grip'►

•VAR Only present; by dissimilation βαρνάμενος [ptc.].

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι, περι-.

•ETYM The zero-grade nasal present μάρναμαι has an exact formal pendant in Skt. *mṛṇīhí* [ipv.], from which thematic *mṛṇáti* 'to crush', also 'to grab' was formed. If this etymology is correct, μάρναμαι may originally have meant 'to crush one another', or alternatively, it may derive from the sphere of wrestling (from 'to grab'). Both Gr. and Skt. may derive from athematic **mr-n(e)h₂-*. For possible further cognates, most of which do not seem ascertained, see LIV² s.v. **merh₂-*. See ►μάρμαρος.

μάρπτω [v.] 'to catch, seize, lay hold off, overtake' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Aor. μάρψαι (Il.), perf. μέμαρπεν, etc. (Hes., A. R.).

•COMP Also with κατα-, συν-.

•DER μάρπτις [m.] 'robber' (A. *Supp.* 826 [lyr.]; Schwyzer: 271, 504[3]); κάμμιαρψις· μέτρον σιτικόν, τὸ ἡμιμέδιμνον. Αἰολεῖς 'a corn-measure (Aeol.)' (H.).

•ETYM A system without outer-Greek cognates. Note the glosses (all H.) βράψαι· συλλαβεῖν, ἀναλῶσαι, κρύψαι, θηρεῦσαι 'to gather, spend; consume, hide, hunt' and βράπτειν· ἐσθίειν, κρύπτειν, ἀφανίζειν 'to eat, hide, make disappear; remove', τῷ στόματι ἕλκειν, ἢ στενάζειν 'to suck into one's mouth, or to sigh, groan', with βρ- < *mr-*.

With a different auslauting velar, we find βρακεῖν· συνιέναι 'to understand', i.e. 'to grasp', and βράξαι· συλλαβεῖν, δακεῖν, καταπιεῖν 'to gather, bite, drink'. The latter have been compared with Skt. *mṛśáti* 'to touch, take'. However, the variation κ : π cannot be explained in IE terms (improbable is assimilation μ - κ > μ - π as per Schwyzer: 302). Rather, the variants point to Pre-Greek **mr(a)k^{w}-*, which became either βραπ- or βρακ-, with a reflex different from that of the IE labiovelar, or μαρπ-. See ►βρακεῖν, ►μαπέειν.

μάρσιππος [m.] 'bag, pouch (for money), purse' (X., LXX, Hell. pap.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Codd. also -ιπος, -υπ(π)ος.

•DER Diminutive μαρσίππιον, -ίπιον, -ύπ(π)ιον (Hp., LXX, Hell. pap.).

•ETYM The word is most probably Pre-Greek because of its variants in π(π) and ι/υ. Borrowed into Lat. *marsup(p)ium*, *-sip(p)-*; see WH s.v.

μαρτιχόρας [m.] according to Ctesias (*apud* Arist., Paus.), an Indian name for a mythical animal, acc. to Paus. 9, 21, 4 (μαρτιόρα) the tigre, = ἀνδροφάγος. ◄LW Iran.►

•ETYM From Iranian; related to OP *martiya-* [m.] 'man' and Av. *x^{v}ar-* [v.] 'to consume', MoP *mardom-xār* 'man-eater'. Cf. Brust 2005: 449ff.

μάρτυς [m., f.] 'witness' (Il.) 'martyr, blood-witness' in christian litt. ◄PG(S)►

•VAR Aeol. (Hdn. Gr.) and Dor. μάρτυρ, Cret. Epid. μαῖτυς (-ρς), -ρος, also μάρτυν [acc.] (Simon.), μάρτυσι [dat.pl.] (-ρσι Hippon.?); thematicized in epic and NWGr. μάρτυρος.

•COMP μαρτυρο-ποιέομαι [v.] 'to call to witness' (inscr., pap.), ψευδό-μαρτυς 'false witness' (Pl.), ἐπί-μαρτυς 'witness' (Ar., Call., A. R.), probably back-formation from ἐπι-μαρτύρομαι, -ρέω; on alleged ἐπιμάρτυρος (for ἔπι μάρτυρος) see Leumann 1950: 71.

•DER μαρτυρία (λ 325; cf. below on μαρτυρέω), μαρτύριον (IA) 'testimony, evidence'. Denominatives: 1. μαρτύρομαι [v.] 'to call to witness' (IA), also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐπι-; 2. μαρτυρέω [v.] 'to testify, bear witness' (Alc., Pi., IA), often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, δια-, κατα-, συν-; thence μαρτύρημα (E.), (ἀντι-, κατα-)-μαρτύρησις (Epicur., pap.) 'testimony', also (δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συμι-)μαρτυρία 'id.'.

•ETYM The basis may be a verbal abstract *μάρ-τυ- 'testimony', seen in μάρ-τυς, -τυν, -τυσι. The change from the abstract mg. 'testimony' to the appellative 'witness' is frequently attested, e.g. MoFr. *témoin* < Lat. *testimōnium*, MoE *witness* originally 'testimony', then 'witness'. The suffix -ρο- gave rise to μάρτυρος, probably of adjectival origin. A compromise with μάρτυς then perhaps led to the consonantal stem μάρτυρ-; note the gen.pl. μαρτύρων (ἐναντίον μαρτύρων, etc.), which can be

both from the *o*-stem and from the consonantal stem. Dissimilation occurred in μαῖτυ(ρ)ς < *μάρτυρ-ς; μάρτυσι and μάρτυς can be explained in the same way.

μάρτυς has been explained as a zero grade τυ-derivation from the root **smer-* 'remember', which is found in Skt. *smárati* and which may have other derivatives in Greek, e.g. ►μέριμνα 'care, concern'; the proper meaning of μάρτυς would then be *'remembrance'. However, a reconstruction **smr-tu-* would rather give *βρατυ-; therefore, I assume that it is rather a loan from Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 296). This is confirmed by the suffixes *-tu-r-*, which are non-Indo-European.

μασάομαι [v.] 'to chew, bite' (Hp., com., Arist.). ◅?, PG?(V)▻

•VAR Aor. μασήσασθαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-.

•DER Derivatives: (δια-)μάσημα 'bite, morsel' (Hp., Antiph., Thphr.), (δια-)μάσησις 'chewing' (Thphr., Dsc.), μασητήρ "chewer", 'muscle in the lower jaw' (Hp.), παραμασήτης "by-chewer", 'trencher-companion, parasite' (middle com.). Besides παραμασύντης 'id.' (middle com.), μασύντης (H.), Μασυντίας PN (Ar.) from *μασύνω; cf. μοσσύνειν· μασᾶσθαι βραδέως 'to chew slowly' (H.); Chantraine corrects to μασ-, which may be right or wrong; the variation might point to Pre-Greek origin.

•ETYM The meaning of μασάομαι suggests that it is an iterative-intensive deverbative formation to a primary *yod*-present (cf. φῦράω to φῦρω < *φῦρ-ιω). Next to it we find an innovative *μασύνω. The *yod*-present has been analyzed as PGr. **mnt^h-i̯e/o-* on account of the gloss μάθυιαι· γνάθοι 'jaws' (H.); a stem PGr. **mnt^h-* can also been recognized in ►μάσταξ << μάστο- < μαθ-τ-.

As there is not enough evidence for a sound change **-tH-* > Gr. -θ-, I reject the comparison with Skt. *math-* 'to stir' < IE **metH-* (which is semantically not compelling either). The synonym Lat. *mandō*, *-ere* 'to chew' is mostly derived from **metH-*, too, but in Latin, the development **mt-nH-* > *mand-* is regular (cf. *pandō* < **pt-nH-*).

On the other hand, the Gm. group of OHG *mindel*, ON *mél* [n.] 'bit of the bridle' < IE **ment-*, Go. *munþs* 'mouth' < IE **mnt-* has been compared. Gr. μαθ- was analyzed as the corresponding zero grade, but the aspiration cannot be explained. Moreover, the Gm. group should rather be compared with MW *mant* 'gums, mouth', Lat. *mentum* 'jaw' as **mn-to-*.

In sum, everything remains uncertain, but note that the gloss μοσσύνειν could point to Pre-Greek origin.

μάσθλης [m.] 'leather', name of leather objects (cf. διφθέρα) like 'leather shoe, strap' (Sapph., Hp., S.); also metaph. of a flexible and flattering man (Ar.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Aeol. μάσλης, -ητος (with loss of the θ); μάσθλη [f.] (S. *Fr.* 571, H.).

•DER μασθλήτινος 'like leather' (Cratin., Eup.), μασθλήματα [n.pl.] 'leather ware' (Ctes.).

•ETYM Formation like τάπης, λέβης, etc.; explanation uncertain. Traditionally derived from ἱμάσθλη (see ►ἱμάς) with loss of the anlaut (for which μάστιξ is compared, see Chantraine 1933: 375, Strömberg 1944: 44). However, such a loss is

highly improbable. Schwyzer: 533 and 725[3] derives μάσθλης from ►μάστιξ and ►μαίομαι; thence ἰμάσθλη with secondary adaptation to ἰμάς.
Extensively on μάσθλης, Hamm *Glotta* 32 (1953): 43ff. Possibly Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 172[118]).

μασθός 'breast'. ⇒μαστός.

μασκαυλης [m.] 'basin for ablution'. ◅?▻
•ETYM Late transcription of Hebrew *maskel* (inscr. Philadelphia, Lydia III[P]). DELG asks whether it is a notation of ►βασκαύλης.

μάσκη · δίκελλα (H.). ⇒μακέλη.

μάσπετον [n.] 'leaf or stalk of silphion' (Antiph.). ◅PG?(S)▻
•ETYM On the suffix -ετο-, see Fur.: 115[4].

μάσσω [v.] 'to knead (dough), press a workable material in a form; to strike, wipe off, make a reproduction of sth.' (since τ 92). ◅IE? **menk-*, or **meh₂ǵ-* 'knead'▻
•VAR Att. μάττω, -ομαι, aor. μάξαι, -σθαι, pass. μαγῆναι, μαχθῆναι, perf. med. μέμαγμαι, act. μέμαχα (Ar.).
•COMP Often with prefix, like ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἀνα-.
•DER 1. ἐκμαγεῖον (μαγεῖον Longin.) 'mass of which prints are made, offprint, mould; towel, napkin' (IA). 2. μαγίς, -ίδος [f.] 'kneaded mass, cake, kneading trough, dresser' (Hp., Com, S.). 3. μάγμα [n.] 'kneaded mass, thick salve, smear' (pap., Plin.), ἔκ-, ἀπό-μαγμα 'offprint, wiping cloth, wiped off dirt' (Hp., S., Thphr.), μαγμόν· τὸ καθάρσιον 'purifying means' (H.). 4. ἔκ-, ἀνά-μαξις 'wiping off' (Arist.). 5. μαγεύς [m.] 'kneader, baker, sbd. who wipes off' (Poll., *AP*, H.), probably directly from the verb. 6. μακτήρ· ἡ κάρδοπος 'kneading trough', ἡ πυελίς 'socket, basin'. καὶ διφθέρα 'leather bag'. καὶ ὀρχήσεως σχῆμα 'scheme of a dance' (H.); (ἀπο-, κατα-)μάκτης 'someone who kneads or wipes off' (*Com. Adesp.*, H.), fem. ἀπομάκτρια (Poll.). 7. μάκτρα [f.] 'baking trough' (com., X.), 'trough, bathing tub, sarcophagus' (Hell.), spelled μάκρα, see Schwyzer: 337; (ἔκ-, ἀπό-)-μάκτρον 'offprint, towel, etc.' (E., Ar.). 8. μακτήριον = μάκτρα (Plu.). 9. μακτρισμός name of a dance (Ath.), after κορδακισμός; cf. on μακτήρ above; thence -ίστρια name of a dancing girl (ibid.). 10. ἀπομαγδαλιά (Ar., Plu., Gal.), μαγδαλιά (Gal.), -έα (*Hippiatr.*) 'bread crumb for handwashing'; like ἁρμαλιά, φυταλιά, etc., but with unexplained δ (perhaps after **ἀπομάγδην*?). 11. With root-final κ: μακαρία· βρῶμα ἐκ ζωμιοῦ καὶ ἁλφίτων 'dish made of soup and barley groats' (H.).
•ETYM In Germanic and Balto-Slavic, comparanda are found that may be derived from IE **meh₂ǵ-*, e.g. MoHG *machen*, OS *makōn* 'to make, erect, build', if from **'to knead, form' (but note MoIc. *maka* 'to smear'), OCS *mazati*, 1sg. *mažǫ* 'to smear, salve' (MBret. *mezaff* 'to knead' is unrelated, see Matasović 2009 s.v.); uncertain is the comparison with Arm. *macanim*, *macnum* 'to stick, congeal'.
On the other hand, a root IE **menk-* is found in Lith. *mìnkyti*, 1sg. *mìnkau*, also *mánkyti*, 1sg. *mánkau* 'to knead a soft mass', OCS *mǫka*, Ru. *muká* 'flour' and related Balto-Slavic words. From Gm., one might adduce MoHG *mengen*, OE *mengan*, etc.,

if the original mg. is 'knead together', and from Indo-Aryan Skt. *macate* 'to crush, etc.' (Dhātup.).
The etymology is connected with the question which velar was original in Greek, -κ- or -γ-. The isolated μακαρία is the only one with a clear voiceless stop, for μάσσω < *μακ-ι̯ω can be explained as analogical after the aorist. If related, μᾶζα points to -γ-, but μαγῆναι and most nominal forms -γ- can be explained by analogy as well. Therefore, both options remain open. A suppletive system **menk* (whence μακαρία, μάσσω) beside *meh₂ǵ-* (whence μαγῆναι) is conceivable, too. I retain some doubts, however, about the form -μαγδαλιά. See ►μᾶζα.

μάσσων 'longer'. ⇒μῆκος.

μάστα [?] · ἡγεμών, ἢ μεγάλως (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

μάσταξ, -ακος [f.] 'mouth; mouthful, morsel' (I 324), also metaph. 'locust' (S. *Fr.* 716, Nic.), Ambraciotic acc. to Clitarch. *apud EM* 216, 9, because of its voracity (cf. Strömberg 1944: 17f.). ◄PG?►
•DER μαστάζω [v.] 'to chew' (Nic. *Th.* 918), also συμ- (*Hippiatr.*), with expressive by-forms: 1. μασταρύζω (v.l. -ίζω) [v.] 'to chew fervently, without uttering a word', of an old man (Ar. *Ach.* 689); cf. μασταρίζειν· μαστιχᾶσθαι. καὶ τρέμειν 'to tremble'. ἢ σφοδρῶς ἢ κακῶς μασᾶσθαι 'to chew violently and in a bad way' (H.), μαστηρύζειν· τὸ κακῶς μασᾶσθαι (Phot.); formation like κελαρύζω, βατταρίζω, etc. 2. μαστιχάω, only ptc. dat.sg. μαστιχόωντι (Hes. *Sc.* 389, verse-final) 'chewing violently for anger' = 'grinding the teeth, foaming' (of a boar), μαστιχᾶσθαι in H. s.v. μασταρίζειν (see above); back-formation μαστίχη [f.] 'resin of the mastich-tree' (*Com. Adesp.*, Thphr.), μαστίχ-ινος (Dsc.), -ηρά [f.] 'plaster from mastich' (Aet.), after ἐλαιηρός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 232f.).
•ETYM Both μάσταξ and μαστάζω, which need not be directly related, go back to a derivative μασ-τ- (from *μαθ-τ-, cf. the gloss μάθυιαι· γνάθοι H.) which stands beside the *yod*-present μασάομαι (from *μαθ-ι̯-). The function of the proposed formation remains unclear, however. For the formation of μαστάζω, cf. βαστάζω, κλαστάζω (beside κλάω), etc. (Schwyzer: 706); for μάσταξ, see πόρταξ (: πόρτις), μύλαξ (: μύλος). The gloss μέστακα· τὴν μεμασημένην τροφήν 'chewed food' (H.), with deviating vocalism, does not show an old full grade, but it was simply reshaped folk-etymologically after μεστός 'mouthful'.
The group may be of Pre-Greek origin; see ►μασάομαι for further details.

μαστεύω 'to search after'. ⇒μαίομαι, ματεύω.

μάστιξ, -ῑγος [f.] 'whip, scourge', metaph. 'plague' (Il.). ◄PG(S)►
•VAR Also dat. μάστῑ, acc. -ῑν (Ψ 500, ο 182, *AP*).
•COMP μαστιγο-φόρος 'bearing the whip', also name of a policeman (Th., pap.).
•DER Diminutive μαστίγιον (M. Ant.); μαστιγ-ίας [m.] 'rogue' (Att.), see Chantraine 1933: 93; -ία name of a magic plant (*PMag. Par.*).
Denominative verbs: 1. μαστίω 'to whip, scourge, thrash' (Il.), present only, sporadic in epic. 2. μαστίζω (post-Hom.), -ίσδω (Theoc.), aor. μαστίξαι (Il.; Hell.) 'id.', either

from μάστιξ or enlarged from μαστίω, beside μαστίκ-τωρ 'scourger, chastiser' (A. *Eu.* 159), -τήρ 'id.' (conj. A. *Supp.* 466). 3. μαστιγ-ῶσαι, -όω (-έω Hdt. 1, 114) 'id.' (IA), with μαστίγωσις 'whipping' (Ath.), -ώσιμος 'worth a thrashing' (Luc.), after λεύσιμος (Arbenz 1933: 99).

•ETYM The connection with μαίομαι, as an enlargement in -γ- of an old instrument noun in *-ti-*, is doubtful; the word is rather Pre-Greek, on account of the suffix -ῑγ-.

μαστιχάω ⇒μάσταξ.

μαστός [m.] 'nipple, motherbreast, breast', metaph. 'hill, height', also name of a cup (Apollod. Cyren. *apud* Ath. 11, 487b, Oropos, Delos); cf. Jaeger *RhM* 102 (1959): 337ff. (on the use in Clem. Al. and Ph.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Post-Hom. μαστός, epic ion. poet. μαζός, Dor. (Theoc.) μασδός, Hell. also μασθός; on μαστίχη see ►μάσταξ.

•COMP φιλό-μαστος 'loving the breast' (A.), γυναικό-μαστος (-θος) 'having female breasts' (medic.), δεκά-μαζος 'having ten breasts' (*Epigr. Gr.*); μαστό-δε-τον [n.] 'breast-band' (*AP*); cf. e.g. ἀκμό-θετον.

•DER Diminutive μαστίον 'small cup' (Oropos), μαστάριον 'id.' (Delos), also 'small breast' (Alciphr.).

•ETYM Attempts have been made to attribute μαζός, μαστός, μασθός to three different pre-forms, **mad-do-*, **mad-to-*, **mad-dʰo-* (Schrader *KZ* 30 (1890): 476). However, the existence of a nominal suffix **-dʰ-*, and especially of **-d-*, is doubtful. Moreover, semantically, derivation from the root of μαδάω is meaningless.

If the form is Pre-Greek, μαζός [mazdos] and μαστός differ in voice only (and aspiration in Hell. μασθός). Since voice and aspiration are not distinctive in Pre-Greek, all forms may go back to the same Pre-Greek word. It is therefore not preferable to explain μασθός (attested at a later date) as a reshaping after words with comparable meaning, or by association with words like στῆθος, κύσθος, βρόχθος.

μαστροπός [m., f.] 'procurer, procuress' (Ar., X., etc.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also μαστροφός (H.); hypocoristic μάστρυς [f.] (Phot.).

•DER μαστροπικός, -οπεύω, -οπεία (Att.).

•ETYM The usual connection with μαίομαι 'touch, investigate' is uncertain, as the variant with -φ- may point to a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 160 compares μάτρυλλος, -α 'procurer', ματρυλεῖον 'brothel', μαστρυλλεῖον and μάστρυς 'procurer, -ess'; note the variation σ/ zero in these forms, on which see Fur.: 301ff.

μασχάλη [f.] 'armpit' (*h. Merc.*), metaph. 'axil, branch' (Thphr.), 'bay' (Str.), etc. ◂PG(S)▸

•COMP E.g. ἀμφι-μάσχαλος 'with two arm-holes', of χιτών (com.).

•DER μασχαλίς [f.] 'axil' (Thphr.), μασχάλι(ν)ον, -εον (-έον cod.) [f.] 'basket made of palm twigs' (H., sch.), -ιαῖος 'belonging to the armpit' (inscr., medic.); μασχαλιστήρ 'girdle in the arm-pits' (Hdt., A.), like βραχιονιστήρ, etc., see Chantraine 1933: 328; formally, it is a euphemistic expression for 'mutilate' from the denominative μασχαλίζομαι, with probable original mg. "be girded in the armpits": according to ancient informants, all bodily extremities including nose and ears were cut off

during mutilation, and were fastened to a string running through the armpits. Thence μασχαλισμός 'mutilation', μασχαλίσματα [pl.] 'cut off extremities' (A., S., Lex.). The correctness of this old interpretation is doubted by Boehm in *PW* 14: 2060ff.

•ETYM The formation may be compared with that of ἀγκάλη 'bent arm'; further details are unclear. No doubt a Pre-Greek word. A very bold attempt was made by Adams *Glotta* 62 (1984): 65f. See ►μάλη.

μάταιος ⇒μάτη.

ματεύω [v.] 'to search, seek, strive to' (Ξ 110). ◄?►

•VAR ματέω in μάτης (Theoc. 29, 15, from Aeol. *μάτημι), ματεῖ· ζητεῖ; ματῆσαι· μαστεῦσαι, ζητῆσαι 'id.'; μάσσαι· ζητῆσαι (H.), ματεῖσθαι· ζητεῖσθαι (Hp. *apud* Erot.).

•COMP Also with prefix: ἐσ-ματέομαι, -μάσασθαι (Hp.), ἐμ-, κατ-εμ-ματέω (Nic.) 'to put the finger (down the throat), to implant (a sting)'.

•DER μάτος [n.] 'investigation' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), ματήρ· ἐπίσκοπος 'supervisor', ἐπιζητῶν, ἐρευνητής 'searcher, inspector' with ματηρεύειν· μα<σ>τεύειν, ζητεῖν (H.).

•ETYM ματεύω is probably secondary for ματέω (cf. Schwyzer: 732). The latter formally corresponds to δατέομαι and πατέομαι, so we probably have to start from a nominal τ-stem.

The verbal nouns ἄδαστος, ἄπαστος are parallelled by ἀπροτίμαστος, while -μάσ(σ)ασθαι, μάσσαι conform to the aorists δάσ(σ)ασθαι, πάσ(σ)ασθαι. Therefore, the verbal forms with -σ- can be combined with ματέω, just like nominal as μαστύς, μαστήρ, μάστιξ, ►μάσμα, etc. The form μαστεύω (see ►μαίομαι) may also have received its -σ- from these sigmatic forms.

The pair ματέω: μαίομαι may be compared with δατέομαι : δαίομαι; but ascertained outer-Greek comparanda are lacking for μαίομαι (unlike for δαίομαι).

ματέω [v.] 'to tread', in the ptc. μάτεισαι [nom.f.pl.] (Aeol., *Incerti auct.* 16, 3 LP, from *μάτη-μι), ματεῖ· πατεῖ 'id.' (H.). ◄IE? **men-* 'tread'►

•ETYM Formed like ►ματέω 'to search', if not simply a rhyme with πατέω. Connected with a primary verb 'to tread' in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *mìnti*, 1sg. *minù* 'to tread (down), break flax', OCS *męti*, 1sg. *mьnǫ* 'to press together', Ru. *mjat'*, 1sg. *mnu* 'to knead, tread (loam), break (flax)'; nominal derivatives are found in Celtic, e.g. W *mathr* 'trampling, mire' < **mn-tro-*. Skt. *carma-mná-* [m.] 'tanner' cannot be included here; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. See ►πατέω.

μάτη [f.] 'fault, folly' vel sim. (Stesich., A., S.). ◄?►

•VAR Also ματίη 'id.' (κ 79, A. R.), a metrically convenient transformation (Porzig 1942: 204 and 70); μάτην [adv.] 'idly, in vain, without reason' (*h. Cer.*).

•DER 1. μάταιος 'idly, empty, foolish, rash' (IA) with ματαιό-της (Hell.), -σύνη (Polem. *Phgn.*) 'idleness, etc.' and denominatives: a) (ἀπο-)ματαΐζω [v.] (Hdt., J.), ματάζω [v.] (A., S.) 'to talk nonsense, act foolishly', also -αιάζω [v.] 'id.' (Hell.); b) ματαιόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to bring to naught, act foolishly' (LXX, NT) with ματαίωμα (Hermas). 2. ματάω, aor. ματῆσαι 'to do in vain, miss, be useless' (Il.).

•ETYM The difficulty in determining the original meaning of the verbal noun μάτη (thus Fraenkel 1912: 115) and of its fossilized accusative μάτην makes it very hard to find a convincing etymology. The connection with the Slavic group of Pol. *matać*, 1sg. *matam* 'to swindle, turn, lie, deceive', SCr. *matati*, 1sg. *matam* 'to allure, attract', clearly has little value.
Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 67 (1989): 42-44 connects the root **men-* 'to have in mind', with negative connotations. Fur.: 88 n. 476 notes that words for 'stupid, foolish' are often of substrate origin (see also ibid. 242, 339; cf. ματταβος· ὁ μωρός 'moron' H.). See ►μηνύω, ►ματταβος.

μάτιον [n.] Eg. measure of capacity (pap. II-III^{P}) ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

ματίς [adj.] · μέγας. τινὲς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Tentatively compared with Celtic words for 'good', e.g. OIr. *maith* < PCl. **mati-*. It remains doubtful whether the gloss is from Greek or from another language.

ματρυλεῖον ⇒μαστροπός.

μάτταβος [adj.] · ὁ μωρός 'someone stupid, moron' (H.). ◄PG? (SV)►
•VAR ματτάβης· ἀπορῶν 'without escape or means' (H.), ματταβεῖ· περιβλέπει, ἀδημονεῖ 'gazes around, is troubled' (H.), ματταβο<ύ>μενος· μέλλων καὶ ἀποκνῶν 'who is about to do something but hesitates' (H.).
•ETYM A popular word, acc. to Chantraine 1933: 261f. derived from μάτη with the degrading suffix -β-, and containing expressive gemination. It may well be Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 242, who connects it with μάταιος 'idle'. See ►μάτη.

ματτύη [f.] name of a sweet dish, which is made of all kinds of ingredients, like minced meet, poultry, aromatic spices; it is ascribed to the Thessalians and the Macedonians (middle and new com.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also -α [f.], -ης [m.].
•COMP As a first member in ματτυο-κόπης [m.] (epithet, Amm. Marc.), perhaps also in ματτυο-λοιχός (Ar. *Nu.* 451 and Hdn. Gr. 1, 231 according to Bentley; codd. ματιο-).
•DER ματτυάζω [v.] 'to prepare a μ.' (Alex.).
•ETYM Formerly analyzed as derived from *ματτύς (comparing ἰχθύη : ἰχθύς, δελφύα : δελφύς, etc.), representing *μακ-τύς with a dialectal (Cretan or perhaps Thessalian) assimilation. This would be a τυ-derivative of μάσσω < *μακ-jω 'to knead'; see Kalén 1918: 91ff. following Ath. 14, 663b. Improbable. Fur.: 386 compares ματύλλη 'id.' (Poll. 6, 70). The *a*-vocalism in the root and the alternation τ(τ) point to Pre-Greek origin. Borrowed as Lat. *mattea*; see WH s.v.

μαῦλις 1 · μάχαιρα. καὶ ἡ μισθωτὸν (Latte: μισθίον) ποιοῦσα 'large knife, also a procuress' (H.). ◄LW Lyd.?►
•DER μαυλίζω = μαστροπεύω 'to pander' (H., sch.) with μαυλιστής [m.] (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*, Phot., Suid.), μαυλίστρια [f.] (Suid., sch., *EM*); μαυλιστήριον· παρ' Ἱππώνακτι,

λύδιον νόμισμα 'a Lydian custom / currency in Hipponax' (λέμισμα cod.) λεπτόν τι 'something small or delicate' (H.); Latte gives Λύδιόν τι λεπτόν νόμισμα 'a small Lydian currency', *fr.* 126 Bergk.

•ETYM A chain of hypotheses is assumed by Jongkees *Acta Orbis* 16 (1938): 146ff.: from Lyd. **mav-lis*, an adj. built on **Mavś*, the Lydian name of the mother goddess Magna mater (seen in PNs from Asia Minor, e.g. Μαυα, Μαυ-εννα, Μαυ-σσ-ωλλος, etc.). Thus, it would properly mean 'belonging to *Mavś*'. Thence 1. = μάχαιρα, as the Magna mater was considered the patroness of metal weapons; 2. 'woman devoted to the Magna mater', who makes her money as a prostitute; 3. 'coin of the Magna mater' (with added suffix -τήριον). Criticism of these hypotheses in O. Masson 1962: 178f.

μαῦλις 2, -ιδος, -ιος [f.] 'knife' (Call., Nic., *AP*, H., Suid., sch.). ⇒μαῦλις 1.

μαῦρος •VAR μαυρός. ⇒ἀμαυρός.

μαφόρτης, -ου [m.] 'short cloak with a cap' for women and monks. ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR μαφόρ(τ)ιον [n.].

•COMP δελματικο-μαφόρτης, -τιον 'a μ. cut like a Dalmatian cloak', from δελ-, δαλματική, Lat. *Del-, Dalmatica* (pap. imperial period).

•ETYM From Sem., cf. Hebr. *ma'aforet*, Aram. *ma'aforā*, *-for^{e}tā* 'cloak with cap'. See Lewy *KZ* 59 (1932): 192. Lat. probably borrowed *mafortium*, *maforte* from Greek, as well as *mafortis*, *-fors*; see WH s.v. Greek borrowed σουβρικο-μαφόρτιον (pap. imperial period) from Latin.

μάχαιρα [f.] 'large knife, butchery knife' (Il.); post-Hom. also 'short sword, dagger'. ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP μαχαιρο-φόρος [adj.] 'sword-bearing', subst. msc. 'sword-bearer' (IA), ἀ-μάχαιρος 'without a knife' (Pherecr.).

•DER Diminutive μαχαίρ-ιον (Hp., X., Arist.), -ίς [f.] (com., Str.), -ίδιον (Ph., Luc.); further μαχαιρᾶς [m.] 'sword-bearer' (pap., inscr.), μαχαιρωτός 'equipped with a sword' (Gal., Paul. Aeg.); μαχαιρίων, -ίωνος [m.] plantname = ξιφίον (Dsc. 4, 20, v.l. -ώνιον), after the form of the leaves, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 44; also as a PN (Paus.); Μαχαιρεύς [m.] (Str., sch. Pi.).

•ETYM Like γέραιρα, χίμαιρα, πίειρα, etc., μάχαιρα looks like a derivative in **-i̯a-* built on an *r*-stem. Traditionally connected with μάχομαι, but DELG finds this implausible. Semitic etymology (with reservations) in Lewy 1895: 177 (comparing Hebr. *m^{e}kērā* 'sword', but acc. to Gordon *Antiquityy* 30 (1956): 22ff., this is rather from Greek); cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 19 (1931): 160. Borrowed as Lat. *machaera*.

I compare μάγειρος 'cook', and on account of the interchange γ/χ, conclude that it is a Pre-Greek word.

μάχλος [adj.] 'lascivious' (of women), 'luxuriant, wild' (Hes., A.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR μάχλης· ἀκρατής, πόρνος 'out of control, sodomite' (H.); also μαχλάς, -άδος [f.] (Man., *AP*, Ph.), μαχλίς· ἑταίρα, πόρνη 'courtisane, prostitute' (H.).

•DER μαχλο-σύνη 'lasciviousness, voluptuousness' (Ω 30, Hes., Hdt.), -της 'id.' (*EM*, Sch.); μαχλικός 'like a lascivious woman' (Man.); μαχλεύομαι [v.] 'to be lascivious' in μεμαχλευμένον ἦτορ (Man.), μαχλῶντες· πορνεύοντες 'prostituting' (H.).
•ETYM The comparison with Skt. *makhá-*, an attribute of gods, is gratuitous and should be discarded in view of the unknown meaning of the latter (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 288). Fur.: 211 adduces Βάκχος (with interchange β/μ), and compares (ibid. fn. 48) Arm. *mahaz* 'lascivious', suggesting that all these words are from Asia Minor. Note that a word of this meaning with interchange β/μ may well be Pre-Greek.

μάχομαι [v.] 'to fight, combat' (Il.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Epic also μαχέομαι (μαχειόμενος, μαχεοὐμενον with metr. lengthening), aor. μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι (Il.), μαχήσασθαι (D. S., Paus.), μαχεσθῆναι (Plu., Paus.), fut. μαχήσομαι (epic Ion.), μαχέσ(σ)ομαι (Ion. and late), μαχέομαι (B 366), μαχοῦμαι (Att.), μαχεῖται (Υ 26), perf. μεμάχημαι (Att.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, συν-, άπο-. As a second member in μονο-μάχος 'fighting on his own' (A., E.), msc. 'gladiator' (Str.), whence μονομαχ-έω, -ία, etc., ναυ-μάχ-ος 'fighting at sea' (*AP*), but ναύ-μαχος from μάχη, see below.
•DER μάχη 'battle' (Il.); as a second member in ἄ-, πρό-, σύμ-, ναύ-, ἱππό-μαχος, with derivatives like προμαχ-ίζω, συμμαχ-έω, ναυμαχ-έω, -ία.
Thence: 1. μαχη-τής [m.] 'warrior' (Hom., LXX), Dor. μαχατάς (Pi.), μαχάταρ· ἀντίπαλος 'adversary' (H.), Aeol. μαχαίτας (Alc. 350), probably hyperaeolism (cf. DELG). 2. μάχ-ιμος 'warlike, militant' (IA), after ἄλκιμος; also msc. 'soldier of an Egyptian tribe', with μαχιμικός 'in the way of the μάχιμοι' (pap.). 3. Μαχάων [m.] PN (Aeol. epic), Ion. -έων, with Dor. Μαχαν-ίδας.
From μάχομαι also μαχ-ήμων 'warlike' (M 247, *AP*) and μαχ-ητός 'to be fought with' (μ 119), ά-, περι-μάχ-ητος (Att.), μαχ-ητικός 'ready for battle' (Pl., Arist.). The second member -μάχᾱς, as in ἀπειρο-μάχᾱς 'unexperienced in battle' (Pi.), λεοντο-μάχᾱς 'fighting with a lion' (Theoc.), may be derived from noun or verb alike.
•ETYM Beside the thematic root present μάχομαι, the isolated by-form μαχέομαι is modelled on μαχήσομαι, rather than a denominative of μάχη. The pair μαχήσομαι : ἐμαχό-μην has parallels like ἀπ-εχθήσομαι : ἀπ-εχθόμην, μαθήσομαι : ἔμαθον and γενήσομαι : ἐγενόμην. One has therefore been inclined to analyze ἐμαχόμην as an original aorist, from which μάχομαι was subsequently made. Further evidence for this view is the remarkably low frequency of the aorist in Homer (Trümpy 1950: 260[333]). It is supposed that a new aorist μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι arose (after the model of κοτέσσασθαι, etc.) after μάχεσθαι had been reinterpreted as a present. The new future μαχοῦμαι then arose from μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι in analogy with the type τελέσ(σ)αι : fut. τελῶ.
In the domain of fighting and battle, old inherited expressions can hardly be expected. The connection with a supposed Iran. PN **ha-mazan-* "warrior" in ▸Ἀμαζών, ἁμαζακάραν· πολεμεῖν. Πέρσαι, and ἁμαζανίδες· αἱ μηλέαι (H.) is ingenious, but highly uncertain. Within Greek, it is formally possible to connect μάχομαι with μάχαιρα '(butchering) knife' and with μῆχαρ, μηχανή 'ruse' (cf. χειρο-μάχα [f.], scil. ἑταιρεία, the name of the workers' party in Milete acc. to Plu. 2, 298c.),

a suggestion which DELG rightly calls improbable. As an isolated root, μαχ- may well be Pre-Greek.

μάψ [adv.] 'blindly, in vain' (Hom.). ◁PG?▷
•COMP As a first member in μαψι-λόγος 'speaking in vain' (*h. Merc.*), after other first members in -ι, see Zumbach 1955: 22; μαψ-υλάκᾱς 'barking in vain' (Pi., Sapph.), etc.
•DER μαψ-ίδιος 'idle, useless' (E., Theoc.), -ιδίως [adv.] (Hom.).
•ETYM Adverb in -ς, always occurring before vowel, of unexplained origin. Not related to Lat. *mox* 'soon', etc. (see WH s.v.). It could well be Pre-Greek.

μεγαίρω [v.] 'to grudge, envy, refuse' (Il.), mostly with negation. ◁IE **meǵh₂-* 'great'▷
•VAR Aor. μεγῆραι.
•DIAL According to sch. N 563 and Eust., from Salamis (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 162).
•DER Privative verbal adj. ά-μέγαρ-τος 'not enviable, unpleasant, unhappy' (Il.). Perhaps Μέγαιρα [f.] name of one of the Erinyes.
•ETYM Formation like ἐχθαίρω, γεραίρω, etc., formally identical with Arm. *mecarem* 'to esteem highly' from *mec* 'great', except for the *yod*-derivation. As Clackson 1994: 149-150 remarks, the suffix -αίρω became productive in Greek, e.g. ἐλεαίρω to ἐλέω 'to pity'. Thus, it is unnecessary that an *r*-stem **meg(h₂)-r-* 'greatness' or **megh₂-ro-* 'great' underlies both the Greek and Armenian verbs.
The Greek development of meaning is understood by Clackson from 'to regard as great' > 'regard as too great' > 'grudge'. See ►μέγας.

μέγαρα 1 [n.pl.] 'pits into which living pigs were thrown during the Thesmophoria' (Paus.). ◁LW Sem.?▷
•VAR Also μάγ- (Men.).
•ETYM Probably from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *me'ārā* 'cavity'. See Lewy 1895: 94, although he prefers identifying the word with μέγαρον 'hall'.

μέγαρον 2 [n.] 'hall, room, the inner space of a temple', plur. 'house, palace' (epic Ion., Il.); on the mg. e.g. Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203f. ◁PG▷
•VAR Gen.pl. -έων (Sophr.).
•ETYM Undoubtedly a technical loan from the substrate, perhaps adapted to μέγα; cf. the TN Μέγαρα.

μέγας [adj.] 'great, big, large' (Il.). ◁IE **meǵ-h₂-* 'much, many'▷
•VAR μεγάλη [f.], μέγα [n.]; compar. μέζων, superl. μέγιστος (Il.).
•DIAL Att. compar. μείζων, lengthened after κρείττων, ἀμείνων, etc. (Schwyzer: 538), Myc. compar. *me-zo*.
•COMP μεγά-θυμος 'with great mind' (Hom.), μεγαλ-ήτωρ 'magnanimous' (Il.), μεγαλό-φρων 'magnanimous' (Att.), cf. Hom. μέγα φρονέων; μεγιστό-τιμος 'with highest honour' (A.).
•DER 1. From μεγα-: μέγεθος [n.] 'greatness, sublimity' (Il.), Hdt. v.l. μέγαθος; cf. πλῆ-θος; -ε- by vowel assimilation according to Schwyzer: 255, but this is improbable as such assimilations were irregular; thence μεγεθ-ικός 'quantitative' (comm. Arist.), -ύνω [v.] 'to magnify', pass. 'to get exalted' (late), after μεγαλύνω; -όομαι = μεγαλύνομαι (medic., S. E.); PN Μέγης with patronymic Μεγάδης (Il.).

2. From μεγαλο-: μεγαλ-εῖος 'grand(iose)' (Pl., X., Plb.), enlarged after ἀνδρεῖος, with -ειότης 'highness, majesty' (LXX); μεγάλ-ωμα [n.] 'greatness, power' (LXX), -ωσύνη 'id.' (LXX, Aristeas), -ω- analogical; -ωστί [adv.] 'magnificently'.
3. From μέγιστος: μεγιστᾶνες [m.pl.] (rarely -άν sg.) 'great lords, magnates' (Men., LXX, NT), after the PNs in -ᾶνες, Björck 1950: 55, 278ff.; PN Μεγιστ-ώ [f.] (Emp., pap.), -ίας, -εύς; μεγιστεύω [v.] 'to be(come) very great' (App.).
•ETYM A form corresponding to μέγα, μέγας is found in Arm. *mec* 'great', *meca-w* [instr.] (*a*-stem); Skt. *máhi* [n.] 'great' (with *h* from **-gh₂-*) can also be subsumed under IE **mégh₂-*. We find PGm. **meku* with secondary **-u* after **felu* > Go. *filu* 'many', see ►πολύς: ON *mjǫk* 'very'. Further, Hitt. *mekk-* 'much, many' (Old Script) was reshaped into an *i*-stem *mekki-*.
The final -α from *-h₂* is the zero grade of *-ā* in Skt. *mahā-* 'great' (as a first member), *mahā-nt-* 'id.'; the effect of a laryngeal after *g* was aspiration in Skt., with **gh* > *h*. The masculine μέγας, -αν is immediately understandable as an innovation from μέγα; the other forms have an enlargement **-l-*, the origin of which is unlear. This enlargement is also found in Go. *mikils* 'great' < PGm. **mekila-* and in synonymous Lith. *dìdelis* 'great' (from *dìdis* 'id.'). See ►ἀγα-, ►μεγαίρω.

μεδέων, -έουσα 'ruler'. ⇒μέδω.

μέδιμνος [m.] corn measure (IA), a "bushel" = 48 χοίνικες, which was about 52 1/2 liters in Athens. ◁PG▷
•VAR Older -ίμνος; with dissimilation ϝεδιμνος (Gortyn).
•COMP As a second member in ἡμέδιμνον [n.] 'half-bushel', also -ος [m.] (haplological for ἡμι-μέδιμνον, originally a substantivized adj.).
•DER μεδιμν-ιαῖος 'measuring one μ.' (Gortyn), -αῖον· μέτρον μοδίου (H.).
•ETYM Formally, μέδιμνος looks like μέριμνα 'care, anxiety', λίμνη 'harbor' (cf. λίμην), στάμνος 'wine-jar', etc. If we assume an enlarged *mn*-stem to the root **med-* (seen in Greek μέδομαι 'to care', μέδω 'to rule, govern', μήδεα 'counsels, plans'). However, the -ι- remains problematic. It is tempting to compare Lat. *modius* "bushel", derived from *modus* 'measure'. Because of the great number of loanwords in -μν-, Chantraine 1933: 216 considers the word to be of Mediterranean origin. To my mind, the word must be Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -μν-. See Fur.: 246[71].

μέδω [v.] 'to rule, govern' (Emp., trag.). ◁IE **med-* 'measure'▷
•VAR Also -έω? Only present.
•DER μέδων [ptc.] 'ruler' (Hom.), like ἄρχων, fem. -ουσα "ruling", name of one of the Gorgons (Hes.), also μεδέων, -έοντος 'id.' (Il., *h. Merc.*), fem. -έουσα (*h. Hom.*, Hes.); PN Μέδων, Λαο-μέδων, etc., TN Μεδεών (Boeotia) in the sense "seat of government"(?).
μέδομαι [med.] 'to care for, think of, be prepared for' (Il.), only pres. except μεδήσομαι (I 650). Hence μεδίμῳ· ἥρωι 'hero' (H.), probably after κύδιμος, δόκιμος, etc.
•ETYM In the sense of 'think of, be prepared for', μέδομαι corresponds exactly to the Lat. frequentative *meditor*, *-ārī* 'to reflect, meditate', beside which we find the primary verb *medeor*, *-ērī* 'to heal' and the primary noun *modus* 'measure', from

which *modius*, *modestus* and *moderor* are derived. Celtic has several cognates, e.g. OIr. *mess* 'iudicium' < **med-tu-*, *air-med* 'measure'. The basic meaning 'measure' is found in Germanic as well: Go. *mitan* (also *miton* 'to consider'), OE *metan*, MoHG *messen*, etc. An old specialized meaning is found in Lat. *medeor* 'to heal' (originally 'to take measures' vel sim.?) and Av. *vī-mad-* 'healer, physician'.

See ▸μήδομαι, which has been considered to show a lengthened grade of the same root, but may also be from a different root **meh₁(d)-*.

μέζεα [n.pl.] 'male genitals'. ⇒μήδεα.

μέθυ [n.] 'entoxicating drink, wine' (Il.). ◂IE **medʰu-* n. 'honey, intoxicating drink'▸

•VAR Gen. -υος (Pl. *Epigr.*, Nic.).

•COMP As a first member in μεθυ-πλήξ, -γος 'hit by wine, drunk' (Call., *APl.*), etc.

•DER Denominative verbs: μεθύ-σκομαι (IA) 'to intoxicate oneself, be(come) drunk', aor. μεθυ-σθῆναι (Alc., IA); act. μεθύ-σκω 'to intoxicate oneself' (Pl., Hell.), aor. μεθύ(σ)-σαι, fut. μεθῡ́σω; μεθύ-ω (only present-stem) = -ύσκομαι, often metaph. (Od.).

Verbal nouns: 1. μέθη [f.] 'drunkenness, intoxication' (IA), back-formation from μεθύω after πληθύω : πλήθη; 2. μέθυσις 'intoxication' (Thgn.), after πόσις (Porzig 1942: 190); 3. μέθυσμα 'intoxicating drink' (LXX, Ph.). 4. μέθυσος (-ση) [m., f.] 'drunkard' (Hecat., Ar.), first of women; also μεθύσης 'id.' (Ath., Luc.); 5. μεθυστής 'id.' (Arr., *AP*), -ύστρια [f.] (Theopomp. Com.), -υστάς (*Trag. Adesp.*). 6. μεθυστικός 'dipsomaniac, intoxicating' (Pl., Arist.); 7. μεθύσιον· εἶδος ἀμπέλου 'kind of grapevine' (H.); 8. μεθυμναῖος epithet of Dionysus (Plu.); playful transformation of Μηθυμναῖος (from Μήθυμνα), according to H. an epithet of Dionysus (Wackernagel 1916: 131³).

PNs, e.g. Μέθων, -υλλος, -ύσκος. On ▸ἀμέθυστος, see s.v.

•ETYM Old word for 'honey, mead', which was retained in most languages: Skt. *mádhu-* [n.] 'honey', Av. *maδu-* [n.] 'currant wine', OCS *medъ* 'honey', Lith. *medùs* 'id.', ON *mjoðr*, OHG *metu* [m.] 'mead', OIr. *mid* 'id.', ToB *mit* 'honey'. The meaning 'honey' was limited in Greek to μέλι, which was inherited as well; the archaic word μέθυ, which (unlike its derivatives) was soon given up, referred to wine only.

μείγνυμι [v.] 'to mix, bring together, connect', med. 'to intermingle, convene in battle' (Il.). ◂IE **meiǵ/ḱ-* 'mix'▸

•VAR μειγν-ύω (X., Arist.), μίσγω (Hom., IA, etc.), ὀνεμείχνυτο (Sapph.), aor. μεῖξαι, med. μίκτο (epic), pass. μιγῆναι with fut. -ήσομαι, μ(ε)ιχθῆναι with -ήσομαι, fut. μείξω, -ομαι, perf. med. μέμ(ε)ιγμαι; act. μέμιχα (Hell.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. συν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, ἀνα-. As a first member in governing compounds μ(ε)ιξ(ο)-, e.g. μιξ-έλληνες [pl.] 'semi-Hellenes' (Hellanic., Hell.), μ(ε)ιξό-θροος 'mixing the crying, with mixed cries' (A.); also μισγ-, especially in μισγ-άγκεια [f.] 'place where valleys meet' (Δ 453), from **μισγ-αγκής*. As a second member in παμ-, ἀνα-, συμ-μιγής, etc. (IA); thence μιγής (Nic.), ἀνα-, ἐπι-μίξ [adv.] 'mixed' (Il.).

•DER Few derivatives: 1. (σύμ-)μεῖξις (also -ι-) 'mixing, etc.' (IA); 2. μεῖγμα (-ί-) 'mixing' (Emp., Anaxag., Arist.), μεῖχμ[α] (Alc.); 3. ἐπιμ(ε)ιξία, -ίη 'mixing, intercourse' (IA); from ἐπίμ(ε)ικ-τος. 4. μιγάς, -άδος [m., f.] 'mixed, together' (Att.). 5. Several adverbs: (σύμ-)μίγα, μιγά-δην, -δις, μίγ-δα, -δην (epic poet.). 6. μιγάζομαι [v.] 'to mix, unite' (θ 271), to μίγα, μιγάς (Schwyzer: 734).

•ETYM It is very doubtful whether μίγνυμι, which is frequent in mss., is an original zero grade. It is probable that μείγνυμι, built after μεῖξαι and μείξω, was early. The full grade is an alternative rendering for other forms, which in principle take zero grade (as in μεῖξις for μίξις; (σύμ)-μικτος, μέμιγμαι).

IE *$m(e)i\acute{k}$- is reflected by Skt. *miśrá-* = Lith. *mìšras* 'mixed'; Lith. *miẽšti*, 1sg. *miešiù* 'to mix', OCS *měšiti*, 1sg. *měšǫ* [caus.] 'to mix'. A *sḱ*-present, like in μίσγω, is well-represented in the Western languages too: Lat. *misceō*, OIr. *mescaid* 'mixes, confuses', OHG *miscan*, MoHG *mischen* (if not a Lat. loanword). The νυ-present is probably an innovation, as it is limited to Greek. Indic has a reduplicated *s*-formation in *mí-mikṣ-ati* 'mix', probably an original desiderative, with perf. *mimikṣé*, caus. *mekṣayati*.

All other languages have a voiceless root-final stop instead of the voiced one represented by μίσγω and found in μιγῆναι, μίγα. Since all Greek formations (except the *ske/o*-present) are isolated (e.g. pass. μιγῆναι), these are probably analogical after forms with a following voiced consonant (or made to the aorist μεῖξαι). It is unnecessary to assume a variant **meiǵ-*.

μειδιάω [v.] 'to smile' (Il.). ◂IE **smei-* 'smile'▸

•VAR In Hom. only ptc. -ιόων, -ιόωσα, later also inf. -ιᾶν (Pl.) and indicative forms, e.g. μειδιᾷ (Theoc.); aor. μειδ-ιᾶσαι (Sapph., Pl., Plb., Plu.), -ῆσαι (Il.).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἐπι-, ὑπο-. Compound φιλο-(μ)μειδής 'with a friendly smile', especially of Aphrodite (Il.), as if from μεῖδος· γέλως 'laughter' (H.), but perhaps directly from the verb, see below. On Hes. *Th.* 200 see Risch 1947: 76 and Strunk *Glotta* 38 (1960): 70, but also Dornseiff *Ant. class.* 6 (1937): 247, and Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 16 (1965): 204-6; see DELG.

•DER μείδημα [n.] 'smiling' (Hes.), -ίαμα 'id.' (Luc., Plu.), (ἐπι-)μειδίασις (Plu.), -ίασμα (H.), -ιασμός (Poll., Sch.), τὸ μειδιαστικόν 'cheerfulness' (sch.); μειδ-ᾴμων 'smiling' (*Hymn. Is.*).

•ETYM The relationship between the above forms is unclear. The present μειδ-ιάω, with the aor. μειδιᾶσαι, is probably an epic transformation, and the pres. ptc. may have served as a pivot form. The form φιλο-(μ)μειδής can be derived from a verb as well, and μεῖδος then extracted from it.

All Greek forms have an element -δ-, which appears to be lacking in most other languages. Skt. *smáyate, -ti* 'smile', ToB *smi-*, ToA *smi-* 'id.', OCS *smijati sę* 1sg. *smějǫ sę* 'to laugh', Latv. *smiêt*, 1sg. *smeju* 'to laugh (at)'. However, we also find the Balt. iterative *smaidît*, and *smaĩda* 'laughing'. One view is that Baltic and Greek independently added **-d-* to the root. The opposite view is that Baltic and Greek share an old **d*-enlargement (DELG s.v. and LIV² s.v. **smei̯-*). In view of the recent insight that root-final **d* and **h_1* interchange frequently, **smeid-* may well be the original form.

μείζων [compar.] 'larger'. ⇒μέγας.

μείλια [n.pl.] 'propitiations, atonement, penalty' (I 147 = 289, A. R., Call.).
•VAR Rarely sing. -ιον.
•ETYM No good explaination exists. See ►μείλιχος.

μείλιχος [adj.] 'soft, mild, friendly' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR Also μειλίχιος 'id.' (Il.); Μειλίχιος epithet, especially of Zeus (IA).
•DIAL Att. also Μιλίχιος (early itacism, Schwyzer: 193), Dor. Μηλ-, Arc. Μελ-, with Μειλιχιεῖον 'temple of Zeus M.' (Halaesa); details in Nilsson 1941(1): 411ff.; Aeol. μέλλιχος.
•COMP μελλιχό-φωνος (Sapph.), ἀ-μείλιχος 'unfriendly, irreconcilable' = ἀμείλικτος (Il.).
•DER From μείλιχος: 1. μειλιχίη [f.] 'softness, mildness' (O 741, Hes., A. R.); 2. μειλιχώδης 'soft' (Cerc.); μειλίχη [f.] 'boxing-glove' (Paus. 8, 40, 3), cf. πυρρίχη; 4. μειλίσσω [v.] 'to calm, appease' (Il.), aor. -ίξαι, also with έκ-; μείλιγμα (μέλιχμα Milete VI[a]) [n.] 'expiational sacrifice' (κ 217), (ἐκ-)μείλιξις 'expiation' (Anon. *apud* Suid., Eust.), μειλικ-τήριος 'expiating' (A. *Pers.* 610), -τικῶς [adv.] 'id.' (sch.); μείλικτρα [pl.] = μειλίγματα (A. R.).
•ETYM Popular formation with a suffix -χ- like in νηπίαχος, Dor. ὁσσίχος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 403f.), related to ►μείλια, but without any certain further connection. The different dialectal forms μειλ- : μελλ- : μηλ- have been explained from μελ-ν-; for comparison, Lat. *mel* 'honey', gen. *mellis* (if indeed from **mel-n-*) has been proposed, as well as Lith. *malónė* 'mercy'. μείλιχος was undoubtedly connected with ►μέλι by folk etymology.

μεῖον [n.] 'small animals (sheep or lambs), which were sacrificed during the Apatouria' (Att. inscr., Is., sch.). ◄GR►
•COMP As a first member in μει-αγωγός 'who puts the animals on the weighing-machine' (Eup. 116) with μει-αγωγέω (Ar. *Ra.* 798), -εῖον, -ία (Suid.).
•ETYM Properly a neuter of the comparative ►μείων with transition to an *o*-stem. Unrelated to the IE word for 'ram, sheep' in Skt. *meṣá-* [m.] 'ram, sheep, fell', OCS *měxъ* 'leather sack', etc.

μεῖραξ [f.] 'girl' (com.), late also msc. 'boy' (Aret., Hld.). ◄IE **mer-io-* 'young (girl or man)'►
•COMP φιλο-μεῖραξ [m., f.] 'loving boys' (Ath., Paus.).
•DER Diminutives: 1. μειράκιον [n.] 'youth, younger man' (Hp., Att.) with μειρακιώδης 'youthful' (Pl., Arist.), -όομαι [v.] 'to become adolescent' (X., Ph., Ael.), -εύομαι [v.] 'id., to behave as a youth' (Arr., Plu., Luc.), also μειρακ-εύομαι (Alciphr. 2, 2). 2. μειρακίσκος [m.] 'boy', also -η [f.] 'girl' (Att.). 3. μειρακύλλιον 'id.' (com.).
•ETYM For the feminine gender, cf. δέλφαξ, πόρταξ, σκύλαξ. The diminutive derivatives in Greek ousted the basic word.
We have to start from a noun, perhaps *μεῖρος (cf. λίθαξ : λίθος), which would agree with Skt. *márya-* [m.] 'youth, lover', Av. *mairiia-* (meaning unclear), and Skt. *marya-*

ká- 'small man' (with a thematic *k*-suffix independent of μεῖραξ). A fem. *μεῖρα (like στεῖρα) may be also considered.

As a remote cognate, Lith. *mergà* 'girl' has been adduced and, with different vocalism, Lith. *martì* [f.] 'bride, young woman' (cf. ►Βριτόμαρτις); also, the unclear Lat. *marītus* 'with wife, married' (see WH s.v.). Nowadays, Celtic words are also connected: W *morwyn*, OCo. *moroin* 'girl, maiden' < PCl. **moreinā-*, MW *merch* 'daughter' < **mer-k-*. The connection of Alb. *shemërë* is "hardly convincing" (Demiraj 1997 s.v.). In view of all the different enlargements involved, all comparisons beyond IIr. and Gr. **mer-io-* (perhaps a common innovation?) remain a bit weak.

μείρομαι [v.] 'to receive as one's share' (I 616), 'to divide' (Arat. 1054). ◁IE **smer-* 'remember, care'▷

•VAR ἔμμορε [3sg.perf.act.] 'shares in' (Il.), 3pl. ἐμμόραντι· τετεύχασι 'they have as a share' (H.), later also ἔμμορες, -ον (A. R., Nic.); μεμόρηκα (Nic.); εἵμαρται (-το) [3sg.perf.(plpf.)med.] 'it is (was) decided by fate' (Il.), ptc. (especially fem.) εἱμαρμένη 'fate' (IA); Aeol. ἐμμόρμενον (Alc.), Dor. ἔμβραται· εἵμαρται, ἐμβραμένα· εἱμαρμένη (H.); also innovated βεβραμένων· εἱμαρμένων (H.), μεμόρ-ηται, -ημένος (Man., *AP*).

•COMP Also with ἀπο- (Hes. *Op.* 578), ἐπι- (Vett. Val. 346, 6). As a second member in ►κάμμορος (< κά-σμορος), ►ἤμορος < ἄ-σμορος, etc.

•DER 1. ►μέρος [n.] 'share, etc.'. 2. μόρος [m.] 'fate, (fate of) death, violent death' (Il.), 'share, share of ground', also as a measure of land (Mytilene, Western Locris). Diminutive μόριον [n.] 'share, part, member of the body' (IA), mathem. 'fraction, denominator', with μοριασμός, -στικός, from *μοριάζω (Ptol., sch.); further μόριμος [adj.] 'destined by fate' (Υ 302, Pi., A.), μόριος 'belonging to the fate (of death)' (*AP*), probably also ►μορίαι, of ἐλαῖαι, μορόεις 'deathly' (Nic.). 3. μόρα [f.] name of a Lacon. section of troops (X.). 4. μοῖρα [f.] 'part, piece, piece of ground, share, degree, fate, (evil or good) fate, death-fate', also personified 'goddess of fate' (Il.); in compounds, e.g. μοιρη-γενής 'child of destiny' (Γ 182), -ιη- analogical metrical lengthening; εὔ-μοιρος 'favoured' (B., Pl.). Hence μοιρ-άδιος 'destined by fate' (S. *OC* 228 cod. Laur.), -ίδιος 'id.' (Pi., S.), -αῖος 'belonging to fate' (Man.), -ιαῖος 'measuring a degree' (Ptol., Procl.). μοιρ-ικός, -ικῶς 'according to degree' (Ptol., Vett. Val.); μοιρίς [f.] 'half' (Nic.); μοιρ-άομαι, -αω [v.] 'to divide, be awarded one's share, share' (A., A. R.), -άζω = -άω (Anon. *in Rh.*). 5. μορτή (Dor. -τά) 'share of the farmer' (Poll., Eust., H.). 6. ►μόρσιμος 'destined by fate'.

•ETYM The perfect forms Aeol. ἔμμορε (later taken as a them. aor., whence ἔμμορες, -ον) and Ion. εἵμαρται can be explained from **sé-smor-e* and **sé-smr-toi*, resp. The full grade yod-present μείρομαι < **smér-io-* joins this pattern, also seen in φθείρω : ἔφθορα : ἔφθαρμαι. Initial **sm-* shines through in derivatives too: e.g. ἄ-μμορος, κατὰ (μ)μοῖραν.

Corresponding forms outside Greek are doubtful. Lat. *mereō, -ēre, -eor, -ērī* 'to earn, acquire' (if properly *'to get one's share') might be cognate, but its formation, **(s)mer-eh₁-*, is different. Hitt. *marriie/a-*$^{tta(ri)}$ cannot be connected (as it rather means 'to dissolve by heating'; cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). The connection with the group of

μέριμνα 'care, concern' is highly hypothetical. Of the nominal derivatives, only μοῖρα requires a special explanation: one may start either from an o-stem μόρος or from an older consonant-stem *μορ-. The *o*-vowel could also be an Aeolic zero grade. See LIV² s.v. 2. **smer-*, to be separated from 1. **(s)mer-* 'denken an, sich erinnern'.

μείων [compar.] 'smaller' (Il., Hp., X., Dor., Arc.). ◁IE **meiH-u-* 'less, small'▷

•VAR μεῖον [n.], also μειότερος (A. R., Arat.), superl. μεῖστος 'least' (Locr. V[a], Hdn., H.).

•DIAL Myc. *me-u-jo*, *me-wi-jo* /meiw-ios/.

•COMP As a first member in μειον-εκτέω [v.] 'to have too little, fall short', with -εξία (X.), from μεῖον ἔχειν after πλεον-έκτης, -εκτέω, -εξία.

•DER Derivatives, probably analogical after the *o*-stems: 1. μειότης [f.] 'minority' (A.D., Vett. Val.); 2. μειόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to decrease, be inferior, diminish' (Hp., X., Arist.) with μεί-ωσις 'decrease' (Hp., Arist.), -ωμα 'reduction of wealth' = 'penalty' (X. *An.* 5, 8, 1), -ώτης [m.] 'who diminishes' (Paul. Al.), -ωτικός 'diminishing, decreasing' (Hell.).

•ETYM Considered to be a primary comparative from a verbal root 'to lessen' (LIV² s.v. 1. **meiH-*), seen in Skt. *minā́ti* 'to lessen, damage', *mī́yate* 'to become less, wither', etc. Cf. the opposite πλείων, πλέων, πλεῖστος (see ►πολύς). The presence of the suffixal *-u-* in Myc. *me-u-jo* and *me-wi-jo* is unexpected from an IE point of view (we expect it in the positive only), but it is not contradicted by the later evidence. It might find support in ToB *maiwe* 'small, young' < **moHi-uo-* (Adams 1999 s.v., which he connects with ON *mjór* 'small, thin'). See ►μινύθω.

μέλαθρον [n.] 'vault of the roof, roof-beams, roof', also (often plur.) 'dwelling, house' (Il., also inscr. Delos III[a], LXX, pap.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also μελάθρα [f.] (Delos IV[a]).

•COMP As a second member in ὑψι-μέλαθρος 'with high-roof-beams' (*h. Merc.*), etc.

•DER μελαθρόομαι 'provide with roof-beams' (LXX).

•ETYM Explained by the ancients as ἀπὸ τοῦ μελαίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ, 'because of sooting by smoke' (*EM* 576, 16). The comparison with ►βλωθρός 'high', proposed by Frisk, fails because the latter would presuppose a root **mlh*$_3$- (if inherited at all), which can never yield μέλα-.

Connection with ►κμέλεθρον 'beam' was tentatively considered by Güntert 1914: 144f. and Pisani *KZ* 71 (1954): 125f. because of the remarkable formal and semantic similarity. In my view, this proves that the word is Pre-Greek, as ►κμέλεθρον is a by-form showing variation ε/α and in the initial.

μέλας [adj.] 'dark-colored, black' (Il.). ◁IE **mel(h$_2$)-n-* 'black'▷

•VAR Fem. -αινα, ntr. -αν. Compar. μελάν-τερος (Il.), superl. -τατος (IA), late μελανώτερος (Str.), μελαινοτάτη (*Epigr. Gr.*, *AP*).

•DIAL Aeol. -αις.

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. μελάγ-χροος (-ες [pl.]), -χροιής, -χρής, -χρως, μελανό-χροος, etc. 'with dark skin' (see Sommer 1948: 21ff.); μελαγ-χιμος 'dark, black' (A., E., X.), cf. δύσ-χιμος, Sommer 1948: 71ff.; μελάν-δετος probably 'dark-striped' or 'with dark bands' (O 713, A., E.); μελάν-δρυ-ος 'made of black wood

(δόρυ)' (A. *Fr.* 251), ntr. 'heartwood' (Thphr.), plur. 'piece of tunny', with μελάνδρυς [m.] 'tunny' (Pamphil.); μελάμ-πυρον [n.] (also -ος [m.]) 'ball-mustard, Neslia paniculata' (Thphr., Gal.); for the form cf. ►διόσπυρον, on the mg. Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 96; μελαγ-κάλαμιον [n.] (dvandva) 'ink and pen' (pap. V^{p}, see Maas *Glotta* 35 (1956): 299f.). Often in PNs (e.g. short names like Μελαινεύς, Μελανεύς, Μελανθεύς, Μέλανθος).

•DER 1. μελαιν-άς [f.] name of a dark-colored fish (Cratin.), see Strömberg 1943: 22; -ίς [f.] name of a sea-shell (Sophr., Herod., Xenocr.), also name of Aphrodite in Corinth (Ath.). 2. μελάν-ιον [n.] 'ink' (pap., *Edict. Diocl.*). 3. μελαν-ία [f.] 'blackness, black shade or pigment' (X., Arist.), -ότης [f.] 'blackness' (Arist.), opposed to λευκότης. 4. μελανός = μέλας (Sp.), -όν [n.] 'black pigment' (*Sammelb.* IV^{p}); after κελαινός, ὀρφνός, etc.; μελαιναῖος 'id.' (*Orac. Sib.*), after κνεφαῖος, etc.; μελανώδης 'blackish' (*EM*).

Denominative verbs: 1. μελαίνομαι [v.] 'to become dark or black' (Il.), act. (trans.) -ω; hence μέλανσις [f.] 'blackening' (Arist.), μέλασ-μα [n.] 'black spot, black paint' (Hp.), -μός [m.] 'blackening, black spot' (Hp., Plu.), μελαντηρ-ία [f.] 'black pigment, blackness' (*IG* 2^{2}, 1672, Arist.), -ιον 'stain' (sch.). 2. μελάνω [v.] 'to become (make?) black' (H 64). 3. intr. μελανέω [v.] 'id.' (Thphr., A. R., Call.).

•ETYM The formation μέλᾱς [m.] < *μέλαν-ς, μέλαινα [f.] < -αν-ϳα, μέλαν [n.] is parallelled in the adjective τάλᾱς [m.] 'wretched', τάλαινα [f.], τάλαν [n.]. It must be remarked, however, that τάλας seems to be an original *nt*-stem. Traditionally, μέλαινα is identified with Skt. *malinī* [f.], from alleged IE **melh₂-n-ih₂*. The stem μελαν- [m.] would be an innovation for older thematic *μέλανο- = Skt. *malina-* 'dirty', but the direct comparison fails, for not only is *malinī* exclusively known as a gloss in the sense of 'menstruating woman', but the masculine *malina-* must be an epic-classical derivative from Ved. *mála-* [n.] 'dirt'. The latter may be from **molh₂-o-* or from **mel-o-*, so we cannot decide on this basis whether the root of μέλᾱς ended in a laryngeal.

Of the many words cited under the root *mel-* denoting colors, a couple of Baltic formations with a suffix *-n-* are interesting for Greek: Latv. *mę̃lns* 'black', OPr. *melne* 'blue spot', fem. *mīlinan* [acc.] 'spot'; beside these, there are formations with a suffix *-u̯(o)-*, e.g. Lith. *mul̃vas* 'yellow, of clay'. See ►μολύνω.

μέλδομαι [v.] 'to cause to melt' (Φ 363), intr. 'to melt' (Nic. *Th.* 108). ◅IE **smel-d-*, **h₂meld-* (?) 'melt'▻

•VAR μέλδω 'to cause to melt' (Call., Man.); ἀμέλδειν· τήκειν 'to melt' (H.).

•ETYM In Greek, μέλδομαι was superceded by inherited τήκω. It is a full grade thematic root present with an exact parallel in Gm.: OE *meltan* 'to melt, flow away', caus. *mieltan* 'to dissolve, digest' < **maltjan* = ON *melta* 'to digest, malt'; beside these (with inital *s-*) OHG *smelzan*, MoHG *schmelzen*, etc. The Gm. verbs have many derivatives, e.g. Go. *ga-malteins* 'analysis'.

The relation to Greek ►ἁμαλδύνω and ἀμέλδειν is unclear. Rix *KZ* 104 (1991): 194[38] reconstructs the root without initial laryngeal. On μελδόμενος (Φ 363) see Schmidt *Glotta* 65 (1987): 65-9.

μέλε [voc.] in Att. ὦ μέλε [voc.], 'my best (friend)' vel sim. (com., Pl.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Probably shortened from ὦ μέλεε; compare ὦ τᾶν from ὦ τάλαν.

μελεαγρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'guiney-fowl, Numida ptilorhyncha, meleagris' (Soph. *apud* Plin., Arist.), also μελέαγρος· ἡ κατοικίδιος ὄρνις 'the domestic bird' (H.); extensively Thompson 1895 s.v. ◁?▷

•ETYM Probably a foreign word, adapted to Μελέαγρος by folk etymology. Uncertain hypothesis by Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 159[r]: connection to an Iranian word for 'bird, fowl' seen in Av. *mərəya-*, which does not match the African origin of the bird at all.

μελεδαίνω, μελετάω, etc. ⇒μέλω.

μέλεος [adj.] 'idle, vain, futile; miserable' (Il.). ◁?▷

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. μελεο-παθής 'suffering misfortune' (A.).

•ETYM As for its accent, μέλεος agrees with secondary adjectives like χρύσεος, λίθεος, βόεος (Chantraine 1933: 50f.), but conceptually it rather belongs to primary oxytones like ἐτεός, κενεός, στερεός; is it a case of Aeolic retraction? Like ἐτεός from ἐτεϝός, μέλεος may derive from *μέλεϝος. Further details are unclear. See ▸βλάσφημος.

μέλι, -ιτος [n.] 'honey' (Il.). ◁IE **melit-* 'honey'▷

•DIAL Myc. *me-ri.*

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. μελί-κρᾱ-τον, Ion. -κρη-τον "honey mix", 'sacrifice of milk and honey' (Od.), compounded with ▸κεράννυμι; also μελιτο-, e.g. μελιτο-πώλης [m.] 'honey trader' (Ar.); as a second member in οἰνό-μελι 'drink from wine and honey' (Plb.), etc.; on ▸ἀπόμελι, see s.v.

•DER A. Adjectives: μελιτόεις 'honey-sweet' (Pi.), fem. μελιτόεσσα (scil. μᾶζα), Att. μελιτοῦττα 'honey-cake' (Hdt., Ar.), μελιτ-ηρός 'pertaining to honey, honey-like' (Ar., Thphr.), -ινος 'made from honey' (pap.), -ώδης 'honey-like' (Thphr.). Probably also μελι-χρός 'honey-sweet' (Alc., Anacr., Hp., Telecl., Theoc.), cf. πενιχρός, βδελυχρός, Chantraine 1933: 225f. See Sommer 1948: 26[3], who assumes it is Aeol. for μελί-χρως 'honey-colored'; acc. to Schwyzer: 450 it stands for -χροος.

B. Substantives: μελίτ(ε)ιον [n.] 'mead' (Plu.); μελιτόν· κηρίον, ἢ τὸ ἐφθὸν γλεῦκος 'honeycomb, or the boiled new wine' H.; μελιτίτης (λίθος) 'topaz', (οἶνος) 'honey-wine' (Dsc.); μελίτεια [f.] 'Melissa officinalis' (Theoc.); μελιτισμός [m.] 'treatment with honey' (medic.) as if from *μελιτίζειν.

C. Verbs: μελιτόομαι 'to mix with honey, be sweetened with honey' (Th., Plu.) with μελίτωμα 'honey-cake' (com.), -ωσις 'sweetening' (*gloss.*).

Isolated stands μέλισσα, -ττα [f.] 'bee' (Il.), perhaps haplological for *μελί-λιχ-ι̯α "honey-licking"; compare Skt. *madhu-lih-* [m.] "honey-licker" = 'bee'; but alternatively derived from *μέλιτ-ι̯α. Thence several compounds and derivatives, e.g. μελισσουργός (-ττ-) 'beekeeper' (Pl., Arist.) with -έω, -ία, -εῖον; μελισσεύς 'id.' (Arist., pap.), also (with different origin) as a PN; μελίσσιον 'beehive' (pap. III[a]), -ία 'id.' (*Gp.*), -ών 'id.' (LXX), etc. Cf. further ▸βλίττω.

•ETYM Old inherited neuter for 'honey', formally identical with Hitt. *milit* < *melit*. The Greek verb ►βλίττω and the Hitt. stem form *malit(t)*- show that the root originally had ablaut, so a gen. **mlit-ós*.
With thematic enlargement, it is found in Go. *miliþ* and Alb. *mjaltë* < PIE **meli-t-o-*. OIr. *mil* and Lat. *mel* may also go back to **meli-t-*; it is improbable that the Lat. gen. *mellis* is from **mel-n-*. Arm. *meł*r, gen. *meł*u was supposedly transferred to the *u*-stems after synonymous **méd^{h}u* (see ►μέθυ).
The gloss μελίτιον· πόμα τι Σκυθικὸν μέλιτος ἐψομένου σὺν ὕδατι καὶ πόᾳ τινί 'a Scythian drink made from honey, cooked with water and a kind of herb' (H.), stems from an unknown source.

μελία [f.] 'ash, lance made of ash-wood' (Il., also Thphr.). ◄PG? (S, V), IE? **smel-* 'ash, grey'.►
•VAR Epic -ίη.
•COMP μελιη-γενής 'born from an ash' (A. R.); ἐϋ-μμελίης [m.] 'armed with a good lance' (Hom.), after it φερε-μμελίης 'bearing a lance' (Mimn.).
•DER μέλ-ινος (ρ 339); with metrical lengthening μείλ-ινος (Il.) 'made of ash-wood'; like in δρύ-ϊνος, etc., and favoured by the metre; further μελί-ϊνος (Att. inscr.), μελέ-ϊνος (Att. inscr., Thphr.): after πτελέ-ϊνος, etc., or dissimilated from -ι-ι-?
•ETYM Morphologically and etymologically isolated. The old comparison with Lith. (dial.) *smėlùs* 'sand-colored, ashy-grey' starts from the grey color of the wood. Perhaps the word is Pre-Greek in view of the various forms in -ινος. See Fur.: 223, 226, 317 on the consonantism (who compares ►πτελέα 'elm'), and 354, 356 on the vowel alternations.

μελῖνη [f.] 'millet', especially 'foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*)' (IA). ◄?►
•ETYM Lat. *milium* [n.] 'millet, proso millet' is usually compared, although it formally deviates from μελίνη. Uncertain is the appurtenance of Lith. *málnos* [f.pl.] 'swath, foxtail millet'. The root is thought to be either that of Lat. *molō* 'to meal', etc., in the sense "product to be mealed"; or that of μέλας (cf. MoFr. *millet noir*, G *Mohrenhirse*, denoting varieties of millet); Porzig 1954a: 178 assumed an opposition with ἄλφι, supposed to be related to ἀλφός 'white'.
On the other hand, Fur.: 246 compares ἔλυμος 'millet' and ἐλίμαρ· κέγχρῳ ὅμοιον ἢ μελίνῃ ὑπο Λακώνων (H.), which may continue ϝελ-. This seems too far-fetched.

μέλκα [f.] 'a dish prepared from sour milk' (Gal., Alex. Trall., *Gp.*). ◄LW Lat.►
•VAR Or [n.pl.]? Also -η.
•ETYM From Lat. *melca* 'id.', which itself is considered to be a loan from Germanic; see WH s.v. for this and other interpretations.

μέλκιον [n.] · κρήνη, νύμφαι, παίγνιον 'source, nymphs, playful' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Has been compared with a few Balto-Slavic words of various meanings, e.g. Ru. *molokó* 'milk', Lith. *maĩkas* 'draught'. The second and third meanings are rather unclear.

μέλλαξ, -ακος [m.] 'young boy' (inscr. Alexandria, *PMag. Par.*), μέλακες· νεώτεροι 'the younger ones' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR See below on μῖλαξ.
•DER Diminutive μελλάκιον (Alexandria).
•ETYM Thought to be a hypocoristic short form (based on, e.g., μεῖραξ) of μελλ-έφηβος (Hell. inscr.), μελλ-είρην (Sparta), vel sim.; cf. μελλόνυμφος (S.), and see Chantraine 1933: 379f. However, as the word is no doubt identical with ►μῖλαξ 2, it is rather Pre-Greek (note the variant with single -λ-). Therefore, etymological connection with μελλ- is improbable.

μέλλω [v.] 'to be destined, must, need, etc.', in various constructions; also 'to be about to, commemorate, linger, hesitate' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR Aor. μελλῆσαι (Thgn., Att. prose), fut. μελλήσω (D.).
•COMP Rarely with δια-, κατα-, ἀντι-. As a first member in μελλό-γαμος = μέλλων γαμεῖν (S.), μελλ-είρην 'who is about to be εἰρήν' (Lacon.).
•DER μέλλησις 'being about to do, (mere) intention, hesitation' (Th., Pl. *Lg.*, Arist.), μέλλημα 'postponement' (E., Aeschin., -ησμια *PMasp.*), μελλώ [f.] 'hesitation' (A. *Ag.* 1356), μελλησμός 'delay, indecision' (Epicur., D. H.), also 'approach', of a disease (Aret.); μελλητής [m.] 'laggard' (Th. 1, 70, Arist.), -τικός 'hesitating' (Arist.), μελλητιᾶν· τὸ μέλλειν (H.), like βινητιᾶν etc., Schwyzer: 732.
•ETYM The full grade *yod*-present μέλλω, probably < *μελ-ι̯ω, is original; the non-presentic forms and the nominal derivations were created at a later date. Traditionally connected with Lat. *prō-mellere* 'litem promovere' (Paul. Fest.) and the Celtic group of OIr. *mall* 'slow, tardy'. On this basis, a root **mel-* 'to linger, hesitate, be late' is sometimes reconstructed.
According to Gray *Lang.* 23 (1947): 247, however, μέλλω is a denominative from *μέλος 'concern, interest', related ►μέλω, Lat. *melior*, etc. Alternatively, Szemerényi *AmJPh.* 72 (1951): 346ff. suggested derivation from the root of μολεῖν 'to go', μέλος 'member', Lat. *mōlior* 'set in motion by force', etc.

μέλος [n.] 'member', in older literature only plur. 'limbs' (Il.); also '(articulated) tune, song, melody' (*h. Hom.* 19, 16, Thgn., Pi., IA). ◄?►
•COMP λυσι-μελής 'relaxing the limbs' (Od.), also with allusion to the μελεδήματα (υ 57); μελο-ποιός 'poet of songs' with -έω, -ία (Att.), μελεσί-πτερος 'with singing wings', of a cicada (*AP*), after the type ἐλκεσί-πεπλος.
•DER 1. Diminutive μελύδριον 'small song' (Ar., Theoc.), -ια [pl.] 'poor limbs' (M. Ant.); μελίσκ(ι)ον 'id.' (Alcm., Antiph.).
2. Adjective: μελικός 'lyric' (D. H., Plu.).
3. Adverb: μεληδόν 'part by part' (Poseidon.); on μελ(ε)ϊστί see below.
4. Verbs : μελίζω 1. 'to analyze' (Pherecyd. Hist., LXX), also with δια-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-; 2. 'to sing, sing of' (Pi., A., Theoc.), also with δια-, ἀντι-. Further μελισμός (δια-) 'analysis' (Plu.), 'song' (Str.), μέλισμα 'song, melody' (Theoc., *AP*); μελικτάς (Theoc., Mosch.), -ιστής (*Anacreont.*) 'flute-player'; μελιστί 'limb for limb' (J.), older form μελεϊστί (Hom.), probably from *μελεΐζω. Also μελεάζω [v.] 'to execute a recitative' (Nicom. *Harm.*).
•ETYM For the double meaning 'member' and 'tune, song', cf. Ir. *alt* 'member' and 'poem'. In the sense of 'member', μέλος has been replaced by synonymous terms like

κῶλον, ἄρθρον. To judge by its structure, μέλος must be old (cf. ἔδος, ἔπος, γένος etc.), but it does not have a clear outer-Greek counterpart. Still, a comparison with a Celtic word for 'knuckle' might be possible: Bret. *mell*, Co. *mal*, plur. *mellow*, also in W *cym-mal* 'articulus, iunctura, commissura'. This may derive from PCl. **melsā*, and would relate to μέλος like e.g. Skt. *vats-á-* 'yearling' to *ϝέτος 'year'.

μέλπω, -ομαι [v.] 'to celebrate with song and dance; to sing, dance' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Post-Hom. (epic lyr.) aor. μέλψαι, -ασθαι, fut. μέλψω, -ομαι.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, μετα-, ἐπι-.

•DER μέλπηθρα [n.pl.] 'plaything' (Il.), μελπήτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'singer'; μολπή [f.] '(play with) song and dance' (Il.), with μολπαῖος epithet of ἀοιδή (Erinn.), μολπηδόν 'like a μολπή' (A. *Pers.* 389), μολπᾶτις [f.] (Dor.), apposition to κερκίς 'female singer' (*AP*), μολπάζω [v.] 'to sing (of)' (Ar.), whence μολπαστάς [m.] (Dor.) 'singer, dancer' (*AP*), μολπάστρια = συμπαίκτρια (H.); μολποί [m.pl.] guild of singers in Milete, with μολπικοί 'id.' (V^a).

•ETYM No etymology. If somehow related to μέλος, we have to start from an original meaning 'member', not from 'song'. Far-fetched speculations by Szemerényi *Emerita* 22 (1954): 169ff. Connection with the Celtic group of OIr. *-molathar* 'to praise', W *mawl* 'praise' is dubious.

μέλω [v.] 'to be concerned with, care for' (IA). ◁?▷

•VAR μέλει μοι [3sg.pres.], μέλομαι, fut. μελήσω, -σει, -σομαι (Il.), aor. μελῆσαι, ἐμέλησε (Att.), pass. μεληθῆναι (S.), perf. μέμηλα, -ε (Il.), med. μέμβλεται, -το (Il.), with a new present μέμβλομαι (A. R., Opp.), μεμέληκε (Att.), μεμέλημαι (Theoc., Call.).

•COMP With prefix: ἐπι-μέλομαι and -έομαι 'to care for', μετα-μέλομαι, μετα-μέλει μοι 'repent' (IA).

•DER 1. μέλημα [n.] 'anxiety, object of care, darling' (Sapph., Pi., A.), μελησμός 'care' (*EM*). 2. μελέτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'who takes care of' = 'avenger' (S. *El.* 846). 3. μελετάω [v.] 'to care for, strive; to study, practise oratory' (Hes., *h. Merc.*) beside μελέτη 'care, provision, practice, etc.' (Hes.); because of its accent (cf. γενετή, τελετή), the latter is probably a back-formation, like ἀγάπη from ἀγαπάω; on deverbatives in -(ε)τάω see Schwyzer: 705. Thence μελετη-ρός 'who likes practicing' (X.). From μελετάω: μελέτημα 'practice' (Att.), -ησις 'id.' (*AB*), -ητικός 'caring' (LXX), -ητής [m.] 'trainer' (Aristid.), -ητήριον 'place for practice' (Plu.). 4. μελε-δῶνες [f.pl.] (late also sg.) 'cares, concerns' (v.l. τ 517, *h. Hom.*, Hes., Thgn.), also μελη-δόνες, -δών 'id.' (Simon., A. R.); -εδων- and -ηδον- are both metrically conditioned for -εδον-; μελεδῶναι [pl.] 'id.' (v.l. τ 517, Sapph., Theoc.), sing. -ώνη (Hp.); μελεδωνός [m., f.] 'watcher' (Ion.), -ωνεύς 'id.' (Theoc.).

Denominative μελεδαίνω [v.] 'to care for' (Ion., Archil.); besides, μελεταίνω (Argos VI^a) from μελετάω; μελεδήματα [pl.] = μελε-δῶνες (Ψ 62), after νοήματα; μελεδήμων 'caring' (Emp., *AP*), after νοήμων etc., see Chantraine 1933: 173; μελεδηθμός 'practice' (Orac.); back-formation μελέδη [f.] 'care' (Hp.), after μελέτη.

From ἐπι-μέλομαι: 1. ἐπιμελ-ής 'caring for, anxious; object of care' (IA); thence ἐπιμέλεια 'care, attention' (Att.); 2. ἐπιμελη-τής [m.] 'who cares, governor', etc.;

μεταμέλεια 'repentance, change of mind' (Att.) is analogical to μετα-μέλομαι; also (back-formation) μετάμελος 'id.' (Th. 7, 55).

•ETYM Beside the full-grade thematic root-present μέλω, the perfect μέμηλα has a remarkable lengthened grade. The middle μέμβλεται, -το for *με-μλ-ε- takes the zero grade and a thematic vowel. The η-enlargement in μελ-ή-σω gradually conquered the whole verbal system: μελῆ-σαι, -θῆναι, μεμέλη-κε, -μαι.

There is no convincing etymology. Most dictionaries defend the connection with μέλλω, which is semantically not evident.

μέμβραξ, -ακος [m.] 'kind of cicada' (Ael.). ◅PG(S)▻

•ETYM Formation like ἀσπάλαξ, κόραξ, ὕραξ, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 379). Probably related to βράζειν 'drone' vel sim., as a sound-imitation. Other such names of cicadas and locusts in Strömberg 1944: 18. According to Gil *Emerita* 25 (1957): 322f., the word is Pre-Greek, which must be correct in view of the suffix and the meaning. See ►μεμβράς.

μεμβράς, -άδος [f.] 'kind of sprat' (com., Arist.). ◅PG(S)▻

•VAR μεμβράδιον (Alex. Trall.).

•COMP μεμβρ-αφύα [f.] 'kind of anchovy' (com.), cf. the gloss ἀφύα· μεμβράς (H.), see ►ἀφύα.

•ETYM Perhaps dissimilated from βεμβράς (Aristomen.). See Fur.: 217. See ►βεμβράς.

μέμνημαι 'to be mindful of'. ⇒μιμνήσκω.

μέμνων 1, -ονος [m.] name of a black bird (Ael., Q. S., Dionys. *Av.*). ◅?▻

•DER μεμνονίδες [f.pl.] 'id.' (Paus. 10, 31, 6).

•ETYM The birds in question were connected with the tomb of Memnon in different ways by ancient informants; see Thompson 1895 s.v. and Hitzig and Blümner 1896-1910 on the attestation in Pausanias. See ►μενω, ►μέμνων 2.

μέμνων 2, -ονος [m.] · ὁ ὄνος 'donkey'; μεμνόν<ε>ια· τὰ ὄνεια κρέα 'donkey meat' (H.); acc. to Poll. 9, 84, also name of the relevant market. ◅GR▻

•ETYM In the meaning ὄνος, we have an appellative use of the PN Μέμνων as "the firm, steadfast one" (see ►μένω and ►Ἀγαμέμνων for a different opinion), because of the proverbial stubbornness of the donkey (cf. Λ 558ff.). See ἀλέκτωρ 'cock' (s.v. ►ἀλεκτρυών), καλλίας 'ape, monkey', and Κάστωρ 'beaver' as other animal names that are based on appellatives. Further examples of this naming process in Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 231[1].

μέμονα [v.perf.] 'to have in mind, strive' (Il.). ◅IE **men-* 'think'▻

•VAR 1pl. μέμαμεν.

•ETYM Old stative perfect, identical with Lat. *meminī* 'to remember', IE **mé-mon-h₂e*. Without reduplication, we find Go. *man* 'to think, believe', *ga-man* 'to remember'. The ablaut, with a zero grade in the plur. μέμαμεν < **mé-mn-me*, is old and matches e.g. Go. 1pl. *mun-um*. Another exact correspondence exists between the imperatives μεμάτω and Lat. *mementō* < PIE **mé-mn̥-tōd*. The zero grade in the ptc. μεμαώς, plur. μεμαῶτες, μεμᾶότες (with metrical lenthening) is analogical.

A yod-present was formed to the root **men-*, represented in Greek by ►μαίνομαι (with deviating meaning); from a root **mneh₂-* (probably an extension) derives ►μιμνήσκω. An old verbal noun is ►μένος; perhaps, the compound ►αὐτόματος also contains the zero grade.

On the supposed forms ἐμμεμαώς (Hom.), ἐμμέμονεν (S. *Tr.* 982 [lyr.]) see Leumann 1950: 52.

μεμόριον [n.] 'monument, mortary monument' (inscr. imperial period). ◅LW Lat.▻

•VAR Also μημόριον, μνημόριον.

•ETYM All of the above are crosses of μνημεῖον and Lat. *memōria.* From μεμόριον comes Lat. *memorium.* See Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 97 and WH s.v. *memor, memoria.*

μέμφομαι [v.] 'to reproach, blame, be discontent, complain' (Il.), 'to accuse' (Gortyn). ◅IE? **me-mbʰ-* 'reproach' (?)▻

•VAR Fut. μέμψ/ομαι, aor. μέμψασθαι, μεμφθῆναι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-, κατα-. As the first member of a governing compound: μεμψί-μοιρος 'reproving fate' (Isoc., Arist.).

•DER 1. (ἐπί-, κατά-)μέμψις 'reproof, reproach, objection (Att. since A.). 2. (ἐπι-)μομφή 'id.' (poetic since Pi., *Ep. Col.* 3, 13), μόμφος [m.] 'id.' (E. *Fr.* 633, Mantinea V[a]); ἐπί-, κατά-μομφος 'subject to reproach, reproachable, reproaching' (A., E.), either hypostases from ἐπὶ, κατὰ μομφῆς, or bahuvrīhis; also ἐπιμεμφ-ής 'reproachable' (Nic., *AP*), ἰμμεμφ-ής 'subject to complaints' (Mantinea V[a]), derived from ἐπι-, ἐμι-μέμφομαι; opposite ἄ-μομφος (A.), ἀ-μεμφής (Pi., A.) with ἀμεμφ-ία (A., S.). 3. μέμφειρα [f.] = μέμψις (Telecl. Com. 62), probably personified after πρέσβειρα, κτεάτειρα, etc. 4. μεμφωλή = μέμψις (H., Suid.).

•ETYM The isolated Gothic verb *bi-mampjan* 'mock, insult' (*Ev. Luc.* 16, 14) shows a remarkable similarity, although its *-p-* does not correspond to Gr. -φ-. Celtic words for 'disgrace', like OIr. *mebul* 'shame' et al. < PCelt. **meblā*, lack the medial nasal. This may point to a root **mebʰ-*, which occurs as a reduplicated or a nasal present in Greek (and perhaps Gothic). Most dictionaries doubt the connections mentioned (not even mentioned in LIV²).

μέν emphatic pcl. ⇒μήν 1.

μενεαίνω, μενοινάω ⇒μένος.

μενθήρη [f.] explained as φροντίς, μέριμνα 'thought, care' (in Panyas. 12 [?], H., *EM*, Suid.). ◅?▻

•VAR Cf. μενθηριῶ· μεριμνήσω, διατάξω 'to take care of, arrange' (H.), and ἀ-μενθήριστος = ἀφρόντιστος, ἀμέριμνος 'without consideration, careless' (Timo 59; codd. ἀπ-).

•ETYM Origin uncertain. Perhaps derived from the root of μανθάνω with a suffix -ήρη (cf. μέριμηραι, -ρίζω). See ►μανθάνω, ►μοῦσα.

μένος [n.] 'mind, courage, rage, strength, urge' (Il.). ◅IE **men-s-* 'mind'▻

•COMP δυσ-μενής 'evil-minded, hostile' (Il.) with δυσμέν-εια, -ίη, -αίνω, etc.; metrically enlarged δυσμενέων, -έοντες (Od.); ἀ-μενής 'forceless' (E.); perhaps also the PNs Ἀμενέας, Ἀμενίσκος and (with unexplained -νν-) Ἀμεννάμενος (Bechtel 1917a: 6f.)? Cf. further ►ἀμενηνός. In PNs, e.g. Κλεο-μένης; as a first member in μενο-εικής 'suitable for the mind, delightful, plentiful' (Hom.).

•DER 1. μενεαίνω [v.] 'to desire strongly, rage' (Il.), aor. -ῆναι, with -αίνω added to **meneh-*. 2. μενοινάω [v.] 'to have in mind, aim at, wish, desire' (Il.), also -ώω, aor. -ῆσαι, of unclear origin (Μενοίτης, -οίτιος belongs to οἶτος 'fate'). Thence μενοινή [f.] 'intention, desire' (Call., A. R., *AP*; probably a back-formation).

•ETYM As an old verbal noun, μένος is identical with Skt. *mánas-* [n.], Av. *manah-* [n.] 'spirit, thought, will', IE **men-s-* [n.]. The adjective δυσ-μενής matches with Av. *duš-manah-* 'evil-minded', Skt. *dur-manas-* 'sorrowful'; and εὐ-μενής with Skt. *sumánas-* 'well-minded'. The root formed a perfect that is preserved in ►μέμονα, cf. γένος : γέγονα. The related present ►μαίνομαι deviates in meaning. See further ►μιμνήσκω.

μέντοι [pcl.] postpositional pcl. 'however, meanwhile, yet' (IA). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From μέν (►μήν 1) and the dative τοι 'tibi' (still distinct in Hom.). Hell. μέντον 'id.' modelled on ἔνδοι· ►ἔνδον. See Denniston 1954: 405, 409-10, 495.

μένω [v.] 'to remain, stay, wait, expect, stand fast' (Il.). ◁IE **men-* 'stay'▷

•VAR Also μίμνω (Il.), enlarged μιμνάζω (Il.), fut. μενέω (Ion.), Att. μενῶ, aor. μεῖναι (Il.), perf. μεμένηκα (Att.).

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι- κατα-, παρα-, ὑπο-. Often as a first member in governing compounds, e.g. μενε-χάρμης 'steadfast in battle' (Il.), also -ος (Il.); PN Μενέ-λαος, -λεως (Il.).

•DER μονή (ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-, ὑπο-, etc.) 'stay, abode, etc.' (IA) with μόνιμος (παρ(α)-) 'staying, steadfast, etc.' (Thgn., Pi., IA); μονίη 'stability, permanence' (Emp.), 'steadfastness' (Tyrt.), probably after ►καμμονίη 'endurance'; μονος (ἔν-, παρ(ά)-, ἐπί-, etc.) 'enduring' (Pi., Att.). μένημα [n.] 'place of detention' (pap. VI^{p}). μενετός 'inclined to wait' (Th., Ar.). Μέμνων (Hom.), a secondary appellative (►μέμνων 2), interpreted as "who stands firm, who persists", but rather from *Μέδμων, cf. on ►Ἀγαμέμνων. An iterative deverbative ἐπι-μηνάω is retained in the perf. ἐπιμεμηνάκαντι (*Del.*^{3} 91, 11; Argos III^{a}); cf. below.

•ETYM The thematic root-present μένω is the basis of the whole Greek system. Beside this stands a reduplicated present μίμνω. The perfect μεμένηκα is an innovation. Although a counterpart of these formations is not found outside Greek, we have Arm. *mnam* 'to stay, expect', which agrees with the iterative ἐπι-μηνάω; both derive from **mēnā-*, for which cf. Lat. *cēlāre* (to *oc-culere*), *sēdāre* (to *sīdere*; cf. ►ἕζομαι). Other formations are found in Lat. *manēre* < **mn-eh$_1$-* and Av. *mānaiieiti* [caus.] 'he makes stay' < **mon-eie-*. In Sanskrit, we find as primary formations the reduplicated athematic *ma-man-dhi* (ipv.), *ma-man-yāt* (opt.), *á-ma-man* (ipf.) 'to wait, stand still' (only RV 10, 27; 31; 32). Further represented in ToAB *mäsk-* 'to reside, be' < **mn-sk-*, and probably in the isolated verbal noun OIr. *ainmne* 'patience' < **an-men-V-*. The comparison with Hitt. *mimma-* 'to refuse, reject' as from **mi-mn-e/o-*,

matching μίμνω (Jasanoff 2003) is doubtful for semantic as well as formal reasons (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

μέριμνα [f.] 'care, concern, solicitude' (*h. Merc.*, Hes., Sapph., Emp., Pi., trag., Ar.); rare in prose, originally Ionic? ◁IE? **smer-*, PG?▷

•COMP ἀ-μέριμνος 'without concern' (S., Hell.), ἀμεριμν-ία 'carelessness' (Plu.), etc.

•DER μεριμνάω [v.] 'to care (for), be anxious' (S., Ar., X., D.), whence μεριμν-ήματα, Dor. -άματα [pl.] 'cares' (Pi., S.); -ητής [m.] 'caring for something' (E.), -ητικός (Artem., sch.).

•ETYM The position generally taken is that μέριμνα is a back-formation from μεριμνάω (cf. ἐρευνάω : ἔρευνα, etc.), but this idea it not confirmed by the age of the attestations, nor by their distribution. Formally closest is ►μέδιμνος; a noun *μερ-ί-μιων or *μέρ-ι-μια seems to have served as a basis. A primary verb *smer- presupposed by this analysis exists in Skt. *smárati*, Av. *maraiti*, *paiti-šmaraiti*, *hi-šmar-* 'to remember, remind'. Cognate formations can perhaps be found in ►μέρμερος, μέρμηρα, -ίζω, where further connections are given. Alternatively, Fur.: 246 assumes Pre-Greek origin because of the suffix (-ιμν-).

μέρμερος [adj.] conventional epithet of unclear mg. (acc. to H. μέρμερα = χαλεπά, δεινά, φροντίδος ἄξια 'difficult, awesome, worthy of thought'); apparently a reduplicated intensive formation. If related to μέριμνα, we may assume an original mg. 'raising concern', whence 'distressful, dreadful' vel sim. (?), beside 'pondering, caring', of persons. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also attested as a PN (Apollod., Paus.). In Hom. (only Il.) always μέρμερα [n.pl.] as an epithet of ἔργα, also as object of ῥέζειν, μητίσασθαι; post-Hom. of κακόν, βλάβη, etc. (E., Lyc., Nic.), also of persons and animals (Pl. *Hp. Ma.*, Plu., Opp.); enlarged μερ-μέριος (Them.).

•DER μέρμηραι [f.pl.] 'cares, concerns' (Hes. *Th.* 55, Thgn. 1325, also *IG* 14, 1942 [late verse]), μερμηρίζω [v.] 'to care, meditate, invent, consider, linger' (Hom.), aor. -ίξαι, fut. -ίξω (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 87); also μερμαίρω [v.] (Suid., H., Phot. [codd. also -μέρω]); on ἀπο-μερμηρίσαι 'forget the cares' (Ar. *V.* 5, D. C.) see Ruijgh ibid.

•ETYM Under μέριμνα, the primary thematic root-verb Skt. *smárati*, Av. *maraiti* 'remember' (reduplicated *hi-šmar-*) was adduced. The length of the vowel in μέρμηραι, as opposed to μέρμερος, was explained by Frisk from the verb μερμηρίζω, where he ascribed it to the meter. Yet, this is no sufficient explanation; the interchange rather points to Pre-Greek origin (on ε/η, see Fur.: 257[42]). Thus, unrelated to ►μάρτυς or ►μείρομαι.

μέρμις, -ῖθος [f.] 'band, string' (κ 23, D. S. 3, 21). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Dat.pl. -θαις (Agatharch. 47); acc.sg. -θον (H.), nom. -θος (Zonar.).

•ETYM Formation like ἕλμις 'intestinal worm' (μέρμινθα is a v.l. in D. S. l.c., cf. ἕλμινθος), and like ὄρνις, γέλγις 'head of garlic', etc. Cognates have been supposed in μηρύω 'to wind up' as well as in ►βρόχος and ►μάραθον 'fennel'. But of course, the word must be Pre-Greek, because of the alternating suffix -ῑθ-/-ινθ-. Fur.: 289 compares μήρινθος, σμήρινθος 'string, thread', and further σμῆριγξ 'hair', σμήριγγες· πλεκταί, σειραί, βόστρυχοι 'coils, strings; cords; curls of hair' (H.).

μέρμνος [m.] 'kind of falcon' (Call., Ael.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR μέρμνης· τρίορχος (H.).
•DER PN Μέρμνων (Theoc. 3, 35).
•ETYM Origin unknown, but compare the Lydian dynasty of the Μερμνάδαι; see Neumann 1961: 70. Fauth *Herm.* 96 (1968): 257 recalls the PNs Μάρμαξ (Paus.) and Βάρβαξ (►βάρβαξ), and ►μόρφνος (epithet of αἰετός 'eagle', meaning unclear). The last connection could show that the word is Pre-Greek (alternation μ/φ).

μέροπες, -ων, -εσσι [pl.] epithet of ἄνθρωποι (Hom.), βροτοί (B 285), after these of λαοί (A. *Supp.* 90 [lyr.]) and, as a substantive, = ἄνθρωποι (trag., Hell. and later poets); also = οἱ ἄφρονες ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων 'senseless (Eub.)' (*Gloss. Oxy.* 1802, 48). Further as an EN (Pi.) and of a bird (Arist., Plu.); cf. below. ◁PG(S)▷
•COMP μεροπο-σπόρος 'procreating men' (Man.).
•DER μεροπήϊος 'human' (Man., Opp.).
•ETYM The original meaning is unknown, which has opened up the way for speculations (see Frisk). Koller *Glotta* 46 (1968): 14-26 starts from *h. Ap.* 4 with the formula πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, said of Cos, and states that it meant 'a city of *mortal* men'. See further Ramat *Acad. Toscana La Colombaria* 1960: 131-157 and Ramat *Riv. fil. class.* 90 (1962): 150.
The suffix -οψ (-ωψ), probably non-IE, is found in various names of animals and peoples, e.g. δρύοψ, Δρύοπες, πάρνοψ, Δόλοπες, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 259). Like the word itself, it is probably Pre-Greek. See Beekes *Glotta* 73 (1995-1996): 21-27. The relation between ἀέροψ and Μέροψ is unclear (see Fur.: 246).

μέρος [n.] 'part, share, section, row, rank' (*h. Hom.*, Thgn., Pi., IA). ◁IE **smer-* 'think of, remember, care'▷
•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. μερ-άρχης [m.] 'distributing official' (Att. inscr.), 'commander of a military division' (Hell.), very often as a second member, e.g. πολυ-μερής 'consisting of many parts' (Ti. Locr., Arist.).
•DER μερίς, -ίδος [f.] 'part, distribution, contribution, plot of ground, district, class' (Att., Hell.) with μερίδ-ιον (Arr.); as a first member it appears in in μεριδ-άρχης [m.] 'governor of a district' (pap., LXX), etc. Further μερίτης [m.] 'participant' (D., Plb.) with μεριτικός 'belonging to the μερίτης' (Lyd.), (συμ-)μεριτεύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to distribute (among each other)' (LXX, pap.), with μεριτεία 'distribution of property' (pap.); μερικός 'concerning the part, individual, special' (Aristipp. *apud* D. L.), with -κεύω [v.] 'to consider as an individual' (Steph. *in Rh.*, Eust.); μερόεν· μεριστικόν 'fit for dividing [LSJ]' (H.); μέρεια or -εία in ἐν τᾶι μερειᾶι (*Tab. Heracl.*).
Denominative (first from μέρος, but later from μερίς too): μερίζω (Dor. -ίσδω) [v.] 'to distribute', med. 'to distribute among each other, to drive apart' (IA, Theoc., Bion), also with prefix as ἐπι-, δια-, κατα-; thence (ἐπι-, κατα-)μερισμός 'distribution' (Pl., Arist.), μέρισμα 'part' (Orph.), κατα-, ἀνα-μέρισις 'distribution' (Epicur.), μεριστής 'distributor', συμ- 'fellow-heir' (*Ev. Luc.*, pap.), fem. -ίστρια (sch.).
•ETYM Verbal noun from ►μείρομαι 'to take one's share', perf. ἔμμορε 'to participate'.

μέσαβον [n.] 'strap', fixing the pole to the middle of the yoke. ◁PG▷

•VAR Hes. *Op.* 469 -ων, probably gen.pl.; μεσσαβα [pl.] (Call.); μεσάβοιον, v.l. -ό- (Poll. 1, 252).

•DER μεσσαβόω [v.] 'to yoke (the horses)' (Lyc.).

•ETYM Analyzed as an hypostasis from (ἐν) μέσῳ βοῶν 'between the oxen', with a thematization like in ἑκατόμ-βη (μεσάβοιον based on ἐννεάβοιον, etc.). However, the compositional vowel -α- instead of -ο- is unexplained (assuming that μεσα- was influenced by μετα- does not help). In fact, the whole analysis is morphologically unacceptable. If we take into consideration the forms μέσοψ 'strap' in μεσόπα· ἱμάντα τὸν περὶ τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον δεδεμένον 'a strap bound around the yoke and the plough' (H.), pointing to interchange of labials, and also μεσσαῖον· τὸ ὑπὸ τοὺς τραχήλους ὑποτιθέμενον 'which is put around the neck' (H.), with geminate -σσ-, μεσάτιον (μεσάντιον I Reg 17, 7), Pre-Greek origin becomes evident. See Fur.: 107 on α/ο, 148f. on π/β.

μέσακλον [n.] 'weaver's beam' (LXX 1 *Ci.* 17, 7). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR v.ll. -κνον, -άντιον; -κμον (H.), -κνον (Suid.); μέσακμον· κανὼν τοῦ ἱστοῦ 'rod of the loom', οἱ δὲ άντίον 'others: (part of) the loom', οἱ δὲ τὸ μεσάκτων ἢ μεσάκρων (H.); μεσάτμῳ· τῷ κανόνι, τῷ μέσῳ καλάμῳ τοῦ ἱστοῦ 'the middle rod of the loom' (Suid.).

•ETYM Almost certainly a technical loanword from Pre-Greek, because of the many different variants.

μεσημβρία [f.] 'midday, noon', as a direction 'south' (Att. A.). ◂GR▸

•VAR -ίη (Archil., Hecat.), μεσαμβρίη (Hdt.).

•DER μεσημβρινός (Att.), Dor. (Theoc.) μεσαμβρινός 'ptng. to the afternoon, southern' (after the adj. of time in -ινός); μεσήμβριος 'southern' (Ruf. *apud* Orib.), μεσημβριάς [f.] (Nonn.); also (after Dor. άμέρα) τὸ μεσᾱμέριον 'at midday' (Theoc.). Denominative verb μεσημβρ-ιάζω (Pl.), -ίζω (Str.), with ptc. -ιάων, -ιόων (*AP*, A. R.) 'to pass the meridian, culminate', of sun and stars.

•ETYM An abstract formation in -ία from μέσον ἄμαρ, or derived from an old adjective *μέσ-ᾰμ(β)ρ-ος, -ιος 'of the middle of the day' from the zero grade of ἄμαρ 'day'. Thence μεσ-ἄμβρ-ία, -ίη with shortening by Osthoff, and μεσ-ημβρ-ία with analogical η after ▸ἦμαρ, ἡμέρα.

μέσκος [m.]? · κῴδιον, δέρμα. Νίκανδρος 'skin, fleece (Nic. = *Fr.* 119)' (H.). ◂LW Orient.▸

•ETYM An Oriental loanword acc. to Lewy 1895: 131, Justi *IF Anz.* 17: 125: cf. Aram. *meškā*, Assyr. *mašku*, OP *maškā*, MP and Arm. *mašk* 'hide, skin, soft leather', etc. Did ▸πέσκος arise from here by contamination with πέκος (Güntert 1914: 145f.)? Latte simply reads πέσκος instead of μέσκος.

μεσόδμα · γυνή <ὡς Λάκωνες> (H. gl. 917). ◂?▸

•VAR Also μεσοδόμα· γυνή. Λάκωνες (H. gl. 947).

•ETYM Unknown; -δμα reminds of δάμαρ. Fur.: 227 derives a form μεσ(σ)ομα from the glosses cited above, but this is unwarranted.

μεσόδμη [f.] 'crossbeam', stretched from wall to wall in a building, or from side to side on a ship, and in which the mast was stepped (Od., Hp., Q. S.), details in Bechtel 1914 s.v. ◂GR▸

•VAR μεσόδμᾱ (Delph. IV^{a}), μεσόμνη (Att. inscr.), on the phonetics see Schwyzer: 208. Also μεσόδμη· ξύλον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς τρόπεως ἕως τοῦ ἱστοῦ (H.) and μεσόδμαι καὶ μεσόδματα· τὰ μεσόστυλα. τίνες δὲ τὰ τῶν δοκῶν διαστήματα (H., Latte: "μεσόδματα vix sanum").

•ETYM Properly "belonging to the middle of the house", a compound of μέσος and the zero grade of the word for 'house' (δεμ-, δμ-), seen in ▸δεσπότης and ▸δάπεδον, cf. on ▸δόμος, enlarged with a suffix -ᾱ-: μεσό-δμ-ᾱ like *ἑκατόμ-βϝ-ᾱ. The term was transferred from domestic architecture to the construction of ships. The second member -δμη is often directly derived from δέμω 'to build' as a zero grade root-noun (cf. νέο-δμᾱ-τος, δέ-δμη-μαι < *-*dm̥h$_2$*-), so "middle structure"?

μέσος [adj.] '(in the) middle', of space, time, etc., τὸ μέσον 'centre' (Il.). ◂IE **med^{h}io-* 'middle'▸

•VAR Compar. μεσαί-τερος, superl. -τατος (IA), after παλαίτερος, etc.; also μέσ(σ)ατος (Il., Ar.), after ἔσχατος, etc.; μεσσότατος (A. R., Man.).

•DIAL Aeol. μέσσος, Cret. Boeot. μέττος.

•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. ▸μεσόδμη, ▸μεσημβρία; μεσαι-πόλιος 'half-grey, grizzled' (N 361; cf. e.g. μεσό-λευκος), like μεσαίτερος, was not built on a locative but metrically conditioned (Schwyzer: 448).

•DER Adjectives: 1. μεσήεις = μέσος (M 269, metrical enlargement in verse-final position, perhaps after τιμήεις, τελήεις). 2. μεσ(σ)ήρης = μέσος (E., Eratosth.), after ποδήρης, etc. 3. μεσαῖος = μέσος (Antiph.), cf. τελευταῖος. 4. μεσάδιος 'central' (Aeol. acc. to sch. D. T.), after διχθάδιος etc., cf. also μεσάζω. 5. μεσίδιος 'in the middle, mediating' (Arist.); μεσίδιον [n.] 'property deposited with an intermediary', whence -ιόω 'to make a deposite' (pap., inscr.). 6. μεσίτης [m.] 'mediator, arbiter', with -ιτεύω [v.] 'to be a μ., to settle', also 'to pawn' (Plb., pap., NT), -ιτεία 'mediation, settlement, pawning' (J., pap.). 7. μέσης [m.] 'wind between ἀπαρκτίας and καικίας' (Arist.), also μεσεύς = καικίας (Steph. *in Hp.*). 8. μεσότης, -ητος [f.] 'middle, mean, moderation' (Pl., Arist.). 9. μεσακόθεν [adv.] 'amidst, between' (Arc. IV^{a}), from -αχόθεν after πανταχόθεν.

μεσσάτιος (Call.), μεσάτιον name of a strap (Poll.) are unrelated, see ▸μέσαβον 'leather strap'.

Denominative verbs: 1. μεσόω 'to constitute the middle, be in the middle' (IA); 2. μεσεύω 'to keep the mean, be neutral' (Pl. *Lg.*, X., Arist.); 3. μεσάζω = μεσόω (LXX, D. S.).

•ETYM Old local adjective, identical with Skt. *mádhya-*, Lat. *medius*, Go. *midjis*, OHG *mitti*, all from IE **méd^{h}io-* 'in the middle'. See further ▸με(σ)σηγύ(ς).

μέσπιλον [n.] 'medlar, -tree, Mespilus germanica' (Archil., Hp., Amphis, Dsc.), also 'thorn, Crataegus (orientalis, oxyacantha', Thphr.). ◂PG?(S)▸

•VAR -ίλη [f.] (Thphr.).

•ETYM A foreign word of unknown origin. Probably Pre-Greek on account of the suffix -ιλ- (*Pre-Greek*: suffixes). Borrowed as Lat. *mespilum*, *-a*, whence OHG *mespila*, etc.

μεσποδι ⇒μέσφα.

μέσσαυλος (-ον) ⇒μέταυλος.

με(σ)σηγύ(ς) [adv.] 'in the middle, between' (Il., Hp., Eratosth.). ◅IE **med^{h}ieh$_{1}$-g^{w}u-* 'going in the middle'▻

•VAR μεσηγύς (only Orph.).

•ETYM On the facultative -ς, see Schwyzer: 404 and 620. The similarity with ἐγγύς is obvious, but it is unknown whether this is due to a common origin or to analogy. See most recently De Lamberterie *RPh.* 72 (1998): 132, arguing that it contains an instrumental μεσση, like in Skt. *madhyā́* 'in the middle' (Forssman *IF* 101 (1996): 305), and a root **g^{w}eu-* which stands beside **g^{w}em-*, **g^{w}eh$_{2}$-*. See ►πρέσβυς, ►ἐγγύς.

μεστός [adj.] 'full, filled, satiated' (IA). ◅IE? **med-* 'measure, be full'▻

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, etc. in different mgs., first after ἀνάπλεος, etc. Also possible is a back-formation of ἀνα-μεστοῦσθαι (cf. Strömberg 1946: 91 and 117).

•DER μεστόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to be filled, fill up' (com., S., Pl. *Lg.*, Arist.), also with ἀνα-, δια-, ἐν-, κατα-, whence late and rare μέστωσις 'filling, satiation', -ωμα 'filling'. Also μέσμα· μέστωμα (H.), perhaps an old primary formation independent of μεστός?

•ETYM Unclear. Connection with μαδάω is impossible from the laryngealist point of view. A connection with **med-* 'to measure' has also been proposed, defended by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 105 (1992): 240-244, referring to de Saussure's translation 'qui a sa mesure'. LIV^{2} connects μεστός with 2. **med-* 'voll werden, satt werden', to be separated from 1. **med-* 'measure'.

μέσφα [adv., prep.] 'until' (Θ 508). ◅GR▻

•VAR Further μέσφι (Aret.); μέστα (Cret. II^{a}, Cyren.), μεττ' ἐς (Gortyn), μέστε (Arc.), μεσποδι, μες (Thess.); cf. Ruijgh 1957: 137.

•ETYM The initial part is the same as in ►μέχρι (and perhaps ►μετά); thence the -ι in μέσφι was taken. Final -φα is obscure. μέστε corresponds to ►ἔστε; μεσποδι may contain IE **pod-i* 'foot' (see García Ramón in DELG *Supp.*); Thess. μες (only in μὲς τᾶς πέμπτας), might stand for μέστε, -τα with haplology. Many details remain unclear, as is common with petrified expressions.

μέτα, μετά [adv., prep.] 'in the midst, afterwards; between, with, after' (Il.), with gen., dat. and acc. ◅IE **meth$_{2}$* 'in the midst, between, after'▻

•DIAL Myc. *me-ta.*

•ETYM The Germanic preposition Go. *miþ*, ON *með*, OHG *mit(i)* 'with, among' < IE **met(i)* or *med^{h}i* is very similar, and probably related to μέσος; Gr. -α could be an innovation after κατά, ἀνά, διά, etc. Cf. also Alb. *mjet* 'middle'. A remote cognate may be contained in the first element of ►μέχρι, and possibly in ►μέσος. Note τὰ μέταζε 'afterwards' (Hes. *Op.* 394 acc. to Hdn. and other sources [τὰ μεταξύ codd.]), with -ζε like in θύραζε, etc. The form μεταξύ [adv.] 'in the midst, between' (Il.), late

also 'afterwards', is common and old, and may derive from μετα + ξυ(ν). Beside μετά or instead of it, some dialects (Aeol., Dor., Arc.) use ▶πεδά.

μέταλλον [n.] 'mine, quarry' (Hdt., Th., X., Att. inscr.), late also 'mineral, metal' (Nonn., *AP*), back-formation from μεταλλεύω. ◀PG(S)▶

•COMP As a first member in μεταλλ-ουργός 'miner', with -έω, -εῖον (D. S., Dsc.).

•DER 1. μεταλλεῖα [n.pl.] 'minerals, metals' (Pl. *Lg.* 678d), substantivized form of *μεταλλεῖος 'ptng. to to a mine'. 2. μεταλλικός 'ptng. to mines' (D., Arist.). 3. μεταλλεύς [m.] 'miner' (Lys., Pl. *Lg.*, Att. inscr.); thence, or from μέταλλον, 4. μεταλλεύω [v.] 'to be miner, work in the mines, dig up from quarries' (Pl., Arist., LXX) with μεταλλ-εία (Pl., Str.), -ευσις (Ph. *Bel.*) 'mining', -ευτής = μεταλλεύς (Str.), -ευτικός 'ptng. to mining' (Pl. *Lg.*, Arist., pap.). 5. μεταλλίζομαι [v.] 'to be condemned to be a miner' (*Cod. Just.*). 6. μεταλλῖτις· γῆ τις 'some kind of earth' (H.). On itself stands μεταλλάω [v.] 'to investigate, inquire, examine' (Il., late prose), cf. below.

•ETYM A technical term of mining, and therefore suspected of being a loan. The attempt to explain μέταλλον as a back-formation from μεταλλάω does not help, as no convincing etymology has been found for the verb either. The explanation from μετ' ἄλλα, properly "(inquire) for other things", is hardly convincing. It is much more probable that denominative μεταλλάω is originally a technical term, which was used in a metaph. sense by epic poets, but fell out of use elsewhere. Borrowed as Lat. *metallum* 'mining, metal', whence MoHG *Metall*, MoE *metal*, etc. On Pre-Greek -αλλ-, see Beekes 2008.

μεταμώνιος [adj.] 'idle, vain, useless' (Hom., Pi., Theoc.), where always -α [n.pl.], later 'borne by the wind, raised on high' (Simon., Ar.), by association with ἄνεμος. ◀GR▶

•ETYM The word is synonymous with ἀνεμώλιος, and like the latter, it is modelled on ἄνεμος 'wind'. It is a hypostasis of μετ' ἀνέμων for *μετ-ανεμ-ώνιος, with subsequent haplology. The glosses μωνιή· ὀλιγωρία and μωνιόν· μάταιον, ἀχρεῖον (H.) probably originated from a false analysis of this form. Not related to ▶μάτην.

μετανάστης, -ου [m.] See below. ◀GR▶

•DER In Hom. only in the expression ἀτίμητον μετανάστην (I 648 = P 59); post-Hom. 'migrant, emigrant, fugitive' (Hdt. 7, 161 of the Athenians, Arat., Ph., pap.), -στις [f.] (Ph.) and -στρια (*AP*), like ἀγύρτης : ἀγύρτρια, etc.; μετανάστ-ιος [adj.] 'migrating, wandering' (*AP*, Nonn.), μεταναστ-εύω, -εύομαι [v.] 'to drive out, wander, flee' (LXX, Str., Ph.).

•ETYM Hdt. and his contemporaries already understood the word as 'wanderer', and connected it (as μετ-ανά-στη-ς) with μετ-ανα-στῆ-ναι 'to move, emigrate', μετανάστασις 'removal, emigration' (Hdt., Th., Hp.). In this case, however, it would stand for *μετανα-στά-της with metrically conditioned haplology (cf. ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-στά-της, etc.), as an old root noun -στη-ς < *$steh_2$- (like in Skt. *ni-ṣṭhā́-s*, *prati-ṣṭhā́-s*, etc.) has no counterpart in Greek.

Since this interpretation is in conflict with the Homeric use of μετά and ἀνίστασθαι, a better hypothesis may be the explanation already given in the TLG: μετα-νάσ-της ~ *μετα-ναίω 'to live together with', like μεταναιέ-της (Hes.), -τάω (*h. Cer.*). As an old

parallel formation to Att. μέτ-οικος, Arg. πεδά-ϝοικος and to μετοικέται· κατά μέσον οἰκοῦντες (H.), μετανάστης would originally have meant 'who lives among others (as a foreigner), resident' (and still does in Homer).
Because of the disappearance of verbal -νασ- and the gradual advance of μετα- 'around' at the expense of μετα- 'with', μετανάστης was associated with μεταναστῆναι, μετανάστασις already in classical times. Leumann's view (Leumann 1950: 183[30]) that μετα-νάσ-της would properly mean 'immigrant' (from μετα-ναίω 'to move') has to meet the same objections as the connection with μεταναστῆναι. See ►ναίω.

μεταξύ ⇒μέτα.

μετάρσιος [adj.] 'raised, high in the air' (Ion.), equivalent of Att. μετέωρος (Capelle *Phil.* 71 (1912): 449ff.). ◄GR►
•VAR Dor. πεδάρσιος (A., Ar.).
•DER μεταρσιόω [v.] 'to raise on high' (Ion.).
•ETYM Formation like ἀνάρσιος (to *ἄν-αρτος), ἀμβρόσιος (to ἄμ-βροτος), etc. Acc. to Wackernagel *KZ* 28 (1887): 131, it is a contracted form of *μετ-άερτος > *μέτ-ᾱρτος, from μετ-αείρω, -αίρω 'to lift up'. See ►μετέωρος.

μέτασσαι [f.pl.] 'lambs born later, i.e. of middle age', between the πρόγονοι and the ἔρσαι (ι 221); τὰ μέτασσα [n.pl.] 'later on' (*h. Merc.* 125). ◄IE **meth₂-tio-* 'born later'►
•ETYM Derived from μέτα like ἔπισσαι 'daughters born later' to ἔπι, so probably from *μετα-τι̯ο-, -τι̯ᾰ̄ [f.], like Skt. *ápa-tya-* 'offspring'. The explanation as μέτ-ασσαι = μετ-οῦσαι "being in between", an archaic zero grade fem. ptc. of μετ-εῖναι, meets the problem that both τά μέτασσα (for τά μετόντα) and ἔπισσαι have to be explained as analogical formations. See ►περισσός.

μέταυλος [adj.] attribute of θύρα (Ar., Lys., Plu.), also substantivized [f.] 'the door that opens from the (outside) court, or from the living of the men, towards the back rooms' (opposite ἡ αὔλειος θύρα 'the outside door'), in Vitr. (6, 7, 5) used of a corresponding corridor. ◄GR►
•VAR μέσαυλος (E., Ph. [v. l. -λιος, Vitr.), μέσσαυλος (-ον) 'the inner court where the cattle were put for the night' (Hom., A. R. 3, 235); μεσαύλη [f.] 'court inside the house' (pap. VI[P]; reading not quite certain).
•ETYM As a hypostasis, Att. μέταυλος either stands for ἡ μετ' αὐλήν (θύρα), i.e. the door behind the (outward) court, or for ἡ μετ' αὐλῆς (μετ' αὐλῶν θῦρα), i.e. the door in the middle of the court (between both courts); the meaning, which changed with the organisation of the house, cannot be settled without exact knowledge of the plan of the house; cf. the explanations by Wistrand *Eranos* 37 (1939): 16ff. Therefore, the etymological analysis is likewise uncertain. On μεσο- for older μετα-, see Wackernagel 1920-1924(2): 242.
On the other hand, Hom. μέσσαυλος seems to stand for τὸ μέσον or (ἐν) μέσσῳ αὐλῆς, meaning "what belongs to the middle of the court" or "what is in the middle of the court", i.e. 'middle of the court, interior of the court'; cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 19f. It would then have to be separated from μέταυλος. In A. R. 3, 235, epic

μέσσαυλος may have been influenced by later μέσαυλος; late μεσαύλη conformed to the simplex.

μετέωρος [adj.] 'raised on high, in suspense, above the earth, on high sea, superficial', metaph. 'hesitating, uncertain, pending, excited' (Il.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Epic μετήορος, Aeol. and Dor. πεδάορος (Alc., A.).

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μετεωρο-λόγος 'who speaks about τὰ μετέωρα, astronomer', with -έω, -ία (IA).

•DER μετεωρ-ότης [f.] 'sublimity' (Corn.), -ία 'absence of mind' (Suet., M. Ant.), -οσύνη 'id.' (Man.); -ίδιον mg. uncertain (pap. letters). Denominative μετεωρίζω [v.] 'to raise high, encourage (with false hopes), etc.', med.-pass. also 'to become proud, arrogant' (IA) with μετεωρ-ισμός (Hp., Arist.), -ισμα (Hell.), -ισις (Plu., D.C.) 'exaltation, excitedness, etc.'; -ιστής (H.) as an explanation of πεδαοριστής (beside ἵππος φρυ<α>γματίας), -ιστικός 'exciting' (Vett. Val.). Also μετεωρέω = μετεωρίζομαι (Ph.).

•ETYM Derivation from *μετ-αείρω, μετ-αίρω (Aeol. πεδαίρω) 'to lift up', like συνάορος 'coupled together' from συν-αείρω (cf. ἔξοχος to ἐξέχω, etc.). A hypostasis of μετ' ἀέρος 'located in the air', with analogical -o-, is unlikely. See ▶μετάρσιος.

μετόπη [f.] 'metope', element between the triglyphs on the frieze of Dorian temples (Vitr.), codd. *methope*, *-a* like *triumphus*, *sephulcrum*, etc. (cf. Leumann 1963-1979: 131). ◁GR▷

•VAR Accentuation not found in the mss. Also μεθόπια [n.pl.] (Delph. IV^{a}, H.; μ[...]οπια Att. inscr. IV^{a}), cf. ἐφόπτης beside ἐπόπτης. etc. (Schwyzer: 220).

•ETYM Given other technical terms like μετα-κιόνιον, μετα-στύλιον 'space between the columns' (Att. and Hell. inscr.), μεθόριος, -ον 'what lies between boundaries, borderland between two countries' (Th., X.), μετόπιον must indicate a space between the ὀπαί. Acc. to Vitr. 4, 2, 4, the ὀπαί were *tignorum cubicula et asserum*, i.e. omissions or indentations in the beams, in which the heads of the crossbeams were fitted in; these heads were covered with special planks, the so-called triglyphs. According to another view, rejected by Vitr., the ὀπαί were originally openings for light, which certainly fits the meaning of ὀπή, 'hatch, opening for light', better. Demangel *BCH* 55 (1931): 117ff. argues for the latter, seeing the triglyphs as a grid which was put before the ὀπαί afterwards.

The form μετόπη is clearly secondary to μετόπιον, and adapted to the simplex, perhaps because the metopes themselves seemed to be "openings in-between"; μετόπη 'opening between (the triglyphs)' would be a compound of the type περί-κηπος 'garden around (the house)' (Hell. and late pap.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 252, or understood like μεσ-αύλη (see ▶μέταυλος).

μέτρον [n.] 'measure, goal, length, size; metre' (Il.). ◁IE *meh_1- 'measure'▷

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. σύμμετρος 'with the same measure, measured, appropriate, symmetrical', συμμετρ-ία 'harmony, symmetry, etc.' (IA); περί-μετρος 'exceeding (the measure)' (Od.); but περί-μετρον (Hdt., Arist.), -ος [f.] (scil. γραμμή) 'circumference', with verbal connotation after περίοδος etc. (cf. περι-μετρέω Luc.).

•DER Adjectives: 1. μέτριος 'moderate, suitable' (Hes.) with μετρι-ότης 'moderation' (IA), -οσύνη 'poverty' (pap. VI^{p}), -ακός 'moderate' (pap. VI^{p}), -άζω 'to be moderate' (Att., Hell.) with -ασμός (Suid.); μετριεύεται (H. s.v. λαγαρίττεται). 2. μετρικός 'metrical, by measure' (Arist.). 3. μετρηδόν [adv.] 'in metrical form' (Nonn.). 4. Verb: μετρέω 'to measure (out)', etc. (Hom.), very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, ἐπι-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, συν-; hence (often with prefix) μέτρ-ησις 'measurement' (IA), -ημα 'measure' (E., Hell.), -ητής [m.] "measurer", name of a measure, 'metretes' (Att.), -ητίς [f.] 'id.' (Amorgos IV^{a}), -ητιαῖος 'sticking to a μ.' (Caryanda), -ητικός 'regarding measurement' (Pl.). As a second member in several verbal compounds, e.g. γεω-μέτρης [m.] 'geometer' (Pl., X.) with γεωμετρ-ία, Ion. -ίη (Hdt., Ar.), -ικός (Democr., Pl.), -έω (Att.), βου-μέτρης "measurer of cows" = ὁ ἐπι θυσιῶν τεταγμένος παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς 'who has been appointed at a sacrifice (Aetolian)' (H.). Backformations, e.g. διάμετρος (scil. γραμμή) [f.] 'diameter, diagonal, etc.' (Pl., Arist.), ἐπίμετρον 'excess, addition' (Hell.).

•ETYM Beside μέτρον, we find μήτρα [f.] 'areal measure', etc. (Cilicia) with an identical suffix, but a different root grade; corresponding exactly with Skt. *mātrā* [f.] 'measure'. Also in ἐρεσι-μήτριην· τὴν γεωμετρίαν (H.), see on ►ἔρα.

It may go back to the root *meh$_1$- seen in the athematic present Skt. *mā́-ti* 'measures'. Greek shows a short vowel in μέτρον, as opposed to Skt. *mā́tram* [n.] 'id.'; this derives from a vocalization of the zero grade **mh$_1$-tro-* > μετρ- (rather than **m̥h$_1$tr-* > μητρ-). The latter would be the expected vocalization, if we assume that *NHC- develops like *-CNHC- > Gr. CNη/ᾱ/ωC. However, contra Beekes 1969: 183, it seems that the **m-* remained consonantal in initial position, see Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 22-45. A derivation IE **méd-tro-* from **med-* 'measure' is impossible, as it would have given *μέστρον. See ►μῆτις.

μέτωπον [n.] 'the space between the eyes, forehead, brow', metaph. 'front, front of an army' (Il.); also as a plant name = χαλβάνη (Dsc.). ◄GR►

•COMP εὐρυ-μέτωπος 'with a broad forehead' (Hom.).

•DER μετώπιος 'on the forehead' (A 95, P 739), also substantival = 'forehead' (see below), -ιον [n.] 'front' (Priene IV^{a}), 'bandage on the forehead, etc.' (Gal.), name of a salve prepared from the plant μ., etc. (Dsc., Gal.); μετωπ-ίδιος 'of the forehead' (Hp., *AP*), but προ-μετωπ-ίδιος 'on the forehead' (Hdt., X.), περι- 'covering the forehead' (Hp.), from the corresponding prepositional forms; -ιαῖος 'id.' (medic.); -ίας [m.] 'with a typical forehead' (pap.); μετωπίς· ἰατρικὸς ἐπίδεσμος 'medical bandage' (H.); μετωπ-ηδόν (Hdt., Th.), -ᾱδόν (Opp.) 'forming a front'. On the PN Μέτωπος Sommer 1948: 8^{2}.

•ETYM Acc. to Arist. (*HA*, 491b 12), it originally means μεταξὺ τῶν ὀμμάτων, 'space between the eyes', a hypostasis from μετά and ὤπ-α 'eye, face' with a thematic vowel. The form μετώπ-ιον 'forehead, front' may be a parallel formation containing a suffix -ιο-. The expression is understandable when one starts from an animal's head, which has the eyes on the flanks (cf. Sommer op.cit. 115^{1}).

μέχρι [adv., prep.] 'as far as, until' (Il.). ◄IE **me-ǵ^{h}s-r-i* 'until'►

•VAR Also μέχρις (Ω 128, X., Hell.).

•ETYM Identical with Arm. *merj* 'near, by', whence *merjenam* 'to approach' < **merji-anam*; from IE **mé-ǵʰs-r-i*, containing the word for 'hand'. See ►ἄχρι.

μή [pcl.] 'not, that not' (Il.). ◄IE **meh₁*►

•VAR Further μηδέ, μηδείς, μηκέτι, μήτε, etc.

•ETYM Old prohibitive negation, identical with Arm. *mi*, Skt. *mā́*, Av. *mā*, OP *mā*, and ToAB *mā*; IE **meh₂*; also to be included here is Alb. *mo* 'id.' < **meh₁* next to *mos* < **meh₁kʷe*. See ►οὐ.

μήδεα 1 [n.pl.] 'male genitals', of φωτός (Od., Androm. *apud* Gal., Call., also Ant. Lib.), μέζεα (Hes. *Op.* 512, Lyc.); μέδεα (Archil. 138); metaph. 'urine' in Opp. (*Cyn.* 4, 441); μέζος· αἰδοῖον 'private parts' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•COMP As a second member in εὐμέζεος (cod. -μάξεως; leg. -μεζέος?)· εὐφυὴς (cod. -εἰς; leg. -οῦς?) τοῖς αἰδοίοις 'well-endowed qua private parts' (H.).

•ETYM The variation between μήδεα, μέζεα and μέδεα clearly points to a Pre-Greek word: interchange ε/η (cf. Fur.: 258[42]), δ/ζ (Fur.: 253ff.). The form μήδεα is not a euphemistic replacement for μέζεα, μέδεα (as per Wackernagel). WP compared MIr. *mess* (< **med-tu-*) 'gland', assuming an original meaning 'swell, swollen in the form of balls' (which does not make sense for this root).

μήδεα 2 'counsels, cares'. ⇒μήδομαι.

μήδιον [n.] plant name, 'Campanula lingulata' (Dsc.). ◄?►

•DER ἐπιμήδιον name of an unknown plant (Dsc.).

•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 122 supposes connection with μήδιος· μαλακός 'soft, delicate' (H.).

μήδομαι [v.] 'to deliberate, estimate, contrive, decide' (Hom.). ◄IE **meh₁-*, **med-* 'measure'►

•VAR Aor. μήσασθαι (Hom.), μῆστο· <ἐ>βουλεύσατο (H.), fut. μήσομαι.

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι- and δια-. As a second member e.g. in θρασυ-μήδης 'with bold plans' (Pi., B.), also as a PN (Il.). 2. μηδοσύνη 'prudence' (Hell.). 3. μήστωρ, -ωρος, -ορος [m.] 'adviser' (Il., Hp.), also as a PN (Il.); as a second member in e.g. δορι-μήστωρ [m.] 'adviser in war' (E.), often in PNs, e.g. Θεο-μήστωρ (Hdt.), Κλυται-μήστρα, -η (see on ►κλύω), etc.

•DER μήδεα [n.pl.] 'counsels, plans' (Il.).

•ETYM Primary thematic μήδομαι, whence aor. μήσασθαι beside older μῆστο, and μήσομαι, is commonly identified with the near synonym μέδομαι (see ►μέδω). The lengthened grade -η- is also seen in Dor., so it must be old. This is remarkable, as all other presents with a long root vowel have an old full grade plus a laryngeal. Therefore, one might consider influence of the root **meh₁-* 'measure' (discussed under μῆτις and μέτρον) on μέδομαι, so as to yield μήδομαι. This cross would have to be old, as the verbal noun μήδεα 'plans' has an immediate counterpart in Arm. *mit-kʿ* [pl.] 'id.'. See Beekes *IF* 93 (1988): 30f., and also Clackson 1994: 147-149, who denies that Arm. *mit-kʿ* and Greek μήδεα necessarily constitute a shared innovation of these two languages.

μηκάομαι [v.] 'to bleat', of sheep, also of a hare and of a horse; in the formular verse κὰδ' δ' ἔπεσ' ἐν κονίῃσι μακών, of a horse, deer, boar, and also of a man (Phryn. *PS*, Procop., sch., H.). ◁ONOM **mēk-* 'bleat'▷

•VAR μηκάζω (Nic.), perf. μέμηκα only in ind. plpf. ἐμέμηκον (ι 439) and ptc. μεμηκώς (K 362), fem. μεμακυῖαι (Δ 435), aor. ptc. μακών (P 469, κ 163).

•DER After κεμάς and other animal names: μηκάς [f.] 'bleating', in Hom. only plur. of αἶγες 'goats', later (S., E.) also of ἄρνες 'sheep', and (substantivized) = αἴξ. Late derivatives: μηκ-ασμός (Plu., Poll.), -ηθμός (Opp.), -ή (Ael., sch.) [f.] 'bleating', -ητικός [adj.] 'bleating' (sch.).

•ETYM The pair μέμηκα: μακεῖν (ptc. μακών) agrees with λέληκα : λακεῖν (with comparable meaning 'to scream, screech'), κέκραγα : κραγεῖν 'to croak', etc. Several types of present were created from the old intensive perfects and thematic aorists: μηκάζω, -άομαι (cf. λάσκω, κράζω, etc.). On μακών, see Leumann 1950: 235 n. 31. The formation is onomatopoeic, starting from the sound-imitation μη (**mē*), and with many cognates, e.g. MHG *meckatzen* 'bleat', *mecke* 'he-goat', Lith. *mekčióti*, *mekénti* 'id.', Lat. *micciō* 'id.', Skt. (lex.) *meka-* [m.] 'he-goat', Arm. *mak'i* 'sheep'. The ablaut μηκ-/ μακ- cannot be of IE date, so it must be analogical.

μῆκος [n.] 'length' (Od.). ◁IE **meh₂ḱ-os-* 'length', **mh₂ḱ-* 'long'▷

•DIAL Dor. μᾶκος (Archyt.).

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. περι-μήκης, Dor. -μάκης 'very long, very high' (Il.), with expressive enlargement περιμήκ-ετος 'id.' (Hom., Arat.), after πάχετος, ἀριδείκετος, ἁμαιμάκετος, etc.

•DER Superlative μήκιστος (Dor. μάκιστος) 'longest, highest, greatest' (Il.), with Μηκιστεύς PN (Il.); compar. μάσσων, ntr. μᾶσσον (θ 203, etc.), after ἄσσον etc., derived from ►μακρός after ἐλάσσων, πάσσων, θάσσων; secondary μακρό-τατος, -τερος.

Old denominative verb μηκύνω (Dor. μακύνω) 'to lengten, stretch out' (Pi., IA), rarely with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-. Hence the rare and late prosodic terms μήκ-υνσις (sch.), -υσμός (Eust.) 'lengthening', -υντικός 'which can be lengthened' (A. D.). Further derivations, also rare and late: μηκεδανός 'long' (*AP*, Nonn.), for μακεδνός after ἠπεδανός, etc.; μηκ-ικός 'regarding the length' (Procl.), -όθεν 'from afar' (Aesop., Paul. Aeg.), -ότης [f.] 'length' (Gal.).

•ETYM A counterpart to μῆκος is Av. *masah-* [n.] 'length, greatness', with a short stem vowel. Likewise, Av. *masišta-* and OP *maθišta-* are opposed to μήκιστος in their vocalism, which is not well understood. The full grade formation **meh₂ḱ-os-* in μῆκος is typical for an old *s*-stem. On the short vowel in ►μακρός < **mh₂ḱ-ro-* see further ►μέτρον. The root is also seen in Lat. *maciēs* 'leanness', *maceō* 'to be lean' and Hitt. *mak-l-ant-* 'lean'.

μήκων [f.] 'poppy, Papaver somniferum, poppy-head' (Θ 306), meatph. of poppy-like objects, e.g. 'ink-bag of the cuttle-fish' [m.] (Arist.). ◁IE **meh₂k-n-*▷

•VAR Dor. Arc. μάκων, -ωνος.

•COMP μηκωνο-φόρος (scil. γῆ) [f.] 'poppy-bearing country' (pap.).

•DER 1. name of poppy-like plants (Euphorbia, wild lettuce): μηκών-ιον (Hp., Thphr.); also = 'opium' (Phld.), -ίς [f.] (Nic., inscr., pap.). -ῖτις (Gal.), also name of a stone (Plin.), Redard 1949: 57. 2. μηκών-ειος [adj.] 'spiced with poppy' (Philostr.), ntr. 'opium' (S. E., sch.), -ίς [f.] (Alcm.), -ικός 'poppy-like' (Thphr.). 3. Diminutive μηκωνάριον (Androm. *apud* Gal.).

•ETYM Formation like βλήχων. It is clearly related to the Slavic and Germanic word for 'poppy': CS *makъ*, Ru. *mak* (*o*-stem), and OHG *maho*, MHG *mahen*, *mān*, and (with the reflex of Verner's Law) OHG *mago*, OSw. *val-mōghi* (*val-* < **u̯alha-* 'torpidity'), etc. The Verner variants and the short vowel (as opposed to Gr. -ᾱ-) are notable and point to old ablaut. Kroonen 2009 reconstructs an ablauting *n*-stem for PGm., which is the same formation as Greek and points to an inherited lexical item. As the poppy originates from the Mediterranean according to botanists, it is often thought that we are dealing with a 'Wanderwort', which was borrowed into Indo-European at PIE date. Fur.: 218 compares βηκώνιον· εἶδος βοτάνης and concludes to a Pre-Greek form, but this is improbable.

μήλη [f.] 'chirurgical probe' (Hp., *AP*). ◂GR?▸

•COMP As a second member in πλατυ-μήλη 'broad probe' (medic.) and other determinatives (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 285), ἀμφί-μηλον [n.] 'probe with two ends' (medic.).

•DER μηλόω [v.] 'to probe' (Hp., Ar.), also (med.) 'to paint wool' (Eust., H.), with μήλωσις 'probing', μηλω-τή, -τίς, -τρίς, -τρίδιον 'próbe' (medic.); μηλ-αφάω [v.] 'to probe' (Sophr., H., *EM*, Eust.), after ψηλαφάω; μήλωθρον 'painted wool' (Eust., H.).

•ETYM Prellwitz proposed a pre-form PGr. **mas-lā-* derived from the root of μαίομαι, aor. μάσσασθαι 'to touch, examine'. Possible, but uncertain.

μηλολόνθη [f.] 'beetle, gold-beetle, dung-beetle' (Ar. *Nu.* 764, Arist.). ◂GR▸

•VAR Also μηλολάνθη (Poll.), μηλάνθη (Herod.).

•COMP χρυσο-μηλολόνθιον (Ar. *V.* 1341).

•DER μηλολόνθιον (sch. Ar. *V.* 1332).

•ETYM From μῆλον ὀλόνθιον, properly "fig-sheep"; it consists of μῆλον 'sheep' and ὄλονθος 'wild fig', because many beetles are parasitic of figs and other plants. The formation is like ἱππο-πόταμος (for ἵππος ποτάμιος). It was reshaped to μηλολάνθη by folk etymology, based on ἄνθος; thence (after οἰνάνθη 'blossom of the vine', etc.) μηλάνθη. Extensive treatment in Strömberg 1944: 5ff.

μῆλον 1 [n.] 'apple' (Il.), also of other stonefruits (Hp., Dsc.), '(seed-)capsule of a rose' (Thpr.), metaph. plur. 'breasts, cheeks, tonsils, apple-like beaker' (Ar., Theoc., medic., pap., inscr.). ◂?▸

•VAR Dor. Aeol. μᾶλον.

•COMP As a first member in μῆλ-οψ 'apple-colored' = 'yellow' (η 104), μαλο-πάρᾱυος 'with apple-like cheeks' (Theoc.); μηλ-άπιον [n.] name of a fruit (medic., Plin.), etc. As a second member in determinatives, e.g. γλυκύ-μαλον, -μηλον 'sweet-apple' (Sapph. [but cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 10], Call.), μελί-μηλον 'summer apple, Pyrus praecox' (Dsc.), also 'apple mead' (medic.) for μηλό-μελι (Dsc.); cf. κοκκύ-μηλον; cf. further ▸ἐπιμηλίς.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. μηλέη, -α 'apple-tree' (Od.); 2. μηλίς, μαλίς [f.] = μηλέα (Ibyc., Theoc.), 'yellow pigment' (Plu.), name of a distemper of asses, perhaps 'glanders' (Arist.); 3. μηλίτης οἶνος 'apple-, quince-wine' (Plu., Dsc.); 4. μηλίσκα [n.pl.] name of cups shaped like apples (Delos III[a]); 5.Μηλ-ιάδες [f.pl.] 'fruit-tree nymphs' (Poll.), like κρην-ιάδες; 6. μήλωθρον [n.] = ἄμπελος λευκή (Thphr., Dsc.), cf. ψίλωθρον 'id.' from ψιλόω, πύρωθρον = πύρεθρον.
B. Adjectives: 7. μήλινος, μάλινος 'made of apples, apple-colored' (Sapph., Thphr.); 8. μήλειος 'concerning the apple' (Nic., A. R.); 9. μηλώδης 'apple-like' (Gal.).
C. Verb: 10. μηλίζω 'to resemble an apple (in color)' (medic.). Perhaps the island name Μῆλος; see Heubeck *Glotta* 25 (1936): 271.
•ETYM Mediterranean word. From Greek stems Lat. *mālum, mēlum,* with *mālinus* 'apple-colored', *mēlinus* 'of quince-apples'; see WH s.v. 1. *mālus.* The word was formerly connected with Hitt. *maḫla-*, but this appears to have a different meaning 'grape, vine, twig of a vine', see Cuny *REA* 20 (1918): 364f. It can hardly be related to ἀμάμαξυς, as per Fur.: 212.

μῆλον 2 [n.] 'small cattle, sheep and goats' (Il.). ◂IE? **meh₁lo-* 'small cattle'▸
•VAR Mostly plur. -α. μηλάτων (Lyc. 106) after προβάτων.
•DIAL Also Dor.
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μηλο-βότης, Dor. -τας 'shepherd' (Pi., E.), also -βοτήρ (Σ 529, *h. Merc.* 286) in verse-final -βοτῆρας, after the simplex; μηλάταν· τὸν ποιμένα. Βοιωτοί (H.), haplological for μηλ-ηλάταν or for μηλόταν after βοηλάταν (Bechtel 1921, 1: 307); on ▸μηλολόνθη, see s.v. Rarely as a second member, only in a few bahuvrīhis, e.g. πολύ-μηλος 'with many sheep' (Il.); also in PNs, e.g. Boeot. Πισί-μειλος.
•DER μήλειος 'pertaining to the small cattle' (Ion., E.), μηλόται· ποιμένες (H.), μηλωτή [f.] 'sheepskin' (Philem. Com., Hell.), like κηρωτή etc., with Μηλώσιος epithet of Zeus (Corc., Naxos), prop. "who is wrapped in a sheepskin" (Nilsson 1941(1): 395f.).
•ETYM An old word for 'small cattle', which is well-attested in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *mil* [n.] 'small animal', and is sporadically found in WGm. too, e.g. in OLFr. *māla* 'cow', MoDu. *maal* 'young cow'. Opposed to these words, which may all go back on a preform **meh₁lo-*, stands Arm. *mal* 'sheep' with *a*-vocalism, as well as Ukr. *mal'* [f.] 'small cattle, young sheep', Ru. (Crimea) *malíč* 'kind of Crimea-sheep'. It seems obvious to connect these words with the Slavic adjective for 'small', e.g. OCS *malъ*, Ru. *mályj.* One step further is the Gm. word for 'small, narrow' in Go. *smals*, etc., which is often used of small cattle, e.g. ON *smali* [m.] 'small animal', OHG *smalaz fihu* 'small cattle'. If we posit IE **(s)meh₁l-*, *(s)moh₁l-* (OCS *malъ*, etc.), and *(s)mh₁l-* (Arm. *mal*, Go. *smals*, etc.), it seems possible to bring together all words mentioned. For Arm. *mal*, Ačaŕyan 1977: 224 (approved in Clackson 1994: 232[250]) proposes a loan from Arabic *māl* 'possession; sheep'.

μήν 1 [pcl.] confirming pcl., 'honestly, certainly; truly' (Il.). ◂IE **sme* 'really, true'▸
•VAR Dor. Aeol. μάν.

•ETYM Commonly compared with the asseverating pcl. Skt. *sma, smā*, but the exact relation with this form and with μά remains unclear. The particle ►μέν 'really, true', which is functionally identical and related in meaning, can hardly be separated from ►μήν. Like ►δή beside ►δέ, μήν must have undergone vowel shortening as a result of a weakening of its function; this shortening then entered Attic and the other dialectal areas from the epic and Ionic scientific language. See Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 6 (1949): 85ff.; extensively on μήν Schwyzer 1950: 569f. See ►μά.

μήν 2 [m.] 'month' (Il.), also 'moon-sickle (Ion., Ar., Att. inscr., Thphr.). ◄IE **meh₁nōt, *meh₁n-es-s* 'moon, month'►

•VAR Also Att. μείς, Dor. μής, El. μεύς; gen. μηνός, Aeol. μῆννος.

•COMP μηνο-ειδής 'formed like a moon-sickle' (IA), PN Μηνό-δωρος, also μηνί-αρχος, -άρχης [m.] 'monthly prefect' (pap. IV[a]). after ταξί-αρχος etc.; ἠλιτό-μηνος 'missing the right month' (T 118; cf. s.v.), ἐπι-μήν-ιος 'lasting a month, monthly' (IA).

•DER μήν-η 'month' (Il.), like σελήνη; -άς 'id.' (E.); μην-ίσκος [m.] 'moonsickle', especially of objects in the shape of a moon-sickle (Ar., Arist.); μην-ιαῖος 'a month old, monthly' (Hp., LXX, pap.), -ιεῖος 'monthly' (Hell. pap.), μην-αῖος 'belonging to the month' (Orac. *apud* Lyd. *Mens.*; probably from μήνη); μηνιαστεία [f.] 'monthly achievement' (pap. III[P]), but cf. Μηνιασταί [m.pl.] 'adorers of Μήν' (Rhodos); μήνιον [n.] (botanical) 'peony' (Ps.-Dsc.), from its astrological use, see Strömberg 1940: 133.

•ETYM From the oblique cases (gen. μῆνν-ος < **mēnsos*, etc.), an analogical nom. **mēns* arose, whence **mens* by Osthoff's Law. By subsequent loss of the nasal and compensatory lengthening, μείς and μής developed. The new nom. μήν arose by analogy with gen. μηνός, etc. (after simplification of the -νν-), and El. μεύς is built on the model of Ζηνός : Ζεύς.

Originally, a disyllabic nom. **mēnōs-* (with lengthened grade) or **mēnōt-* (with alternating *-t-*) existed beside the obl. stem **μηνσ-* < IE **mēns-*. Thence arose Lith. *mẽnuo* 'moon, month', Go. *menoþs* 'month', etc. The disyllabic form is also seen in Lith. *mẽnes-is* 'month'. On monosyllabic **mēns-* are based both Lat. *mēns-is* (gen.pl. *mēnsum*) and Skt. *mās-* 'moon, month' < PIIr. **maHas-* < **meh₁ns-*. The development of the calendrical meaning 'month' was accompanied by the creation of new expressions for 'moon' (σελήνη, *lūna*, etc.). Original derivation from **meh₁-* 'measure' (see ►μῆτις), from the role of the moon as a measure of time, is quite possible.

μῆνιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'skin, cuticle', especially 'cerebral membrane' (Hp., Arist., Gal.), also 'cuticle in the eye' (Emp., Arist.),'drum of the ear' (Arist.). ◄PG(S)►

•COMP As a first member in μηνιγγο-φύλαξ [m.], name of a chirurgical instrument (medic.).

•DER Diminutive μηνίγγιον (gloss.); MoGr. μηνιγγῖτις [f.] 'inflammation of the cerebral membrane', MoFr. *méningite* (Redard 1949: 103f.).

•ETYM The semantic parallel with words like Lat. *membrana* 'thin, soft skin' and Slavic words for 'inner part of the skin, etc.' (e.g. SCr. *mézdra*, Sln. *mẹ́zdra*, Ru. *mezdrá*), all ultimately derived from the root of IE **mēms-* 'meat', is striking.

However, μῆνιγξ cannot be combined with them. The unexplained -ν-, together with the suffix -ιγγ-, clearly points to a Pre-Greek word.

μῆνις [f.] 'wrath', especially of gods, but also of Achilles (Il.). ◂?▸
•VAR Dor. μᾶνις, -ιος, -ιδος.
•COMP As a second member in ἔμ-μανις 'filled with wrath' (Cret.), on the formation Sommer 1948: 113.
•DER μηνίω, Dor. μανίω [v.] 'to rage' (Il., Hdt., Hell.), aor. -ῖσαι, rarely with ἀπο-, ἐπι-(άντι-, ἐκ-); μήνι-μα [n.] '(reason for) wrath' (Il.), -θμός 'raging' (P 62, 202, 282); also μηνιάω 'id.' (LXX, D. H.), on the formation Schwyzer: 732, and μηνίαμα (LXX); enlargements -ιάζω (*Et. Gud.*), -ίζω (*An. Ox.*) and -ισμα (Iolkos III[a]). From μῆνις (μηνίω?) also μηνίτης (-τής?) [m.] 'a man filled with rage' (Arr. *Epict.*).
•ETYM Etymology unknown. The identification with Lat. *mānēs* 'souls of the departed' by Ehrlich *KZ* 41 (1907): 294f. is now abandoned. The explanation from *μνᾱ-νις (from the root of μέμνημαι by Schwyzer *RhM* 80 (1931): 213ff. was later doubted by Schwyzer himself (Schwyzer 1939: 495); instead, he proposes connection with μαιμάω. The semantically obvious connection with μένος and cognates is impossible because of the long ᾱ in Doric (see Björck 1950: 177f.); on μηνίτης, see also Radermacher *RhM* 63 (1908): 444ff.

μηνύω [v.] 'to notify, betray, announce' (*h. Merc.*). ◂IE? *meh_2- 'notify'▸
•VAR Dor. μανύω, aor. -ῦσαι, etc.
•COMP Also with prefix: κατα-, ἐκ-.
•DER μήνυμα [n.] 'indication, information' (Th., Men.), (κατα -)μήνυσις 'id.' (Att.); μηνυτής [m.] 'informer' (Att.), also -τήρ 'id.' (A. *Eu.* 245, Orph. *H.*), μανύτωρ 'id.' (*AP*); μηνυτικός 'containing information; boastful' (Ph., D. C.); μήνυτρον, usualy plur. -α 'reward for infomation' (*h. Merc.*) with μηνυτρίζομαι 'to be denunciated (for a reward)' (Hell. pap.; also H. as an explanation of μηνύεσθαι).
•ETYM μηνύω is either a primary thematic νυ-present (with present suffix introduced in the aorist) or a denominative from a pre-form *μῆνυς or *μηνῦς. The word remains without obvious cognates. LIV[2] takes up the connection with the BSl. group of Lith. *móti*, OCS *namajati* 'to beckon (with the hand)' and reconstructs *meh_2- 'to notify'.

μῆον [n.] Name of an umbellate, 'bald money, spignel, Meum athamanticum' (Dsc., Plin.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•VAR μεῖον (v.l.).
•ETYM Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 96 connects *mei-* 'to be refreshing', which does not convince. Fur.: 235[35] compares μαῖον 'Trifolium arvense', which would point to substrate origin.

μῆριγξ [?] · ἄκανθα γινομένη ἐν τοῖς ἐρίοις τῶν προβάτων 'thorns which grow in the fleece of cattle', i.e. 'bristles'? (H.). ◂PG(S,V)▸
•VAR σμῆριγξ· πόα, καὶ εἶδος ἀκάνθης 'grass, also a kind of thorn'; σμήριγγες· πλεκταί, σειραί, βόστρυχοι 'braids, cords, curls of hair'. καὶ τῶν κυνῶν ἐν τοῖς μηροῖς

καὶ τοῖς αὐχέσιν ὀρθαὶ τρίχες 'hairs which stand upright on the shank and neck of dogs' (H.); a kind of hairdress (Lyc. 37, Poll. 2, 22).

•ETYM In the sense of 'braids, cords', σμῆριγξ agrees with ►μήρινθος. The occasional meaning 'rope, string' may have been caused by the similarity with μήρινθος, μηρύω. The meaning 'ἐν τοῖς μηροῖς... τρίχες' is clearly a folk-etymological attempt to connect μῆριγξ with μηρός. Fur.: 289[78] separates the gloss as ἄκανθα from the other words. All of them are clearly of Pre-Greek origin, of account of the suffix -ιγγ-, the prothetic σ-, and the lack of possible cognates.

μήρινθος [f.] 'cord, thread' (Il.). ◄PG(S)►

•VAR σμήρινθος [f.] (Pl. *Lg.* 644 e). Cf. μήρινς Orph. *A.* 597, and further σμῆριγξ, -ιγγος 'hair' (Lyc. Poll. 2,22, H.); σμήριγγες· πλεκταί, σειραί, βόστρυχοι (H.), see ►μῆριγξ.

•ETYM Because of its suffix, μήρινθος is probably Pre-Greek. Adaptation to μηρύομαι has also been assumed, a word that was probably inherited. However, there is little reason for this: see ►μηρύομαι.

μηρός [m.] 'the upper meaty part of the shank, shank' (Il.). ◄IE? **mē(m)s-ro-* 'fleshy'►

•VAR Plur. both μηροί [m.] (O 146) and μῆρα [n.].

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. μηρο-τραφής 'with fleshy shanks' (Str., *AP*), σύμ-μηρος 'with the thighs closed' (Hp.).

•DER μηρία [n.pl.] 'thigh-bones' (Il.), -ίον [sg.] (Posidon.); μηρ-ιαῖος 'belonging to the shanks' (X.), like νωτ-ιαῖος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 49); μηρίζω [v.] 'to strike on the thigh' (D. L.), after γαστρίζω; δια-μηρίζω [v.] 'to hold the thighs separated' with -ισμός (Ar., Zeno), also κατα- 'id.' (Suid.).

•ETYM According to Vine 2002: 333, μῆρα continues an old collective plural **mēms-reh*$_2$, although one would expect Greek to develop anaptyxis as in **μεμβρ-. Via a back-formation **mēms-ro-*, this collective may have been the basis for the thematic neuter for 'flesh': IE **mēms̥-(o-)*, seen in Skt. *māṃsá-* [n.], Go. *mimz*, Ru. *mjáso*, ToB *mīsa* [pl.], all 'meat'. We also find a form IE **mēs-* (with unexplained lack of nasal) in Skt. *mā́s-* [n.] 'id.'. Reflexes of **mēms-ro-* can be found in Lat. *membra* [n.pl.] 'limbs, body parts', OIr. *mír* 'piece, bite', CS *męzdra* 'inner side of a rind'. To account for the Greek forms μηρός and μῆρα, it would be best to depart from the nasalless pre-form **mēs-ro-* seen in Skt. *mā́s-*. Unrelated is ►μῆνιγξ.

μηρυκάζω [v.] 'to ruminate' (Arist., Thphr.), -άομαι. ◄?►

•VAR μαρ- (Ath. 9, 390f, Jul. *Gal.* 314d), -ίζω (Gal.).

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, (LXX, Ph., Plu. et al.).

•DER μηρυκισμός [m.] (LXX), ἀνα-μηρύκησις [f.] (Aristeas) 'ruminating'; back-formation μήρυξ [m.] name of a (supposedly) ruminating fish, 'Scarus cretensis' (Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 53.

•ETYM The three verbs μηρυκ-άομαι, -άζω, -ίζω are derived either as denominatives from a noun with a suffix -κ-, or as enlargements of a primary *μηρύκ-, which may itself have an enlargement -κ- (cf. ἐρύ-κ-ω, ἐρυκ-άνω, -ανάω to ἐρύομαι or ἐρύω). Frisk connects *μηρύω, -ύομαι 'to wrap, wind', referring to the turning movements of the mouth and muscles of a ruminator; unconvincing.

μηρύομαι [v.] 'to draw up, furl, wind (up)' (μ 170, Hes., Hp., X., Plb., Hero). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Dor. μαρ- (Theoc., cf. below), aor. μηρύσασθαι, perf. μεμήρυκα (Hp.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, περι-, συν-.
•DER μήρυμα [n.] 'knot, strand' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*, Nic.), -μάτιον (Hero); συμμήρυ-σις [f.] 'winding together, connection' (M. Ant.). *μῆρυς 'clew' is posited by Fur.: 218 on account of βιηρυσσεύειν· σπειρειν (supposed to stand for σπειρᾶν), ἑλίσσειν 'to wind' (H.); which he assumes to be a denominative of *βήρυσσα = *μῆρυς.
•ETYM The word is probably Pre-Greek, on account of the variant in β-. Fur.: 289 suggests that μηρύομαι is a denominative of *μῆρυς. See ▸μήρινθος.

μήτηρ [f.] 'mother' (Il.). ◂IE **meh₂ter-* 'mother'▸
•VAR Dor. μάτηρ; gen. μητρός, acc. μητέρα, etc.
•DIAL Myc. *ma-te*.
•COMP Many compounds, e.g. μητρο-πάτωρ 'mother's father, grandfather through mother' (Il.) and other kinship-names, μητρό-πολις [f.] 'mother-state' (Pi., Simon., IA), ἀ-μήτωρ 'motherless' (Hdt.), poet. also 'unmotherly' in μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ (S.); probably in ▸Δημήτηρ. On the compounds see Sommer 1948: 147, 176f., Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 17f., 59 and 261, Wackernagel *Glotta* 14 (1925): 38.
•DER 1. Diminutives: ματρύλ(λ)α [f.] 'brothel-hostess' (Phryn., Eust.) with ματρυλ-εῖον 'brothel' (Din., Men.), see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 224, Björck 1950: 67; μητράριον = *matercula* (gloss.). 2. μήτρα, Ion. -η [f.] 'uterus, womb' (IA), metaph. 'hardwood, marrow' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 122ff., also 'queen bee' (Arist.), see Sommer 1948: 147⁴; μητρίδιος "having a womb", 'rich in seeds' (Ar. *Lys.* 549), after κουρίδιος, νυμφίδιος? 3. μητρίς (scil. γῆ) [f.] 'land of the mother' (Pherecr.), after πατρίς. 4. μητρικός 'regarding the mother' (Arist., Hell. inscr., pap.). 5. μητρό-θεν (Dor. μα-) 'from mother's side' (Pi.).
6. Denominative verbs: μητρ-ιάζω 'to honour the (Great) Mother' (Poll.), after θυσι-άζω (cf. Schwyzer: 735), -ίζω 'to belong to the (Great) Mother' (Iamb.), -άζω 'to resemble the mother' (gloss.). 7. PN Μητρείς (Schulze 1933a: 419), Μᾶτρυς (Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 220). 8. See also ▸μήτρως and ▸μητρυιά.
•ETYM Old inherited word for 'mother'. It has been retained in all branches except in Hitt. (which has *anna-*): Skt. *mātár-*, Lat. *māter*, Lith. *mótė* 'woman, wife', (dial.) 'mother', OHG *muoter*. The word does not go back to a nursery word **mā* (see μᾶ), as it contained a laryngeal (**meh₂-ter-*), as shown by the acute accent of Lithuanian.

μῆτις, -ιος, -ιδος [f.] 'measure, skill, craft' (Il.). On the concept of μῆτις, see Detienne and Vernant 1974. ◂IE **meh₁-* 'measure'▸
•COMP As a second member in πολύ-μητις 'capable of many machinations, inventive', of Odysseus, also of Hephaistos (Hom.), ἀγκυλο-μήτης 'having crooked counsels, cunning', of Kronos, also of Prometheus (Hom.).
•DER 1. μητιέτᾰ [nom.sg.m.] (originally vocative?), epithet of Zeus, 'who possesses μῆτις', metrically conditioned form at the end of verse for *μητῖτα, cf. νεφεληγερ-έτα (Ζεύς); acc. μητιέτην (metr. inscr. Tegea), nom.- έτης (Corn.). 2. μητιόεις 'imbued with μ.', of Ζεύς, φάρμακα, etc. (δ 227, *h. Ap.* 344, Hes.).

Denominative verb: aor. μητίσασθαι, fut. μητίσεσθαι 'to ponder, design, devise' (Hom., Emp., A. R.); pres. μητίομαι (Pi. *P.* 2, 92); as a present, epic poetry uses μητιάω, -άομαι (μητιόων, μητιάασθαι, etc.) for metrical reasons (after the type in -ιάω), also prefixed ἐπι-, συν- (Hom., A. R.). Verbal noun μητίματα [pl.] (H. s.v. μήτεα, for μήδεα?).

•ETYM An original verbal noun meaning *'measuring', μῆτις is derived from the root **meh₁-* found in Skt. *mimāti* 'measures', etc. The formation **meh₁-ti-* itself is found in an isolated Germanic word, OE *mǣd* [f.] 'measure', and is presupposed by the denominative Lat. *mētior* 'to measure'.

Another Greek formation is μήτρα 'land-measure', ablauting with ▸μέτρον, with the instrument suffix **-tro-*. Other languages also preserved isolated verbal nouns in various meanings, e.g. in Germanic: Go. *mel* 'time', OHG *māl* 'point of time, (time for) meal'. The unassibilated -τι- (for -σι-) must be explained as an archaic element of Aeolic (and perhaps Doric). See further ▸μήδομαι.

μήτρα 1 'uterus'. ⇒μήτηρ.

μήτρα 2 'land-measure, κλῆρος'. ⇒μέτρον.

μήτρως [m.] 'male relative of the mother, maternal uncle, grandfather' (Il.). ◂IE **meh₂tēr* 'mother', **meh₂tr-ōu-* 'relative of the mother'▸

•VAR Dor. μάτρως, -ωος and -ω (further forms in Schwyzer: 480 and in LSJ).

•DER μητρώϊος, -ῷος (Dor. μα-) properly 'belonging to the μήτρωες, i.e. to the mother's family' (τ 410), later referring to μήτηρ directly: 'what belongs to the mother, maternal' (A.); τὸ Μητρῷον (scil. ἱερόν) 'the temple of the Great Mother Cybele', which was used as a state archive in Athens (Att.); τὰ Μητρῷα (scil. ἱερά) 'the temple-service of Cybele' (D. H.); with μητρῳακός 'belonging to the service of Cybele' and μητρῴζω 'to celebrate the Cybele-festivals' (late); μητρωϊκός = μητρικός (Delos II[a]). By-form μήτρων (Dor. μά-), -ωνος [m.] (inscr. Asia Minor; originating from the acc. μήτρων). μητρυιά (Dor. μα-, Ion. -ιή) [f.] 'stepmother' (Il.) with μητρυι-ώδης 'like a stepmother' (Plu.), -άζω 'to act as stepmother' (gloss.); jocular innovation μητρυιός [m.] 'stepfather' (Theopomp. Com., Hyp.).

•ETYM If μητρυιά is connected with μήτρως (following the *communis opinio*, but there is in fact no decisive evidence for this), we must start from a long *-ōu-* > *ō*, of which -υ- in μητρυιά would be the zero grade (cf. Schwyzer: 479f.). Regular correspondences with μητρυιά (probably for older *μήτρυιᾰ, gen. -υιᾶς, see Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 574[1], Schwyzer: 469[8]) are found in Arm. *mawru*, gen. *mawrui* (< **mātruu̯i-*) 'stepmother, mother-in-law', and perhaps also (though further off) in OE *modrige* 'sister's mother' < PGm. **mōdruu̯iōn-*. The formation would have to be of pre-Proto-Greek age. Cf. Kuiper 1942: 56ff. See ▸μήτηρ.

μηχανή [f.] 'expedient, contrivance, cunning; means, tool, machine, device' (IA, Dor.). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•VAR Dor. μαχανά.

•COMP μηχανο-ποιός 'machine-builder, engineer, machinist' (Att.), ἀ-μήχανος (Dor. -ά-) 'without any means, helpless; unmanagable, irresistible, impossible' (Il.), partly associated with μηχανάομαι; thence ἀμηχαν-ία, -ίη (ι 295), -έω (Ion.).

•DER 1. Uncertain Μαχα-νεύς epithet of Zeus (Argos, Tanagra, Cos, since V[a]), also a month name (Corcyra), Μαχανεῖος month name (Chalcedon); Μαχαν-ίς epithet of Athena (Cos), -ῖτις epithet of Aphrodite and Athena (Megalopolis). 2. μηχανιώτης 'deviser, machinator', of Hermes (*h. Merc.* 436; after ἀγγελι-ώτης, etc.). 3. μηχανάριος 'engineer' (pap.). 4. μηχαν-όεις 'inventive' (S.), -ικός 'id., pertaining to machines, mechanical', subst. 'engine builder' (X., Arist.). 5. μηχάνωμα (Dor. μα-) [n.] 'apparatus, crane' (Thphr., Delphi), enlarged from μηχανή (Chantraine 1933: 187). 6. Denominative verb μηχανάομαι (-ά̰ω) 'to devise (with ruse), realize, construct, manufacture artificially' (Il.), aor. μηχανήσασθαι, etc., also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, άντι-, προσ-; hence μηχάν-ημα 'invention, apparatus, mechanical device' (Hp., D., trag.), -ησις 'id.' (Hp., Plb.), -ητής [m.] 'deviser of war machines' (sch.), -ητικός 'inventive' (X.). Besides, we find μῆχαρ [n.] (indecl.) 'means, expedient' (A., Lyc.) and μῆχος (Dor. μᾶ-) [n.] 'id.' (Il., Hdt.); unlike μηχανή, both words are dying and remain without compounds and derivatives.

•ETYM Dor. μαχανά, IA μηχανή are not derived (as traditionally assumed) from a heteroclitic *μᾶχαρ, *μάχανος. They have oxytone accentuation, like the verbal nouns φυλακή, κομιδή. Beside the *r/n*-stem, we find an *s*-stem μῆχος, according to a regular pattern. The root is usually recognized in verbal forms with a short vowel in Germanic and Slavic, e.g. Go. *mag* 'can, is able', MHG *mag*; OCS *mošti*, 1sg. *mogǫ*, Ru. *moč'*, 1sg. *mogú* 'can, be able'. These verbs have accompanying nouns Go. *mahts* 'power, might', etc. = OCS *mošt*ъ, Ru. *moč'* 'id.' < QIE **mag^{h}-ti-*. Beside this *ti*-derivation, we find an *n*-stem in OHG *magan, megin*, ON *magn, megin* 'power, might'. It is doubtful if Lith. *magėti*, 1sg. *magù* 'to please, be pleasant', *mėgti*, 1sg. *mėgstu* 'to love, like', etc. can be connected with μηχανή, already in view of the ablaut **ē* : Gr. *ᾱ*.

Since PIE had no **a*, the question is how we can derive the ablauting forms. In Beekes *MKNAW* 61 (1998): 10f., I pointed out that a laryngeal cannot have been vocalized to Slavic **o*. This means that the Germanic and Slavic forms (which are closely related, both semantically and formally) cannot derive from **mh$_2$g^{h}-*. As a consequence, the Greek word remains isolated.

The suffix -αν- is typical for Pre-Greek words; note that Greek has no forms with *μᾰχ- either that could point to a zero grade. In fact, the connection with ►μάγγανον (Van Beek p.c.) proves that μηχανή is Pre-Greek.

Lat. *māchina* was borrowed from Dor. μαχανά; Pashto *mēčan* 'handmill' from μηχανή (Morgenstierne *Acta or.* 7 (1929): 200; Morgenstierne *Acta Orbis* 18: 143); for the meaning, cf. VLat. *māchina* also 'millstone, handmill'.

μία [f.] 'one'. ➡εἷς.

μιαίνω [v.] 'to stain, soil, defile' especially 'to defile through bloodcrime' (Il.); in Hom. also a technical term for coloring or dying (Δ 141-7), see Myc. below. ◄PG?, IE? **smei-* 'smear'►

•VAR Aor. μιᾶναι, μιῆναι, pass. μιανθῆναι (Il.), fut. μιανῶ (Cyrene, Antipho), pass. μιανθήσομαι, perf.pass. μεμίασμαι (Att.), act. μεμίαγκα (Plu.), μιᾷ [3sg.subj.aor.pass.] beside fut. μιασεῖ (Cyrene).

•DIAL Myc. *mi-ja-ro*, probably of colored fabrics.

•COMP Rarely with prefix as ἐκ-, κατα- συν-. Compounded μιαι-φόνος 'committing a defiling murder, defiled by murder', epithet of Ares (Il. E and Φ, B., Hdt., E.), μιη-φόνος (Archil.), μιαι-φονέω (Att.), -ία (D., D. S., Plu.). Isolated are μίαχος· μίασμα, and μιαχρόν· <ού> καθαρόν (H.).

•DER μίασμα [n.] 'defilement, abomination, horrible stain' (IA), on the formation see Porzig 1942: 241; μιασμός [m.] 'defilement' (LXX, Plu.), μίανσις [f.] 'id.' (LXX); μιάστωρ [m.] 'defiler, avenger' (trag., late prose), -σ- like in μίασμα, cf. also ἀλάστωρ; μιάντης [m.] 'id.' (*EM*), ἀ-μίαν-τος 'unstained' (Thgn., Pi.), of a stone = ἄσβεστος (Arist., Plin., Dsc.). Further μιαρός (Il.), μιερός (Call.) 'defiled, soiled, polluted', especially through bloodcrime, with μιαρ-ία (Att.), -ότης (*An. Ox.*).

•ETYM Although the interchange **r/n* in μιαίνω : μιαρός looks Indo-European, clear cognates are unknown. Improbable or uncertain hypotheses are listed in Frisk.

The first member in μιαι-φόνος is probably verbal, like in ταλαί-πωρος, so properly "ὁ μιαίνων φόνῳ". Beside it, we find μιη-φόνος, probably secondary like Ἀλθη- beside Ἀλθαι-μένης.

Blanc *BSL* 96 (2001): 153-179 connects Go. *bi-smeitan* 'to besmear, strike', but there is no evidence for *sm-* in Greek; moreover, the development of meaning within Germanic is not evident.

If there is no etymology, μιαίνω is rather Pre-Greek. Did it have **m^{y}a(n)-*, with palatal **m-*? We know that an /a/ could be pronounced as [e] after a palatalized consonant; this might be the origin of the ε/α-alternation in adjectives of the type μιαρός/μιερός.

μίγνυμι ⇒μείγνυμι.

μῑκρός [adj.] 'small, short, little' (E 801, γ 296, trag., Att.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also σμικρός (P 757, Hes. *Op.* 361, Ion., trag., Att.), μικκός (Dor. Boeot.), μικός (Att. inscr. IV^{a}, *Trag. Adesp.* 31, pap.).

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, especially in scientific and technical language.

•DER Diminutives and hypocoristics: μικύλος (Mosch. 1, 13); μικύθινον· τὸ μικρόν καὶ νήπιον 'infant' (H.); **μικκιχος* (cf. ὀσσίχος etc., Chantraine 1933: 404) in Lacon. μικκιχιδδόμενος 'under age' (inscr.), from **μικκιχίζομαι*; cf. also the PN below. Abstract: (σ)μικρότης [f.] 'trifle, insignificance' (Anaxag., Pl.). Denominative: (σ)μικρύνω [v.] 'to diminish, reduce, belittle' (Demetr. *Eloc.*, LXX), also with prefix, especially κατα-; κατασμικρίζω 'id.' (Arist., Phld.), σμικρίζεσθαι· διαττᾶσθαι 'to sift' (H.); ἀποσμικρόω 'id.' (Tim. *Lex.*). PNs, e.g. Σμικρίνης [m.] "niggard" (Men.), like Αἰσχίνης, etc.; Μίκων, Μικίων, Μίκυθος, -ίων, Σμικυθίων (Leumann 1950: 155, Schulze 1933a: 671).

•ETYM The group of words has a familiar and colloquial aspect, as is shwon by the variants μικός and geminated μικκός. The initial interchange in μικρός and (older)

σμικρός is unexplained and (also) points to Pre-Greek origin. The connection with the comparative μείων, assuming that the κ was taken from the opposite μακρός, fails because σμικρός is clearly older: the latter cannot be combined with μείων (which belongs to Skt. *minâti* 'reduce', etc., and has no *s*-mobile). Old alternation of suffixes in μικ-ρό-ς : μικ-υ-θός (Bloomfield *Lang.* 1 (1925): 94) is improbable.

μῖλαξ 1 'taxus, bindweed'. •VAR μῖλος. ⇒σμῖλαξ.

μῖλαξ 2 [?] · ἡλικία 'age-group' · ἔνιοι δὲ μέλλαξ. καὶ παρ' Ἑρμίππῳ ἐν Θεοῖς (*fr.* 33) ἀγνοήσας Ἀρτεμίδωρος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ μῖλάξ ἐστιν, δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν δημοτικόν 'some have μέλλαξ, among them Artemidorus on Hermippus's "Gods" (*fr.* 33), but wrongfully, as μῖλαξ is found there, and it means a kind person' (H.). DELG adds that the gloss may be partly corrupt, referring to μέλλαξ in H., i.e. μέλ[λ]ακες· νεώτεροι 'the younger ones' (corrected to μελλ- by Salm.). ◅PG(V)▻
•ETYM Identical with ►μῖλαξ 1 as a metaphor? Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 461 supposes a cross of μεῖραξ (pronounced μῖρ-) and μέλλαξ (?). The word is Pre-Greek on account of the variant seen in ►μέλλαξ.

μιλ(λ)ός [adj.] · βραδύς, χαῦνος 'slow, loose, spongy; frivolous' (H.), cf. ἀργός· μιλός, βραδύς and νωχέλεια 'slowness'· .... μιλότης (-ώτις cod.) (H.), νωχελής· ὁ μιλός, βραδύς, ἄχρηστος 'useless; ineffective' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻
•DER PN Μίλων (inscr.).
•ETYM Unexplained; cf. Latte *Glotta* 34 (1955): 191f. DELG compares ►μῖλαξ 2. The variation λ/λλ points to a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 226, 317 compares πτίλος 'having an eye-disease through which the eye-lashes fall out', but this is not very convincing.

μίλτος [f.] 'ruddle, red earth, red color, cinnabar, vermillion, red lead' (Hdt., com., Att. inscr.), also 'rust' in plants = ἐρυσίβη (Paus. Gr.), and a taboo for 'blood' (*PMag.*). ◅PG▻
•DIAL Myc. *mi-to-we-sa* /miltowessa/.
•COMP μιλτο-πάρῃος 'with red-painted cheeks', of ships (Hom.), ἔμ-, σύμ-μιλτος 'painted red' (Dsc., Lebadea).
•DER μιλτάριον = 'blood' (*PMag.*), μιλτεῖον 'vessel for storing μ.' (*AP*), μίλτ-ειος 'of μ.' (*AP*), -ώδης 'μ.-colored, rich in μ.' (Eub., com., Str.), -ίτης [m.] name of a red stone (Plin.), -όω 'to smear with μ.' (Hdt., Ar.). PN Μιλτεύς (Epid.VI[a]), or an appellative; Μιλτ-ιάδης (after Στρεψι-άδης), Μιλτώ [f.], etc.
•ETYM A technical foreign word. The connection with μέλας 'black' is phonetically as well as morphologically impossible, and semantically uncompelling. The word is undoubtedly Pre-Greek.

μίλφοι [m.pl.] a disease, 'falling off of the eyelashes' (Dsc., Gal.). ◅PG?▻
•DER μίλφωσις [f.] 'the falling off of the eyelashes' (Gal.), cf. ἕλκωσις, ἴλλωσις, κνίδωσις, etc.; back-formation μιλφός [m.] 'sbd. who suffers from μίλφωσις' (Vett. Val.).
•ETYM Like so many nouns in -φος, μίλφοι is etymologically unclear. Fur.: 225, 317 compares ►πτίλος 'id.' and ►μιλ(λ)ός 'slow' (but see s.v.).

μιμαίκυλον [n.] 'fruit of the κόμαρος' (com., Thphr.), cf. Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 1. ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also μεμαίκυλος (Gal.), μιμάκυλος (H.).

•ETYM A foreign word, no doubt Pre-Greek (note the variations). For the ending, cf. ἄκυλος 'acorn' with comparable meaning.

μίμαρκυς, -υος [f.] 'hare-soup, jugged hare', from the intestines with their blood (com.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM The form μίμαρκυς seems to display reduplication. A tempting similarity exists with a synonymous Germanic word: OE *mearh* 'sausage', MoNw. *mor* 'meat-sausage from intestines', ON *mǫrr* 'the fat inside a slaughtered animal', etc., PGm. **márhu-* < IE **márku-* or **mórku-*. If related, it would have to be a very old anatomical expression of cattle-breeders, cf. ἤνυστρον 'fourth stomach of a ruminant', which is unlikely. Unrelated are Lat. *murcus* 'maimed' or Hitt. *mark-* 'to cut apart' < **merǵ-*.

Acc. to Neumann 1961: 85f., μίμαρκυς is a loan from Hitt. or another IE Anatolian language. I agree with Fur.: 366[95] that the word cannot be IE. The reduplication is clearly Pre-Greek.

μιμνήσκω [v.] 'to remind (oneself), remember, heed, care for, make mention' (Il.). ◁IE **mneh₂-* 'remind'▷

•VAR Usually -ομαι (-ήσκω, Schwyzer: 709f., Aeol. μιμναισκω [gramm.], μνήσκεται Anacr.); fut. μνήσω, -ομαι, aor. μνῆσαι (Dor. μνᾶσαι), -ασθαι, perf. med. μέμνημαι (Dor. -μνᾱ-, Aeol. -μναι-) with fut. μεμνήσομαι (all Il.), aor. pass. μνησθῆναι (δ 418, Aeol. μνασθῆναι) with fut. μνησθήσομαι (IA).

Also pres. μνάομαι, μνῶμαι, μνώοντο, μνωόμενος, etc. (Il.), 'to woo for one's bride, court' (Od.) 'to solicit' (Hdt., Pi.), προ-μνάομαι 'to court for' (S., Pl., X.); see below.

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ὑπο-, ἀνα-; also παρ-, προσ-υπομιμνήσκω, ἐπ-, συν-, προ-αναμιμνήσκω.

•DER 1. μνῆμα, Dor. Aeol. μνᾶμα [n.] 'memorial, monument, tomb' (Il.) with μνημεῖον, Ion. -ήϊον, Dor. μναμ- 'id.' (Dor., IA), cf. σῆμα : σημεῖον, etc., rare and late -άτιον, -άδιον, -άφιον, -όριον (see ▶μεμόριον); μνηματίτης λόγος 'funeral oration' (Choerob., Eust.); ὑπόμνη-μα 'remembrance, note' (Att.) with -ματικός, -ματίζομαι. 2. μνήμη, Dor. μνάμα [f.] 'remembrance, mention' (Dor., IA), μνή-σ-μη (Lycaonia); hence or from μνῆμα: μνημ-ήϊος 'as a remembrance' (Phryg.), -ίσκομαι = μιμνήσκομαι (pap.). 3. μνεία [f.] 'remembrance, mention' (Att.), verbal noun < * μνᾱ-ΐα like πεν-ία etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 81). 4. μνῆστις (μνᾶσ-) [f.] 'remembrance, thought, posthumous fame' (ν 280) with -σ- like in μνησθῆναι, μνηστύς, etc.; after λῆστις (see ▶λανθάνω) rather than the other way round. 5. ἀνά-, ὑπό-μνη-σις 'remembrance, admonition' (Att.); also μνησι- as a verbal first member in μνησι-κακέω [v.] 'to remember the (suffered) wrong', whence -ία, -ος (IA). 6. μνηστύς, -ύος [f.] 'courting' (Od.), later replaced by μνηστ-εία, -ευμα (see μνηστεύω). 7. μνηστήρ (μνᾶσ-), -τῆρος [m.] 'wooer' (Od.), on μνηστήρ beside μνηστύς see Fraenkel 1910: 32[2]; also month name μναστήρ (Messene); adjectival 'remembering, reminding' (Pi.), μνήστειρα [f.] 'bride' (*AP*), 'reminding' (Pi.); μνῆστρον 'betrothal,

marriage' (*Cod. Just.*); προμνήστρ-ια (προ-μνάομαι) [f.] 'matchmaker' (E., Ar., Pl.), -ίς 'id.' (X.). 8. μνήστωρ 'mindful' (A.). 9. μνηστή [f.] 'wooed and won, wedded' (Hom., A. R.), also 'worth remembering' (*Sammelb.* 6138), πολυ-μνήστη (-ος) 'much wooed' (Od.), also 'mindful; remaining in memory' (Emp., A.); but Ἄ-μνᾱτος (Gortyn); hence μνηστεύω (μνασ-) [v.] 'to woo a wife' (Od.), also 'to apply for a job', with μνήστευμα (E.), -εία (Hell.) 'wooing'. 10. μνήμων (μνά-), -ονος [m., f.] 'mindful' (Od.), often as the title of an office 'notary, registrator' (Halic., Crete, Arist.), first derived from μνῆμα, but also directly associated with the verb. Thence μνημο-σύνη 'remembrance' (Θ 181), also the name of one of the Muses (*h. Merc.*, Hes.); -συνον [n.] 'id.' (Hdt., Th., Ar.); probably poetical; -ος 'for remembrance' (LXX); besides Μναμόν-α (Ar. *Lys.* 1248), cf. on εὐφρόνη; Μνημ-ώ (Orph.) = Μνημοσύνη. Denominative μνημονεύω [v.] 'to remember' (IA), with μνημόνευ-σις, -μα, etc. Adjective μνημον-ικός 'for remembrance, with good memory' (Att.). 11. PNs like Μνησεύς (Pl.), short name of Μνήσ-αρχος (Boßhardt 1942: 130), Μνασίλλει (Boeot.); Μνασέας; probably a Hellenisation of Sem. *Mᵓnašše* = Μανασση.

•ETYM The above paradigm (including all formations derived from μνᾱ-) is a Greek creation. A monosyllabic IE **mneh₂-* is represented in classical Skt. *a-mnāsiṣuḥ* [3pl.aor.] 'they mentioned' (which recalls μνῆσαι); further, in *a-mnā-ta-* 'not mentioned' and *mnāyante* 'are mentioned'. It is probable that this is a root extension of **men-* 'to remember', but its function is unclear. Other cognate languages present nothing that could be compared directly with the Greek forms.

It has been thought that μνάομαι corresponds exactly to Skt. *mnāyate*, so from **mneh₂-ie/o-*, but it was rather analogically formed to (e.g.) the aorist μνήσασθαι; μιμνήσκω may also have been secondarily created, like e.g. κικλήσκω or βιβρώσκω. The meaning 'to woo a woman, court' developed from μνάομαι 'to think of, be mindful of' as a courteous expression; see Benveniste 1954: 13ff. The connection with γυνή < **gʷn-h₂-* should be discarded. See ►μαίνομαι, ►μέμονα, ►μένος.

μῖμος [m., f.] name of an actor, 'mime' (A. *Fr.* 57, 9, E. *Rh.* [lyr.], D., Plu., pap.), kind of scenic sketch, founded by the Syracusan Sophron, 'mimus' (Arist.). ◂PG?▸

•COMP μιμο-γράφος 'mime-writer' (Hell.), λογό-μιμος [m.] 'actor or writer of spoken mimes' (Hegesand. Hist.), ἀρχί-μιμος [m.] 'chief comedian' (Plu.); as a second member mostly verbal to μιμέομαι, e.g. γυναικό-μιμος 'imitating women' (trag.).

•DER μιμάς, -άδος [f.] 'mimic player (female)' (Ael.), μιμώ [f.] 'ape' (Suid. s.v. πίθηκος), μιμ(ε)ία [f.] 'farce' (Ph.), μιμικός 'regarding the μῖμος, mimic' (Hell.).

Probably denominative μιμέομαι, μιμήσασθαι 'to imitate, mimic, copy (in art)' (*h. Ap.* 163), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, with derivatives: (ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-)μίμησις 'imitation, artistic, especially dramatic presentation' (IA), (ἀπο-) μίμημα 'imitation, representation' (IA); (συμ-)μιμητής [m.] 'imitator, artist' (IA), μιμήτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'id.' (Man.); μιμητικός 'able at imitation, imitating, mimetic' (Pl., Arist.); μιμηλός 'id.', also 'imitated' (Luc., Plu.), or 'referring to μῖμος' (Chantraine 1933: 242), with μιμηλάζω (-ίζω?) = μιμέομαι (Ph.).

•ETYM Compared with μιμέομαι, μῖμος is attested only rarely and at a late date; still, it is most likely that μιμέομαι is a denominative built on the latter. The technical

meaning of μῖμος makes a loan probable. The connection with Skt. *māyā́* [f.] 'magic, etc.' is dated: the translation found in Frisk (following Schulze) as 'Zauber(bild), Truggestalt' is deceptive, as it focuses on the notion of 'image', which is not found in the earliest attestations of *māyā́*. It rather means 'magical power, skill, etc.'.
μῖμος was borrowed as Lat. *mīmus* 'id.'. There is no etymology, and Pre-Greek origin is quite possible.

μιν [encl.pron.] 'eum, eam, id; se', anaphoric or reflexive pron. 3sg. (Il.), late also 3pl. ◁IE **h₁i-* 'he, who'▷
•VAR Also anaph. νιν 'id.' (Dor., trag., cf. Björck 1950: 163).
•DIAL Myc. *-mi* /min/.
•ETYM Compare especially Cypr. ►ἴν 'id.' < **h₁i-m* (Lat. *is*, etc.). Not from a reduplicated form **im-im* (as per Rix 1976: 186), which looks rather strange for indefinite pronouns. The initial nasal may have been taken from (the end of) the preceding word, as happened in OP *dim* and OPr. *dim* (reanalysis of the neuter ending **-od*), e.g. in the 1sg. aorist **(h₁e)deiksm̥ Him* > **(e)deiksam im* >> **(e)deiksa mim* > ἔδειξά μιν. Cf. Beekes *KZ* 96 (1982-1983): 229-32.

μίνδαξ [f.] 'a kind of Persian incense' (Amphis 27 Kock). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

μίνδις [?] 'association for the maintenance of tombs' (*Tit. As. Min.* II, 1, 62, [Telmessos]). ◁LW Lyc.?▷
•DER μενδῖται 'members of such a society'.
•ETYM A local word, perhaps from Lycian *miñti*. See Neumann 1961: 53f. and Laroche *BSL* 58 (1963): 78[1].

μίνθη [f.] 'mint' (IA, Thphr., Plu.); on the mg. Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 105ff. ◁PG▷
•VAR Also μίνθᾰ (Thphr.), μίνθος.
•DIAL Myc. *mi-ta*.
•ETYM A foreign word, like Lat. *menta*. It is undoubtedly Pre-Greek, because of the variant ending -ᾰ. See ►καλαμίνθη.

μίνθος [m.] 'human ordure' (Mnesim. Com.). ◁PG?▷
•DER μινθ-όω [v.] 'to stain with μ.' (Ar.), metaph. 'to renounce utterly, abominate' (Hell., com.).
•ETYM Formation like ὄνθος, σπέλεθος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 369); further unclear, but perhaps Pre-Greek.

μινύθω [v.] 'to lessen, fade away', also trans. 'to reduce' (Il.). ◁IE **mi-n(e)-u-* 'lessen, diminish'▷
•VAR Also μινυνθάνω (*PMich.*); ipf. -ύθεσκον (ἐμινύθει Hp.), fut. μινυθήσω, aor. -ῆσαι, perf. μεμινύθηκα (Hp.).
•COMP Rarely with περι-, συν-, ἀπο-.
•DER Medical terms: μινύθ-ησις [f.] 'waning', -ήματα [pl.] 'what is lessening, dying members', -ώθης 'weak, lessening' (Hp.), on the verbal derivation see Chantraine

1933: 431, -ικός 'diminishing' (Cael. Aur.). Beside it μίνυνθα [adv.] 'for a short time' with μινυνθάδιος 'lasting a short time' (Il.).

•ETYM Built after the synonym φθινύθω, either from a νυ-present (corresponding to Lat. *minuō*, cf. *φθίνϝ-ω) or from an adjective *μινύς (cf. βαρύθω : βαρύς), which seems to have been preserved as a first member in a few compounds, though late and rarely attested: μινύ-ωρος, -ώριος 'living a short time' (*AP*), μινύζηον· ὀλιγόβιον 'having a short life' (H.). The same adjective has been recognized in μίνυνθα, i.e. acc. *μινύν + -θα e.g. after the opposite δηθά.

An IE adj. **minu-* is also presupposed by Lat. *minuō*, and probably also by *minus* (secondarily *s*-stem), and is assumed for Germanic (e.g. Go. *minniza* 'smaller' < **minu̯iza-*) as well. If a suffix *-nu-* is separated, ►μείων, etc. may be compared.

μινυρίζω [v.] 'to whimper, whine, complain (in a low tone)' (E 889, δ 719), 'to sing in a low tone, wharble, hum' (Ar., Pl., Arist.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR μινυρίσαι [aor.] (Plu.).

•DER μινύρισμα 'twittering' (Theoc., S. E.), -ισμός 'id.' (sch.), -ίστρια [f.] 'twittering' (ἀηδών, verse inscr.); unclear μινυρίγματα [pl.] (Philox. 2, 28). μινύρομαι [v.] 'to sing in a low tone, twitter' (A., S., Ar., Call.), μινυρός 'whimpering, whining' (A., Phryn. Com.), 'twittering' (Theoc.).

•ETYM Expressive and onomatopoeic words, resembling κινυρίζω : κινύρομαι : κινυρός, with which they were amalgamated in a way that can no longer be established. There is no further evidence for a variation κ/μ, as proposed by Fur.: 388. Still, Pre-Greek origin is possible.

Acc. to Leumann 1950: 244, μινυρίζω is the oldest form of the series. Lat. *minurriō*, *-īre* 'twitter' (Suet.) shows a remarkable similarity: if it is not directly borrowed from Greek, it was at least influenced by it. Similar reduplicated formations are μιμιχμός· τοῦ ἵππου φωνή 'horse's voice' and μιμάξασα· χρεμετίσασα, φωνήσασα 'to neigh (of horses), resound' (H.). See ►μύρομαι.

μιργάβωρ · τὸ λυκόφως 'twilight' (H.). ◅GR?▻

•VAR μιργῶσαι· πηλῶσαι 'to cover with mud or clay' (H.).

•ETYM A relationship with μίσγω (μιργάβωρ as dialectal Laconian or Elean for Ion. *μισγ-ήϝως, e.g. Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 150) has been assumed, the second element being the word for 'dawn'. However, the gloss on μιργῶσαι (if it belongs here at all) cannot be correct. Connection of the first element with Lith. *mirgėti* 'flicker', ON *myrkr*, acc. *myrkvan* 'dark' < PGm. **merku-*, **merku̯i̯a-* is improbable.

μίργμα [n.] (?) 'ἐπὶ τοῦ κακοπινοῦς καὶ ῥυπαροῦ καὶ πονηροῦ 'filthy, dirty, bad' (H.). ◅?▻

•VAR μιρμα ms. (DELG).

•ETYM Unknown. Latte connects the glosses μιργῶσαι and μιργοῦλον.

μιργοῦλον [n.] μύσος, μίασμα 'defilement, stain' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. See ►μίργμα.

μιρόν [?] ὅταν νυστάζῃ τις λέγουσι Ταραντῖνοι 'The Tarentians say this whenever someone is sleepy' (H.). ◅?▻

•DER Perhaps the PN Μίρων (see Latte)?
•ETYM Unknown.

μιρύκεον =μυρίκη.

μίσγω
•ETYM See ►μείγνυμι; for μισγ-άγκεια, see also ἄγκος (►ἀγκ-).

μισέω [v.] 'to hate, abhor' (Pi., IA). ◄PG►
•VAR Aor. μισῆσαι (*P* 272), aor. pass. μισηθῆναι (Hdt.), fut. pass. μισήσομαι (E.), also -ηθήσομαι (LXX), perf. μεμίση-κα, -μαι (Att.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἀπο-. Very often as a first member (opposed to φιλο-), e.g. μισό-θεος 'who hates the gods' (A., Luc.), cf. Schwyzer: 442.
•DER μίσημα [n.] 'what is hated' (trag.), μίσηθρον (-τρον) 'charm producing hatred' (Luc., pap.), after στέργηθρον, Benveniste 1935: 203; μισητός 'hated, hateful' (A., X.), -ητικός 'prone to hatred' (Arr.), μισήτιζε· μίσει, στύγει 'id.' (H.). μισήτη [f.] 'lascivious woman, whore' (Archil. [?], Cratin.), accent according to Ammon. 94; cf. μισητός· ... ἄπληστος 'greedy' (H.) with unclear change of mg., with μισητία 'lasciviousness, unsatiable desire' (Ar., Procop.). μῖσος [n.] 'hatred, enmity, grudge, object of hatred' (trag., Att.).
•ETYM The date and the spread of the respective attestations do not favor the common assumption that μισέω is a denominative to μῖσος; if it were, we would expect an aorist Hom. *μίσε(σ)σεν instead of μίσησεν (but perhaps it is analogical after φίλησεν?).
A suffix -σος does not exist in inherited words. Therefore, Fur.: 254 assumes a Pre-Greek word, with an assibilated dental *t^y.

μισθός [m.] 'hire, pay, wages, reward, daily wages' (Il.). ◄IE *$misd^ho$- 'salary'►
•COMP Several compounds, e.g. μισθο-δό-της [m.] 'who pays the wages', -τέω, -σία (Att.), compounded forms of μισθὸν δοῦναι with a suffix -τη-; μισθο-φορέω [v.] 'to get paid' with -φόρος 'who served for hire', -φορά 'wages'; ἔμ-μισθος 'being paid' (Att.).
•DER Diminutive μισθάριον (Hp., com., pap.); μίσθιος [adj.] 'hired' (Hell.); μισθόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to hire for oneself', act. 'to hire' (IA) with several derivatives: μίσθωμα 'rent, lease' (Att.), -ωμάτιον (Alciphr.), μίσθωσις 'hiring' (Att.), -ώσιμος 'which can be hired' (Lex. *apud* D.), -ωσιμαῖος (gloss.); μισθωτός (directly from μισθός?) 'hired, hireling, mercenary' (IA), -ωτής [m.] 'tenant' (Att.), -ώτρια [f.] (Phryn. Com.), -ωτικός 'belonging to rent' (Pl., pap.), -ωτήριον 'meeting place of the μισθωτοί' (Ephesus II^p, H. s.v. ὄψ' ἦλθες).
•ETYM This old word for 'reward, recompense' vel sim. was also preserved in Indo-Iranian, Germanic and Slavic: Skt. *mīḍhá-* [n.] 'prize in a contest, contest', Av. *mižda-* [n.] 'wages', Go. *mizdo* [f.] 'wages', MoHG *Miete* 'rent', OCS *mъzda*, Ru. *mzdá* [f.] 'wages, hire, reward', all from IE *$misd^hó$-. Because of the gender of the Gm. and Slav. words, Meillet *MSL* 21 (1920): 111 considers *$misd^hó$- to be an old feminine; but if so, the change of gender in μισθός would be remarkable. In the sense

of 'wages', μισθός was replaced by ὀψώνιον in the Hell. period (Chantraine 1956a: 25f.).

μιστύλη
•ETYM See ►μυστῖλη (also for μιστυλᾰ́ομαι).

μιστύλλω [v.] 'to cut up meat' (Il.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Aor. μιστῦλαι, -ασθαι (Semon., Lyc., Nonn.); δια-μιστῦλαι (Hdt. 1, 132).
•DER Backformation μίστυλλον 'piece of meat' (Strato Com.).
•ETYM As a denominative, μιστύλλω seems to go back to *μιστύλος 'cut up, consisting of pieces' (cf. στωμύλλω : -ύλος, καμπύλλω : -ύλος). As a further basis, one might posit a noun *μιστο-, which could stand for **miT-to-*, and could be connected with some Germanic words for 'hew, cut', e.g. Go. *maitan* 'to injure, mutilate'. Skt. *méthati* 'to be inimical' is not related (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia*). The word may rather be Pre-Greek. See ►μίτυλος.

μίσυ, -υος, -έως [n.] 1. 'copper ore' found in Cyprus (Hp.); 2. 'ruffle, Tuber aestivum', growing near Cyrene (Thphr.), cf. André 1956 s.v. *misy*. ◄LW Anat.?►
•ETYM Perhaps an adjective 'brilliant' borrowed from an Anatolian language; cf. Hitt. *mišriuant-* 'brilliant', from the root **meis-* (Skt. *miṣáti* 'to open the eyes'). See Neumann *Kadmos* 28 (1989): 94f.

μίσχος [m.] 1. 'stalk of a leaf, fruit or flower' (Thphr., Porph.); 2. name of a Thessalian instrument for field work, ἰσχυρότερον ἔτι τῆς δικέλλης 'even stronger than the δ.', ... ὅ μᾶλλον εἰς βᾰ́θος κατιὸν πλείω γῆν περιτρέπει καὶ κατωτέρωθεν 'which, reaching deeper, turns around more earth, and from a greater depth' (Thphr.). Acc. to H. = ὁ παρὰ τῷ φύλλῳ κόκκος 'the seed at the leaf', which can hardly be correct. Also difficult to understand is μίσκος = 'pod, shell' (Poll. 6, 94). Extensively on μίσχος Strömberg 1937: 115f. ◄1. PG(V); 2. PG?(V)►
•COMP ᾰ́-μισχος 'without stalk' (Thphr.).
•ETYM Probably an agricultural term in origin, and transmitted to botany by the botanist Theophrastus. No etymology. The connection with μίσκαιος· κῆπος 'garden' (H.), which is also compared to Lith. *miškas* 'wood, forest', also 'wood for burning or building', is semantically void, unless one accepts a basic meaning 'trunk, bar' for the Lith. word.
Fur.: 133 connects μίσχος with μίσκος 'pod, shell', which means that the word is Pre-Greek. However, he does not connect the stalk with the Thessalian tool. On the other hand, he may be right in connecting the latter with μίσκαιος 'garden', where σχ/σκ also points to Pre-Greek origin.

μίτος [m.] mg. uncertain, 'thread of the warp, chain' vel sim., also 'thread' in general, Lat. *līcium* (since Ψ 762), see Blümner 1875-1887: 141ff., where other interpretations are discussed. Cf. κατᾰ́ μίτον 'uninterrupted' (Pherecr., Plb.). ◄?►
•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. λεπτό-μιτος 'with fine threads' (E.), πολύ-μιτος 'consisting of many threads, damask' (A., Cretin., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*).

•DER μιτώδης 'thread-like, made of threads' vel sim. (S. *Ant.* 1222), μίτινοι 'licinae' (gloss.), μιτηρός, μιτάριον (sch. E. *Hec.* 924), μιτόομαι, -ώσασθαι [v.] 'to hitch up threads' vel sim. (*AP*), μίσασθαι(?) 'id.' (Pl. Com.), μιτίσασθαι 'liciare' (gloss.).
•ETYM Because of the uncertain meaning, all explanations are hypothetical.

μίτρα [f.] 'girdle bound with metal' (Il.), 'maiden's girdle' (Theoc., A. R., Call.), 'fillet, diadem' (Alcm., Hdt., E., Ar., Call.), 'victor's chaplet, wreath' (Pi.). ◁?▷
•VAR Ion. -ρη [f.].
•COMP μιτρη-φόρος (also -ο-φ-) 'bearing a μ.' (Hdt., Plu.), αἰολο-μίτρης 'with glittering girdle' (E 707, Theoc.), on the ending -ης see Schwyzer: 451); ἄ-μιτρος 'without girdle' (Call.).
•DER μιτρίον (gloss.), μιτρώδης 'like a μ.' (*An. Ox.*), μιτραῖον (cod. -έον)· ποικίλον 'many-colored' (H.); μιτρόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to put on or wear a μ., to dress with a μ.' (Str., Nonn.).
•ETYM For comparison, one has thought of Skt. *mitrá-* [n., m.] 'friend', properly 'friendship', Av. *miθra-* [m.] 'treaty, friend', as a personification 'Mithra' = OP *Miθra-*, assuming an inherited word **mi-tro-* with original meaning 'connection', from IE **mei-* 'to bind, attach' (Pok. 710). The combination remains quite hypothetical, as long as a corresponding primary verb is not found (IIr. *may-* 'to fix, establish'?). Extensive treatment of *mitrá-* in Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.
Given its technical meaning, μίτρα (which is isolated in Greek) could very well be a loan, perhaps from an Indo-Iranian source. Or does the short -ᾰ (in the acc. μίτρᾰν [LSJ]) point to a Pre-Greek word?

μίτυλος [adj.] Adjunct of αἴξ (Theoc. 8, 86) of uncertain mg.; acc. to H. μίτυλον· ἔσχατον, νήπιον. Λακεδαίμονες 'utmost, childish; foolish'. ◁?▷
•VAR μύτιλον· ἔσχατον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸν νεώτατον 'utmost, whence (?) also the youngest'. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποβαῖνον καὶ ὁ νήπιος καὶ ὁ νέος 'that which results, infant, young one' (H.); see Leumann *Glotta* 32 (1953): 217.
•ETYM Explained as 'hornless' and connected with μιστύλλω, in which case μύτιλος must have arisen by means of metathesis. However, as DELG remarks, the explanation may be due to a folk-etymology with Lat. *mutilus* by a later scholiast. Dissimilation from an original **μύτυλος could be imagined (similar cases in Schwyzer: 258). The similarity with the PN Μυτιλήνη (also Μιτυλ-) is probably irrelevant (cf. WH s.v. *mūtulus*).

μίτυς, -υος [f.] name of a substance used by bees (Arist.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unexplained; it could very well be Pre-Greek.

μνᾶ [f.] 'mina', weight and a sum of money = 100 drachmae (IA). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Gen. -ᾶς (Ion. -ῆς), etc., Ion. μνέαι [pl.].
•DER Diminutive μναδάριον (Diph. Com.), probably for **μνᾰδ-άριον from **μνᾰ́-διον, -μνα-ΐδιον (like ζῳδ-άριον : ζῴ-διον); μνα-αῖος, μναῖος 'weighing or worth a mina' (com., X., Arist.), -ϊαῖος 'id.' (Arist., Hell.), -ϊεῖον [n.] golden coin = 1 silver-mina (pap.); on -ιαῖος, -ιεῖος see Chantraine 1933: 49 and 53.

•ETYM A Semitic loanword. Cf. Hebr. *mānē*, Akk. *manū* name of a weight. Borrowed from μνᾶ was Lat. *mina*. Skt. *manā́-* [f.], name of a golden ornament, remains far; but MoP *man* as a designation of a weight might belong here, too; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 308. Fur.: 380 connects μνάσιος/ν and assumes a cultural term from the Near East.

μνάομαι 'to remember, think of, ponder', also 'to woo (a woman), court'. ⇒μιμνήσκω.

μναρόν [adj.] glossed as μαλακόν, ἡδύ, ῥᾴδιον 'delicate, sweet, easy' (Phot.), or θυμῆρες 'delightful' (H.), respectively (Cratin. 431). ◁?▷
•ETYM Probably for μνιαρόν (*μνι̯αρόν), cf. Schwyzer: 274. See ▶μνίον.

μνάσιον [n.] name of an Egyptian waterplant, 'Cyperus esculentus' (Thphr.). ◁LW Eg.▷
•VAR Also μναύσιον.
•ETYM From Eg. *mnw*; see Hemmerdinger *Glotta* 46 (1968): 245.

μνίον [n.] 'seaweed' (Lyc., Nic., Agatharch., Str.), also μνιός = ἁπαλός 'soft' (Euph. 156 from *EM* and Hdn.). ◁?▷
•DER μνι-όεις (A. R.), -ώδης (Nic.), -αρός (Opp., *AP*) 'weak like moss'.
•ETYM Unexplained. See ▶μνόος.

μνόος, μνοῦς [m.] 'soft down' (on young birds) (Hp., Ar., *AP*). ◁?▷
•ETYM Rhyming word with χνόος, χνοῦς [m.] 'down, foam, crust'. On the other hand, cf. μνίον 'seaweed'. Is μνόος a cross from these two? See ▶μνίον.

μνῴα [f.] name of the serf population of Crete. ◁?▷
•VAR μνωΐα, μνοΐα.
•ETYM Polomé *Latomus* 13 (1954): 83 argues against the connection with Georg. *mona* 'servant, slavė' as a Caucasian-Pre-Greek correspondence (as per Hubschmid 1953b: 103, with Dumézil). See ▶δμώς.

μογέω [v.] 'to toil, be distressed, suffer' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR μεμογηώς [perf.ptc.] (Nic.).
•COMP Rarely with συν-, ἐν-. As a first member in μογοσ-τόκος epithet of Eileithyia (Il.) and Artemis (Theoc.), who where assist at child-birth; also of ὠδῖνες (Lyc.), of the Trojan horse (Tryph. Ep.), of ὥρα (Nonn.). Compound mg. uncertain, but not (as per Bechtel 1914) 'causing pain', taking μογοσ- as an acc. pl. < *μόγονς. In any case, μογο-τόκος was metrically impossible (Chantraine 1942: 95).
•DER μόγος [m.] 'toil, trouble, distress' (Δ 27, rare). From μόγος probably μογερός 'laborious, distressful' (trag.). Adverb μόγις 'with toil, barely' (Il.). Perhaps PN Μογέᾱ [m.] (Boeot.).
•ETYM μογέω may be a denominative from μόγος, but the scarcity of the substantive makes it more probable that an old intensive verb μογέω gave rise to μόγος as a back-formation.
There are no certain cognates. The Baltic adjective Lith. *smagùs* 'heavy, strong, powerful (of blows)', Latv. *smag(r)s* 'heavy' rather belongs to Lith. *smõgti*, 1sg. *smagiù* 'to scourge, beat, throw (something heavy)'. Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 70 (1992):

134f. proposes that the word belongs to **megh₂-* 'big', but this is semantically not immediately convincing.

A by-form with initial σμ- is found in σμογερόν· σκληρόν, ἐπίβουλον, μοχθηρόν 'harsh, treacherous, sorrowful' (H.), cf. also ►σμυγερός 'painful', etc. Beside σμογερόν and σμυγερός, Fur.: 140, 363 connects μόχθος, μοχλός, and judges the group (probably correctly so) to be Pre-Greek. See on ►μῶλος. See ►μόχθος, ►μοχλός, ►μόλις.

μόθος [m.] 'battle-din' (Il., Hes. *Sc.*, Nic.). ◄PG?►

•COMP μοθούρας· τὰς λαβὰς τῶν κωπῶν 'the grips of a handle' (H.), explained in Solmsen 1909: 56[2].

•DER μόθαξ, -ακος [m.] 'child of the Helotes or Perioikoi, who has received his education together with a Spartan' (Phylarch. Hist. [III[a]], Plu., Ael.); μόθων, -ωνος [m.] = μόθαξ (sch., *EM.*, H.), also 'impudent man' vel sim. (Ar. *Pl.* 279), parodically represented as a demon (beside Κόβαλοι etc., Ar. *Eq.* 635); name of a vulgar dance, practised by sailors (Ar., Poll.), also name of a melody on the flute that accompanies the dance (Trypho *apud* Ath. 14, 618c). μοθωνικός 'like the μόθωνες' (Ion *apud* Plu. *Per.* 5), μοθωνία· ἀλαζονεία τις τοῦ σώματος κινητική 'a boasting posture of the body that sets in motion' (*EM*).

•ETYM The great stylistic difference between epic μόθος and Dor. μόθαξ and μόθων is remarkable, but it is clear that Homer preserves the oldest meaning 'turmoil'.

No cognates outside Greek. Has been compared with CS *motati sę* 'agitari', Ru. *motát'* 'to throw to and fro, waste; to reel, wind up', or with Skt. *mánthati, mathnā́ti* 'to stir, shake', but Gr. θ as against Sl. *t* and Skt. *th* contradicts this (**-tH-* does not regularly yield Gr. -θ-); moreover, regarding the latter equation, a vocalic nasal does not vocalize to -o- in this position in any Greek dialect. Perhaps the word is Pre-Greek.

μοιμυάω

•ETYM See μυάω (s.v. ►μύω) and ►μύλλον.

μοιμύλλω

•ETYM See μύλλω s.v. ►μύλη.

μοῖος ⇒σμοιός.

μοῖρα [f.] 'part, share, lot'. ⇒μείρομαι.

μοῖτος [m.] 'χάρις, thanks, favour' (Sophr. 168). ◄LW Ital.?►

•ETYM As the word is Sicilian, perhaps it is a borrowing from OLat. (or Italic?) **moitos* 'exchange' (seen in Lat. *mūtāre* 'to change, exchange'; cf. *mūtuus* 'mutual', etc.); see WH s.v. *mūtō*. At any rate, unrelated to the group ►ἄμοιος, ►μοῖος, and ►σμοιός.

μοιχός [m.] 'adulterer' (IA), 'idolatrous person' (*Ep. Jac.* 4, 4), cf. μοιχαλίς, μοιχάω, -εύω. ◄IE? **h₃meigʰ-* 'urinate'►

•COMP Sometimes as a first member, e.g. μοιχ-άγρια [n.pl.] 'fine imposed on one taken in adultery' (θ 332), after ►ζωάγρια, Chantraine 1956a: 51[3] (cf. s.v.); also

κατάμοιχος = μοιχός (Vett. Val.), probably back-formation from καταμοιχεύω (pap.).

•DER A. Several feminine formations, mostly late: μοιχ-άς (Aeschin. Socr.), -αλίς (LXX, NT, Hld.), also 'idolatrous woman' (NT), -ή, -ίς (Ar. Byz.), -αινα (Tz.); older μοιχεύτρια (see below).

B. Adjectives: μοιχ-ίδιος 'begotten in adultery' (Hecat., Hdt., Hyp.), after κουρίδιος, see on ►κόρη; -ικός (Luc., Plu.), -ιος (*AP*), -ώδης (*Com. Adesp.*, Ptol.) 'adulterous'.

C. Abstract formation: μοιχοσύνη = μοιχεία (Man.).

D. Denominatives: 1. μοιχάω [v.] 'to seduce into adultery, be adulterous' (originally Doric: Gortyn -ίω), of a man (the Lacedaimonian Callicratidas in X. *HG* 1, 6, 15), -άομαι 'id.', of women and men (LXX, NT), 'to be idolatrous' (LXX), 'to bastardize' (Ael.), after Lat. *adulterāre*; 2. μοιχεύω = -άω, also pass. 'to be seduced' (Xenoph., Att.), med. -εύομαι 'to be adulterous' (Att. only of women, LXX also of men); 'to idolate' (LXX); μοιχεία 'adultery' (Att.), μοιχευ-τής = μοιχός (Man.), -τρια [f.] (Pl., Plu.); 3. μοιχ-αίνω (Vett. Val.); 4. -άζω (Anon. *apud* Suid.) 'id.'.

•ETYM Often analyzed as an agent noun of ►ὀμείχω 'to urinate', as a vulgar expression. Borrowed as Lat. *moechus*. The initial laryngeal (**h₃meiǵʰ-*) is usually assumed not to have vocalized before a resonant and an *o*-grade root (the Saussure Effect). Alternatively, it may be thought that the semantic connection of adultery with urinating is not specific enough, and that the etymology must be abandoned.

μόκρων [?] μόκρωνα· τὸν ὀξύν. Ἐρυθραῖοι 'sharp' (H.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Latte *Gnomon* 31 (1959): 32 corrects it to μόκωνα, after the Acarnanian name Μόκων; an adjective *μόκων would explain μοκκώνεις· περιφρονεῖς 'very thoughtful; arrogant' (ms. μοκκώνωσις). Fur.: 341, 372 identifies μόκρων with ἁμακρῶτις = ἀμπελόπρασον 'wild leek, Allium Ampeloprasum' (Ps-Dsc. 2, 150), but it remains unclear on which grounds.

μολγός [m.] 'bag made of cowhide' (Ar. *Eq.* 963, D. C.), Tarentinian acc. to Poll. 10, 187. ◅LW Thrac.▻

•DER μόλγινος 'made of ox-hide' (Theodorid. *apud* Poll. 10, 187); μόλγης, -ητος [m.] (like πένης, πλάνης, etc.) = μοχθηρός (Crates Gramm. *apud* sch. Ar. *Eq.* 959), in the same mg. also μολγός (Suid.).

•ETYM Differs from a Germanic word for 'bag, pouch' only in the velar and accent: OHG *malaha*, MHG *malhe* 'leather bag', ON *malr* 'bag' < IE **mólko-*. It has therefore been assumed that Gr. -γ- is due to borrowing, perhaps from Thracian (thus Pok. 747). Also, Go. *balgs* 'ballows, bag', Ir. *bolg* have been compared, in which case μολγός must have been phonetically influenced by ἀμέλγω.

Fur.: 126 assumes a pre-IE Wanderwort. Cf. Taillardat 1962: §§160 and 209, commenting on the meaning 'glutton, κίναιδος'; cf. also Taillardat *REGr.* 64 (1951): 10ff.

μολεῖν 'to go, come'. ⇒βλώσκω.

μολεύω [v.] 'to cut off and transplant the shoots of trees' (Lex. Att. *apud* Poll. 7, 146); μολούειν· ἐγκόπτειν τὰς παραφυάδας 'to engrave the offshoots' (H.). ◁IE? **melh$_3$-* 'come, appear', PG?▷

•ETYM Probably built on *μόλος or *μολεύς 'runner', from the root of μολεῖν 'to go, come'; see ►βλώσκω. The form μολούειν is explained as modelled on κολούειν. Perhaps, μόλουρος [m.] 'kind of snake', μολουρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'locust' (Nic.) should also be included here? It may be asked, however, whether the variation -ου-/-ευ- is not rather a Pre-Greek phenomenon. I do not believe in a variation μ/κ as in μολεύω/κολούω (Fur.: 388). See ►μόλουρος.

μόλις [adv.] 'hardly, barely' (trag., Att.). ◁?▷

•VAR = μόγις.

•ETYM No etymology. Earlier proposals (see Solmsen 1909: 169ff.) are problematic: connection with μῶλος 'fight', if from earlier 'trouble', is formally doubtful because of the root vocalism; that with μέλλω 'to be about to do, hesitate, etc.', semantically uncompelling. See ►μογέω.

μολοβρός [m.] scornful or ignominious qualification, referring to Odysseus, who has not yet been identified, by the goat-herd Melanthos and the beggar Iros (ρ 219, σ 26; after this Lyc. 775); also of the head (κεφαλή) of a plant in unknown mg. (Nic. *Th.* 662). ◁PG(V)▷

•DIAL Myc. *mo-ro-qo-ro* /molog^{w}ros/.

•DER μολόβρ-ιον [n.] 'the young of a swine' (Ael.), -ῖτης ὗς 'id.' (Hippon.). PN Μόλοβρος [m.] (Th. 4, 8, 9; Lacon.).

•ETYM Numerous doubtful proposals have been advanced. In antiquity: ἀπὸ τοῦ μολεῖν καὶ παραγίνεσθαι πρὸς βορὰν καὶ τροφῆν 'from going, and having recourse to food' (sch. Lyc. 775), which is clearly folk-etymology; and also recently: Neumann *KZ* 105 (1992): 75-80 derives it from *μολος, related to Skt. *mála-* [n.] 'dirt', and the root **g^{w}rh$_3$-* 'eat' in βιβρώσκω, assuming a meaning 'Dreckfresser'. Although this is clearly better than earlier proposals, it does not explain the second member -βρος, as **-g^{w}$_{\text{i}}$rHo-* would have given *-βαρο- (I do not accept the loss of laryngeals in compounds). Rather a Pre-Greek word; Fur.: 388 compares κολόβριον 'young of a swine' (Ar. Byz. *apud* Eust.).

μολόθουρος 'evergreen plant, asphodill, Asphodelus ramosus' or = ὀλόσχοινος, 'Scirpus holeschoenus' (Euph. 133, Nic. *Al.* 147). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

μόλουρος [?] unidentified snake (Nic. *Th.* 491). ◁?▷

•ETYM It has been assumed that a word for a locust is derived from this word: μολουρίς, -ίδος (Nic. *Th.* 416). Gow and Scholfield think that it is the snake μόλουρος, but Gil Fernández 1959: 52 translates 'locust'. Hesychius has μολοῦρις· αἰδοῖον 'private parts'· κολοβὴ λόγχη 'blunt spear(head)'· ἢ μόλις οὐρῶν 'urinating with difficulty' (folk-etymology), and μολουρίδες· βατραχίδες καὶ τῶν σταχύων τὰ γόνατα 'little frogs, the knees of the offspring' (?); Suid. has μολυρίς, μολυρίδες· μολυρίδας τὰς ἀκρίδας 'locusts' φασί. No etymology.

μολόχη [f.] 'mallow'. ⇒μαλάχη.

μολπή [f.] 'dance with song'. ⇒μέλπω.

μόλσον [n.]? · σελίνου καυλός καί ἄνθος 'stalk and flower of the celery' · οἱ δὲ τὴν ὑποφυάδα (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

μόλσος [m.] ὁ δημός. Αἰολεῖς 'fat (Aeol.)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Compared with μέλδω. See Hoffmann 1893: 241, who reads δημός for δῆμος.

μόλυβδος [m.] 'lead' (IA). ◁LW IE Anat.▷

•VAR μόλιβος (Λ 237, also Hell. prose), also μόλυβος (LXX), μόλιβδος (Plu.), βόλυβδος (Att. defix.), βόλιμος (Delph., Epid.), βόλιβος (Rhod. in περι-βολιβῶσαι).

•DIAL Myc. *mo-ri-wo-do.*

•COMP μολυβδο-χοέω 'melt lead, solder with lead' (Ar., inscr.).

•DER A. Substantives: μολύβδ-αινα [f.] 'weight of lead, plummet, ball of lead' (Ω 80, Hp., Arist.), 'a plant, Plumbago europaea' (Plin.), see Strömberg 1940: 26; like ἄκαινα, etc. (Schwyzer: 475, Chantraine 1933: 109); -ίς [f.] 'id.' (Att., Hell.); -ιον [n.] 'leaden weight' (Hp.), μολίβ-ιον [n.] 'leaden pipe' (Antyll. *apud* Orib.), -ίδιον (Hero); μολυβδ-ῖτις [f.] 'lead-sand' (Dsc., Plin.); -ωμα 'lead-work' (Moschio *apud* Ath.); μολυβᾶς, -ᾶτος [m.] 'lead-worker' (pap.).

B. Adjectives: μολύβδ-ινος (μολίβ-) 'leaden' (IA, Paul. Aeg.), -οῦς (μολιβ-, μολυβ-) 'id.' (Att., Hell.); -ώδης 'like lead' (Dsc., Gal.), -ικός 'leaden' (gloss.), μολυβρόν· τὸ μολυβοειδές 'like lead' (H.).

C. Verbs: μολυβδόομαι (μολιβ-) 'to be furnished with leaden weights, etc.' (Arist.) with -ωσις (gloss.); περι-βολιβῶσαι 'frame with lead' (Rhod.); μολυβδ-ιάω [v.] 'to have the color of lead' of the face, as a symptom of disease (*Com. Adesp.*).

Here also μολβίς· στάθμιόν τι ἑπταμναῖον (H.) with loss of internal ι or υ (Solmsen 1909: 60[2]).

•ETYM Because of its variants, the word is commonly considered to be an Anatolian loan. The form βολιμος would be due to metathesis and βολιβος due to assimilation. The forms μόλιβος and μόλυβδος are clearly the most archaic; apart from these, there is also Myc. /moliwdos/; and μολιβδος is now also found in Olbia about 500[a]. The Mycenaean form could easily be the oldest, assuming that *i* changed to *u* before *w(d)*.

A connection with Lat. *plumbum* cannot be substantiated. The Latin word is rather related to Celt. **pl(o)ud^{h}o-*, as I have shown in Beekes *MSS* 59 (1999): 7-14; the Germanic word **laud-* (E *lead*) was borrowed from Celtic. The Greek word cannot have come from the West (cf. also Basque *berún* 'lead'), as lead was much older in Greece.

The Greek word has now been compared with Lyd. *marivda-*, of which we now know that it meant 'dark' (as in E *murky*); its Hitt. equivalent is ^{d}*Markuu̯aia-* 'chtonic deities'. *marivda-* would be an IE word from the root **merg^{w}-*, **morg^{w}ii̯o-* giving **marwida-*, which may have become **marwda-* with syncope, which in turn

might have become **marwida-* by anaptyxis. For the semantics connecting 'lead' and 'dark', cf. Lat. *plumbum nigrum*. See Melchert 2004.

μολύνω [v.] 'to defile, pollute, stain' (Att.). ◂IE? **mel(h₂)-* 'dirt'▸
•VAR Mostly present stem; μολυνῶ, μολῦναι, -υνθῆναι, etc. (Hell.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, συν-.
•DER μόλ-υνσις, -υσμός 'defilement, pollution' (LXX, Str.), -υσμα 'stain' (late), -υμμα 'id.' (gloss.); μολυνίη· ἡ πυγή 'behind, rump' (H.), μόλυχνον· δυσταλέον (H.), leg. αὐσταλέον 'dried up'?; Latte gives δεισαλέον 'filthy' vel sim.
Perhaps also the Boeot. HN Μολόεις, if "the filthy one", from **μόλος*?
•ETYM Denominative in -ύνω from an unattested base form. Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 384 connects it with Lith. *mulvė* 'mud, mire' and the factitive verb *mulvinti* 'to cover with mire'. In order to combine the root vocalism with that of Lithuanian, he assumes **μαλύνω* (like Lith. *-ul-* from **-l̥-*), and assimilation **α > ο* before υ in the following syllable, but there are too many counterexamples to such a rule.
Numerous words for 'dark, dirty color' and 'dirt, defilement' are assembled under a root **mel(H)-*, but only Skt. *mála-* [n.] 'dirt, defilement' is of interest here, with a derivative *málavant-* 'dirty', which formally matches the hydronym Μολόεις. Both Greek μολύνω and Μολόεις may have been built on older **μόλος*, -ον 'dirt' (cf. αἰσχύνω, σκληρύνω, etc.), which corresponds with the Skt. word if we assume a pre-form **molH-o-*. Cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia*, s.v. *mála-*.
Alternatively, Fur.: 227 compares φολῦνει· μολύνει (H.), which could point to a Pre-Greek word. See ▸μέλας.

μόναπος [m.] Paeonic word for βόνασος, βόλινθος, 'aurochs' (Arist.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also μόναιπος (Arist.), μόνωψ, -ωπος (Ael.).
•ETYM Fur.: 207, etc. adduces μόναιπος (Arist. *Id. Mir.* 830a) and derives μόνωτος (Antig. *Mir.* 53 cod.) from **μοναϝτος < *μοναπτος*; both μόναιπος and **μοναπτος* may continue a Pre-Greek pre-form **monapʸ-*. Other variants could be βόλινθος and βόνασ(σ)ος, but details are unclear.

μονθυλεύω [v.] 'to stuff, fill, etc.' ◂PG?(V)▸
•ETYM If ὀνθυλεύω stands for *ϝονθ-*, it may show the characteristic Pre-Greek variation ϝ/μ (Fur.: 246). See ▸ὀνθυλεύω.

μόνιμος 'lasting, steadfast'. ⇒μένω.

μόνος [adj.] 'alone'. ◂IE? **men-* 'small', **mon-uo-* 'alone'▸
•VAR μοῦνος (epic Ion.), μῶνος (Theoc.).
•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. μόν-αρχος [m.] 'monarch' (μούν-), with -έω, -ία, etc. (Thgn., Pi., IA).
•DER 1. μονάς, μουνάς, -άδος as an adj. [f., m.] 'lonely' (trag., *AP*), subst. [f.] 'unity' (Pl.) with μοναδ-ιαῖος 'of uniform greatness' (Hero), -ικός 'consisting of unities, uniform, individual' (Arist.), -ιστί [adv.] 'in unities' (Nicom.), -ισμός [m.] 'formation of unity' (Dam.). 2. μοναχ-ῇ (Pl., X.), -ῶς (Arist.) 'only in one way', -οῦ (Pl., Thphr.) 'only in one place'; μοναχός [adj.] 'single' (Arist., Epicur.), also [m.] 'hermit, monk' (*AP*, Procop.), Lat. *monachus*, with μονάχ-ουσα [f.] (Jerusalem VI^{p}), -ικός [adj.]

'hermit-like, monkish' (Just., pap. VI^{p}); substantive μοναχισμός 'monastic life'; μοναχ-όω 'to get lonely' (Aq.). 3. μουνάξ [adv.] 'lonely, alone' (Od., Arat.), μοναξία 'lonelyness' (sch., Eust.) from *μοναξός like διξός, etc.; PN Μονάξιος (V^{p}). 4. μονιός, μούνιος 'living alone, wild' (Call., *AP*), μονίας [m.] 'lonely man' (Ael.). 5. μονία, -ίη 'lonelyness, celibacy' (Max.), μονότης [f.] 'unity' (Sm., Iamb.), 'singularity' (Alex. Aphr. *in Metaph.*). 6. μουνόθεν (Hdt. 1, 116; v.l. -οθέντα), μονά-δην (A. D., *EM*), μουνα-δόν (Opp.) 'lonely, alone'. 7. Verbs: μονόομαι (μουν-) [v.] 'to be left alone', -όω 'to leave alone' (Il.), with μόν-ωσις 'lonelyness' (Pl., Ph.), -ώτης [m.] = μονίας (Arist.), -ωτικός '(left) alone' (Ph.); μονάζω [v.] 'to stay alone, separate oneself' (LXX, Christ. authors, gramm.) with μονασμός 'lonely situation' (Eust.), μοναστήριον 'cell of a hermit, cloister' (Ph., pap.), μονάστρια [f.] 'nun' (Just.).

•ETYM PGr. *μόνϝος (whence Ion. μοῦνος, Att. μόνος) probably stands beside *μανϝός in μᾱνός, ►μανός 'thin, rare', albeit with a somewhat different meaning. The latter agrees with Arm. *manr*, gen. *manu* 'small, thin'. An element *-u̯o-* also appears in the synonym *οἶϝος (see ►οἶος), and also in ►ὅλος < **sol-uo-* 'whole'. Otherwise, *μόνϝος is isolated. A different formation may be found in Skt. *manāk* 'a little', Lith. *meñkas* 'scanty', ToB *meṅki* [n.] 'lack', etc., which contain a velar. Unrelated is Hitt. *maninku-* 'short, near'.

μόρα ⇒μείρομαι.

μοργιάς [f.] · γαστριμαργίας καὶ ἀκρατίας 'gluttony, being without command; incontinence' (H.). ◂PG?(V)▸

•ETYM It has been suggested that this is the Aeolic equivalent of *μαργίας. On the other hand, we may also be dealing with the Pre-Greek variation α/ο (*Pre-Greek*, sections 6.1 and 6.3). See ►μάργος.

μόργος [m.] 'twined basket of a chariot, in which straw and chaff was transported' (Poll. 7, 116, H.); acc. to H. also σκύτινον or βόειον τεῦχος 'leather ware'. ◂PG?▸

•DER μοργεύω [v.] 'to transport in a μόργος' (Poll. l.c.). Unclear μόργιον· μέτρον γῆς, ὅ ἐστι πλέθρον. καὶ εἶδος ἀμπέλου 'land measure, which equals a plethron; also a kind of vine' (H.). Chantraine reads μόρτιον and connects μορτή, without argumentation.

•ETYM The connection with ►ὀμόργνυμι or Ἀμοργός would presuppose the operation of the Saussure's Law (loss of initial or root-final laryngeal in an *o*-grade root). However, the connection is semantically uncompelling and speculative. As a technical term, probably Pre-Greek. See ►μάργος.

μορίαι [f.pl.] of ἐλαῖαι, probably to be corrected in μοριαί (Scheller 1951: 128 and 132[4]), name of holy olives in Athens (Ar., Lys., Arist.). Thence Ἀθηνᾶ Μορία and Ζεὺς Μόριος as protectors of olive culivation (S.). Cf. Nilsson 1941(1): 442. ◂?▸

•VAR Rarely sing.

•ETYM Probably from μόρος, μόριον 'lot, share' (see ►μείρομαι), as these trees formed the share due to the goddess in every plantation (Latte in *PW* 16: 302f.). Nilsson (l.c. fn. 4) refers to "den primitiven Rechtsbrauch, daß ein Baum dem gehört, der ihn gepflanzt hat, auf welchem Boden er auch wächst". Different

explanation by Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 281 (with Brandenstein): a Pre-Greek word for 'olive', whence several PNs in Asia Minor and Greece were derived, e.g. Μύρα (Lyc.), Μύραι (Thess.).

μορμύρος [m.] name of a sea-fish of the family of the breams (Sparidae), 'Pagellus mormyrus' (Arist., Archestr.); details in Thompson 1947 s.v. ◁PG?▷
•VAR With dissimilation μορμύλος (Dorio *apud* Ath., Opp.); also μύρμη (Epich. 62).
•ETYM According to Strömberg 1943: 76 "probably called after the sound, which arises from its quick movement in the water". The connection with μύρομαι, μύρω 'to flow, trickle' (Strömberg l.c.) is not convincing. Connection with μορμύρω is quite possible, if the fish meant here would properly be the 'bubble-blower'.
Borrowed as Lat. *murmillō* 'gladiator with Gaulish helm, on top of which was a fish'; see WH s.v.

μορμύρω [v.] 'to bubble up, foam', of water (Il., late prose). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Present stem only; also μυρμύρω (H.).
•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-.
•ETYM Onomatopoeic verb with intensive reduplication (Schwyzer: 647 and 258, Chantraine 1942: 376). Such formations are frequent: Lat. *murmurō, -āre* [v.] 'to murmur', Skt. *múrmura-* [m.] 'crackling fire', *-ā* [f.] name of a river, *marmara-* 'roaring', Lith. *murmėti, murm(l)énti* 'to grumble, murmur', Arm. *mrmr-am, -im* < **murmur-am, -im*) 'id.', etc. See ▶μύρομαι.

μορμώ, -οῦς [f.] 'bogey, spectre', also personified and as an interjection (Erinn. [?], Ar., X., Theoc., Luc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also -όνος, -όνα, etc. (Schwyzer: 479).
•DER μορμωτός 'frightful' (Lyc.); μορμ-ύσσομαι [v.] 'to frighten' (Call.), μορμύξαντες (Phryg. IV^{p}), also μορμύνει and μορμύρει· δεινοποιεῖ 'scares' (H.). Further the nouns μόρμορος and μύρμος· φόβος, μόρμη· χαλεπή, ἐκπληκτική (H.). PN Μόρμυθος (like Γοργώ : Γόργυθος, Leumann 1950: 155[129]); also the PN Μυρμιδόνες? Enlarged verbal form μορμολύττομαι = μορμύσσομαι (Ar., Pl., X., Ph.), μορμολυξάμενος (Gal.) with μορμολύκ-η, Dor. -α [f.] (Sophr. 9, Str.), -ειον (-εῖον) [n.] (Ar., Pl. u.a.) = μορμώ; also μορμορύζω 'id.' (Phot.).
•ETYM μορμώ has been compared with Lat. *formīdō* 'terror, fear, ghost' by assuming a dissimilation analogous to that supposed for μύρμηξ beside Lat. *formīca*. Further connections are uncertain; it is probably a reduplicated formation like Γοργώ (see γοργός), which was originally used as a terrorizing call, and perhaps cognate to μορμύρω. The by-forms Μομβρώ, Μομμώ (H.) clearly show the popular character of the word. Beside μορμώ, we find both μορμύσσομαι, -ύνει, -ύρει and μορμολύττομαι, -λύκη, -λύκειον, for which πομφόλυξ, πομφολύξαι (to πομφός) may be compared, though dissimilation from **μορμορύττομαι (Schwyzer: 258) is also imaginable (the nouns μορμολύκη, -ειον are backfomations).
A connection with Lat. *formīdō*, etc. does not seem obvious. To my mind, it is likely that the words are Pre-Greek, although there is no concrete proof of this. See Fur.: 364.

μορόεις [adj.] μορόεντα epithet of ἕρματα 'ear-pendants' (Ξ 183, σ 298). ◁GR▷
•VAR Only ntr.pl. -οεντα; a different word is μορόεις derived from μόρος 'fate (of death)', as in μορόεν ποτόν 'fatal drink' (Nic.).
•ETYM Acc. to H. and Eust. 976, 40 = μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου πεπονημένα 'what has been accomplished with much pain' (from μόρος 'share'; per H., also = πόνος 'labour, pain'); therefore in Q. S. 1, 152 also of τεύχη. Acc. to LSJ, it probably rather derives from μόρον 'mulberry', in the sense 'having the color or shape of mulberry'.

μόρον [n.] 'black mulberry, blackberry' (Epich., A., Hp.). ◁?▷
•DER μορέα, -έη [f.] 'mulberry tree, Morus nigra' (Nic., Gal.); μόρινος 'mulberry-colored' (pap.); on ►μορόεις s.v. Here also μορίδες· μάντεις 'seers' (H.), where the latter must be a mistake for μαντίαι vel sim., which Dsc. 4, 37 gives as the Dacian name of the mulberry (see ►βάτος).
•ETYM Gr. μόρον matches with Arm. *mor*, instr. *-iw* 'blackberry', whence *mor-i*, *mor-eni* 'berry-shrub'. Latin has *mōrum* 'mulberry', whence (as loans) Germanic words like OHG *mūr-bere*, *mōr-bere*, MHG *mūlber*. In spite of its long vowel, Lat. *mōrum* may be a loan from Greek; the same holds for Arm. *mor*. Thus, all forms mentioned may go back to Gr. μόρον. For the compounded form συκόμορον, see ►σῦκον. Pok. 749 gives μῶρον (H.), but I can only find μῶρα· συκάμινα, which Latte corrects to μόρα.

μόροξος [m.] 'kind of pipe-clay, used to bleach clothes' (Gal., Aët.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also μόροχθος (Dsc.).
•ETYM The variation ξ: χθ (like in Ἐρεχθεύς : Ερεχσῆς) is typical of Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 263 Anm. 3. The interchange θ/σ may reflect a phoneme **t̰ʱ* (*Pre-Greek*: section 5.5).

μόροττον [n.] ἐκ φλοιοῦ πλέγμα τι ᾧ ἔτυπτον ἀλλήλους τοῖς Δημητρίοις 'kind of wickerwork made of bark, with which people used to beat each other during the Demetria' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM See Nilsson 1906: 323[3]. Fur.: 341 connects Calabr. *marrotta*. A Pre-Greek word is probable (cf. DELG).

μόρρια [n.pl.] name of an oriental mineral ('Derbyshire spat' or a kind of agate); also a vessel made of it, "murra vessel" (Paus.). ◁LW Iran.▷
•VAR μούρρινα (Arr.); also μο(υ)ρρίνη [f.sg.] (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*).
•ETYM Probably of Iranian origin; cf. MoP *mori*, *muri* 'glass balls'; the Greek word was borrowed as Lat. *murra*, *vāsa murrina* (whence perhaps μούρρινα, -ίνη?). See also Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 337.

μόρσιμος [adj.] 'decided by fate, πεπρωμένος', of ἦμαρ = 'day of death', thence also of man (X 13): 'destined to die, mortal' (Il., also Hdt.). ◁IE **smer-* 'think of, remember, care'▷
•ETYM Related to ►μείρομαι, and traditionally derived from *μόρσις, supposed to be Aeolic for **smr̥-ti-* in the sense of μόρος, ►μοῖρα. This analysis is doubted by DELG s.v. μείρομαι, which prefers a derviation in -σιμος. The connection with the word for

'death' (Lat. *mors*, IE **mr-ti-*) or 'mortal' (►μορτός, ►βροτός) is rightly rejected by Frisk.

μορτός [adj.] = ἄνθρωπος, θνητός (H., Call. *Fr.* 271), rather μόρτος (Latte). ◄IE **mór-to-* 'mortal, man'►

•COMP μορτοβάτιν· ἀνθρωποβάτιν ναῦν (H.), mg. unclear; cf. μορτο-βάτη 'trodden by the dead' (LSJ). As a second member in Ἀγέ-, Κλεό-, Χαρί-μορτος (Lesbos, Syros, Lato), Bechtel 1921, 1: 123; Masson *RPh.* 89 (1963): 218ff. (more names in DELG).

•ETYM DELG correctly remarks that there is no reason to take the gloss as Aeolic, in view of the Doric names. Therefore, the vocalism points to original **mór-to-*, identical with Skt. *márta-* and Av. *marəta-* [m.] 'mortal, man'. See ►βροτός.

μόρτος · μέλας, φαιός 'black, grey' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Uncertain. DELG compares μορύσσω and refers to Pok. 734.

μορύσσω [v.] Only perf. ptc. μεμορυχμένος (v.l. -γ-) 'defiled, blackened' (ν 435, Nic., Q. S., Opp.), also 2sg. aor. opt. μορύξαις 'one should besmear' (Nic. *Al.* 144). ◄?►

•DER Compar. μορυχώτερον (used as an adverb) 'darker' (v.l. in Arist. *Metaph.* 987a 10), Μόρυχος epithet of Dionysus in Sicily (Sophr. 94), as his face was besmeared with yeast during the wine harvest; also name of a tragic poet (Ar.) with Μορυχία οἰκία (Pl. *Phdr.* 227b); see Praechter *Herm.* 42 (1907): 647.

•ETYM For Μόρυχος, cf. ἤσυχος, βόστρυχος, and other popular words in -χος (see Chantraine 1933: 402ff.); a back-formation from μορύσσω, with analogical -ύσσω, is possible.

Possible Greek cognates are mentioned under ►μόρφνος. Outside Greek, Slavic words for 'smear', etc. have been considered, e.g. Ru. *marátь*, *maráju* 'to smear, stain', etc. (but these have IE lengthened grade).

μορφή [f.] 'shape, form, beauty, grace' (θ 170 and λ 367), on the mg. cf. Treu 1955: 175f. ◄?►

•COMP Very often as a second member, e.g. πολύ-μορφος 'with many forms' (Hp., Arist.) with πολυμορφ-ία (Longin., Him.).

•DER Three denominatives: 1. μορφόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to assume a shape or form' (Thphr., Arat., LXX, NT, Plu.), also with μετα-, δια-, etc., whence (μετα-, δια-)μόρφωσις 'shaping, embodiment' (Thphr., Str., *Ep. Rom.*); μορφ-ώτρια [f.] 'she who shapes, represents' (E. *Tr.* 437), -ωτικός 'forming' (Gal., Procl.); also μόρφωμα 'form' (Epicur., Aq.), but in trag. (A., E.) as an enlargement of μορφή, cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.

2. μορφάζω [v.] 'to make gestures, behave' (X.) with -ασμός name of a dance (Ath., Poll.), 'to embellish' (Eust.); ἐπι-μορφάζω 'to pretend, simulate' (Ph.).

3. μορφύνει· καλλωπίζει, κοσμεῖ 'to adorn' (H.), after καλλύνω etc.; from ἄ-μορφος: ἀμορφύνειν· οὐ δεόντως πράττειν 'not proceeding as one should' (H., Antim. 72).

Two names: Μορφώ [f.] epithet of Aphrodite in Sparta (Paus., Lyc.), Μορφεύς [m.] son of Sleep (Or. *Met.* 11, 635), after the dream-images created by him. Adjective μορφήεις 'with beautiful shape' (Pi.).

•ETYM ἀμερφές· αἰσχρόν (H.) points to a noun *μέρφος [n.] beside μορφή. A verbal root *$merg^{wh}$- vel sim. that could be the basis of the verbal nouns *μέρφος and μορφή is unknown. Lith. *márgas* 'many-colored, beautiful' and *mirgėti* 'to flicker' (with zero grade), point to a root *$merg^{(w)}$- (Winter's Law) and therefore cannot be related.
Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that Lith. *mergà* 'girl' (which has no good etymology) makes a nice formal match, if from 'beautiful appearance'; we would have to assume a pre-form *$merg^{wh}$-h_2- in which Gr. introduced an *o*-grade. Lat. *fōrma* (the long *ō* is secondary, De Vaan 2008 s.v.) may be a loan from Greek via an intermediary (e.g. Etruscan), but perhaps it could be related to μορφή, assuming a relatively early metathesis *$merg^{wh}$- >> *$g^{wh}erm$- > *$g^{wh}orm$- > *form*-.

μόρφνος [adj.] epithet of αἰετός (Ω 316), also name of a kind of eagle (Hes. *Sc.* 134, Arist., Lyc.), 'vulture' acc. to Suid.; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v. ◂?▸
•VAR Accentuation after Hdn. Gr. 1, 173 (following Aristarchus); μορφνός is cited as well.
•ETYM Like the rhyming word ὀρφνός 'dark', μόρφνος is usually explained from a meaning 'dark-colored' vel sim. (thus already Hdn., Suid.). Similar words are μοριφόν· σκοτεινόν, μέλαν 'dark, black' (H.), μορύσσω, Μόρυχος, as well as ▸μόρον. Connection with μορφή cannot be proven.
Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 497ff. suggests an Aeolic form *μορβο-φν-ο-ς < IE *$mrg^{w}o$-$g^{wh}n$-*o*-, with a first member related to Skt. *mṛgá*- [m.] 'big bird', and influenced by the eagle name νηττοφόνος "killer of ducks" (Arist.); doubtful in view of the haplology that has to be assumed. See ▸μορφή.

μόσσυν, -ῡνος [m.] 'tower-like building of wood' (X., A. R., Call., D. H.), also of other wooden constructions (Lyc.). ◂LW?▸
•VAR -νοις [dat.pl.].
•DER Μοσσύν-οικοι [m.pl.] 'inhabitant of the μόσσυνες', name of a people south of the Black Sea (Hecat., Hdt., X., Arist.); μοσσυνικοί· ξύλινοι πίνακες μεγάλοι, ὥστε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλφιτα μάσσειν 'large wooden planks, for pressing barley groats in' (H.); also as an ethnicon in μοσσυνικὰ μαζονομεῖα (Ar. *Fr.* 417), cf. H.
•ETYM Stated to be a loan from Iranian (comparing Oss. (Digoron) *masug* 'turris'). However, acc. to Brust 2005: 464ff., this must be regarded as uncertain. Fur.: 340 follows a proposal by Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 112 that the word is a pre-IE substrate word.

μοσσύνειν ⇒μασάομαι.

μόσυλον [n.] kind of cinnamon (Dsc. 1, 14, cf. Gal. 14, 257). ◂?▸
•DER μοσυλῖτις a kind of cassia (ib.).
•ETYM Has been compared with the PN Μόσυλοι. Cf. Redard 1949: 67, 74.

μόσχος 1 [m.] 'offshoot of plants, slip' (A 105, Thphr.), 'stalk of a leaf' (Dsc.); 'young cow, heifer, calf' (also fem.), also of other young animals and of young men (Hdt., com., E., pap.). ◂IE *$mosǵ^{h}o$- 'young of an animal', *$mosg^{h}o$- 'young shoot'▸

•COMP As a first member almost only in the sense 'calf', e.g. μοσχο-τρόφος 'raising calves' (pap.), μοσχό-ταυρος [m.] 'bull as old as a μόσχος', i.e. 'bull-calf' (Al. *Le.* 4, 3); as a second member only in μονό-μοσχος 'with one stalk' (Dsc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive μοσχ-ίδιον 'small shoot' (Ar., Ael.), -ίον 'young calf' (Ephipp., Theoc.), -άριον 'id.' (LXX, pap.).

2. Substantives: μοσχ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'shoot, slip' (Pamphylian), after φυτάς etc. (Chantraine 1933: 353), also 'heifer' (gloss.); -ίας [m.] 'young of a animal' (Poll.), like νεανίας etc.; -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'calf-stable' (pap.); -ῆ [f.] 'hide of a calf' (Anaxandr.).

3. Adjectives: μόσχ-(ε)ιος 'of a calf' (E., X., Plb., *AP*); -ινος 'of calf-leather' (pap.), -ίναι· οἱ σκιρτητικοί 'the jumping ones' (H.). 4. Adverb: μοσχ-ηδόν 'like calves' (Nic.). 5. Verb: μοσχεύω [v.] 'to plant a shoot' (D., Thphr., D. H.), also 'to raise a calf' (Philostr.), with μοσχ-εία [f.] 'planting of shoots' (Ph. Byz.), -ευσις [f.] 'id.' (Gp.), -ευμα [n.] 'shoot, offspring' (Thphr., pap.), -ευματικός = *malleolaris* (gloss.).

Perhaps related is the EN Μόσχοι "youngsters", see Brandenstein 1954b: 82.

•ETYM The form μοσχίον seems to match Arm. *mozi*, gen. *-voy* 'calf' exactly. However, a number of objections may be raised against the reconstruction of a Graeco-Armenian isogloss (see Clackson 1994: 152-154). First, the Armenian word may have a number of different origins; it is not excluded that it is a borrowing from Greek, for example. Further, the meaning 'calf' is comparatively recent in Greek beside 'stalk, shoot of a plant', in which meaning μόσχος is traditionally compared with Lith. *mãzgas* 'bud of a tree'. Also, the semantic development 'heifer, young' > 'shoot' seems strange (though not without parallels: DELG compares E *to sucker*). Now, the Lithuanian word is mostly derived internally from *mègsti* 'to knit', so that a couple of options remain:

1) μόσχος 'calf' and Arm. *mozi* are a Graeco-Armenian isogloss **mosǵʰo-*, and Lith. is unrelated.

2) Greek and Lith. are related as **mosgʰo-*, and Arm. is a loan from Greek.

3) two etyma **mosǵʰo-* and **mosgʰo-* merged in Greek (improbable).

μόσχος 2 [m.] 'musk' (Aët., Alex. Trall.). ◁LW Iran.▷

•DER μοσχίτης = ὀσμύλος, name of a sea-octopus that emits a strong odor (sch. Opp. *H.* 1, 307).

•ETYM From MoP *mušk* 'id.', which is from Skt. *muṣká-* [m.] 'testicle', because of the shape of the gland; cf. μύσχον· τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον 'the male and female genitals' (H.). Late Lat. *muscus* 'id.' with *muscātus*, *-um* also belong here, possibly a borrowing from Greek. All other European forms came from Latin.

μότα [n.pl.] · Σαρδιᾶναι βάλανοι 'acorns' (Dsc. 1, 106). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Fur.: 304 compares μόστηνα κάρυα (a nut-bearing tree, Ath. 2, 52b); further, ἄμωτον = καστάνειον 'chestnut' (Ageloch. *apud* Ath. 2, 54d). So an interchange μο(σ)τ- ~ ά-μωτ- remains, which points to Pre-Greek origin.

μοτός [m.] 'lint pledget, lint, compress, tampon' (Hp., Dsc.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR τὰ μότα [pl.] (Call., H.), like μὴρός : μῆρα etc., gen. μοτᾶων (Q. S. 4, 212; verse-final); μοτὸς … κοῖλος 'drainage tube' (Hp.).

•COMP μοτο-φύλαξ [m.], -άκιον [n.] 'bandage to retain a compress' (medic.), ἔμ-μοτος 'provided or treated with μ.', also 'ulcerating' of wounds (medic. since Hp.), also metaph. (A. *Ch.* 471), cf. Bechtel 1921(3): 294f.
•DER Diminutive μοτάριον (Gal., *EM*), Lat. *motarium*; further μότ-ωμα [n.] 'lint dressing' (Hp., pap.), -ημα [n.] 'linen, oakum' (pap.). Denominative μοτόω [v.] 'to stop up, pack', also with δια-, ἐπι-, περι-, whence (δια-, περι-)μότω-σις 'packing' (medic., LXX), back-formation διάμοτον [n.] 'lint, tent' (Paul.Aeg.); besides ἐμ-μοτέω 'id.' (medic.).
•ETYM Technical medical expressions without etymology. Fur.: 182 compares μόδα· στρώματα 'anything soft for lying on: mattress, etc.'. If this is correct, the word is Pre-Greek.

μοττία ⇒μόχθος.

μοῦσα [f.] 'Muse', goddess of song and poetry (usually in plural), also metaph. 'song, music, poetry' (IA, Il.). ◁IE? **men(s)-$d^{h}h_{1}$-* whence **mond^{h}-ih$_{2}$*, PG?▷
•DIAL Aeol. μοῖσα, Dor. μῶσα, Lacon. μῶά (Ar.).
•COMP Many compounds, e.g. μουσ-ηγέτης, Aeol. μοισ-αγέτας [m.] 'who leads (the) Muses' = Apollo (Pi., Att.), ἄ-μουσος 'without Muses, uneducated, etc.' (IA), ἀμουσ-ία 'lack of education' (E., Pl.).
•DER A. Substantives: 1. μουσ-εῖον 'seat of the Muses, school for higher education, Museum' (Att.), Lat. *mūsēum*, *-īum*, also 'varicolored sculpture of stones, mosaic'; thence late Gr. μουσῖον 'id.' (WH s.v.). 2. Μουσα-ϊσταί [m.pl.] 'guild of worshippers of the Muses' (Rhod.), like Ἑρμαϊσταί etc. 3. μούσωνες· οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν μαγείρων, καὶ οἱ τεχνῖται 'the top cooks, i.e. the specialists' (H.), with Μουσώνιος, -ία (if not Etruscan; Solmsen 1909: 49). 4. μουσάριον name of an eye-salve (Alex. Trall.).
B. Adjectives: 1. μουσικός 'belonging to the Muses, musical, educated' with μουσική (τέχνη) 'music, poetry, mental education' (Pi., IA), -ικεύομαι [v.] 'to be a musician' (Duris, S. E., sch.). 2. μοισ-αῖος 'belonging to the Muses' (Pi.). 3. μούσ-ειος 'id.' (E., *AP*).
C. Verbs: 1. μουσόομαι 'to be led and educated by the Muses' (Ar., Phld., Plu.), -όω 'to endow with music' (Ph.), ἐκ- (E. *Ba.* 825), κατα- (Jul.), 'to ornate with mosaics' (Tralles), with μουσωτής 'mosaic-worker' (Syria VI^{p}); probably a back-formation to μουσῖον (see above). 2. μουσ-ίζομαι (E.), -ίσδω (Theoc.) 'to sing, play', with μουσικτάς· ψάλτης, τεχνίτης 'harper, artist' (H.). 3. μουσ-ιάζω 'id.' (Phld.).
•ETYM Although the precise original appellative meaning of μοῦσα is unknown, it is clear that the Muses are connected with poetry and singing. The word may analyzed either as **μόντ-ι̯α* or as **μόνθ-ι̯α*. It cannot be directly related to **men-* (μένος, μέμονα, etc.). The explanation from **μόντ-ι̯α* (as 'mountain woman, nymph') is impossible, as the root of Lat. *mont-* 'mountain' is not found in Greek (and is actually IE **men-*, LIV^{2} s.v. ?3. **men-*). More plausible is the comparison of μοῦσα < **μόνθ-ι̯α* with ►μενθήρη, ►μανθάνω. In this context, it may be remarked that the Muses are connected with memory and remembrance, which is indeed the meaning of the root IE **men-* (LIV^{2} s.v. 1. **men-*).

So far, all explanations have started from the assumption that the word is IE, while it could also be of Pre-Greek origin (continuing **mont^{n}-a*).

μόχθος [m.] 'exertion, difficulty, distress, misery' (Hes. *Sc.*, Pi., trag., mostly poet.). ◁PG▷

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. πολύ-μοχθος 'of much labour' (trag., Arist.), also as a technical expression (in construction) in πρόμοχθοι· τὰ προβεβλημένα τῶν τοίχων 'the projecting parts of the walls' (H., also Delos II[a]).

•DER 1. μοχθ-ηρός 'laborious, miserable, worthless, bad' with μοχθηρ-ία 'bad condition' (IA), -όομαι [v.] 'to be troublesome' (Aq.). 2. μοχθ-ήεις (Nic.), -ώδης (Vett. Val.) 'id.'.

Verbs: 1. μοχθ-έω 'to exert oneself, subsist with difficulty' (poet. since *K* 106), also with ἐκ-, etc., with μοχθήματα [pl.] 'exertions' (trag.); 2. μοχθ-ίζω 'id.' (poet. since B 273), a metrical variant of μοχθέω, see Chantraine 1942: 95, Shipp 1967: 95; 3. μοχθ-όω 'to tire' (Aq.).

•ETYM For the sequence -χθ-, we may compare ἄχθος, ὄχθος, βρόχθος etc. When compared with synonymous ►μόγος, ►μογέω, the words show a variation γ/χθ, which must be Pre-Greek. It is improbable that μόχθος contains an "expressive enlargement" -θ- (Frisk).

Fur.: 319f., 388 connects μοττίας· ᾧ στρέφουσι τῶν ῥυτήρων τὸν ἄξονα 'by which one turns the ἄξων of the reins' (H.) as Cretan for *μοκτίας.

μοχλός [m.] 'handle, lever, long or strong rod', often used to bar doors, 'crossbeam, -bar' (Od.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR μοκλός (Anacr. 88).

•DER Diminutive μοχλ-ίον (*Com. Adesp.*, Luc.), -ίσκος (Hp., Ar.), μοχλ-ικός 'regarding the lever' (Hp., Ph. *Bel.*).

Verbs: 1. μοχλεύω 'to (re)move with a lever' (Ion. poet., also late prose), also with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, whence μοχλ-εία 'removing with a lever, restoring with a lever' (Arist., medic.), -ευσις 'id.' (Hp.), -ευτής (Ar.), -ευτικός 'pertaining to leverage' (medic.); 2. μοχλέω 'id.' (*M* 259); 3. μοχλόω 'to shut with a bar' (Ar.).

•ETYM A pre-form *μογ-σλο-ς with the instrumental suffix has been assumed, as seen in Lat. *pālus* 'pole' < **pag-slo-* from **peh$_2$ĝ-* 'to fix'. The basis has been taken to be the stem seen in ►μόχθος and ►μογέω. The variation κ/χ, and (if correct) the comparison with μόχθος and μογέω, show that the word is Pre-Greek.

μῦ 1 [n.] the twelfth letter of the Greek alphabet (inscr. IV[a]). ◁LW Sem.▷

•ETYM Transformation of a Semitic name based on νῦ; cf. Hebr. *mēm*. Ion. has μῶ instead (Democr., Delos III[a]; Schulze *KZ* 42 (1909): 113), like νῶ based on ῥῶ. Cf. Schwyzer: 140.

μῦ 2 [interj.] μυμῦ imitation of a complaint (Ar. *Eq.* 10). ◁ONOM▷

•ETYM Cf. Schwentner 1924: 29 and 50f., and Lat. *mū facere*. See ►μύζω.

μύαξ, -ἄκος [m.] '(sea) mussel' or its shell (medic., Plin.); 'spoon' (medic.), from 'shell'. ◁PG?(S), GR?▷

•ETYM Formation like ἀσπάλαξ, μέμβραξ, ὕραξ, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 378f.). Probably derived from μῦς (which may also mean 'mussel'), like μυΐσκη, -ος 'id.'; cf. also Lat. *mūsculus* 'mussel', and see Strömberg 1943: 109. Connection with μύω 'to shut (oneself)' is not very probable. Although the suffix -αξ is typically Pre-Greek, it is quite possible that this suffix was added to the IE word **muHs* 'mouse'.

μυάω ⇒μύω.

μυγερός ⇒μυκαρίς.

μῡδάω [v.] 'to be humid, decay (due to moisture)' (Ion. poet., Plb.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•VAR Aor. μυδῆσαι (H.), perf. μεμύδηκα (Dsc.).
•COMP Also with περι-, δια-.
•DER μῡδ-αλέος 'soaked, dripping' (since Λ 54), δια- (A. [lyr.]), -αλόεις 'id.' (*AP*); μῦδος [m.] 'moisture, corruption' (Nic.) with μυδόεις = μυδαλέος (Nic.), μυδών, -ῶνος [m.] 'putrefaction of an ulcer' (Poll.). (δια-)μύδησις 'moisture, corruption' (medic.), μῡδαίνω [v.] 'to moisten, make wet' (A. R., Nic.), also with δια-. For ►μύδρος, which may be cognate, and ►μύζω 'suck', which was wrongly connected.
•ETYM It is doubtful whether μύδος was the basis of the Greek group, as it is late and rare (see below). A verb or a noun may have served as a basis for μυδαλέος, which is the earlier attestation (formation like ἰκμαλέος, άζαλέος, etc.); beside this adjective (probably with metrically lengthened ῡ), the verb μυδαίνω may have its long vowel by analogy (after αὐαλέος : αὐαίνω, etc., see Schulze 1892: 169ff.). μυδάω is ambiguous too: it can be denominative from μύδος, but it can also be understood as a deverbative formation (cf. Schwyzer: 719, also 682 on μαδάω), in which case μύδος would be a late back-formation.
Comparable words outside Greek do not clarify the situation: Lith. *máudyti* 'to bathe' (full grade iterative), may have secondary *d* and is probably related to Latv. *maût* 'to submerge, swim'; Lith. *mudrùs* 'lively' cannot be from IE **mud-*, as the expected reflex of Winter's Law is missing (so it must derive from **mud^h-*). Further Skt. *mudira-* [m.] 'cloud' (class.), also 'frog' and 'lover' (lex.), where all meanings probably derive from *múd-* [f.] 'lust, joy', *módate* 'to rejoice'. For the semantics, note Skt. *mádati* 'to rejoice', beside ►μαδάω. Further, MoDu. *mot* 'fine rain' and other Germanic words are compared.
Fur.: 249f., 259 connects μύσος and takes δ/σ to point to Pre-Greek origin. The variation of vocalic length may also point in the same direction.

μύδιον ⇒μῦς.

μύδος [adj.] ἄφωνος (H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR μύνδος (S. *Fr.* 1072, Lyc. 1375, Call. *Fr.* 260), in lower Italy 'with small ears' (Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 58f.).
•ETYM The connection with μύνδος (see also on ►μυκός) immediately presents itself, and it would point to a Pre-Greek word (prenasalization). Connection with Arm. *munǰ* 'dumb' may seem obvious, but is unclear in the end (Clackson 1994: 45 lists

munǰ < **mundi̯o-* as 'somewhat dubious'); it could well be a substrate word. Pok. 751 does not help.

μύδρος [m.] 'metal or iron mass roasted in fire, glowing stones (of a volcano)', etc. (Ion., A., S., Antiph., Arist.) on the mg. see Kagarow *Eos* 31 (1928): 195ff. ◁PG▷
•VAR σμύδρος· διάπυρος σίδηρος 'red-hot iron' (H.).
•COMP As a first member in μυδροκτυπέω 'to forge glowing iron' (A.), -κτύπος (E.).
•DER As a medical technical term, μυδρί-ασις (Ion. -ησις) [f.] 'broadening of the pupils' (Cels., Gal., Cael. Aur.), as if from **μυδρ-ιάω* "to glow like metal"; naming motive uncertain.
•ETYM If related to μυδάω, which is formally proximate (μύδρος : μυδαλεός; cf. Debrunner *IF* 23 (1908-1909): 5 and 9), μύδρος originally denoted the molten, flowing metal mass as opposed to the hard iron. However, the technical meaning rather suggests a Pre-Greek word. This is confirmed by the variant σμύδρος.

μυελός [m.] 'marrow' (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Epic ῡ with metrical lengthening. Late Greek has μυαλός, rejected by Phrynichos.
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ἀ-μύελος 'without marrow' (Arist.).
•DER μυελ-όεις 'full of marrow' (Od.), -ώδης 'like marrow' (Arist.), -ινος 'soft as marrow' (*AP*); μυελόομαι [v.] 'to be changed into marrow, consist of marrow' (LXX).
•ETYM For the formation, cf. πιμελή 'fat' with comparable meaning. Has been linked with μυών 'cluster of muscles' (see ►μῦς). Marrow and muscles, both being soft, stand in opposition to the bone. The old word for 'marrow', seen in Skt. *majján-*, OHG *mark*, etc. was replaced in Greek by μυελός, and in Latin by *medulla*.
The word has no further etymology. Chantraine 1933: 244 is probably right that the word is Pre-Greek. Fur.: 350 adduces μυαλός as a Pre-Greek variant, but this may be recent and is unreliable.

μυέω ⇒μύω.

μύζω 1 [v.] 'to suck' (Hp., X.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Aor. μυζῆσαι (Δ 218), pres. also μυζ-άω, -έω (Hero, late).
•COMP Also with ἐκ-, ἀπο-. As a first member in μύζ-ουρις 'fellatrix' (*Com. Adesp.*).
•DER (ἐκ-)μύζησις, ἐκ-μυζ-ηθμός, -ησμός 'sucking' (medic.), μυζητής [m.] 'caterpillar' (Sm.).
•ETYM Properly "to do μυ", because of the position of the lips when sucking, and basically identical with ►μύζω 2. The traditional connection with μυδάω is not obvious semantically. See for further details Tichy 1983: 103f., 143f.

μύζω 2 [v.] 'to mutter, moan' (Hp., A., Ar., Arist.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Aor. μύξαι (Men.), fut. μύξω (D. L.), perf. ptc. μεμυζότε (Antim.), after Hom. πεφυζότες.
•COMP Also with ἐπι- in ἐπέμυξαν (Δ 20), ἐπεμύξατο· ἐπεστέναξεν, ἐπεγόγγυσεν 'groaned, muttered' (H.).

•DER μυγμός [m.] 'moan, sigh' (A., Arist.), also 'production of the sound μ' (D. T.); further μυχμός 'id.' (ω 416).

•ETYM Properly "to say μῦ", an old onomatopoeic formation with several correspondences, like Lat. *mūgiō* 'to roar', Hitt. *mūgae-zi* 'to evoke, invoke, entreat', OHG *muckazzen* 'to speak slowly', etc. See Tichy 1983: 150. A connection with ►μύσσομαι may also be envisaged. See ►μυκάομαι, ►μῦθος.

μῦθος [m.] 'word, discourse, conversation, deliberation, story, saga, tale, myth' (Il.); on mg. and use see Fournier 1946: 15f. ◁PG?▷

•COMP μυθολόγος [m.] 'story-teller', whence -έω, -ία (Att.), -εύω 'to tell' (Od.), metr. for -έω; πολύ-μυθος 'rich in words (stories)' (Il., Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: μυθ-άριον (Str.), -ίδιον (Luc.), -ύδριον (Tz.). 2. Adjectives: μυθ-ικός 'belonging to the μ.' (Pl., Arist.), -ώδης 'fabulous' (Att.).

3. Verbs: a) μυθέο-μαι 'to tell' (Il.) with μυθη-τής 'story-teller' (Antig.), μυθητῆρες· στασιασταί 'leaders of a revolt' (H.), also μυθιῆται (like οἰκιῆ-ται, πολι-ῆται) = στασιασταί (Anacr. 16; cf. *Coll. Alex.* 248f.); also sing. with unclear mg. (Phoen. 1, 7); b) μυθεύω 'id.' (E., Arist.) with μύθευμα 'tale' (Arist., D. H.); c) μυθίζω 'id.' (Dor. in Ar. *Lys.*, Theocr., *AP*). On itself stands μύθα· φωνή. Κύπριοι 'voice (Cypr.)' (H.).

•ETYM Frisk thinks that μῦθος is originally a creation of popular and everyday language, drawn from an onomatopoeic element μῦ. DELG objects that there is no trace of sound-imitation, not even in the earliest texts. There are no comparanda; the word is quite possibly Pre-Greek.

μυῖα [f.] 'fly' (Il.). ◁IE **mus-ih₂*▷

•VAR Also μῦα.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. μυ(ι)ο-σόβη [f.] 'fan against flies, fly-flap' (Delos III[a], Men.), ►μύωψ 1 [m.] 'horse-fly; goad, spur', ►κυνάμυια [f.] 'dog-fly'.

•DER 1. μυΐτις, -ιδος [f.] = θλάσπι, 'Capsella bursa pastoris' (Ps.-Dsc.), also μυιό-πτερον (ibd.), as the partition of the fruit was compared to the wing of a fly (Strömberg 1940: 55). 2. μυϊκός 'pertaining to the fly' (gloss.), μυιώδης name of a god in Elis, who was also called μυί-αγρος "fly-catcher" (Plin.). 3. μυΐνδα παίζειν 'play the game μυῖα χαλκῆ' (Poll., H.).

•ETYM Formation with the suffix -ι̯α-, like νῆσσα, κίσσα, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 98). An old word for 'fly, mosquito' is found in several languages, but it was subject to all kinds of (tabooistic?) transformations. PGr. **mus-i̯a*, whence μυῖα, agrees best with Lith. *musià*, *musẽ* 'fly' and with the Slavic group of OCS *mъšica* 'mosquito'. Lat. *musca* 'fly' has a suffix *-k-*, and Arm. *mun* (gen. *mn-oy*) 'mosquito' a suffix *-n-*, if it derives from **mus-no-*. A basis without *-s-* is possible too, like in ON *mý* [n.] < PGm. **mū-i̯a-*. Forms with (secondarily developed?) velar are found as well: OHG *mucka* 'id.', Slavic words (with *ou*-diphthong) like Ru. *múxa* 'fly' < IE **mous-h₂-*, etc. Onomatopoeic origin (from the humming sound) is quite possible; see WH.

μῦκάομαι [v.] 'to low, bellow' (of cattle), metaph. 'to roar, crack' (almost only poet.). ◁IE **muH-* 'bellow'▷

•VAR Aor. μῦκεῖν (Il.), μῦκήσασθαι (Ar.), perf. μέμῦκα (Il.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, παρα- (κ 413). As a second member in ἐρί-μῡκος 'lowing loudly' (Hom.).
•DER Action nouns: μῡκ-ηθμός [m.] 'the bellowing' (Il.), Chantraine 1933: 137; -ημα 'id.' (E., Arist., Call.), -ησις 'id.' (Arist.); back-formation μυκή 'id.' (A. R.).
Agent nouns: μυκ-ητής, Dor. -ατάς 'the bellowing' (Theoc.), -ήτωρ 'id.' (Nonn.), -ητίαι σεισμοί (Arist.), "σείοντες τὴν γῆν μετὰ βρόμου" 'shaking the earth with a roar'; cf. on βρασματίας s.v. ► βράσσω; μυκάμων 'bellowing' (*Hymn. Is.*).
Adjective μυκητικός 'bellowing' (Corn., S. E.). Adverb μυκηδόν 'with bellowing' (unknown poet *POxy.* 864, 22).
•ETYM The pair μῦκεῖν : μέμῡκα agrees with κρᾰγεῖν : κέκρᾰγα, λακεῖν : λέληκα, etc. The present μυκάομαι, to which μυκήσασθαι is an innovation, was formed from this pair after intensive verbs like βέβρῡχα: βρῡχάομαι (Fraenkel 1912: 95f.[3]); on the middle diathesis, see Schwyzer 1950: 227.
The Greek verb has direct counterparts in Balto-Slavic and Germanic: Lith. *mū̃kti*, 1sg. *mūkiù* 'to bellow', Ru. *myčát'*, Ukr. *mŭkaty*, etc., MHG *mūhen* 'id.'. Lat. *mūgiō*, etc. have IE **g* (see on ► μύζω 2).

μυκαρίς [?] · νυκτερίς 'bat' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM The assumption of a taboo reshaping of νυκτερίς based on μυκτήρ, μύξα, μύκητες, etc. is unconvincing. Latte thinks the gloss is corrupt (see DELG), but this cannot be maintained as there is no argument. Fur.: 122 compares μυγερός = νυκτικόραξ 'long-eared owl' (Cyran. 29), so the word could be Pre-Greek.

μύκη [f.] · ἡ θήκη 'chest, box' (Suid.). ◅PG?, IE? **mu(H)k-n-*▻
•VAR Cf. μύκων· σωρός, θημών 'heap' (H.), and ἀμύκαρις· πλῆθος, ἄθροισμα 'mass, aggregate' (H.).
•ETYM The identification is by Fur.: 372. If the third gloss is correctly compared, the ἀ- is evidence for a Pre-Greek word. Pok. 752 compares ON *múgi* 'heap', OE *mūga* 'heap, mass', Bav. *Mauche* 'Auswuchs, Fussgeschwulst der Pferde'. See now Kroonen 2009: 116ff. on the possibility to reconstruct an IE *n*-stem for μύκων beside a Proto-Germanic paradigm nom. **mūhō*, gen. **mukkaz*.

μύκηρος [m.] 'almond, kind of nut' (Ath. 2, 52c and 53b, H.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Lacon. μούκηρος, acc. to Seleuc. and Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 2, 52c and 53c Laconian and Teian for ἀμυγδάλη; another by-form is ἀμιχθαλόεις; further forms given are ἄμυκτον· γλυκύ 'sweet'. οἱ δὲ ἄμικτον (H.), and ἀμυκλίς· γλυκύς, ἡδύς 'id.' (H.), see Fur.: 140.
•COMP μουκηρό-βατος (Ath. 2, 53b), -βας (H.) 'καρυοκατάκτης, nutcracker', probably for -βάγος = -ϝάγος to (ϝ)άγνυμι 'break'; cf. βάγος· κλάσμα 'fragment, morsel' … Λάκωνες (H.); details in Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 95f.
•ETYM The variants (prothetic ἀ-, υ/ι, κτ/ γδ/ χθ, etc.) show that the word is Pre-Greek.

μύκης, -ητος [m.] 'mushroom', also metaph., e.g. 'mushroom-like protuberance, any knob or rounded body, cab or cap at the end of a scabbard, snuff of a lamp-wick, membrum virile' (IA). ◅PG▻

•VAR Gen. also -ου (Ion. -εω), plur. -αι.
•DER μυκήτ-ινος 'made of mushrooms' (Luc.), μυκόομαι 'to become like a mushroom, become spongy' (medic.).
•ETYM Traditionally taken to be a formation in -η(τ)- from a noun possibly found in Lat. *mūcus* 'snivel, mucus of the nose'; for the development of meaning, cf. Sln. *glíva* 'agaric' beside Lith. *gleĩvės* 'slime'; for further details, see ►μύσσομαι. However, Fur.: 298 correctly remarks that the meanings of this word cannot all be explained by derivation from μύσσομαι 'to snuff, blow one's nose'. He assumes a basic meaning 'prominent, extremity', as μύκης may also mean 'stump of a felled olive tree' (inscr.). He connects the word with μύσκλοι· οἱ πυθμένες τῶν ξηρῶν σύκων 'stalks of dried-up fig trees' (H.), which implies that the word is Pre-Greek (interchange κ/σκ). On the suffix -ης, -ητος in Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 172[118].

μύκλος [adj.] 'lascivious, lewd' (Archil. 183 as a PN, Lyc. 771, H.), as epithet of the pack mule (Lyc. 816), also name of the ass itself? (*PTeb.* 409, 7, I[p]; written μοικ-, reading very uncertain). Acc. to H., μύκλοι or μύκλαι are 'black stripes at the neck and feet of the ass'; according to *EM* 594, 18 and sch. Lyc. 771, μύκλος is 'a fold on the ass's neck'. ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Cf. μύσκλοι (below).
•DER μυχλός, a Phocaean name of a stallion ass according to H., but also = σκολιός, ὀχευτής, λάγνης, μοιχός, ἀκρατής 'twisted, someone lewd, lecherous, adulterer, not in control'; cf. also μύσκλοι· σκολιοί (H.).
•ETYM μυχλός has been reduced to a pre-form *μυκσλός and identified with Lat. *mūlus* 'mule', if from **mukslo-*; a deviating formation is found in Alb. *mushk* 'mule' as well as in Slavic forms like ORu. *mъskъ* 'mule'.
As the breeding of mules originates from Pontic Asia Minor (cf. on ►ὄνος), Frisk remarks that we are probably dealing with a *Wanderwort*. I do not agree with this: the variants (notably κ/χ, σκ) are typical for Pre-Greek words (*Pre-Greek* section 5.5), and thus receive an easy explanation. Fur.: 299[25] thinks that μύκλος is a separate word.

μυκός [adj.] · ἄφωνος 'speechless' (H.), alphabetically in a wrong position. ◅PG?, ?▻
•VAR With dental stop: μυττός, μύτης, μύδος (H.), μύνδος (S. *Fr.* 1072, Lyc. 1375, Call. *Fr.* 260), in lower Italy 'with small ears' (Rohlfs *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 58f.), μυναρός (H.) 'id.'.
On itself sands μύρκος· ὁ καθόλου μὴ δυνάμενος λαλεῖν. Συρακούσιοι, ἐνεός, ἄφωνος 'who is unable to speak at all, dumb' (H.); μυρικᾶς· ἄφωνος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχων ὃ μέλλει πράττειν 'who keeps for himself what he is going to do' (H.), cf. von Blumenthal 1930: 42.
•ETYM Skt. *mū́ka-* 'dumb' has been compared. Perhaps from sound-imitating *mū*. For the dental formations, cf. Lat. *mūtus*. Arm. *munǰ* 'dumb' < **mun(d̑)i̯o-* (?) can be connected with μύνδος. Lat. *murcus* 'mutilated' (he who cuts off his thumbs, so as to avoid becoming a soldier) corresponds formally with μύρκος; it is rather a loan from Latin in Sicily than the other way around (see WH s.v.).

Does μυρικᾶς continue a Pre-Greek form *mur^{y}-k-? The other forms do not fit in easily; it is very unclear whether the words with μυ(ν)δ- belong here. The form μύνδος may be a prenasalized variant beside μύδος (and must therefore be retained *pace* Latte, whose note is unclear to me). It seems that μυναρός is a misreading for *μυνδρος.

μύκων [?] · σωρός, θημών (H.). ⇒μύκη.

μυλαικά [n.pl.] a kind of figs (Ath. 3, 78a). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Perhaps from a place called Μυλαι.

μυλάσασθαι [v.] · τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμῆξασθαι. Κύπριοι 'to wipe off the body or the head (Cypr.)' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Taken as a denominative from *μύλη or *μῦλον, and connected with a Slavic word for 'soap': Cz. *mýdlo*, Ru. *mýlo*, etc. These derive from a Slavic verb *myti* 'to wash' < *$m(i)uH$- with the instrument suffix *-$d^{h}lo$-, which is the Slavic equivalent of Gr. *-*tro*-. The connection is therefore highly improbable.

μύλη [f.] 'handmill, mill', '(the lower) millstone' (Od.), metaph. 'molar' (LXX), 'knee-cap, hard formation in a woman's womb' (Hp., Arist.). ◁IE *$melh_{1}$- 'grind'▷
•VAR Hell. and late also μύλος [m.] (LXX, NT, Str.), cf. Fraenkel 1912: 58.
•COMP μυλο-ειδής 'like a millstone' (H 270), μυλή-φατος 'ground by a mill' (β 355, A. R., Lyc.); χειρο-μύλη 'quern' (X.), also -μυλος (*Edict. Diocl.*), -μυλον (Cass. Fel.), cf. on βούτυρον; diminutive -μύλιον (Dsc., pap.).
•DER A. Substantives: 1. μύλαξ, -ακος [m.] 'millstone, big rounded stone' (*M*161, *AP*, Opp.), cf. λίθαξ etc. (Chantraine 1933: 379). 2. Hence, with a suffix -ρ-, μύλακρος [m.] 'millstone' (Alcm.), plur. = γομφίοι ὀδόντες 'molars' (H.); -ακρίς, -ίδος [f.] as an attribute of λᾶας 'millstone' (Alex. Aet.), substantively 'cockroach', also (influenced by ἀκρίς) 'locust' (Ar. *Fr.* 583, Poll.); also -αβρίς 'id.' (Pl. Com., Poll.), perhaps after ἁβρός, ἄβρα; -ηθρίς 'id.' (Poll.). 3. μυλών, -ῶνος [m.] 'millhouse, mill' (Att.) with -ωνικός 'miller' (pap.), diminutive -ώνιον (gloss.). 4. μυλωθρός [m.] 'miller' (Att., Arist.); cf. Chantraine 1933: 373 on the rather unclear formation; hence -ωθρίς [f.] 'milleress' name of a comedy of Euboulos; -ωθρικός 'belonging to a miller' (Plu.), -ωθρέω 'to grind' (Men.); back-formation -ωθρον = μυλών (Phot.)? Also -ωθριαῖοι epithet of καλυπτῆρες (perhaps = 'roof-tiles', Delos II^{a}, reading uncertain); also μυλωρός 'miller' (Aesop., Poll.), after πυλωρός, etc. 5. diminutive μυλάριον 'small handmill' (pap.). 6. μυλεύς [m.] epithet of Zeus as keeper of mills (Lyc.). 7. μυλίας [m.] (λίθος) 'millstone, stone from which millstones were made' (Pl., Arist., Str.), see Chantraine 1933: 96. 8. μυλίτης [m.] (λίθος, ὁδούς) 'millstone, molar' (Gal.). 9. Μυλόεις· ποταμὸς Ἀρκαδίας 'a river in Arcadia' (H.), but cf. the HN Μολόεις, usually connected with Skt. *mála*- 'dirt', s.v. ▸μολύνω.
B. Adjectives, all rare and late: 1. μύλ-ιος 'belonging to a mill' (Procop.); 2. μυλ-ικός 'id.' (*Ev. Luc.*, Gal.); 3. -ινος 'consisting of millstones' (Smyrna); 4. -αῖος 'working in a mill' (*AP*), -αῖον [n.] 'handmill' (pap.); 5. -ιαῖοι ὀδόντες 'molars' (medic.); 6. -όεις 'consisting of a millstone, belonging to a mill' (Nic., Nonn.); 7. -ητικὴ ἔμπλαστρος 'remedy for toothache' (Gal.).

C. Verbs, all rare: 1. μυλιάω only in μῡλιόωντες [ptc.] 'gnashing with the teeth' (Hes. *Op.* 530), on -ιάω Schwyzer: 732; 2. μυλόομαι 'to be hardened, cicatrized' (Hp.). On itself stands μύλλω = βινέω (Theoc. 4,58) with μυλ(λ)άς [f.] 'whore' (Phot., Suid.), μυλλός [m.] 'cake in the form of the pudenda muliebria' (Ath. 14, 647a; Sicilian).

•ETYM The primary verbal noun μύλη, secondary μύλος (perhaps after λίθος or ὄνος ἀλέτης), and the primary *yod*-present μύλλω are consistent in their *u*-vocalism, which is now explained by Vine 1999b: 565 as a raising **oli̯* > *uli̯*, comparing φύλλον beside Lat. *folium*, and a few more examples. The υ then spread from μύλλω to μύλη before the former lost its agricultural meaning.

The *yod*-present is seen in OHG *muljan*, ON *mylia* 'to crush', from a zero grade which also appears in W *malu* 'to grind' and Arm. *malem* 'to crush'. Further verbal forms are OIr. *melim* [1sg.], OCS *mljǫ* [1sg.] from **melH-*, Go. *malan*, Lith. *malù* [1sg.] from an *o*-grade, like Hitt. *malla-^{i}* / *mall-* < **molH-ei*; Lat. *molō* is probably from **melō* like OIr. *melim*.

The technical meaning 'grind' may have evolved as a specialization from 'rub' or 'crush'. As a verbal noun μύλη looks archaic in Greek, while μύλλω, which developed an obscene meaning, was replaced by ►ἀλέω, which was also inherited, but limited to the eastern languages. ►μάλευρον stands by itself. Remarkable is the *e*-vowel of Myc. *me-re-u-ro* 'meal' and *me-re-ti-ri-ja* 'female grinders', which seems to point to a root **melh$_1$-* instead of the usual reconstruction **melh$_2$-*.

μύλλον [n.] 'lip' (Poll. 2, 90). ◄ONOM?►

•DER Verbs μυλλ-αίνω, -ίζω (Phot., Suid.), μυλλάω in μεμύλληκε· διέστραπται, συνέστραπται 'distort the mouth, make mouths' (H.). With intensive reduplication μοιμύλλειν· θηλάζειν, ἐσθίειν 'to suck, eat'. καὶ τὰ χείλη προσάπτειν ἀλλήλοις 'attach the lips to each other' (H., Hippon., *Com. Adesp.*), cf. μοιμυάω s.v. ►μύω.

Adjective, probably a back-formation: μυλλός (cod. -ύ-) = καμπύλος, σκολιός, κυλλός, στρεβλός 'bent, curved, crippled, twisted' (H.), also Eust. 906, 54 'swivel-eyed'.

•ETYM Frisk compares a Germanic group with a single consonant: OHG *mūla* [f.], MHG *mūl* [n.] 'mouth, jaws', and further Skt. *mū́la* [n.] 'root', but acc. to Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v., Dravidian origin cannot be excluded for the latter. It does not seem that μῦθος is connected, nor that the gemination is expressive. Perhaps an onomatopoeia.

μύλλος [m.] name of a Pontic fish, also found in the Danube (Ar. *Fr.* 414, Ephipp., Gal., Ael.). ◄?►

•VAR μύλος (Opp.).

•ETYM As there is no further specification of the fish (see Thompson 1947 s.v.), all explanations are up in the air. Therefore, the connection with the group of μέλας, under the assumption that we are dealing with the mullet (Strömberg 1943: 22; see also WH s.v. *mulleus*), is a pure hypothesis. Borrowed as Lat. *mullus*.

μύλλω ⇒μύλη.

μῦμα [n.] 'meat, cut up and mixed with blood, cheese, honey, vinegar and tasty herbs' (Com. *apud* Ath. 14, 662 d). ◄?►

•ETYM Unexplained. See ►μυττωτός.

μῦμαρ ⇒ἀμύμων.

μυναρός, μύνδος ⇒μυκός.

μύνη [f.] 'pretext, πρόφασις' (φ 111). ◄?►
•DER Aeol. μύναμαι in μυνάμενος [ptc.] (Alc. *Z* 69), mg. uncertain: 'to pretend'?, 'to divert'?
•ETYM The former connection with ἀμύνω, ἀμεύσασθαι is impossible because the prothetic vowel developed from a laryngeal, provided that the latter words are IE. μύνη might be a back-formation from μύναμαι (Hamm 1957: 143[352]).

μυννάκια [n.pl.] 'kind of shoes' (Poll. 7, 89, Ath. 351a). ◄GR►
•ETYM Reported (by Poll.) to have been named after their inventor.

μύξα 1 [f.] 'slime'. ⇒μύσσομαι.

μύξα 2 [f.] 'kind of plum-tree'. ◄PG►
•ETYM Fur.: 129[52] (also 393) compares μυσκλον 'id.' (Orib. *Syn.* 6, 43).

μύραινα [f.] 'kind of eel, moray' (Sophr., A., Ar.). ◄PG(S,V)►
•VAR Epich. -ῡ-; σμῡραινα (Pl. Com., Mnesim., Arist.).
•DER μῦρος (Dorio *apud* Ath. 7, 312f), σμῦρος (Arist.) [m.] 'kind of sea-eel'; cf. e.g. λύκαινα : λύκος; extensive treatment in Thompson 1947 s.vv.
•ETYM Connected with σμύρις 'emery powder', etc. by Wood *AmJPh.* 49 (1928): 172, and with words for 'grease, fat', e.g. OHG *smero* < IE **smer(u)*- (Pok. 970f.), which would fit the eel as a fat creature.
However, this does not explain the Greek ῡ. Names of fishes are often Pre-Greek. The suffix -αινα is well-known in such words (Fur.: 171[117]), as is the prothetic σ-. Therefore, it is a clear Pre-Greek word.

μυρίκη [f.] 'tamarisk' (Il.). ◄PG?(S)►
•VAR Originally ῐ; ī from metrical lengthening, see Solmsen 1901: 14f.
•DER μυρῖκ-ινος 'of the tamarisk' (Z 39, pap.), -ίνεος 'id.' (*AP*), -ώδης 'tamarisk-like' (Thphr.); Μυρικαῖος epithet of Apollo in Lesbos (sch. Nic. *Th.* 613).
•ETYM Ending in -ίκη (like ἐλίκη, ἁδίκη), μυρίκη is a loan of unclear origin, probably Pre-Greek word. In favor of Semitic origin is Lewy 1895: 44: connection to Hebr. *mārar* 'to be bitter' because of the bitter bark (cf. μυρίκη· δυσώδης H., related to Aram. *mōrīqā* 'crocus'?); cf. also ►μύρρα?

μῡρίος [adj.] 'countless, immense', usually plur. (Il., poet.). ◄?►
•VAR μύριοι [pl.] 'ten thousand' (Hes. *Op.* 252).
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μυριό-καρπος 'with countless fruits' (S.), -φόρος (ναῦς) 'freighter carrying 10,000 measures' (Th.); also μυριόντ-αρχος 'commander of 10,000 men' (A., after ἑκατόντ-αρχος).
•DER μυριάς, -άδος [f.] 'the number 10,000, myriad' (IA); μυρι-οστός 'ten thousandth' (Att.), after ἑκατοστός, εἰκοστός; -αστός 'id.' (Hell.), after μυριάς; -οστύς [f.] = μυριάς (X.); μυρι-άκις 'ten thousand times' (Att.), also -οντάκις 'id.' (H.

as an explanation of μυριάκις; after ἑκατοντάκις); μυριονταδ-ικός 'of the number ten thousand' (Theo Sm.), from *μυριοντάς after ἑκατοντάς.

•ETYM No etymology.

μύρμηξ, -ηκος [m.] 'ant', metaph. 'submarine rock' (IA, Lyc.), also as a proper name (Hdt.), also 'gauntlet with metal studs' (Poll.). For the mg. cf. μυρμηκία 'ant-hill; throng of people'. ◁IE **morui-* 'ant'▷

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) μύρμᾶξ, -ᾶκος. Also μύρμος (Lyc.), βύρμαξ, βόρμαξ, ὄρμικας (H.).

•COMP Rare in compounds, e.g. μυρμηκο-λέων (LXX) and λεοντο-μύρμηξ (Hdn. Gr.), name of a fabulous animal. Cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 256.

•DER 1. μυρμηκ-ιά [f.] 'ant-hill' (Arist., Thphr.), 'crowd' (*Com. Adesp.*, H.), 'triller, arpeggio' (Pherecr.). 2. μυρμηκ-ία 'wart under the skin', or the irritation caused by it (Hp., Ph.), with μυρμηκιάω [v.] 'to be afflicted with warts' (LXX), whence -ίασις (medic.). 3. μυρμήκ-(ε)ιον [n.] name of an ant-like spider (Nic., Plin.). 4. μυρμηκίας λίθος 'stone with ant- or wart-like lumps on it' (Plin.), ~ χρυσός 'gold dug out by μύρμηκες' (Hld.). 5. μυρμηκῖτις (λίθος) 'id.' (Plin.). 6. μυρμηκ-ώδης 'ant-like' (Plu.), -ώεις 'full of warts' (Marc. Sid.), metrically lengthened from -όεις. 7. μυρμηκίζω as a medical expression 'to feel as though ants were running under the finger' i.e. 'to be quick and feeble' (of the pulse); 'to itch' (medic.). On itself stands μυρμηδών· ξυνοικία τῶν μυρμήκων, a transformation of μύρμηξ, and μυρμηδόνες· οἱ μύρμηκες ὑπὸ Δωριέων (H.), a derivation from μύρμος (see above) after τενθρηδών and other insect names; cf. also σφηκών and other names of habitation in -ών.

•ETYM The suffix is found in σκώληξ 'worm, maggot', σφήξ 'wasp', etc. Parallel forms with a velar suffix (probably genetically unrelated to μύρμηξ) are Lat. *formīca* 'ant' and Skt. *valmīka-* [m., n.] 'ant-hill'. The basic form was probably **morui-*. It is found in various forms, most of which underwent some deformation, perhaps of tabooistic origin. Influence of **u(o)rmo/i-* 'worm' may also be assumed.

IE **morui-* is directly continued in Av. *maoiri-*, OIr. *moirb*, ORu. *morovij*, etc.; IE **mour-*, **meur-* in e.g. ON *maurr-* [n.] < PGm. **maura-*, OSw. *myra* [f.] < PGm. **meuriōn-*. Other forms are Skt. *vamrá-* [m.] (cf. also *valmīka-* above) and βόρμαξ, βύρμαξ, where β- probably stands for ϝ-; in ὄρμικας, a ϝ- may have been lost. In Lat. *formīca*, the *f-* may go back to *m-* by dissimilation (cf. on μορμώ); it would then be close to μύρμηξ.

μύρομαι [v.] 'to shed tears, bewail' (Il.), later (Lyc., A. R.) also 'to flow' (of a river) and 'to drip' (of blood). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (3pl. ipf. μῦρον Hes. *Sc.* 132), except for aor. μύρασθαι (Mosch.).

•COMP Also with περι-, προσ-.

•ETYM If it originally refers to a murmuring sound, μύρομαι is onomatopoeic, and related to ▶μορμύρω. The connection with Lat. *muria* [f.] 'pickle', Lith. *mùrti*, 1sg. *mùrstu* 'to become wet', etc. is not preferable. Probably derived from the same root is the seond member of ἁλι-μυρήεις, -μυρής, an epic epithet of ποταμός, πέτρη, etc., although its proper meaning remains uncertain.

μύρον [n.] 'sweet-smelling oil, salve, perfume' (Archil., Lesb. lyr., IA). ◁?▷

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. μυρο-πώλης 'seller of salves' (Att.). μυρ-εψός [m.] 'preparer of unguents' (Critias, Arist.).

•DER 1. Substantives: diminutives μυρ-ίδιον (Ar.), -άφιον (Arr.); μυρίς [f.] 'salve box' (Poll.), cf. σπυρίς, also = μυρρίς (Thphr.), see ►μύρρα; μύρωμα [n.] = μύρον (Ar. *Ec.* 1117); μυρίνης οἶνος (Hell., com., Ael.), beside μυρρίνης (see ►μύρρα and ►μύρτος). 2. Adjectives: μυρ-ηρός 'belonging to μύρον' (A., Ar.), like ἐλαιηρός; -όεις 'full of salves, smelling like salves' (*AP*, Man.), -ώδης 'salve-like' (sch.). 3. Verbs: μυρίζω (IA), σμυρίζω (Archil.) 'to salve, perfume'; μυρόομαι 'to be salved or perfumed' (Ar. *Ec.* 1117 [v.l. μεμύρισμαι]).

•ETYM Evidently a culture word, μύρον may be a loan (thus Chantraine 1933: 16). Traditionally connected as IE (together with σμύρις 'emery') with a Germano-Celtic etymon for 'smear, fat': OHG *smero* 'smear', OIr. *smi(u)r* 'marrow' (perhaps also in Lat. *medulla* if < **(s)meru-lo-*). However, this comparison does not explain the Greek *-u-*. The isolated form σμυρίζω may rest on association with σμύρις, σμύρνα, but it may also be a variant.

►μύραινα is also a Pre-Greek word on account of the variants in σμ-, and probably unrelated. See also ►σμύρις, ►σμύρνα.

μύρρα [f.] 'myrrh, sweet-smelling wood of the myrrh-plant' (Sapph., Thphr.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•DER μυρρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'sweet cicely, Myrrhis odorata' (Dsc. 4, 115) beside μυρίς (Thphr. *CP* 6, 9, 3) from (or after?) μύρον (cf. below). μυρρίτης (-τις) [m., f.] name of a stone (Plin., "myrrhae colorem habet"), and of a wine (*Edict. Diocl.*); also μυρρίνης (scil. οἶνος; Hell. com.), if not from ►μύρτος or ►μύρον.

•ETYM From Semitic, cf. Aram. *mūrā*, Hebr. *mōr*, Arab. *murr* 'myrrh' (Lewy 1895: 42ff.); should ►μυρίκη also be included here? Borrowed as Lat. *murra*, *murrina*. According to Ath. 15, 688c, μύρρα stems from μύρον. μύρρα was replaced by unrelated σμύρνα, ►σμύρνη, which had the same meaning; this may in turn be a back-formation from Σμυρναία [adj.] (properly 'Smyrnaean'), which arose as an epithet of μύρρα. Further details in Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 272f.

μύρσος [adj.] · κόφινος ὦτα ἔχων 'basket with ears', ὅς καὶ ἄρριχος 'a kind of wicker basket' (H., Call. *Fr. anon.* 102). ◁PG?(V)▷

•ETYM Grošelj Živa Ant. 5 (1955): 112 compares Etr. *murś* 'urna'. Fur.: 65 accepts this, and further compares (213) βυρρός· κάνθαρος. Τυρρηνοί 'dung beetle'; metaph. 'drinking cup' (H.). Probably Pre-Greek.

μύρτος [f.] 'myrtle, twig or spray of myrtle' (Pi., Simon.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR μύρτον [n.] = μυρσίνη (Archil. acc. to *EM* 324, 14), 'myrtleberry' (Att.), 'pudenda muliebria' (Ar.); on the difference in gender see Schwyzer 1950: 30.

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. μυρτο-πώλης [m.] 'myrtle seller' (*Sammelb.* I[a]), ἱερό-μυρτος [f.] = μυρσίνη ἀγρία (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER 1. μύρσινος 'of myrtle' (Eub., Thphr.), Att. μύρρινος, also μύρτινος; μυρσίνη, Att. -ρρ- [f.] 'myrtle, -twig, -crown' (IA), μυρσινο-ειδής (*h. Merc.* 81), μυρσιν-ίτης (οἶνος) 'myrtle wine' (Dsc.), 'kind of stone' (Plin.), probably after the color, 'kind of

Euphorbia' (Dsc.), after the form of the leaves, acc. to Strömberg 1940: 43; -ινος 'of myrtle' (Dsc., Aët.), Μυρριν-οῦς, -οῦντος [m.], -οῦττα [f.] names of Attic demes, with -ούσιοι [pl.] 'inhabitants of M.'; μυρσινᾶτον ἔλαιον 'myrtle oil' (medic.); also μυρτίνη [f.] 'kind of olive, kind of pear-tree' (Nic.). 2. μυρτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'myrtle-berry' (Hell.), also μυρτία· μυρσίνη, καὶ μυρτίς (H.), μυρτάς, -άδος [f.] 'kind of pear-tree', etc. (Nic., Gal.). 3. μυρτίδανον [n.] 'myrtle-like plant', etc. (Hp.), perhaps from μυρτίς, cf. ἐρευθέ-δανον 'madder', Strömberg 1940: 147f. 4. μυρταλίς· ἡ ὀξυμυρρίνη, ὡς Λάκωνες 'butcher's broom (Lacon.)' (H.), like συκ-αλίς etc. (Strömberg 1940: 78). 5. μυρτ-ίτης = μυρσιν-ίτης (Thphr., Nic.). 6. μυρτεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'murtetum' (gloss.), also μυρσεών 'id.' (gloss.). 7. μυρτωταί [f.pl.] 'vases decorated with myrtle-twigs?' (vase-inscr., *AmJArch* 31, 349f.; like μῆλωτή etc.). 8. μύρτων, -ωνος [m.] 'weakling, debauchee' vel sim. (Luc. *Lex.*). 9. μυρτίλωψ· ζῷόν τι 'an animal' (H.); formation like αἰγίλωψ etc. with a Pre-Greek suffix. TNs and PNs like Μύρτος, Μυρτῷος, Μύρσινος, Μύρσος, Μυρτίλος, Μυρσίλος, etc.; see Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 271.

•ETYM Because of the phonetic similarity and their semantic proximity, μύρτος, μύρρα, μυρίκη are usually considered to be mutually cognate Semitic loans without further argumentation, as first stated by Lewy 1895: 42ff. (see especially Heubeck op. cit. 282, with further hypotheses). However, the variation μυρτ-/μυρσ- points to Pre-Greek origin (see Fur. 259) and should not be explained by assuming all sorts of cross-influence. Semitic origin is also rejected by DELG. Heubeck (l.c.) takes the group as coming from Asia Minor, which does not exclude that it is Pre-Greek.

Lat. *murtus*, *-um*, as well as Arm. *murt*, MoP *mūrd*, were borrowed from μύρτος, -ον.

μῦς, μυός [m.] 'mouse, rat' (IA, etc.), metaph. of sea-animals: 'mussel, kind of whale', etc. (A. *Fr.* 34 [= 59 Mette]); details in Thompson 1947 s.v., on the naming motive see Strömberg 1943: 109f.; also 'muscle' (Hp., Arist.); cf. below. ◁IE **muHs* 'mouse'▷

•VAR μῦν [acc.sg.] analogical, see below.

•COMP μυ-γαλῆ (-έη) [f.] 'shrew-mouse' (Hdt., com., Arist.), μυο-θήρας [m.] 'mouse-catching snake' (Arist., sch.), ἄ-μυος 'without muscle' (Hp.), also μυσ-κέλενδρα [n.pl.] 'mouse dung' (Dsc., Moer., Poll., H.); for the second member cf. Lat. *mūs-cerda* 'id.', but unclear in detail.

•DER 1. Diminutive μυΐδιον (Arr., M. Ant.), also μύδιον 'small boat' (D. S.), 'small forceps' (medic.); μυΐσκη, -ος 'small sea-mussel' (Hell.). 2. On ▶μύαξ, -ακος [n.] 'sea mussel', see s.v. 3. μυών, -ῶνος [m.] 'cluster of muscles, muscle' (P 315 and 324, A. R., Theoc.). 4. μυωνία (rather -ιά) [f.] 'vulva', properly 'mouse hole', as a term of abuse for a lewd woman (Epicr. 9, 4), directly from μῦς like ἰωνιά from ἴον, etc.; more in Scheller 1951: 45f., 70f. 5. Adjectives μυώδης 'muscular' (D. S., Plu.), also 'mouse-like' (Plu.); μύειος 'of the mouse' (*An. Ox.*), μύϊνος 'with the color of a mouse' (*EM*, Phot.). 6. μυω-τός epithet of χιτών (Poll.), 'mouse-colored' or 'of mouse-skin'? also name for an arrowhead (Paul. Aeg.), also 'having muscles' (Clearch.); thence μυόομαι 'to be or become muscular' (medic.), trans. -όω.

•ETYM Old IE name of the mouse, retained in several language families: Lat. *mūs*, *mūr-is*, OHG *mūs*, Skt. *mū́ṣ-*, etc.; the acc. μῦν must therefore be secondary for *μῦα by influence of ὗν to ὗς, ὑός, etc.

The vocalic length was caused by a laryngeal, for which there are two indications: the accent of SCr. *miš̌*, and ToB *maścitse* 'mouse', with *mas-* < **mwas-* <**muHs-*. A variant with short vowel has been wrongly supposed in Skt. *muṣká-* [m.] 'testicle'; cf. ►μόσχος 2.

The metaphorical meaning 'muscle' (after the mouse-like movement of certain muscles under the skin) can be observed in other languages too: beside Greek, also in Germanic (OHG and OE 'muscle of the upper arm'), Lat. *mūsculus* 'small mouse, muscle', Arm. *mukn* 'mouse, muscle'. Derivation from the verb for 'steal' in Skt. *muṣ-* (pres. *muṣṇāti*, *móṣati*) is purely hypothetic. On several plant names containing the word for 'mouse', see Amigues *RPh.* 74 (2000): 273f.

μύσος [n.] 'pollution, defilement, horrible sight' (Emp., trag., Hp.). ◅?▻

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. χερομυσής 'polluting the hands' (A. *Ch.* 73) with verbal interpretation of the second member, μυσ-αχθής 'cumbered by μύσος, horrible' (Nic., *AP*).

•DER Adjectives: μυσαρός 'polluted, defiled, horrible' (Hdt., E., Ar.), -ερός (Man.), cf. μιαρός/-ερός; cf. μυσαρία (Sm.); also μυσά· μιαρά, μεμιασμένα, μυσαρά 'polluted' (H.). Verbs: 1. μυσάττομαι, -αχθῆναι, -άξασθαι 'to feel defiled, loathe, abhor' (Hp., E., X., Luc.), whence μύσαγμα = μύσος (A. *Supp.* 995) and expressive μυσάχνη [f.] 'prostitute' (Archil. 184), = μισητή, ἀκάθαρτος 'to be abhorred, unclean' (H.), μυσαχνόν· μεμολυσμένον 'stained' (H.), cf. βδελύττομαι : βδελυχρός. 2. μυσάζω = μυσάττομαι (Aq.). 3. μυσιάω 'to abhor, loathe' (Corn.), after verbs of disease in -ιάω. With velar enlargement (but perhaps a Pre-Greek variant) in μύσκος· μίασμα, κῆδος 'pollution, anxiety' (H.), cf. μίαχος s.v. ►μιαίνω.

•ETYM μύσος recalls μῖσος, but remains without certain etymology. A couple of isolated words meaning 'unclean' from Celtic, Germanic and Slavic are compared in Pok. 742: e.g., OIr. *mosach* < **mussāko-*, LG *mussig* 'dirty', Ru. *múslit'* 'to suck, beslaver'. The group has been compared with the root of μυδάω 'to be moist, decay' as **mud-s-o-*, but this remains hypothetical. The sparsely attested forms ►ἀμυσχρός, ►ἀμυχρός could be related if μύσος is Pre-Greek.

μύσσομαι [v.] 'to blow one's nose, snort' (Hp., Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 5); also act. 'to wipe off' (Pl., E., Arr., *AP*), metaph. 'to deceive' (Men., H.). ◅IE? **mug-*, **muk-* 'slime, glide', PG?(V)▻

•VAR Fut. μύξομαι.

•COMP Usually with ἀπο- 'id.' (Ar., X., Arist.), also with προ- 'to deceive sbd. for money' (Hp.), 'to snuff a lamp' (Ar. *V.* 249 v.l. for πρόβυσον), 'to extort money'.

•DER 1. μυκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.], often plur. 'nostril' (Ion., com., X.), also 'mocker' (Timo), as a back-formation from μυκτηρίζω, 'mockery' (Plu., Luc.); thence μυκτηρίζω (ἀπο- H.) 'to bleed at the nose' (Hp.), 'to be mocked' (Lys. *Fr.* 323, S., LXX), whence -ηρισμός 'mockery', -ηρίσματα [pl.] (H. as an explanation of ἀποσκώμματα), -ηριστής [m.] 'mocker' (Ath.). 2. μύξα, -ης [f.] 'slime, mucus', also 'nostril, snout,

spout of a lamp' (Hes. *Sc.* 267, Ion., Arist.), with several derivatives: diminutive μυξάριον (M. Ant.); μυξώδης 'slimy, full of slime' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); μυξ-ωτῆρες [pl.] (Hdt., Hp.), -ητῆρες (Gal.) 'nostrils' (cf. τροπωτήρ, κωπητήρ, etc.); μυξ-άζω, -άω 'to be slimy' (sch.); fishnames: μύξων, -ωνος [m.] 'kind of mullet' (Arist.), as a back-formation μύξος 'id.' (Ath.), cf. κόκκων : κόκκος, etc. (but see below on the derivation); μυξῖνος 'id.' (Hices. *apud* Ath.), like κορακῖνος, etc. 3. ἀπόμυξ-ις 'snuffling' (Plu.), -ία 'mucus' (*AB*, H.). On ►μύκης 'mushroom', see s.v.

•ETYM μύσσομαι is a *yod*-present; Latin has a nasal present *ē-mungō* 'to wipe the nose' (cf. σχίζω beside Lat. *scindō*). Frisk explains μύξα as follows: in the same way as κνίση and κνῖσα may go back to the *s*-stem supposed in Lat. *nīdor*, μύξα could go back to an *s*-stem perhaps continued in Lat. *mūcor* [m.] 'mold, moistness' (Solmsen 1909: 238f.). He then asserts that μύξων, μύξος can be derived directly from μύξα. For the sporadic forms with σμ- (σμύσσεται and σμυκτήρ H., σμύξων Arist. beside μύξων), Frisk adduces a Celtic parallel in Gael. *smùc*, *smug* 'mucus'. Further proposed cognates include MIr. *mocht* 'weak' < **muk-to-* (problematic, see Matasović 2008 s.v. **muxto-*), the Germanic group of ON *mjúkr*, and Latv. *mukls* 'marshy'.

To my mind, the forms μύξα, μύξος, μύξων (the above derivation of which seems doubtful) beside μυκ-, as well as the existence of variants with initial σ-, could also point to Pre-Greek origin. On μύσκος· μίασμα (H.), see ►μύσος. See ►μύζω 2, ►μυχθίζω.

μύσταξ, -ακος [m.] 'upper lip, moustache' (Stratt., Eub., Theoc., LXX), a Doric and Laconian word (cf. Arist. *Fr.* 539). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR μύττακες· μυκαί (cod. μύκαι). Σικελοί. Ἴωνες (leg. Λάκ-) πώγωνα 'beard' (H.). On βύσταξ see below.

•ETYM According to Ehrlich *KZ* 41 (1907): 288 and Güntert 1914: 128, a transformation of μάσταξ 'mouth' by influence of the rare ►βύσταξ 'moustache' (Antiph.), which has itself been explained as an innovation. Frisk assumes a cross of μάσταξ and μύλλον 'lip', which seems impobable. Both the variation μ-/β- and the variant μύττακες point to Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 218, 304.

μυστήριον ⇒μύω.

μυστῖλη [f.] 'piece of bread, scooped out as a spoon' (com. Ath., Aret., Poll.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER Diminutive μυστιλάριον (Poll.), denominative μυστιλάομαι [v.] 'to gulp out soup with a μυστίλη' (Ar.). Further μύστρον [n.] 'id.' (Nic. *Fr.* 68,8 = Ath. 3,126b), also -ος [m.] (Poll., Hero Mech.), also 'spoon, especially as a measure or dose' (medic., pap.), μυστρο-θήκη [f.] 'spoon-case' (pap.); diminutive μυστρίον (medic.).

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word because of its suffix -ῑλ-, which is frequent in these words. For the suffix of μυστῖλη, one may compare ζωμῖλη, στροβῖλη, μαρῖλη, πέδῑλον, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249). For an Indo-European etymology, one would have to assume a nominal basis, e.g. **μύστον, -ος, for which there is no further connection. The notation μιστύλ(λ)η, -άομαι is due to confusion with ►μιστύλλω.

μύστις [adv.] · ἅμα τῷ σκότει 'at the time of darkness' (H.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From μύω, with an adverbial suffix, see Janda *Sprache* 40 (1998): 21.

μυττός [?] · τὸ γυναικεῖον 'female genitals' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 218 compares βύττος· τὸ γυναικαῖον αἰδοῖον 'id.' (H.), which proves Pre-Greek origin. See ►μυκός.

μυττωτός [m.] 'dish, kind of paste', made of cheese, honey, garlic, etc. (Hippon., Anan., Hp., com., Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also -σσ- (Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 47), -σ- (Call. *fr.* 282).

•DER μυττωτεύω [v.] 'to change into a μ., to hash up' (Ar.), μυσσωτεύματα· ἀρτύματα 'condiments' (H.).

•ETYM For the realia, cf. on μῦμα. A formation in -ωτός, probably denominal (cf. Chantraine 1933: 305f., Schwyzer: 503). In view of the variation -ττ-/-σσ-/-σ-, the word is Pre-Greek.

μυχθίζω [v.] 'to blow the nose, sniff; to ridicule' (Theoc., Plb., *AP*). ◁PG?▷

•VAR ἀνα-μυχθίζομαι 'to sniff, sigh loudly' (A. *Pr.* 743); in H. also προμυχθίζει and ἐπεμύχθισαν, the latter as an explanation of ἐπέμυξαν.

•DER μυχθισμός [m.] 'snorting, mocking' (Hp., E., Aq.); μυχθώδης 'snorting' (Hp.), as if from *μύχθος (cf. below).

•ETYM An expressive present, related to ►μύσσομαι and ►μύζω 'to moan, sigh'. Frisk suggests that the starting point for the present μυχθίζω may have been the aorist μύξαι, μύξασθαι, perhaps via an intermediary *μύχθος (see above), or alternatively after βρόξαι : βρόχθος : βροχθίζω. The element μυχθ- could be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

μυχλός ⇒μύκλος.

μυχός [m.] 'the innermost place, interior, corner, hiding-place, storage room' (Il.); on the mg. in Homer see Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff. ◁PG?▷

•VAR μυχά [pl.] (Call. *Del.* 142). On μοχοι- see below.

•COMP ἑπτά-μυχος 'with seven hiding-places' (Call.).

•DER 1. μύχιος 'innermost' (poet. since Hes. *Op.* 523, late prose); several superlatives, all from μυχός: μυχοίτατος (φ 146), from the loc. -μυχοῖ in μοχοῖ· ἐντός. Ἱάφιοι 'inside' (H.); μυχαίτατος (Arist.); -τερος (Hdn. *Epim.*), after μεσαί-τατος, -τερος, etc.; μύχατος (A. R., Call.), after ἔσχατος, etc.; μυχέστατος (Phot.). 2. μύχ-αλος = -ατος (trag. anon. μύχαλα Τάρταρα; also E. *Hel.* 189 [lyr.]?), cf. μυχάλμη· βυθὸς θαλάσσης 'depth of the sea' (Phot.), cf. ἄλμη, and βύσσαλοι· βόθροι 'holes' (H.). 3. μυχώδης 'full of corners' (E.). 4. μυχάς [f.] = μυχός (*Lyr. Adesp. Oxy.* 15 II 4). 5. μυχόομαι [v.] 'to be hidden in a corner' (sch.).

On μύσχον· τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον 'male and female private parts' (H.), connected by Fick *KZ* 43 (1909-1910): 149 assuming *μύχ-σκον, see ►μόσχος 2.

•ETYM As a fourth series of stops (*k^h, etc.) is not assumed anymore, the genetic connection with Arm. *mxem* 'to immerse' (Frisk) is obsolete, but it was semantically doubtful anyway. The Gm. group of ON *smjúga* 'to slip in', MHG *smiegen* 'to nestle' may theoretically derive from IE *$smeug^h$-, like Greek, but the Gm. words may also go back to *$smeuk$, and correspond to OCS *smykati sę* 'to drag on, cooper', Lith.

smùkti 'to glide (away)', etc. Fur.: 364 thinks that μυχός is Pre-Greek, but without further arguments (see ►βυθός and Fur.: 254). One argument could be the gloss βύσσαλοι, if it really belongs here; another, the gloss μοχοῖ· ἐντός with a vocalic interchange.

μῡ́ω [v.] 'to close, be shut', of the eyes: 'to shut the eyes, abate', especially with κατα- (S. *Fr.* 774, Call., Nic.). ◅IE? **meus-*, **meuH-* 'shut'►

•VAR Aor. μῦσαι (Ω 637), late μῦσαι (*AP*), fut. μῡ́σω (Lyc. 988), perf. μέμῡκα (Ω 420).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-. As a first element in μύ-ωψ, thematically enlarged -ωπός "with closing eyes", i.e. 'near-sighted' (cf. Sommer 1948: 9[2]).

•DER 1. Adverb in -τί with privative α: ἀμυστί 'without closing (the lips), at one draught' (Hp., Pherecr.), whence ἄμυστις [f.] 'drinking at one draught' (Anacr., Epich., E.), whence ἀμυστίζω [v.] 'to empty the cup at one draught' (E., Plu.). 2. (σύμ-, κατά-)μύσις [f.] 'closing' (Hp., Thphr., Plu.). 3. μύστης [m.] 'sbd. initiated (in the Eleusinian mysteries)' (Heraclit., Ar., E.), probably from "who shuts his eyes", in opposition to the ἐπόπτης "the observer": he who has reached the highest degree; μύστις [f.] name of comedies of Antiph. and Philem., also in LXX; μυστικός 'belonging to the μύσται (mysteries), secret' (IA), μυστήριον, usually -ια [pl.] 'secret service' (IA), μυστηρ-ιώδης, -ικός, etc.

Beside μύω stands μυέω (mostly pass. μυέομαι) 'to be initiated', secondarily act. 'to initiate' (IA), aor. μυηθῆναι, μυῆσαι, fut. μυηθήσομαι, perf. μεμύημαι; rarely with ἐν-, συν-, προ-. The mg. probably developed from 'to have one's eyes closed' (cf. μύστης). Thence μύησις [f.] 'initiation' (Hell., inscr., Ph.).

On itself stands μυάω 'to shut the lips (the eyes?)' (only in Ar. *Lys.* 126 τί μοι μυᾶτε; explained with σκαρδαμύττετε by H.), also μοιμυάω (H., Phot.); perhaps constructed from the passage in Ar.; but cf. the reduplication in μοιμύλλω s.v. ►μύλλω.

•ETYM The present μύω can be explained either from **mus-ie/o-*, or from **muH-ie/o-*. The short vowel in the aor. μῦσαι, like that of φθάσαι, etc., may perhaps be explained from an older root aor. (Frisk suggests that μῦσαν Ω 637 stands for older *μῦν); μῦσαι can be secondary after μύω. The fut. μῡ́σω derives from the aorist. The innovative presents μυέομαι and μυέω may have arisen from non-presentic forms enlarged with η, like μυηθῆναι, μεμύημαι; cf. Schwyzer: 721. The perfect μέμῡκα recalls other intransitive perfects, like ἕστηκα, βέβηκα, etc., and could be a recent formation.

From other languages, Oettinger 1979: 161ff. connected Hitt. *munnae-^{zi}* 'to hide, conceal', which is followed by Bernabé and Rodríguez Somolinos *Glotta* 71 (1993): 121-129. μύω cannot belong to ►ἀμύνω, however, which requires a root **h$_2$meu-*. The connection with Pal. *muš-* 'to satiate oneself' as IE **meus-* 'to shut oneself' by Janda *Sprache* 40 (1998): 21 is semantically not very attractive. Finally, Fur.: 378 compares ►ἀμύω and considers the possibility of Pre-Greek origin.

So: either the root was **meus-*, in which case the perfect was innovated, or it was **meuH-*, when the aorist and nominal forms like μύστης are young.

μυωξός [m.] 'dormouse' (Opp. *K.* 2, 574). ◅PG?(S)►

•ETYM The proposal to derive μυωξός from a pre-form *μυ-ωκ-ι̯ος, a verbal governing compound of μύω 'to shut' and the IE root *h_3k^w- 'eye, sight', with a suffix -ι̯ο- and compositional lengthening, is untenable: it would have resulted in -σσ-, not in -ξ-. Unclear is μυωξία, glossed ὑβριστικὸς λόγος by H. and Suid.; according to Suid., it also means 'mouse-hole', ►μυωπία. If so, the first member may be μῦς, but it may also be folk etymology. The word is rather Pre-Greek, cf. ►μόροξος for the suffix.

μυωπία [f.] 1. 'mouse hole' (Arist., Ael.); 2. 'shortsightedness' (Aët.). ◄GR►
•ETYM In the first meaning, a compound of μῦς and ὀπή 'hole', with compositional lengthening and suffixal -ία; cf. Scheller 1951: 45f. In the second meaning, the word is derived from ►μύωψ 2 'shortsighted'.

μύωψ 1, -ωπος [m.] 'goad, spur; gadfly', also 'stimulus' (A., Pl., X., Arist.). ◄PG?(S)►
•DER μυωπίζω [v.] 'to spurn' (X., Plb.); μυωπίζομαι [v.] 'to be stung by gadflies' (X., J.).
•ETYM Boisacq's proposal *μυί-ωψ "with the aspect of a fly, fly-like" is called doubtful by DELG. The suggestion of a special use of μύωψ 2 (Gil Fernández 1959: 81-4) is not convincing either. For the suffix -ωψ in insect names, cf. κώνωψ 'gnat, crane fly' and Sommer 1948: 9². Since κώνωψ is probably a Pre-Greek word, the same may hold for μύωψ as well.

μύωψ 2, -ωπος [adj.] 'shortsighted' (Arist.). ◄GR►
•DER μυωπία 'shortsightedness', -ωπίας [m.] 'shortsighted man' (Poll., Paul. Aeg.), -ωπίασις = -ωπία (Gal.), after the words for diseases in -ίασις, as if from *-ωπιάω; μυωπάζω [v.] 'to be shortsighted' (2 *Ep. Pet.* 1, 9). Also thematic μυωπός 'id.' (X. *Cyn.*).
•ETYM Properly "with eyes getting shut", from μύω and ὤψ. See ►μύωψ 1, ►μύω.

μω [?] Name of a letter. ⇒μῦ 1.

μωκάομαι [v.] 'to mock, ridicule, insult' (LXX, Epicur., Agatharch.). ◄PG(V)►
•COMP Sporadically with prefix, like δια-, κατα-.
•DER μωκός [m.] 'mocker, insulting' (Arist., LXX), μωκία 'mockery', μῶκος [m.] 'insult' (Anon. *apud* Ath., Simp.), μωκάζω (Suid.), -εύω (Zonar.) 'to insult'; μώκημα (LXX), δια-, κατα-μώκησις (Plb., Ath.) 'mockery'.
•ETYM Formally (cf. βρωμάομαι, πωτάομαι, etc.), it is obvious to take μωκάομαι as an intensive deverbative; the rare forms μωκός and μῶκος must then be back-formations. One might also compare intensives like μηκάομαι and μυκάομαι, but further details are obscure. According to an anonymous spokesman (*Stud. itfilcl.* N.S. 1, 93), the word was originally used for a camel (κάμηλος μωκᾶται), an indication which could point to onomatopoeic origin. Fur.: 133 compares μώχεται· φθονεῖ (H.) with a different velar, and concludes to a Pre-Greek word. See ►μῶμος.

μῶλος [m.] 'battle, turmoil of battle' (Il., σ 233, Hes. *Sc.* 257; after these Archil. 3). ◄IE? *meh_3- 'get tired'►

•COMP As a second member in εὔμωλος· ἀγαθὸς πολεμιστής, εὔοπλος 'good fighter, well-armed' (H.), Εὐμωλίων (Sparta); further in the following words from Gortyn, which semantically belong together: ἀντίμωλος 'ἀντίδικος, opponent in court', ἀντιμωλία· δίκη εἰς ἣν οἱ ἀντίδικοι παραγίνονται 'trial in which the adversaries are present' (H. s.v. μωλεῖ), ἀμφίμωλος 'about which a trial is held, disputable', ἀμωλεί 'without trial', uncertain ἀγχεμω[λία], perhaps = ἀγχιστεία?

•DER Denominative verb μωλέω [v.] 'to go to court, litigate' (Gortyn), also with ἀμφι-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-; μωλεῖ· μάχεται 'battles', μωλήσεται· μαχήσεται, πικρανθήσεται 'will be embittered' (H.). Here probably also Μώλεια [n.pl.], name of an Arcadian festival (sch. A. R. 1, 164).

•ETYM Connection with Lat. *mōlēs* 'heavy mass, effort, etc.' (Frisk) is by no means certain: the original meaning would then be 'effort, labor' vel sim. (cf. μῶλος Ἄρηος), whence 'fight' (cf. πόνος), and thence, with transition to the juridical sphere, 'lawsuit' (cf. διώκειν, φεύγειν; see Trümpy 1950: 16off., Ruijgh 1957: 95f.).

A better solution seems to separate a suffix *-l-*, and connect a group of Germanic and Slavic words: OHG *muoan* 'to cumber, bother' (G *müde*), Ru. 1sg. *máju* 'to exhaust, tease', Lith. *pri-si-muol-ėti* 'to get tired'. See LIV² s.v. **meh₃-*. See ►μόλις, ►μῶλυς.

μῶλυ [n.] name of an unknown plant (κ 305, *Com. adesp.* 641), identified in various ways by later authors (Plin., Dsc., Ps.-Dsc., Poet. *de herb.*). According to Thphr. (*HP* 9, 15, 7) it is an Arcadian name for a kind of garlic 'Allium nigrum'; also μῶλυς ῥίζα (Lyc. 679). See Ferrari *RILomb.* 88 (1995): 12ff. ◁PG?(V)▷

•ETYM A foreign word, which may be compared with ►μώλυζα. This has a non-Greek suffix (cf. κόνυζα, ὄρυζα), which means that our word is probably Pre-Greek, too. For the *u*-stem, cf. μίσυ, βράθυ, σῶρυ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 119). All proposed IE etymologies (see Frisk) have to be rejected.

μώλυζα [f.] name of a kind of garlic (Hp.). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Related to μῶλυ with the same ending as in κόνυζα, ὄρυζα, ῥίζα, etc. See also André *RPh.* 84 (1958): 235. As the ending can hardly be explained in Indo-European terms, it must be Pre-Greek. It could represent /-dʸa/ or /-tʸa/.

μῶλυς, -υος [adj.] '(mentally) enervated; dull, feeble, weak' (S. *Fr.* 963. Nic., Demetr. Lac.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also μῶλυξ· ἀπαίδευτος 'lacking education, stupid' (H.), cod. -δ-, cf. von Blumenthal 1930: 42f.; μώλυκα· τὸν ἀπαίδευτον. Ζακύνθιοι (H.); μωλυρόν· νωθρόν, βραδύ 'sluggish, slow' (H.).

•DER μωλύω [v.] 'to boil imperfectly, scald, simmer', med. 'to become powerless, fade away', especially of wounds: 'to fail to come to a head' (Hp., Arist.), also -ύνω, -ύνομαι; aor. pass. μωλυ(ν)θῆναι, perf. med. μεμώλυσμαι, rarely with ἀπο-, κατα-, δια; μωλύεται· γηράσκει 'becomes old', μεμωλυσμένη· παρειμένη 'slack, weakened' (H.). Verbal nouns μώλυσις (-υνσις) [f.] 'scalding, simmering' (Arist., Thphr.), opposite of ἕψησις; -υτὴς ἐπέων mg. uncertain (Timo).

•ETYM For μωλύω (whence μωλύνω), compare κωλύω. The much rarer μῶλυς could be a back-formation. With velar: μῶλυξ like κόρυξ· νεανίσκος 'boy' (H.), see κόρη;

μωλυρός like ἐχυρός, καπυρός, etc., if not dissimilated from -υλός. Because of the unclear meaning and formation, μῶλυς is etymologically hard to assess.
Connection with μέλεος does not explain the long vowel -ω-. Comparison with μῶλος is mentioned by Pok. 746. Petersson 1923: 18 relates μωλύω to μολούω (see μολεύω), like κωλύω to κολούω. As Frisk remarks, everything remains hypothetical. The suffix -υκ- looks Pre-Greek.

μῶλαξ [?] a Lydian name for wine (H.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•ETYM Fur.: 219 compares βωληνή = ἄμπελος, a kind of vine in Bithynia (Gp. 5, 17, 5). If correct, the word seems Pre-Greek in view of the interchange.

μώλωψ, -ωπος [m.] 'stripe, wale, weal, bruise' (Hyp., Arist., LXX, medic.). ◁PG(S)▷
•DER μωλωπ-ικός 'stripy' (Gal.), -ίζω [v.] 'to make stripes, wallop, bash' (Aq. , Plu.).
•ETYM The analysis as a compound containing -ωψ 'eye, sight, etc.' is wrong. Words like these contain a suffix -ωψ (see e.g. ►κώνωψ) and are certainly of Pre-Greek origin. Any relation with **mel-* 'black' (μέλας, μολύνω) is out of the question.

μῶμαι [v.] 'to strive, try, desire' (poet.). ◁?▷
•VAR 3sg. μῶται (Epich.), 3pl. μῶνται (Euph. [III[a]]), opt. μῷτο (Stob.); perhaps also El. μαῖτο, see Fraenkel 1910: 45, Bechtel 1921, 2: 854; inf. μῶσθαι (Thgn.), ptc. μώμενος (A., S.), aor. ἐμώσατο· εὗρεν, ἐτεχνάσατο, ἐζήτησεν 'invented, contrived, investigated' (H.).
•DER μῶσις [f.] 'searching' (Corn.).
•ETYM It cannot be established whether the primary verb μῶμαι is an athematic formation or a *yod*-present (cf. Schwyzer: 675[8]). There is little support for the supposition of Bechtel 1914 s.v. μαιμάω, that μῶμαι derives from a lost perfect. The hapax ἐμώσατο is an innovation from μῶμαι. Connection with the reduplicated verb ►μαιμάω and the ambiguous ►μαίομαι is possible. Prellwitz *BB* 26 (1901): 309ff. connected the Gm. group of Go. *mops* 'courage, fury', followed by Pok 704f.

μῶμος [m.] 'blame, reproach, blemish' (poet. β 86, late prose), 'stain of a sacrificial animal' (LXX). ◁?▷
•VAR μῶμαρ [n.] (Lyc.).
•COMP ἄ-μωμος 'without blame' (Ion. poet.), μωμο-σκόπος 'who inspects the sacrificial animal for a blemish', together with -σκοπέομαι, -έω (Ph.).
•DER μώμ-ιμος 'with blame' (Stoic.); cf. νόμιμος, etc. Denominative verbs: 1. μωμάομαι 'to blame, abuse, defame' (Ion. poet. since Il.), Ion. -έομαι, rarely with ἐπι-, δια-; thence μώμημα (LXX, v.l.), -ησις (sch.) 'blame', -ητής [m.] 'censurer' (Hp.), -ητικός 'censorious' (Hell.), -ηλός 'blameful' (Hld.). 2. μωμεύω [v.] 'id.' (ζ 274, Hes. *Op.* 756), in order to avoid contracted forms, cf. λωβάομαι next to λωβεύω (see ►λώβη). 3. μωμαίνω [v.] 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*).
•ETYM Beside μῶμος stand μῦμαρ· αἶσχος, φόβος, ψόγος 'shame, fear, blame' and μυμαρίζει· γελοιάζει 'jests' (H.); the old connection with ἀμύμων 'noble, royal, vel sim.' as a privative formation from *μῦμα is rather doubtful. Ablaut ω (from **ōu*) : υ is hardly possible, in spite of examples like ζωμός : ζύμη. The word remains isolated, but cf. μωκάομαι, μῶκος for the meaning.

μῶνυξ, -υχος [adj.] 'with one hoof', mostly plur., of horses, as opposed to the split hooves of cattle and sheep (Hom., Hdt., Arist.). ◂IE **sm̥-h₃nog^{wh}-*▸

•VAR On the stem formation, see Sommer 1948: 96ff.

•ETYM The ancients derived it from *μονϝ(ο)-ονυξ, with syllable dissimilation and compositional lengthening, an opinion defended in modern times by Runes *Glotta* 19 (1930/1931): 286f. However, Saussure 1922: 266 derived it from *σμ-ῶνυξ with an old zero grade of IE **sem-* (see ►εἷς 'one'). Under this hypothesis, μῶνυξ must be an extremely archaic form, which Frisk did not consider very likely. However, the reconstructed form must be **sm̥-h₃nug^{h}-* > μω-νυχ-, as was shown by the present author (Beekes *Orbis* 20 (1971): 138-142).

μωρός 1 [adj.] 'stupid, obtuse, foolish' (IA). ◂?▸

•VAR Att. μῶρος (accent probably taken from the vocative; see Schwyzer: 380 and 383).

•COMP Compounds, mostly late: e.g. μωρο-λόγος 'who speaks stupidities', whence μωρο-λογία, -λογέω, -λόγημα (Arist.), ὑπό-μωρος 'a little stupid' (Luc.).

•DER μωρία [f.] 'stupidity' (IA), , Ion. -ίη; μωρίαι· ἵπποι καὶ βοῦς ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων 'horses and cows (Arc.)' (H.), μωρίας [m.sg.], like e.g. ἐρυθρίας, and with a semantic development like in MoGr. άλογο = ἵππος; Μωρίων (Arc. Gramm.). Denominatives: 1. μωραίνω [v.] 'to be stupid, foolish' (A., E., X., Arist.), 'to play the fool, make foolish', pass. 'to become insipid' (LXX, NT), whence μώραν-σις = μωρία (sch.). 2. μωρόομαι [v.] 'to become insipid' (Hp.). 3. μωρεύω = μωραίνω (LXX). 4. μωρίζω 'to be stupid' (Gal.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Usually connected with Skt. *mūrá-* 'foolish', with ablaut *ō(u)* : *ū*, but this ablaut is now not accepted anymore, cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. With words of this meaning, we must reckon with deviations and crosses, which makes comparative work rather difficult. Lat. *mōrus* 'mad, silly' was borrowed from Greek (see WH s.v.).

μωρός 2 [adj.] · ὀξύ, μάταιον, ἀμβλύ 'sharp, in vain, blunt; dull' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM On the gloss ὀξύ, see Leumann 1950: 272[18].

μώχεται ⇒ μωκάομαι.

N

ν- variant form of the privative prefix, in ν-ηλ(ε)ής, ν-ήνεμος, ν-ωδός, etc. ◂IE **n-* 'un-'▸

•ETYM In Beekes 1969: 98-113, it was shown that forms in νη-, να-, νω- arose from the IE negating prefix **n-* combined with a following sequence **HC-* (for **H* = $*h_1$, $*h_2$, $*h_3$, respectively). This vocalized as **n̥-HC-*. See ►ά-.

νάβλα [f.] name of a Phoenician lyre with 10 or 12 strings (Soph. *Fr.* 849 [uncertain conj.], LXX). ◂LW Sem.▸

•VAR -ας [m.] (com., Str.), also ναῦλα [f.] (Aq., Sm.), -ον [n.] (H.).

•DER ναβλίζω = ψάλλω (gloss.) with ναβλιστής [m.] 'νάβλα-player' (Euph.), also ναβλιστο-κτυπεύς 'id.' (Man. 4, 185) for *ναβλο-κτύπος (through cross and with formal enlargement -ευς), ναβλίστρια [f.] (Maced.).

•ETYM Like the instrument, the name was probably also Phoenician; cf. Hebr. *nēbel* name of a harp. More in Lewy 1895: 161. Borrowed as Lat. *nablium*, *nablum*, see WH s.v.

Originally, the word seems to have meant 'vase'. See Masson 1967: 67-69 and Heurgon 1966: 518-522. Etruscan has *naplan*, designating a cup.

νάερρα [f.] · δέσποινα 'mistress' (H.). ◂GR▸

•ETYM An Aeolic form, probably for να<ét>ερρα; cf. ναίτειρα (leg. ναέτ-?)· οἰκοδέσποινα (H.), see Hoffmann 1893: 241.

ναί [pcl.] affirmative pcl. 'really, yes' (Il.); ναὶ δή, ναὶ μήν, ναὶ μά Δία, νὴ Δία, etc. ◂IE? **(h₁e)no-* 'that one'▸

•VAR Also νή (esp. Att.), νεί (Boeot., also Arc.).

•DER ναίχι (S., Pl.), with -χι like in οὐχί, μηχί; ναιδαμῶς (*Com. Adesp.*) after οὐδαμῶς, μηδαμῶς.

•ETYM Greek νή corresponds with Lat. *nē* 'really'; ναί could have a formal counterpart in ToB *nai* 'indeed, surely'. For νή : νεί : ναί, cf. ἢ : εἰ : αἰ 'if'; ►δαί is analogical beside δή. The word is usually connected with the demonstrative IE **(h₁e-)no-* 'he there'; see ►ἐκεῖνος and WH s.v. *enim*.

ναϊάς [f.] 'Naiade' •VAR ναΐς, Ion. νηϊάς, νηΐς. ⇒νάω.

ναικισσορεύοντας · ἐπίτηδες διασύροντας καὶ ἐξευτελίζοντας 'they who willingly "tear to pieces", that is to say, disparage' · τινὲς δέ φασι ναικισσήρεις λέγεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμφαίνοντος ὁμολογεῖν καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντος 'others say that ν. is called he who

makes it appear that he agrees, even if he does not agree' (Pherecr. 222), ἐπὶ τῶν κατεψευσμένων ἡ λέξις 'the way of speaking of those who speak falsely' (H.). Cf. Photius s.v. ◁?▷

•ETYM It has been attempted to recognize ναίχι (= ναί) in the beginning.

ναίω [v.] 'to live, inhabit', occasionally 'to be situated' (in this mg. also med. εὖ ναιόμενος), aor. trans. 'to settle, give as a home', intr. 'to settle' (Il.). ◁IE? **nes-* 'escape, return home', PG?▷

•VAR Aor. νάσσαι, -σασθαι, -θῆναι, late forms ναιήσαντο, perf. νένασμαι, fut. νάσσομαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἀπο-, συν-, περι-, παρα-.

•DER Enlarged ναιετάω 'to live, inhabit', also with περι-, μετα-, παρα-; also 'to be situated', especially in εὖ ναιετάων 'well situated, livable' (Il.); cf. Chantraine 1942: 358. From the present stem (probably in part a back-formation from ναιετάω): περι-, μετα-ναίεται [m.pl.] 'who live around, together with' (Ω 488, A. R. 4, 470, Hes. *Th.* 401), άλι-ναίεται 'who live in the sea' (B. 16, 97); ἐν-ναέται 'inhabitants' (Isyll., A. R.), -έτις [f.] (A. R.). Simplex ναέτης, Dor. -τας 'inhabitant' (poet. since Simon.), ναιέτις [f.] (Call.); secondary (ἐν-)ναετήρ [m.] 'id.' (*AP*), ἐνναέτειρα [f.] (*APl.*). On ►μετανάστης, see s.v.

•ETYM The causative meaning of aor. νάσσαι probably arose from its opposition to intr. νασθῆναι. The meaning 'to be situated', which is often found for ναιετάω (especially in εὖ ναιετάων), but rarely with ναίω, has not yet received a convincing explanation; perhaps we must start from the ptc. εὖ ναιετάων, if properly 'where one lives well', with the same shift as in ὁ ἐπιβάλλων, etc. (type *café chantant*).

The verbal stem νασ- (ναίω < *νάσ-ι̯ω) is isolated. Comparison with **nes-* as in ►νέομαι, νόστος is semantically attractive, but the α-vocalism poses a problem. A solution could be that νασ- arose by restoration of ν- in the zero grade άσ- < **ns-*; thus e.g. LIV² s.v. **nes-*. Note, however, the original reflex of the zero grade in ►ἄσμενος.

Alternatively, νασ- could be Pre-Greek. See further ►ναός.

νάκη [f.] 'woollen skin, fleece', especially of sheep and goats (ξ 530, Lyc., Paus.). ◁PG▷

•VAR More common is νάκος [n.] (Pi., Hdt., Simon., inscr.).

•COMP As a first member in νακο-δέψης [m.] 'tanner' (Hp.), as a second member in κατω-νάκη [f.] 'coarse cloth, worn by slaves working on the field, with a front of sheepskin' (Ar.), which is properly a bahuvrīhi; on ἀρνακίς see ►ἀρήν.

•DER νακύριον· δέρμα 'skin, hide' (H.); formation unclear, perhaps to be changed (following Schmidt) into νακύ<δ>ριον (like μελ-ύδριον etc., Chantraine 1933: 72f.).

•ETYM For νάκος : νάκη, cf. νάπος : νάπη and common pairs of abstracts, like βλάβος : βλάβη; the suffixation of νάκος is like εἶρος, φᾶρος, etc., that of νάκη like λώπη, etc. (all names for 'wool' and 'cloth').

The reconstruction as IE **nak-s-ko-* and comparison with OE *næsc* 'soft leather, e.g. deer-skin' < PGm. **naska-*, which is isolated in Germanic, cannot be upheld for obvious reasons. Rather a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 294, 305. The suffixation of νακύριον points in the same direction. See ►νάσσω.

ναμιαραν [acc.sg.m.] 'candelabrum?' (inscr. Delos 2240f.). ◁LW Sem.▷
•ETYM Through metathesis from Syr. *m^{e}nārā* 'id.'; see Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 181f. Ronzevalle *Mél. Univ. St. Joseph* (Beirut) 22 (1939): 109-121 starts from Syr. *n^{a}marā* 'crown'.

νάννας, -α ⇒νέννος.

ναννάριον [n.] · οὕτω καλούμενον εἶδός τι ἀσώτων 'a sort of hopeless people' · ἄμεινον δὲ τὸν τρυφερὸν καὶ μαλακόν ἀκούειν 'better: hearing softly and delicately' (H.). ◁?▷
•DER Also name of a courtesan (Theophil.11); cf. perhaps νάνναν.
•ETYM Unknown.

ναννᾰρίς [m.] · κίναιδος 'someone lewd' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown. See ▶ναννάριον.

νᾶνος [m.] 'dwarf' (Ar. *Fr.* 427, Arist., Longin., H., *POxy.* 465, 225 [II^{p}]); also a cake made of oil and cheese (Ath. 14, 646c). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Often νάννος (mss.); on the notation νάννος (hypocoristic gemination) beside νᾶνος cf. Schwyzer: 268.
•COMP As a first member in ναννο-φυής 'of dwarfish stature' (Ar. *Pax* 790).
•DER ναν(ν)ώδης 'dwarflike' (Arist.), ναννούδιον 'lapdog' (sch. Luc. *Conv.* 19).
•ETYM An onomatopoeic word of unknown origin; cf. Schwyzer: 423 and Björck 1950: 67. Borrowed as Lat. *nānus* > MoFr. *nain*, etc.; see WH s.v.

ναξος [adj.] epithet of κολοσσός (Epigr. *apud* Phot.). ◁?▷
•ETYM According to Geffcken & Herbig *Glotta* 9 (1918): 97 ff., to be accented ναξός = 'driven (with a hammer)', related to ▶νάσσω. According to G. and H., the name of the island Νάξος should also be included here.

ναός [m.] 'temple, house of a god, sanctuary' (Dor., Thess., late Att., Hell.). ◁GR? **nas-wo-*, PG?▷
•VAR ναϝός (Lacon.), ναῦος (Lesb.), νηός (Hom., Hdt.), νεώς (Att.).
•COMP ναο-κόρος (Delph.), να-κόρος (Dor.), νεω-, νεο-κόρος (IA, Hell.) [m.] 'temple-warden' with derivatives (see ▶κορέω); να(ο)-, νεω-ποιός, secondary -πο(ί)ας (Schwyzer 451), -πο(ί)ης name of an office in charge of the construction of a temple, whence -ποιέω, -ποιία, -ποιεῖον, -ποϊκός, etc. (inscr. since V^{a}); as a second member in πρό-ναος (A.), Att. -νεως, also -νάϊος, Ion. -νήϊς (Ἀθηνᾶ Προναΐα, -νηΐα), 'in front of the temple', substantivized πρό-ναος, Ion. -νηος [m.], -ναον, -νάϊον, -νήϊον [n.] 'front hall'.
•DER 1. Diminutives: ναΐδιον (Plb., Str.), ναΐσκος [m.] (Str., J.) with -ίσκιον, -ισκάριον (pap., sch.). 2. Adjective: ναϊκός 'belonging to a temple' (Dodona). 3. Denominatives: ναεύω [v.] 'to take sanctuary in a temple' (Gortyn); ναόω 'to lead into a temple' (Crete); cf. ναύειν· ἱκετεύειν, παρά τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν καταφεύγειν τοὺς ἱκέτας 'supplicate, after the fact that suppliants take refuge at the hearth' (H.).
•ETYM A pre-form *νασϝος has to assumed for the different dialectal forms. Therefore, the word is mostly analyzed as PGr. **nas-wo-* and derived from νάσσαι,

►ναίω as 'habitation, house (of the god)', which is quite possible. However, Fur.: 338[13] adduces the variants ναιός (Clinias *apud* sch. A. R. 2, 1085, H.) and νειός (inscr. Samos IV[a]), variants which would point to substrate origin.

νάπη [f.] 'wooded vale, chasm' (Θ 558 = *P* 300); νάπα· σύμφυτος τόπος 'overgrown place' (H.). ◄PG?►
•VAR νάπος [n.] (Pi., S., E., X.).
•DER ναπ-αῖος 'like a wooded vale' (S., E.), -ώδης 'id.' (Eust., St. Byz.).
•ETYM Cf. the TN Νάπος (Lesbos); probably Pre-Greek. See ►προνωπής.

νᾶπυ, -υος [n.] 'mustard'.
•VAR Also σίναπι.
•DER νάπειον (Nic. *Al.* 430), after γήτειον, κώνειον. ⇒σίναπι.

νάρδος [f.] 'spikenard, Indian narde, Nardostachys Jatamansi' (Hell. and late). ◄LW Sem.►
•VAR νάρδον [n.] (Thphr. *Od.* 12, Poll.).
•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ναρδό-σταχυς, -υος [m.] = νάρδου στάχυς, νάρδος (Dsc., Gal.).
•DER νάρδ-ινος 'of nard' (Antiph., Men., Plb.), -ίτης οἶνος 'wine spiced with nard' (Dsc. in tit.), -ῖτις βοτάνη 'nard-like plant' (Gal.) ; -ίζω 'to resemble the nard' (Dsc.).
•ETYM From Phoenician, cf. Semitic forms like Hebr. *nērd*, Aram. *nirda*, and Babyl. *lardu*. Further connection with Skt. *naḍá-* 'reed, cane' (beside *nadá-* 'id.') is quite uncertain and should probably be abandoned; the Semitic words rather come from Skt. *nálada-* [n.] 'Indian narde' (AV), on which see Mayrhofer *KEWA*: s.vv. *naḍáḥ* and *náladam*. Borrowed as Lat. *nardus*, *-um*; see WH. Beside νάρδος, we have νάρτη [f.], designating aromatic plants (Thphr. *HP* 9, 7, 3).
Fur.: 199 also compares ►νάρθηξ and suggests that we are dealing with a Middle Eastern culture word.

νάρη ἡ ἄφρων καὶ μωρά 'an insane and stupid woman' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

νάρθηξ, -ηκος [m.] 'giant fennel, Ferula communis', also denoting its hollow stalk, which was used as a thyrsos and splint, among other things (Hes.); also 'capsule, cupboard' (Str.). ◄PG(S,V)►
•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ναρθηκοφόρος 'ν.-bearer' (Pl., X.).
•DER ναρθήκιον 'small splint' (medic.), -ία name of a ν.-like plant (Thphr.), cf. βακτηρ-ία, ἀρτηρ-ία, etc.; ναρθήκ-ινος 'made of ν.' (Arist.), ναρθηκ-ίζω [v.] 'to splint' (medic.), whence -ισμός, -ισμα (Apollod. *Poliorc.*, etc.); ναρθηκιῶντες· νάρθηξι πλήσσοντες 'hitting with ν.' (H.). TN Ναρθάκιον in Phthiotis, also a mountain in Thessalia (X., Plu.).
•ETYM The variant νάθραξ· νάρθηξ (H.) with metathesis, as well as the TN Ναρθάκιον, point to original -ᾱκ-, which is a Pre-Greek suffix. See Fur.: 199, who compares ►νάρδος.

νάρκαφθον [n.] 'a fragrant Indian bark' used as spice (Dsc. 1, 23). ◄PG?►

•VAR Also νάσκαφθον (written ναόκαφωον, which will be a simple mistake), but also νάκαφθον. Also λάκαφθον (Paul. Aeg. 7, 22)?
•ETYM Fur.: 299 thinks it is a cultural term from the Middle East, in spite of the suggested Indian origin. On a possible variation ρ/σ, see ibid. 299f.

νάρκη [f.] 'numbness, deadness, numbfish' (IA); on the fish see Strömberg 1943: 57. ◂PG?▸
•VAR Secondary νάρκᾰ (Men.).
•COMP As a second member in θηριο-νάρκη [f.] name of a plant that paralyzes a snake (Plin.).
•DER ναρκώδης 'paralysed' (Hp.); ναρκάω [v.] 'to be paralysed' (Θ 328), also with ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, whence ἀπονάρκη-σις (Plu.); ναρκόω [v.] 'to paralyse, deaden' (Hp.) with νάρκω-σις, -τικός (medic.).
•ETYM νάρκη has been analyzed as a zero grade verbal noun with barytone accent (Chantraine 1933: 22f.), belonging to a Germanic verb OHG *sner(a)han*, MHG *snerhen* 'to swing, knot, draw together', with deverbative ON *snara* 'to turn, swing, wind' < PGm. **snarhōn-* and the verbal noun OHG *snar(a)ha*, ON *snara* [f.] 'swing'. The supposed connection (thus still LIV² s.v. **snerk-* 'zusammenziehen, schlingen') is semantically far from convincing; moreover, one would expect **nrk-* to yield Gr. *ν(δ)ρακ-. The structure of this word looks non-IE. Therefore, we should rather assume a Pre-Greek word **nark-*; the variant nom. in -ᾰ also points to this.

ναρκίον [n.] · ἀσκόν 'skin, hide, belly, bellows, etc.' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM DELG considers connection with λάρκος, λαρκίον, and perhaps νάρναξ, and rejects the connection with ►νάρκη.

νάρκισσος [m.(f.)] 'narcissus' (*h. Cer.*). ◂PG▸
•DER ναρκίσσινος 'made from narcissus, narcissus-colored' (Hp., Dsc., pap.), -ίτης name of a stone (D. P., Plin.), because of the color or the smell?
•ETYM The suffix clearly points to a Pre-Greek word; cf. Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 361, with Heubeck *Vox Romanica* 19 (1960): 151f. The connection with νάρκη is due to folk-etymology.

ναρός [adj.] 'flowing, liquid'. ⇒νάω.

νάρφη [f.] · σκευαστός ἄρτος ὁ καὶ μασητρίς 'prepared bread/cake, which is also called μ.' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

νάσσω [v.] 'to stamp down, squeeze close, press together, stuff' (φ 122). ◂PG?(V)▸
•VAR Att. νάττω, aor. νάξαι, fut. νάξω (H.), perf. med. νέναγμαι, νένασμαι.
•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. κατα-, συν-.
•DER Verbal adjective ναστός 'pressed together, stuffed' (medic., J.), substantivized (scil. πλακοῦς) [m.] name of a cake (com.) with ναστίσκος [m.] (Pherecr.); also νακτός 'pressed together' (Plu.); νακτά· τοὺς πίλους καὶ τὰ ἐμπίλια 'things made of felt and felt shoes' (H.). Verbal substantive νάγμα [n.] 'closely sqeezed stone-wall' (J.).

•ETYM It is unclear from the attestations whether the verbal stem originally ended in a velar (νάξαι φ 122) or a dental (ναστός from *ναττός?). Etymology unknown; connection with ►νάκος 'woollen skin' cannot be proven. Borrowed as Lat. *naccae* 'fullones', perhaps from *νάκται; see WH s.v. The verb is probably Pre-Greek.

ναυᾱγός [m.] 'shipwrecked person' (Hdt.). ◄GR►

•VAR Ion. -ηγός.

•DER ναυ-ᾱγέω, -ηγέω [v.] 'to be shipwrecked', -ᾱγία, -ηγία [f.] 'shipwreck', -ᾱγια, -ήγια [n.pl.] (rarely -ιον [sg.]) 'wreck (of a ship)' (IA).

•ETYM Compounds of ναῦς and ἄγνυμι, ἀγῆναι 'break' with long compositional vowel. This may be due either to compositional lengthening or analogy after other such compounds (thus in Ion. -ηγ-), or to influence of κατᾱγνυμι, ἔᾱγα, see Björck 1950: 42 and 147.

ναύκληρος [m.] 'shipowner, captain', sbd. who lets his ship and the places on board to other persons (IA), on the mg. against ἔμπορος and κάπηλος see Finkelstein *Class. Phil.* 30 (1935): 320ff.; metaph. 'owner of a rented house' (com.). ◄IE **krh₂s-ro-* 'head'►

•DER ναυκληρ-ία [f.] 'employment as a ναύκλη-ρος, society of shipowners, navigation' (Att.), perhaps from ναυκληρέω (see below); -ιον [n.] 'freighter' (D., E.); ναυ-κλάρ-ιος epithet of Poseidon (Delos I[a]), -κληρικός 'belonging to the ν.' (Pl. *Lg.*), ναυκληρώσιμοι στέγαι· τὰ πανδοκεῖα 'rooms, taverns' (H.), after μισθώσιμος.

Denominative ναυκληρ-έω [v.] 'to be ναύκληρος' (Att.), metaph. 'to govern (a state)' (trag.), with ναυκληρήματα [pl.] 'shipping' (Tz.). Further ναύκραρος (ναύκλαρος H.) [m.] name of the manager of a ναυκραρία (Lex Solonis *apud* Arist. *Ath.* 8, 3, Hdt.) with ναυκραρ-ία [f.] part of a phyle in Solonic Athens, for financial and administrative purposes (Arist. *Ath.* 8, 3), -ια [n.pl.] 'registry of the ναύκραροι' (Ammon. gramm.), -ικός 'belonging to the ναύκραρος or -ία' (Lex Solonis *apud* Arist.).

•ETYM The usual term ναύκλαρος / ναύκληρος arose by dissimilation and folk-etymological connection with κλῆρος from older ναύκραρος. The latter only remained in a technical sense. The original mg. is "who stands at the head of a ship". The zero grade in the second member of ναύκρᾰρος (*-*ḱrh₂*-C-) may be compared with that in ὀρθό-κραιρα (see ►κραῖρα). Here, κρᾱρ- may derive from **krāh-ro-*, which belongs to **krāhn-* < **krh₂-s-n-* seen in ►κρᾱνίον, and inflected forms of ►κάρᾱ. Other ablaut grades are continued in κάρηνα < **ḱrh₂-es-n-h₂* and Lat. *cerebrum* < **kerh₂-s-ro-* (see ►κάρηνα, ►κέρας).

The same element appears in Boeot. PN (Λ)α-κρᾱρίδας < *Λά-κρᾱρος (Solmsen *RhM* 53 (1898): 151ff.). Borrowed as Lat. *nauclērus*, cf. Friedmann 1937: 26ff.

ναῦλον [n.] 'fare, freight, passage-money' (Att., Hell.). ◄GR►

•VAR -ος [m.], also -λλ- (inscr.), Schwyzer: 238.

•DER ναυλόω, -όομαι [v.] 'to let out a ship, freight a ship' (Plb., pap.), with ναύλ-ωσις 'freighting', -ώσιμος 'belonging to freighting' (also of κτήνη, ὄνοι), -ωτική [f.], scil. συνθήκη or συγγραφή 'freighting agreement' (all pap.); cf. Kalbfleisch *RhM* 94 (1951): 94f.

•ETYM Probably from ►ναῦς, though further λο-derivatives of nouns and semantic examples are missing. See Chantraine 1933: 241. Borrowed as Lat. *naulum*. See ►ναῦσθλον.

ναῦς [f.] 'ship' (Il.), details on the inflection in Schwyzer: 578. ◄IE **neh₂u-* 'ship'►

•VAR Epic Ion. νηῦς, gen. νεώς (νηός, νεός, Dor. ναός), dat. νηΐ (ναΐ), acc. ναῦν (νῆα, νέα), plur. nom. νῆες (νέες, ναες), gen. νεῶν (νηῶν, ναῶν), dat. ναυσί (νηυσί, νήεσσι), acc. ναῦς (νῆας, νέας).

•COMP ναύ-αρχος 'commander of a ship' (IA), see also ►νεώριον, ►νεωλκέω; in dat.pl. as a first member, e.g. ναυσί-κλυτος, -κλειτος 'famous for his ship' (epic poet. Od.), ναυσί-πορος (X., Arist.) = ναύ-πορος (A., A. R.) 'sailed by ships'; as a second member in χιλιό-ναυς 'consisting of thousand ships' (E., Str.); amalgamation with a suffix -ία- in e.g. (πεντεκαι-)δεκα-να-ΐα [f.] 'fleet of fifteen/ten ships' (Plb. and D.). Cf. further ►ναυᾱγός, ►ναύκληρος.

•DER A. νήϊος, Dor. νάϊος (Il.), νηΐτης (Th., A. R.) 'consisting of ships, belonging to the ship', or νῆτης? See Redard 1949: 12 and 43.

B. ναύτης, Dor. -τας [m.] 'sailer, ship-passenger' (Il.), ναύστης (pap.) with analogical -σ-. Thence several derivatives: 1. ναῦτις, -ιδος [f.] epithet of γυναῖκες (Theopomp. Com.), ναύτρια [f.] (Ar. *Fr.* 825); 2. ναῦτ-εία [f.] 'shipping' (Hell. inscr. and pap.), after στρατεία (to στρατεύω), etc.; 3. ναυτ-ία (Arist., Aret.), Ion. ναυσίη (Semon.), 'seasickness, disgust' (Scheller 1951: 41) with ναυτι-ώδης 'prone to seasickness, sickening' (medic., Plu.), ναυτ-ιάω [v.] 'to be seasick, be disgusted' (Att.), ναυτία partly a back-formation; -ιασμός = ναυτία (Hippiatr.); 4. ναυτ-ικός '(consisting) of seamen', also (referring to ναῦς) 'nautical' (IA); 5. ναυτ-ίλος [m.] or [adj.] 'shipper, seaman; nautical' (Hdt., trag.), also name of a mollusc, 'paper nautilus, Argonauta argo' (Arist.), see Thompson 1947 s.v.; on the formation Chantraine 1933: 248f.); ναυτιλ-ία, -ίη 'navigation, sea-journey' (θ 253), also connected with ναυτίλλομαι (Scheller 1951: 35), ναυτίλλομαι [v.] 'to be sailor, sail' (Od.); 6. Ναυτεύς [m.] PN (θ 112 beside πρυμνεύς; see Wackernagel *KZ* 24 (1879): 297).

C. See ►ναῦλον and ►ναῦσθλον.

•ETYM Old IE word **neh₂u-* 'ship', which is also found in IIr., Arm., Lat., Celt., Gm., and Illyr. The inflections of Greek, Sanskrit (and also Latin) seem to correspond: ναῦς = Skt. *náuṣ* < IE **neh₂u-s*; νῆ(ϝ)α = Skt. *nā́vam*, Lat. *nāvem* (whence nom. *nāvis*) < IE **neh₂u-m*; νῆ(ϝ)ες = Skt. *nā́vas* < IE **neh₂u-es*, νῆ(ϝ)ας = Skt. *nā́v-as* < IE **neh₂u-ns*, etc. Other reconstructions (e.g. nom. **neh₂-ēu-s*, acc. **neh₂-eu-m*, gen. **neh₂-u-os* << **nh₂-u-os*, cf. Beekes 1985: 96) are also possible.

Examples from other languages: MoP *nāv*, Arm. *naw* (perhaps from Iranian), OIr. *nau*, ON *nór* [m.], Illyr. TNs *Nau-na*, *Nau-portus*, etc.

Lat. *nauta*, *nausea* were borrowed from Greek.

ναῦσθλον [n.] Arg. for ναῦλον: 'fare, freight' (ἐφόδιον καὶ ναῦσθλον, *IG* 4, 823: 12 [IV^{a}, Troezen], H.). ◄GR►

•DER ναυσθλόο-μαι, -όω [v.] 'to be carried for fare, transport', (as a passenger) 'travel' (E., Ar., Lyc.).

•ETYM Built on ναῦς with a suffix -θλο- also seen in θύσ-θλα, θέμε-θλα, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 375); the -σ- must be secondary (cf. ναύστης beside ναύτης s.v. ► ναῦς). Unrelated is ► ναῦσσον.

ναῦσσον [n.] 'name of a tax' (Cyzicus VI[a], Cos I[a]). ◅?▻

•ETYM Because of the -σσ- (original sampi) a technical foreign word, perhaps from Carian; see Wackernagel *RhM* 48 (1893): 299.

νάφθα [f., n.] 'petroleum' (LXX, Str., Dsc.). ◅LW Iran.▻

•VAR -ας [m.].

•ETYM Cf. MoP *naft* 'petroleum', which is of uncertain origin. Acc. to Brandenstein *OLZ* 43 (1940): 345ff., the Greek word is from Iran. **nafta-* from **nab-* 'be wet'. On the meaning and further forms see Brust 2005: 471ff. Borrowed as Lat. *nap(h)tha.*

ναφρόν [n.] · λινοῦν ῥάμμα 'linen thread' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

νᾶω [v.] 'to flow, stream', mainly of water (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Only present stem except for διαναῦσαι· διαπλεῦσαι 'to sail across' (H.) and the ptc. aor. ἀμφι-ναέντος (Emp. 84). A long vowel is found in ipf. νᾶε(ν) (A. R., Call.), ναῖον (ι 222); note ναύει· ῥέει, βλύζει 'flows, gushes forth' (H.), interpreted as Aeol.

•COMP Rarely with ἀμφι-, δια-, περι.

•DER 1. ναέτωρ· ῥέων, πολύρρους 'streaming, having much current' (H.), νάτωρ (S. *Fr.* 270); 2. νᾱρός 'welding, streaming' (A. *Fr.* 347 = 764 Mette, S. *Fr.* 621); 3. νᾶμα [n.] 'flowing water, source, stream' (trag., Pl., X., Arist.) with diminutive ναμιά-τιον (Thphr.), -τιαῖος 'from sources, source-' (Aeschin.), -τώδης 'rich in sources' (Thphr.); 4. νασμός = νᾶμα (E.), -ώδης (H.). Probably also 5. Ναϊάς, Ion. Νηϊάς (Od., A. R., *AP*), Ναΐς, Ion. Νηΐς [f.] (Il.) 'Naiade', see below.

•ETYM It is usually assumed that all present stem forms go back to *νάϝ-ι̯ω (Frisk, DELG, *LfgrE*). This is only possible if one assumes that shortvocalic νᾰ̆ω (νάει, νάουσιν ζ 292, Φ 197) stands for ναίω as a rhythmical variant (Chantraine 1942: 167). Note, however, that ναίω is only attested in ι 222 (with a v.l. νᾶον). The ptc. ἀμφι-ναέντος (Emp. 84) was probably formed under the influence of ῥυέντος. It seems that a basic form *ναϝεμα or *νάϝημα has to be assumed for νᾶμα (which is common in Attic), although such a formation is unparallelled; if so, νᾱρός could also be from *ναϝερός, νασμός from *ναϝεσμός, and νάτωρ from *ναϝέτωρ (cf. Bechtel 1914: 234f.).

The forms with long vowel να-ϊάς, -ΐς, νη-ιάς, -ίς presuppose a noun *νᾱϝ-α (cf. e.g. κρήν-η : -ιάς); the proper meaning would then be "daughter of the source". As all nymphs are considered to be daughters of Zeus, the Naiades are connected with the Dodonaic Ζεὺς Νάϊος. However, a source in Dodona is only mentioned in late Latin writers, and Zeus is unknown as a god of sources (cf. Nilsson 1941(1): 426f.); so the proper meaning of Νάϊος remains unclear. If the Naiades have something to do at all with Ζεὺς Νάϊος, their qualification as daughters of a source must be left open.

Correspondences to νάω outside Greek are uncertain. One might compare the athematic long grade present Skt. *snauti* 'to drip', with zero grade ptc. *snuta-* (cf.

LIV² s.v. **sneu̯-*), although the explanation of the Greek α-vocalism as an analogical zero grade **snaw-* beside **snew-* remains dubious. See ►νέω, ►νήχω, ►Νηρεύς.

-νε [pcl.] in Thess. ὅ-νε, τό-νε, τά-νε = ὅ-δε, τό-δε, τά-δε; beside it -νυ in Arc. Cypr. ὅ-νυ, with deictic -ι Arc. gen.sg. τω-νι = τοῦ-δε, τουδί, etc. ◅IE **eno-* 'this, that'▻
•ETYM Like ναί and νή, -νε has also been connected with the demonstrative stem **(e-)no-*. On -νυ, see on ►νυ, νῦν , νῦν 'now'. See ►ναί.

νεᾱλής [adj.] 'fresh, powerful, rested' (Ar. *Fr.* 361, Pl., X., D.). ◅GR▻
•VAR -ᾰλής (Nic.).
•ETYM Originally 'newly fed, newly grown (up)', from **νεο-αλής*, a compound of νέος and the root of an old verb 'to feed, nourish', preserved in ►ἄναλτος, and in Lat. *alō*, etc. The compound underwent compositional lengthening and is formed with the suffix -ής (cf. Schwyzer: 513).

νεᾱνίᾱς, -ου [m.] 'youth, young strong man', also as an adj. 'youthful, strong, wilful' (Od.). ◅GR▻
•VAR Ion. νεηνίης, -εω; νεᾶνις [f.] 'young lady, girl' (Il., also LXX), Ion. νεῆνις, contracted νῆνις, -ιδος, -ιν.
•DER 1. Hypocoristic: νεανίσκος, νεην- [m.] 'id.' (IA) with νεανισκ-εύομαι [v.] 'to be in youth' (com., X.), -εύματα [pl.] = Lat. *Iuvenalia* (D. C.); νεανισκ-άριον (Arr. Epict.), -ύδριον (Theognost.). 2. Adjective: νεανικός 'youthful' (Att., Hp.) with νεανικ-έω [v.] 'to be youthful' (Eup.), -ότης 'youth' (Sext. *Ps.*). 3. Verbs: νεανιεύομαι [v.] 'to behave youthful or recklessly' (Att.), rarely with prefix as ἐπι-, προσ-; thence νεανίευμα [n.] 'youthful behaviour' (Pl.), νεαν(ι)εία [f.] (Ph.); νεανίζω (Plu., Poll.).
•ETYM A substantival derivation in -ίᾱς from **νεᾱνός* vel sim., which must itself be an enlargement of νέος. A proposal for the origin of this suffix *-ān-* was made by Leukart 1980: 238ff.

νέατος [adj.] 'lowest, utmost'. •VAR Epic also νείατος. ⇒νειός, νέος.

νεάω [v.] 'to plough up a fallow land'. ⇒νειός, νέος.

νεβλᾶραι = περαίνειν 'to finish, fulfill' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Cf. νεβλάρεται (?) in Phot. = Ar. *Fr.* 241.

νεβρός [m., f.] 'young of the deer, fawn' (Il.). ◅?▻
•COMP As a first member e.g. in νεβρο-τόκος 'bringing forth fawns' (Nic.).
•DER Several derivatives, most poet. and late: 1. Substantive: νεβρίς, -ίδος [f.] 'fawnskin' (E.) with νεβρίδ-ιον (Artem.) and νεβριζω [v.] 'to wear a fawnskin' (D. 18, 259, beside κρατηρίζω 'drink a bowl', of the participants of a Dionysus-festival), νεβρισμός 'wearing νεβρίς' (gramm.); νεβρῆ [f.] 'id.' (Orph.); νεβρίας [m.] of γαλεός, name of a shark (Arist.), after its color, cf. Thompson 1947 s.v., ἔλαφος νεβρίας 'deer' (H. s.v. λάδας); νέβρακες· οἱ ἄρρενες νεοττοὶ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων 'the male chicks of the rooster' (H.), cf. σκύλαξ, πόρταξ and Chantraine 1933: 379; νεβρίτης λίθος (Orph.), -ῖτις (Plin.), after the color. 2. Adjectives: νέβρινος (S.), νέβρειος (Call., *APl.*) 'of a fawn', νέβρειον name of the Pastinaca sativa (Ps.-Dsc.), Strömberg 1944:

50; νεβρώδης 'fawn-like' (*AP*). 3. Verb: νεβρόομαι 'to be changed into a fawn' (Nonn.).

•ETYM An exact match to νεβρός has been sought in Arm. *nerk*, *-oy* 'color', deriving both from IE **(s)neg^{w}ro-*. However, the meaning of the Armenian word has nothing to do with 'deer'. The correspondence is listed as 'doubtful' in Clackson 1994: 182. Janda *Sprache* 38 (1996): 87-92 derives it from **neg^{w}-ro-* 'naked' (= unarmed).

The deer and hind are often called after their variegated color, e.g. πρόξ, προκάς 'deer- or roe-like animal' from περκνός 'speckled', πρεκνόν· ποικιλόχροον ἔλαφον 'varicolored deer' (H.).

νέηλυς 'newly arrived'. ⇒ἐλεύσομαι.

νεῖκος [n.] 'quarrel, strife, feud' (Il., Hdt.), on the mg. Trümpy 1950: 144f. ◁IE **neik-* 'attack, run at'▷

•COMP As a second member in πολυ-νεικής 'much quarrelling', as a PN Πολυ-νείκης (Il.).

•DER νεικέω [v.] 'to quarrel with words, blame, abuse' (Il.), epic also -είω < **-es-i̯e/o-*, aor. νεικέσ(σ)αι; thence νεικεσ-τήρ 'quarreler' (Hes. *Op.* 716; v.l. -ητήρ); νεικέσσιος· πολέμιος 'hostile' (H.), after ἱκέσιος etc.

•ETYM Related to the Baltic group of Lith. *ap-nìkti*, also *su-nìkti* 'to attack somebody', Latv. *nikns* 'bad, grim, vehement', *nàiks* 'vehement, angry', and to Hitt. *nini(n)k-^{zi}* 'to set in motion, mobilize' (see LIV^{2} s.v. **neik-* 'sich erheben'). Greek only preserves derivations from the *s*-stem, and perhaps also ▸ νίκη.

νειός [f.] 'fallow field' (Hom., Hes., Call., Arist., Thphr.); on the mg. see below. ◁IE? **ni-* '(be)low'▷

•VAR Also νεός (X., Amorgos IV^{a}), νειά (Amorgos IV^{a}), νεά or νέα (Thphr., Att. inscr.).

•DER With deviating semantics: νει-όθεν [adv.] 'from below' (*K* 10, Hell. poet.), νει-όθε 'id.' (poet. inscr. III^{p}, Luc.), νει-όθι 'below' (Φ 317, Hes. *Th.* 567, Hell. poet.). Superl. νείατος 'lowermost, utmost' (mainly epic since Il.), also νέατος, Arc. νήατος, after ἔσχατος, πύματος, cf. μέσος : μέσατος; νεάτη [f.] (Cratin., Pl.), contracted νήτη (Arist., Ptol.), scil. χορδή 'the lowest string' (with the highest tone); νειότατον· κατώτατον 'lowermost' (H.); also νήϊστος in νήϊστα· ἔσχατα, κατώτατα (H.), probably also in Νήϊσται (Boeot. -ῖτται) πύλαι a gate in Thebes (A. *Th.* 460, E. *Ph.* 1104). Fem. νείαιρα (νέαιρα Simon.) 'the lowermost', as a substantive (scil. γαστήρ) 'belly, abdomen' (Il., Hp., Hell.), cf. γέραιρα, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 104, 234; cf. also Benveniste 1935: 112); contracted νεῖρα (A. *Ag.* 1479, E. *Rh.* 794 [readings not quite certain], H.); νειρός [m.] (Lyc., H.) with νειρὴ κοίλη· κοιλία ἐσχάτη 'outermost stomach' (H.), Schwyzer: 475. On the entire set of forms, cf. Schwyzer: 503.

Denominative νεάω [v.] 'to plough a fallow land' (Hes. *Op.* 462, com., Thphr.), connected with νέος 'new' at an early date, if not even derived from it, cf. on ▸ νέος; νεατός [m.] 'working of fallow land' (X. *Oik.* 7, 20; like ἀλοατός), νέασις [f.] 'id.' (Thphr.) with νεάσιμος (gloss.), see Arbenz 1933: 87.

•ETYM If νειόθεν, νείατος, νείαιρα are cognate with νειός, νειός (scil. γῆ, χώρα), it must have originally meant 'with a low location, low plain'; the meaning 'fallow

land', which is also possible for Homer, could rest on the folk-etymological connection with νέος 'new'; cf. Lat. *novālis*, *-e* 'fallow land'.
The comparison of νειός < *νειϝός with a Slavic word for 'field', e.g. Ru. *níva* [f.], is doubtful (see Derksen 2008 s.v. with alternatives). For Greek, if we separate a suffix *-*uo*-, it is possible to compare the IE adverb **ni* 'low' seen in Skt. *ní*, with derivatives in e.g. OHG *nidar* 'downward', OE *neowol* 'steep' < **ni-u̯ol-*. However, the writing νη- in νήϊστος, Arc. νήατος has not been explained in a convincing way. Since an old lengthened grade is highly improbable (especially in a superlative), the η must be secondary.

νείφει [v.] 'it snows' (Il.). ◁IE **sneigʷʰ-* 'snow'▷
•VAR Aor. νεῖψαι, νειφθῆναι, fut. νείψει. Cf. νίφα [acc.sg.f.] '(falling) snow' (Hes. *Op.* 535).
•COMP Sometimes with prefix, e.g. κατα-. Compounds, e.g. νιφ-ό-βολος 'snow-covered' (Ar., E.), ἀγά-ννιφ-ος 'with much snow' (*A* 420, Σ 186, Epich.).
•DER 1. νιφ-άδες [f.pl.], also sing. νιφ-άς, -άδος 'snow-flake, snowstorm' (Il., Pi., trag.), also [adj.] 'rich in snow' (S.); 2. νιφ-ετός [m.] 'falling snow, snowstorm' (Il., Arist.) with νιφετ-ώδης 'connected with snow-fall' (Arist., Plb.); 3. νιφ-όεις 'snowy, rich in snow' (Il.).
•ETYM The full-grade thematic root present νείφει (νῖφέμεν M 280 stands for νειφ-), from which the other Greek verbal forms arose, neatly corresponds with Av. *snaēža-* (e.g. subj. *snaēžāṯ*), OHG and OE *snīwan*, Lith. *sniẽgti*, 3sg. *sniẽga*, as well as perhaps Lat. *nīvit* 'it snows' (Pac.), from thematic PIE **sneigʷʰ-e-* 'it snows'. A zero grade thematic present is found in OIr. *snigid* 'it drops, rains', and a nasal present in Lat. *ninguit*, Lith. *sniñga*.
Deviating in meaning is the zero-grade *yod*-present Skt. *sníhyati* 'to get wet, sticky', metaph. 'to find affection', with *sneha-* 'stickyness, affection, etc.', with a shift of meaning that has been ascribed to the mild climate, like in the Celtic word (see above). Comparable to this shift in Greek is e.g. Nonn. *D.* 22, 283 αἵματι νείφεις of sticky blood, Lyc. 876 ὀμβρία νιφάς of a rain shower. It is also possible that 'to be sticky' is the original root meaning, as advocated by LIV² s.v. **sneigᵘʰ-*.
The root noun acc. νίφα (beside which as a nom. νιφετός, νιφάς, χιών) is identical with Lat. *nix*, *nivis* < IE **snigʷʰ-* and is also continued in ἀγά-ννιφος < **-snigʷʰ-*. νίβα· χιόνα 'winter' (H.) could also be included here as Illyrian (Krahe *IF* 58 (1942): 133). An *o*-stem **snoigʷʰo-* is found in Gm. (e.g. Go. *snaiws*, MoHG *Schnee*) and in Slavic (e.g. OCS *sněgъ*).

νεκρός [m.] 'corpse, dead' (Il.), plur. 'the dead' = 'inhabitants of the Underworld' (Od., Th., LXX, NT), also attributive and adjectival (-ά, -όν) 'dead' (Hell.); νεκρὸν ἵππον (Pi. *Fr.* 203) is probably predicative. ◁IE **nek-(u-)* 'violent death, corpse'▷
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. νεκρο-δέγμων 'receiving dead' (Ἅιδης, A. *Pr.* 153 [lyr.]); rarely as a second member, e.g. μυριό-νεκρος 'with uncountable casualties' (μάχη, Plu.).
•DER 1. Substantive: νεκρών, -ῶνος [m.] (Tegea II[a], *AP*), νεκρια [f.] 'place of the dead, graveyard' (Hell. pap.), on the unknown accent see Scheller 1951: 46. 2. Adjective:

νεκρ-ιμαῖος 'belonging to a corpse', τὸ νεκρ-ιμαῖον 'corpse' (LXX), after θνησιμ-αῖος, Chantraine 1933: 49; νεκρ-ικός 'regarding the dead', τὰ νεκρικά 'inheritance' (Luc., Vett. Val.); νεκρ-ώδης 'like a corpse' (Luc., Gal.). 3. Verb: νεκρόομαι, -όω 'to die, kill, enervate' (late) with νέκρωσις 'being dead, killing' (late), -ώσιμα [n.pl.] = νεκύσια (church-writers, gloss.), to θανάσιμος (Arbenz 1933: 93), -ώματα [pl.] 'dead bodies' (comm. Arist.), -ωτικός 'causing death' (Gal.).

In the same mg. νέκῡς (post-Hom. -ŭ-) [m.], also [adj.] 'dead' (epic poet Il., also Hdt. and Gortyn), νέκυρ· νεκρός. Λάκωνες (H.); some compounds, e.g. νεκυο-μαντήϊον, -εῖον 'oracle of the dead' (Hdt.), ἰσό-νεκυς 'corpse-like' (E. *Or.* 200 [lyr.], after ἰσό-θεος, see on ἴσος). Thence: νέκυια [f.] 'offer to the dead, so as to summon them' (D. S., Plu., Nic.), old abstract formation in -ιᾱ instead of later -ίᾱ (cf. ἀλήθεια beside -εία, etc., cf. Solmsen 1909: 248ff.); in the same mg. νεκυϊσμός (Man.); on formations in -ισμός see Chantraine 1933: 142ff.; νεκύσια [n.pl.] 'feasts of the dead' (Hell. pap.), cf. θαλύσια, γενέσια, whence Νεκύσιος [m.] Cretan month-name (II^{a}); νεκυϊκός 'belonging to the dead' (Cyran.); νεκύα [f.] plantname = φλόμος (Cyran.), because of its use in the conjuration of the dead; after καρύα, σικύα, etc.; on ►νεκύδαλ(λ)ος see s.v.

Archaic is νέκες· νεκροί (H.), note also νεκ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'heap of dead' (E 886, *AP*), like νιφάς, etc. (Bechtel 1914 s.v., Chantraine 1933: 352).

Unrelated is ►νῶκαρ, -αρος [n.].

•ETYM The monosyllabic stem of νέκες corresponds exactly to Lat. *nex, necis* [f.] 'violent death, murder' and OAv. *nas-* [f.] 'need, distress', from a root noun IE **nek̑-*. The *u*-stem in νέκυς also appears in Iranian, in Av. *nas*, gen. *nasāuuō* [f., m.] 'corpse'; originally, the Gr. υ was short, corresponding to Iranian ablaut *u* : *āv* < **u* : *oų*, as established in Beekes and Cuypers *Mnem.* 56 (2003): 485-491. Lat. *nequālia* 'detrimenta' is sometimes adduced, but rejected by De Vaan 2008 s.v. *nex*. The *ro*-formation in νεκρός has no parallel outside Greek.

The root was verbal in PIE, e.g. Skt. *náśyati*, ToA *nakät* [3sg.pret.] 'to disappear, perish'; see LIV^{2} s.v. *nek̑-* for further forms.

Probably unrelated is ►νέκταρ.

νεκταίρουσιν [v.] · κολάζουσιν 'chastise'; νεκτάρας· μάστιξ 'whip'; νεκτάρθη· ἐζημιώθη 'was punished' [corr. for ἐζυμώθη] (all H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Not related to ►νέκταρ. Unknown.

νέκταρ, -αρος [n.] 'nectar, drink of the gods' (Il.). ◅IE?, PG?▻

•COMP As a first member in νεκταρο-σταγής 'dripping nectar' (com.), etc.

•DER νεκτάρ-εος 'of nectar, smelling like nectar' (Il.), -ώδης 'nectar-like' (Gp.); νεκτάριον [n.] plantname = ἐλένιον (Dsc.), also name of a medicine and several eye-salves (Gal.), with νεκταρίτης (οἶνος) 'wine spiced with νεκτάριον' (Dsc., Plin.).

•ETYM In contrast with ἀμβροσία, which is of related meaning (see ►βροτός), νέκταρ does not have an ascertained etymology. Often considered to be a compound of the root noun **nek̑-* 'death', found in νέκες (cf. ►νεκρός), Lat. *nex* 'murder', and the verbal root **terh$_{2}$-* 'to cross, overcome', found in Skt. *tárati*, the zero grade of which indeed occurs as a second member in Skt. *ap-túr* 'crossing the waters', *viśva-túr*

'overcoming everything', etc. (cf. on ►τέρμα). There is no reflex of word-final *h_2, which may be assumed to have been lost in the oblique cases, e.g. *$nek\text{-}trh_2\text{-}os$ > νέκταρος. However, it seems unlikely that the latter stem form was introduced into the nom./acc., since these were much more frequent. We rather have to assume analogical reshaping of the nominative; cf. the discussion in Beekes 1969: 161.

If the etymology is correct, νέκταρ would be an element of IE poetic language (cf. Schmitt *KZ* 77 (1961): 88, who refers to Skt. *mṛtyúmáti tṝ* 'to overcome death' *odanéna* 'by rice-milk' (AV 4, 35), as well as R. Schmitt 1967: 38f., 155ff.). Various older speculations should definitely be rejected (e.g. νέκταρ would originally mean 'not being dead', belonging to the gloss κτέρες· νεκροί 'the dead' [H.]; cf. on ►κτέρας); see Frisk for references.

Meanwhile, different explanations have been suggested assuming non-Indo-European origin. Fur.: 320 compares νικάριον, an eye-salve. If this is correct, the word may be Pre-Greek. He also points to other Pre-Greek words in -αρ (op.cit. 134[75]), remarking that the traditional interpretation as a compound is too Indo-Iranian in character for a Greek word.

Drew Griffith *Glotta* 72 (1994): 20-3 explains the word as a loan from Egyptian *nṯrh* 'divine', a sodium carbonate used in mummification; in T 37, νέκταρ is dripped into the nostrils of Patroclus. The word is found as *nit(i)ru* in Akkadian, and as *nitri* in Hittite. Since these forms have no velar, the difficulty of explaining the Greek cluster -κτ- remains. It is suggested that it went via a Semitic form *$netkr̥$, but such a form is not attested. Drew Giffith further compares δάκτυλος 'date' from Eg. *dql*, but this form may have been influenced by the word for 'finger'. It cannot be assumed that the velar was introduced from νέκυς, so the explanation cannot be maintained. The Egyptian word was later borrowed as ►νίτρον. Finally, Levin *SMEA* 13 (1971) derived the word from Semitic *nqṭr* 'to burn incense'.

νεκύδαλ(λ)ος [m.] 'the cocoon of the silkworm' (Arist., Ath., Clem. Alex.). On the mg. Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 203ff. ◅PG(S)▻

•ETYM Formation like κορύ-δ-αλ(λ)ος 'crested lark' (see κόρυδος), "so probably derived from νέκυς in view of the apparent lifelessness of the larva" (Frisk). According to Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 203ff., the name is also connected with the view of the Seelenschmetterling (butterfly of the soul) and its symbolic views. Incorrectly, Güntert 1919: 220 f.: properly "deathworm", from νέκυς and *del-* 'split' in δαιδάλλω, etc. The interpretation in Frisk seems most improbable. The word is clearly Pre-Greek (on -αλ(λ)ος, see Beekes 2008).

νέκυς ⇒νεκρός.

νέμεσις, -εως [f.] 'righteous anger, retribution' (Il.), also personified (Hes.); on the mg. below. ◅IE? *nem- 'attribute'▻

•DER Νεμέσια [n.pl.] 'festival of Nemesis' (D.), appellative νεμέσιον [n.] as a plantname = ὠκιμοειδές 'catchfly' (Ps.-Dsc.); Νεμεσεῖον (-ιον) 'temple of Nemesis' (Hell. inscr.); νεμεσίτης λίθος [m.] name of a magic stone (Cyran.).

Denominative verbs: 1. νεμεσ(σ)άομαι, -άω 'to become indignant, rage, get angry, resent' (Il.), aor. νεμεσ(σ)-ηθῆναι, -ήσασθαι, -ῆσαι, verbal adj. -ητός; analogical after

other verbs in -άομαι, -άω (cf. Chantraine 1942: 358, Schwyzer: 727), -σσ- beside -σ- is also analogical / metrical, as in νεμέσσι [dat.sg.] Z 335; νεμεσητικός 'prone to perturbation' (Arist.), νεμεσήμων 'unwilling, perturbed' (Call., Nonn.). 2. νεμεσίζομαι (only pres. and ipf.) 'id.' (Hom.).

•ETYM Formation in -τις (cf. γένεσις, Λάχεσις; see on ►λαγχάνω), often connected with ►νέμω. The proper meaning would be *'(just) assignment, attribution, *imputatio*'; this perhaps still shines through in the usual epic expression οὐ νέμεσις (τινί), originally 'one cannot attribute (to sbd.)', i.e. 'one cannot blame sbd. for sth.' (cf. Bischoff *Gnomon* 15 (1939): 549[1]).

νέμος [n.] 'grove, forest' (since Λ 480). ◅IE? **nem-* 'attribute', **nem-* 'bend'▻

•DER Probably here Νεμέα, epic -είη [f.] valley and place in Argolis with a forest dedicated to Ζεὺς Νέμειος (since Hes.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *nemus* [n.] 'forest, (holy) wood'; also related is a Celtic word for '(holy) wood, sanctuary', in Gaul. *nemeton*, OIr. *nemed*. For IE **nem-os-* beside **nemeto-*, cf. τέλος : τελετή. Further combinations are hypothetical: connection with Skt. *námati* 'to bend' with *námas-* [n.] 'bow, adoration'; with ►νέμω, -ομαι in the sense 'to pasture'.

νέμω, -ομαι [v.] 'to allot, dispense, distribute, appropriate, possess; to inhabit, manage; to pasture, graze, consume' (Il.). ◅IE **nem-* 'dispense, distribute; take'▻

•VAR Aor. νεῖμαι (Il.), -ασθαι, pass. νεμηθῆναι, fut. νεμῶ, -οῦμαι (Ion. -έομαι, late -ήσω, -ήσομαι), perf. νενέμηκα,-ημαι (Att., etc.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-, προσ-.

•DER A. νομή [f.] 'pasture', metaph. 'spread', e.g. of an ulcer , 'distribution' (IA), 'possession' (Hell.). Also ἐπι-, προ-νομή, etc. from ἐπι-, προ-νέμειν, -εσθαι, etc. Also νομός [m.] 'pasture' (Il.), 'seat, residence' (Pi., Hdt., S.), 'province' (Hdt., D. S., Str.). From νομή or νομός (cannot always be determined with certainty): 1. νομάς, -άδος 'roaming the pasture', substantivized plur. 'pastoral people, nomads' (IA), as an EN 'Numidians' (Plb.); thence νομαδ-ικός 'roaming, belonging to pastoral peoples, Numidian' (Arist.), -ίτης 'id.' (Suid.), -ίαι [f.pl.] 'pastures' with -ιαῖος (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*). 2. νομεύς [m.] 'herdsman, shepherd' (Il.), also 'distributor' (Pl.), plur. 'ribs of a ship' (Hdt.); from this (or from νομός?) νομεύω [v.] 'to pasture' (Il.) with νόμευ-μα [n.] 'herd' (A.), -τικός 'belonging to pasturage' (Pl.); διανομ-εύς (to διανομή), προνομ-εύω (to προ-νομή), etc. 3. νόμιος 'regarding the pasture', also as an epithet of several gods (Pi., Ar., Call.); cf. on νόμος; νομαῖος 'id.' (Nic., Call.); νομώδης 'festering', of an ulcer (medic.). 4. νομάζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to pasture' (Nic.).

B. νόμος [m.] 'custom, usage, law; (musical) key, tone' (since Hes.), with several compounds, e.g. Ἔννομος PN (Il.), εὔ-νομος 'equipped with good laws' (Pi.) with εὐνομ-ίη, -ία 'lawful order' (since ρ 487). From νόμος: 1. adj. νόμιμος 'customary, lawful' (IA), with νομιμότης [f.] (Iamb.); νομικός 'regarding the laws, juridical, jurisprudent' (Pl., Arist.); νόμαιος = νόμιμος (Ion. and late); νόμιος 'id.' (Locris; cf. on νομός). 2. Verb νομίζω 'to use customarily, be used to, observe (a custom), believe' (IA, Dor.), sporadically with prefix, e.g. συν-, κατα-; thence νόμισις [f.] 'belief' (Th.), νόμισμα [n.] 'custom, received or current institution, (valid) coin' (IA),

diminutive -άτιον (Poll.); νομιστός 'received' with νομιστεύομαι 'be received' (Plb.), also νομιτεύομαι 'id.' (Hell. and late inscr.), cf. θεμι(σ)τεύω.

C. νεμέτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'keeper (of justice), avenger' (A. *Th.* 485); νέμησις [f.], also ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, etc., from ἀπο-νέμω, etc., 'distribution' (Is., Arist.); νεμ-ητής = νεμέτωρ (Poll.) with -ήτρια [f.] (inscr. Rome, IV^{p}); uncertain Νεμήϊος epithet of Zeus (Archyt. *apud* Stob.); perhaps for Νέμειος (from Νεμέα). On ►νέμεσις, see s.v.

D. Deverbatives: νεμέθω, -ομαι [v.] 'to pasture' (Λ 635, Nic.); νωμάω 'to distribute, maintain, observe' (Il., Hdt., Parm.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with ἐπι-, ἀμφι-, προσ-, whence νώμ-ησις (Pl. *Cra.* 411d), -ήτωρ 'distributor, etc.' (Man., Nonn.).

•ETYM The Greek system is built on the present νέμω. The disyllabic forms νεμέτωρ, νέμεσις, νέμησις must somehow be analogical after γενέτωρ, γένεσις, etc., as νεμ- had no final laryngeal. The ramification of the meanings found in νέμω and its derivations is problematic. Benveniste 1948: 79 stresses that the phenomenon of lawful and regular distribution that characterizes the verb νέμω. However, it may be asked whether more than one root is at the basis of νέμω.

Of the words outside Greek that are interesting for the etymology, the Germanic verb for 'take' agrees best with νέμω: Go. *niman*, etc.; further, Latv. *ņemît*, 1sg. *ņemu* 'to take'. A selection of nominal derivations: Av. *nəmah-* [n.] 'loan', Lat. *numerus* 'number, etc.', OIr. *nem* [f.] 'poison' (cf. Gr. δόσις, G *Gift*).

Connection with Skt. *námati* 'bow, bend' and ToB *näm-* 'id.', which are formally identical with νέμω, can be neither proven nor disproven. LIV^{2} makes a division in 1. **nem-* 'zuteilen' (Gr., Gm. and Latv.) and 2. **nem-* 'sich neigen' (IIr. and To.). See ►νέμος.

νενίηλος [adj.] 'unwise, blinded', acc. to H. = τυφλός, ἀπόπληκτος, ἀνόητος 'blind, senseless, stupid' (Call. *Jov.* 63). ◁PG?▷

•DER Beside it ἐνίηλος (very doubtful, probably <ν>ε-)· ἀνόητος; also νενός· εὐήθης 'simple, silly' (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 392 compares νενός with ἐνεός 'stupid, dumb'; the v.l. <ν>ε- might also be an instance of this alternation.

νέννος [m.] '(maternal) uncle' (Thera, Poll., H., Eust.), 'maternal grandfather' (Poll.; v.l. νόννος); on the mg. cf. μήτρως. ◁ONOM▷

•DER νάνναν· τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφόν· οἱ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀδελφήν. νάννη· μητρὸς ἀδελφή (H.). Cf. also νίν(ν)η [f.] 'grandmother, mother-in-law' vel sim.? (Thessalonica II^{p}).

•ETYM Reduplicated *Lallwort* like e.g. Skt. *nanā́* [f.] 'mother, mama', MoP *nana* 'id.', SCr. *nana* 'mother', Ru. *njánja* 'nurse'; Lat. *nonnus*, *-a* 'monk, nun', also 'nurse-maid' can probably also be adduced. On the Greek words, see Schwyzer: 315, 339, 423.

νεογιλλός, -ιλός [adj.] 'newly born, young, small' vel sim. (μ 86, Is. *Fr.* 12, Theoc., late prose); cf. H. νεογιλῆς (μ 86)· νεογνῆς, νεαρᾶς, νέας, νεωστὶ γεννηθείσης; acc. to sch. ad loc. γάλακτι τρεφομένης 'fed by mother's breast'; besides perhaps νεογιλής in νεογηλέα, v.l. Anacr. 51 for νεοθηλέα. ◁IE? **ǵeid-* 'suck'▷

•VAR Perhaps found in Myc. *ki-ra* = /gillā/, Chantraine 1968: 574.

•ETYM The second member is also seen in the PN Γίλλος, with Γιλλίς, -ίων. The gemination, which is typical of pet names, does not necessarily belong to the adjective. However, if it is original, -γιλλος may stand for *-γιδ-λος and belong together with Lith. *žįsti*, 1sg. *žindù* 'to suck'; νεογιλλός may then originally mean "who started sucking recently".

νεογνός [adj.] 'newborn'. ⇒γίγνομαι.

νεολαία [f.] 'group of young men, youth of a nation' (A. [lyr.], Ar. *Fr.* 67, Theoc., late prose), also adj. (E. *Alc.* 103 [lyr.]; correct?). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Abstract compound from νέος and λαός with a suffix -ία-: *νεο-λᾱϝ-ία, properly "composition of young people". Cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 172f.

νέομαι [v.] 'to reach some place, escape, return, get home' (Il.). ◂IE **nes-* 'return, heal'▸
•VAR Contracted forms νεῦμαι, νεῖαι, νεῖται, etc., only present-stem. Further νίσομαι (-σσ-), only present stem except for uncertain or late attestations of a supposed aorist νίσ(σ)ασθαι, often with prefix. e.g. μετα-, ποτι-, ἀπο-, 'drive, go, come' (Il.).
•DIAL Myc. PN *Ne-ti-ja-no* /Nesti-anōr/, see Peters *Sprache* 32 (1986). It is compared with Thess. Νέσσανδρος (*SEG* 34, 530).
•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-.
•DER 1. νόστος [m.] 'return, homecoming, (felicitous) journey' (Il.), also 'income, produce' (Trypho *apud* Ath. 14, 618d); ἄ-νοστος 'without yield' (Thphr.); hence νόστιμος 'belonging to the return' (Od.), also 'giving produce, fruitful, nutritious' (Call., Thphr., Plu.).
Denominative verb νοστέω 'to return, come home, travel' (epic poet. since Il., also Hdt.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ὑπο-, περι-; thence ἀπο-, ὑπο-, περι-νόστησις [f.] 'return, retreat, etc.' (late). 2. Νέστωρ, -ορος [m.] PN (Il.), whence Νεστόρεος (Il.), Aeol. for -ιος; -ειος (Pi., E.), νεστορίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a cup (Ath. 11, 487f.).
•ETYM The thematic root present νέομαι < **nes-e/o-* corresponds formally with the Germanic group of Go. *ganisan* 'to recover, be saved', OE *genesan* 'to escape, be saved, survive', MoHG *genesen* 'to mend, recover', with a perfective prefix **ga-*. The semantic connection between these verbs is quite straightforward. Skt. *násate* 'to come near, approach, meet sbd., unite', which is semantically farther removed, is nevertheless formally identical; if *Nā́satyā* [m.du.], indicating the Aśvins, properly means "Healers, Saviors", it fits well with νέομαι, *ga-nisan* and the causatives Go. *nasjan* 'to save' and OHG *nerian* 'to save, heal, feed'.
The forms νῖσομαι (also written νίσσομαι) are debated. Acc. to LIV², we may explain them as **ni-ns-e-* > νῖσε- (instead of sound-regular **νῖνε-) by assuming an athematic 3sg. **ni-ns-toi* with preservation of *s* before *t*, and only later thematization (likewise, Pok. 766; differently, Peters *Sprache* 30 (1984): 86). The explanation as a desiderative **ni-ns-s-e/o-* is less likely in view of the formal match with Skt. *níṃsate* < **ni-ns-e/o-*.
The comparison with ToA *nasam*, ToB *nesau* 'I am' < perf. **nos-* is accepted by some, doubted by others. See also on ▸ναίω 'to live' and on ▸ἄσμενος.

νεόπτραι [f.] · υἱῶν θυγατέρες 'daughters of sons' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Hypotheses by Latte and Benveniste 1969:1: 234.

νέος [adj.] 'new, young, youthful, unusual, unheard' (Il.). ◁IE **neuo-* 'new'▷

•VAR Grades of comparison νεώτερος, -τατος (since Il.), also νέατος in the sense of 'the last one' (trag.), but perhaps contaminated with νείατος, see on ▶νειός.

•DIAL Myc. *ne-wo*.

•COMP Very often as a first member, cf. νεο-γιλλός, νεο-γν-ός, νέ-ορτος (see ὄρνυμι), νεοχμός, etc.

•DER 1. νεαρός 'young, youthful, tender, fresh' (B 289; on the formation below) with νεάρωσις [f.] 'rejuvenation' (Poet. in *PIand.* 78, 13). 2. νεότης, -ητος (Dor. -τας) [f.] 'age of youth, youthful spirit, band of young men' (Il.), -τήσιος 'youthful' (Ps.-Phoc.). 3. νεοίη [f.] 'youthful thoughtlessness' (Ψ 604), νέοιαι· ἀφροσύναι 'id.' (H.); after ἀνοίη, ἄνοια. 4. νέᾱξ, -κος [m.] = νεανίας (Nicophon, Poll.); see Björck 1950: 264f. Adverbs: 5. νεωστί 'newly, fresh' (IA) from νέως + τι (Schwyzer: 624). 6. νεόθεν 'lately' (S. *OC* 1447 [lyr.]). Denominative verbs: 7. νεάζω 'to be or become young' (trag., com., Hdt., Hell.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, whence ἐκνεασμός 'innovation' (Simp.); on νεασμός 'labouring of a fallow land' (Gp.), from νεάω, see below and on ▶νειός. 8. νεόω 'to make new' (A.), also = νεάω (LXX, Poll.) with νεώματα [pl.] 'laboured fallow land' (LXX). 9. νεάω [v.] 'to work fallow land' (Hes. *Op.* 462), cf. Lat. *novālis* (*ager*, *terra*) 'fallow land'; besides, derivation from ▶νειός 'fallow land' is conceivable. 10. νεώσσω, -ττω [v.] 'to renew' (Hdn., H.). 11. νεωτερίζω [v.] 'to renew, innovate (in political organization)' (Att.) with νεωτερ-ισμός, -ισμα, -ισις, -ιστής, -ικός. On ▶νεᾱνίᾱς, see s.v.

•ETYM The form νέος < νέϝος (cf. Myc. *ne-wo* and Cypr. νεϝόστατος) is identical with Hitt. *neu̯a-*, Skt. *náva-*, Lat. *novus*, OCS *novъ*, ToB *ñuwe*, ToA *ñu*, all from IE **neuo-* 'new'. There is also a derivative in *-i̯o-* in Skt. *návya-*, Go. *niujis*, Gaul. *Noviodūnum*, Lith. *naūjas*. Theoretically, νεῖος (only A. R. 1, 125, verse-initially) could agree with this, but it is rather due to metrical lengthening. An *r*-formation parallel to νεαρός is found in Arm. *nor* 'new' < **neu̯eró-* vel sim.; cf. νηρός. The denominative verb νεάω agrees with Lat. *novāre* and Hitt. *neu̯aḫḫ-* 'to renew', but they could be parallel innovations, like the correspondence of νεότης with Lat. *novitās*, and of νέᾱξ with CS *novakъ*. It is probable that the adjective **neuo-* derives from **nu* 'now'.

νεοσσός [m.] 'young bird, chick', also of other animals and of men (Il.), 'yolk of an egg' (Arist.). ◁IE **neuo-* + *-tio-* 'young'▷

•VAR Also νοσσός (Schwyzer: 253 with lit.), Att. νεοττός.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ν(ε)οσσο-τροφέω (-ττ-) [v.] 'to rear young birds' (Ar.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: ν(ε)οσσίον, -ττ- 'chick', also metaph. 'yolk of an egg' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.); -σσίς, -ττίς [f.] 'id.', also as a PN (com., Arist., *AP*), as a designation of a shoe (Herod. 7, 57; probably from the PN). 2. collective ν(ε)οσσιή (Ion.), -ττιά (Att.), νοσσιά (Hell.) 'brood', also 'den, lair' (Herod.), 'beehive' (LXX). 3.

Denominative verb ν(ε)οσσεύω, -ττεύω 'to breed, nestle' (IA) with νεοττεία, -ττευσις 'breeding' (Arist.). 4. PN Νόσσος, Νοσσώ, Νοσσικᾶς (inscr.).

•ETYM Formed from νέος, probably after the example of περισσός, ἔπισσαι, or μέτασσαι. These contain the adjectival suffix *-*tio*- added to a preposition, as found also in e.g. Hitt. *appezziia*- 'backmost', Skt. *ápatya*- 'offspring' < **Hop-e/o-ti-o*- and, within Greek, in the adverbs ὀπίσ(σ)ω, πρόσ(σ)ω.

νεοχμός [adj.] 'new, unusual, strange', almost only of objects (Ion. poet., Alcm.). ◁GR▷

•DER νεοχμίη· κίνησις πρόσφατος 'recent movement' (H.) and denominative νεοχμόω = νεωτερίζω 'to innovate (in the political system), to revolt' (Hdt., Th. 1, 12, Arist.) with νεόχμωσις [f.] 'innovation, unusual appearance' (Arist., Aret.); also νεοχμι-έω (H., Suid.), -ίζω (H.) 'id.'.

•ETYM Derived from νέος, but with an unclear formation. It has been compared with ὀρροχμόν· ἔσχατον, ἄκρον 'topmost, highest' (H.), from ὄρρος. Wackernagel *KZ* 33 (1895): 1f. analyzes -χμι- as the zero grade of χθών, χαμαί, so the compound would originally mean 'new in (this) land'; however, this has not been universally accepted.

νέπετος [?] = καλαμίνθη (Gal.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Cf. νέπιτα· ἡ καλαμίνθη (H.).

•ETYM According to André 1956 s.v., νέπιτα was taken from Lat. *nepeta*. Fur.: 357 is probably right in considering the origin of the Latin word to be a Greek pre-form *νεπετα. Such a form points to Pre-Greek origin.

νέποδες [pl.] in νέποδες καλῆς Ἁλοσύδνης as a designation of the φῶκαι 'seals' (δ 404); differently interpreted by later poets: as ἀπόγονοι 'descendants' (Theoc. 17, 25, Call. *Fr.* 77; also Eust. 1502, 36); as νηξίποδες 'creatures with fins' (H.), referring to fishes (Call. *Fr.* 260, Nic., *AP*), as ἄποδες 'feetless' (Apion *apud* Apollon. *Lex.*). ◁?▷

•ETYM The exact meaning is uncertain, so the word remains etymologically unclear. The fact that Greek has no word-negation *νε- 'not-, un-' is evidence against the interpretation 'footless'. The interpretation as 'ἀπόγονοι' identifies νέποδες with Lat. *nepōtes* = Skt. *nápātaḥ* [pl.] 'grandchild'; thus, the word would have been adapted in its inflection to πούς : ποδός.

νέρθε(ν) [adv.] '(from) below'. •VAR νέρτερος 'lower'. ⇒ἔνερθεν, ἐνέρτερος.

νέτωπον [n.] 'oil of bitter almonds' (Hp.), also νετώπιον (H.) and by folk-etymology μετώπιον (medic., H.); νίωπον (Hp. *apud* Erot.). ◁PG?, LW Sem.?▷

•ETYM Acc. to Lewy 1895: 39f., it is a Semitic loan; cf. Hebr. *nāṭāp*, Aram. *nᵉṭāpā*, *nāṭōpā* 'drip; dripping, odoriferous resin'. However, the variations dental/zero (Fur.: 391) and ε/ι could also point to a Pre-Greek word.

νευρά [f.] 'string of a bow, sinew' (Il., X., Arist.). ◁IE **sneh*$_1$-*ur*/*n*- 'band, sinew'▷

•VAR Ion. -ή.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. νευρό-σπαστος 'drawn by strings', substantivized [n.pl.] 'puppets' (Hdt., X.), with derivatives νευροσπάστ-ης, -ικός, -ία, -έω (Arist., Hell.).

•DER Diminutive νευρίον [n.] (*AP*). Lengthened form νευρειή (Theoc. 25, 213; verse-initial), cf. ἐγχείη : ἔγχος, etc.; oxytone accent after νευρή.

Also νεῦρον [n.] 'sinew, string (of a bow, of an instrument), cord, penis', in plur. 'strength, power' (Il.).

Derivatives: 1. diminutive νευρίον (Hp.). 2. Plant name νευράς, -άδος [f.] = ποτίρριον (Dsc., Plin.), δορύκνιον (Plin.). 3. Adjective νευρ-ώδης 'sinewy' (IA), -ινος 'made from sinews' (Pl., Arist.), -ικός 'suffering from contraction of the sinews, concerning the sinews, etc.' (medic.). 4. Verb νευρόομαι, -όω 'to be provided with sinews' (Ar., Ph., Gal.), also with prefix άπο-, ἐκ-, whence άπονεύρωσις [f.] 'end of the muscle, where it becomes tendinous' (Gal.).

•ETYM Greek νεῦρον and Lat. *nervus* 'sinew, muscle, nerve' < **(s)neuro-* display a thematic enlargement of the *r*-stem seen in Av. *snāuuarə* [n.] 'sinew', ToB *ṣñaura* 'sinews, nerves', Arm. *neard* 'sinew, fiber' (with QIE **-t*). An alternating *n*-stem is found in Skt. *snāvan-* [n.] 'band, sinew'. The Greek and Latin thematizations probably originated in the collective (neuter plural).

We have to depart from IE **sneh₁-ur/n-*, a derivative in *-uer/n-* from a root **sneh₁-* 'to twist together (threads)', found in ►νέω 2 'to spin'. For the reconstruction, see Schrijver 1991: 269. Hitt. *išḫunauar* [n.] 'sinew' is unrelated, but derives from *išḫunau̯-* 'upper arm' (cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

νεύω [v.] 'to incline, nod, beckon, grant' (Il.). ◅IE **neu(H)-* 'nod, incline'▻

•VAR Aor. νεῦσαι, fut. νεύσω, -νεύσομαι (Il.), perf. νένευκα (E.) -νένευμαι (Ph.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. άνα-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER νεῦσις [f.] 'nodding, inclination', also with ἔκ-, άνά-, etc. (Pl., LXX), νεῦμα [n.] 'beck, nod' (A., Th., X.), also with ἐπι-, ἐν-, συν-; thence νευμάτιον (Arr.); νευστικός 'inclining' (Ph.). Enlargement νευστάζω (rarely with ἐπι-) [v.] 'to nod, beckon' (Il.), cf. βαστάζω, ῥυστάζω, etc.

•ETYM Frisk argued that the retention of the diphthong in νεύω as well as in νευστάζω pointed to a pre-form **neus-e/o-* or **neus-ie/o-*, comparing ►γεύομαι and ►εὔω. The late forms νένευκα, -νένευμαι are derived from νεύω. However, the obvious cognate Lat. *abnuō* 'to refuse, deny', *adnuō* 'to nod, permit' derives from **-neue/o-*, which is why a root without *-s-* would be preferable. The form νεῦμα agrees with Lat. *nūmen* < **neu(s)-mn*, but both forms are easily understood as independent innovations.

García Ramón *MSS* 54 (1993): 33-63 discusses the Aktionsart and aspect of **neu(H)-* 'to make a sudden movement', and comes to the following conclusions: 1) Lat. *nūtus* does not prove a laryngeal. 2) Skt. *návate* 'to move' should not be included as evidence. 3) The Greek present may continue **neu(H)-e/o-*. 4) The verb is non-momentative and non-durative. The original meaning is still preserved in Greek and Latin.

Further cognates include Lith. *niaũsti* 'to incline' and MIr. *a:t-noí* 'to entrust' (LIV² s.v. **neu-*). The group of Ru. *núrit'*, which is semantically close, is difficult to connect because a *ro*-adjective is hard to imagine for this root. See ►νύσσω, ►νυστάζω.

νεφέλη [f.] 'cloud, mass of clouds' (epic poet. since Il., X., Arist.) also a cloud in urine and in the eye (medic.), metaph. 'fine bird-net' (Ar., Call., *AP*). ◁IE **neb^h-l-* 'cloud'▷

•COMP νεφελ-ηγερέτα 'cloud-gatherer', epithet of Zeus, with voc. for nom., ἐπι-νέφελος 'clouded' (Hdt., Hp., Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive νεφέλιον [n.] (Arist., Thphr., medic.). 2. Adjectives: νεφελ-ώδης 'cloudy' (Arist.), -ωτός 'covered with clouds, consisting of clouds' (Luc.). 3. Verbs: νεφελ-όομαι (Eust.), -ίζομαι (sch.) 'to be(come) covered with clouds'.

•ETYM Both νέφος and νεφέλη are old inherited words with exact counterparts in several languages. The word νεφέλη corresponds to Lat. *nebula*, MW *nyfel* 'cloud', IE **neb^h-el-h$_2$-*. Germanic has the same element *-l-*, but the ending and the medial vowel vary: e.g., ON *njól* [f.] 'darkness' < PGm. **nĕ̆bulā*, OHG *nebul* [m.] 'mist' < PGm. **neb(V)la-*. Celtic forms like OIr. *nél* [m.] 'cloud, mist', gen. *nivil* are ambiguous. Beside this *l*-stem, we find a neuter *s*-stem **neb^h-s-* in ▶νέφος = Skt. *nábhas-* [n.] 'cloud, mist, haze', Hitt. *nepiš*, OCS *nebo*, gen. *nebese* 'heaven'. The word ▶ὄμβρος is unrelated.

νέφος [n.] 'cloud, mass of clouds' (Il.). ◁IE **neb^h-s-* 'cloud'▷

•COMP νεφο-ειδής 'cloud-like' (Epicur.), συν-νεφής 'surrounded by clouds, dark' (E., Arist.), ἐπι-νεφής 'cloudy, bringing clouds' (Arist., Thphr.) with the verbal formations (probably back-formations): συν-νέφει, -νένοφεν (Ar., E., Arist.), ἐπι-νέφει (Arist., Thphr.) 'is or makes cloudy', whence ἐπίνεψις [f.] 'cloudiness' (Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive νεφύδριον (Olymp. Phil.). 2. Adjective νεφώδης 'cloudlike, bringing clouds' (Arist., Str.). 3. Verb νεφόομαι (also with ἐκ-) 'become cloudy, be changed in a cloud' (Thphr., Ph.) with νέφωσις [f.] 'cloudiness' (Ph.).

•ETYM For cognates, see ▶νεφέλη. LIV^2 s.v. 1. **neb^h-* takes the impersonal verbs συννέφει, etc. as old.

νεφροί [m.pl.] 'kidneys' (IA). ◁IE **neg^{wh}ro-* 'kidney'▷

•VAR Also νεφρώ [du.] (Ar. *Ra.* 475), rarely sg. νεφρός.

•COMP As a second member in περί-νεφρος 'fat around the kidneys' (Arist.).

•DER νεφρία [n.pl.] 'id.' (pap. II-III^P); νεφρ-ίτης σφόνδυλος 'first vertebra of the sacrum' (Poll.), -ῖτις (νόσος) [f.] 'disease of the kidneys' (Hp., Th.) with -ιτικός 'suffering of νεφρῖτις, healing the ν.' (medic.); νεφρ-ώδης 'kidney-like' (Arist.), -ιαῖος 'ptng. to the kidneys' (Dsc.); hypostasis ἐπινεφρ-ίδιος 'on the kidneys', of δημιός 'fat' (Φ 204).

•ETYM The word νεφροί has a counterpart in the glosses given by Festus: *nefrōnēs* (Praeneste), *nebrundinēs* (Lanuvium) 'kidneys'. The Germanic word for 'kidney', OHG *nioro*, ME *nēre* (also *kid-nēre* > E *kidney*), OSw. *niūre*, etc., which requires a pre-form **neuran-*, points to IE **neg^{wh}ro-*. Both ἀδήν 'gland', *inguen* 'groin' and Lat. *rēnēs*, OIr. *áru* 'kidney' must be kept separate.

νέω 1 [v.] 'to swim' (Il.). ◁IE **sneh$_2$-* 'swim'▷

•VAR Ipf. ἔ-ννεον (Φ 11), aor. νεῦσαι, perf. νένευκα (Att.), fut. νεύσομαι (H.), -σοῦμαι (v.l. X. *An.* 4, 3, 12).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐκ-, περι-.

•DER νεῦσις [f.] 'swimming' (Arist.), ἀνάνευ-σις properly "swimming upward", 'revival' (LXX).

Beside νέω stands νήχω, usually -ομαι 'to swim', Dor. (Ps.-Theoc.) νᾶχω, -ομαι, fut. νήξομαι (epic poet. Od.), aor. νήξασθαι (Plb., Lyc., *AP*), perf. med. νενῆχθαι (Ath.), very often with prefix (mostly med.), e.g. παρα-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-. Thence νῆξις [f.] 'swimming' (Batr., Plu., medic.), διάνηξ-ις 'swimming through' (Herm. *apud* Stob.), νηχαλέος 'swimming' (Xenocr.), after μυδαλέος, etc.

•ETYM The present νήχω, νάχω, whence νήξομαι, etc., contains a velar enlargement of IE **sneh₂-*, as seen in Skt. *snā́ti* 'to bathe', Lat. *nāre* 'to swim', OIr. *snäim* 'to swim, float, etc.'. For the root-extension -χ-, compare σμῆν beside σμήχω 'to salve'.

Deviating from νήχω in their vocalism, νέω and νεῦσαι agree with πλέω : πλεῦσαι and could be rhyme-formations. Verbal nouns with *o*-ablaut are supposed in νόα· πηγή. Λάκωνες 'source (Lacon.)' (H.; corrected to νοά by Bechtel 1921, 2: 378) and in Νοῦς ποταμός (Arcadia, Asia Minor; cf. Schwyzer: 310); a zero grade aorist occurs in ἔννυθεν· ἐκέχυντο (H.) (correct?).

Beside νήχω and νέω, there is ►νάω 'to bubble up, stream'.

νέω 2 [v.] 'to spin'. ◄IE **sneh₁-* 'spin'►

•VAR Present 3sg. νῇ (νῆ, νεῖ; Hes. *Op.* 777), 3pl. νῶσι (Ael., Poll.), ipf. ἔννη (Aeol.; Hdn., *EM*), inf. νῆν, ptc. νῶντα (H.), νώμενος (Poll.); also νήθω (Cratin., Pl., LXX); aor. νῆσαι, -ασθαι (since η 198); νῶσαι (Eup. 319, ptc.f.pl.(?); Meineke νῆσαι), pass. νηθῆναι and fut. νήσω (Att.), perf. med. νένησμαι (late).

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, δια-, συν-, κατα-.

•DER νῆμα [n.] 'thread, yarn' (Od.) with νηματ-ικός 'consisting of threads' (Ath. Mech.), -ώδης 'fibrous' (Plu.); νῆσις [f.] 'spinning' (Pl.); νῆτρον [n.] 'distaff' (Suid.); ►νήθουσα [f.] plant name.

•ETYM The dental enlargement in νήθω may be compared with κνήθω : κνῆν, πλήθω : πλῆτο (Schwyzer 703), and perhaps also κλώθω 'to spin' (Frisk).

Aeolic ἔννη and Homeric ἐΰ-ννητος 'well spun' point to original **sn-*, which is etymologically expected on account of OIr. *sniid* 'spins, stitches'. The root is also found in Lat. *nēre* 'to spin' < **(s)neh₁-*, and without *s*-mobile in Germanic, e.g. OHG *nāen* 'to sew'.

The question is what present formation PIE built on this root. The forms νῶσι, νῶντα, νώμενος are thematizations (from *νηουσι, *νήοντα, *νηόμενος) of the old athematic verb found in the ipf. ἔννη < **e-sneh₁-t*. However, there are also forms that point to an *i*-enlargement: e.g., Ru. *nit'* 'thread', Lith. *nýtis* 'warp thread' < **(s)nh₁i-ti-*. Lat. *neō* is ambiguous and could continue either a *yod*-present derived from this *i*-present, or an old athematic formation. Celtic points to a *yod*-present **sniyo-*. Latv. *snāju, snāt* 'to wind together loosely' is perhaps related, but its apparent *o*-vocalism is unclear. The **o* is also found in several nouns, e.g. OIr. *snáth* 'thread' (probably < **snoh₁-to-* rather than **snh₁-tó-*), OGutn. *snōþ* 'cord' = OE *snōd* 'headband, snood', Latv. *snātene* 'linen shawl'.

An important derivative from **sneh₁-*, which became lexicalized already in PIE, is **sneh₁-ur/n-* 'cord, sinew, etc.'; see on ►νεῦρον.

-νέω 3 [v.] 'to amass, pile up, load with sth.'. ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. νῆσαι, -ασθαι, perf. med. νένη(σ)μαι, also with ἐπι-, περι-, συν-, etc. (IA), aor. pass. νησθῆναι (Arr.), fut. νήσω (Suid.), νησόμεθα· κορεσθησόμεθα 'will be stuffed' (H.); ipf. also νήει, νήεον, aor. νηῆσαι (epic Il.), ναήσατο (B. 3, 33), besides νήνεον (only v.l. Ψ 139), ἐπ-, παρ-ενήνεον (Hom.).
•COMP Present stem only with ἐπι-, περι- (Hdt.).
•DER νήησις [f.] 'heaping up' (sch. A. R. 1, 403).
•ETYM Hom. -ενήνεον does not have intensive reduplication with lengthened grade (such formations are not assumed anymore, since δηδέχαται has been explained differently). Most scholars assume that it is a mistake for -ενήεον, but an objection is that is occurs several times (DELG). Therefore, the form remains unexplained.
The present νηέω, posited on the basis of νήει, νήεον, may have been formed from a non-presentic stem in -η, like aor. νηῆσαι. Likewise, -νέω may have arisen from νῆσαι (which may in turn be a contracted form of νηῆσαι). The gloss νῶντος· σωρεύοντος 'heaping up' (Phot.) can also be explained in various ways. In its entirety, then, the collection of forms remains unclear. There is no etymology.

νεωλκέω [v.] 'to haul the ship on land, bring the ship in dock' (Thphr., Plb., D. S.). ◂GR▸
•DER Also νεωλκός = ὁ νεωλκῶν (Arist., Cos I[a], Poll.), -ία [f.] 'docking' (Aen. Tact., Arist., Thphr.), -ια [n.pl.] 'docks' (App., H.).
•ETYM Synthetic compounds of ναῦς and ἕλκω. The forms νεωλκός < *νηϝ-ολκός and νεωλκ-ία, -ια may be back-formations from νεωλκέω (cf. δειροτομέω, πολιορκέω, etc.; Schwyzer: 726), but they may also be the basis of the latter.

νεώρια [n.pl.] 'dockyard, ship-arsenal' (Att.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Also -ιον [sg.].
•DIAL Dor. ναώριον (Corc. II[a]).
•DER Diminutive νεωρίδιον (Delos; II[a]); νεωρός· νεωριοφύλαξ 'guard of the dockyard' (H.), -οί [pl.] = ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων (*IG* 1², 74: 11 [V[a]]).
•ETYM From *νηϝο-ϝόρ-ια (perhaps with haplology), originally 'place where ships are surveyed', a compound of ▸ναῦς and a verbal noun of ▸ὁράω, extended with the suffix -ιο-. The rarer form νεωρός may be a back-formation from this (like e.g. θυρωρός; cf. Leumann 1950: 223[20]).

νεώς [m.] 'temple'. ⇒ναός.

νέωτα [adv.] 'next year' (Semon. 1, 9). ◂GR?▸
•VAR Elsewhere εἰς (ἐς) νέωτα (X., Thphr.), Delph. [ἐν ν]εω [τ]α (*Del.*³ 323 *A* 12 [V-IV[a]]).
•DER In the same mg. ἐς νέω (Cyrene; also as a weakly attested v.l. in Theoc. 15, 143); unclear ἐς νέων (*BGU* 958 c 13 [III[P]]), see Maas *Riv. fil. class.* 56 (1928): 413f.
•ETYM Without a convincing explaination. The word νέωτα is traditionally analyzed as a compound of νέος and ἔτος 'year', but none of the advanced reconstructions (see Frisk) can explain the -ω-. DELG accepts the solution by Szemerényi 1969b: 233, who starts from the dative attestation in Semon. without the preposition ἐς,

assuming that νεω was abstracted from νεω(ι)ετει, and that adverbial -τα (as in ἔπειτα, etc.) was added later.

νη- privative prefix in νη-κερδής 'useless', νη-πενθής 'free of sorrows', etc. (Il.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Dor. νᾱ-.
•ETYM Forms in νη-, να-, νω- arose from the IE negating prefix **n-* combined with a following sequence **HC-* (**H* = **h₁*, **h₂*, **h₃*, respectively). After reanalysis of such forms, νη- spread as a separate prefix to words without original initial laryngeal. See Beekes 1969: 98-113, and cf. the privative prefixes ▸ἀ- and ▸ν-, both from **n-*.

νή [pcl.] assertory particle. ⇒ναί.

νηάς [f.] a gigantic animal, the remains of which were seen on Samos (Euph. *apud* Ael. *N.A.* 17, 28). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

νηγάτεος [adj.] epithet of χιτών (B 43), κρήδεμνον (Ξ 185), φᾶρος (*h. Ap.* 122), καλύβαι (A. R. 1, 775). ◂?▸
•ETYM The similarity with MoGr. Macedonian ἀνήγατος 'not worn yet, new' cannot be accidental. However, the etymology is unknown. Fur.: 374 does not help.

νήγρετος [adj.] 'which cannot (or hardly) be woken' (Od., Alex. poets). ◂IE **h₁ger-* 'awake'▸
•ETYM From **n-* and **h₁gr-eto-* in ἔγρετο. See ▸ἐγείρω.

νήδυμος [adj.] epithet of ὕπνος (Hom.), in late poets also of Μοῦσα, Ὀρφεύς, ὕδωρ, ἄνθος (*h. Pan.*, *APl.*, Nonn.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Reinterpretation of ἥδυμος 'sweet' (see ▸ἡδύς) by taking the preceding ephelcystic ν to the next word. This ν had been introduced after the loss of the ϝ in order to remove the hiatus (e.g. ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος B 2). See Leumann 1950: 44f. and Chantraine 1942: 14.

νηδύς, -ύος [f.] 'abdominal cavity, abdomen' (Il.). ◂?▸
•VAR -ῦς, secondarily -ῡ́ς; see Schwyzer: 463f.
•DER With suffix -ιο-: νήδυια [n.pl.] 'intestines' (P 524, A. R., Nic.).
•ETYM Unexplained.

νηέω 'to heap (up)'. ⇒-νέω 3.

νήθουσα [f.] plant name (*PMag. Par.*). ◂PG▸
•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 197[55]. Details in Strömberg 1940: 106.

νήθω 'spin'. ⇒νέω 2.

νῆϊς, -ιδος, -ιδα [adj.] 'unknowing, *nescius*' (since H 198, θ 179). ◂?▸
•VAR Secondarily acc. -ιν.
•ETYM Perhaps contains the prefix ▸νη-, which arose by reanalysis of the original privative prefix **n-* (cf. νηκερδής) and a root noun **uid-*.

νήκουστος [adj.] 'who does not hear' (Emp.). ◂IE **h₂kou-* 'hear'▸

•ETYM From **n-* and **h₂kous-*, as in ►ἀκούω.

νηλ(ε)ής, -εές [adj.] 'without compassion, pitiless' (epic poet. since Il.), also 'unescapable, unavoidable', in νηλεὲς ἦμαρ, etc. ◄IE **n-h₁leu-es-* 'pitiless', **n-h₂leu-* 'unescapable'►

•VAR Metrically lengthened νηλειής, -ειές (Hes. *Th.* 770 and *h. Ven.* 245 [verse-initial], A. R. 4, 476); see Chantraine 1942: 74 and 101.

•COMP As a first member in νηλεό-ποινος 'punishing without mercy' (Hes.), etc.

•ETYM In the sense 'without mercy', from the negation **n̥-* and **h₁leu-o-* (as in ►ἔλεος, ἐλεέω). In the sense 'unescapable', from the root **h₂leu-*, as in ἀλέομαι. The PN Νηλεύς (Hom.) could be related, but could also be Pre-Greek. See Beekes 1969: 109 and index.

νηλίπους [adj.] 'without footgear, barefoot'. ◄GR►

•VAR Gen. -ποδος (S. *OC* 349), νήλιπος, -ον (A. R. 3, 646, Lyc. 635, Theoc. 4, 56, where v.l. ἀνήλιπος [-ἀλ-]).

•DER Cf. νηλίπεζοι ἢ νήλιποι· ἀνυπόδετοι 'without shoes' (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to sch. Theoc. 4, 56, it derives from an otherwise unknown and unexplained ἦλιψ (name of a Dorian shoe) and privative ν(η)-. If this is true, the oldest attestation νηλίπους may stand for *νηλιπο-πους with syllabic dissimilation (cf. Schwyzer: 263), or be a reformation of νήλιπος after ποῦς.

νήνεμος [adj.] 'without wind, calm' (Hom.). ◄IE **n̥-h₂nh₁-m-*►

•DER νηνεμίη (Il.) 'calm, lull', νηνεμέω [v.] 'to be still' (Hp.).

•ETYM From **n-* and the root of ►ἄνεμος in the zero grade.

νηνέω 'to heap (up)'. ⇒-νέω 3.

νηνία [f.] public eulogy, sometimes accompanied by the flute (Cic. *Leg.* 2, 24, 62). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown. It is supposed to be the origin of Lat. *nēnia*. The word νηνίατον is ascribed to Hipponax (*fr.* 163 Masson) by Poll. 4, 79. Cf. νηνίατος (correction for νινήατος)· νόμος παιδαριώδης καὶ φρύγιον μέλος 'childish tune, Phrygian melody' (H.).

νηπελέω 'to be powerless'. ⇒ὀλιγηπελέων.

νήπιος [adj.] 'under-aged, young, feeble, childish, foolish' (Il.). ◄?►

•COMP As a first member in νηπιό-φρων 'puerile, thoughtless' (Str.).

•DER νηπιέη [f.] 'puerility, childish behaviour' (Hom.) with Aeol. -έη for -ίη, probably after ἠνορέη (Leumann 1950: 110[72], Chantraine 1942: 83); hence νηπίεος = νήπιος (Opp.); νηπιότης [f.] 'puerility' (Pl., Arist.); νηπιάζω [v.] 'to be childish' (Hp. *Ep.*, Erinn., 1 *Ep. Cor.* 14, 20, etc.).

Enlargements: 1. νηπίαχος 'id.' (Il.), whence -αχεύω [v.] 'to be childish, play children's plays' (X 502, verse-final; metrically conditioned, Chantraine 1942: 95 and 368), -άχω 'id.' (A. R., Mosch., Opp.), probably after στενάχω, ἰάχω; see also Schwyzer: 722f. 2. νηπύτιος 'id.' (Il., Ar. *Nu.* 868, Orph.), with -ίη (A. R.), -ιεύομαι (*AP*).

•ETYM The most recent discussion by Kazansky 2005 is not convincing: he assumes a root *h_2ep- 'strength' with an extension *h_2pel- in ἀνηπελίη· ἀσθένεια 'weakness' (H.), ►ὀλιγηπελέων, etc. Since the root *h_2ep- itself is not attested in the meaning 'strength', Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that it may be better to return to the proposal of Lacroix 1937: 261ff., who proposed that νήπιος consists of the negative prefix and ►ἥπιος. We may reconstruct *η-h_2p-$i\underline{i}o$-, with the root *h_2ep- 'join' as found in Hitt. *$\underline{h}app$-^{zi}* 'to join', Lat. *aptus* 'fitting' and Gr. ἅπτω 'to attach, grasp'.

νήρειον [n.] the plant 'dolphin-flower' (Ps. Dsc. 3, 73). ◄?►
•DER νηρειάδιον (ib.).
•ETYM Neither νήριον nor Νηρεύς offers an etymology.

Νηρεύς, -έως [m.] sea god, son of Pontos and Gaia (*h. Ap.* 319, Hes. *Th.* 233 and 240). ◄PG?►
•VAR Epic Ion. gen. -ῆος.
•DER Νηρεῖος in Νηρεῖα τέκνα = 'fishes' (Euphro 8, 2) and Νήρειον, -άδιον = δελφίνιον, a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.) perhaps referring to νηρόν '(fresh) water'? Besides Νηρηΐς, -εΐς [f.], -ίδες [pl.] 'Nereids, seanymphs' (Il.).
•ETYM As Νηρεύς has relevance only as the father of the Nereids (see von Wilamowitz 1931: 219 and Nilsson 1941(1): 240; in Hom., he is probably mentioned as ἅλιος γέρων), we should consider whether the father was named after his daughters. He may also be called Πρωτεύς (West ad Hes. *Th.* 233). Not only Νηρεύς has been considered as a base form of Νηρη(ϝ)ίδ-, but other stems as well; cf. Schwyzer: 465 and Chantraine 1933: 345f. The glosses νηρίδας· τὰς κοίλας πέτρας 'hollow rocks' and νηρόν· τὸ ταπεινόν 'low-lying' (H.) are also worthy of consideration.
An IE etymology can hardly be expected. The word is probably Pre-Greek, as is suggested by the ending -εύς. See ►νάω.

νήριον [n.] name of a plant, 'Nerium Oleander, oleander' (Dsc. 4, 81, Plin.). ◄?►
•ETYM May belong to νηρόν '(fresh) water' because of the characteristic property of this plant to follow the course of brooks (Strömberg 1940: 113).

νήρις 1 [?] plant name, mostly taken as 'savin, Juniperus Sabina' (Nic. *Th.* 531), but sometimes identified with νήριον. ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

νῆρις 2 νηρίδας· τὰς κοίλας πέτρας 'hollow rocks' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. DELG connects the word with νηρόν, but this is not obvious.

νηρίτης [m.] several kinds of sea-snails (Arist.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Also written -εί-; besides we find ἀνᾱρίτᾱς (Ibyc., Epich.), ἀνηρίτης (Herod.).
•COMP νηριτοτρόφος (A. *Fr.* 312), but see Leumann 1950: 245.
•ETYM The more usual orthography with -εί- may be based on association with Νήρειος (from Νηρεύς); the connection with νηρόν 'water' (already improbable in itself) is refuted by the forms ἀναρ-, ἀνηρ- with vocalic anlaut. Fur.: 372 takes this initial variation as evidence for Pre-Greek origin. See Thompson 1947 s.v.

νήριτος [adj.] 'uncountable' (Hes. *Op.* 511, A. R.). ◄IE *h_2ri- 'count'.►

•COMP As a first member in νηριτόφυλλον· πολύφυλλον 'with many leaves' (H.), and in νηριτόμυθος (H.); cf. also νηρίται· μεγάλοι (H.), to be changed into νήριται· μεγάλαι.
•ETYM From **n̥-h₂ri-to-*, a compound of privative **n-* (see ►νη-) and a verb ἀρι- 'to count' (seen in ►ἀριθμός) with a suffix *-to-*. It also occurs in εἰκοσιν-ήριτος 'twentyfold' (X 349, with compositional lengthening), Arc. Ἐπάριτοι = ἐπίλεκτοι 'selected', etc. Hence, probably through reinterpretation, the mountain name Νήριτον (B 632, Od.) and the PN Νήριτος (ρ 207); see Leumann 1950: 243ff., as well as Ruijgh 1957: 161f.

νηρόν [adj.] · τὸ ταπεινόν 'low' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown. The connection with ►νῆρις 2 by DELG is not obvious.

νηρός [adj.] 'fresh', of fish, ἡμί-νηρος 'lightly salted'; also of water: τὸ νηρόν (ὁ νηρός) '(fresh) water' (Hell.), MoGr. νερό. ◅GR▻
•ETYM Contracted from νεαρός (Schwyzer: 250); see ►νέος and Kretschmer *Glotta* 15 (1927): 64.

νησίγδα [?] · ἐν Νυκτί (= Philem. 52) ἀποδιδόασι μάσημά τι ποιόν (H.), so a kind of dish. ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown. The suffix -ιγδα points to Pre-Greek origin.

νῆσος [f.] 'island' (Il.); also '(flooded) land near a river, alluvial land' (*Tab. Heracl.*, pap.). ◅PG▻
•VAR Dor. νᾶσος (Rhod. νᾶσσος *SGDI* 4123, 4 [I^{a}]).
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. νησο-φύλαξ 'guardian of the island' (D. S.), νησί-αρχος, -άρχης 'governor of the island' (Antiph. com., Hell. inscr., etc.), after ταξί-, πολί-αρχος, etc.; not from νησίς or νησίον; χερσό-νησος, Att. χερρό-, Dor. -νασος [f.] 'peninsula'; περίνησον 'with a fringe', of ἱμάτιον.
•DER 1. Diminutives: νησίς [f.] (Hdt., Th., Plb.), νησίδιον (Th., Arist., Str.), νησίον (Str.), νησύδριον (X., Isoc.). 2. Other nouns: νησιώτης, Dor. νασιώτας (-τις [f.]) 'islander', as an adjective 'insular' (Pi., Hdt., A.), after ἰδιώτης, στρατιώτης, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 311); thence νησιωτικός 'typical of an islander' (Hdt., Th., Ar., E.); νησίτης [m.] 'id.' (St. Byz.), fem. νασῖτις 'forming an island' (*AP*); νησαῖος 'insular' (E., Arat.), after λιμναῖος, etc.; Νησιάδεια [n.pl.] festival at Delos, -ειον [sg.] name of a fund (Delos III^{a}), with -ι- like in νησί-αρχος, etc. 3. Verbs: νησίζω (Plb.), -ιάζω (Str., Ph.) 'to form an island'; νησεύομαι 'to form alluvial deposits' (*EM* 25, 48).
•ETYM The interpretations as "swimmer", derived from νήχω or the root **sneh₂-* 'to bathe' (recently, Meier-Brügger *KZ* 106 (1993): 302, who follows Rix in assuming PGr. **snāk^{h}-i̯o-*), should be abandoned. As words for 'island' differ from language to language, νῆσος is probably an Aegean loan (note that Lat. *insula* is also of unclear origin). Fur.: 387, who points to the variation between single σ and geminate, also assumes a Pre-Greek loan.

νῆσσα [f.] 'duck' (IA). ◅IE? **h₂enh₂t-* 'duck', GR?▻
•DIAL Att. νῆττα, Boeot. (Ar. *Ach.* 875) νᾶσσα [f.].

•DER Diminutive νηττάριον (Ar., Men.), νηττίον (Nicostr. Com.), νησσίον (pap. VI-VII^{P}).

•ETYM A formation in -ᾰ̯α like μυῖα, κίσσα, and other animal names (Chantraine 1933: 98). The first question is whether the word is related to other words for 'duck' that go back to *h_2enh_2t- (vel sim.). These are the following: an *i*-stem in Skt. *ātí-* [f.] and Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *ántis*, Bel. *úc* [f.] < PSl. **ǫtъ* 'duck'. In Slavic, there is also an *ū*-stem, e.g. ORu. *uty*, gen. *utъve* (PSl. **ǫty*). The various extensions go back to a *t*-stem, which was retained as such in Lat. *anas*, gen.sg. *anatis*, gen.pl. *anat(i)um*, and in some Germanic languages, e.g. OHG *anut* (*i*-stem in plur. *enti*), ON *endr* [pl.]. However, the stem *h_2enH-*t*- suggested by Lithuaninan and Latin would yield *ἀν- in Greek, even in a zero grade root. No solution has been found for this problem. Rix *KZ* 104 (1991): 186-192 suggested a dissimilation of *h_2 - h_2 to *s - h_2, with adaptation to the root of νήχω 'to swim'. One may also envisage derivation within Greek from νηχ- 'swim' (thus Ruijgh, apud Schrijver 1991: 95). For older literature, see Hamp *KZ*92 (1978): 29-31.

νῆστις, -ιος, -ιδος [m., f.] 'not eating, fasting, jejune' (Il.); as a fem. subst. a part of the small intestine, 'intestinum ieiunum', as it was always found to be empty upon section (Hp., Arist.), see Strömberg 1944: 63. ◂IE **n-h_1d-ti-* 'not eating, fasting, sober'▸

•VAR Dat. also -ει, nom.pl. also -εις. Secondary forms: νήστης [m.] (Semon., Arist.), νήστειρα [f.] (Nic. *Al.* 130), see Fraenkel 1910: 126[2]. With secondary ἀ-: ἄνηστις = ἄσιτος (A. *Fr.* 433 Mette, Cratin. 45).

•DER νηστεύω [v.] 'to fast', with νηστεία, -η [f.] 'fast' (IA) and the rare and late adjectives νήστ-ιμος (pap.), -ικός (Aët.) 'ptng. to fast'.

•ETYM From the negation **n-* and the verb for 'eat', to which a suffix *-ti-* was added. The origin of this element used to pose a problem, but it also appears in ►ἄγρωστις, which Meier-Brügger *KZ* 103 (1990): 33f. convincingly analyzed as *h_2**eǵr-o-h_1*d-ti-* 'field-fodder'. The synonym Arm. *nawt'i* 'fasting' (which also translates Gr. νῆστις in the Gospels) may well be derived from the same pre-form **n-h_1d-ti-* (see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 154ff.), as proposed by Klingenschmitt, assuming a development **-tt-* > Arm. *-wt'-*. Meier-Brügger l.c. also gives possible parallel formations **-h_1d-ti-* from Iranian and Luwian.

νήτη [f.] 'the lowest (string)'. ⇒νειός.

νήφω [v.] 'to be sober', often metaphorical. ◂IE **$h_1$eg^{wh}-* 'drink', **n(e)-h_3g^{wh}-* 'sober'▸

•VAR Dor. νάφω. In the older language only present, mostly ptc. (IA, Thgn., Archil.); aor. νῆψαι (J., 1 *Ep. Pet.* 4, 7).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-.

•DER 1. νήφων, -ονος in νήφονες· νήφοντες (H.), dat.pl. νήφοσι (Thgn.); 2. νηφάλιος 'without wine', of libations, etc. (A.), later also of persons 'sober' (Ph., J.), whence νηφαλιεύω [v.] 'to bring a libation without wine' (Poll.), νηφαλίζω in νηφαλισμένον· ὕδατι, οὐκ οἴνῳ ἠγνισμένον 'purified with water, not with wine' (H.); besides νηφαλιεύς epithet of Apollo (*AP* 9, 525, 14, where -έα is a metrical enlargement in verse-final position, cf. Boßhardt 1942: 70); also νηφαλέος (Hdn. Gr., Ph.), after

αύαλέος, etc., and νηφαντικός 'sobering' (Pl. *Phlb.* 61, Porph.) as if from *νηφαίνω; cf. e.g. σημαλέος : σημαντικός. Verbal noun νῆψις [f.] 'soberness' (Plb., Str.).
•ETYM Arm. *nawt'i* is probably unrelated (see on ►νῆστις); see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 154ff. In view of the predominance of nominal forms (including the ptc. νήφων) and of the meaning, it is conceivable that the relatively rare present νήφω (with secondary νῆψαι) is denominative. This was already suggested by Frisk, and is elaborated by Weiss *KZ* 107 (1994): 91-98, who reconstructs *$n̥$-h_1g^{wh}-*on-* > νηφον-, from the root for 'drink' seen in Hitt. *eku-^{zi}* and in Lat. *ēbrius* < *$h_1ēg^{wh}$-r-* (perhaps rather *h_1e-h_1g^{wh}-r-*). Weiss also makes it clear (ibid. 97) that νάφω is a hyperdorism, which may have been created by an ancient commentator.
OHG *nuoh-turn* 'sober', earlier considered to testify for *$nāg^{wh}$-, is not related (it is rather a loan from Lat. *nocturnus*).

νήχυτος [adj.] 'streaming richly, overflowing', of ὕδωρ, ἄλμη, ἱδρώς, etc. (Hell. poetry). ◄GR►
•VAR On ἐπινήχυτος 'id.' (δῶρα, Orph. *A.* 39, 312) see below.
•ETYM Can hardly be separated from other frequent formations in -χυτος (from χέω), like ἀμφί-χυτος, ἀ-διά-χυτος, οἰνό-χυτος; in this case, νη- must be secondary. However, since the compound ἐπινήχυτος clearly belongs to ἐπινήχομαι, the question arises whether νήχυτος was not secondarily connected with νήχομαι. This would agree better with the meaning. See ►νη-.

νήχω, νήχομαι [v.] 'to swim'. ⇒νέω 1.

-νι ⇒-νε.

νιβατισμός a Phrygian dance (Ath. 629d, H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Hypothesis by Haas 1966: 168; also, Haas *Acta Ant. Acad. Hungar.* 18 (1970): 57f.

νίγλαρος [m.] 'whistle' (Ar. *Ach.* 554), plur. 'trills, quavers' (Pherecr. 145), but a small flute acc. to Poll. 4, 82. ◄?►
•DER νιγλαρεύω [v.] 'to whistle' (Eup. 110); cf. νιγλαρεύων· τερετίζων 'humming' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown.

νίδες [?] · αἰδοῖα ἢ ὀρχίδια παιδίων 'private parts or testicles of children' (Phot.), who cites the word as Sicilian. H. has νίιδες, which Latte corrects. ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

νίζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to wash, bathe' (Il.). ◄IE *neig^w- 'wash'►
•VAR Analogical νίπτω (Men., NT), -ομαι (v.l. σ 179, Hp.), aor. νίψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), pass. νιφθῆναι (Hp.). fut. νίψω, -ομαι (Od.), pass. νιφήσομαι (LXX), perf. med. νένιπται (Ω 419), νένιμμαι (Ar.).
•COMP Also (in Att. prose always) with prefix, especially ἀπο- and ἐκ-.
•DER 1. νίπτρον (ἀπό-) [n.] (mostly plur.) 'water for washing' (trag., Ar.), ποδάνιπτρα [pl.] (-ον) by syllable-dissimilation from *ποδ-απόνιπτρον, secondary ποδόνιπτρον, 'water for washing one's feet' (Od.); also ποδανιπτήρ [m.] (secondarily ποδο-) 'basin

for washing one's feet' (Stesich., Hdt., inscr.), νιπτήρ [m.] 'washing basin' (*Ev. Jo.*); 2. κατανίπ-της [m.] 'washer', who washes the peplos of Athene Polias (*AB*, *EM*). 3. (ἀπό-, κατά-)νίμμα [n.] 'washing water'; 4. (ἀπό-, ἔκ-)νίψις [f.] 'washing' (Plu., medic.). On ▸χέρνιψ, see s.v.

•ETYM The word νίζω goes back to a zero grade *yod*-present IE **nig^{w}-ie/o-*, which is also retained in OIr. *nigim* 'to wash'. Skt. *nenikté* has intensive reduplication, but cf. also impv. *ninikta*; further, a sigmatic aorist *nikṣi* [1sg.inj.med.], *anaikṣīt* [3sg.act.] with regular lengthened grade, and a thematic aor. *anijam*, both perhaps going back to a root aorist (see LIV^{2}). Greek generalized the zero grade in νίψω, νίμμα, etc. Formal correspondences are found in the privative verbal adj. ἄνιπτος beside Skt. *niktá-* 'washed', OIr. *necht* 'pure'. An isolated verbal noun seems to have been preserved in Gm., e.g. OHG *nihhus*, *nichus* 'river-monster, water-spirit', fem. *nihhussa*, MoHG *Nix*, *Nixe*, PGm. **nik-wes-*, **nik-us-*. Lat. *pollingō* 'to wash corpses' probably does not belong here; it is connected by LIV^{2} with **u̯leiḱ^{w}-* 'to make wet'.

νῖκη [f.] 'victory, upper hand', in a battle, in a contest, before court, etc. (Il.), Νίκη 'goddess of victory' (Hes.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Dor. νίκα.

•COMP νικη-φόρος (Dor. -ᾱ-) 'carrying away victory' (Pi., A.), νικό-βουλος 'who wins in the council' (Ar. *Eq.* 615; hidden PN, connected with νικάω), φιλό-νικος 'fond of triumph, emulating, pugnacious', whence -ία, -έω (Pi., Democr., Att.), often written with -ει- and associated with νεῖκος 'quarrel'; Ὀλυμπιο-νίκης, Dor. -ας [m.] 'victor in Olympia' (Pi., IA); many PNs, e.g. Νικό-δημος, Ἱππό-νικος.

•DER 1. From Νίκη : νικάς, -άδος [f.], νικ-άδιον, -ίδιον '(small) Nike-statue' (inscr.); 2. Adjective νικαῖος 'ptng. to victory' (Call., J.), νικάεις 'rich in victories' (*AP*); on νικη-τήριος, -τικός see below.

Probably denominative νικάω [v.] 'to vanquish, overcome, conquer', Ion. νικέω, Aeol. νίκημι, aor. νικῆσαι, pass. νικ-ηθῆναι, fut. -ήσω (all Il.), perf. νενίκηκα (Att.), rarely with prefixes, e.g. ἐκ-, κατα-, προ-; on the epic use of νίκη and νικάω see Trümpy 1950: 192ff.

From νικάω: 1. νικάτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'victor', epithet of the kings Seleucus and Demetrius of Syria (Hell. inscr.) with νικατόρειον 'tomb of Νικάτωρ' (App.), also PN with the patronymic Νικατορίδας (Rhodos), cf. Fraenkel 1910: 163[1], νικήτωρ 'id.' (D. C.). 2. νικατήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'victor' (Dreros III-II[a]), νικητής [m.] 'id.' (III-IV[p]). 3. νίκημα (Dor. -ᾱ-) [n.] 'prize of victory, victory' (Hell., Crete). 4. νίκαθρον [n.] 'offering for victory' (Sparta), νίκαστρον [n.] 'prize of victory' (Phot., H.); on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 373 and 333f. 5. νικητήριος, [n.] -ον 'ptng. to victory, prize of victory' (Att.) and νικητικός 'conducing to victory' (X., Hell.), both also connected with νίκη.

An innovation for νίκη is νῖκος [n.] (Hell.), after κράτος (Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 39ff., Wackernagel 1916: 81f.). Unclear is νικάριον [n.] name of an eye-salve (Alex. Trall.); cf. on ▸νέκταρ.

•ETYM There is no good etymology. Skt. *nīca-* 'directed downwards', OCS *nicъ* 'directed forward, on the face', Latv. *nīcām* 'down the stream', etc. are from **ni-h$_{3}$k^{w}o-* and are unrelated, as this would have to yield a labial stop in Greek.

Connection with the root of νεῖκος and Lith. *ap-nikti* 'to attack' is semantically gratuitous. Klingenschmitt's analysis (Klingenschmitt 1975: 162[22]) as **ni-ih₁k-eh₂-* "Niederwerfung" is pure speculation, as the prefix **ni-* is not attested elsewhere in Greek. The word could be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

νίκλον · τὸ λίκνον 'winnowing fan' (H.). •VAR Also -εῖ-. ⇒λικμάω, λίκνον.

νικύλεον [n.] 'a fig' in Crete (Hermonax *apud* Ath. 76e). ◁PG▷
•ETYM See Neumann *Glotta* 36 (1957): 156 and Neumann *Glotta* 40 (1962): 51-4, as well as Ruijgh 1967a: §10. The Mycenaean sign <ni> looks like a fig-tree.

νικύρτας [m.] · δουλέκδουλος 'born slave' (H.); cf. Hippon. *fr.* 28 M. ◁?▷
•ETYM See O. Masson 1962: 120f., as well as Haas 1966: 168.

νιν = αὐτόν, αὐτήν, etc. ⇒μιν.

νίννη [f.] 'grandmother, mother-in-law(?)'. ⇒νέννος.

νίννιον [n.] · *pupus* (gloss.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

νίννον [?] · τὸν † καταβάλλην ἵππον (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Perhaps a modification of ἴννον (DELG).

νίσομαι 'to travel, go, come'. ⇒νέομαι.

νίτρον [n.] 'sodium carbonate, soda, natron' (Sapph., Ion., Arist., Hell.). ◁LW Eg.▷
•VAR With dissimilation ν - τ > λ - τ: λίτρον (Att., Hp.), cf. Solmsen 1909: 235.
•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ὀξύ-νιτρον 'mix of vinegar and natron' (Paul. Aeg.), λιτρο-πώλης 'natron-seller' (inscr. IV[a]).
•DER 1. νιτρώδης (also λ-) 'natronlike, containing natron' (Pl., Arist.), with -ωδία (medic.); 2. νίτρινος 'of natron' (Delos II[a]); 3. νιτρία [f.] 'natron-mine' (pap. III[a], Str.), cf. Scheller 1951: 46, with νιτριώτης νομός name of an Egyptian province (Str.); 4. νιτρική [f.] and -κά [n.pl.] 'natron-taxes' (Hell. pap. and ostr.); 5. νιτρῖτις [f.], of λίμνη, 'producing natron' (Str.); 6. νιτρόομαι [v.] 'to be washed with natron' (Sor.), with νίτρωμα [n.] 'sodium carbonate' (*PHolm.*, H.); also 7. νίτρασμια [n.] 'soap' (Sor.) as if from *νιτράζω.
•ETYM An Oriental loanword: Hebr. *neter*, Arab. *naṭrūn* > MoFr. *natron*, etc., and probably also Hitt. *nitri-* [n.], all from Eg. *nṯr(j)* 'natron'. See Lewy 1895: 53, Laroche *BSL* 51 (1955): xxxiif., Neumann 1961: 19, and WH s.v. *nitrum* (which is a Greek LW) for further considerations.

νοά [f.] · πηγή· Λάκωνες 'source, running water' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown; reminiscent of ▶νάω. Cf. Perpillou *BSL* 67 (1972): 109ff.

νόθος [m.] 'procreated out of wedlock by a known father, illegitimate, bastard' (Il.); opposite γνήσιος. ◁PG?▷
•COMP νοθᾱ-γενής 'baseborn' (E.), with analogical ᾱ (Dor.) for ο (Schwyzer: 438).
•DER νοθεῖος 'ptng. to a νόθος' (Lys., Ar.), denominative νοθεύω [v.] 'to corrupt, adulterate' (LXX, J., Plu., Luc.), also with ὑπο-, with νοθεία [f.] 'birth out of wedlock'

(Plu.), (ὑπο-)νοθευτής [m.] 'adulterer' (Ptol.), (ὑπο-)νόθευσις [f.] 'corruption, adulteration' (inscr. Mylasa).
•ETYM Unexplained.

νομή, νομός, νόμος ⇒νέμω.

νόος [m.] 'mind, sense, intellect, reason; purpose, aim' (Il., epic Ion.). ◅?▻
•VAR Contracted νοῦς (Att., also κ 240, etc.), perhaps Aeol. gen. νῶ (Alc.), acc. νῶν (Sappho)?
•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. εὔ-νοος, -νους 'well-minded', whence εὐνο-έω, -ίη, -ιᾰ, etc. (IA); as a first member, e.g. in the compounds νου-θετ-έω [v.] 'to put in mind, remind of' (after νομοθετέω : νομοθέτης : νόμον θεῖναι, etc.), whence νουθέ-τησις, -τημα, -σία, -τεία, etc. (IA); νουν-εχ-ής 'prudent', νουνεχ-ῶς, -όντως [adv.] (to νοῦν ἔχει, ἔχων).
•DER Nouns: 1. νοερός 'intellectual' (Heraclit., Arist.); 2. νοήρης 'prudent, capable' (Herod., H.); 3. νοότης, -ητος [f.] 'intellectuality' (Procl.); 4. νόαρ [n.] 'illusion, phantom' (Theognost.), archaizing innovation.
Verbs: A. νοέω 'to meditate, observe, think, devise, have in mind' (Il.), aor. νοῆσαι (contracted νῶσαι), etc., very frequent with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, προ-, μετα-, συν-; hence 1. νόημα [n.] 'thought, intelligence, decision' (Il.), -μάτιον (Arr.), -ματικός (late). -μων 'thoughtful, prudent' (Od., Hdt.); 2. νόη-σις (νῶσις) [f.] 'observation, understanding, thinking', also διανόη-σις, etc. (IA); 3. προ-νοία [f.] 'provision', δια-νοία, -νοιᾰ 'meditation, thought, aim', etc. (IA); 4. νοη-τικός (also προ-, etc.) 'mental' (Pl.); 5. προ-, δια-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-νοητής [m.] 'director', etc. (late).
B. νόομαι 'to be converted into νόος' (Plot.).
•ETYM No doubt an old inherited verbal noun (cf. λόγος, φόρος, etc.), though there is no certain etymology. An old proposal compares the Germanic group of Go. *snutrs* 'wise, prudent', which is possible, but not compelling. Heubeck *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 237 defended the connection with νεύω (cf. LIV² s.v. **neu̯-*). Formally, connection with **nes-* (mentioned by LIV²) is also possible, but the semantics seem to be difficult.

νορβεῖ [v.] ἐνταμεῖται 'will engrave' (H.). ◅?▻
•VAR νορβά· καλή (H.).
•ETYM Pok. 977 connects Go. *at-snarpjan* 'to touch', ON *snarpr* 'sharp, hard, uneven', *snerpa* 'to sharpen', MoDu. *snerpen* 'to bite (of wounds)', OHG *snerfan* 'draw together'. De Vries 1961 mentions Arm. *snerb* 'narrow'. The connections remain uncertain.

νορύη [f.] a plant, = στρύχνον (name of various plants), τιθύμαλλος 'spurge' (Thphr. *apud* Phot.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

νορύην · [ὀρύειν] ἔστι δὲ εἶδος ὀσπρίου 'a kind of leguminous plant' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

νόσος [f.] 'illness, disease; distress, need' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Epic Ion. νοῦσος (see below).
•COMP νοσο-ποιέω [v.] 'to cause illness' (Hp.), ἐπί-νοσος 'prey to disease, unhealthy' (Hp., Arist.), Strömberg 1946: 85.
•DER A. Adjective: 1. νοσερός 'ill, unhealthy' (Hp., E., Arist.); 2. νοσηρός 'id.' (Hp., X.), cf. ὑγιηρός (Pi., Ion.); thence νοσήριον (H. s.v. κηρέσιον), perhaps for νοσητήριον or νοσηρόν? 3. νοσηλός 'ill, sickly' (Hp.), from νοσέω, cf. Chantraine 1933: 241; thence νοσήλια [n.pl.] 'diet for ill persons' (Opp.), νοσηλεύω [v.] 'to care for a patient', med. -ομαι 'to be ill' (Isoc., J.), νοσηλεία [f.] 'nursing, morbidity' (S., J., Plu.); 4. νοσακερός 'id.' (Arist.); 5. νοσώδης 'ill, unhealthy' (Hp., Att.); 6. Νόσιος epithet of Ζεύς (Milete VI-V^{a}).
B. Verbs: 1. νοσέω 'to be ill' (Att., also Ion.), whence νόσημα [n.] 'illness' (IA), diminutive νοσημάτιον (Ar.), -τικός, -τώδης 'sickly' (Arist.); 2. νοσεύομαι 'to be sickly', whence νόσευμα 'illness' (Hp.); 3. νοσάζ-ομαι 'to be ill', -ω 'to make ill', νοσίζω 'to make ill' (Arist., Gal.).
C. Substantives: 1. νόσανσις [f.] 'getting ill' (Arist.), cf. ὑγίανσις; 2. unclear νοσίμη (leg. -ήμη?) = νόσημα (Theognost.).
•ETYM Since Herodotus has νοῦσος beside νοσέω (which is predominant in Ionic anyhow), it is thought that the former is a Homerism in Hdt. Mechanically, we have to reconstruct a pre-form *νόσϝος on the basis of our material, but as Wackernagel 1916: 86 suggested, epic νοῦσος could also be understood as a false rewriting of ΝΟΣΟΣ, which would represent *νόσσος. The epic form must then have been taken over by Hdt. and Hp.
There is no good etymology. Recently, an attempt was made by Willi *JHS* 128 (2008): 153-172, who reconstructs **n-h$_1$osu-o-*, starting from the adjective **h$_1$osu-* 'good, in good condition'. This is taken to be a *u*-stem of the root **h$_1$es-* 'be', and is supposed to be the same formation as found in Hitt. *āššu-* 'good, favorable' (cf., however, Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). Willi then posits a "regular" development of **n-osuo-* to **noswo-*, assuming that all instances of prevocalic ἀν- (the normal reflex) are analogical. In order to make this work, he assumes that intervocalic PIE *-su-* regularly yielded Gr. *-σϝ- (which is against the *communis opinio*). However, since this root (and all other roots which turn up with an initial vowel in Greek) started with a laryngeal, the regular outcome of **n-h$_1$osuo-* (and of *all* similar cases) is **anoswo-*. This disproves the whole account.

νόστος ⇒νέομαι.

νόσφι(ν) [adv., prep.] 'aside, far (from), without' (epic and lyr. since Il.). ◂?▸
•DER νοσφίδιος 'situated aside, secretly' (Hes. *Fr.* 187), νοσφιδόν [adv.] 'secretly' (Eust.); verb νοσφίζομαι 'to turn away (intr.), remove (oneself), steal' (B 81 = Ω 222), act. 'turn away (trans.), remove', aor. νοσφίσ(σ)ασθαι, pass. νοσφισθῆναι (Od.), fut. νοσφίσ(σ)ομαι (A. R.), also act. νοσφίζω (*h. Cer.*, Pi.); sometimes with prefix, especially ἀπο-; thence νόσφισμα [n.] 'pilfering' (pap.).
•ETYM No etymology. Meier-Brügger *MSS* 48 (1987): 179-186 explains the form as containing **nos* 'us', as seen in ἄμμε < **n̥s-me*, and assumes an original meaning 'away from us'; this is semantically doubtful. Heubeck *KZ* 98 (1985): 257-259 defends

Thieme's idea that the word is derived from the stem **nos-* of the word for 'nose'; this is impossible, as the word for 'nose' was **neh₂-s-*, **nh₂(e)-s-* (see Beekes 1995: 180).

Νότος [m.] 'South(west) wind', which brings mist and wetness (Il.), 'the South, Southwest' (IA); on the mg. Nielsen *Class. et Med.* 7 (1945): 5ff. ◁PG?▷

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. Εὐρό-νοτος [m.] 'Wind between Εὖρος and Νότος' (Arist.).

•DER A. Subst.: 1. νοτία, -ίη [f.] 'wetness' (Θ 307, Arist., Thphr.; it could also be an abstract in -ία from νότιος, see Scheller 1951: 54 f.); from it νοτιώδης (Gal.) = νοτώδης (see below) and νοτιάω 'to be wet, drip', if not rather νοτ-ιάω (see below). 2. νοτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'wetness' (E., Pl., Arist.).

B. Adjectives: 1. νότιος 'rainy, wet' (epic, Hp.), 'southern' (IA); on the retention of -τι- Schwyzer: 270; 2. νοτερός 'id.' (IA); 3. νότινος 'id.' (pap.); 4. νοτώδης 'id.' (Hp.); 5. νοτ-ιαῖος 'south(west)ern' (Herm. *apud* Stob.).

C. Verbs: 1. νοτίζομαι, -ίζω 'to become, be wet, make wet', also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ὑπο- (IA); hence νοτισμός 'wetness' (Sor.). 2. νοτέω (Hell.), νοτ-ιάω (Arist.; Schwyzer: 732; cf. above) 'to be wet, drip'.

•ETYM Connection of νότος with νέω and νήχω 'to swim' leads nowhere, since these continue a root **sneh₂-*. A similar formation may be seen in Arm. *nay* 'wet, fluid' < PArm. **nato-* or **noto-*. The form may instead be Pre-Greek.

νουθετέω 'to admonish, warn'. ⇒νόος.

νοῦθος [adj.] only as an epithet of δοῦπος (Hes. *Fr.* 48), 'dull' vel sim. ◁IE? **sneud^{h}-* 'cloud, dark', PG?▷

•ETYM Solmsen *Glotta* 2 (1910): 75f. adduces νυθόν· ἄφωνον, σκοτεινόν 'mute, dark', and νυθῶδες· σκοτεινῶδες (H.), comparing the IE word for 'cloud' in Av. *snaoδa-*, Lat. *nūbēs*, etc.; cf. on ▶νυστάζω. However, the two glosses adduced, together with νοῦθος, may also form a Pre-Greek etymon (thus Fur.: 120[29]). One might also think of comparing ▶νώθης 'indolent, etc.'.

νῦ [n.] name of a letter (Achae. Trag., Pl., inscr., pap.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR Indeclinable.

•ETYM From Semitic; cf. Hebr. *nūn*. See Schwyzer: 140.

νυ, νῦν [pcl.] enclitic particle 'now', rarely adverbial. ◁IE **nu, nuH* 'now'▷

•VAR νῦν [adv.] 'now' (Il.); νῦν-ῑ́ (Att.), with deictic -ῑ́ like ὁδ-ῑ́, etc.; on spread and use Ruijgh 1957: 57ff., also Risch *Gnomon* 30 (1958): 92.

•ETYM Old inherited adverb, retained in most branches: Skt. *nú, nū́, nūn-ám*, Lat. *nu-diūs tertius* "now (is) the third day", *num, nun-c*, OHG *nū̆*, late MHG *nūn*, Lith. *nū, nù, nūn-aĩ*, Hitt. *nu* [pcl.], *ki-nun* 'now', etc. Gr. νῦν may have either old **-m* (Lat. *num*) or **-n* (Skt. *nūn-ám*).

νυθόν, νυθῶδες ⇒νοῦθος.

νυκτάλωψ, -ωπος [m., f.] 'seeing in the night' = 'day-blind', as a msc. substantive 'day-blindness', secondary 'night-blind, night-blindness' (Hp., Arist., Gal.); cf. Gal. 14,

776: νυκτάλωπας δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅταν ἡμέρας μὲν βλέπωσιν ἀμαυρότερον δυομένου δὲ ἡλίου λαμπρότερον, νυκτὸς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον 'night-blind is called this, when people see less clearly at day, but more clearly when the sun sets, and even more clearly at night'· ἢ ὑπεναντίως, ἡμέρας μὲν ὀλίγα, ἑσπέρας δὲ ἢ νυκτὸς οὐδ' ὅλως 'or the opposite: at day they see only few things, while in the evening or at night they see nothing at all'; opposite ἡμεράλωψ (Gal. 14, 768e Dem. Ophth.). ◁PG▷

•DER νυκταλωπ-ικά [n.pl.] 'attacks of night-blindness' (Hp.), -ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from v.' (Gal.), with -ίασις (Orib.).

•ETYM On the suffix -ωπ-, see ▶ἀγχίλωψ (with a variant αἰγίλωψ), which is Pre-Greek. The connection with νύξ (for the formation, compare αἱμάλωψ to αἷμα, and αἱμαλέος and θυμάλωψ to θυμ-ιάω, θυμός) must be folk-etymological.

νύμφη [f.] 'bride, young lady', also appellation of a goddess of lower rank, 'nymph' (Il.); also metaph., e.g. 'pupa' (Arist.), see Gil Fernández 1959: 208 ff. ◁PG▷

•VAR Dor. -ᾱ. Voc. -ᾰ (Γ 130; *AP* 14, 43).

•COMP νυμφό-ληπτος 'seized by the nymphs, raptured, delirious' (Pl., Arist.), μελλό-νυμφος 'about to be wedded', 'betrothed' (S., Lyc., D. C.).

•DER A. Nouns: 1. νύμφιος 'bridal' (Pi.), with different accentuation νυμφίος [m.] 'bridegroom' (Il.); 2. νυμφ-ίδιος 'bridal, wedding-' (E., Ar.), formation like κουρίδιος, see on ▶κόρη; 3. -ικός 'id.' (trag., Pl. *Lg.*); 4. -εῖος, epic -ήϊος 'bridal, belonging to the bride' (Simon., Pi., S., Call.), like κουρήϊος, γυναικεῖος, -ήϊος, etc.; 5. -αῖος 'belonging or consacrated to the nymphs' (E., inscr.), -αία [f.] name of a water-lily (Thphr.); 6. νυμφάς, -άδος [f.] 'belonging to the nymphs' (πύλαι; Paus.); 7. νυμφίδες· ὑποδήματα γυναικεῖα νυμφικά 'women's wedding-shoes' (H.); 8. νυμφών, -ῶνος [m.] 'bridal chamber' (LXX, *Ev. Matth.*); 9. νυμφάσματα [n.pl.] 'ornaments of the bride' (Orac.), after ὑφάσματα; 10. Νυμφασία [f.] name of an Arcadian well.

B. Verbs 1. νυμφεύω 'to give in marriage, to marry (of the groom)', pass. 'to marry (of the bride)' (Pi., S., E.) with νυμφεύματα [n.pl.] 'marriage' (S., E.), sing. 'bride' (S.), νύμφευσις [f.] 'marriage' (LXX); νυμφευ-τής [m.] 'bridegroom' (E.) 'groomsman' (Poll.), -τήρ 'bridegroom, husband' (Opp.), -τρια [f.] 'bridesmaid' (Ar., Plu.), -τήριος 'bridal', τὰ νυμφευτήρια 'marriage' (E.). 2. νυμφ-ιάω 'to be in a frenzy', of a mare (Arist.), after the verbs of disease in -ιάω.

•ETYM Compared with Lat. *nūbō* 'to get married', OCS *snubiti* 'to love, court', from IE **sneubʰ-*. This is still followed by LIV² s.v. **sneu̯bʰ-*. However, the inner nasal in νύμφη remains unexplained this way. Therefore, νύμφη is rather a Pre-Greek word, perhaps containing a prenasalized stop. The voc. in -α may be the old nominative (cf. *Pre-Greek* endings). Note that Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 273 also pleaded for substrate origin, comparing the source name Νυμφασία.

νύναμαι [v.]

•VAR νυνατός.

•ETYM Cret. for ▶δύναμαι, δυνατός.

νύννιον [n.] · ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδίοις καταβαυκαλούμενόν φασι λέγεσθαι· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ νύννιος 'in the case of children, they say that they are lulled to sleep; likewise νύννιος' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM An onomatopoeic Lallwort; cf. MoGr. νανναρίζω, ναννουρίζω 'I lull asleep' and Oehl *IF* 57 (1940): 19.

νύξ, νυκτός [f.] 'night' (Il.). ◁IE **nek^{w}t-*, **nok^{w}t-* 'night', **neg^{wh}-* 'become dark'▷

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. νυκτο-μαχ-ία, -ίη [f.] abstract formation as if from *νυκτο-μάχος; νυκτο-μαχέω (Plu.), νυκτί-πλαγκτος 'wandering at night' (A.), with locatival first member, probably partly analogical; as a second member e.g. in ἀωρό-νυκτος 'at an untimely, nightly hour' (A. *Ch.* 34), μεσο-νύκτιος 'in the middle of the night' (Pi., Hp.), to μέσαι νύκτες; further -νυχ- in e.g. ἔν-νυχος, έν-νύχιος 'nightly, in the night' (Il.), νύχιος 'nightly' (Hes.), νυχεύω [v.] 'to wake all night long' (E., Nic.); cf. below.

•DER 1. νύκτωρ [adv.] 'at night' (Hes., Archil.); 2. νύκτερος 'nightly' (trag.) with νυκτερίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bat' (Od.), also as a fish-name (Opp.) and plant-name (Aët.), cf. Strömberg 1943: 111, see also Strömberg 1940: 74; νυκτερῖτις, -ιδος [f.] 'ἀναγαλλὶς ἡ κυανῆ' (Ps.-Dsc.), νυκτερεύω [v.] 'to pass the night, pass a sleepless night' (X.), also with δια-, έν-, etc., whence νυκτερ-εία [f.] 'hunting by night' (Pl.), -ευμια [n.] 'night-quarters' (Plb.), -ευτής [m.] 'who hunts by night' (Pl.), -ευτικός 'fit for hunting by night' (X.); 3. νυκτέριος 'nightly' (Aret., Luc.), τὰ νυκτέρεια = ἡ νυκτερεία (Eun.); 4. νυκτερινός 'id.' (IA) with νυκτερινία or -εία [f.] 'commander of the night watch' (Ephesus I^{p}), spelled -ηα; 5. νυκτερήσιος 'id.' (Luc., S. E.), perhaps for -ίσιος (Fraenkel 1912: 151[1])? Rare νύκτιος 'nightly' (*AP*), νυκτῷον [n.] 'temple of the night' (Luc.), after μητρῷον, etc., Νυκτεύς [m.] PN (Apollod.).

Cf. also ►νυκτάλωψ. For νυκτέλιος epithet of Dionysus (*AP*, Plu., Paus.) haplological for *νυκτι-τέλιος, which is a hypostasis of νύξ and τέλος (τελέω), cf. νυκτελεῖν· έν νυκτὶ τελεῖν (H.).

•ETYM Old inherited word for 'night', retained in most IE languages: Lat. *nox*, gen.pl. *noctium*, Go. *nahts*, Skt. *nák*, acc. *náktam* (adverbial), Lith. *naktìs*, gen.pl. *naktų̃*, OCS *noštь*, etc., all from IE **nokt-*. The *i*-stem forms in Lat. *noctium*, Lith. *naktis*, OCS *noštь*, etc. are innovations of the separate languages. The deviating υ in νύξ is explained from **nok^{w}t-* by Cowgill's Law (extensive treatment in Vine 1999b).

The aspirated and *t*-less form in νύχα· νύκτωρ (H.), ἔννυχ-ος, -ιος, είνάνυχες, νύχιος, etc., is attested only in Greek and in Anatolian (Hitt. *neku-^{zi}* 'to become dark'). Schindler *KZ* 81 (1967): 290-303 reconstructed a static paradigm for a PIE root noun: nom. *nok^{w}t-s*, gen. *nek^{w}t-s*, because of Hitt. *nekuz meḫur* 'at night', which contains an old genitive. However, acc. to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *neku-^{zi}*, the consistent non-geminate spelling in Hitt. *neku-^{zi}* and the aspirate in Greek νυχ- both point to a root **neg^{wh}-*, which was lost in PIE after Anatolian split off. Subsequently, **neg^{wh}t-* was assimilated to PIE **nek^{w}t-* (cf. IIr. **nákt-*). On -νυχ- as a second member, see also Sommer 1948: 64f.

The *r*-stem in νύκτωρ, etc. is also found in Lat. *nocturnus* < **nokterino-*, although this may also be an independent formation. Otherwise, the formation of the adjectives is partly paralleled by derivatives of ►ἦμαρ, ►ἡμέρα: a) νυκτερινός : ἡμερινός, b) νυκτέριος : ἡμέριος; c) νυκτερήσιος : ἡμερήσιος; d) νυκτερεύω : ἡμερεύω.

νυός [f.] 'daughter-in-law' (Hom.), secondary 'bride' (Theoc.). ◁IE **snuso-* 'saughter-in-law'▷

•ETYM An old feminine *o*-stem, identical with Arm. *nu*, gen. *nuoy* 'id.', from IE **snuso-* [f.]. Lat. *nurus* was transformed into a *u*-stem is (after *socrus*); Skt. *snuṣā́*, to an *ā*-stem, as was the Germanic group of OHG *snur*, MoHG *Schnur*, and the Slavic one of CS *snъxa*. Alb. *nuse* 'bride' does not belong here. Connection to the group of νευρά, ►νεῦρον is impossible, as this word was **sneh$_1$-ur/n-* and contained a laryngeal.

νυρίζει [v.] · νυσσει, ξύει 'to prick, pierce; scratch' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also νυρῶν· νύσσων, ξύων (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. Perhaps related to ►νέυω and ►νύσσω; cf. Pok. 767.

νύσα [f.] = δένδρον (Pherecyd. 178 J). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

νῦσος [adj.] = χωλός, a Syracusan word (Nonn. *D.* 9, 22; *EM* 280). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

νύσσα [f.] 'turning post in the race-course, starting point and goal of the contest' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Without a good explanation. Compared with ►νύσσω as **νύκ-ι̯α* "the thrusting one", which seems possible. Untenable Semitic etymology in Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 24ff.; acc. to Jüthner *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 251, the word is Aegean (i.e. Pre-Greek).

νύσσω [v.] 'to thrust, sting, pierce' (on the epic use Trümpy 1950: 96f., 100ff.). ◁?▷

•VAR Att. νύττω, aor. νύξαι (Il.), fut. νύξω, Hell. aor. pass. νυγῆναι, νυχθῆναι, perf. νένυγμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. νύξις [f.] 'thrust, sting' (Dsc., Plu.), κατάνυξ-ις 'stupefaction, bewilderment' to κατα-νύσσομαι 'to be stinged in the heart, be stunned' (LXX, NT); 2. νύγμα (also -χμα) [n.] 'stab, prick' (Nic., Epicur., Gal.) with νυγμα-τικός 'fit for stabbing' (medic.), -τώδης 'punctuated' (Arist., medic.); 3. νυγ-μός [m.] (D. S., Plu.), -μή [f.] (Plu.) 'id.'; 4. νύγ-δην 'by pricking' (A. D.). Further νυκχάσας = νύξας (H.), expressive enlargement with geminate and aspiration.

•ETYM Without an exact correspondence outside Greek. A formal similarity exists with some WGm. and Slav. expressions for 'nod, etc.', e.g. MLG *nucken* 'to move the head menacingly', *nuck(e)* 'sudden thrust forward and upward of the head when frightened, etc.', OCS *nukati*, *njukati* 'to encourage', which are sometimes connected with νεύω, Lat. *nuō* (assuming a velar enlargement). Following Brugmann *IF* 13 (1902-1903): 153ff., νύσσω has been analyzed in the same way, which would, however, imply a basic meaning 'to pull, thrust' for the root of νεύω.

νυστάζω [v.] 'to slumber, be sleepy' (Hp., Att.). ◁IE? **snud-* 'sleepy, slumber'▷

•VAR Mostly present; aor. -άξαι (Thphr., LXX), -άσαι (Dionys. Com., *AP*).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ὑπο-, ἐπι-.

•DER νυσταγμός [m.] 'drowsiness' (Hp., LXX), νύσταγμα [n.] 'nap, short sleep' (LXX), νύσταξις (H.) as an explanation of νῶκαρ; νυστακτής as an epithet of ὕπνος (Ar. *V.* 12, Alciphr.), -ακτικῶς 'in a sleepy way' (Gal.). Also νυσταλέος 'sleepy' (Aret., H.), after ὑπναλέος, skipping the presential suffix (Debrunner *IF* 23 (1908-1909): 18), νύσταλος (*Com. Adesp.*) with νυσταλωπιᾶν· νυστάζειν (H.).

•ETYM Some Baltic expressions for 'slumber, sleepy' are strongly reminiscent of νυστάζω, e.g. Lith. *snústi*, 1sg. *snúdau* 'to slumber away', with *snudà*, *snùdis* 'sleeper, dreamer'; a different ablaut-grade appears in *snáudžiu*, *snáusti* 'to slumber', and (independent of Greek νυσταλέος) forms with an *l*-suffix: Lith. *snaudālius* 'sleepy man', Latv. *snaudule* 'sleepy-head'. Thus, -τάζω would be just a formal enlargement, as in κλαστάζω (from κλαστ-, κλαδ-), βαστάζω, etc. If this is correct, the old connection with νεύω 'nod' should be abandoned. It is doubtful that νυθόν and ►νοῦθος also belong here.

νώ [pron. nom./acc.du.] 'we two, both of us' (Att., also E 219 and o 475). ◅IE **neh₃* 'we two'▻

•VAR Att. gen. and dat. νῷν.

•DIAL Nom., acc. νῶϊ, gen., dat. νῶϊν (Hom.); acc. νῶε (Antim., Corinn.).

•DER Possessive νωΐτερος (O 39, μ 185).

•ETYM The old dual personal pronoun, identical with Av. *nā*, OCS *na*, from IE **neh₃*. Further, with an old long diphthong, there is Skt. *nau*. Lat. *nōs* also belongs here. The other case forms are Greek creations: νῶϊ, perhaps from **νω-ϝι* (?); νῶε, based on *σφε or πόδε* (Schwyzer: 602f.).

νώγαλα [n.pl.] 'dainties, candies' (com. IV[a]). ◅?▻

•DER νωγαλέος = λαμπρός (Zonar.) and νωγαλίζω [v.] 'to chew candies' (com. IV[a]), with νωγαλίσματα [pl.] = νώγαλα (Poll.); also -εύω 'id.' (Suid.) with -εύματα [pl.] 'id.' (com. V-IV[a]).

•ETYM No good explanation. Grošelj Živa Ant. 1 (1951): 259 assumed dissimilation from **λώγαλα*, derived from λώγη.

νωδός [adj.] 'toothless' (com., Arist., Theoc.). ◅GR▻

•COMP Determinative compound νωδο-γέρων 'toothless old man' (com.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 277.

•DER νωδότης [f.] 'toothlessness' (Porph.).

•ETYM From **n̥-h₃d-*, consisting of privative **n-* (see ►ἀ-) and the root of ὀδών (ὀδούς) < **h₃d-ont-*. The *o*-stem perhaps replaces older **νώδων* after the pattern of στράβων : στραβός, etc. (see Solmsen 1909: 29ff.). For the reconstruction of **h₃-*, see Beekes in Kortlandt 2003: 186.

νώδυνος [adj.] 'feeling no pain' (Pi.), 'alleviating pain' (S.). ◅GR▻

•DER νωδυνία 'painlessness' (Pi., Theoc.).

•ETYM From privative **n-* and ὀδύνη; see on ►νωδός.

νωθής [adj.] 'slow, indolent, stubborn' (Λ 559), see Bechtel 1921(3): 319 and Leumann 1950: 316. ◅?▻

•DER Thence νώθεια [f.] 'indolence' (Pl., Luc.), νωθώδης 'lethargic' (Aret.).

More usual is νωθρός 'id.' (IA), whence νωθρ-ία, -ίη (Hp., Herod., pap.), -ότης [f.] (Hp., Arist., LXX) 'slowness, indifference'; -ώδης 'laming' (Hp.); fem. νωθράς, -άδος botanical name = βαλλωτή, also νωθουρίς (Ps.-Dsc.). Denominatives: 1. νωθρεύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to be slow, slack, indifferent' (Hp., Hyp., pap.), with νωθρεία 'slowness' (Erot.); 2. νωθρ-ιάω 'id.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM A number of etymologies has been proposed, none of which is really obvious: 1) from privative **n-* and the root of ὄθομαι, meaning "who cares for nothing", with transformation of the second member after the *s-* and *ro*-stems; 2) from privative **n-* and the root of ►ὠθέω, 'who does not let himself be pushed from his place'. 3) The old connection with Skt. *ādhrá-* 'weak, poor', which presupposes PIE **nh₃dʰ-ro-*, is again hesitatingly mentioned in Mayrhofer *EWAia*, but the meaning of the Sanskrit word, which is clearly derived from the root *nādh-* 'to be in need', is too remote. Alternatively, Fur.: 390 connects νωφάλης and νωφρύς, but a variation θ/φ is otherwise unknown.

νῶκαρ, -αρος [n.] 'lethargy, coma' (Nic., Hdn.); the latter explains it as στέρησις τῆς ψυχῆς 'absence of the soul'; it is also translated as νύσταξις 'slumbering'. ◅PG(V)►

•VAR Also [adj.].

•DER νωκαρώδης 'slothful, sleepy' (Diph.).

•ETYM Frisk includes νῶκαρ under the derivatives of the root **nek̑-* 'disappear' in Greek, but a long vowel is entirely unmotivated in this formation. On the other hand, Fur.: 133 connects νῶκαρ with νωχελής, which fits well semantically (the translation 'Todesschlaf' by Frisk is inspired by a wrong etymology), and he denies that it has anything to do with ►νεκρός, ►νέκυς. For Pre-Greek words in -αρ, see Fur.: 134[75].

νωλεμές, -έως [adv.] 'without pause, unceasingly' (Il.), usually verse-final with αἰεί; later 'firmly' (A. R.). ◅GR?►

•ETYM Probably a compound of privative **n-* and a neuter **ὄλεμος*, which is rather hypothetically compared with a word for 'break, breakable' in Germanic, e.g. OHG *lam* 'crippled', which may further belong to OCS *lomiti* 'to break', Lith. *lémti* 'to ordain', 1sg. *lemiù*, and perhaps OIr. *ro-laimethar* 'to dare' (LIV² s.v. **lemH-*). The comparison with the Greek form presupposes, however, that the root reconstruction is **h₃lem(H)-*.

νωμάω ⇒νέμω.

νωπέομαι [v.] 'to be downcast', = δυσωπεῖσθαι 'to shun, disapprove of' (Ion. Hist., Phot.). ◅?►

•VAR νενώπηται· τεταπείνωται, καταπέπληκται 'is humble, is struck with amazement' (H., Phot.).

•ETYM Cf. ►προνωπής. Alternatively, does it derive from νώψ· ἀσθενὴς τῇ ὄψει 'weak qua sight' (H.)?

νωρεῖ [v.] · ἐνεργεῖ 'is effective, operates' (H.). ◅IE? **noHr-*►

•ETYM It has been compared with Lith. *nóras* 'will' and *nóriu*, *norĕti* 'want'. This would point to **noHr-*, but a reconstruction that is only based on a gloss remains

doubtful. At any rate, it does not belong to *h_2ner-, which is impossible because of the acute vowel in Lithuanian.

νῶροψ [adj.] mg. unknown. ◁PG?(S)▷

•VAR Only in νώρ-οπι, -οπα, as an epithet of χαλκῷ, -όν (Hom.); after this νώροπι πέπλῳ (Nonn.).

•ETYM Adjective of unknown meaning. Cf. νῶροψ· λαμπρός, ὀξύφωνος, ἔνηχος 'bright, shrill, resounding'. ἢ ὅτι τὴν ὄψιν ἀσθενῆ ποιεῖ 'or that which weakens sight' (H.), which would imply a meaning 'blinding'. It has often been compared with ►ἀνήρ, but this has an initial laryngeal. Comparison with νωρεῖ· ἐνεργεῖ 'is active' (H.), Lith. *norėti*, 1sg. *nóriu* 'want', etc., which have incorrectly been compared with ἀνήρ, is perhaps possible, but gratuitous.

The suffix -οπ- may point to a Pre-Greek word. Kuiper *MKNAW* 14: 5 (1951): 5 suggested that it was taken from αἴθοπι.

νῶτον [n.] 'back' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Secondary τὸν νῶτον and οἱ νῶτοι (Egli 1954: 84ff.).

•COMP νωτο-φόρος 'carrying on the back', 'bearer' [m.], 'beast of burden' [n.] (X., Hell.) with -ἑω, -ία (D. S.); ποικιλό-νωτος 'having a varicolored back' (Pi., E.).

•DER Adjectives: νωτ-ιαῖος (Hp., Pl., E.), see Chantraine 1933: 49, also -αῖος (Nic.), -ιος (Ti. Locr.) 'belonging to the back', fem. -ιάς (Hp.).

Substantives: νωτιδανός [m.] 'kind of shark' (Arist.), on the formation see Schwyzer: 530; also ἐπινωτιδεύς 'id.' (Epaen. *apud* Ath. 7, 294d), explanation uncertain (see Thompson 1947 s.v.; different Strömberg 1943: 49f.; cf. also Boßhardt 1942: 86); νωτεύς [m.] 'beast of burden' (Poll., H.), see Boßhardt 1942: 86.

Verb νωτίζω 'to turn one's back, cover one's back, besmear, beat on the back' (trag., cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 287), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-; thence νώτισμα [n.] 'cover of the back' = 'wing' (*Trag. Adesp.*).

•ETYM There are no obvious cognates. If connected with the Lat. *natis*, *natēs*, gen.pl. *-ium* [f.] 'the buttock', we may either assume an old root noun *$n(e)h_3t$- (Schrijver 1991: 169) or a root *nh_2t- (De Vaan 2008 s.v. *natis*), which became thematicized in Greek.

νωχελής [adj.] 'slow, dull, sluggish' (Hp., S., E., Hell. epic). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also νωχαλής (cod. νωφ-)· νωθρός 'id.' (H.), νωχαλίζει· βραδύνει 'to make slow, delay' (H.). MoGr. has ἀνώχαλος.

•DER νωχελίη, -ία [f.] 'slowness, laziness' (T 411), cf. Porzig 1942: 204 and Delebecque 1951: 156f., also -εια [f.] (Orib., H.); νωχελεύομαι 'to be slow, indolent' (Aq.).

The plantname νωχελίς, -ίδος [f.] = βαλλωτή (Ps.-Dsc.; cf. Strömberg 1940: 158) has a variant νωκελίς, and is therefore rather of Pre-Greek origin; note also νωφρύς (Fur.: 390).

•ETYM Fur.: 133 convincingly compares ►νῶκαρ 'lethargy', which points to Pre-Greek origin. The variant forms in -χαλ-, -κελ-, and the alternation χ/φ lead to the same conclusion (although there is no explanation for the latter).

Ξ

ξαίνω [v.] 'to card, comb wool', metaph. 'to scratch, mangle, lacerate' (ξ 423, IA). ◁IE? **ksn-ie/o-*▷

•VAR Fut. ξανῶ, aor. ξῆναι (late ξᾶναι), pass. ξανθῆναι, perf. med. ἔξασμαι (Hell. also ἔξαμμαι).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατα- and δια.

•DER ξάντης [m.] 'wool-carder' (Pl.) with ξαντική (scil. τέχνη) [f.] 'the art of carding wool' (Pl.), fem. ξάντριαι (title of a drama by A.); ξάσμα [n.] 'carded wool' (S. *Fr.* 1073), also ξάμμα (H. s.v. πεῖκος), ἀναξασμός [m.] 'laceration' (med.), ξάνσις [f.] 'carding of wool' (gloss.), ξάνιον [n.] 'comb for carding' (Poll., *AB*, H.), also = ἐπίξηνον (Poll.), probably after κτένιον; ξανάω (Nic.) 'to work hard (carding wool)', -ῆσαι (S.*Fr.* 498), ἀποξανᾶν· κακοπαθεῖν 'to suffer' (H.); cf. ὑφανάω : ὑφαίνω and similar cases in Schwyzer: 700. Probably related is ►ἐπίξηνον 'chopping-block', with an unclear formation.

•ETYM Technical expression from the production of wool. Its formation may have been influenced by ὑφαίνω, which is semantically close. Probably somehow related to ►ξέω, ►ξύω, but the exact derivation is unknown. There are no correspondences outside Greek.

ξανθός [adj.] 'yellow, golden yellow, reddish, brownish, blond', of hairs (Il.), also of other things (post-Hom.); on the mg. Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 21f. ◁PG?▷

•DIAL Myc. PN *ka-sa-to*, cf. Gallavotti *Par. del pass.* 12 (1957): 10f.

•COMP ξανθο-κόμης (also -ος) 'blond-haired' (Hes., Pi.), ἐπί-ξανθος 'almost yellow, yellowish' (X., Thphr.) beside ἐπι-ξανθίζομαι [v.] 'to become yellowish or brownish' (Pherecr.).

•DER 1. Ξάνθος [m.] name of a river, a town, a person, a horse (Il.), with oppositive accent; 2. ξάνθη [f.] name of a yellow stone (Thphr.); 3. ξάνθιον [n.] name of a plant used to bleach hairs (Dsc., Gal.); Strömberg 1940: 23; 4. ξανθότης, -ητος [f.] 'yellowness' (Str.); 5. Denominative verbs: a. ξανθίζω 'to make or be ξ.' (com., LXX) with ξάνθ-ισις, -ισμός 'yellow-colored' (medic.), ξανθίσματα (κόμης, χαίτης) 'blond curls' (E. *Fr.* 322, *AP*) ; b. ξανθόομαι 'to become ξ.', -όω 'to paint ξ.' (Dsc.), whence ξάνθωσις (Ps.-Democr. Alch.); c. ξανθύνομαι 'id.' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Unexplained. A remote connection with Lat. *cānus* 'grey' has been supposed, but this remains gratuitous. The comparison with Etr. *zamθic*, supposedly 'of gold', has little value (Heubeck *Würzb. Jb.* 4:2 (1949-1950): 202 compares Σκάμανδρος as well). The word may be Pre-Greek; cf. ►ξουθός.

ξεῖ [n.] Name of the letter (Callias *apud* Ath. 10, 453d). ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Indeclinable. Later ξῖ (Luc.).
•ETYM Formed after πεῖ = Sem. *pē*; see Schwyzer: 140.

ξένος [m.] 'foreigner, guest, host' (Il.), 'mercenary, soldier' (ξ 102, Att.); ξένη (scil. γυνή, γῆ) [f.] 'foreign woman, foreign country' (trag., X.); as an adjective 'foreign' (post-Hom.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Epic Ion. poet. ξεῖνος, Dor. ξένϝος (in Cor. Ξενϝοκλῆς, Corc., El. Ξενϝάρης), ξῆνος (Cyr. Φιλόξηνος), (hyper-)Aeol. ξέννος (Hdn.), cf. Schwyzer: 228.
•DIAL Myc. *ke-se-nu-wo* /ksenwos/, *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* /ksenwia/.
•COMP Many compounds like ξενο-, ξεινο-δόκος [m.] 'receiving foreigners or guests; host' (Il.), φιλό-ξε(ι)νος 'loving guests, hospitable' (Od.), πρόξενος, Corc. πρόξενϝος [m.] 'public guest, deputy' (post-Hom.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 38f.; see ▶Εὔξεινος πόντος.
•DER A. Adjectives: 1. ξένιος, ξείνιος 'regarding the foreigner', τὰ ξε(ί)νια 'friendly gifts' (Il.), = Myc. *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*. 2. younger ξε(ι)νικός 'id.' (IA); 3. ξεινήϊος in τὰ ξεινήϊα (or τὸ ξεινήϊον) = τὰ ξείνια (Hom.), after πρεσβήϊα; 4. ξενόεις 'full of foreigners' (E. [lyr.]).
B. Substantives: 1. ξε(ι)νίη, -ία [f.] 'guest-friendship, guest-right' (since ω); 2. ξεινοσύνη [f.] 'hospitality' (φ 35); 3. ξενών, -ῶνος [m.] 'guestroom, -house' (E., Pl.); ξενῶνες· οἱ ἀνδρῶνες ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν 'the men's apartments among the Phrygians' (H.); 4. ξενίς, -ίδος [f.] 'road leading into foreign countries' (Delph. II[a]); 5. ξενίδιον [n.] 'small guesthouse' (pap. III[p]); 6. ξεν-ύδριον (Men.), -ύλλιον (Plu.) depreciatory diminutive of ξένος (Chantraine 1933: 73f.).
C. Verbs. 1. ξε(ι)νίζω 'to entertain as a guest' (Il.), also 'to surprise' (Hell.), whence ξένισις [f.] 'hospitality' (Th.), ξενισμός [m.] 'id.' (Pl., inscr., Luc.), also 'strangeness, innovation' (Plb., D. S., Dsc.); ξενιστής [m.] 'host' (sch.). 2. ξε(ι)νόομαι 'to enter into a treaty of hospitality; entertain sbd. as a guest, to be entertained' (Pi., IA), also 'to live in (or: emigrate to) a foreign country' (S., E.), -όω 'to deprive of, embezzle' (Hld.); ξένωσις [f.] 'stay abroad' (E. *HF* 965). 3. ξενιτεύ-ομαι 'to serve abroad as a soldier' (Isoc., Antiph.), -ω 'to live abroad' (Timae. Hist., J.); after πολιτεύομαι, -ω to πολίτης and πόλις (Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 173); ξενιτ-εία [f.] 'being a mercenary, life abroad' (Democr., LXX), -ευτής [m.] 'who lives abroad' (VI[p]).
•ETYM The semantic agreement with the old PIE word for 'foreigner, guest', seen in Lat. *hostis* [m.] 'foreigner, enemy', Go. *gasts* 'guest', OCS *gostь* 'id.', IE **gʰosti-*, has led to attempts to connect these with ξένος, assuming a root etymology **gʰes-*. The word ξένος could be Pre-Greek.

ξερόν [n.] 'the dry (land)' only in ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπείροιο (ε 402), ποτὶ ξερόν (A. R. 3, 322, *AP*), ἐπὶ ξερόν (Nic.). ⇒ξηρός.

ξέστης [m.] measure for fluid and dried things, = Lat. *sextārius* (Oropos [around 200[a]], J., *AP*), also 'pot, bottle' (*Ev. Marc.* 7, 4, pap.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•DER ξεστίον [n.] 'id.' (Ostr., Orib., Aet.); cf. ἀμνίον, λυχνίον, etc.; ξεστ-ιαῖος 'measuring a ξ.' (Gal.).

•ETYM Backformation from *ξεστάριον, which was borrowed from *sextārius* with metathesis, under the assumption that this was a diminutive. The suffix is like in κοδράντης (= Lat. *quadrāns*), etc. The word ξέστριξ κριθή· ἡ ἑξάστιχος. Κνίδιοι (H.) is probably similar.

ξέω [v.] 'to shave, carve, smooth, polish' (Il.). ◅IE? **ks-es-* 'carve'▻

•VAR Aor. ξέσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. ξεσθῆναι, perf. med. ἔξεσμαι (IA), fut. ξέσω (Paul. Aeg.), perf. act. ἔξεκα (Choerob.), verbal adj. ξεστός (Il.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, κατα-, παρα-, περι-.

•DER 1. ξέσις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'planing' (Thphr., Delph. IV[a]); 2. ξέσματα [pl.] 'carving, chips, carved objects' (M. Ant., *AP*); 3. ξεσμοῖς [dat.pl.] (H. as an explanation of σπαράγμασι 'pieces torn off'); 4. ξόανον [n.] '(carved) image of a god' (S., E., X.), also name of a musical instrument (S. *Fr.* 238); ξοάνων· προθύρων ἐξεσμένων 'carved doorways' (H.); acc. to Latte *Glotta* 32 (1953): 35, who reads ξοανῶν προθύρων· ἐξεσμένων, it is also an adjective; diminutive ξοάνιον (Anaphe II[a]). 5. ξοῖς, -ίδος [f.] 'chisel' (Hell. inscr.) with ξοΐδιον (pap. III[p]) and ξοΐτης [m.] name of a profession (Isauria; Redard 1949: 36); probably directly from ξέω after κοπίς, δορίς, etc.; ξοός· ξυσμός, ὀλκός 'scratch, furrow' (H.). 6. Of the prefixed forms: διαξόος [m.] 'sculptor' (Delph. 341[a]), ἀμφί-ξοος (-ους) 'smoothing all around' (*AP*); ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-ξοή, -ά 'carving, planing, etc.' (inscr.). On ►ξώστρα, see s.v.

•ETYM Probably related to ►ξύω and ►ξαίνω, but without a close correspondence outside Greek. The stem ξεσ- (reconstructed from ξεστός, aor. ξέσ(σ)αι, etc.) is the basis of all forms cited. It has traditionally (Pok. 585f.) been interpreted as **ks-es-*, the zero grade of the IE root **kes-* 'to scratch, comb', with an enlargement *-es-* (cf. on ►τρέω). This root is seen in OCS *česati* 'to comb', Lith. *kàsti* 'to dig, scrape', etc.; ►κεάζω and cognates could be related as well.

The form ξόανον follows the model of ὄχανον : ἔχω, πλόκανον : πλέκω, etc. See also ►κέσκεον.

ξηνός [m.] · κορμός 'squared trunk, block' (Suid.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Has been connected with ἐπίξηνον 'chopping-block', but further details are obscure.

ξηρός [adj.] 'dry, arid' (IA). ◅IE? **ksero-* 'dry'▻

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. ξηρ-αλοιφέω [v.] 'to rub dry with oil' (Lex Solonis *apud* Plu. *Sol.* 1), composed of ξηρὸν ἀλείφειν (to **ξηρ-αλοιφός); ξηρόβηξ, -χος [m.] 'dry cough' (medic.), opposed to ὑγρό-βηξ (Strömberg 1944: 100); κατά-, ἐπί-ξηρος etc. (Hp., Arist.) beside κατα-, ἐπι-ξηραίνω.

•DER 1. ξηρότης, -ητος [f.] 'dryness' (Att., Arist.); 2. ξηρίον [n.], ξηράφιον [n.] 'desiccative powder' (medic., pap.); 3. ξηρώδης 'dryish' (*EM* beside πυρώδης). 4. ξηραίνω [v.] 'to make dry', -ομαι 'to dry up', fut. -ανῶ, -ανοῦμαι (IA), aor. ξηρᾶναι (-ῆναι), -ανθῆναι (Il.), perf. med. ἐξήρασμαι (IA), -αμμαι (Hell.); often with prefixes like ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-. Thence (ἀνα-)ξήρανσις [f.] (Thphr., Gal.), (ἀνα-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-)ξηρασία, -ίη [f.] (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 85; (ἀνα-)ξηρασμός [m.] (medic.) 'getting dry'; (ἀνα-)ξηραντικός 'getting dry' (Hp., Thphr.).

•ETYM The word ξηρός can hardly be separated from ►ξερόν. If these belong together with Lat. *serēnus* 'bright, clear, dry' < **kseres-no-*, *serēscō* 'to become dry', OHG *serawēn* 'id.', etc. (cf. Pok. 625), ξηρός must contain a lengthened grade, which is problematic. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *kṣā* rejects the old connection with Skt. *kṣāra-* 'burning, biting, sharp' and *kṣā́yati* 'to burn'. Alternatively, for ξερόν one might assume metathesis of σχερόν 'id.', possibly influenced by ξηρός. See Janko *Glotta* 57 (1979): 20-23 on this problem.

ξίμβ(ρ)α ⇒σίδη.

ξίρις [f.] 'Iris foetidissima' (Thphr.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Also ξιρίς (Dsc. 4, 22); σῖρις or σίρις (*EM* 209, 35); ξυρίς (Dsc., Plin. Gal.); ξειρίς (Ar., H.), all 'id.'.

•ETYM Frisk (s.v. ξυρόν, which is unrelated) asks whether the original form was ξιρ- or ξυρ-. Acc. to DELG, ξυρ- could be due to folk etymology (referring to Strömberg 1940: 44). Indeed, the form σῖρις/σίρις suggests that ξιρ- is the oldest form. The variants point to Pre-Greek origin.

ξίφος [n.] 'sword with a straight, double-edged blade' (Il.); see Trümpy 1950: 60ff.; metaph. of the ξίφος-like bone of the cuttle-fish (Arist.); as a plant name = ξιφίον (Thphr.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also σκίφος (sch., *EM*, H.).

•DIAL Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* /k^{w}sip^{h}e^{h}e/ [du.].

•COMP As a first member in ξιφη-φόρος 'sword-bearing' (A., E.) with analogical -η- (Schwyzer: 440). On σκιφα-τόμος see below. As a second member in ἄ-ξιφος 'swordless' (Lyc., A. D.), ἀξιφ-εί [adv.] (Hdn.).

•DER 1. diminutive ξιφίδιον (Ar., Th.), also plant name = σπαργάνιον, 'swordgrass' (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 44; 2. ξιφύδριον (σκιφ- Epich.) name of a crustacean (medic., H.). 3. ξιφίας (σκιφ- Epich.) [m.] 'swordfish' (Arist.), also name of a comet (Plin.); 4. ξιφίον [n.] 'cornflag, Gladiolus segetum' (Thphr., Dsc.); 5. ξιφήρης 'armed with a sword' (E., late prose). 6. ξιφήν· ὁ φέρων ξίφος 'who bears a ξ.' (Suid.). 7. ξιφίνδα παίζειν = ξιφίζειν (Theognost.). 8. ξιφίζω [v.] 'to dance the sword-dance' (Cratin.), ἀποξιφίζειν· ὀρχεῖσθαι ποιὰν ὄρχησιν, σκιφίζει· ξιφίζει. ἔστι δὲ σχῆμα μαχαιρικῆς ὀρχήσεως (H.). Thence ξιφ-ισμός (Ath., D. C.), -ισμα (Choerob., H.) 'sword-dance', ξιφιστύς· μαχαιρομαχία, μάχη ἐκ χειρῶν 'battle with daggers' (H.); ξιφ-ιστήρ [m.] (pap., Plu.); -ιστής (H.) 'sword-belt' rather directly from ξίφος in view of the mg.; cf. κορυφιστήρ s.v. ►κορυφή. With prefix δια-ξιφίζομαι [v.] 'to fight with the sword' (Ar.), διαξιφισ-μός [m.] 'battle with swords' (Plu.). Two further glosses from H.: ξίφαι· τὰ ἐν ταῖς ῥυκάναις δρέπανα ἢ σιδήρια 'sickles or tools in planes' and (with metathesis) σκιφίνιον· πλέγμα ἐκ φοίνικος 'sth. plaited of date-palm' (after κοφίνιον, etc.); perhaps also σκιφα-τόμος, a profession (Sparta I^{a})? Cf. on ►κίφος.

•ETYM Oriental origin (Aram. *saj^{e}fā*, Arab. *saifun*, Eg. *sĕfet* 'sword') has been advocated by e.g. Lewy 1895: 176f.

Čop *KZ* 74 (1956): 231f. compared Oss. *æxsirf* 'sickle', assuming IE **k^{w}sib^{h}ró-*. Such an isolated comparison, however, is highly unlikely.

The Myc. form clearly points to Pre-Greek origin because of the variation *k*^{w}*-/k-*. Perhaps the forms with σκιφ- also point in this direction. It is unlikely that Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* lost its labiovelar through dissimilation with the following φ (as per Heubeck *Minos* 6 (1958): 55ff.). Pre-Greek also had labiovelars, which did not always share the fate of the inherited ones (see *Pre-Greek*).

ξουθός [adj.] mg. uncertain, 'resounding, trilling, quick, agile, yellow'(?), said of the wings of the Dioscuri (*h. Hom.* 33, 13), of an eagle (B.), a cicada (*AP*); of the nightingale and its γένυς (A., E., Ar., Theoc.), of the swallow and other singing birds (Babr.), of bees (S. *Fr.* 398, 5, E.); also of the winds (Chaerem. Trag.), of ἀλκυόνες (*AP*), of the ἱππαλεκτρυών (A., Ar.); further of μέλι, αἷμα, λύκος (Emp., Opp.), with ξανθός as a v.l., probably referring to the color (cf. H. ξουθά· οὐ μόνον ξανθά, ἀλλά καὶ λευκὰ καὶ πυρρά 'not only ξ., but also white and tawny'). ◅?▻

•DIAL Myc. PN *ko-so-u-to* (Gallavotti *Par. del pass.* 12 (1957): 6f.).

•COMP As a first member in ξουθό-πτερος, of μέλισσα (E., *Lyr. Alex. Adesp.*).

•ETYM On the meaning, see Leumann 1950: 215. The etymology is unknown. The general similarity with ξανθός has long been observed. Cf. Taillardat 1962: §266 and Duerbeck *MSS* 24 (1968): 9-32.

ξυλαμάω [v.] 'to plant or sow green crops or fodder' (opposed to σπείρω), usually with dat. (χόρτῳ 'fodder'). ◅?▻

•VAR Aor. -μῆσαι.

•DER ξυλάμησις [f.], also the back-formation ξυλαμή [f.] 'sowing green crops', ξυλαμητής (also -ιστής) [f.] 'sower of green crops' (Hell., pap.; Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 127, 66 and 79).

•ETYM Technical word without etymology. Neither ξύλον nor ἁμάω (ἁμάομαι) seems to yield an acceptable connection.

ξύλον [n.] 'wood, timber, firewood, tree, beam, stick; wooden block put around the neck, gallows; bench, table' (Il.); also as a measure of length: 'the side of the ναύβιον' (Hero Geom., pap.). ◅Non-IE substrate?▻

•COMP Very frequent in compounds, e.g. ξυλουργός (-οργός, -εργός) [m.] 'carpenter', with -έω, -ία, -ικός (IA), cf. on δημιουργός; μονό-ξυλος 'made from one piece of wood', of πλοῖον, etc. (IA). On ▸ξύλοχος, see s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutives: ξυλ-άριον 'small piece of wood' (LXX, pap., etc.), -ήφιον 'piece of wood' (Hp., Hell.), -άφιον 'id.' (Eust.); on -ήφιον, -άφιον see Wackernagel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 243f.; ξύλιον 'piece of wood' (pap. IV^{p}).

Further substantives: 2. ξυλ-εύς [m.] 'woodcutter', name of a sacrificial attendant in Olympia (inscr. I^{a}, Paus., H.), with -εύω, -εύομαι 'to fetch wood' (Hell. inscr., Men., H.), -εία [f.] 'fetching wood, stock of wood, timber' (Plb., Str., pap.). ξυλίτης· ἰχθῦς ποιός 'kind of fish' (H.), explanation in Strömberg 1943: 25; ξυλῖτις (γῆ, χέρσος) [f.] 'bush' (pap.); 4. ξυλών, -ῶνος [m.] 'place for wood' (Delos III-II^{a}).

Adjectives: 1. ξύλ-ινος 'of wood, wooden' (Pi., B., IA), 2. -ικός 'id.' (Arist.) with -ικάριος 'woodseller (?)' (Corycos), from Lat. *-ārius*, 3. -ηρός 'regarding wood' (Delos III^{a}), -ηρά [f.] 'woodmarket'? (pap. I^{p}), 4. -ώδης 'woodlike, -colored' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.).

Verbs: 1. ξυλ-ίζομαι 'to fetch wood' (X., Plu.) with -ισμός 'fetching wood' (Str., D. H.), -ιστής 'who fetches wood' (sch.); 2. ξυλ-όομαι, -όω 'to turn into wood, make of wood' (Thphr., LXX) with -ωσις [f.] 'woodwork' (Th., Hell. inscr.), -ωμα, -ωμάτιον 'id.' (Delos III[a], etc.); 3. ξυλ-εύω, see above on ξυλεύς.

•ETYM The word ξύλον appears as σύλον, σύλινος on younger Att. vases (see Schwyzer: 211). It seems to correspond with Lith. *šùlas* 'post, pole, stave' < IE **ksulo-*, Ru. *šúlo* [n.] 'garden-pole', SCr. *šûlj* [m.] 'block' < IE **kseulo-* (?). Germanic words like OHG *sūl* [f.] 'style, pole', Go. *sauls* 'pillar' have a similar appearance. The relation between the Slav., Balt., and Gm. words has been amply discussed, but hardly explained. Was the word taken from a non-IE substrate language? See Lehmann 1986 s.v. *sauls*. Original connection of ξύλον with ►ξύω is not probable, but secondary influence (Chantraine 1933: 240) is conceivable.

ξύλοχος [f.] 'λόχμη, lair', also 'thicket, bush'? (Hom., *AP*, *Anacreont.*, also late prose). ◅GR?▻

•DER ξυλοχίζομαι (-ίσδ-) probably = ξυλίζομαι (Theoc. 5,65; see ξύλον).

•ETYM Explained from *ξυλό-λοχος with haplology, but the exact semantic interpretation remains uncertain; cf. Solmsen 1901: 97[1]. Because of the fem. gender (perhaps after λόχμη?), Bechtel 1914 s.v. points to the possibility of adjectival origin: "having dry wood as a bed", of εὐνή?

ξύν [adj., prep.] 'with, together' (Il., especially OAtt.). ◅?▻

•VAR With dat.; since II[a] sometimes with gen. after μετά. Younger form σύν (since Il.); on the distribution of the forms see Schwyzer 1950 487[2]. On the use in Plato see Kerschensteiner *MSS* 1 (1952): 29ff.

•DIAL Myc. *ku-su* /ksun/.

•ETYM No clear correspondences exist outside Greek. The appurtenance of BSl. forms (Lith. *sù* 'with', OCS *sъ*, Ru. *s(o)* 'together with, down from, etc.') is doubtful. Dunkel *Glotta* 60 (1982): 55-61 assumes that ξυν arose from **som* with **k-* (seen in **kom*, Lat. *cum*) added before it (thus a contamination).

The word ξύν is probably also contained in μεταξύ (cf. on ►μετά). See ►ξυνός.

ξῠνός [adj.] 'common, public, usual' (epic Ion., Il.), = κοινός. ◅GR▻

•COMP Rarely in compounds, e.g. ἐπί-ξυνος = ἐπί-κοινος 'common' (M 422).

•DER 1. ξυνάων, -άν (Pi.), ξυνέων (Hes.), ξυνών (S.) [m.] = κοινάν, -ών 'comrade, companion', whence ξυνωνία (Archil.), ξυνωνός (Theognost.); see on κοινών, -νία, -νός (s.v. ►κοινός). 2. ξυνήϊα [n.pl.] 'common booty', i.e. not yet distributed (A 124, Ψ 809), after πρεσβήϊα, ξεινήϊα. 3. ξυνόομαι [v.] 'to have contact with' (Nearch., Man.), -όω 'to bring into contact with' (Nonn.).

•ETYM From *ξυν-ι̯ό-, derived from ξύν like ►κοινός from *κομ-ι̯ος < *κόμ (*κόν) = Lat. *cum*. On ξυνός: κοινός and their derivatives, see Leumann 1950: 224[3] and Björck 1950: 366f. See ►ξύν.

ξυρόν [n.] 'razor' (K 173). ◅IE **ksuro-* 'razor'▻

•VAR Also -ός [m.].

•COMP Rare as a first member, e.g. ξυρο-δόκη [f.] 'razor-case' (Ar.); as a second member with metrically conditioned enlargement in ὑπο-ξύριος (*AP* 6, 307; verse-final), "what is under the ξ.", whence 'on which the razor is whetted'. Backformation in ὑπό-ξυρος 'cut away as if by a razor', of the nose of an eagle, etc. (Hp.), ἀπό-ξυρος 'cut off, steep', of a rock (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Luc.), κατά-ξυρος epithet of θυρίδες 'loopholes' (Ph. *Bel.*), cf. ὑπο-, ἀπο-, κατα-ξυράω, -έω below.

•DER 1. Diminutives: ξύρ-ιον (Hell.), -άφιον (Gal., sch.). 2. ξυρίας [m.] 'with a tonsure, clean-shaven man' (Poll., H.). 3. On ξυρίς, -ίδος [f.] see ►ξιρίς. 4. Denominative verbs: a. ξυρέω 'to shave clean' (Hdt., trag. and Att.), ξυράω, -άομαι (Hdt., Plu.), ξύρω, -ομαι, aor. ξῦραι, -ασθαι (Hp., Hell.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ὑπο-, κατα-; thence ξύρησις [f.] 'shaving' (LXX), -ήσιμος 'good for shaving' (Ael. Dion.), ξυρησμός [m.] 'id.' (Hdn.), ξυρητής [m.] 'barber' (pap.); b. ξυρίζω = -έω (sch.), whence ξύρισμα [n.] 'shaving' (Tz.).

•ETYM An inherited word, identical with Skt. *kṣurá-* [m.] 'razor' < IE **ksuró-*. For further connections, see ►ξύω.

ξυστάδες [f.] · αἱ πυκναὶ ἄμπελοι, ἄμεινον δὲ τὰς εἰκῇ καὶ μὴ κατὰ στοῖχον πεφυτευμένας ἀκούειν 'vines planted closely togehter, but it is better to understand the plants planted at random and not those planted in a row' (H.). ⇒συστάς.

ξυστίς, -ίδος [f.] 1. 'robe of rich and soft material, worn with festive clothes as a robe of state' (com., Pl.), whence ξυστιδωτός (scil. χιτών) 'chiton like a robe of state' (Att. inscr.); 2. 'shaver, drawknife; currycomb' (Epich., Diph.). ◄GR►

•ETYM From ξυστός 'shaven clean, planed', probably a comic name: a cloth sweeping the ground (on the formation, see Chantraine 1933: 343f.), but also a "planing instrument" (Chantraine 1933: 338). See ►ξύω.

ξυστόν 1 [n.] 'shaft of a spear', usually 'spear' (Il., Hdt., E., X.). ◄GR►

•ETYM From ►ξύω as "what has been smoothened; smoothened stick" (scil. δόρυ).

ξυστός 2 [m.] 'walking place in a garden, a gymnasium, etc., covered colonnade where athletes exercise in winter' (X., Hell., inscr., Vitr., Plu., Paus.). ◄GR►

•VAR Also -όν [n.].

•COMP As a first member in ξυστ-άρχης [m.] 'director of a ξυστός' with ξυσταρχ-έω, -ία (late inscr. and pap.).

•DER ξυστικός 'belonging to a ξ., who exercises in a ξ.' (late inscr. and pap., Gal.).

•ETYM Originally an adjective, ξυστός meant 'smoothened', of the floor of a promenade and a colonnade; thus still in ξυστὸς δρόμος (Aristias 5, V[a]). Cf. also ξύειν 'to smoothen', of δάπεδον (χ 456). The word ►ξυστάδες (beside which συστ-) is unrelated.

ξύω [v.] 'to shave, smooth, scratch' (Il.). ◄IE **kseu-* 'shave, scratch'►

•VAR Aor. ξῦσαι, pass. ξυσθῆναι, perf. pass. ἔξυσμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER Action nouns: 1. ξῦσις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'shaving, scratching, ulceration, erosion' (Hp., inscr.). 2. ξῦσμα (ἀπό-) [n.] 'filings, chip, lint, etc.' (Hp., Arist.) with ξυσμά-τιον, -τώδης (medic.); -λιον [n.] 'erosive plaster' (Cyran.). 3. ξυσμή [f.] 'scratching'

(Sophr.), plur. 'scribbles' (*AP*, D. T.). 4. ξυσμός [m.] 'itching, irritation' (Hp.). 5. κατα-ξυή [f.] 'smoothing' (Didyma II^{a}).

Agent and instrument nouns: 6. ξυστήρ, -ῆρος (περι-) [m.] 'shaver, plane, rasp, file' (Hp., Hell. inscr.), ξυστ-ηρίδιον (Phryn.), -ήριος (Paul. Aeg.). 7. ξύστρα [f.] 'plane, curry-comb' (Hp., Hell. inscr. and pap.). 8. ξῦστρον = -τήρ (Sparta II^{p}), also 'sickle, scythe on a wagon' (D. S.); thence ξυστρίον (pap. II^{a} Paul. Aeg.), ξυστρίς (H. s.v. στελγίς, = στλεγγίς), ξυστρωτός 'fluted, chamfered' (LXX, Hero), ξυστρόομαι [v.] 'to flute' (Mylasa). 9. περι-ξύστης [m.] name of a chirurgical instrument (*Hermes* 38, 283). 10. ξυήλη (-άλη) [f.] 'planing iron' (X., H., Suid.). 11. ξυστάλλιον = ξῦστρον (Delos III^{a}).

Adjective ξυστικός 'ptng. to shaving, etc' (medic., etc.). See also ξυστίς, -όν, -ός and ►ξυρόν.

•ETYM There is no direct correspondence for the Greek system. An athematic lengthened grade present is found in Skt. *kṣṇáuti* 'to grind, whet, rub', zero grade pres. ptc. *kṣṇuvāná-*. If this contained a nasal infix, it is archaic, as is clear from Lat. *novācula* [f.] 'razor', a denominative or deverbative formation from **novāre* < **ksnovāre*. The nasal was also introduced in non-presentic forms, e.g. ptc.perf. *kṣṇutá-* (= Av. *hu-xšnuta-* 'well-sharpened'), verbal noun *kṣṇótra-* [n.] 'whetstone'.

One may further compare Lith. *skùsti*, 1sg. *skutù* 'to shave, plane, etc.', if somehow transformed from **ksu-*. See ►ξέω, ►ξαίνω.

ξώστρα [?] · ψυκτρίς, ψύκτρια (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The gloss is probably corrupt, since ψυκτρ- is unknown. It has variously been corrected to ψηκτρίς, ψήκτρια, or the lemma changed to ξύστρα. The word is usually given under ξέω, but this need not be correct.

O

ὁ- 1 copulative prefix. ◁IE **sem-* 'one'▷

•VAR In ὅ-πατρος 'of the same paternal descent' (Λ 257, M 371), ὁπάτριος (Lyc.); in ὅ-τριχες ἵπποι 'horses with like manes' (B 765) and the glosses ὁγάστωρ· ὁμογάστωρ, ὅζυγες· ὁμόζυγες (H.); also in ►οἰέτεας.

•ETYM Probably, Aeolic for copulative ►ἀ- 1. Semantically, it often comes close to ►ὁ- 2. See ►ὅπατρος.

ὁ- 2 'close by, near, with' vel sim. ◁?▷

•ETYM Assumed to be a fossilized prefix cognate with Av. and Skt. *ā-* 'towards, away from' < **(H)o-*, in order to explain ὀ- in ὀκέλλω 'to drive ashore' beside ►κέλλω, and further ὀτρύνω, ►ὄζος 1, ►ὄσχη, ►ὄψον; for further details, see the separate words. In view of the paucity of the examples, this analysis is probably wrong. More forms are mentioned in Pok. 28of., but almost all of these are now explained by an initial laryngeal.

ὁ [pron., art.] demonstrative 'this one, that one' (Il.), later article. ◁IE **so, to-* 'this one'▷

•VAR Fem. ἡ, Dor. ἁ; the nom.pl. οἱ, fem. αἱ (epic, Att.) is analogical for τοί, ταί (epic, Dor.).

•DER Also substantivized ὅς, in καὶ ὅς, ἦ δ' ὅς 'said he', etc. (Il.).

•ETYM An old demonstrative, originally only nom.sg.msc. and fem., retained in several languages: e.g. Skt. *sá(ḥ)*, fem. *sā́*, Go. *sa*, fem. *so*, ToB *se*, fem. *sā*, and OLat. *sa-psa* 'ipsa' with innovated forms *sum*, *sam*, *sōs*, *sās* 'eum, eam, eos, eas'. All are from IE **so(s)*, **seh₂*.

ὀά [interj.] interjection of pain (A. *Pers.* 117 and 122 [lyr.]). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Also ὀᾶ.

•DER Besides οὐά, οὐᾶ interjection of admiration (Arr. Epict., D. C., *Ev. Marc.* 15, 29); οὐαί of pain, 'woe' (LXX, J., NT).

•ETYM Cf. Lat. *vāh*, interjection in various mgs., as well as *vae* utterance of pain, Go. *wai* 'woe'; further forms in Pok. 111of. On ὀ-, οὐ- as a rendering of a *w*-sound, see Schwyzer: 313.

ὄα 1 [f.] 'elderberry tree, mountain ash, Sorbus domestica' (Thphr.). ◁IE **Hoi-ueh₂-* 'yew'▷

•VAR Ion. ὄη, οἴη; variant οὔα. The fruit is called ὄον or οὔον [n.] 'elderberry' (Pl. *Smp.* 190d, Hp., Thphr., Dsc.).

•ETYM Words reminiscent in form and meaning of ὄα are found in many languages: Lat. *ūva* [f.] 'grape', which may derive from IE **Hoiueh₂-*, like ὄα; a derivation **oiu̯i̯ā-* is assumed in Arm. *aigi* 'vine'. Further, Lith. *(j)ievà*, Latv. *iēva* [f.] 'alder buckthorn', the Slavic group of Ru. *íva* [f.] 'willow', the Celto-Germanic word for 'yew', e.g. OIr. *eó* [m.], OHG *iwa* [f.], and OPr. *iuwis* 'yew'. It remains uncertain whether these words have a common origin, and/or whether we must reckon with old loans. Alb. *vo-dhë*, *va-dhë* 'rowan tree' were borrowed from Gr. ὄα, οἴη.

ὄα 2 'hem, border'. ⇒ᾠα.

ὄαρ, ὄαρος [f.] 'wife', only in ὀάρων [gen.pl.] (I 327); ὤρεσσιν [dat.pl.] (E 486); ὄαρας· γάμους. οἱ δὲ γυναῖκας 'wives, others: women'*(H.). ◁PG?▷

•DER Thence ὀαρίζω [v.] 'to have a private conversation, to consort with someone intimately, to chat' (Il., *h. Hom.*), only pres. and ipf.; ὄαρος, usually plur. -οι [m.] 'cosy intercourse or conversation', also 'ditty' (*h. Hom.*, Hes., Pi., Call.), probably a back-formation; also ὀαριστύς [f.] (Hom.), later ὀαρισμός, usually plur. -οί [m.] (Hes., Call., Q. S.), ὀαρίσματα [pl.] (Opp.) 'intimate, close or colloquial conversation, billing and cooing'; ὀαριστής [m.] 'close friend' (τ 179, Timo); on mg. and use of the verbal nouns see Benveniste 1948: 70, Porzig 1942: 181f.

•ETYM Looking at the denominative ὀαρίζω, it is thought that ὄαρ originally meant 'confidential intercourse', whence 'confidential company, wife'. A good etymology has not been found. Several proposals have been made (see Frisk) where the initial ὀ- would be either the Aeolic variant of copulative ▸ἀ- 'equal, together with', or ▸ὀ- 2 'to, with'. Regarding the second member, these proposals do not convince, however. Ruijgh 1967a: 386f. supposes that the Linear B ideogram for 'woman' (MULIER) developed into the sign for *wo*, suggesting that there was a Pre-Greek word **woar* 'woman' (cf. ▸δάμαρ).

ὄβδην [adv.] 'in the face, overtly, public' (Call. *Fr.* 522, Lampsakos; A. D. *Adv.* 198,7 [where also ὄβδην]). ◁IE **h₃ekʷ-* 'face'▷

•VAR Only in εἰς (ἐς) ὄβδην.

•ETYM Adverb in -δην from ὀπ-, the root found in ὀπή, ὄψομαι, etc., with εἰς like in ἐς ἄντα.

ὀβελός [m.] 'broach' (Il.), 'obelisk, bar of metal used as a coin or weight, obol' (= the sixth part of a drachme), 'obelus, horizontal line used as a diacritic'. ◁PG▷

•VAR Att. ὀβολός, Dor. Arc. ὀδελός (also Nic.), Thess. ὀβελλός.

•COMP ὀβολο-στάτης [m.] "obol weigher", i.e. 'petty usurer' (com.), τρι-ώβολον, Dor. -ώδελον [m.] (-ω- by compositional lengthening) 'coin worth three obols, amount of three obols = half a drachme' (Th., Ar.); also ὀδολκαί· ὀβολοί (H.) from *ὀδελ-ολκαί?

•DER 1. Diminutive ὀβελίσκος [m.] '(little) spit, needle, obelisk, etc.' (Att., Hell.); 2. ὀβελίας (ἄρτος) 'bread roasted on a spit' (Hp., com.); 3. ὀβελίτης = -ίας (Poll.); 4. ὀβελεία (= ία) [f.] name of an iron object (Att. inscr.), -ία [f.] 'obol tax?' (Cos I[a]); 5. ὀβελ-ιαῖος 'like a broach' (medic.), ὀβολιαῖος 'worth an obol, weighing an obol'

(Arist.); 6. ὀβελίζω [v.] 'to mark with an obelus' (Cic., Hermog.) with ὀβελισμός [m.] 'marking with an obelus' (sch.); but ὀβολισμός [m.] 'carriage rate' vel sim. (pap. III^{p}).
•ETYM The variation δ : β in ὀδελός : ὀβελός can seemingly be explained by assuming an original labiovelar *g^{w}, but a number of problems remain in the reconstruction of a pre-form: 1) non-Aeolic ὀβελός instead of expected ὀδελός cannot be easily explained by analogy, as e.g. Frisk s.v. states; 2) there is not enough evidence for early vowel assimilations in Greek, for which ὀβολός is taken to be one of the main examples (see Van Beek fthc.b). Thus, it was assumed (Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 321ff.) that unaccented **e* regularly developed to *o* if accented **ó* followed in the next syllable, with at least one consonant separating the vowels. However, if ὀβολός would reflect such an old assimilation ε > ο, then the vocalism of ὀβ/δελός in all other dialects would be hard to understand; 3) the geminate in Thess. ὀβελλός is unexplained; 4) the word was etymologically connected with βέλος 'missile', but the initial ὀ- cannot be accounted for (cf. ►ὀ- 2). Extensive discussion of the word (also in compounds) in Tod *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1947): 1-27. The word is clearly Pre-Greek (see Fur. 389).

ὄβρια [n.pl.] 'cubs of wild animals' (E. *Fr.* 616); cf. ἰβρίκαλοι· χοῖροι 'young pigs' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR ὀβρικάλοισι (A. *Ag.* 143 [lyr.]), ὀβρίχοισι (A. *Fr.* 474, 809 Mette).
•ETYM For ὄβριχα (perhaps -οι?), compare animal names and hypocoristic formations like ὀρτάλιχος, ὀσσίχος (Chantraine 1933: 403f.); ὀβρίκαλα (-οι?) seems to have a combination of suffixes -κ- and -λ-; further unclear. Vendryes *REGr.* 32 (1932): 496 supposes Sicilian origin. Fur.: 191[37], on the other hand, assumes Pre-Greek origin with interchange ὀ-/ ἰ-. Although this would be a rare interchange, the variation in the suffixes -κ- and -χ- seems to confirm this.

ὄβριμος [adj.] 'strong, mighty' (Il.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also ὄμβριμος with prenasalization.
•COMP As a first member in ὀβριμο-πάτρη [f.], epithet of Athena and others, 'having a mighty father'.
•ETYM The word ὄβριμος is traditionally compared with words that have no initial ὀ- and a long stem vowel: βριμός· μέγας, χαλεπός 'huge, hard' (H.), βριμάομαι 'χαλεπαίνω, to be hard to deal with', Βριμώ [f.] epithet of Hecate, Persephone, and others (see ►βρίμη), all of which are probably related to βρίθω, βριαρός. The short ι in ὄβριμος may have been taken from ἄλκιμος and other near-synonyms, but the ὀ- yields serious problems: it is neither a prefix nor a prothetic vowel. The variation ὀβρι-/ βρι- probably points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 246, etc.), as does the prenasalization.

ὄβρυζα [f.] 'assaying of gold' (Just. *Edict.* 11). ◄?►
•DER ὀβρυζιακός and ὄβρυζος 'pure, i.e. having been assayed', of gold (pap. IV-VI^{p}, sch.).
•ETYM A technical loanword, compared by Benveniste *RPh.* 79 (1953): 122ff. with Hitt. *ḫuprušḫi-* name of a pot, as the word originally indicated the pot in which the

gold was tested. Borrowed as Lat. *obrussa* (since Cic.), later *obryza*, *-iacus* (since IV^{p}).

ὄγδοος [adj.] 'eighth' (Il.). ◁IE **h$_3$eḱteh$_3$* 'eight', **h$_3$eḱth$_3$-uo-* (?) 'eighth'▷

•VAR ὀγδόατος (Il.); after τέτρατος, etc.

•COMP As a first member probably in ὀγδόδιον· θυσία παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τελουμένη Θησεῖ 'sacrifice brought to Theseus by the Athenians' (H.), probably of a sacrifice brought "on the eighth day"; cf. on ►αὐτόδιον.

•DER ὀγδοαῖος 'appearing on the eighth day' (Plb., Plu.). On ὀγδοάς, -ήκοντα, etc. see ►ὀκτώ.

•ETYM The Greek ordinal 'eighth' goes back to **ὄγδοϝος* (cf. Old Corinth. [ὀγ]δόϝα), which is an enigmatic form beside the cardinal ὀκτώ for at least two reasons: the voiced cluster -γδ- and the suffix *-ow-* that it seems to contain. It is possible that the voiced cluster is analogical after ἕβδομος from **septm-o-*; Sommer 1950: 24f. even considered the possibility that the cluster in a pre-form **oḱtu̯-o-* developed an anaptyctic -o-. However, nowadays one usually reconstructs **(h$_3$)eḱt(e)h$_3$-uo-* with a suffix **-uo-* added to the form, seen in the cardinal **h$_3$eḱteh$_3$*. Rix 1976: 172 reconstructs **(h$_3$)eḱth$_3$u-h$_2$o-*, assuming voicing of the cluster by the **-h$_3$-*, which was afterwards vocalized to yield -o-; this is an ad-hoc solution.

Another question is whether or not the *-u̯-* is part of the stem (cf. Skt. *aṣṭáu*). It is found in Go. *ahtuda* 'ὄγδοος', OHG *ahtowi* [pl.] 'eighth (as an office)', and in Lat. *octāvus* (with *-ā-* perhaps by dissimilation **-eh$_3$uo-* > **-eh$_2$uo-*; Schrijver 1991: 300).

ὀγκάομαι [v.] 'to cry, roar', of the ass (Theopomp. Com., Arist., Luc.). ◁IE? **h$_1$enk-* 'groan'▷

•COMP Also with προ-, συν-.

•DER ὄγκησις [f.] (Corn., Ael.), -ηθμός [m.] (Luc., Nonn.), -ημα [n.] (gloss.) 'roaring, bellowing', also of oxen; -ηστής [m.] 'crier' (*AP*), -ηστικός 'inclined to crying' (sch.); ὀγκώδης 'id.' (Ael.).

•ETYM An intensive formation, like ►βοάω, ►γοάω, ►μυκάομαι, etc. A direct formal counterpart is Lat. *uncāre* 'to drone', of a bear (Suet.). An *e*-grade (IE **h$_1$enk-*) is found in Ru. *jačáť*, 1sg. *jačú* 'to groan, call plaintively', Alb. *nëkon*, Gheg *angój* 'to groan, sigh, lament'. Celtic and Germanic have various forms in the same meaning from IE **h$_1$ong-*, e.g. MIr. *ong* 'groan, sigh, lament', MLG *anken* 'to groan, sigh'; further, Lith. *iñksti* 'to groan, sigh', *ùngti* 'id.', etc.

The word may have been onomatopoeic in origin. However, De Lamberterie *RPh.* 73 (1999): 37f. now derives it from ὄγκος 'swelling'. Borrowed as Lat. *oncāre* 'to cry', of an ass (Suet.). See also ►ὄκνος 2 'bitter'.

ὄγκιον [n.] 'name of a chest for iron and bronze ware' (φ 61, Hermipp. 16). ◁?▷

•VAR Also -ίον.

•ETYM Details unknown; in Poll. 10, 165 σκεῦος πλεκτόν, a plaited tool. It is therefore unclear whether it belongs to ►ὄγκος 1 (as a chest with hooks or handles) or to ►ὄγκος 2 (as a carrier).

ὄγκος 1 [m.] 'barbs of an arrow, chock' (Il., Philostr. *Im.*, Moschio *apud* Ath. 5, 208b). ◁IE *$h_2$onk-o-* 'curvature'▷

•VAR Further ὄγκη· γωνία 'corner, angle' (H.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *uncus* [m.] 'hook', as an adjective 'curved'; Gr. ὄγκινος 'barbed hook' (Poll. 1, 137 v.l., sch.) comes from Lat. *uncinus* [m.] 'id.' (Vitr.). For further cognates (e.g. ἀγκάλη, ἀγκών), see on ►ἀγκύλος.

ὄγκος 2 [m.] 'mass, burden, weight; dignity, pride, show-off', also as a notion of style (IA). ◁IE *$h_2$onk-o-* 'curvature', ?*$h_1$onḱ-o-* 'burden'▷

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ὑπέρ-ογκος 'excessively large, exaggerated, haughty' (Pl., X.), rarely as a first member, e.g. ὀγκό-φωνος 'with a hollow and pompous tone' (of a trumpet; sch.).

•DER 1. Adjectives ὀγκ-ηρός 'bulky, extensive', mostly metaph. 'pompous' (Hp., X., Arist.); -ώδης 'bulky, bombastic' (Pl., X., Arist.); ὀγκύλον· σεμνόν, γαῦρον 'proud, haughty' (H.), together with (δι-)ὀγκύλλομαι, -υλόομαι [v.] 'to be swollen, be puffed up' (Hp., Ar.); compar. ὀγκότερος 'bulky' (Arist.), superl. -τατος (*AP*). 2. Verb ὀγκόομαι 'to be puffed up, swollen, elated', -όω 'to raise, exalt, etc.' (IA), also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐξ-; thence (δι-, ἐξ-)ὄγκωσις 'swelling' (Arist., medic.), (ἐξ-)ὄγκωμα 'swelling' (Hp., E.). From H.: ὀγκίαι· θημῶνες, χώματα 'heaps, piles'; ὄγκη· μέγεθος 'magnitude' (cf. on ►ὄγκος 1).

•ETYM In the sense "what is carried, load, burden", taken to be an *o*-grade verbal noun to the root *$h_1$enḱ-* (seen in the reduplicated aorist ►ἐνεγκεῖν). A problem with this analysis is the Schwebeablaut that has to be assumed, as the root is rather *$h_1$neḱ-*. Jouanna *CRAI* (1985): 31-60 has claimed that the meaning 'burden' is not attested, and that all attestations can be understood from a meaning 'swelling', which may have developed from 'curvature' (and, like ►ὄγκος 1, be derived from *$h_2$onk-*).

ὄγμος [m.] 'furrow, swath, line of scythed grass or grain', also of the course of the moon and the sun, etc., 'strip of land, which is (or ought to be) scythed down or cultivated in another way', also as a field-measure (Il., pap. imperial period). ◁IE *h_2oǵ-mo-* 'trajectory'▷

•DER ἐπόγμιος 'presiding over the ὄγμος', epithet of Demeter (*AP*); ὀγμεύω [v.] 'to form an ὄ., to move in an ὄ.' (X. *Cyr.* 2, 4, 20 of the drivers; S. *Ph.* 163 of the wounded Philoctetes), ἐπ-ογμεύω (κύκλον) [v.] 'to move in circles' (Tryph. 354); perhaps also Ὄγμιος name of Heracles among the Celts (Luc. *Herc.* 1)?

•ETYM A term of agriculture. As a verbal noun to ἄγω (ὄγμον ἄγειν Theoc. 10, 2), ὄγμος may be identical in origin with Skt. *ájma-* [m.] 'trajectory, draught'. It is hard to imagine parallel innovations, since the suffix *-mo-* was not productive in Greek. This is one of the good examples showing that *h_2o > Gr. o.

ὄγχνη [f.] 'pear tree, Pirus communis', also 'pear' (Od., Thphr.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also ὄχνη (Theoc., Call., Nic.), ὄγχνια· ἄπιον 'pear (tree)' (H.).

•ETYM Hypothetically connected with ►ἔγχος 'lance', if this was originally a lance of pearwood. Of course, this remains a wild guess. Cf. ►ἀχράς and ►ἄχερδος, both 'pear (tree)'. Fur.: 131[59] connects κόγχναι· αἱ ὄγχναι (H.), and thinks the word is Pre-Greek, also on account of the by-form ὄχνη (ibid. 279).

ὀδάξ [adv.] 'with the teeth, clenching one's teeth' (ὀδὰξ ἐν χείλεσι φύντες α 381 = σ 410 = υ 268; also com., e.g. Ar. *V.* 164 διατρώξομαι τοίνυν ὀδάξ τὸ δίκτυον); perhaps in different mgs. at three places in the Il. (e.g. Λ 749 ὀδὰξ ἕλον οὖδας; cf. X 17, B 418). ◁PG▷

•DER Three verbs: 1. ὀδακ-τάζω (Call., A. R.), -τίζω (D. H.) 'to bite, gnaw' (cf. λακτίζω : λάξ); ἀδακτῶ· κνήθομαι 'to itch' (H.). 2. ὀδάξ-ομαι, -ω 'to scratch (oneself), to itch, be scratchy, gnaw', also -άομαι (-έομαι), -άω; variant ἀδάξομαι, -άομαι; fut. -ήσομαι, perf. ptc. ὠδαγμένος (S.), aor. ὠδάξατο (*AP*); ὠδάγμην· ἐκνησάμην (H.); ὀδάξει· τοῖς ὀδοῦσι δάκνει 'bites with the teeth', folk-etymological explanation (H.); ὀδαγμός (ἀ-, S. *Tr.* 770), ὀδαξ-ησμός (Hp., Ph., Plu.) 'itch', -ητικός (Poll.), -ώδης (Aret.) 'scratchy, causing itch'. 3. ἀδαχεῖ 'scratches, itches' (Ar. *Fr.* 410), ἀδαχᾷ· κνᾷ, κνήθει κεφαλήν, ψηλαφᾷ 'scratches the head, touches' (H.).

•ETYM Both ὀδακ-τάζω, -τίζω and ὀδάξει in H. have been derived from ὀδάξ, which traditionally translated as 'with the teeth'. However, it is hard to derive ὀδάξ-ομαι, -άομαι, which is attested better and earlier, as well as ἀδαχ-εῖ, -ᾷ, if we start from such a meaning. For the oldest attestations of ὀδάξ (Il.), 'with the teeth' is not directly evident, although it seems possible. Bechtel 1914 rendered ὀδάξ in these places with 'itching, scratching' (after ὀδάξομαι). The later meaning 'with the teeth' would have arisen from a folk-etymological connection with ὀδών and δάκνω.

The forms with ά- have traditionally been explained by vowel assimilation (Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 391f.), but this has now become doubtful (see Van Beek fthc.b); they rather point to Pre-Greek origin. It is also quite possible that the original reading was ἀδαγ-, and that this was replaced by ὀδ- at some point by folk etymology, as ἀδαγ- was less well-known. The aspiration in ἀδαχ-ᾷ, -εῖ does not have to be explained as analogical (Schmidt l.c.), but may be a variant of a Pre-Greek phoneme as well. The same holds for the interchange between -κτ- and -ξ- in the verbal forms. For all these reasons, the former derivation from a zero grade **h*$_3$*d-nt-* must be dropped. See ▶ἀδαγμός.

ὀδαχᾶς [?] · καταπύγων. Ταραντῖνοι 'lecherous, lascivious (Tarentinian)' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

ὀδμή [f.] 'smell, scent'. ⇒ὄζω.

ὀδόλυνθοι [m.]? · ἐρέβινθοι 'chick-peas' (H.). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word; cf. ▶ὄλυνθος.

ὁδός 1 [f.] 'road, street, ride, journey, march' (Il.), metaph. 'way out, means' (Pi., IA). ◁IE **sod-* 'course'▷

•COMP Many compounds, like ὁδο-ποιέω [v.] 'to clear a path, pave the way' (Att.), with -ποιία [f.] 'road construction' (X.), -ποιός [m.] 'road worker' (X., Aeschin., Arist.); ὁδοι-πόρος [m.] 'traveller, wanderer' (Ω 375, trag., com.) with -πορία, -ίη 'journey (on land)' (*h. Merc.* 85, Hp., Hdt., X.), -πορέω [v.] 'to cover a distance, travel, cross' (Ion., trag.); ὁδοι-δόκος [m.] 'highwayman, robber' (Plb.); the first member retained a locative ending in order to avoid a sequence of three shorts. As a second member e.g. in εὔ-οδος 'well-roaded' with εὐοδ-ία, -έω, -όω (Att.), also in

εἴσ-, ἔξ-, μέθ-, σύν-οδος, etc. 'entrance, etc.' (since κ 90), used as verbal nouns of εἰσ-ιέναι.

•DER 1. ὅδιος (ἐν-, παρ-, ἐφ-, etc.) 'ptng. to the road' (Il.); 2. τά ὀδαῖα [n.pl.] 'goods traded along the way' (θ 163, ο 445; cf. ὀδάω below); 3. -οδικός, in e.g. μεθοδ-ικός 'methodical, systematic' (Hell.); 4. ὀδωτός 'equipped with roads, practicable, doable' (S. *OC* 495; cf. ὀδόω); 5. ὁδίτης (παρ-, etc.) [m.] 'traveler, wanderer' (Il.); 6. ὅδισμα [n.] 'road construction' (A. *Pers.* 71 [lyr.]), cf. τείχισμα.

Denominative verbs: 7. ὀδεύω 'to travel by road, wander' (since Λ 569), very often with prefix, e.g. δι-, ἐξ-, μεθ-, παρ-, συν- (partly from δί-οδος, etc.); thence (-)ὅδευσις (IA), etc.; 8. ὀδόω 'to show the way, lead' (Hdt., A., E.); 9. ὀδάω (ἐξ-) 'to sell' (E. *Cyc.*); ὀδεῖν· πωλεῖν 'to sell' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally, ὁδός is connected with a Slavic word for 'course', e.g. OCS *xodъ* [m.] 'βάδισμα, δρόμος', Ru. *xod* 'course, progress', which (like ὀδός) frequently occurs with a prefix, and may have its initial (*x-* instead of *s-*) from compounds with prefix (*pri-*, *u-*, *per-*). However, the absence of traces of Winter's Law in the Slavic word (lengthening of the preceding vowel by influence of the glottalic stop **d*) makes it probable that *xodъ* was borrowed from Iranian. A further connection has been proposed with IIr. verbs like Skt. *ā-sad-* 'to tread on, go on', Av. *apa-had-* 'to go away, become weak'.

The relation between all forms mentioned and the root **sed-* 'sit' remains unclear. Thus, the Greek noun ὀδός remains isolated.

ὀδός 2 [m.] 'threshold'. ⇒οὐδός.

ὀδούς [m.] 'tooth'. ⇒ὀδών.

ὀδύνη [f.] 'pain, torment, harm, sorrow' (Il.). ◂IE **h₃d-un-* 'pain'▸

•VAR Mostly plur. -αι.

•COMP As a second member in e.g. περι-ώδυνος 'very sore, painful' (Hp., Att.), -ω- compositional lengthening; thence περιωδυν-ία [f.] (Hp., Pl.), verbs -έω (medic.), -άω after ὀδυνάω; rarely as a first member, e.g. in ὀδυνή-φατος (ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα Ε 401 = 900, also of ῥίζαν Λ 847; after this Orph. *L.* 345, 753) 'soothing, mitigating', an incidental poetical formation after ἀρηΐ-φατος, etc., but with remarkable active mg.

•DER ὀδυν-ηρός, Dor. -ᾱρός 'dolorous, painful' (Pi., Att.), -ωδῶς [adv.] 'painfully' (Gal.), -αίτερος 'more painful' (Hp.) as if from **ὀδυναῖος* after σχολαίτερος, etc. (Schwyzer: 534); ὀδυνάω [v.] 'to hurt, grieve', -άομαι 'to be hurt, suffer pain' (IA), rarely with ἐξ-, κατ-; thence ὀδυνήματα [pl.] 'pains' (Hp.).

•ETYM Beside IA ὀδύνη stands Aeol. ἐδύνας [acc.pl.], cited in Greg. Cor. 597. On this basis, it was assumed that the vocalic interchange is due to vowel assimilation ε > ο before υ. However, this is improbable; as argued by Kortlandt 2003: 94 and 199, a form attested only in Gregory of Corinth (XII^{P}) cannot be taken so seriously.

The form ὀδύνη was taken to be an enlargement in -ᾱ- of a verbal noun in *-ur*, *-uen-*, *-un-* from the root **h₁ed-* 'eat'. Semantic parallels were adduced by Frisk (Hor. *curae edaces*, Lith. *ėdžiótis* 'to trouble oneself' beside *ėdžióti* 'to devour, bite', from *ėsti* 'to eat'), and ▸ὀδύρομαι 'to wail' was compared as well. A further representative of

$h_1$ed-ur, -un- has been seen in Arm. *erkn*, gen. *erkan* 'birth-pain, heavy pain'. On the further basis of OIr. *idu* 'birthpangs', from which he derived from PCelt. **edwon-*, Schindler *KZ* 89 (1975): 53-65 reconstructed an original feminine paradigm **$h_1$éd$_{\underline{u}}$ō(n)*, gen. *$h_1$dun-és*, nom.pl. **$h_1$éd$_{\underline{u}}$on-es*.
However, the initial laryngeal was **h_3-*, like in ►ὀδών; cf. Kortlandt 2003: 94 and 199, where Schindler's analysis of the Irish and Greek words is criticized on good grounds. The comparison with Armenian is doubtful, because acc. to Kortlandt, a cluster **dw* did not yield Arm. *rk* (ibid. 88ff.). He starts from a root **$h_3$ed-* 'to bite, sting' also seen in Lith. *úodas* 'gnat' < **$h_3$od-o-*. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that this root is continued in the verbal roots meaning 'stink, smell' (Gr. ►ὄζω) and 'hate' (Lat. *ōdī*), on which see LIV² s.vv. 1. **$h_3$ed-* and 2. **$h_3\breve{e}d$-*, but that the original meaning was 'to sting'. Within Greek, ►ὠδίς may also be related.

ὀδύρομαι [v.] 'to wail loudly, lament, grieve, mourn, bewail' (Il.). ◁IE? **h_3d-ur*, **h_3d-un-* 'pain'▷
•VAR Non-presentic forms are rare: aor. ὀδύρασθαι, pass. ὠδύρθην, fut. ὀδυροῦμαι.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, κατ-.
•DER ὀδυρμός [m.] (trag., Pl.), ὄδυρμα [n.] (trag.) 'wail, lamentation', ὀδύρ-τις [m.] 'who breaks out in lamentations' (Arist.), -τικός 'inclined to lament or to wail' (Arist., J. Plu.).
•ETYM Perhaps a denominative *yod*-present to the *r*-stem alternating with the *n*-stem in ►ὀδύνη, so originally 'to feel pain'. As a rhyme of μύρομαι, ►δύρομαι arose.

ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι [v.aor.] 'to be angry, grumble' (Il.). ◁IE? **$h_3$ed-* 'hate'▷
•VAR Perf. pass. ὀδώδυσται (ε 423), aor. pass. ὀδυσθῆναι (H.).
•ETYM Beside the aor. ὀδύσ(σ)ασθαι (ὀδύσαντο Z 138, ὀδυσσάμενος τ 407), we find οὐδύεται· ἐρίζει 'fights, quarrels' (H.), probably with metrical lengthening: a formation like ►ἠπύω, ἰδρύω, μεθύω, etc. If not analogical after other verbs denoting a state in -ύω, ὀδύομαι may derive from a *u*-stem noun **odu-* (ὀδυσθῆναι, ὀδώδυσται may have a secondary -σ-). This has been compared with a verb for 'hate' seen in Lat. *ōdī*, *odium*, Arm. *ateam*, and with a Germanic adjective for 'dreadful': OS *atol*, ON *atall* (Hitt. *ḫatuki-* 'terrible, frightful' is unrelated; see on ►ἀτύζομαι 'to be terrified' and Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ḫatuk-^{zi}*).

Ὀδυσσεύς [m.] son of Laertes and Anticleia, king of the island Ithaca (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Epic also Ὀδυσεύς (metrical shortening? Cf. on Ἀχιλλεύς). Several by-forms with λ (cf. Schwyzer: 209 and 333, Heubeck 1961: 24ff.): Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς, Ὀλυτ(τ)εύς, Ὀλισεύς, etc. (vase-inscr.), Οὐλιξεύς (Hdn. Gr.), Lat. *Ulixēs*. The form with -δ- is only ascertained by epic literature.
•DER Ὀδυσήϊος (σ 353); Ὀδύσσεια [f.] 'the Odyssey' (Hdt., Pl.) with Ὀδυσσειακός 'belonging to the Odyssey' (Hdn. Gr., sch.), τὰ Ὀδύσσεια 'Odyssean games' (Magn. Mae. III^{a}); Ὀλισ-σεῖδαι [m.pl.] name of a family (φράτρα) in Thebes and Argos (inscr.).
•ETYM Connected by the epic poets (e.g. τ 407ff.) with ὀδύσσομαι, which is folk-etymological (Linde *Glotta* 13 (1924): 223, Risch 1947: 82f., Stanford *Class. Phil.* 47 (1952): 209ff.). Modern interpreters sought the origin of the name in the Greek West

or on the continent on the one hand, and in Asia Minor on the other. Those who argue for western, Illyrian-Epirotic origin are Helbig *Herm.* 11 (1876): 281 (doubts by Kretschmer 1896: 280ff. with Ed. Meyer), Krahe *IF* 49 (1931): 143, and van Windekens *Herm.* 86 (1958): 121 ff.; for continental origin, Boßhardt 1942: 138f. (also on the phonetics); for origin in Asia Minor, Hrozný *Arch. Orbis* 1 (1929): 338, Gemser *Archiv für Orientforschung* 3 (1926): 183 (from Babyl. Hitt. *Ul(l)uš*?; on this, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1930): 215), and Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 253 and 278 (Odysseus as an Anatolian hero, related to Hatt. Λύξης, Lyd. Λίξος). Doubtful attempts to connect the name Ὀδυσσεύς with the name of his maternal grandfather Αὐτόλυκος by Bolling *AmJPh.* 27 (1906): 65ff. and Bolling *Lang.* 29 (1953): 293f.
However, the name is typically Pre-Greek (see Fur. index) on account of the many variants. Faure's connection with ὀλίγος (Faure 1980: 33) is therefore wrong.

ὀδών [m.] 'tooth' (Ion.). ◁IE *h_3d-(o)nt- 'tooth'▷

•VAR ὀδούς (Arist., LXX); gen. ὀδόντος; Aeol. plur. ἔδοντες (only Procl., Greg. Cor.).

•COMP ὀδοντ-άγρα [f.] 'forceps for drawing teeth' (Hp., Arist.), χαυλι-όδων (Hes. *Sc.* 387, ntr. -όδον and -όδουν Arist.) 'with protruding teeth'.

•DER 1. ὀδοντάριον 'little cog' (Heliod. *apud* Orib.), ὀδοντ-ίς [f.] name of a fish (pap. III^a), -ᾶς [m.] 'dentatus', -ίας [m.] 'dentiosus' (gloss.); *odontītis* [f.] 'toothwort, Dentaria' (Plin.). 2. Adjective ὀδοντ-ικός 'ptng. to the teeth' (medic.), -ωτός 'equipped with teeth' (Hero, Luc., Gal.), with ὀδοντόομαι [v.] 'to be equipped with teeth' (Poll.). 3. Verbs: ὀδοντ-ιάω 'to teethe' (Gal.) with -ίασις [f.] 'teething' (Dsc., Gal.), -ίζω 'to equip with teeth' (Orib.), 'to polish (with a tooth)' (pap.), together with -ισμός (Poll.), -ισμα (Eust.) 'the grinding of teeth'.

•ETYM The younger nom. ὀδούς for ὀδών is perhaps after διδούς. The form ὀδών, gen. ὀδόντος agrees with the old name of the tooth in Skt. *dán* [m.], Lith. *dantìs* [m., f.], and OHG *zan(d)*, all from IE *h_3d-ont-. A zero grade *h_3d-nt- is found in Go. *tunþus* (unextended *tund-* still in Go. *aihvatundjai* 'horse's tooth'; cf. De Lamberterie *RPh.* 74 (2000): 278), Lat. *dēns*, etc. The original ablaut is still alive in Skt.: gen.sg. *datás* < *$h_3dn̥t$-ós* beside acc. *dántam*; cf. also the Germanic forms. The zero grade is assumed by some in Myc. *o-da-ke-we-ta*, *-tu-we-ta*, *-twe-ta* '(wheels) with teeth', but this is uncertain; see Aura Jorro 1985-1993 2, 16.
Aeol. ἔδοντες (with secondary barytonesis) was taken to suggest that ὀδόντ- stands for earlier *ἐδόντ- with vowel assimilation. Therefore, one used to reconstruct *h_1d-ont- as 'the eating one'. However, there are a couple of problems with this view. First of all, the attestation of the Aeolic form (twice in a late secondary source) is doubtful. Further, the initial ὀ- is neatly matched by Arm. *atamn* (Kortlandt 2003: index), which points to *h_3-. It is further confirmed by νωδός, which requires *$n̥$-h_3d-o- and can hardly be secondary. The root *h_3d- means 'to bite' and is also seen in Lith. *úodas*, Latv. *uôds* 'gnat', both from *$h_3$od-o- with long vowel by Winter's Law, and within Greek with ▸ὀδύνη (see there for further suggestions). The Aeolic form can easily have ἐδ- after ἔδω. See ▸νωδός, ▸αἰμωδέω.

ὄζος 1 [m.] 'branch, twig, bough, offshoot' (Il.), also 'knot or eye on a tree' (Thphr.). ◁IE *h_3esdo-, *$Hosdo$- 'branch'▷

•VAR Aeol. ὔσδος (Sapph.).

•COMP As a second member in e.g. πέντ-οζος 'with five knots', as a name of the hand (Hes. *Op.* 742), πεντά-οζος 'with five knots' (Thphr.).

•DER ὀζ-ώδης 'branchy, having many knots' (Thphr., Dsc.), -ωτός 'branchy', -αλέος 'id.' (*AP*), after άζαλέος; ὀζόομαι [v.] 'to put forth branches' (Hp., Thphr.).

•ETYM Old inherited word for 'branch', identical with Arm. *ost*, gen. *-oy*, Go. *asts*, OHG *ast*, from IE *$Hosdo$-. Beside these, we find OS and MLG *ōst* 'knot in wood, knarl' with deviating length. Traditionally analyzed as *o-sd-o- 'sitting on (the stem)', containing a prefix ▶ὀ- 2 and the zero grade of *sed-; cf. on ἵζω (s.v. ▶ἕζομαι). It has also been compared with Lat. *nīdus* 'nest' < *ni-sd-o-.

However, Lubotsky draws attention to the fact that there are various words with similar formation and meaning: Skt. *ádga-* 'knot, sprout (of bamboo)', MP *'zg* 'twig', and MoP *azg* 'twig' seem to reflect *$Hodsg^{(w)}o$-, and OIr. *odb* 'knot', MW *oddf* 'knot' go back to *$osbo$- < *$Hosg^wo$-. Hitt. *ḫašduer-* can also be compared; see the discussion in Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. Taken together with Gr. ὄζος, Arm. *ost* and Go. *asts* 'branch' < *$Hosdo$-, we seem to be dealing with a preform *$Hosdg^wo$- (that may have undergone metathesis to *$Hodsg^wo$- in Indo-Iranian). Lubotsky therefore assumes that the word was in fact an old compound with the first element *$h_3est(H)$- 'bone'.

ὄζος 2 in ὄζος Ἄρης, a nickname of brave heroes (Il.). ⇒ἄοζος.

ὄζω [v.] 'to smell, scent' (IA). ◁IE *h_3ed- 'smell'▷

•VAR Also ὄσδω, -ομαι (Theoc., Xenoph.); aor. ὀζῆσαι, fut. ὀζήσω (Att.), also ὀζέσαι, -έσω (Hp. *Superf.*, Hell.), plpf. ὀδώδει (Od.), perf. ὄδωδα (Hell.).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἀπ-, προσ-. As a first member in the governing compound ὀζό-στομος 'with smelling breath' (*AP*, M. Ant.), as a second member in plantnames like κυν-όζολον (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER 1. ὀδμή [f.] 'odour, scent' (Il.), ὀσμή (Att., Hippon.); on σμ from δμ see below; as a second member e.g. in εὔ-οδμος, -οσμος 'sweet-smelling, odorous' (Pi.), also in ὄνοσμα [n.] plantname? (Dsc.); thence ὀδμ-αλέος (Hp.), -ήεις (Nic.), -ηνός (H.; cod. ὄδ-) 'strong-smelling'; ὀσμ-ώδης (Arist., Thphr.), -ηρός, -ήρης (Nic.) 'id.'; ὀσμύλ-η, -ος, -ιον 'strong-smelling octopus' (Ar., Arist.), ὀσμ-ίτης (gloss.), -ῖτις (Ps.-Dsc.) plantname, -άς [f.] = ὄνοσμα (Dsc.); ὀδμ-, ὀσμ-άομαι [v.] 'to scent' (Ion., Arist.), with -ησις (Aret.).

2. From the present: ὄζ-αινα [f.] = ὀσμύλη (Call.), 'stinking adenoid' (Gal.) with -αινικός 'belonging to the ὄζαινα' (Ps.-Dsc.); ὄζολις [f.] = ὀσμόλη (Arist.); ὄζη [f.] 'malodorant breath' (Cels.), 'skin of the wild ass' (Suid.), because of the smell; ὀζηλίς· ἡ βοτάνη (Theognost.); ὀζώδης = ὀδμώδης (*EM*, sch.); also Ὀζόλαι [m.pl.] name of a Locrian people (Hdt., Str., Plu.)? Lengthened present ὀζαίνομαι = ὄζω (Sophr.), after ὀσφραίνομαι. 3. From the perfect: ὀδωδή [f.] 'scent' (*AP*). 4. the suffix -ώδης in εὐ-ώδης 'sweet-smelling, odorous' (Il.), etc.; it became a highly productive suffix, but with a faded mg.

•ETYM Apart from the perfect ὄδωδα, all verbal forms are clearly innovations based on the present ὄζω. The derivations are largely based on this present, as well. The formation of ὀδωδή (derived from the perfect?), as well as of ὀδμή and -ώδης, is isolated within Greek. Both can be old: ὀδμή may match Alb. *amë* 'unpleasant smell' < IE **h₃ed-mh₂-*, and -ώδης may represent (with compositional lengthening) the *s*-stem of Lat. *odor*, OLat. *odōs*, probably also seen in Arm. *hot*, gen. *-oy* 'smell, odor' < IE **h₃ed-os-*. The form ὀσμή rather derives from **od-s-mā* than phonetically from ὀδ-μή.

Both IE **h₃ed-mh₂-* and **h₃ed-os-* presuppose a primary root present, which is continued in thematic form in Lat. *olō*, *olĕre* (with *l* for *d*); beside this, we find the more common innovation *oleō*, *-ēre* (after the intransitive verbs). The *yod*-present ὄζω was first thought to differ in vocalic length from Baltic forms like Lith. *úodžiu* 'smell', but the formation is in fact identical, as it is now known that the Baltic vocalism is due to Winter's Law: lengthening before a glottalic (i.e. voiced non-aspirated) consonant. Arm. *hotim* 'to smell' is a denominative of *hot* (see above). The present Arm. *hototim* (with intensive reduplication) may present a formal parallel to the reduplicated perf. ὄδωδα. See ►ὀσφραίνομαι.

ὄθιζα · ἁπήνη ἡμιονική 'wagon drawn by mules' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Lagercrantz *KZ* 35 (1899): 273 and Frisk 1966: 283 adduce ►ὄθομαι. Possibly Pre-Greek.

ὀθνεῖος [adj.] 'foreign, alien' (Democr., Att., Arist.), 'irregular' (Gal., Aret.).

•COMP ὀθν(ε)ιό-θυμβος 'buried abroad' (Man.). ⇒ἔθνος.

ὄθομαι [v.] 'to attend, turn to, take heed' vel sim., only with negation (Il., A. R.). ◁?▷

•VAR Only presentstem, except ὄθεσαν· ἐπεστράφησαν 'turned around, paid attention to' (H.).

•DER From H.: ὀθέων· φροντίζων 'heeding', ὄθη· φροντίς, ὥρα, φόβος, λόγος 'thought, care, fear, mind (etc.)' and ὄθεσαν (see above).

•ETYM Not well explained; the *o*-vocalism is remarkable in a present. Several proposals have been made, but all at best hypothetical: a) connection to Go. *ga-widan*, etc.; b) to ὀθεύει· ἄγει, φροντίζει (H.), Lith. *vedù* 'to lead, bring', etc.; c) to ►ἔθων, ►ὠθέω, ►ἔθειρα (see Frisk s.v.). See ►νωθής.

ὀθόνη [f.] 'delicate cloth, linen, sheet, canvas' (Hom., Emp., *Act. Ap.*, Luc., Gal., *AP*). ◁LW Eg.▷

•VAR Usually plur. Also ὀθόνιον [n.], often plur. (Hp., Att., Hell.).

•COMP ὀθονιο-πώλης 'salesman of linen' (pap.).

•DER ὀθόνινος 'made of ὀ.' (Pl. Com., Luc.). From ὀθόνιον: ὀθονι-ακός [m.] 'id.' (pap., inscr.), -ηρά [f.] 'linen tax' (pap., Ostr.); diminutive ὀθον-ίδιον (pap.).

•ETYM A culture word of foreign origin. Acc. to Lewy 1895: 124f., it is from Hebr. *'ēṭūn* of uncertain meaning; however, Spiegelberg *KZ* 41 (1907): 129f. has proposed Egyptian origin for this word (Eg. *idmj* 'reddish linnen').

ὀθόννα [f.] 'greater celandine, Chelidonium maius', also of the sap of this and other plants (Dsc., Plin.); name of an Egyptian stone (Paul. Aeg.); as a botanical name also ὀθόν<ν>ιον (Dsc.). ◁LW Eg.▷
•ETYM Recalls ὀθόν-η, -ιον, and hardly accidentally. Acc. to Dsc. 2, 182, it originates ἐν τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Ἀραβίᾳ, and acc. to Plin. *HN* 27, 12, it is Syrian.

ὄθριξ [adj.] 'with the same hair' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Composed of ▶ὀ- 1 and ▶θρίξ.

ὄθροον [adj.] · ὁμόφωνος, σύμφωνος 'having the same voice' (H.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Composed of ▶ὀ- 1 and a verbal noun of ▶θρέομαι.

Ὄθρυς, -υος [f.] high chain of mountains in Thessaly (Hdt., Str.), also ὄθρυν· Κρῆτες τὸ ὄρος 'mountain (Cret.)' (H.). ◁PG▷
•DER From it ὀθρυόεν· τραχύ, ὑλῶδες, δασύ, κρημνῶδες 'overgrown, forest-like, rough, steep' (H.).
•ETYM Acc. to Mahlow 1927: 497, it stands for ὀφρῦς, with variation θ : φ (cf. Schwyzer: 302f.). Fur.: 198 compares Myc. *o-du-ru-we*, *-wo* (cf. Ruijgh 1967a: 185[439]). The name is no doubt Pre-Greek.

οἴ [pcl.] onomatopoeic, expressing pain or suffering (trag.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR ὀΐ acc. to Ar. *Pax* 933. ⇒ ὀϊζῦς, οἰμοι.

οἰάξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'handle of the rudder, rudder' (trag., Pl.), οἴηκες [pl.] name of a device on the yoke (a handle? rings? Ω 269). ◁IE *h_2(*o*)*iH-s-* 'pole, shaft'▷
•VAR Ion. -ηξ, -ηκος.
•COMP As a first member in οἰακο-νόμος [m.] 'helmsman' (A. [lyr.]), cf. Sommer 1948: 166; as a second member perhaps in κερ-οίακες (from κερα(ι)-οίακες) [pl.] 'ropes belonging to the yard-arm' (Luc. *Nav.* 4).
•DER Diminutive οἰάκιον (Eust.); οἰακ-ηδόν [adv.] 'in the manner of an οἰαξ' (A. D.); denominative οἰακ-ίζω (-η-) [v.] 'to pilot, steer' (IA), with -ισμα 'steering' (*Trag. Adesp.*), -ιστής (Suid.); οἰάκ-ωσις 'steering' (Aq.). Also οἰήϊον [n.] 'rudder' (Hom.).
•ETYM An instrument name, οἰαξ is formed like πόρπᾱξ 'handle of a shield', τρόπηξ 'handle of an oar', and οἰήϊον like λαισήϊον 'a kind of shield', ἐργαλήϊον 'tool', etc. The base of the Greek words was an old *s*-stem PIE *h_2(*o*)*iH-s-*, reflected in thematicized Skt. *īṣā́* [f.] 'pole, shaft' and Hitt. *ḫišša-* 'id.', which both point to a zero grade. The origin of the Greek *o*-grade is unclear. The *s*-stem is also found in Slavic, e.g. Sln. *ojȇ*, *ojȇsa* [n.] 'thill'. The nautical usage is a Greek innovation; cf. on ▶ἱστός, which came to mean 'mast'. The IE noun is also preserved in Fi. *aisa* 'bar of the forked pole (thill)', probably from Baltic **aisō* or **aisa-*. According to H. Katz 2003: 252, the noun is preserved as an IIr. loan in other Uralic languages too.

οἶβος [m.] 'back of the neck of a cow' (Luc. *Lex.* 3). ◁?▷
•ETYM Does it occur in ὄχθοιβος?

οἴγνυμι [v.] 'to open' (Il.). ◁IE *h_3*ueig-* 'give way'▷
•VAR Also οἴγω, Aeol. inf. ὀείγην (*SGDI* 214, 43), later also ἀν-οιγνύω (Demetr. *Eloc.*), ipf. ὠΐγνυντο (Β 809, Θ 58), ἀνα-οίγεσκον (Ω 455), -ῷγον, -ἐῳγον, aor. οἶξαι

(ᾤξε, ὤϊξε Hom., ἀν-έῳξε Hom., Att.), pass. οἰχθῆναι (Pi., Att.), fut. οἴξω, perf. ἀν-έῳγα (intr., Hp. and late), with -έῳχα, *-έῳγμαι (Att.), ὤϊκται (Herod.), ἀν-ῳκται (Theoc.).

•COMP Mostly with prefix, especially ἀν- (to which ὑπ-, παρ-ανοίγνυμι, ὑπ-, συν-ανοίγω, etc.), with the secondary past tenses ἤνοιγον, ἤνοιξα, ἠνοίχθην, ἠνοίγην, ἠνέῳξα, etc. (X., LXX).

•DER Few derivatives: ἄνοιξις [f.] 'opening' (Th., Thphr.), ἄνοιγ-μα [n.] 'opening' (LXX), -εύς [m.] 'opener' (Dam. *Pr.*), ἐπανοίκ-τωρ (Man.), -της (Arg. Man.) [m.] 'who blows up'. As a second member in πιθ-οίγ-ια [n.pl.] 'opening of a barrel', opening of the Anthesteriae in Athens (Plu.).

•ETYM The judgment of these forms remains rather uncertain. The most recent discussion is by Forssman 2005. He concludes that on the basis of the Greek evidence, an ablauting root *ὀϝειγ-/ *ὀϝιγ- can be reconstructed. Starting from epigraphically attested ὀείγην < ὀϝείγην and the zero grade ὠ(ϝ)ίγνυντο (cf. ἴγνυντο· ἠνοίγοντο [H.]), ἀναοίγεσκον, ἀνέῳγε, ἀνέῳξε in Homer can be replaced by earlier *ἀν-οϝείγεσκον, *ἀν-ό(ϝ)ειγε, *ἀν-ό(ϝ)ειξε. There is no certain etymology. The form ὀϝιγ-, ὀϝειγ- corresponds formally to Skt. *vijáte*, *vējate* 'to tremble; to shrink, start back', Skt. *véga-* = Av. *vaēya-* [m.] 'violent movement, pressure, clash, blow' < IE *h_3*uóigo-*, etc. See ►ἐπῴχατο.

οἶδα [v.] 'to know' (Il.). ◄IE **ueid-* 'see, look, know'►

•VAR 2sg. οἶσθα (Il.+), οἶσθας (com., Att.), οἶδας (Ion.); 1pl. ἴδμεν, Att. ἴσμεν after the 2pl. ἴστε. The initial ῑ- in the 3pl. ἴσᾱσι is measured both long and short in Homer; this is explained by assuming a pre-form **u̯id-san*, with different dialectal developments, by Ringe (Jr.) *MSS* 50 (1989): 123-157. For the forms (e.g. subj. εἴδομεν, inf. εἰδέναι, ἴδμεναι, plpf. ᾔδη) see Chantraine 1961: 189f.

•ETYM An old perfect, identical with Skt. *véda* [1sg.], *vidmá* [1pl.], Go. *wait* [1sg.], *witum* [1pl.] 'know', from IE **uóid-h$_2$e* [1sg.], **uid-mé* [1pl.]. Other cognates are OCS *vědě* 'I know' with middle inflection, formally = Lat. *vīdī*. From the perfect arose the present Arm. *gitem* 'to know'. Other correspondences are, among others, 2sg.ipv. ἴσθι = Skt. *viddhí*, ptc. εἰδώς = Go. *weitwoþs* 'witness', fem. ἰδυῖα = Skt. *vidúṣī*. In Greek, ►ἰδεῖν 'to note, observe' is used as an aorist; cf. also ►νῆϊς.

De Lamberterie (in DELG *Supp.* s.v. οἶδα) wrongly assumes a root **h$_1$u̯id-* on account of νῆις (Call.), which is a late form and can easily be a secondary formation, while there are no forms with ἐ(ϝ)ιδ- or ἐ(ϝ)ειδ- (and cf. ἴδρις, ἰδμοσύνη, βιδυιοι). On the basis of Celtic evidence, Schrijver *KZ* 112 (1999): 264-272 argues that the plpf. ᾔδη 'he knew' continues a stative stem **ueid-eh$_1$-*.

οἰδέω [v.] 'to swell' (ε 455). ◄IE **h$_2$oid-eie-* 'swell'►

•VAR Also οἰδάω (Plu., Luc.), οἰδαίνω (Hell. poet.); οἰδάνομαι, -ω (I 646 and 554, Ar., A. R.), οἰδίσκομαι (medic.), act. -ω 'to make swell', aor. οἰδῆσαι (IA), οἰδῆναι to οἰδαίνω (Q. S.), perf. ᾴδηκα (Hp., Theoc.).

•COMP With prefix, especially ἀν-οιδέω, -οιδίσκομαι, -οιδαίνω; also with δι-, ἐξ-.

•DER 1. οἴδμα [n.] 'flood of water' (Il.), after κῦμα; cf. κυέω : κῦμα, δοκέω : δόγμα (or from a lost primary verb); οἰδματόεις 'flowing' (A. *Fr.* 69 = 103 Mette, Opp.). 2. οἶδος

[n.] 'swelling' (Hp., Nic., Aret.); cf. κρατέω : κράτος. 3. οἴδ-ημα [n.] 'swelling' (Hp., D.) with -ημάτιον (Hp., Aët.), -ηματώδης (medic.); (ἀν-, δι-, ἐξ-, etc.)-οίδησις [f.] 'bulge' (Pl., medic., Thphr.). 4. (ἐπ-, ὑπ-)οιδαλέος 'swollen' (Archil., Hp.), to οἰδαίνω like κερδαλέος : κερδαίνω. 5. οἴδᾱξ [m.] 'unripe fig' (Poll., Choerob.), from οἶδος or οἰδέω. 6. Backformations: ὕποιδος 'somewhat swollen' (Gal.), to ὑπ-οιδέω; ἐνοιδής 'swollen' (Nic.), to ἐν-οιδέω. See also ►Οἰδίπους.

•ETYM Of the presentic forms, only οἰδέω could be old. The causative οἰδάνω arose by enlargement, together with the intr. οἰδάνομαι, and in the same way οἰδίσκομαι, -ω; οἰδαίνω would be analogical after κυμαίνω, ὀργαίνω, etc., or perhaps from οἰδῆσαι after κερδῆσαι : κερδαίνω, etc. The late and rare form οἰδάω was formed to οἰδῆσαι. Sometimes, οἰδέω is held to be an iterative-intensive formation, but a corresponding primary verb is not attested. A certain cognate is Arm. *aytnum* 'to swell' with the primary aor. *ayteay* and the noun *ayt* (*i*-stem) 'cheek' < IE **h₂oidi-* or **h₂eidi-*; the *nu*-present is an Armenian innovation. Germanic presents a few isolated nouns, like OHG *eiz*, MoHG (dial.) *Eis* 'abscess, ulcer', from PGm. **aita-* < IE **h₂e/oid-o-*, cf. formally close οἶδος [n.]; a suffix *-r-* is found in e.g. OHG *eittar* [n.] 'pus' < PGm. **aitra-* [n.], and perhaps also in HNs like *Eiter-bach*. Lat. *aemidus* is isolated as well (probably after synonymous *tumidus*), deviating from οἰδέω in vocalism, but in this way it proves that the root was **h₂eid-*, not **h₃eid-* (the other non-Greek forms may continue both IE **h₂oi-* and **h₂ei-*). The Slavic group of OCS *jadъ* 'poison' is open to more interpretations: they can also be derived from **h₁ed-* 'eat'.

Οἰδῑπους [m.] king of Thebes, son of Laios, who unknowingly married his mother Iocaste after he had killed his father. ◂GR▸

•VAR Also -πος (*AP*), -που, -πουν (Hdt., trag.), -ποδος (Apollod.), -ποδα (Plu.); besides, after the patronymics, the following metrical variants of *Οἰδιπόδᾱς, -ης: gen. -πόδᾱο, -πόδᾱ, acc. -πόδᾱν (epic poet.), -πόδεω (Hdt.), etc.; see Schwyzer: 582, Fraenkel 1912: 163f., Sommer 1948: 38, Egli 1954: 14 and 17.

•DER Οἰδιπόδεια [f.] 'the saga of Oedipus' (Arist.; after ἡ Ὀδύσσεια), also τὰ Οἰδιπόδεια 'id.' (Paus.) from Οἰδιπόδειος [adj.] (Plu., Paus.).

•ETYM Properly "with a swollen foot", with regular change *i* : *ro* in Οἰδι- and IE **h₂oid-ro-* , which is found in Gm., e.g. OHG *eittar* 'pus'; see ►οἰδέω. Improbably, on the meaning of the first element, Schröder *Gymnasium* 63 (1956): 72 ff. (to ON *eista* 'testicle'); quite hypothetically, Kretschmer *Glotta* 12 (1923): 59f. (chthonic interpretation).

οἰέτεας [acc.pl.] 'of the same year, of the same age' (B 765). ◂IE **sm-* 'same' + **uet-s-* 'year'▸

•ETYM For *ὀ-έτεας (see ►ὀ- 1 and ►ἔτος 2) from *ὀϝέτης, with οι as a reversed notation for metrical lengthening. This notation can be understood in connection with the antevocalic change of οι to ο in Attic (e.g. ἐπόησε); it also occurred in Ionic.

ὀϊζῦς [f.] 'bale, wailing, suffering' (Il.). ◂ONOM▸

•VAR οἰζῦς (trag., Herod.), -ύος.

•COMP πάν-οιζυς 'consisting of nothing but misery' (A. [lyr.]).

•DER ὀϊζῡ-ρός (also -ρώτερος, -ρώτατος metrical lengthening, see Chantraine 1942: 102 and 258), secondarily οἰζῠρός 'woeful, miserable, poor' (epic Ion. since Il., Ar.); ὀϊζύω (ῡ̆) [v.] 'to wail, suffer', aor. -ῦσαι.

•ETYM An expressive word, ultimately derived from the interjection οἴ (Ion. ὀΐ after Ar. *Pax* 933), probably through a verb οἴζω, ὀΐζω (only A. D. *Adv* 128, 7ff.). See ►οἰμώζω, ►οἶκτος.

οἴη 1 [f.] 'elderberry tree'. ⇒ὄα.

οἴη 2 [f.] 'village' (Chios IV[a], A. R., H., Theognost.); Att. deme name Ὀα (also Οἷα, Ὄη, Οἴη). ◄?►

•COMP Perhaps as a second member in Οἰνόη.

•DER οἰῆται [m.pl.] 'villagers' (S. *Fr.* 134), οἰατᾶν· κωμητῶν 'villagers' (H.), Οἰᾶται [m.pl.] inhabitants of a deme in Tegea (Paus. 8, 45, 1; reading uncertain). Besides ὠβά [f.] name of a Spartan tribe (*IG* 5(1), 26: 11 [II-I[a]], Plu. *Lyc.* 6) with ὠβάτας· τοὺς φυλέτας 'tribal members' (H.), ὠβάξαι 'to divide into ὠβαί' (Plu. ibid.); also ὠγή (= ὠϝή)· κώμη 'village' (H.), ὠάς (ὥας cod.)· τάς κώμας, οὐαί· φυλαί 'tribes' (H.). Details in Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 466f.

•ETYM The word οἴη has been identified with ὠβά = *ὠϝά under a pre-form *ὠϝίᾱ. Formerly derived from *ὀϝι̯ᾱ and compared with Go. *gawi* 'χώρα, περίχωρος, district', which is interpreted as PGm. **ga-awja-* [n.]. This is unlikely, however; see Lehmann 1986 s.v. Further details are obscure.

οἰήϊον ⇒οἴαξ.

οἶκος [m.] 'house, dwelling of any kind, room, home, household, native land' (Il.). ◄IE **ueiḱ-, uoiḱ-* 'house'►

•VAR Dial. ϝοῖκος.

•DIAL Myc. *wo-i-ko-de* /woikon-de/ 'homeward'.

•COMP Very many compounds, e.g. οἰκο-νόμος [m.] 'housekeeper', with -νομέω, -νομία (Att.), compound of οἶκον νέμειν, -εσθαι; μέτ-οικος (IA), πεδά-ϝοικος (Arg.) 'sbd. living among others, small farmer, tenant'; ἐποίκ-ιον [n.] 'outbuilding, countryhouse, village' (*Tab. Heracl.*, LXX, pap.), hypostasis of ἐπ' οἴκου.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. τά οἰκία [pl.] (Il.), sing. τὸ οἰκίον (since LXX) 'residence, palace, nest'. 2. οἰκία, Ion. -ίη [f.] (post-Hom.), ϝοικία (Cret., Locr.) 'house, building' together with the diminutive οἰκῐ́διον [n.] (Ar., Lys.), οἰκιή-της (Ion.), ϝοικιά-τας [m.] (Locr., Thess., Arc.) = οἰκέτης (see 5.), οἰκια-κός 'belonging to the house, housemate' (pap., *Ev. Matt.*). 3. Rare diminutives οἰκ-ίσκος [m.] 'little house, little room, bird cage' (D., Ar., inscr.), -άριον [n.] 'little house' (Lys.). 4. οἰκεύς (Il.), ϝοικεύς (Gort.) [m.] 'housemate, servant'; fem. ϝοικέα (Gort.). 5. οἰκέ-της (IA), Boeot. ϝυκέ-τας [m.] 'housemate, servant, domestic slave', fem. -τις (Hp., trag.), together with -τικός (Pl., Arist., inscr.), -τεία [f.] 'the whole of domestic servants, attendants' (Str., Aristeas, J., inscr.); οἰκετεύω [v.] 'to be a housemate, occupy' (only E. *Alc.* 437 [lyr.] and H.); compound πανοικεσίᾳ [adv.] 'with all οἰκέται, with the whole of attendants' (Att.).

B. Adjectives: 6. οἰκεῖος (Att.), οἰκήϊος (Ion. since Hes. *Op.* 457) 'belonging to the house, domestic, familiar' together with -ειότης (-ηϊότης), -ειόω (-ηϊόω), whence -είωμα, -είωσις, -ειωτι-κός. 7. οἰκίδιος 'id.' (Opp.); κατοικ-ίδιος (to κατ' οἶκον) 'indoors' (Hp., Ph.).

C. Verbs. 8. οἰκεω (Il.), ϝοικέω (Locr.) 'to live, reside', also 'to be located, occupy, manage', very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, δι-, ἐν-, ἐπ-, κατ-, μετ-. Thence οἴκ-ησις (late also διοίκ-εσις), -ήσιμος, -ημα, -ηματιον, -ηματικός, -ητήρ, -ητήριον, -ήτωρ, -ητής, -ητικός. 9. οἰκίζω 'to found, settle' (since μ 135 ἀπῴκισε), often with ἀπ-, δι-, κατ-, μετ-, συν-, etc., whence οἴκ-ισις, -ισία, -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήρ, -ιστικός.

Adverbs: 10. οἴκο-θεν (Il.), -θι (epic), -σε (A. D.) beside the fossilized locative οἴκ-οι (Il.), -ει (Men.), a recent formation? 11. οἴκα-δε 'homeward' (Il.), ϝοίκαδε (Delph.), probably from (ϝ)οῖκα [n.pl.] like κέλευθα, κύκλα, etc.; οἴκα-δις (Meg.); further οἰκόν-δε (epic).

•ETYM Old name for 'abode, house', identical with Lat. *vīcus* [m.] 'group of houses, village, quarter', Skt. *véśa-* [m.] 'house', especially 'brothel'; IE **uóiḱ-o-* [m.]. Additionally, there is a zero grade root noun in IIr. and Slav.: Skt. *viś-* [f.], acc. *viśam*, Av. *vīs-* [f.], acc. *vīsəm*, OP *viθam* 'abode, house, community', also 'house of kings' in Iranian; OCS *vьsь* [f.] (secondary *i*-stem) 'village, field, piece of ground', Ru. *ves'* 'village', from IE **uiḱ-* [f.]. Next to these old root nouns, IIr. has a verb Skt. *viśáti*, Av. *vīsaiti*, IE **uiḱ-e/o-* meaning 'to sit down, settle, enter'. IE **uóiḱ-o-* must be derived from this verb, originally as an action noun, properly "settlement". Gr. τὰ οἰκία and Skt. *veśyà-* [n.] 'house, village', though formally identical, are separate innovations (Schindler *BSL* 67 (1972): 32). The word ►τριχάϊκες is probably unrelated.

οἶκτος [m.] 'lamentation, compassion, pity' (Od.). ◄ONOM►

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. ἔπ-οικτος 'pitiable' (A.), ἄν-οικτος 'pitiless' (S., E.).

•DER Primary superlative οἴκτιστος (X 76), φιλ-οίκτιστος 'loving pity the most' (S.) from φίλ-οικτος (A. [lyr.]); thus the rare οἰκτικός 'ptng. to lamentation, lamenting' (*An. Bachm.*) and οἰκτοσύνη [f.] = οἶκτος (Hdn. *Epim.*). Old is οἰκτρός 'woeful, wailing, deplorable' (Il.), as a first member e.g. in οἰκτρό-γοος 'with woeful lamentation' (Pl. *Phdr.* 267c); probably (in spite of the difference in gender) to οἶκτος after αἶσχος : αἰσχρός, ἔχθος : ἐχθρός, etc., cf. also the pair οἴκτιστος : αἴσχιστος.

Denominative verbs: 1. From οἰκτρός: οἰκτῖρω 'to pity, commiserate, bewail' (Il.), Aeol. οἰκτίρρω (Hdn. Gr.), aor. οἰκτῖραι, fut. οἰκτιρῶ (Att. also -τερῶ after itacistic -τεῖραι, -τείρω) late -τ(ε)ιρήσω (LXX, NT), also with κατ-, etc.; thence οἰκτιρ-μός [m.] 'compassion, pity' (Pi., LXX, NT), -μων 'compassionate, pitiful' (Gorg., Theoc., LXX) with -μοσύνη (Tz.); **οἰκτίρ-ᵢω is supposed to continue **οἰκτρ-ᵢω with an *i*-colored *schwa secundum.* 2. From οἶκτος: οἰκτίζω, -ομαι 'id.' (trag., Th., Arist.), also with κατ-, etc., whence οἰκτ-ισμός [m.] 'bewailing' (A., X.), -ίσματα [n.pl.] 'id.' (E.), κατοίκτ-ισις [f.] 'wailing, compassion' (X.).

•ETYM Like ὀΐζύς with comparable meaning, οἶκτος probably also derives from the interjection οἴ via οἴζω; the close connection appears from the backformation

►δυσοίζω, from δύσ-οικτος. Comparable nouns from interjective verbs in -ζω are frequent, e.g. αἴαγμα, αἰακτός (to αἰάζω, αἰαῖ), βάβαξ, βαβάκτης (from βαβάζω, βαβαί), etc. Doubtful non-Greek combinations, such as Go. *aihtron* 'beg' and MIr. *éigid* 'screams', are given in Pok. 298. See ►ὀϊζύς, ►οἰμώζω.

οἴκυλα [n.pl.] 'a kind of pulse' (Epic. in *Arch. Pap.* 7, 7). ◄?►

•VAR οἴκελος ὁ πίσος (Theognost *Can.* 20.); οἴκυλος· τὸ ὀσπρίον (ibid. 21).

•ETYM Recalls Lat. *vicia*.

οἶμα [n.] 'rush, attack, rage', of a lion and an eagle (Il.), of a snake (Q. S.). ◄IE? **h₃eis-* 'move quickly'►

•DER Verbal forms: aor. οἰμῆσαι 'to plunge, dash forth', said of birds of prey and of people compared to birds of prey (X 140, 308, 311, ω 538), fut. οἰμήσουσι (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 62), of θύννοι, with οἴμημα· ὄρμημα 'rush, incitement' (H.). A supposed but unattested present *οἰμάω seems, just like the o-vowel, to presuppose a noun *οἶμος or *οἴμη (beside an original ntr. *εἶμα).

•ETYM Probably from *οἶσμα, related to Av. *aēšma-* [m.] 'anger', which is compared with an IIr. verb 'to put in quick movement, urge forward' (e.g. Skt. pres. *íṣyati*, Av. *išiieiti*, perhaps related to ►ἰαίνω) as a primary noun. Lat. *īra* 'anger' belongs to this group as well. See ►ὀϊστός, ►οἶστρος.

οἴμη [f.] 'song, chant, saga, tale' (Od., A. R., Call., etc.). ◄IE? **soh₂i-m-* 'song, spell'►

•VAR In similar use also οἶμος ἀοιδῆς (*h. Merc.* 451), ἐπέων οἶμον (Pi. *O.* 9, 47), λύρης οἴμους (Call. *Iov.* 97).

•DER ἄοιμον· ἄρρητον 'unsaid' (H.), substantivized hypostasis προοίμιον (Pi., Att. prose), φροίμιον [n.] (trag.), properly "what stands πρό οἴμης or πρό οἴμου (older οἴμου, see οἶμος)", 'start of the song, introductory chant, introduction, preamble', borrowed as Lat. *prooemium*. Unclear is ►παροιμία.

•ETYM Because of the occasional connection of msc. οἶμος with song and play, it has been thought obvious to connect οἴμη with ►οἶμος 'path, way'. It is supposed, then, that the word acquired a special meaning in the language of the *aoidoi*.

Alternatively, however, οἴμη and οἶμος 'song, chant' can be separated from οἶμος 'path, way' and connected with ON *seiðr* [m.] 'kind of sorcery', Skt. *sā́man-* [n.] 'song', which would presuppose a root **seh₂-i-* 'bind' (also found in Gr. ►ἱμάς), as was proposed by Bader *BSL* 85 (1990): 36. In this case, the connection with οἶμος 'road' is folk etymology. The form οἶμος cannot reflect **sh₂om-io-* (cf. Hitt. *išḫamāi-*^{i} 'to sing' < **sh₂m-oi-*), as **-VmiV-* should have yielded Gr. -ΥινV-.

οἴμοι [excl.] exclamation of pain (Thgn., trag.). ⇒ὀϊζύς, οἶκτος.

οἶμος [m.] 'streak' (Λ 24 οἶμοι κυάνοιο, on a θώρηξ), 'path, road, track', also 'strip, tract of land' (Hes. *Op.* 290, Pi., trag., Pl., Call., Men.), also connected with song and play (see ►οἴμη). ◄?►

•VAR Also [f.] after ὁδός, etc.; also aspirated οἶμος, see below.

•COMP Few compounds: δύσ-οιμος (τύχα A. *Ch.* 945 [lyr.]); acc. to H. = ἐπὶ κακῷ ἥκουσα, δύσοδος; ἄοιμος· ἄπορος 'without way' and πάροιμος· ὁ γείτων 'neighbour' (H.). See also ►παροιμία.

•ETYM Perhaps related to ►οἴμη. Since an aspirated form οἶμος is ascertained, e.g. by Hdn. Gr. 1, 546, and by φροίμιον (see on ►οἴμη) and ἄοιμος, a pre-form IE *h_1oi-*mo*-, which is at the basis of Skt. *é-man-* [n.] 'path, walk', cannot be considered. Sommer 1905: 29 therefore proposed a modified reconstruction *h_1oi-*s*-*mo*-. Osthoff *BB* 24 (1899): 168ff. earlier proposed a pre-form *$u̯oi$-*mo*-, belonging to ►ἵεμαι 'to pursue, hasten, desire'. Finally, Schulze 1933a: 665 connected ►οἰρών 'εὐθυωρία'. Λ 24 requires initial ϝ-, and ἄοιμος· ἄπορος (instead of **ἄνοιμος) may also point to this, but Hes. *Op.* 290 does not have ϝ-.

οἰμώζω [v.] 'to wail loudly, cry, lament' (Il.). ◄ONOM►

•VAR Aor. οἰμῶξαι (Il.), fut. οἰμώξ-ομαι (Att.), -ῶ (Plu., *AP*).

•COMP Also with ἀν-, ἀπ-, etc.

•DER οἰμωγ-ή [f.] (Il.), -μα [n.] (A., E), -μός [m.] (S.); privative adjective ἀν-οίμωκ-τος 'not wailed for', adverb ἀν-οιμωκ-τί (-τεί) 'without lamentation' = 'unpunished' (S.). An innovation is οἰμώττω 'id.' (Lib.).

•ETYM Derived from the interjection οἴμοι (οἴ μοι) 'woe me'. See ►ὀΐζύς, ►οἶκτος.

οἴνη [f.] 'the ace on a die' (Achae., Zen.). ◄IE *Hoi-no- 'one, only'►

•VAR Also οἰνός [m.] (Poll.).

•DER οἰνίζειν· τὸ μονάζειν κατὰ γλῶσσαν 'be alone regarding speech', οἰνῶντα· μονήρη 'solitary' (H.).

•ETYM Old word for 'one, only', found as a numeral in several languages: Lat. *ūnus* (OLat. *oino*), OIr. *óin*, Go. *ains*, OPr. *ains*, IE *Hoino-. In Greek, ►εἷς was used in this meaning. The accentual variation οἴνη : οἰνός may be related to the substantival use of the former. A parallel fomation is ►οἷος < *Hoi-uo-.

οἶνος [m.] 'wine' (Il.). ◄IE *uoh$_1$i-no- 'wine', *ueh$_1$-i- 'turn, twist'►

•VAR Dial. ϝοῖνος.

•COMP Very many compounds, e.g. οἰνο-χόος [m.] 'cupbearer', together with -χοέω [v.], aor. -χοῆσαι 'to be a cupbearer, pour wine' (Il.), epic also -χοεύω (only present), metrically conditioned (Chantraine 1942: 368); οἰν-άνθη [f.] 'fruit-bearing bud, blossom of the vine', also metaph. of the grape (since Pi., Thphr.), also name of a plant, 'meadowsweet, Spiraea flipendula', because of its smell (Cratin., Arist.), name of an unknown bird (Arist.); ἄ-οινος 'without wine' (IA), ἔξ-οινος 'drunk' (Alex., Plb.), back-formation from ἐξ-οινόομαι 'to get drunk' (E.). On Οἰνόη cf. ►οἴη 2.

•DER A. Substantives: 1. Diminutives, mostly belittling: οἰν-άριον (D., Hell.), not from οἴναρον because of the mg. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 74); -ίσκος (Cratin., Eub.), -ίδιον (Apollod.). 2. οἴνη [f.] 'vine' (Hes.), like ἐλαία : ἔλαιον, etc.; οἰνάς [f.] 'id.' (*AP*, Nic.), also 'rock dove, Columba livia', after the color (Arist.); also adjectival 'belonging to the wine' (*AP*, *APl.*). 3. οἴν-αρον [n.] 'vineleaf, grapevine' (X., Thphr.) with -αρίς, -αρία, -άρεος, -αρίζω (Ibyc., Ar., Hp., Thphr.). 4. οἰνοῦττα [f.] 'wine cake' (Ar.), also name of a plant with intoxicating effect (Arist.). 5. οἰνών, -ῶνος [m.] 'wine cellar' (X., Hell.). 6. ϝοινώα [f.] 'vineyard?' (Thespiae), cf. προθυρῴα etc. in Hdn. Gr. 1, 303. 7. Some glosses in H.: οἴνωτρον· χάρακα, ᾗ τὴν ἄμπελον ἱστᾶσι 'pole by which the grapevine is held upright', γοίνακες (= ϝ-)· βλαστοί 'sprouts', γοινέες· κόρακες 'ravens', cf. οἰνάς.

B. Adjectives: 8. οἰν-ηρός 'containing wine, abundant in wine' (Pi., Ion., Arist.); 9. -ώδης 'wine-like, redolent of wine' (Hp., Arist.); 10. -ικός 'ptng. to wine' (Hell., inscr. and pap.).

C. Verbs: 11. οἰν-ίζομαι 'to furnish oneself with wine' (Il., late prose), -ίζω 'to resemble wine' (Thphr., Dsc.); with οἰν-ιστήρια [n.pl.] name of an Attic festival (Eup., H., Phot.); cf. Ἀνθεστήρια, χαριστήρια, etc. 12. οἰν-όομαι, -όω 'to intoxicate (oneself)' (Ion., Od., trag.) with -ωσις [f.] 'intoxication' (*Stoic.*, Plu.). On the PN Οἰνεύς see Boßhardt 1942: 106f.; on the HN Οἰνοῦς [m.] (Laconia) and on Οἰνοῦσσαι [f.pl.] (islands), see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 233.

•ETYM Greek (ϝ)οῖνος looks similar to other words for 'wine' in Soutern European languages: Lat. *vīnum* < **uih₁no-*, U *vinu*, etc., Arm. *gini* < **u̯oin-i̯o-*, Alb. Gheg *vênë* < **u̯oinā-*.

The IE word for 'wine' may be reconstructed from these forms; together with related ►ἴτυς 'willow', Lat. *vītis* 'vine', and various other words, it may be derived from the root **ueh₁-i-* 'turn, bend'. As the wild vine was indigenous in southern Russia and in certain parts of central Europe, this assumption is acceptable from a historical point of view. However, as the cultivation of the vine started in the Mediterranean region, in the Pontus area and in the south of the Caucasus, most scholars are inclined to look for the origin of the word in these countries. This would point to non-IE origin. However, if we put the homeland of viticulture in the Pontus and the northern Balkans, the word for 'wine' might come from there. In this case, not only would the words mentioned from Greek, Lat., Arm., and Alb. derive from this IE source, but also Hitt. *u̯i̯an(a)-*, HLuw. *wi̯an(i)-*, and the relevant Semitic words, like Arab. *wain*, Hebr. *jajin*. In Beekes *MSS* 48 (1987): 21-26, it was pointed out that the Hitt. form requires **u̯ih₁-on-o-*; this is now accepted by Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. (with the modification that the Hittite form is not thematic).

The Celtic and Germanic words were borrowed from Lat. *vīnum*, and from Germanic or Latin again the Slavic and Baltic words for 'wine'. From Arm. *gini* comes e.g. Georg. *ɣvino*.

οἴομαι [v.] 'to suspect, expect, think, believe, deem' (Od.). ◄IE **h₃uis-* 'suppose, assume', **h₂uis-* 'see clearly'►

•VAR New presents: ὑπ-οίζεσθαι· ὑπονοεῖν 'to distrust' (H.), ὑπερ-οιάζομαι 'to be arrogant, conceited' (Phot., Suid.; also H.?). By-forms ὄϊομαι (Hom.), οἶμαι (trag., Att.), also active ὀΐω, οἴω (Il.), οἰῶ (Lac. in Ar., etc.), aor. ὀΐσ(σ)ασθαι, ὀϊσθῆναι (epic), οἰη-θῆναι (IA), -σασθαι (Arat.), fut. οἰή-σομαι (Att.), -θήσομαι (Gal.).

•COMP Sometimes with prefix, e.g. συν-.

•DER οἴη-σις [f.] (IA), -μα [n.] (Plu., D. C.) 'conceit, smugness, belief, opinion' with -ματίας [m.] 'prig' (Ptol., H., Suid.), -τικός 'arrogant' (Ph.); ἀν-ώϊσ-τος 'unimagined, unthought of' (epic since Φ 39), -τί [adv.] (δ 92).

•ETYM We may consider ὄϊομαι (ī) and ὀΐω (both ī and ĭ) to be the original forms, and thence οἴομαι, οἴω. Furthermore, οἶμαι arose in unstressed position, together with the ipf. ᾤμην (Ar.) beside ᾠόμην. The oldest forms point to a reconstruction PGr. **owis-i̯e/o-*, which is supported by ὀϊσθῆναι and ἀν-ώϊστος. Then, ὀ(ϝ)ίομαι developed into **ŏ(ϝ)i̯ομαι* > οἴομαι.

Etymological details are unclear. Beekes 1969: 58 assumes a root **h₃uis-*. The comparison with Lat. *ōmen* 'portent' (OLat. *osmen*) from **oṷis-men-* is dubious (see De Vaan 2008 s.v. for alternatives). It seems preferable to depart from an adverbial pre-form **h₂ouis* directly comparable to Skt. *āviṣ* 'evidently, before the eyes'. Then, ὄίομαι must be formed with the denominative suffix *-ie/o-* from this adverb. The root **h₂euis* is also found in Gr. ►ἀΐω 'to perceive' and with enlargement in ►αἰσθάνομαι 'id.'.

οἷος [rel.pron.] 'of which quality' (Il.).

•VAR οἵα, οἷον.

•ETYM From the relative pronoun ►ὅς; see also ►τοῖος.

οἶος [adj.] 'alone, only, single' (= class. ►μόνος). ◅IE **Hoi-uo-* 'one, only'►

•VAR Fem. -α (-η), ntr. -ον (Hom., Hes., Pi., A., S.); Cypr. οἴϝος.

•DIAL Myc. *o-wo-we* /oiw-ōwes-/ 'with a single ear'.

•COMP As a first member in οἰο-πόλος 'wandering solely, alone' (Hom., Pi.), together with οἰοπολ-έω (E. [lyr.], *AP*).

•DER οἰόθεν 'all alone' (H 39, 226); explanation in Leumann 1950: 258ff.; denominative aor. οἰωθῆναι 'to be left alone' (Il., Q. S.). Details on the use of οἷος in Ruijgh 1957: 127f.

•ETYM Identical with Old Iranian words for 'alone, one': Av. *aēuua-*, OP *aiva-* from IE **Hoi-uo-*. Fomation like **μόνϝος > ►μόνος), **ὅλϝος > ►ὅλος. Beside it stands IE **Hoi-no-;* see ►οἴνη. Further connection with pronominal **h₁ei-* is probable.

οἰρών, -ῶνος [m.] 'furrow of a plough, ἡ χάραξις τοῦ ἀρότρου' (Eratosth., Hdn.), 'straight line (in measuring fields), ἡ ἐκ τῆς καταμετρήσεως τῆς γῆς εὐθυωρία' (H.); probably also in Cypr. *i-to-i-ro-ni*, i.e. ἰν (= ἐν) τῷ οἰρῶνι 'in the region'. ◅IE? **soHir-* 'furrow, limit'►

•VAR Also οἰ-.

•ETYM Probably a derivative in -ών, which is often used to indicate places, from a noun **οἶρος* vel sim. Compared with Skt. *sītā-* [f.] 'furrow', *sīra-* [n.] 'plough', *sīmā* [f.] 'frontier' by Schulze 1933a: 665, which is semantically and formally quite possible. The relations between the Skt. words, however, are debated.

ὄϊς [m., f.] 'sheep' (Il.). ◅IE **h₃eui-* 'sheep'►

•VAR Hom. gen. ὄϊος, nom.pl. ὄϊες, etc.; Att. οἷς, gen. οἰός (also Hom.), nom.pl. οἷες; Arg. ὄϝις. Details on the inflexion in Schwyzer: 573, Chantraine 1942: 219. In prose, it was ousted by πρόβατον.

•COMP Rare compounds and derivatives: οἰο-πόλος 'herding sheep' (*h. Merc.*, Pi.), -νόμος 'id.' (Delphi IV[a], *AP*, *APl.*). Diminutive ὀΐδιον (Theognost.); οἴεος 'of sheep' (Hdt., Cos), ὀέα· μηλωτή 'sheepskin'; οἰίας (dialectal for -έας)· τῶν προβάτων τά σκεπαστήρια δέρματα 'the covering skins of sheep' (H.); also οἶαι· διφθέραι, μηλωταί 'hides, sheepskins'; ὄα· μηλωτή (H.). Perhaps with lengthened grade (?) ᾠα [f.] 'fleece of sheep' (com., Att. inscr. IV[a], Poll., H.). ►οἰσπώτη and ►οἰσύπη are probably unrelated.

•ETYM Old name of the sheep, found in nearly all IE languages, e.g. Skt. *ávi-*, HLuw. *ḫawi-*, Lat. *ovis*, Go. *awistr* 'sheepfold', Lith. *avìs*, all from IE **h₃éui-* [m., f.]. The accusative ὄϊν matches Skt. *ávim*, while the gen. ὄϊος equals Skt. *ávyaḥ*. Additionally, Gr. οἴεος corresponds to Skt. *ávy-aya-* (usually *-áya-*), but perhaps only as a parallel innovation (see recently Schmitt 1997).
We also find Lyc. *χawa-*, with transition to the *a*-declension (Melchert 1993: 66). This Lycian *χ-* can point to **h₃e-*, contrary to what has often been assumed (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ḫāu̯i-*). The reconstruction **h₃e-* is also backed by the absence of *ā* in Skt. (no reflex of Brugmann's Law).

οἶσος [m.] kind of wicker, 'chasteberry' (Thphr., Ael. Dion.). ◅IE **uoh₁i-tu-* 'wind, bend', or PG?(S)▻
•VAR Also -ός.
•COMP οἰσό-καρπον [n.] 'fruit of the οἶσος' (sch., Eust.), for the ntr. gender cf. on ►βούτυρον.
•DER οἶσον = σχοινίον 'cord, thread' (H.); οἴσαξ, -ακος [f.] kind of willow (Gp.); on the formation see Strömberg 1940: 78. Further οἰσύ-α, -η [f.] 'λύγος, willow' (Poll.), οἰσύα ἀγρία = ἑλξίνη (Ps.-Dsc.), with οἰσουργός [m.] 'basket-maker' (Eup.), τὰ οἴσυα [n.pl.] 'basket market' (Lycurg.), οἰσύ-ινος 'made of οἰσύα' (ε 256, Th.).
•ETYM The pre-forms **u̯oi-tu̯-o-* and **u̯oi-tu-ā* have been assumed, which would both be enlargements of **uoHi-tu-*, derived from the IE verbal root **ueh₁i-* 'to wind, twist' with a suffix **-tu-* and an old *o*-grade. See on ►ἰτέα, ►ἴτυς. An enlargement is found in OCS *větvь* [f.] 'branch' < **uoHi-tu-i-*. However, the form in -ύα does not look Indo-European; moreover, οἴσαξ has a Pre-Greek suffix. Is the word Pre-Greek?

οἰσοφάγος [m.] 'esophagus, upper opening of the stomach' (medic., Arist., Thphr.). ◅GR▻
•ETYM A learned formation, created by a physician. There are hardly any good attestations of this purely scentific expression. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 174 explains it as 'the one that carries what is eaten', from ►οἴσειν and the common second member -φάγος. The formally much easier explanation as "οἶσος-eater" (Strömberg 1944: 61ff.) cannot be defended. A similar Semitic designation of the esophagus is Akk. *šērittu* "that which carries down"; cf. Mayrhofer *BiOrbis*. 18: 274[19].

οἴσπη ⇒οἰσύπη.

οἰσπώτη [f.] 'greasy dirt of unshorn sheep's wool, especially on the buttocks', also 'sheep droppings' (Cratin., Ar., D.C., Poll.). ◅PG(S)▻
•VAR -ωτή (Hdn. Gr. 1, 343, H.), like μηλ-, κηρ-ωτή, etc. Also οἴσπη (v.l. Hdt. 4, 187 [cf. οἰσύπη], Gal.), οἴσπαι· προβάτων κόπρος, ῥύπος 'sheep droppings, filth' (H.).
•ETYM Analyzed as **ὀϝι-σπωτη*, but with an unclear second member. Connection with the stem syllable of ►σπατίλη 'ordure, diarrhoea', etc. is uncertain, as the semantic function of σπα(τ)- is in need of explanation. The word is rather Pre-Greek; cf. the suffix -ωτ- in ἀσκαλαβώτης (s.v. ►ἀσκάλαβος). See Fur.: 188, 384, and further on ►οἰσύπη.

ὀϊστός [m., f.] 'arrow' (Il.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR οἰστός (Att.).
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀϊστο-δέγμων 'holding arrows' (A. [lyr.]).
•DER ὀϊστεύω [v.] 'to shoot arrows' (Hom., Nonn., *AP*), also with δι-, ἀπ-; thence ὀϊστευ-τήρ (Nonn., *AP*), -τής (Call.) 'archer', -μα [n.] 'shot of an arrow' (Plu.).
•ETYM No convincing etymology. The traditional analysis (see Frisk) as a prefixed verbal adjective ὀ-ϊσ-τός, related to Skt. *iṣyati* 'to bring in quick movement' via a proper meaning "rushing on, flying towards" (or "urged on, sent off"), is extremely improbable. DELG correctly supposes this word to be of Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.).

οἶστρος [m.] 'gadfly, Tabanus bovinus' (χ 300, A., Arist.), also of a water-insect and a bird (Arist., perhaps Sylvia trochilus), 'sting' (S., E.), 'rage, madness, fierce desire' (Hdt., Pl., S., E.). ◁IE *h_3eis- 'set in movement, irritate'▷
•COMP οἰστρο-πλήξ, -γος 'stung by a gadfly, driven by rage' (trag., of Io, also of the Bacchantes).
•DER οἰστρ-ώδης 'enraged' (Pl., Epicur.), -ήεις 'full of stings, stinging, stung' (Opp., Nonn.), -ηδόν 'with rage' (Opp.); οἰστρ-άω 'to rouse, rage, roar' (trag., Pl., Arist.), also -έω (Theoc., Luc., Jul.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with ἀν-, ἐξ-, παρ-, δι-. Thence οἴστρ-ημα [n.] 'sting' (S., *AP*), (παρ-)οἴστρ-ησις [f.] 'rage, passion' (*Corp. Herm.*, *PMag. Par.*); back-formation πάροιστρος 'enraged, mad' (Simp.).
•ETYM Agreeing in its barytonesis with κέστρος, χύτρος, etc., οἶστρος must originally be an instrument noun or an agent noun (which amounts to the same thing). If it is cognate with οἶμα < *οἶσμα, and if (like the latter) it is derived from a verb 'to set in vehement movement, urge, irritate', the word originally meant "urger, irritator". The actual meanings 'gadfly', 'sting', 'anger' can be explained from this starting point. An identical formation, except for the gender, is Lith. *aistrà* [f.] 'vehement passion'; for further cognates, see on ▶οἶμα. See also Gil Fernández 1959: 157. Fick *KZ* 43 (1909-1910): 136 compared ἰστυάζει· ὀργίζεται 'rages' (H.) as a parallel zero grade tu-derivation *His-$tú$-, but Latte judges the gloss to be corrupt.

οἰσύα, -η ⇒οἶσος.

οἰσύπη [f.] 'the greasy extract of sheep's wool' (Hdt. 4, 187, Hp.); cf. Dsc. 2, 74 with an extensive description of the preparation; acc. to H. it is ὁ τῆς οἰὸς ῥύπος 'sheep's ordure'. ◁PG▷
•VAR οἴσυπος [m.] (Dsc. 2, 74, Plin., H.); οἶσπαι· προβάτων κόπρος, ῥύπος 'sheep's dung, ordure' (H.); οἴσπη (v.l. Hdt. 4, 187, Gal., Suid.).
•DER οἰσυπ-ίς [f.] 'greasy flock of wool' (Hp.), -ηρός (Ar.), -όεις, -ώδης (Hp.) 'greasy' (of wool); -ον = λάδανον (Plin.); οἰσύπειον· ἔριον ῥυπαρόν προβάτων 'greasy wool of sheep' (H.).
•ETYM Explained as *ὀϝι-σύπη, like the synonym ▶οἰσπώτη, with an unclear second member. There is clear evidence for the variant οἴσπη, but it is difficult to decide whether the form with υ or the form without it is secondary; cf. Fur.: 188[22] on θαλ(υ)π-. In any case, the word is most probably Pre-Greek (the meaning also speaks for this). One might think of a labialized *s*, thus *$ois^{w}p$-.

οἴσω, -ομαι [v.] 'I will bear, bring' (Il.). ◁IE *h_3eit-s- 'fetch'▷

•VAR Dor. οἰσῶ, -εῖται (Ar., Theoc., Archim.), pass. οἰσθήσομαι (E., D., Arist.), aor. inf. οἶσαι (Ph. 1, 116), ἀν-οῖσαι (Hdt. 1, 157; -ῶσαι codd.). Subj. ἐπ-οίσE (Arc.), οἴσωμεν· κομίσωμεν 'transport' (H.); verbal adj. οἰστός 'bearable' (Th.), mostly with prefix, e.g. δύσ-οιστος 'hard to bear' (Hp., trag.), ἀν-ύπ-οιστος 'unbearable' (Timae., D. H.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἀπ-, ἐπ-, συν-. As a first element perhaps in ▶οἰσοφάγος 'esophagus', perhaps also in Οἰσε-ζέα (Lesbian fieldname), cf. Schwyzer: 442 and 445.

•ETYM Except for a few isolated aorist forms (see above) and for οἰστός, οἴσω is limited to the future tense (on οἶσε, οἰσέμεν(αι), etc., see Schwyzer: 788 and Chantraine 1942: 417f.). It stands in suppletion to the durative present φέρειν and to the perfective aorist ἐνεγκεῖν. The Boeot. PN Ἀνεμ-οίτας, adduced by Bechtel 1917a: 8f., supposedly meaning 'who carries the wind'(?), cannot be taken as a proof for οἰ-, nor can the other names in -οίτης, -οιτος (Bechtel 1917b: 346).

Until Tichy *Glotta* 78 (2002), there was no etymology for οἴσω. Tichy connects it with Lat. *ūtī* 'to use' from PIt. **oit-*, and argues that the meaning may have developed from 'fetch (in one's own interest)' to 'use'. Greek οἰσ- < **oiss-* is explained as an *s*-present **oit-s-*. Melchert 2007 proposes to compare CLuw. *hizza(i)*- 'to fetch' < **h_3eit-s-e/o-* as well, which was previously translated as 'to bring', but rather means 'to fetch'.

οἰτόν ⇒ὕδνον.

οἶτος [m.] 'fate of men, (unfortunate) destiny' (Il., trag. [lyr.]). ◁IE **h_2oi-to-* 'share'▷

•COMP As a second member in μεγάλ-οιτος 'burdened with a heavy fate, unhappy' (Theoc.) and in PNs like Ἐχ-οίτης (Athens; Bechtel 1917b: 345); as a first member in Οἰτό-λινος [m.] "linos of fate" (Sapph. 140b, from Pamphos).

•ETYM The derivation of οἶτος from the root of ἰέναι 'to go' as **h_1oi-to-* is formally possible. An identical formation is supposed in the Celto-Germanic word for 'oath', OIr. *óeth*, Go. *aiþs*, OHG *eid*, if it originally denoted the walk to confirm an oath; cf. MoSw. *edgång*. As an alternative, consider Av. *aēta-* [m.] 'punishment, guilt', which was identified with οἶτος by Bartholomae *IF* 12 (1901): 139 under an original meaning 'part, share'. It cannot be separated from ▶αἶσα, ▶αἴτιος, etc., and may reflect an ablaut **h_2ei / *h_2oi*. Thus, οἶτος may rather derive from **h_2oi-to-*, originally 'what has been granted'; this is semantically much more convincing.

οἴφω [v.] 'futuo' (Thera, Gort., Plu. *Pyrrh.* 28). ◁IE **h_3ieb^h-*, **h_3e-h_3ib^h-* 'enter, copulate'▷

•VAR Uncertain -έω (Mimn.).

•COMP As a second member in φιλ-οίφᾶς [m.] (Theoc. 4, 62), Att. PN Κόρ-οιφος, also Κόρ-οιβος, for which Kretschmer *Glotta* 14 (1925): 199 suggested Phrygian origin.

•DER οἰφ-όλης [m.] 'fututor' (Naxos; H.), -όλις [f.] (H.).

•ETYM The synonym Skt. *yábhati*, OCS *jebǫ*, Ru. *jebú*, can hardly be separated from οἴφω. Moreover, ToB *yäp-* 'to enter' formally identical. It is supposed that Tocharian

preserves the original meaning, and that the other languages initially started to use the word as a euphemism, perhaps after the departure of the Tocharians. The comparison with ►ζόφος and ►Ζέφυρος is doubtful; see s.vv. LIV² reconstructs a prefix ὀ- added to a root **ieb^h-* to account for the Greek form, but it is better to assume a reduplicated present **h$_3$e-h$_3$ib^h-*, as suggested by Cheung 2007: 175, since the prefix mentioned hardly occurs in Greek (see on ►ὀ- 2).

οἰχμή · δούλη, οἵ δε οἰχμᾶν (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

οἴχομαι [v.] 'to go (away), leave, disappear, die' (Il.), mostly used in a situation with an accompanying or preceding action, which is expressed by a pres. ptc.: 'to be gone away, be vanished'. ◄?►

•VAR Fut. οἰχήσομαι (Att.), perf. ᾤχωκα, οἴ- (K 252), ᾤχηκα (K 252 v.l., Hell.), med. ᾤχημαι, οἴ- (Ion.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, ἐπ-, παρ-, δι-, μετ-.

•DER οἰχνέω [v.] 'to go, come, walk, approach', also with ἐξ-, εἰσ-, etc. (Hom., Pi., trag.), also = οἴχομαι (S.).

•ETYM The pair οἴχομαι : οἰχνέω may be compared with ὑπ-ίσχομαι : ὑπ-ισχνέομαι. The perfect οἴχωκα, which is attested early, probably arose by analogy with some semantically close example (Frisk suggests μέμβλωκα).

The main problem with οἴχομαι is its curious meaning, which seems not to have been proper to οἰχνέω, which is durative. It is suggested in LIV² s.v. **h$_3$eig^h-* that οἴχομαι continues an old perfect.

An acceptable connection is provided by the nasal present Arm. *iǰanem* 'to come down' (beside Gr. οἰχνέω, although both may be innovations), 3sg. aor. *ēǰ* < **oig^h-(i)e-t*. On the Armenian verb, see Klingenschmitt 1982: 208f. Furthermore, ToB *yku* 'gone' [ppp.] is considered to be related; see Adams 1999: 61. A few isolated nouns are also adduced: OIr. *óegi* 'guest' < **oig^h-ēt-;* Lith. *eigà* [f.] 'course', but the latter is rather directly derived from **h$_1$ei-* 'go'. The analysis as an "extension" of the root **h$_1$ei-* 'go' is gratuitous. See ►ἴχνος.

οἰωνός [m.] 'bird of prey, observed by the soothsayer' (Il.), 'prognosticating bird, omen' (Il., also in prose). ◄IE? **h$_2$eu-i-* 'bird'►

•VAR ὄϊωνός (Trypho; also Alcm. 60 B 6?).

•COMP As a first member in οἰωνο-πόλος [m.] 'interpreter of birds' (Il., Pi., A. [lyr.]); in D. H. = *augur*.

•DER οἰωνίζομαι [v.] 'to observe the prognosticating bird or the auspices, to deem an omen, tell fortunes' (X, D., Hell.), rarely with prefixes like μετ-, ἐξ-. Thence οἰωνιστής [m.] 'interpreter of birds, augur' (Il., Hes. *Sc.*, D. H.), -ιστικός 'belonging to the bird-interpreter or to soothsaying' (Pl., Arist.), -ισμα [n.] 'omen' (E., LXX), -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (LXX, Plu.), -ιστήριον [n.] 'omen' (X. *Ap.* 12), probably after τεκμήριον; 'place for observing birds, augurale' (D. H.); οἰωνευτής = οἰωνιστής (pap.).

•ETYM Explanation debated. Because of the comparable formation in υἰωνός (: υἱύς, υἱός), it is probably best derived from a nominal basis. Therefore it is connected with the IE word for 'bird' seen in Lat. *avis*, Skt. *viḥ*, etc. (also reflected in Gr. ►αἰετός).

The initial ὀ- has been explained as a case of vowel assimilation since Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 374, but this is unnecessary: one may assume an *o*-grade, as does Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 21, who departs from a nominative **h₂ou-i-ōn* that was subsequently thematicized. By others, it has been combined with ▸οἶμα, ▸οἶστρος, ▸ὀιστός and connected with the root **Heis-* 'to put in vehement motion', but this is doubtful. The connection with ᾠόν 'egg' by Schmeja *IF* 68 (1963): 35f. was defended by Peters 1980a: 292-305.

ὅκα, ὅκκα ⇒ὅτε.

ὀκέλλω ⇒κέλλω.

ὀκίστια [n.pl.] 'harrow' (*SEG* 13, 13, 120, Athens). ◂IE **h₂oḱ-* 'sharp'▸
•ETYM Cf. Lat. *occa* and Gr. ▸ὀξίνα.

ὅκκαβος [?] 'bracelet', = κρίκος (*EM* 383, 21), = ψέλια (H.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Lat. inscr. *occabus*.
•ETYM Unknown. With a suffix -β- (Chantraine 1933: 262); Pre-Greek?

ὀκιμβάζω ⇒σκιμβός.

ὀκκῦλαι · τὸ ὀκλάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερ<ν>ῶν καθίζεσθαι 'to prostrate, sit down on one's heels' (H.). ⇒ὀκλάζω.

ὀκλάζω [v.] 'to prostrate, crouch down, squat', metaph. 'to sink, abate', trans. 'to abate' (N 281, Hld.). ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. ὀκλάσαι (S.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. μετ-, ὑπ-.
•DER ὄκλα-σις [f.] 'crouching' (Hp., Luc.), -σμα [n.] name of a Persian dance (Ar. *Fr.* 344b); also ὀκλα-δίας [m.] 'camp stool' (Att. inscr., Ar.), -δία = ὄκλασις (Suid.), -δόν (A. R., Nonn.), -δις (Hdn. Gr.), -διστί (Babr.) [adv.] 'crouchingly, squattingly, prostratingly'; ὀκλάξ [adv.] 'id.' (Hp., Pherecr.), after γνύξ, πύξ, etc.; Ὄκλασος [m.] PN (sch.), like Δάμασος, etc.
•ETYM A noun like *ὄκλος, *ὀκλή, or *ὀκλάς, but also a verb *ὀκλάω (cf. δαμάω : δαμάζω), may have served as a basis of ὀκλάζω. Etymology unknown. Note the glosses κλωκυδά· τὸ καθῆσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ποσίν 'sitting down on both feet', ὀκκῦλαι· τὸ ὀκλάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερ<ν>ῶν καθίζεσθαι 'to prostrate, sit down on one's heels' (H.).

ὄκνος 1 [m.] 'hesitation, doubt, shyness' (Il.). ◂?▸
•COMP Also as a second member, e.g. ἄ-οκνος [adj.], -ως [adv.] 'without hesitation, determined' (IA, Hes.), with ἀοκν-ία [f.] 'determination' (Hp.).
•DER Adjective ὀκν-ηρός 'hesitant, doubtful, arousing doubt' (Pi., IA), whence -ηρία [f.] = ὄκνος (LXX, pap. VI^{p}), -ηρεύω [v.] 'to inspire doubt' (LXX); in the same mg. also ὀκν-ηλός (Theognost.), -ώδης (Dionys. *Av.*), -αλέος (Nonn.). Denominative ὀκνέω (-είω E 255 is metrically conditioned) [v.] 'to hesitate, tarry, scruple, recoil' (Il.), also with ἀπ-, κατ-, δι-; thence (ἀπ-)ὀκνησις [f.] 'doubt, reluctance' (Th., Plu.).

•ETYM Hackstein 2002: 232 suggests the possibility of dissimilation from *$h_2$onk-no- (to ὄγκος 'hook'), comparing Lat. *cunctārī* 'to hang, tarry'.

ὄκνος 2 [m.] name of a big bird, family of the heron, perhaps 'bittern' (Arist., Paus., Ael.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Identical with ▶ ὄκνος 1? The name clearly refers to the motionlessness of the bird by day.

ὀκορνός ⇒ἀκορνός.

ὄκρις [m.] 'top, protruding point, corner' (Hp.). ◁IE *$h_2$ok̑-ri- 'top, protruding'▷

•COMP As a first member in ὀκρί-βας, -αντος [m.], properly "walking on the top", 'elevated place, stage, stand' (Pl.). Fur.: 217[1] takes this word as Pre-Greek, but without sufficient reason.

•DER ὀκρι-όεις 'sharp-edged, spiky' (Hom., A., Hell. poet.); ὀκρίς [f.] 'spiky', epithet of φάραγξ (A. *Pr.* 1016); ὀκρι-άομαι [v.] in ὀκριόωντο 'they incited themselves, they were fierce' (σ 33), ὠκριωμένος (Lyc. 545); ὀκρι-άζω [v.] 'to be brusque, be bitter' (S. *Fr.* 1075).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *ocris* [m.] 'stony mountain', U *ukar*, gen. *ocrer* 'arx, mons', MIr. *och(a)ir* 'edge, border', Skt. *áśri-* [f.] 'corner, sharp edge'; an *o*-grade with suffixal *-ri-* from *$h_2$ek̑- in ▶ ἄκρος, etc.

ὀκρυόεις [adj.] 'morbid, spooky, ghastly' (*Z* 344, *I* 64, A. R., *AP*). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Arose from κρυόεις by false separation in the genitives ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος (I 64) and κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης (Z 344); see Leumann 1950: 49f. The phonetically close ὀκριόεις may have been an influence (Ruijgh 1957: 103).

ὀκτάδιον [n.] · καλάθιον πρὸς ὀρνιθάρια 'basket for small birds' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

ὄκταλλος ⇒ὀφθαλμός.

ὀκτώ [num.] 'eight' (Hom.). ◁IE *$h_3$ek̑teh$_3$ 'eight'▷

•VAR Boeot. Lesb. ὀκτὸ like δύο, Heracl. ηοκτώ after ἕξ, ἑπτά, El. ὀπτώ after ἑπτά.

•COMP As a first element, we usually find ὀκτα- (after ἑπτα-, ἑξα-, etc.) in ὀκτα-κόσιοι 'eighthundred' and in many bahuvrīhis like ὀκτά-μηνος 'eight months old, eight monthly' (Hp., X., Arist.). Besides, there is ὀκτω- in ὀκτω-καίδεκα, ὀκτω-δάκτυλος 'with a breadth of eight fingers' (Hp., Ar.), etc.

•DER Further ὀγδοή-κοντα, which (like ἑβδομή-κοντα) may have started from the basic word, see ▶ ὄγδοος. A cross with ὀκτώ gave rise to ὀγδώ-κοντα (B 568 = 652). After ὀγδοήκοντα the late ὀγδοάς [f.] 'group of eight' (Plu.) for ὀκτάς [f.] (Arist.). Further derivatives: ὀκτά-κι(ς), -κιν 'eight times' (Hdt.), ὀκτα-σσός 'eightfold' (pap. III^{p}), after δισσός, etc., -χῶς 'in eight ways' (*EM*, comm. Arist.).

•ETYM Gr. ὀκτώ, Lat. *octō*, Skt. *aṣṭā(u)*, Go. *ahtau*, Lith. *aštuoni*, and other cognate forms go back to IE *$h_3$ek̑teh$_3$(u). Arm. *ut'* was reshaped after the word for 'seven', like El. ὀπτω. The IE word for 'eight' was clearly an old dual, but further analysis is quite uncertain.

ὀκωχή [f.] 'arrest, custody' (*EM*). ◁GR, IE *seg^h- 'hold'▷
•DER ὀκώχ-ιμος 'answerable, liable' (Cyrene IV^a; after ἀγώγιμος?), ὀκωχεύειν· ἔχειν, συνέχειν 'to hold (together)' (H., also S. *Fr.* 327). In literary sources (and perhaps originally) only with ἀν-, δι-, κατ-, etc. (from ἀν-έχω, etc.).
•ETYM Reduplicated formation from ▸ἔχω; see also ▸ἀνοκωχή and ▸συνοκωχότε.

ὀλαγμεύειν, ὀλαιμ- ⇒οὐλαί.

ὀλαί [f.pl.] 'barley corn used at a sacrifice'. ⇒οὐλαί.

ὀλαιτοί [m.pl.] · σπερμολόγοι 'gossip'. καὶ ὀλατοί (H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also ὄλαιτος (Orus *apud EM* 622, 9).
•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word on account of the variation αι/ α. Fur.: 338 also connects λειτόν· βλάσφημον 'slanderous' (H.), which is not immediately evident.

ὀλβάχιον ⇒οὐλαί.

ὄλβος [m.] 'prosperity, blessed state, wealth, happiness' (Il.). ◁PG▷
•COMP ὀλβο-δότης, Dor. -δότας [m.], -δότειρα [f.] 'giver of wealth' (E. [lyr.], Hell.) ἄν-ολβος 'without prosperity, unhappy' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 1, 85, trag.).
•DER 1. ὄλβιος 'blessed, well-to-do, happy' (Il.), voc. ὀλβιό-δαιμον (Γ 182), superl. ὄλβιστος (Hell.); 2. ὀλβήεις 'id.' (Man.); 3. ὀλβ-ία [f.] = ὄλβος (Phot.); 4. ὀλβίζω [v.] 'to bless (oneself)' (trag.), ἐπ- (Nonn.), with ὀλβιστήρ, -ῆρος 'blesser' (late).
•ETYM Various older hypotheses are found in Frisk s.v. Fur.: 155 connects ὄλπα· χόνδρου τις ἕψησις. ἔδεσμά τι 'cooking of groats, kind of food'. ἥ ὄλβος (H.); if the gloss is cognate, it must be Pre-Greek, which is certainly a good possibility.

ὄλεθρος [m.] 'destruction'. ⇒ὄλλυμι.

ὀλέκρανον [n.] 'point of the elbow'. ⇒ὠλέκρανον.

ὀλιβρόν [adj.] · ὀλισθηρόν, λεῖον, ἐπισφαλές 'slippery, smooth, unstable' (H.), beside ὠλίβραξαν· ὤλισθον 'slipperiness' and, without ρ, ὀλιβάξαι· ὀλισθεῖν 'to slide' (H.). ◁IE? *h_3lib-ro- 'slippery, smooth'▷
•ETYM May be cognate with OE *slipor*, OHG *sleffar* 'slippery, smooth' (with MoNw. *slipra* 'glide'), from *(*s*)*lib*-*ro*-. Thence the primary verb OHG *slīfan*, MLG *slīpen* 'to slide', etc. Further cognates in Pok. 663 and 960. See also ▸λίμβος and ▸ὀλισθάνω. The problem of *s- beside prothetic vowel has not been solved; see Beekes 1969: 82-87. Perhaps Germanic added the *s*- after the loss of the initial laryngeal.

ὀλιγηπελέων [adj., ptc.] 'weak, powerless' (O 24 and 245, ε 457), -έουσα (τ 356). ◁IE? *h_2pel- 'strength'▷
•DER Metrically enlarged from ὀλιγ-ηπελής (*AP*, Opp.). Thence ὀλιγηπελ-ίη [f.] 'weakness, impotence' (ε 468); likewise εὐηπελ-ίη [f.] 'strength, thriving' (Call.), εὐηπελής (H.), opposite κακηπελ-ίη, -έων (Nic.); also ἀνηπελίη· ἀσθένεια 'weakness' (H.) and νηπελέω = ἀδυνατέω (Hp.).
•ETYM The form (ὀλιγ)-ηπελής is derived from a neuter *ἄπελος 'strength' (with compositional lengthening), and is compared with the Germanic group of ON *afl*, OE *afol* [n.] 'strength'; the El. PN Τευτί-απλος (possibly Illyr.), Illyr. PN *Mag-*

aplinus, etc. also belong here. However, since the Germanic words must be connected with Lat. *ops*, *opus*, etc. < *h_3ep-s-*, the Gr. ἀ- would be unclear in this comparison. We have to reconstruct *h_2pel- (νηπελ-έω < *h_2n-h_2pel-), and the connection with Lat. *ops* may have to be abandoned. The denominative ἀν-απελάζω in ἀναπελάσας· ἀναρρωσθείς 'recuperated' (H.) belongs here as well. Cf. also on ►νήπιος.

ὄλιγγος [?] a kind of locust (Phot., Suid.). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR ὀλίγιοι· εἶδος ἀκρίδων 'id.', τινές ῥιζίον, ὅμοιον βολβῷ 'a small root, like a bulb' (H.); thus Latte, but the ms. has (unaccented) ὀλιγιοι. DELG thinks that the correct form should be ὄλιγγοι.

•ETYM Connection with λιγύς does not help (Frisk, DELG). In view of the prenasalization, the word may be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.). Cf. Gil Fernández 1959: 95. See ►ὀλίγος.

ὀλίγος [adj.] 'small, inferior' (Il.), 'little, few' (post-Hom.). ◄IE? *h_3lig- 'little'►

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ὀλιγ-αρχ-ία [f.] 'rule of the few, oligarchy' (IA; after μοναρχία, see ►μόνος) together with ὀλιγαρχ-έω, -ικός (Att.); -ης [m.] (D. H.) On ►ὀλιγηπελέων, see s.v., on ὀλιγο-δρανέων see ►δράω, on ὀλίγ-ωρος see ►ὥρα.

•DER Grades of comparison: ὀλίγ-ιστος (Il.), ὀλίζων (Il.), ὀλείζων (Att. inscr.; after μείζων); ὀλιγότης, -ητος [f.] 'small number' (Pl., Arist.), ὀλιγόομαι, -όω 'to become small or faint-hearted, to diminish' (LXX); ὀλιγ-άκις 'seldom' (Ion.), -αχόθεν 'from few places' (Hdt., Arist.), -αχοῦ 'in few places' (Pl., Arist.). Perhaps also ὀλίγιοι· εἶδος ἀκρίδων. τινές ῥιζίον, ὅμοιον βολβῷ (H.), see ►ὄλιγγος.

•ETYM For ►ὄλιγγος, connection with λιγύς does not help - perhaps the word is Pre-Greek? The adjective ὀλίγος may be identical with Arm. *ałkʿat* 'poor' < *oliko- < *h_3ligo-. However, Alb. *lig* 'angry, meager' could rather belong to ►λοιγός 'ruin', which should not be connected with ὀλίγος. Less clear are OIr. *líach* 'miserable, unhappy' and OPr. *licuts* 'small' (which fits well semantically), which both derive from a root in *-*k*-.

ὄλινοι [m.] · κριθῆς δεσμοί. καὶ λῖνος παρὰ Κυπρίοις 'sheaves of barley, also λ. (Cypr.)' (H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Fur.: 375 gives "λῖνος (usually λίνον)".

ὀλινύω ⇒ἐλινύω.

ὄλισβος [m.] 'penis coriaceus', = 'of leather' (com., Herod.). ◄PG(S)►

•ETYM Obscene word with a suffix -β-. Chantraine (DELG) and others suggested that it was transformed from ὄλισθος after other familiar and vulgar words. However, as the suffix shows, the word is rather Pre-Greek.

ὀλισθάνω [v.] 'to slide, slip, glide' (Att.). ◄IE *h_3lid^h-, *h_3slid^h- 'glide'►

•VAR -αίνω (Arist., Hell.), aor. ὀλισθ-εῖν (Il.), -ῆσαι (Hp., Hell.), -ῆναι (Nic.), 2sg. ὤλισθας (epigr. I^a-I^p), fut. ὀλισθήσω (Hell.), perf. ὠλίσθηκα (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, δι-, ἐξ-, κατ-, ὑπ-.

•DER 1. Verbal nouns: ὀλίσθ-ημα [n.] 'fall, sprain' (Hp., Pl.), -ησις (also ἀπ-, κατ-, περι-) [f.] 'slipping, spraining' (medic., Plu.); back-formation ὄλισθος [m.] 'lubricity' (Hp., Hell.), also the name of a slippery fish (Opp.). 2. Verbal adjectives: ὀλισθ-ηρός 'slippery' (Pi., IA), -ήεις 'id.' (*AP*), -ανωτέρα 'id.' [nom.sg.f.] (Gal.), from *ὀλισθανος, but which accentuation? Further ὀλισθός 'id.' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 147), probably from ὄλισθος with shift of accent, -ητικός 'making slippery' (Hp.). On its own stands ὀλισθράζω = ὀλισθάνω (Epich., Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 126) as if from *ὄλισθρος, cf. ὀλιβ(ρ)άξαι from ►ὀλιβρός.

•ETYM All forms derive from the thematic root aorist ὀλισθεῖν. A present in -άνω (later -αίνω) arose from this, which recalls -δαρθεῖν : δαρθάνω, αἰσθέσθαι : αἰσθάνομαι, and may (like these two) contain an enlarging element IE *-d^h-, with Gr. -σθ- coming from *-d^h-d^h-. An alternative is to assume metathesis *h_3slid^h- > *h_3lisd^h-; see Mayrhofer *EWAia*: II, 787. This pre-form may be compared with a verb for 'glide, slide' in Germanic and Baltic: e.g. OE *slīdan* (MoE *slide*), MHG *slīten*, Lith. *slýsti*, 1sg.pret. *slýdau* (with secondary *y* beside *slidùs* 'smooth, slippery'). There are also some isolated nouns in Slavic and Celtic: OCS *slědъ*, Ru. *sled* [m.] 'trace' < IE *$sloid^h$-*o*-, MoIr. *slaod* 'gliding mass'. Skt. *srédhati* 'to stumble, make a mistake' vel sim. may also belong here. See also ►λοῖσθος 1.

ὁλκή [f.] 'dragging, drawing, towing, inhalation, draught, drink, attraction, drawing down of the scales = weight' (IA). ◄IE *selk- 'draw'►

•VAR ὁλκός [m.] "drawer", 'machine for hauling ships on land, strap' (Hdt., Th., S., E.), also 'track, furrow, ditch; orbit, coil' (E., Ar., Hell.), also the name of a spider (Dsc.); adjective ὁλκός 'drawing to oneself, attracting' (Pl., Arist.), 'dragging on, leaning, tarrying' (Ph., Hld.).

•DER From ὁλκή: 1. ὁλκάς, -άδος [f.] 'towed ship, trading vessel' (Pi., IA) with ὁλκαδι-κός (Arist.); 2. ὁλκεῖον (-ίον) [n.] 'large bowl or basin, out of which water is drawn' (com. and inscr. since IV^a), after ἀγγεῖον, with ὁλκίδιον (pap. III^p); 3. ὁλκεῖς· οἱ τὰ ἀμφίβληστρα ἐπισπῶνται 'who draw the fishing nets towards themselves' (H.); 4. ὁλκαῖος 'ptng. to drawing, making a twist' (Nic., Lyc.), -αῖον [n.] 'stern(post)' (A. R.), -αία, -αίη [f.] 'tail' (Nic., A. R.); 5. ὅλκ-ιμος 'drawable, flexible, viscous' (medic., Plu.), 'useful for drawing' (Paul. Aeg.), perhaps after στάσιμος; 6. -ήεις 'weighty' (Nic.); 7. -άζω 'to draw' (pap., H.).

•ETYM Verbal nouns from ἕλκω, built according to regular patterns. Lat. *sulcus* [m.] 'furrow' may be an old formal correspondence to ὁλκός, but it may also be a zero grade; cf. OE *sulh* [f.] 'plough, furrow' < IE *slk-. Further details s.v. ►ἕλκω.

ὄλλιξ, -ικος [f.] 'wooden cup for drinking' (Pamph. *apud* Ath. 11, 494f.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

ὄλλυμι, -μαι [v.] 'to ruin, destroy, lose', intr. med. 'to be ruined, be lost' (Il.). ◄IE *h_3elh_1- 'destroy'►

•VAR Also -ύω, -ύομαι (Archil.), ὀλέκω, -ομαι (Il.); aor. ὀλέσαι, ὀλέσθαι (Il.), pass. ὀλεσθῆναι (LXX), fut. ὀλέσ(σ)ω (epic), ὀλέω (Ion.), ὀλῶ (Att.), ὀλέομαι, ὀλοῦμαι (Il.), perf. ὀλώλεκα (Att.), intr. ὄλωλα (Il.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, especially ἀπ- (thus exclusively in Att. prose), with ἐξαπ-, συναπ-, προσαπ-, etc.; also with δι-, ἐξ-, etc. As a simplex only epic.
•DER 1. ὄλεθρος [m.] 'destruction, ruin, loss, death' (Il.) with ὀλέθρ-ιος 'disastrous' (Il.), -ιάω 'to be on the verge of death' (Archig.), after other verbs of disease in -ιάω; (ἐξ-)ὀλεθρ-εύω, assimilated (ἐξ-)ὀλοθρ-εύω 'to destroy' (LXX), together with -ευσις, -ευμα, -εία (beside -ία), -ευτής; MoGr. ξολοθρεύω. 2. ἀπόλε-σις [f.] 'loss' (Hippod. *apud* Stob.); as a first member e.g. in ὀλεσ-ήνωρ 'destroying men' (Thgn. [?], Nonn.), ὠλεσί-καρπος 'losing its fruit' (κ 510, etc.; ὠ- *metri causa*). 3. ὀλε-τήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'destroyer, murderer' (Σ 114, etc.), -τειρα [f.] (Batr.), ἀνδρ-ολέτειρα (Hes., A.), ὀλέ-της [m.] (*Epigr. Gr.*), ἀνδρ-ολέτης (poet. inscr.), ὄλετις [f.] (*AP*), παιδ-ολέτωρ, -ορος [m., f.] 'child-killer' (A. [lyr.]). On the PN Ὀλετᾶς (Halicarn., etc.; Carian?) see O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 10 (1975): 163f.
•ETYM The disyllabic forms ὄλεθρος, ὀλέσαι, etc. at first sight point to a root *h_3elh_1- (the commonly accepted reconstruction). The present ὄλλυμι derives from *ὄλνυμι; for the pattern, compare στορέσαι: στόρνυμι. However, in view of the metathesis which regularly occurs in this type, we may also consider a root *h_1elh_3-, and in this case, the Greek present is certainly recent. If athematic, ὀλέσθαι also reflects the root-final laryngeal, while ὀλόμην, etc. are thematicized forms. For the enlargement in ὀλέκω, cf. ἐρύκω, etc. Within Greek, ▸ὀλοός 'pernicious, fatal' is related as well.
An obvious cognate of ὄλλυμι is Lat. *-oleō* (LIV² s.v. *h_3elh_1-) as found in *dēleō* and *ab-oleō*, which represents an iterative formation *$-h_3olh_1$-*eie/o*-. Since Puhvel *HED*, *ḫallanna-*^{i} 'to trample down, flatten (fields and plants)' is also compared, which may in principle derive from older *$h_{2/3}elH$- (Kloekhorst 2008: 271), and would be in agreement with the reconstruction *h_3elh_1- assumed for Greek and Latin. Hackstein 1995: 248ff. adduces ToB *alāṣṣäṃ* 'is exhausted'. See recently Neri 2007 on the thesis that the root *h_3elh_1- is also contained in verbs for 'fall', like Lith. *pùlti*, 3pres. *púola*, and OHG *fallan* and cognates. We may note that the reconstruction *h_1elh_3-, tentatively suggested above for the Greek forms, is possible for Latin (if we assume that the verbal suffix *-*eie/o*- was restored), but not for Hittite. See ▸ὀλοός.

ὅλμος [m.] 'mortar', metaph. of mortar-like, i.e. hollowed objects, e.g. 'mouthpiece of a flute, drinking cup, tripod of the Pythia' (Λ 147). ◂IE **uel-* 'turn'▸
•VAR Psilotic ὄλμος.
•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ὀλμο-ποιός [m.] 'manufacturer of mortars' (Arist.), ὑφ-όλμ-ιον [n.] 'stand of an ὅλμος' (com., Poll.).
•DER Diminutive ὀλμίον [n.] (pap.), also ὀλμίσκος [m.] 'socket of a door hinge, of a tooth' (pap., S. E., Ruf., Poll.); ὀλμειός [m.] = ὅλμος (sch. Ar. *V.* 238), after στελε(ι)ός, etc.
•ETYM From **uol-mo-*, originally 'roll, cylinder', after the cylinder-like form of the mortar made of a hollowed tree (cf. Palmer *Eranos* 44 (1946): 54f.). Further related to ▸εἰλέω 'to roll, turn'.

ὁλόκληρος 'entire'. ⇒κλῆρος.

ὁλοκόττινος [m.] name of a gold coin, Lat. *solidus* (pap. IV-VI^{p}). ◂LW Lat.▸
•VAR Also -ον [n.]. and ὁλοκότιον (*BGU* 1082).

•ETYM From ►ὅλος and Lat. (*aurum*) *coctum* = ὁλό-χρυσος 'consisting entirely of pure gold' (with *ct* borrowed as ττ); see Frisk.

ὀλολύζω [v.] 'to cry out loudly; to call, shout with joy, moan (to the gods)', especially of women (mostly poet.). ◄ONOM►

•VAR -ύττω (Men.), aor. ὁλολ-ύξαι (Od.), fut. -ύξομαι (E.), -ύξω (LXX).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀν-, ἐπ-.

•DER ὁλολυγ-ή [f.] (Z 301) with -αία [f.] epithet of the νυκτερίς (epitaph), -μός [m.] (A.), -μα (E.) 'loud outcry', mostly of women invoking a god; -ών, -όνος [f.] 'quacking of a frog, etc.' (Arist., Ael., Plu.), also name of an unknown animal (bird), Lat. *acredula* (Eub., Theoc., Arat.), see also Thompson 1895 s.v.; ὁλολύκ-τρια [f.] 'professional wailing woman' (Pergam. II^{a}), -τόλης [m.] 'crier' (*An. Ox.*), cf. e.g. σκωπτόλης, ὑλακτέω. Backformations ὅλολοι [m.pl.] = δεισι-δαίμονες (Theopomp. Com., Men.), ὅλολυς [m.] (acc. to Phot. = ὁ γυναικώδης καὶ κατάθεος καὶ βάκηλος 'woman-like, superstitious and womanish'; Anaxandr., Men.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation with the same ending as in ἰύζω, βαΰζω, etc. Similar formations, genetically cognate or of identical structure, are Lat. *ululāre* 'to howl', *ulula* [f.] 'owl', Skt. *ululí-* 'crying loudly', *úlūka-* [m.] 'owl', Lith. *ulula* (*bañgos*) '(the waves) howl', all with *u*. Beside these stands ὀλολύζω, with dissimilation o-υ or perhaps ablauting to ►ἐλελεῦ; cf. Pok. 306 and 1105. See ►ὀλοφύρομαι.

ὄλονθος [m.] 'wild fig'. ⇒ὄλυνθος.

ὀλοοίτροχος [m.] 'round piece of rock, boulder, large stone' (N 137, Democr. 162, Orac. *apud* Hdt. 5, 92 β). ◄IE **uel-* 'turn', **d^{h}reg^{h}-* 'run'►

•VAR Accent uncertain. Also ὁλοίτροχος (Hdt. 8, 52, Theoc. 22, 49), ὁλοίτροχος (X. *An.* 4, 2, 3).

•ETYM Probably properly 'circle-runner', a technical term for a round stone, which rolls downhill or is taken forth by a vehement stream. The first element belongs to ►εἰλέω 'to roll, turn' and looks like a locative; acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v., it derives from a noun **ϝολοϝο-* 'whirl, rotation', closely connected with ►εἰλεός; this is rejected by Shipp 1967: 49f. (who follows the ancients in connecting ὁλοός 'pernicious', assuming that -οι- is *metri causa*).

ὀλοός [adj.] 'destructive, sinister, ominous' (Il.). ◄IE **h$_{3}$olh$_{1}$-uo-* 'destructive'►

•VAR Also ὁλοιός (A 342, X 5, *h. Ven.* 224), ὁλώιος (Hes. *Th.* 591, Nonn.), οὐλοός (A. R.), vocative ὁλέ (Alcm. 55), ὁλόεις (S. *Tr.* 521 [lyr.]).

•COMP As a first member in ὁλοό-φρων 'with destructive intent', of ὕδρος, λέων, σῦς κάπρος (Il.), also 'crafty', of Ἄτλας, Αἰήτης, Μίνως (Od.); also ὁλο-εργός, -εργής 'having a destructive effect' (Nic., Man.) with loss of o (cf. Schwyzer: 252f.).

•ETYM Derived from the root of ὁλέσαι, ὄλεθρος, etc. (see ►ὄλλυμι), and traditionally explained as **ὁλο-ϝός < *ὁλε-ϝός* with vowel assimilation (Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 332f., 337). All formal variations are secondary: ὁλοιός with οι spelling lengthened o (Chantraine 1942: 168; cf. on ►οἰέτεας); οὐλοός with metrical lengthening and/or after οὖλος; ὁλώϊος after ὁλοφώϊος acc. to Frisk, but corrected to

ὁλοίιος by Nauck; ὁλόεις with poetical enlargement (Schwyzer: 528 with lit.); voc. ὁλέ from *ὁλοέ (or *ὁλε[ϝ]έ?) with loss of vowel by hyphaeresis(?); cf. ὦ μέλε. Suggestions on the formation in Ruijgh *Minos* 20-22 (1987): 537 and García Ramón 2000: 69-71.

ὁλόπτω [v.] · λεπίζειν, τίλλειν, κολάπτειν 'to peel, pluck, peck' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Aor. ὁλόψαι (Call., Euph., Nic.) 'to strip off, tear off, pluck'.
•ETYM Can hardly be related to ▸λέπω, ▸λοπός, etc., but rather a Pre-Greek variant of ▸ὁλούφω.

ὅλος [adj.] 'complete, whole' (ρ 343 and ω 118, Att., Hdt.), οὖλε [voc.] 'salve' (ω 402). ◂IE *sol(H)-uo- 'whole'▸
•VAR οὖλος (epic Ion.).
•COMP Often as a first member, almost only Hell. and late (instead of παν-, see Leumann 1950: 105), e.g. ὁλό-κληρος (see ▸κλῆρος), ὁλο-σχερής (see ▸ἐπισχερώ), ▸ὁλοκόττινος.
•DER ὁλό-της, -ητος [f.] 'wholeness' (Arist.), ὁλόομαι [v.] 'to be constituted as a whole' together with ὅλωσις [f.] (Dam.), οὐλέω in οὐλείοιεν· ἐν ὑγείᾳ φυλάσσοιεν 'may they keep watch in health' (H.). Besides ὁλοός = φρόνιμος καὶ ἀγαθός 'clever and able' (Suid., H.) with ὁλοεῖται· ὑγιαίνει 'is healthy' (H.). Uncertain Οὔλιος, Ionic epithet of Apollo, acc. to Str. 14, 635 and Suid. as a healing god; cf. ▸οὖλος 3.
•ETYM Identical with Skt. *sárva-*, Av. *hauruua-* 'whole', from IE *sol(H)-uo-. For ὁλό-της, compare Av. *hauruua-tāt-* and Skt. *sarvá-tāt(-i)-* [f.] 'wholeness, etc.', which are probably independent innovations. Beside the Indo-Iranian forms, we find Lat. *salvus* 'sound, safe' (on the *a*-vocalism, see Schrijver 1991: 294-297 and Nussbaum 1997: 186ff.) and, with disyllabic stem, Osc. σαλαϝς 'id.', Pael. *Salavatur* 'Salvator', which points to an older ablauting *u*-stem *slh_2-eu-*. Perhaps the Greek and Indo-Iranian forms derive from a thematization of a neuter *$solh_2$-u*?
Other cognates are ToA *salu* 'complete', ToB *solme* 'id.' (with a different suffix), and Alb. *i gjallë* 'alive, lively'. A different suffix is found in OIr. *slán* 'healthy' < *slh_2-no-*, perhaps Lat. *sollus* < *sol(H)-no-* and possibly in Hitt. *šalli- / šallai-* 'big, main, chief, etc.' < *$solh_2$-i-* (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). On the question whether the Saussure effect operated in this word (as advocated by Nussbaum 1997), see Pronk 2009.

ὁλός [m.] name for a bleary liquid, from the juice of squids (Hp., Phryn. *PS*, Phot.), for blood (*AP* 15, 25, 1. ὁλὸς λιβρὸς ἱρῶν). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM Unclear. A cross between θολός and ὁρός, as assumed by Frisk, is improbable. A Pre-Greek word is possible.

ὁλοσχερής [adj.] 'complete, whole, general' (Hell.).
•DER ὁλοσχέρεια [f.] (Phld. *Rh.*, Str.). ⇒ἐπισχερώ.

ὁλουρίδας [?] · εἶδος κόγχης 'kind of mussel' (H.). ◂?▸
•VAR ὁλουροισιν· ἄνω τῆς θύρας στρόφιγγες 'pivot above the door' (H.).
•ETYM Unknown.

ὀλούφω [v.] = ὀλόπτω (Phot.), ὀλουφεῖν (ὀλούφειν Schmidt)· τίλλειν 'to pluck hair', διολουφεῖν (-φειν Schm.)· διατίλλειν ἢ διασιλλαίνειν 'to mock' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM The present etymon is evidently a variant of ►ὀλόπτω, with variations o/ ου and φ/ πτ that point to a Pre-Greek word. The IE etymology proposed by Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 173, which connected it with the IE word for 'bark, etc.' in Lat. *liber* [m.] 'bark, book' < **luber*, Ru. *lub* 'bark', can therefore be forgotten.

ὀλοφλυκτίς [f.] 'bladder, pustule with blood and water' (Hp.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Also -φυκτίς (H.); ὀλοφυγδών (Theoc. 9, 30) or -φύγγων (H.).
•ETYM From ὀλός and φλυκτίς; see ►φλύκταινα.

ὀλοφύρομαι [v.] 'to wail, lament, bewail, bemoan' (Il.). ◁IE? **Holbʰ-* 'cry, lament'▷
•VAR Aeol. -ύρρω (Hdn. Gr.), aor. ὀλοφύρασθαι, ptc. pass. ὀλοφυρθείς (Th. 6, 78), fut. ὀλοφυροῦνται (Lys. 29, 4 codd.).
•COMP Often (especially in prose) with prefix, e.g. ἀν-, ἀπ-, κατ-.
•DER ὀλοφυρ-μός [m.] (Ar., Th., Pl.), -σις [f.] (Th., J.) 'lamentation, wail'; -τικός 'prone to wail' (Arist., J.). Further ὀλόφυς· οἶκτος, ἔλεος, θρῆνος 'lamentation' (H., Sapph. 21, 3), Aeolic for *ὀλοφῦς acc. to Schulze *KZ* 52 (1924): 311, ὀλοφυδνός 'lamenting, wailing' (Hom., *AP*).
•ETYM The ending is also seen in synonymous ὀδύρομαι, μύρομαι, κινύρομαι, μινύρομαι; ὀλοφύρομαι may have been formed after them, and it is unnecessary to suppose a prior adjective *ὀλοφυρός. The form ὀλοφυδνός may be an innovation as well, e.g. after ἀλαπαδνός, σμερδνός, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 194) and γοεδνός (Frisk). Likewise, was *ὀλοφύς formed after ὀϊζύς?
In view of Arm. *ołb*, gen. *-oy* 'lament', Lith. *ulbúoti* 'to call, sing', one might asssume a pre-form *ὄλφος (= Arm. *ołb*) or *ὀλφύς, which would have received an anaptyctic -o- from synonymous ►ὀλολύζω.

ὀλοφώιος [adj.] mg. uncertain. Hom. only ὀλοφώϊα [n.pl.], substantivized or as an epithet of δήνεα 'plans' (Od.); Hell. in sing. of λύκων ἔρνος (Theoc. 25, 185), and of ἰός 'poison' (Nic. *Th.* 327). ◁?▷
•ETYM Formation like μητρώϊος, ἡρώϊος, λεχώϊος (Hell.), etc., so perhaps derived from a substantive in -ως or -ώ. By the ancients it was associated with ὄλλυμι and interpreted as 'pernicious' (H. ὀλοφώϊα· ὀλέθρια, οἷον ὀλοποιά, δεινὰ βουλεύματα); it was connected with ἐλεφαίρομαι in Hom. in the sense of 'deceitful'.

ὄλπη [f.] 'oil flask'. ⇒ἔλπος.

Ὄλυμπος [m.] name of several mountain ranges in Greece and the Near East, especially at the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia; seat of Zeus and of the gods (Il.). ◁PG▷
•VAR With metrical lengthening Οὔλ-. Ruijgh 1967a: 173 points to a variant Οὐλυμπ-, Myc. *u-ru-p-*.
•DER Ὀλύμπιος 'Olympic' (Il.), Ὀλυμπία [f.] region in Elis Pisatis with a famous temple of Zeus (Pi., IA; cf. von Wilamowitz 1931: 224).
•ETYM Probably originally an appellative 'mountain', and without a doubt Pre-Greek. Report of the discussion in van Windekens 1952: 66ff. (see also van

Windekens *BNF* 6 (1955): 117). Cf. also Nilsson 1941(1): 353f. Perhaps Myc. *u-ru-pi-ja-(jo-)* points to an original PG **u-*, which is one of the phonemes that could be reflected as Gr. o (though the interpretation of the Myc. word is debated). Was the original word **Ulump(-)* ?

ὄλυνθος [m.] 'wild, unripe fig' (Hes. *Fr.* 160, 1, Hdt. 1, 193, Hp., Thphr., LXX). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also ὄλονθος.
•COMP As a first member in ὀλυνθο-φόρος 'bearing ὄλ.' (also ὁλονθο-, pap.), with -έω (Thphr.).
•DER ὀλύνθ-η [f.] 'wild fig-tree, ἐρινεός' (Paus.); -άζω [v.] 'to caprificate, ἐρινάζω' (Thphr.).
•ETYM A technical Pre-Greek word with a suffix -νθ-. Note *bolunda·* ὄλυνθος *(Corp. Gloss Lat.* 2, 517, 40), which points to original *ϝ-, and cf. ►μιηλολόνθη, ►ὀδόλυνθος. As -ονθ- is very rare, the second -o- in ὄλονθοςcould be due to assimilation from *-υ-. Fur.: 358 further compares Ὄλομπος.

ὄλυνος [?] · τὸ ἀπότριμμα καὶ ἀποκάθαρμα 'what is rubbed or cleansed off' (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unknown. Is the word Pre-Greek?

ὄλυραι [f.pl.] kind of grain like ζειαί, usually translated as '(corn) of spelt', also as 'durra' (Egypt) (Il., Hdt., D., Thphr.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Rarely sg.
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀλυρο-κόπος [m.] 'ὄλυραι-beater, -baker' (pap. III^{a}).
•DER ὀλύρ-ινος 'containing ὄλυραι, made of ὄλυραι' (pap. III^{a} Gal.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) [m.] 'bread made of ὄλυραι' (LXX).
•ETYM An isolated cultural term. By-forms like ►ἔλυμος 2, ►ὄλυνθος, and ►οὐλαί suggest that it is Pre-Greek. Cf. ►ἄχυρα for the suffix.

ὅμαδος [m.] 'clamorous crowd, melee, turmoil, clash' (Il.). ◁?▷
•DER ὁμαδέω, -ῆσαι [v.] 'to clamor, speak or shout all at once' (Od., A. R.).
•ETYM For the formation, see perhaps κέλαδος, χρόμαδος, etc. Usually connected with Skt. *samád-* [f.] 'battle' and connected with ὁμός = Skt. *samá-*, but this is rather improbable: *samád-* should be interpreted differently as *sam-ad-* (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 703f.), and ὅμαδος could belong to ►ὁμάζω (although DELG rejects this comparison because of the semantics).

ὁμάζω [v.] 'to growl, grumble', said of bears and panthers (Zenod.). ◁ONOM▷
•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic. Here also ►ὅμαδος. See ►ὁμός.

ὁμαλός [adj.] 'equal, level, smooth' (ι 327). ◁IE **semh$_2$-l-* 'level, smooth'▷
•VAR Innovation ὁμαλής 'id.' (Pl., X., Arist.).
•COMP As a second member e.g. in ἀν-ώμαλος 'unequal' (IA), with compositional lengthening.
•DER ὁμαλ-ότης, -ητος [f.] 'equality, even surface' (Pl., Arist.), -εύς [m.] 'leveller' (who levels the soil, pap. III^{a}). Denominative verbs: 1. ὁμαλ-ίζω 'to level, make even'

(X., Arist.), also with δι-, ἐξ-, etc. Thence ὁμαλ-ισμός [m.] 'leveling' (LXX, S. E.), -ιξις [f.] 'leveling' (Delph., Didyma), -ιστῆρες [m.pl.] 'instruments for leveling' (gloss.), -ιστρον (H.); hardly to λίστρον. 2. ὁμαλ-ύνω [v.] 'to make equal, make even' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), also with δι-, προ-, συν-; -υντικός 'emollient' (Gal.). 3. *ἀν-ομαλ-όω in ἀνομάλω-σις [f.] 'equalization' (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation is like that of Lat. *similis* 'like', OIr. *samail* < **semh₂-l-*. The *o*-grade of ὁμαλός is often thought to have been imported from ►ὁμός. Cf. also the *l*-stem in Lat. *semel* 'once' < **s(e)mli-*, Go. *simle* 'one time' = 'once'. Arm. *amol* 'harnessed pair of cows' is probably unrelated.

ὁμαρτέω [v.] 'to meet, join' (Hom.). ◅IE **sm-* 'together' + **h₂er-* 'join'▻

•DER ὁμαρτῇ 'together', see ►ἁμαρτή.

•ETYM The identification of the frozen instrumental ἁμαρτή (ὁμ-) with Skt. (Ved.) *sám-ṛtā* 'at the meeting, in battle' (e.g. Schwyzer: 433) is wrong, as the latter is the locative of *sám-ṛti-* 'coming together, battle'. The form with ἀμ(α)- must go back to **sm-h₂er-* containing the root **h₂er-* 'to join', while the probably more recent formation with ὁμ- derives from ►ὁμός, ὁμοῦ. See ►ὅμηρος.

ὄμβρος [m.] 'rain, shower, thunderstorm', also 'rainwater', metaph. 'water' (Il.). ◅PG?▻

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀμβρο-φόρος 'bringing rain' (A., Ar.); often as a second member, e.g. in ἔπ-, κάτ-ομβρος 'rainy, wet with rain' (Hp., Arist.).

•DER Adjectives: ὄμβρ-ιος 'ptng. to rain, like rain' (Pi., Ion.), -ηρός 'wet' (Hes.), -ηλός 'id.' (Theognost.), cf. ὑδρηλός; -ώδης 'abundant in rain' (Thphr.), -ικός 'id.' (Vett. Val.), -ιμος = 'ptng. to rain, rainy' (Nic. *Th.* 388, v.l., *PMag. Lond.*); also ἀνομβρήεις 'abundant in rain' (Nic. *Al.* 288, of Ὄλυμπος), from ἀν-ομβρέω, cf. below.

Substantive ὀμβρία [f.] 'rain' (sch.); cf. ἀντλία, ὑετία.

Verbs: 1. ὀμβρέω 'to (make) rain, moisten' (Hes., LXX, A. R.), aor. -ῆσαι, also with ἀν-, ἐπ-, etc. Thence (ἐπ-)όμβρησις [f.] 'raining, etc.' (Suid., sch.), ὄμβρημα [n.] 'rainwater' (LXX); 2. ὀμβρίζω = -έω (Eust.); 3. ὀμβροῦται· *imbricitur* (gloss.).

•ETYM Often compared with Lat. *imber*, *-ris* [n.] 'rain(shower)', with the same meaning, and with Skt. *abhrá-* [n.] 'cloud', with slightly deviating meaning (e.g. Pok. 315f.). An old *r*-stem was assumed for these words, beside which stood the *s*-stem in Skt. *ámbhas-* [n.] 'water, rainwater'. However, the assumption that Gr. -β- could represent an IE aspirate in the position after nasal is wrong (pace Schwyzer: 333).

In an recent and yet unpublished talk, Kroonen started from the old paradigm **neb^h-s-*, gen. **nb^h-es-s* for Lat. *imber* and Skt. *abhrá-*, so from the root seen in Gr. ►νέφος, ►νεφέλη, etc. The locative **nb^h-es-i* gave rise to Lat. *imber-i* and (with revocalization and thematicization) to Skt. *ámbhas-*.

In view of the **-b^h-*, ὄμβρος cannot belong to this group. For the same reason, Arm. *amb*, *amp*, gen. *-oy* 'cloud' must be kept separate from the Greek word. Thus, ὄμβρος has no good etymology. Szemerényi 1964: 241f., 249 assumes a loanword, so it is possibly a Pre-Greek word.

ὀμείρομαι [v.] 'to desire' (LXX, NT; inscr. Phrygia *JHS* 38 (1918) 157). ◅?▻

•VAR ὁμείρονται· ἐπιθυμοῦσιν 'they desire' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

ὁμείχω [v.] 'urinate' (Hes. *Op.* 727; codd. ὁμῖχεῖν, see below.). ◅IE *$h_3mei\acute{g}^h$- 'urinate'▻
•VAR Aor. ὁμεῖξαι (Hippon. 55 A; codd. -ι- or -ιη-); ἀμῖξαι· οὐρῆσαι 'to urinate' (H.).
•DER ὁμείχματα = οὐρήματα (A. *Fr.* 435 = 487 Mette; codd. -ί-).
•ETYM The persistant itacistic notation is probably due to the popular character of the word. The old thematic root present ὁμείχω, which was ousted by the more decent verb οὐρέω (after which ὁμιχέω arose), corresponds exactly to Skt. *méhati*, Av. *maēzaiti* and ON *míga* 'to urinate', while sigmatic ὁμεῖξαι recalls Lat. *mīxī*, perf. of *meiō* 'to urinate' < *$h_3mei\acute{g}^h$-*ie/o*-. Other present formations: Lat. *mingō* (innovation?), OLith. *minžu*, Arm. *mizem* (a denominative from *mēz* 'urine', where a reflex of the initial laryngeal is lacking, but see Martirosyan 2008: 542f.; alternatively, we are dealing with an Iranian loan), etc. Connection with ►μοιχός can be debated; the gloss with ἀμ- is unexplained.

ὁμηγερής [adj.] 'assembled' (Il., Pi.; v.l. -υρής). ◅GR▻
•VAR Dor. ὁμᾱγ-.
•ETYM From ὁμοῦ and ἀγείρειν with formation of the second member after the adjectives in -ής. Thus also ὁμήγυρις [f.] 'meeting' (Υ 142, Dor. ὁμάγ-) after the simplex ἄγυρις (see ►ἀγείρω) with contraction or compositional lengthening.

ὁμῆλιξ [adj.] 'of the same age'. ⇒ἥλιξ.

ὁμηρέω [v.] only in ὡμήρησε 'met' (π 468) and in the ptc. ὁμηρεῦσαι [f.pl.] (= -οῦσαι) 'meeting, agreeing' (Hes. *Th.* 39). ◅GR▻
•ETYM From ►ὅμηρος; cf. ὁμήρης 'united, (being) together ' (Nic. *Al.* 70), after the *s*-stems.

ὅμηρος [m.] 'pledge, hostage, bail, warrant' (IA). ◅GR▻
•VAR Plur. also -α.
•DER ὁμηρεύω [v.] 'to serve as a hostage, guarantee, take as a pledge, take hostage' (Att. Rhet., E. *Rh.* 434, Antiph.), also with ἐξ-, συν-; thence ὁμηρ-εία [f.] (Pl., Th., Plb.), -ευμα [n.] (Plu.) 'pledge, hostage', ἐξομήρευσις [f.] 'taking of hostages' (Plu.).
•ETYM Probably a compound of ὁμοῦ and ἀρ- in ἀραρεῖν, etc.: properly "joined together, sbd. who is forced to accompany", with a development of meaning similar to that in Lat. *obsēs* (: *obsideō*) 'hostage, bail'. The original meaning is still found in ►ὁμηρέω and ὁμηρέται· ὁμοψήφοις, ὁμογνώμοσιν 'who have the same vote/opinion' (H.); cf. also ►ὁμαρτέω and ►ἁμαρτή. The word ὅμηρος = ὁ τυφλός (Lyc., H.) is probably an appellative use of the poet's name. On attempts to connect the name Ὅμηρος (Cret. Ὅμαρος) with the appellative, see the litt. in Frisk.

ὅμῑλος [m.] 'throng, band of warriors, crowd, turmoil of battle' (Il.). ◅PG(S)▻
•VAR Aeol. ὄμιλλος (*EM*) could be hyperdialectal.
•COMP As a second member in ἐξ-όμιλος 'standing beside the crowd, strange, uncommon' (S. [lyr.]), etc.
•DER Denominative ὁμιλέω (Aeol. pres. ὁμίλλει Alc.) [v.] 'to be together, associate with (friendly or adversely), keep company, converse' (Il.), also with prefixes like

καθ-, προσ-, ἐξ-; thence ὁμιλ-ία, -ίη [f.] 'company, intercourse, association, speech, sermon' (IA), formally from ὅμιλος; -ημα [n.] 'association' (Pl., E.), -ητής (συν-) [m.] 'companion, adherent, student' (X., Luc.), fem. -ήτρια (Philostr. *VA*), -ητικός 'sociable, affable, talkative' (Isoc., Plu.). ὁμιλᾰδόν [adv.] 'in bands' (Il.), -ηδόν Hes. *Sc.*), 'together with' (A. R., Opp.).

•ETYM Frisk argues for an analysis ὅμ-ῑλο-ς (related to ὁμός, etc.) with the rare suffix -ῑλο- (as in στρόβιλος, πέδιλον, etc.), taking ὅμιλλος, ὁμίλλει to be hyper-Aeolisms. However, it rather seems that the word is Pre-Greek. Suffixes with V̄C were frequent in Pre-Greek; the interchange -ιλ-ο-/ -ιλλ-ο- may represent a suffix *-il^{y}-o-*. The form ὅμῑλος recalls ►ἄμιλλα (which seems to be Pre-Greek, as well).

ὀμιχέω ⇒ὀμείχω.

ὀμίχλη [f.] 'fog' (Il., A., Ar., X.). ◄IE **h$_3$mig^{h}-lh$_2$-* 'fog'►

•VAR Att. ὄ- (secondary aspiration).

•COMP ἀν-ὄμιχλος 'without fog' (Arist.).

•DER ὁμιχλ-ώδης 'hazy' (Hell.), -ήεις 'id.' (Nonn.). Verbs -όομαι (Hell.), -αίνω (Lyd.) 'to vaporize'.

•ETYM Identical with a Balto-Slavic word for 'fog', e.g. Lith. *miglà*, OCS *mъgla* [f.], from IE **h$_3$mig^{h}-lh$_2$-* (suffixed like νεφέλη). Beside this old *l*-formation, to which MoDu. (dial.) *miggelen* 'to mizzle' also belongs, stands a zero grade root noun in Skt. *mih-* [f.] 'fog' on the one hand, and a full grade *o*-stem on the other, e.g. Skt. *meghá-* [m.] 'cloud' < **h$_3$moig^{h}-o-*.

It is sometimes assumed that ►ὀμείχω 'to urinate' and cognates (IE **h$_3$meig^{h}-*) are related, but this would mean that we have to reconstruct an original palatal for the current entry as well, which was then depalatalized before **l* (cf. Lith. *klausýti* ~ Ru. *slúšat'* 'to listen' < **klouH-s-* < **ḱlouH-s-*, the *s-* in the latter going back on restored **ḱ*). This is a problematic assumption, however, since IIr. **Hmaig^{h}-* seems to exclude a palatal.

Also probably related is Arm. *mēg* 'mist, fog' < **h$_3$meig^{h}-o/h$_2$-*, which acc. to Martirosyan 2008 shows regular loss of the reflex of initial laryngeal before *m* (cf. Arm. *magil* 'claw' with secondary *m* next to Gr. ὄνυξ 'nail'). Armenian dialectal material points to a verb **mglim* 'to cloud', which parallels the formation of Gr. ὁμίχλη. On ►ἀμιχθαλόεσσα, see s.v. and also Ruijgh 1957: 145.

ὄμμα, -ατος [n.] 'eye; look, sight, face', metaph. 'sun, light' (Il.). ◄IE **h$_3$ek^{w}-* 'see'►

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀμματο-στερής 'depriving sbd. of eyesight' (A. [lyr.]), 'deprived of eyesight, blind' (S., E. [lyr.]); often as a second member, e.g. μελαν-όμματος 'with black eyes' (Pl., Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ὀμμάτιον [n.] (Arist., *AP*), = MoGr. μάτι; further ὀμμάτειος 'belonging to the eyes' (S. *Fr.* 801), ὀμματόω [v.] 'to provide with eyes, enlighten' (A., D. S.), ἐξ- 'to deprive someone of his eyes' (E. *Fr.* 541), 'to open sbd.'s eyes, illuminate' (A., S., Ph., etc.), ἐν- 'to provide with eyes' (Ph.).

•ETYM The usual form is ὄμμα, but there are also the rare forms ὄππατα (Sapph.) and ὄθματα (Call., Nic., *Hymn. Is.*), which may, like ὄμμα, have arisen from **ὄπμα* by

progressive assimilation and by differentiation (Frisk), respectively. Or is ὄθματα rather an artificial reshaping with -θμα (Chantraine 1933: 175)?
If ὄμμα is a verbal noun in -μα from the root ὀπ- 'see' (►ὄπωπα, ὄψομαι), it must originally have meant 'look, glance', but it may also be an enlargement of the root noun seen in the dual ὄσσε < *h_3ek^w-ih_1. The form ►ὀφθαλμός is unrelated. See further ►ὄσσε.

ὄμνυμι, -μαι [v.] 'to swear, affirm with an oath, take a vow' (Il.). ◅IE *h_3emh_3- 'insist, urge'▻
•VAR Also -ύω, -ύομαι, aor. ὀμό-σ(σ)αι, -σ(σ)ασθαι, fut. ὀμοῦμαι (Il.), perf. ὀμώμοκα, -(σ)μαι, aor. pass. ὀμο(σ)θῆναι (Att.).
•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπ-, ἐξ-, ἐπ-, συν-, ὑπ-.
•DER ἀνώμοτος 'unsworn', together with -τί [adv.], further συνωμό-της [m.] 'confederate' together with -σία, etc. (IA); for ὁρκωμότης see ►ὅρκος.
•ETYM The aorist ὀμόσαι points to a root *h_3emh_3- (cf. ἀρόσαι 'to plough' < *h_2erh_3-); the future ὀμεῖται was created analogically for older *ὀμοῦται. The present formation ὄμνυμι is reminiscent of ►ὄλλυμι, etc., and confirms that the root-final laryngeal was *h_3. The perfect is a clear innovation.
Traditionally, ὄμνυμι, ὀμόσαι are connected with the disyllabic athematic root-present Skt. *ámī-ti* 'to take hold of, swear'. Currently, Lat. *amāre* 'to love' is compared as well, and on this basis the root *h_2emh_3- has been reconstructed (see LIV² s.v.). A huge problem with this view is that one has to assume vowel assimilation ὀμο- < *ἀμο- for Greek, which is certainly not regular (see Van Beek fthc.b). It is therefore best to assume a root PIE *h_3mh_3- reflected as PIt. **ama-* in front of a vowel; cf. Schrijver 1991: 318. See ►ὁμοῖος, ►ὁμοκλή.

ὁμόγνιος 'of the same ancestry'. ⇒γίγνομαι.

ὁμοῖος [adj.] epithet of πόλεμος, νεῖκος, θάνατος, γῆρας (Hom.), traditionally (e.g. by H.) identified or connected with ὁμοῖος, and explained as 'common to all, equalizing, impartial', which is supported by synonymous ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος (Σ 309). ◅?▻
•VAR On -οῖος for -οῖος cf. γελοῖος (s.v. ►γελάω).
•ETYM Acc. to an alternative interpretation by Anon. *apud* Apollon. *Lex.*, however, it means κακός, for which an etymological argument has been raised: ὁμοῖος (with lenis) < *ὁμοιϝιος from *ὁμοι-ϝᾱ, or rather for *ὁμο-ϝιος from *ὁμο-ϝᾱ corresponding to Skt. *ámīvā* [f.] 'misery, vexation, suffering', *ámīti* 'urge, press' (cf. on ►ὄμνυμι). Uncertain.

ὅμοιος, ὁμοῖος ⇒ὁμός.

ὁμοκλή [f.] 'threatening cry, reprimand, command' (Hom., Hes. *Sc.*; also Emp. [-έων], Pi. [-αῖς], A. *Fr.* 57, 5 = 71, 5 [ἀν]); 'attack, onset' (Hell.), perhaps falsely deduced from Π 147? ◅IE? *h_3emh_3- 'seize' + *$kleh_1$- 'call'▻
•VAR Also ὀ-? See below.
•DER Further (probably as a denominative) the more usual ὁμοκλ-άω, -έω (also ὀ-) 'to cry threateningly, call, urge', in 3sg.ipf. ὁμόκλα (Σ 156, Ω 248), 3pl. ὁμόκλ-εον, 1pl.

-έομεν (O 658, etc., ω 173), aor. ὁμοκλῆσαι (Hom., S. *El.* 712), iterative ipf. ὁμοκλήσασκε (B 199). Thence ὁμοκλη-τήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'shouter, warner' (M 273, Ψ 452), fem. -τειρα (Lyc. 1337).

•ETYM Since the elision in ὑπ' ὁμοκλῆς (e.g. Hes. *Sc.* 341), κέκλετ' ὁμοκλήσας (v.l. Υ 365) points to original lenis, the connection with ὁμός, etc. was already doubted in antiquity. A counterpart for ὁμο- could be found in Skt. *áma-* [m.] 'violence, pressure, turbulence', Av. *ama-* [m.] 'attacking power, strength'; thus, ὁμο-κλή would originally be a determinative compound meaning "attacking cry".

The second member must belong to ►καλέω < *klh_1-eie/o-* and may be a root-noun *$kleh_1$-*, but it can also be explained as an abstract *omo-$klā$-* related to *omo-klo-* (cf. on ►μεσόδμη), with loss of laryngeal like in νεογνός. The former interpretation seems to be excluded by ὁμοκλάν (A.), but an artificial Dorism cannot be excluded.

On the variation -άω : -έω in the verb, see Chantraine 1942: 361.

ὁμόργνυμι, -μαι [v.] 'to wipe (oneself), dry (oneself)', med. with ἐξ- also 'to give sbd. a beating; to imprint'. ◅IE *$h_3merǵ$-* 'wipe off'▻

•VAR Aor. ὁμόρξαι, -ασθαι (Il.), fut. ὁμόρξω, -ομαι, pass. aor. ὁμορχθῆναι, perf. ὤμοργμαι (Att., Arist.).

•COMP In prose only with prefix, especially ἀπ-, ἐξ-.

•DER ἐξόμορξις [f.] 'stamp, imprint, impression' (Pl.), ἀπόμοργμα [n.] 'which is wiped off' (Eust.).

•ETYM The Greek aor. ὁμόρξαι is probably secondary (with vocalism from the present ὁμόργνυμι) for ὄμαρξον· ἀπόμαξον 'wiped off' (H.), which can be equated with the zero grade aor. Skt. *amṛkṣat*. Further connection within Greek with ►ἀμέργω is conceivable (for the semantics, cf. Lat. *verrō* 'to sweep' next to Hitt. *u̯aršⁱ* 'to reap, harvest, wipe'), but the variation in the initial vowel is unexplained (there is no sufficient reason to assume vowel assimilation). The initial vowel is absent in the late forms μόρξ-αντο, -άμενοι (Q. S.), probably via reanalysis as ἀπο-μ-.

ὁμός [adj.] 'common, one and the same, equal, similar, level' (Il.). ◅IE *som-h_2-o-* 'same, equal'▻

•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. ὁμό-φρων 'of similar character, like-minded' (X 263).

•DER ὁμ-όσε 'to one and the same place', -οῦ 'at the same place, together' (Il.), -όθεν 'from the same place' (ε 477); ὁμῶς 'equally, likewise' (Il.), ὅμως 'nevertheless, all the same' since M 393; ὁμοῖος (Il.), ὅμοιος (young Att.) 'like, similar, the same' (Il.), after ποῖος, τοῖος, etc., with ὁμοι-ότης, -ητος [f.] 'similarity' (IA), verb -ωθῆναι (Il.), -όομαι (IA), -όω (Th., E.) 'to equalize, unite, make the same'; further ὁμοί-ωμα, -ωσις, etc. See also ►ὁμαλός and perhaps ►ὅμῑλος.

•ETYM Old word for 'one and the same, equal', identical with Skt. *samá-*, OP *hama-*, and Gm. words like ON *samr, sami*, Go. (*sa*) *sama* (secondary *n*-stem), etc., from IE *$somh_2$-ó-* with root-final *h_2*, because there is no reflex of Brugmann's Law in Skt. Other cognate formations are ►εἷς, ►ἕτερος, ►ἅμα, and ►ἀ- 1.

ὄμπνη [f.] 'food, corn', plur. 'cake of flour and honey, honeycombs' (Call., Nic., H., *EM*). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also ὄμπη.

•DER ὄμπν(ε)ιος 'ptng. to corn, nutritious, fruitful' (S. *Fr.* 246, Hell. poet.), fem. Ὄμπνια epithet of Demeter (Call., Nonn.; after πότνια); ὀμπνειόχειρ· πλουσιόχειρ, πλούσιος 'with rich hand, rich' (H.); ὀμπνιακός 'id.' (*AP*); ὀμπνηρόν ὕδωρ· τρόφιμον 'nutritious' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with Skt. *ápnas-* [n.] 'produce, property, possession', ON *efni* [n.] < PGm. **afnija-* 'material, goods' (also ON *efna*, OE *æfnan* 'to carry out, work'), Hitt. *ḫappin-ant-* 'rich'. The inner nasal in Greek was explained by anticipation of the suffix, and ὄμπη by dissimilation from this form. These assumptions are ad hoc and therefore doubtful.

Frisk further states that ὀμφύνειν· αὔξειν, σεμινύνειν, ἐντιμότερον ποιεῖν 'to strengthen, respect, honor' (H.) is unclear. However, acc. to Fur.: 161, it shows that we have a by-form ὀμφυν-, and a Pre-Greek word. The word ►ἄφενος is unrelated.

ὀμφαλός [m.] 'navel, navel string' (Il.), very often metaph. of navel-shaped elevations: 'knob of the shield or yoke' (Il.), 'centre' (α 50). ◅IE **h₃enbʰ-*, **h₃mbʰ-*, **h₃nebʰ-* 'navel'▻

•COMP Compounds like ὀμφαλη-τόμος [f.] 'cutter of the navel string, midwife' (Hippon., Hp.; on -η- see Schwyzer: 438f.), μεσ-όμφαλος "in the middle of the navel", 'in the centre', especially of Delphi and its oracle (trag.), also 'having a navel (an elevation) in the center' (trag., com.); also with enlargement of the second member, e.g. ἐπ-ομφάλ-ιος 'situated on the navel (the shield knob)' (*H* 267, Parth.), also 'equipped with a navel' (*AP* 6, 22).

•DER 1. Diminutive ὀμφάλιον [n.] (Arat., Nic.); 2. ὀμφαλίς [f.] 'navel string' (Sor.); 3. ὀμφαλ-όεις 'equipped with an ὀ.' (Il.), -ωτός 'id.' (Pherecr., Plb.), -ώδης 'ὀ.-like' (Arist.), -ιος 'belonging to the ὀ.' (*AP*), -ικός 'id.' (Phan. Hist.); 4. ὀμφαλιστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'knife used for cutting the navel string' (Poll., H.; cf. on βραχιονιστήρ).

•ETYM The old word for 'navel' closely corresponds to Lat. *umbilīcus* (probably from **umbilus* = ὀμφαλός), OIr. *imbliu* < PCl. **imbilon-* < IE **h₃mbʰ-l-*. This originally athematic *l*-stem (perhaps retained in the Epirotic tribal name Ὀμφαλ-ος [gen. sg.], -ες [nom. pl.]; see Schwyzer: 484) alternates with an *n*-stem in Lat. *umbō*, *-ōnis* [m.] 'boss of a shield', probably also in a WGm. word for 'belly, abdomen': OHG *amban* (secondary *a*-stem), *-on* [m.], OS *ambon* [acc.pl.m.], PGm. **amban-* < QIE **Hombʰon-* (cf. on ►ὄμφαξ). The variation *l* : *n* recalls ἀγκάλη : ἀγκών.

In the eastern languages, we find forms with a different ablaut grade, like Skt. *nā́bhi-* [f.] 'navel, nave', OPr. *nabis* 'id.', Latv. *naba* 'navel', but also Gm. forms like OHG *naba* [f.] 'nave of a wheel', *nabalo* [m.] 'navel' (suffix like in ὀμφαλός, etc.), all from IE **h₃nebʰ-*. The Schwebeablaut **Hombʰ-* / *Hnobʰ-* is probably due to the development of the zero grade **h₃nbʰ-* in the western languages, so the original root shape was **h₃nebʰ-*, with ὄμφαλος continuing the zero grade **h₃nbʰ-l-* (with vocalization of the laryngeal according to the so-called Lex Rix).

ὄμφαι [pl.] barbaric word for the best quality of nard (Gal. 14, 74). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

ὄμφαξ, -ᾰκος [f.] 'unripe grape' (η 125), also of olives (Poll.); metaph. of a young girl, an undeveloped nipple, etc. (poet.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Late also [m.].

•DER 1. ὀμφάκιον [n.] 'juice of unripe grapes or olives' (Hp., pap.); 2. ὀμφακίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cup of a certain kind of oak' (Paul. Aeg.), because of the astringent taste; 3. ὀμφακ-ίας (οἶνος) [m.] 'wine of sour grapes' (Gal.), metaph. 'sour, unripe' (Ar., Luc.); -ίτης (οἶνος) [m.] 'id.', also name of a stone (Gal.; codd. -τίτης), -ῖτις [f.] of ἐλαίη (Hp.), 'kind of oakapple' (Dsc., Gal.); 4. ὀμφακώδης 'ὄ.-like' (Hp., Arist.), -ινος 'made of ὄ.' (Hp., pap.), -ηρά (ἀγγεῖα) [n.pl.] 'vessels for ὄ.' (medic., pap.); 5. ὀμφακίζω [v.] 'to be sour, unripe', also of other fruits (LXX, Dsc.), -ίζομαι 'to pick sour grapes' (Epich.).

•ETYM By itself, ὄμφαξ could derive from an unattested pre-form *ὀμφων (= Lat. *umbō*, etc.; see on ▶ὀμφαλός), but the semantic explanation as a navel-like knob is hardly convincing. Fur.: 341 connects ἀμφίας 'a bad Sicilian wine' and ἀμφής· οἴνου ἄνθος 'wine blossom'. οἱ δὲ μέλανα οἶνον 'red wine' (H.). The variation would point to Pre-Greek origin; note that the suffix -αξ is also typically Pre-Greek.

ὄμφή 1 [f.] 'divine voice or revelation, oracle, emblem' (Il.), 'voice, speech' in general (Pi., trag.). ◁IE *$seng^{wh}$- 'sing'▷

•COMP Ὀμφο-κλέϝης [m.] a Cyprian in Abydos, εὔ-ομφα ὀνόματα 'auspicious names' (H.); enlarged in παν-ομφαῖος 'sending all omens, witness of everything', epithet of Zeus (Θ 250, Simon., Orph.), also of Ἥλιος (Q. S.) and Ἥρα (*EM*), transformed into παν-ομφής (ὄνειροι, Orac. *apud* Porph.).

•DER ὀμφ-αῖος, -ήεις 'predicting' (Nonn.), Ὀμφαίη [f.] name of a goddess (Emp.), ὀμφητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'prognosticator' (Tryph.), after νικη-τήρ : νικάω, etc. Cf. Ruijgh 1957: 134.

•ETYM An archaic inherited word, which is isolated in Greek and has cognates only in Germanic. Beside ὀμφή < IE *$song^{wh}$-eh_2- stands e.g. Go. *saggws* [m.] 'song, music, lecture' < IE *$song^{wh}$-*o*-. The basic primary verb is retained only in Germanic, e.g. Go. *siggwan* 'to sing, lecture' < IE *$seng^{wh}$-*e/o*-.

ὄμφή 2 [f.] · πνοή 'breath' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also ὀμφά· ὀσμή. Λάκωνες 'scent (Laconian)' (H.).

•COMP As a second member in εὔ-ομφος = εὔοσμος (Arcad. acc. to Timachidas *apud* Ath.; codd. -φαλον).

•DER Verb ποτ-όμφει· προσόζει 'to smell, stink' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. It cannot be related to the group of ▶νέφος, ▶νεφέλη (thus Frisk, on which see the litt. s.v.), since that word had no initial laryngeal.

ὄμφορα [n.pl.] · ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκφέρεσθαι ὁ νόμος κωλύει 'what the law forbids to carry away from shrines' (H.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Latte notes: ἀνάφορα reportanda ad aram; thus it would have dialectal ὀν- for ἀνα-.

ὄμωρος [?] 'a Sicilian bread' (Epich. 52, Sophr. 27). ◁?▷

•VAR Cf. ὄμουρα· σεμίδαλις ἐφθή, μέλι ἔχουσα καὶ σησάμην 'cooked flour containing honey and sesame' (H.); also ὁμορίτας (Redard 1949: 90).
•ETYM Unknown.

ὀναλα [f.] = ἀνάλωμα, 'expenditure, cost' (Thess. III[a]). ◂GR?▸
•ETYM Backformation from ἀναλόω, perhaps influenced by δαπάνη : δαπανάω (cf. also δαπαν-ούμενα, -ώσει after ἀναλ-ούμενα, -ώσει). See Fraenkel 1912: 88.

ὄναρ [n.] 'dream', especially 'fortune-telling dream, vision' (Il.), as an adverb 'in a dream' (trag., Att.). ◂IE *h_3*en-r* 'dream', *h_3*ner-io-*▸
•VAR Only nom. and acc.; further ὄνειρος [m.] 'god of dreams, dream' (Il.), -ον [n.]; other case forms are ὀνείρ-ατος, -ατι, -ατα, etc., 'vision, phantom' (Od.); thence the back-formation ὄνειαρ [n.] (Call., *AP*). Note Aeol. ὄνοιρος [m.] (Sapph.); Cret. ἄναιρον· ὄνειρον, ἄναρ· ὄναρ (H.).
•COMP E.g. ὀνειρο-πόλος [m.] 'interpreter of dreams' (Il.), εὐ-όνειρος 'having good dreams' (Str., Plu.).
•DER 1. Diminutive ὀνειρ-άτιον (sch.). 2. Adjectives ὀνείρ-ειος (δ 809, Babr.), -ήεις (Orph.), -ατικός (comm. Arist.) 'concerning dreams, pertaining to dreams', -ώδης 'dream-like' (Philostr.). 3. Verbs: ὀνειρ-ώσσω, -ώττω (ἐξ-) 'to dream, have a seminal discharge while sleeping' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), with (ἐξ-)ονείρ-ωξις [f.] (Pl., medic.), -ωγμός [m.] (Arist.), -ωκτικός (Arist., Thphr.); ἐξ-ονειρόω 'id.' (Hp.); *ἐξονειρ-ιάζω in ἐξονειριασμός [m.] (Diocl. Med.).
•ETYM ὄναρ < *h_3*en-r* and Lesb. ὄνοιρος, Cret. ἄναιρον < *h_3*n-r̥-io-* show gradation with ὄνειρος < *h_3*n-er-i̯o-* (with full grade of the suffix; for the addition of *-*io-*, see ▸ἥλιος). The case forms ὀνείρ-ατος, -ατι, etc. probably arose by a cross of *ὄνατος, etc. with ὄνειρος; from ὀνείρατ- in turn arose the late and rare form ὄνειαρ for ὄναρ. The neuter gender of ὄνειρον (for ὄνειρος) was influenced by εἴδωλον, ἐνύπνιον.
The word is limited to Greek and two neighbouring languages, in both of which it only occurs with a suffix *-i̯o-*: Arm. *anurǰ* < **onōr-i̯o-* (cf. τέκμιωρ beside τέκμαρ; Arm. *a-* < *o-* is a regular development in a pretonic open syllable, like in *anun* to ὄνομα, etc.), and Alb. *âdërrë* (Gheg), *ëndërrë* (Tosk), the details of which are debated. Note also Cret. ἄναιρος, of which the α- is unexplained (cf. Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 126).
Through the rise of ὄναρ and cognates, the meaning of old ▸ὕπαρ shifted (s.v.).

ὄνειαρ, -ατος [n.] 'utility, value, help, refreshment'; plur. -ατα 'refreshments, foods, valuables, gifts' (Il.). ◂IE *h_3*neh$_2$*- 'help, be useful'▸
•ETYM False writing for ὄνη(ϝ)αρ < *ὄνᾱ-ϝαρ, a verbal noun of ▸ὀνίνημι; perhaps influenced by ἀλείατα (s.v. ▸ἀλέω), εἶδαρ (s.v. ▸ἔδω), etc.

ὄνειδος [n.] 'reproach, rebuke, abuse, disgrace' (Il.). ◂IE *h_3*neid-* 'revile'▸
•DER Thence ὀνειδείη [f.] 'id.' (Nic.), cf. on ἐλεγχείη s.v. ▸ἐλέγχω, ὀνείδειος 'baling, scolding' (Hom., *AP*), ὀνειδείω [v.] 'to blame' (Thebaïs *Fr.* 3) < *-*es-i̯e/o-*; mostly ὀνειδίζω 'to make reproaches, abuse, scold', also with prefixes like ἐξ-, προσ-, with several derivatives: ὀνείδ-ισμια [n.] 'reproach, abuse' (Hdt.), -ισμός (ἐξ-) [m.] 'id.' (D. H., J.), -ιστήρ (E.), also κατ- (Man.), -ιστής (Arist.) 'who reproaches',

(ἐξ-)ονειδιστικός 'abusive' (Hell.); on itself stands ἐπ-ονείδ-ιστος 'deserving a reproach, worthy of blame' (Att.), probably for *ἐπ-ονειδής after other verbal adjectives in -ιστος.

•ETYM ὄνειδος is an old verbal noun, isolated in Greek. The basic primary verb, which was replaced by the denominative ὀνειδίζω in Greek, is retained in other languages: Skt. athem. *nid-āná-* 'reproved' [aor.ptc.], beside which stand the passive formation *nidyá-māna-* 'id.' and the nasal present *níndati* 'to reproach', Av. *nāis-mī* < **nāid-s-mi* 'I reproach', as well as Baltic forms like Lith. *niẽdėti* 'to despise', Latv. *nîdêt*, 1sg. *nîdu* 'to squint at, exclude, hate', which derive from a stative **h₃neid-eh₁-*. Germanic has a secondary formation in Go. *ga-naitjan* 'to revile', etc. Especially interesting for Greek, because of its prothetic vowel, is Arm. *anicanem*, aor. *anici* < **h₃neid-s-* (for Arm. *a-* < *o-* in pretonic open syllable, cf. on ►ὄναρ).

ὄνθος [m.] 'droppings, excrement of animals' (Ψ 775, 777, A. *Fr.* 275 [= 478 Mette]). ◄?►

•VAR Late also fem. after κόπρος.

•COMP ὀνθο-φόρος 'dungbearer' (pap. IV^{p}).

•ETYM Unexplained. For older lit., see Frisk s.v.

ὀνθυλεύω [v.] 'to stuff, pad, fill up with stuffing', of food (com. IV-III^{a}). ◄PG?(V)►

•DER ὀνθυλεύσεις [pl.] 'stuffed foods' (com. IV-III^{a}); further μονθυλεύω (rejected by Phryn. 334, sch.), μονθυλεύσεις (Poll. 6, 60) 'id.'.

•ETYM Expression of culinary art without etymology. We may start from a noun *ὀνθύλη, -ος like κορδύλη, κανθύλη, κρωβύλος, etc. Frisk suggests that the initial μ- in μονθυλεύω was perhaps taken from ►ματτύη (with related meaning) or from μολγός 'bag' (less probable). Fur.: 246 explains the variation μ/zero from initial ϝ-. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

ὄνιγλιν [?] · εἶδος οἴνου 'kind of wine' (H.). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR Ὄνογλιν (Alcm. 117 *apud* Ath. 1, 31d).

•ETYM Unknown.

ὀνίνημι [v.] 'to be of use, help, avail' (Il.). ◄IE **h₃neh₂-* 'help, be useful'►

•VAR Aor. ὀνῆσαι, fut. ὀνήσω (Il.), Dor. ὀνασεῖ (Theoc.), med. ὀνίναμαι (Att.), aor. ὀνήσασθαι (late), ὠνήμην, opt. ὀναίμην, epic ἀπ-ονήμην, -όνητω (Il.), ὠνάμην, inf. ὄνασθαι (E., Pl.), fut. ὀνήσομαι (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *o-na-to* /onaton/, *o-na-te* /onatēr/.

•COMP Often with ἀπο- 'to benifit, gain, enjoy, relish'.

•DER 1. ὄνηαρ (written ►ὄνειαρ, s.v.); 2. ὄνησις [f.] (φ 402), ὄνασις (Dor., etc.) 'benefit, advantage, gain, enjoyment' with ὀνήσιμος 'useful, beneficial' (*h. Merc.*); 3. Ὀνήτωρ, -ορος [m.] PN (Π 604, etc.), Dor. ὀνάτωρ (conj. Pi. *O.* 10, 9) 'helper', ὀνήτωρ name of a plaster (medic.); 4. Ὀνήτης [m.] PN (Eretria IV^{a}); for the PNs in Ὀνησι-, etc. see Bechtel 1917b: 348ff.; 5. ὀνήμιων = ὀνήσιμος (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 6. Primary compar. forms: superl. ὀνήϊσ-τος 'most useful' (Ion., etc.), compar. ntr. ὀνήϊον (Nic.), Dor. ὀνάϊον (Dodona III^{a}); reinterpreted as a positive, details in Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 7ff.

•ETYM The full-grade medial aorist forms ἀπ-ονήμην, -όνητο, -ονήμενος, etc. are noteworthy. They may have their vocalism from the *s*-aorist ὀνῆσαι, as Kümmel remarks in LIV². In Euripides, ὠνάτο, ὄνασθαι may have the old vocalism from *h_3nh_2-, or have their -ᾰ- from the present ὀνίναμαι, with productive short vowel (cf. ἵσταμαι : ἵστημι). The late present ὀνίσκω (Ath. 2, 35c) was formed from ὀνήσω after εὑρήσω : εὑρίσκω, etc.

There are no obvious cognates. Skt. *nāthá-* [n.] 'refuge, help' was compared by Wackernagel 1955(2): 946, and looks like a primary noun from a root **nā-*, but is further isolated (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 33f.). LIV² s.v. **h_3neh_2-* compares ON *unnum* [1pl.] 'to love, grant' if from **$h_3n̥$-nh_2-$m̥$é*, but remarks that the *-ns-* in related forms like Go. *ansts* 'favor' is difficult to explain with this reconstruction. Moreover, additional assumptions are needed to arrive from the assumed nasal present formation at Greek ὀνίναμαι.

ὄνιννος [m.] name of a parasite in seaweed, 'kind of centipede' (Thphr. *HP* 4, 6, 8). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM To be analyzed as ὄν-ιννος, acc. to Strömberg 1944: 11f., thus a compound from ►ὄνος and ►ἴννος 2; however, this is most improbable. Probably a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.).

Ὄνογλιν

•ETYM See ►ὄνιγλιν.

ὀνόγυρος ⇒ἀνάγυρος.

ὀνοκίνδιος [m.] 'donkey-driver'. ⇒κίνδαξ.

ὄνομα, -ατος [n.] 'name' (Il.), gramm. 'word' (Att.), as a part of speech = *nomen* (Arist.). ◁IE **h_3neh_3-mn*, **h_3nh_3-men-* 'name'▷

•VAR Epic (also Hdt.) οὔνομα (metrical lengthening), Aeol. Dor. ὄνυμα; Dor. also *ἔνυμα if found in Ἐνυμα-κρατίδας, Ἐνυμαντιάδας (Lacon.), but the interpretation of these PNs is doubtful.

•COMP ὀνομά-κλυτος 'with a famous name' (X 51), ►ἐξονομακλήδην; ὀνοματο-ποιέω [v.] 'to give a name, name' (Arist.), after other compounds with -ποιέω (ὀνοματο-ποιός Ath., Zos. Alch., -ποιία Str.); νώνυμ(ν)ος 'nameless' (epic); more recent is ἀν-ώνυμος (θ 552).

•DER A. Nouns: 1. Diminutive ὀνομάτιον (Arr., Longin.); 2. Adjectives ὀνοματ-ώδης 'having the nature of a name, concerning the name' (Arist.), -ικός 'ptng. to the ὄνομα' (D. H.).

B. Verbs: 1. ὀνομαίνω 'to call, proclaim', almost only aor. ὀνομῆναι, also with ἐξ- (mostly epic Il.), fut. ο(ὐ)νομανέω (Hdt.), pres. (Dor.) ὀνυμαίνω (Gortyn, Ti. Locr.). 2. ὀνομάζω 'to call (by the name), name, enunciate', aor. ὀνομάσαι (Dor. Aeol. ὀνυμάζω, aor. ὀνυμάξαι) often with prefixes like ἐξ-, ἐπ-, κατ-, παρ-, μετ-. Thence ὀνομασία [f.] 'name, expression' (Hippias Soph., Pl., Arist.), ὀνομαστής [m.] = Lat. *nominator* (pap. III^{p}), ὀνομ-αστί (-εί) 'by name' (IA), -αστικός 'ptng. to naming' (Pl.), ἡ ὀνομαστικὴ (πτῶσις) 'casus nominativus' (Str., gramm.). 3. ὀνοματίζω [v.] 'to dispute about names' (Gal.), -ισμός [m.] 'list of names' (inscr. Thess.).

•ETYM Old word for 'name', directly comparable with Arm. *anun* < **onomn-* < **anomn-* (with *o* > *u* before *m* and *a* > *o* in pretonic open syllable); Arm. *anun* may represent both the zero grade **h₃nh₃-mn-* (originally found in the oblique cases) and the full grade **h₃neh₃-mn* from the nominative, but the Greek word must have the old zero grade. Further, OPhr. *onoman*, NPhr. ονομαν also have their initial o- from **h₃-* (Kortlandt *SCauc.* 7 (1987): 63).

The *e* in other languages has a different origin: Alb. *emër* (Gheg), *êmën* (Tosk) may be a loan from Latin *nōmen*, while in OPr. *emmens* [gen.sg.m.] < **h₃n̥h₃-men-s*, the initial *e-* is the reflex of a vocalic nasal (cf. also the group of OCS *imę*). Celtic (e.g. OIr. *ainm*) is derived from **anmen-* < **h₃n̥h₃-men-*), and ToB *ñem*, ToA *ñom* points to **nēm-*, which perhaps derives from a preform **h₃neh₁-m-* by dissimilation of the second *h₃*. If the *e-* found in Laconian Ενυμακρατιδας belongs here at all, it is not well explained, but it need not be due to (incidental) vowel assimilation; it may also be due to dissimilation of the first laryngeal against the second (cf. on Tocharian).

The Greek *u*-vocalism in ὄνυμα, νώνυμνος, etc. is due to Cowgill's Law (see Vine 1999b).

All languages have generalized one of the two ablaut grades: Lat. *nōmen* = Skt. *nā́ma* < IE **h₃neh₃mn*. In Germanic, Go. *namo* [n.], etc. < IE **h₃nh₃mōn* goes back on a zero grade, while OFr. *nōmia*, MHG *be-nuomen*, MoDu. *noemen* have the old full grade **h₃neh₃-*; see Beekes *Sprache* 33 (1987): 1ff. (against this, Stüber *Die Sprache* 39/1 (1997): 74-88, but unconvincing).

The Anatolian evidence is highly complicated (see Kloekhorst 2008): Hitt. *lāman-* [n.] < **h₃neh₃-mn-* (like Latin), with regular loss of the **h₃-* and then **n-* > *l-* by dissimilation; *lamniia-* [v.] 'name' from **h₃nh₃-mn-;* but HLuw. *a-ta₄/₅-ma-za* (interpreted as /ʔlāman=tˢa/ in Kloekhorst *KZ* 117 (2004)) preserves the reflex of initial **h₃-*.

Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ḫanna^i-* has also made it clear that the root of the word is **h₃neh₃-*, as still preserved in the Hittite verb *ḫanna^i-* 'to sue, judge' and in Greek ►ὄνομαι. A denominative *yod*-present like ὀνομαίνω is found in other branches, too: Go. *namnjan* 'to name', Hitt. *lamniia-*. The original *n*-stem is still clearly seen in νώνυμν-ος < **n̥-h₃nh₃-mn-;* ἀνώνυμος is younger.

ὄνομαι [v.] 'to scold, blame, insult' (Hom., also Hdt.). ◁IE **h₃neh₃-* 'name'▷

•VAR Aor. ὀνόσ(σ)ασθαι (ὄνατο P 25; cf. below), fut. ὀνόσσομαι, with κατα- in κατ-ώνοντο, -ονοσθῆς (Hdt. 2, 172 and 136).

•DER Verbal adjective ὀνοτός (Pi., Call., A. R.), ὀνοστός (I 164, Lyc.) with analogical -σ-; dental formation in ὀνοτάζω = ὄνομαι (*h. Merc.*, Hes., A.); ὀνητά· μεμπτά 'reproached' (H.), probably after the oppositum ἀγητά 'admired'; ὄνοσις [f.] 'blame' (Eust.).

•ETYM All forms except ὄνατο (which is rather aor. then ipf.), ὄναται· ἀτιμάζεται 'dishonors' (H.), and the debated form οὔνεσθε (Ω 241) are based on a root ὀνο-; thus, ὀνα- is not an old ablauting variant but a secondary deviation. The comparison with the Celtic group of MIr. *on* 'shame', *anim* 'blemish, fault' remains highly hypothetical, while that with the unreliable ptc. (hapax) OAv. *nadant-* 'slandering, reviling' and with Skt. *níndati* 'to blame, revile' (as *ní-nd-ati*; but rather *ní-n-d-ati*,

for which see ►ὄνειδος) is based on the wrong assumption that ὀνόσσ-ασθαι, -ομαι, and ὀνοστός go back to *ὀνοδ-, instead of being analogical.
Kloekhorst 2008 has recently convincingly argued for connection with Hitt. *ḫanna-*i* 'to sue, judge' (3sg. *ḫannāi*, 3pl. *ḫannanzi*), which he retraces to *h_3e-$h_3nóh_3$-ei*, *h_3e-h_3nh_3-énti* by regular sound laws. For the semantics of the Greek word, starting from the meaning 'to call, name', one may compare the English expression 'to call names'.

ὄνος [m., f.] 'ass, female ass' (Λ 558), often metaph., e.g. 'windlass, winch, the upper millstone' (ὄνος ἁλέτης), as a fishname (after the grey color, or after the large head as a sign of stupidity?), see Strömberg 1943: 100. ◄PG?►
•VAR Myc. *o-no* /onos/.
•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. in plantnames like ὀνο-θήρα, -κάρδιον, -πορδον, ὄνοσμα (see Strömberg 1940: 138 and 61); on ►ὄνιννος, see s.v., on ὄναγρος = ὄνος ἄγριος 'wild ass' see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 286f.; as a second member in ἡμί-ονος [f., m.] 'mule' (Il.), cf. Risch l.c. 22f.
•DER 1. Several diminutives, partly in metaph. mg.: ὀν-ίσκος [m.] (Hp., Ph. *Bel.*), -ιον (-ίον?) [n.] (pap.), -ίδιον (Ar.), -άριον (Diphil. Com.), -αρίδιον (pap.), -ύδιν (?; pap. IV^{p}). 2. Other substantives: ὀνίς [f.] 'donkey droppings' (IA); ὀνῖτις [f.] 'kind of marjoram, Origanum heracleoticum' (Nic., Dsc., Gal.); ὀνίας [m.] 'kind of σκάρος' (Ath.); ὀνεῖον [n.] 'donkey stable' (Suid.). 3. Adjectives: ὄν-ειος 'of a donkey' (Ar., Arist.), -ικός 'belonging to a donkey' (NT, pap., inscr.), -ώδης 'donkey-like' (Arist.). 4. ὀνεύω [v.] 'to draw with a windlass, draw up' (Th., Stratt.). On ►ὄνωνις, see s.v.
•ETYM Doubtfully explained by Brugmann *IF* 22 (1907-1908): 197ff. from **osonos* (which via **ohonos* > **hoonos* would have been reinterpreted as ὁ ὄνος), which together with Lat. *asinus* is supposed to be a loan from a South Pontic language. Arm. *ēš*, gen. *iš-oy* is rather from **h₁eḱuo-*. Sum. *anšu* 'ass' was also compared (see Neumann *IF* 69 (1964): 61).
Not related to Lat. *onus* 'burden' (Grégoire *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 287ff.), nor to Hebr. *'ātōn* 'female ass'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

ὄνυξ 1, -υχος [m.] 'nail, claw, hoof', often metaph. in several mgs. (Il.). ◄IE **h_3nog^h-* 'nail'►
•DIAL Myc. *o-nu-ka* /onuka/ or /onuks/, cf. Guilleux *RPh.* 75 (2001): 149.
•COMP ὀνυχο-γραφέομαι [v.] 'to be carved by a nail' (Hp.), γαμψ-ῶνυξ and -ώνυχος 'with curved claws' (Il., also Arist.); on ►μῶνυξ, see s.v.
•DER Diminutive ὀνύχιον [n.] (Arist., pap.); ὀνυχιστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'hoof' (LXX), cf. on βραχιονιστήρ and ὀνυχίζομαι below; ὀνυχ-ιμαῖος 'of the size of nail-parings, tiny' (*Com. Adesp.*), -ιαῖος 'as broad as a nail' (Eust.); ὀνυχ-ίζομαι [v.] 'to cut one's nails' (Cratin., LXX) with -ισμός [m.] (Str.), -ιστήριον [n.] 'nail scissors' (Posidipp. Com.); -ίζω [v.] 'to test with one's nails' (Artem.); -όω [v.] 'to equip with claws, bend in a claw-like fashion' (Orib., sch.).
•ETYM Old name of the nail and the hoof, retained in most branches in various formations. Disyllabic ὄνυξ (ὀνυχ-) obtained its υ-vocalism from **h_3nog^h-* by Cowgill's Law, which would require a neighboring Proto-Greek labiovelar (see Vine

1999b). Therefore, we may propose a *u*-stem *$*h_3nog^h$-u-* (for which OCS *nogъtь* 'hoof' < *$*Hnog^hu$-ti- has been compared), or reconstruct *$*h_3nog^{wh}$-*.
The Greek form agrees with Arm. *ełungn* 'nail', which is a secondary *u*-stem like *ot-n* 'foot' < acc. **pod-m* (see ►πούς). Kortlandt assumes that *$*h_3nog^h$- / *$*h_3ng^h$- yielded PArm. **onog* / **ong*, which were contaminated in **onong*; this became **enong* by dissimilation, which gave *ełungn*, on which see Kortlandt 2003: 76. The other languages have a monosyllabic stem: either *$*h_3ng^h$- (Lat. *unguis*, OIr. *ingen* [f.]) or *$*h_3nog^h$- (OHG *nagal* [m.] 'nail', BSl., e.g. Lith. *nãgas* [m.] 'nail, claw'). IIr. has a voiceless aspirate, e.g. Skt. *nakhá-* [m., n.] 'id.'.

ὄνυξ 2, -υχος [m.] name of a precious stone, 'onyx' (Ctes., LXX). ◅?▻
•COMP σαρδ-όνυξ 'sardonyx' (Philem. Com., J.); cf. σάρδιον.
•DER ὀνύχιον [n.] 'kind of onyx' (Thphr., LXX), -ιος [adj.] (Suid.),-ίτης [m.], -ῖτις (λίθος) [f.] 'onyx-like stone' (Str., Dsc.), -ινος 'made of onyx, onyx-colored' (Hell.).
•ETYM Perhaps identical with ὄνυξ 'nail' because of its white glaze, like that of a fingernail; alternatively, is it just a foreign word reshaped by folk etymology? Untenable Semitic etymologies in Lewy 1895: 58.

ὀνυρίζεται [v.] · ὀδύρεται 'laments' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Fur.: 356[58] mentions this form after ἰνύρετο· ἐμύρετο (H.).

ὄνωνις [f.] plantname, 'restharrow, Ononis antiquorum' (Thphr.); cf. Strömberg 1940: 61, 155. ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also -ίς.
•DER ὀνωνῖτις [f.] 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc.).
•ETYM Fur.: 340f. compares ἀνωνίς (Dsc.), with variation α/ ο, thus it is probably a Pre-Greek word.

ὀξαλίς ⇒ἀναξυρίς.

ὀξερίας [m.] name of a Sicilian cheese (*Com. Adesp.* 880 from Poll. 6, 48), acc. to H. = τυρὸς ἀχρεῖος 'useless cheese'. ◅?▻
•ETYM Formation like ὀπίας (from ὀπός) 'kind of cheese', ὀβελίας (from ὀβελός) 'kind of bread', and other names of victuals; thus perhaps from *ὀξερός (from ὀξύς) like γλυκερός (from γλυκύς; Scheller *MSS* 6 (1955): 87). Acc. to Bolling *Lang.* 12 (1936): 220, it is incorrect for ὁ ξερίας (from ξερός, ξηρός) vel sim.; however, the article to be assumed creates difficulties.

ὀξίνα [f.] · ἐργαλεῖόν τι γεωργικόν, σιδηροῦς γόμφους ἔχον, ἑλκόμενον ὑπὸ βοῶν 'an agricultural tool having iron teeth, drawn by cows' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Probably connected with the IE word for 'harrow' seen in Lat. *occa*, W *oged*, OHG *egida*, Lith. *akėčios* (also *ek-*), from IE *$*h_2ok$-et-h_2-*, although the Latin word is unclear (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). The Greek word was perhaps reshaped after ὀξύς and has an ending like ἀξίνη 'axe', but the latter has a long ι, while here the length is unknown. Note that Pre-Greek has a suffix -ιν-.

ὄξος [n.] 'wine vinegar' (IA). ◅PG?▻

•COMP ὀξο-πώλης [m.] 'vendor of wine vinegar' (Lib., Poll.), ὀξ-άλμη [f.] 'broth made of ὄξος and ἅλμη' (com.), κάτ-οξος 'drenched with wine vinegar' (Posidipp. Com.).

•DER 1. Substantives: diminutive ὀξίδιον [n.] (pap.); ὀξίς, -ίδος [f.] 'vinegar flask' (com., pap.); ὀξίνης (οἶνος) [m.] 'sour wine', also metaph. and as an epithet of men: 'sour, ill-tempered' (Hp., Ar., Thphr.), cf. e.g. κεγχρίνης, ἐλαφίνης; ὀξαλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'sorrel, Rumex' (Nic., Ps.-Dsc.) with ὀξάλ-ειος 'tartish' (Apollod. Car.), to *ὄξαλος; ὀξηλίς [f.] plant name (Theognost.).

2. Adjectives: ὀξ-ηρός 'relating to wine vinegar, acetic' (S., Ar., medic.), -ωτός 'in salt' (Ar. *Fr.* 130), -ώδης 'like wine vinegar, sour' (Gal.), -ῖτις [f.] 'tasting like wine vinegar' (*PHolm.*). 3. ὀξίζω [v.] 'to taste or smell like wine vinegar' (medic.).

•ETYM From ►ὀξύς, like ἦδος to ἡδύς, εὖρος to εὐρύς, etc.

ὀξύα, -η [f.] 'beech, Fagus silvatica' (Xanth., Thphr.), 'spear shaft (made of beech wood), spear' (Archil., E.). ◄?►

•VAR Secondarily ὀξέα, -εῖα (but cf. below).

•DER ὀξυ-όεις 'made of beechwood', of ἔγχος, δόρυ (Il.); hardly enlarged from ὀξύς, as per Bechtel 1914: 55; ὀξύ-ϊνος (-έϊνος) 'id.' (Thphr., Delos III[a]).

•ETYM On the variation ὀξύα, -η, see Schwyzer: 189; late ὀξέα after ἰτέα, μηλέα, etc.; ὀξεῖα after the adjective.

Probably identical with the old IE word for 'ash', which got the meaning 'beech' in Albanian as well (cf. on ►φηγός). The Albanian, Armenian, and Germanic forms come closest to Greek: Alb. *ah* (from **ask-* or **osk-*), Arm. *hacʻi* (from **askiio-*?), ON *askr*, OHG *asc* (PGm. **aska-*, **aski-*). The suggestion that ὀξύη was reshaped after ὀξύς is not strong, and the assumption of an old metathesis like in ξύν, etc. is untenable (Sánchez Ruipérez *Emerita* 15 (1947): 67).

The other languages have a deviating stem formation: e.g., Lith. *úosis*, Ru. *jásenʼ* < PIE **Heh$_3$s-* (see Derksen 2008 s.v. **àsenъ*). Other European forms have a short initial vowel, e.g. Lat. *ornus* [f.] 'mountain-ash' (if from **os-Vn-o-*), OIr. *uinnius* [m.] 'ash-tree' < **osno-*, and also the Gm., Arm., and Alb. forms mentioned above. This may be taken to point to ablaut **Heh$_3$-s-* / **Hh$_3$-es-*.

The IE character of these words is far from sure, despite the tradition to compare them. The forms are unclear. The vocalic variation in Greek, which is not sufficiently explained by assuming the intervention of an adjective, may in principle also point to a Pre-Greek word. The word ►ἀχερωΐς is unrelated. Witczak *Linguistica Baltica* 1 (1992): 201-211 connects Arm. *hacʻi* 'ash' with ἀκτέα, while he connects ►ὀξύα with Arm. *uši* and *hoši*.

ὀξύγγιον [n.] 'lard' (Dsc., Orib.). ◄LW Lat.?►

•VAR Also ἀξουγγία = Lat. *axungia*, ἀξούγγιον, Lat. *oxingion* (gloss.).

•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *axungia*. Fur.: 341 thinks that it is rather a loan, not a native Latin word.

ὀξυρεγμία [f.] 'sour eructation of the stomach'. ◄GR►

•VAR Also -ίη.

•COMP ὀξυρεγμι-ώδης, -άω (medic.), κρομμυ-οξυρεγμία (Ar. *Pax* 529).

•ETYM A compound of ὀξύς and ἐρυγμιός with a suffix -ία-, so from *ὀξυ-ερυγμι-ία with dissimilatory interchange of the vowels; cf. Strömberg 1944: 99.

ὀξύς [adj.] 'sharp, stinging'; 'sour, tartish' (of taste), 'shrill, loud' (of the voice), 'fierce, acute, rapid', of emotion and movement (Il.). ◁?▷

•COMP Very often as a first member, also with prefix, e.g. ἄπ-οξυς 'pointed' (Hp., Dsc., Gal.), with back-formation from ἀπ-οξύνω.

•DER ►ὄξος [n.] 'wine vinegar'; ὀξύτης, -ητος [f.] 'sharpness, sourness, acuteness', gramm. 'high-tonedness' (IA); ὀξύς, -ύδος [f.] 'dock, Rumex' (Plin., Gal.), cf. ἐμύς, κροκύς.

Denominative verbs: 1. ὀξύνω 'to sharpen, whet, sour, heat' (IA), also with prefix (especially παρ-), whence ὄξυντρα [n.pl.] 'wages for sharpening tools' (Hell. inscr.), ὀξύσματα [n.pl.] 'whetting, sharpening' (Delos III[a]), παροξυσμός [m.] 'irritation, embitterment' (Hp., D.), -ντικός 'enlivening, irritating, embittering' (IA), -νταί [pl.] (H.; ὀξύντης Hdn. 1, 77, 25). 2. ἐξοξέω 'to sharpen' (inscr. Delos), cf. Hellmann 1992: 67.

•ETYM Without correspondences outside Greek. It has been compared with ►ὄκρις, which is an *o*-grade of the root of ►ἄκρος, but there are no further examples for *u*-stem adjectives with *o*-vocalism. Alternatively, Narten 1986 reconstructs a root *h_3ks- on the strength of the comparison with Skt. *akṣṇoti* 'to mark the ear', but this is doubtful. See ►ὀξίνα.

ὀπάζω [v.] 'to chase, oppress; to make follow, give as a companion, provide with, grant', med. 'to take as a companion' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. ὀπάσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, fut. ὀπάσ(σ)ω.

•COMP Rarely with κατα-, περι-, ἐπι-.

•ETYM From ►ἕπομαι (with epic Ionic psilosis), best taken as an iterative-intensive or causative with secondary dental inflection (*ὀπάω : ὀπάζω). Derivation from a noun (*ὀπός, *ὀπή) is possible as well; see on ►ὀπάων, and cf. also ►ὀπηδός.

ὀπάλλιος 'opal' = Lat. *opalus* (late).

•ETYM See E-M.

ὄπατρος [adj.] Probably 'of the same paternal descent' (A 257, M 371). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From copulative ►ὁ 1 and πάτρη 'paternal descent' (see ►πατήρ). Wackernagel 1955(1): 491ff., however, thinks it is Aeolic for ὀ-πάτριος (Lyc. 452) 'having the same father', which is certainly possible.

ὀπᾱ́ων, -ονος [m.] 'fellow, companion' (Il.). ◁GR, IE *sek^w- 'follow'▷

•VAR ὀπέων, -ωνος (Hdt.).

•DIAL Myc. PN *o-qa-wo-ni* /[h]ok^{w}āwōni/ (Lejeune 1964: 87, Ruijgh 1967a: 256[113]).

•ETYM The form *ὀπά-ϝων 'belonging to the retinue' is derived from *ὀπά [f.] 'followers, retinue', a verbal noun from ►ἕπομαι. The psilosis is also found in ►ὀπάζω. Cf. synonymous κοινών, -άν < -άων. See Ruijgh *Minos* 9 (1968): 109-155.

ὄπεας [n.] 'awl' (Poll. 10, 141). ◁GR, IE *h_3ek^w- 'see'▷

•VAR Also v.l. -εαρ; dat.sg. ὑπέατι (Hdt. 4, 70); ὑπέατα· ὀπήτια (H., ὕπεα· τὰ ὀπίσθια cod.).

•DER Diminutives ὀπήτ-ιον [n.] (Hp., LXX; ὑπ- in gloss.), -ίδιον [n.] (Poll. 7, 83); unclear Nicoch. 9.

•ETYM Vine *Glotta* 72 (1994): 31-40 rejects Schwyzer's interpretation and assumes a stem in *-ur/n-*, also from **opā-* 'hole'; this gives a substantive **opā-u̯r / *opā-u̯n̥t-*. The word would properly mean 'hole-making thing' = 'awl', rather than 'provided with an eye'. The nominative would then yield ὄπεαρ, and was replaced by ὄπεας. The form *ὀπηατ- > *ὀπεᾶτ- gives ὀπητ- by contraction. Vine adds a discussion of Myc. *o-pa-wo-ta*, ultimately rejecting the derivation from ὀπή.

The form with ὑπ- remains difficult; folk etymology was assumed, e.g. by Frisk, and dialectal origin (cf. Aeol. ὑπίσσω = ὀπίσσω) may also be considered.

ὀπή [f.] 'light opening, hatch, hole, hollow' (Ar., Arist.), 'sight' (Cerc. 4, 23; beside ἀκουά). ◂IE **h₃ek*ʷ- 'see'▸

•VAR Dor. -α.

•COMP As a second member in στε(ι)ν-ωπός 'with a narrow opening, narrow' (Il.), πολυ-ωπός 'having many holes, mesh' (χ 386, etc.), ω analogical or metrical; also in ►ἐνόπαι, ►μετόπη, etc.; further also in ►ἀνόπαια?

•DER ὀπαῖος 'having an opening', of a tile (Diph. Com., Poll.), ὀπαῖον [n.] 'skylight, chimney-flue' (Att. inscr., Plu.), cf. Bérard *REGr.*67 (1954): 4; ὀπήεις 'having a hole', of δίφρος (Hp.).

•ETYM If it is a verbal abstract from ὀπ- 'see', ὀπή must originally have meant 'sight' (thus as an incidental poetic formation in Cerc.; see above), whence 'that through which one sees'. It can, however, also be an extension from a root noun, thus an agent or instrument noun in origin. See ►ὄμμα.

ὀπηδός [m.] 'attendant, companion' (*h. Merc.* 450, late prose). ◂GR▸

•VAR Dor. (also trag., etc.) ὀπᾱδός.

•DER ὀπηδέω, ὀπαδέω [v.] 'to attend, accompany' (Il.), -εύω (A. R.) with ὀπάδησις [f.] 'attendance' (Criton *apud* Stob.), ὀπηδητήρ· σύνοδος, ἀκόλουθος 'fellow, companion' (H.).

•ETYM On ὀπάων, ὀπαδός in tragedy, see Björck 1950: 109f. Since ὀπηδός can hardly be separated from synonymous ὀπάων, an analysis ὀπη-δός (ὀπ-ηδός?) has been considered. Such a formation is unknown, however, especially for an agent noun (but several in -ηδών do exist). Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 69 (1991): 171f. therefore derives the word from an adverb *ὀπηδόν 'in company'; the substantive would have been derived from the verb ὀπηδέω.

The connection with Hitt. *ḫapati-* 'servant, etc.' must be abandoned (see Tischler 1983ff.: 163f.).

ὀπῑπεύω [v.] 'to look after something, stare or peek at someone' (Il.). ◂IE **opi-h₃k*ʷ- 'look at'▸

•VAR Aor. ὀπιπεῦσαι; the pres. ὀπιπτεύω arose after ὀπτεύω.

•COMP As a second member παρθεν-οπῖπα [voc.] 'one who stares at maidens' (Λ 385), after which παιδ-οπῖπαι [pl.] (Ath.), etc.

•DER ὀπιπευτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'sbd. who stares' (Man., Nonn.), ὀπιπᾷ· ἐξαπατᾷ 'deceives' (H.).

•ETYM Because of the strong productivity of the verbs in -εύω, several nominal stems can be considered as a basis. A verbal noun *ὀπῖπή, like ὀπωπή and ►ἐνῖπή, is most likely; thence the denominative ὀπιπᾷ and the second member -οπῖπα in compounds. The stem consists of a preverb ὀπι- (see ►ὄπισθεν) and the zero grade of *h_3ek^w-, giving *opi-h_3k^w- > ὀπῖπ-.

ὄπις [f.] 'revenge, punishment, retribution of the gods' (Hom., Hes.), 'help, assistance from the gods' (Pi. *P.* 8, 71); 'awe, obedience, solicitude' (Hdt., Pi., Mosch.). ◄IE *h_3ek^w- 'see'►

•VAR Acc. -ιν, -ιδα; dat. -ι.

•DER ὀπίζομαι 'to awe, fear, shy' (Il.), also with ἐπι-, post-Hom. 'to worry about', e.g. ὀπίδδομαι (Lacon. epigram), late aor. ὠπίσατο (Q. S.); ὀπιδνός [adj.] 'awesome' (A. R. 2, 292), rather verbal than nominal, cf. Chantraine 1933: 193 and 195. PN Δηϊ-οπίτης, Ὀπίτης [m.] (Λ 420 and 301).

•ETYM The connection with ὀπ- in ὄψομαι, etc. can hardly be rejected. This implies an older meaning 'sight, look, glance', whence 'animadversion, punishment' on the one hand, 'consideration, respect, reverence' on the other. The development of meaning of the noun was partly influenced by ὀπίζομαι. Cf. on ►ἐνιπή.

ὄπισθεν [adv., prep.] '(from) behind, at the back, after(wards)' (Il.). ◄IE *h_1epi, *h_1opi 'close upon, at, behind'►

•VAR Also -ε (Ion. poet.); ὄπιθε(ν) (Il.).

•COMP Many compounds like ὀπισθό-δομος [m.] 'backmost hall of the temple of Athena' (Att.); on ὀπισθέναρ see ►θέναρ. As a second member in μετ-ὀπισθε(ν) 'behind, after' (Il.), etc.

•DER ὀπίσθ-ιος (IA), -ίδιος (Sophr., Call., *AP*) 'situated in the back'; grades of comparison ὀπίστατος (Θ 342, Λ 178), instead of *ὀπίσθ-ατος(?), and thence -τερος (Arat., Nonn.) beside ὀπισθό-τερος (Arat.). Further ὀπίσ(σ)ω (Il.), Aeol. ὑπίσσω (Sapph.) 'backwards, afterwards' with ὀπισώ-τατος (Hell.); ἐξ-οπίσω 'id.' (Il.), etc.

•ETYM The old adverb/preposition ὄπι (Myc. *o-pi*) is retained in ὄπι-θεν. Later, ὄπισθεν was formed from this after πρόσ-θεν and ὀπίσ(σ)ω. The latter stands for *opi-$ti̯o$-; cf. on εἴσω s.v. ►εἰς for the suffix. For connections outside Greek, see on ►ἔπι; the *o*-grade is also found in Lat. *ob*, etc.

ὄπιτίων [m.] a plant with a bulb, perhaps 'Bunium ferulaceum' (Thphr.). ◄PG(V)►

•ETYM Fur.: 240 compares οὔιτον 'an Egyptian truffle'; οὔιτον τὸ ὑπ' ἐνίων οἰτὸν (H.) beside ἴτον a Thracian mushroom (Ath. 2, 62a v.l. οἰτόν; *iton* Plin.), which he analyses as pointing to (ὀ)ϝιτον. He further connects ὕδνον, οἴδνα. The variations point to a Pre-Greek word.

ὁπλή [f.] 'the unsplit hoof of a horse' (Λ 536 = Υ 501), 'the split hoof of oxen, cattle' (*h. Merc.*, Hes., Pi., IA). ◄?►

•DER ὁπλή-εις 'with hooves' (Poeta *apud* D. Chr. 32, 85).

•ETYM Unexplained. The formally obvious connection with ὅπλον is semantically hard to explain. Connection with ἁπλή 'simple', with **sm̥l-* > ὁ-, could be envisaged, although the conditions of this development would remain unclear.

ὁπλίας [?] · Λοκροὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς συνελαύνοντες ἀριθμοῦσι τά πρόβατα καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα 'the Locrians thus call the places where they drive together their catlle and count it' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM The thesaurus suggests that in these places many traces of hoofs were seen; hardly the correct solution.

ὅπλον [n.] 'implement, tool, instrument, marine instruments', notably 'tackle, (heavy) weapons' (Il.). ◂IE **sep-* 'care, prepare', **sop-lo-* 'instrument'▸

•VAR Mostly ὅπλα [pl.].

•COMP ὁπλο-μάχ-ος 'who fights with heavy weapons', -έω, -ία (Att.). ἔν-οπλος 'under arms, armed' (Tyrt., S., E.), enlarged ἐν-όπλιος 'id.', also substantivized (scil. ῥυθμός) as the name of a military rhythm (Pi.); on ▸ὑπέροπλος, see s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutive ὁπλάριον (Hell.). 2. Ὁπλη-τες [pl.], gen. Ὁπλήθων name of one of the four oldest Ionian phylai (Hdt., Milete); -θ- after πλῆθος, or by transfer of aspiration? 3. ὁπλί-της Dor. -τας [m.] 'heavily armed (warrior)' i.e. 'hoplite' (Pi., IA), fem. -τις (Poll.), together with -τικός, -τεύω, -τεία (Att.). 4. ὁπλ-ικός 'pertaining to arms' (Vett. Val.). 5. Ὁπλεύς [m.] PN (Hes. *Sc.*). 6. Ὁπλό-σμιος [m.] epithet of Zeus in Arcadia (Arist., inscr. III[a]), -σμία [f.] epithet of Hera in Elis, etc. (Lyc.), -δμία [f.] name of a phyle in Mantinea (IV[a]); formation unclear. 7. ▸ὁπλίας: Λοκροὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς συνελαύνοντες ἀριθμοῦσι τά πρόβατα καὶ τά βοσκήματα (H.) is unclear. 8. ▸ὁπλότερος. 9. Denominative verbs: a) ὁπλέω = ὁπλίζω only in ὥπλεον ζ 73; b) ὁπλίζω, -ομαι 'to prepare', of food and drinks, etc. (Hom.), 'to arm, equip (oneself)' (Il.), aor. ὁπλίσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, -σθῆναι, late perf. ὥπλικα, often with prefix, e.g. ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-. Thence ὅπλ-ισις [f.], -ισμός [m.] 'arming, armament, equipment, equipage' (Att.), -ισμα [n.] 'arm(s)' (E., Pl.), ἐξοπλισ-ία [f.] 'equipment, position, muster, (military) review' (X., Ain. Tact., etc.), also ἐξοπλασία [f.] 'id.' (Arist., inscr.), probably after δοκιμασία, γυμνασία, etc.; ὁπλιο-τής, Dor. -τάς [m.] 'armed warrior', also attributive (Vett. Val., *AP*). c) ὅπλε-σθαι 'to prepare', of δεῖπνον (T 172, Ψ 159), formation after the thematic root-presents (Schwyzer: 722f.), if not simply a mistake of the tradition for ὁπλεῖσθαι, as per Solmsen 1901: 90. On the use of ὅπλον and derivatives in Hom. see Trümpy 1950: 81ff.

•ETYM Greek formation with suffix -λ- and *o*-grade (Chantraine 1933: 240), from the inherited root of ▸ἔπω 'to care for, perpetrate'.

ὁπλότερος, -τατος [adj.] 'junior, youngest' always of persons, also applied to women (Il.). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Oppositional formation in -τερος, like κουρότερος, ἀγρότερος, and ὀρέστερος. According to a remarkable interpretation from antiquity, it properly means 'able to wear arms, sturdy', as opposed to the γέροντες. Extensive argumentation in Bechtel 1914 s.v.; cf. also Barone *Boll. fil. class.* 13 (1906-1907): 283.

ὀποκάρπασον ⇒καρπασον.

ὀπός [m.] 'plant juice', especially 'juice of the fig-tree used to curdle milk, fig curd' (E 902). ◁IE **sok^{w}o-* 'juice, resin'▷

•COMP Some compounds like πολύ-οπος 'juicy', ὀπο-βάλσαμιον [n.] 'the juice of a balm' (Thphr.) for ὀπὸς βαλσάμιος (alternative explanation by Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 287), likewise ὀπο-κάρπαθον (Plin.), -κάλπασον (Gal.), see Thiselton-Dyer *Journal of Phil.* 34 (1915): 305ff.

•DER 1. ὄπιον [n.] 'poppy juice, opium' (Diocl. *Fr.* 94), with ὀπικός 'made of opium' (pap. II-III^{p}); 2. ὀπίας (τυρός) [m.] 'cheese made of milk, curdled with fig juice' (E., Ar.); 3. ὀπώδης (Hp., Arist.), ὀπόεις (Nic.) 'juicy'; 4. as a TN Ὀποῦς (< -όεις), -οῦντος [m.] capital of the eastern Locrians (Il., inscr.) with Ὀπο(ύ)ντιοι [m.pl.], ὁποντίων [gen.] (Th., inscr.); on the phonetics see Schwyzer: 253; also a HN, see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 233; 5. ὀπίζω 'to press out the juice, curdle with ὀπός' (Arist., Thphr.), also with ἐξ-; thence ὀπισμός [m.] 'pressing out of juice' (Thphr., Hell. pap.), ὄπισμια [n.] 'pressed-out juice' (Dsc.).

•ETYM The form ὀπός, with Ionic psilosis for *ὁπός (cf. ὁποντίων), matches with a Balto-Slavic word for 'plant juice, etc.', e.g. OCS *sokъ* 'juice', Lith. *sakaĩ* [pl.] 'resin' < IE **sok^{w}o-*. A by-form with initial **sụ-* is Lith. *svekas*, Latv. *svakas*, *svę̃ki* 'resin, rubber'. Perhaps Alb. *gjak* 'blood' is also related (Demiraj 1997 s.v.). Lat. *sūcus*, probably from **souko-* or **seuko-*, is clearly deviant.

ὀπτάζομαι, ὀπτάνομαι, ὀπτός ⇒ὄπωπα, ὄσσε.

ὀπτάω [v.] 'to fry, roast, bake' (Od.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR ὀπτεύμενος (Theoc.), aor. ὀπτῆσαι (Il.), ὀπτηθῆναι (Od.), perf. ὤπτηκα, -ημαι (Euphro or Ar.), fut. ὀπτήσομαι (Luc.).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπ-, ἐξ-, κατ-, παρ-.

•DER ὄπτησις [f.] 'frying' (Milete V^{a}, Hp., Arist.), with ὀπτήσιμος 'fit for frying' (Eub.), ὀπτ-ήτειρα [f.] epithet of κάμινος (Call.), -ητήρια (H. as an explanation of ὠψά, alphabetically wrong, so very doubtful); also ὀπτευτήρ [m.] 'smith', of Hephaistos (Coluth. 54 V-VI^{p}) as if from *ὀπτεύω; cf. καμινευτήρ, etc. As a second member in γαστρ-όπτης, fem. -όπτις 'sausage fryer' (Delos IV-III^{a}). Backformation ἔξ-οπτος 'well-done' (Hp.), from ἐξ-οπτάω (IA). Further ὀπτός 'fried, roasted, baked' (Od.); with ὀπτ-αλέος 'fried, roasted' (Hom., Ath.), enlarged from ὀπτός after αὐαλέος, etc.; ὀπτανός 'fried, fit for frying' (com., Arist.), formed like ἑψανός with related mg. From ὀπτανός further ὀπτάν-ιον 'kitchen' (com., inscr.), -ικός 'fit for frying' (pap. III^{p}), -εύς [m.] 'kitchen master' (pap.) with -εῖον (-ήϊον) 'kitchen' (Plu., Luc., Hdn. Gr.); ὀπτανάριος· *assator, coctarius* (gloss.). Formally isolated is ὀπτασία [f.] 'roasting, kiln' vel sim. (*PHolm.* 9, 39 δὸς εἰς ὀπτασίαν ὀπτᾶσθαι), probably to ὀπτάω after θερμασία vel sim.

•ETYM As to its formation, ὀπτάω is a verb in -τάω like ἀρτάω, φοιτάω, οὐτάω, etc. It is commonly assumed that the verbal adjective ὀπτός (or rather τά ὀπτά) forms its basis. Etymology unclear. Fur.: 263 compares ὄψον 'any cooked dish' as a variant, which seems a good possibility; the variation is Pre-Greek.

ὀπτίλ(λ)ος ⇒ὀφθαλμός.

ὀπυίω [v.] 'to marry, take as a wife', late also 'to have sexual intercourse with', pass. 'to get married', of women (Il., also Cret. and late prose). On the mg. see Ruijgh 1957: 107f. (against Leumann 1950: 284). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also ὀπύω (Arist., Cerc., Moer.), fut. ὀπύσω (Ar. *Ach.* 255).

•DER ὀπυστύς [f.] 'marriage' (Cret.), with analogical -σ-; from the present stem ὀπυιηταί [pl.] 'spouses' (Herod.). ὀπυόλαι· γεγαμηκότες 'married women' (H.); aor. subj. pass. ὀπυασθώμεθα (*Lyr. Alex. Adesp.* 1, 52) as if from *ὀπυάζομαι.

•ETYM Hitt. *ḫapuš-* 'penis' is not related: it was cited in this form and compared with ὀπυίω by Watkins 1982, but actually has a quite different form *ḫāpūša(šš)-*, and also a different meaning, viz. 'shaft, shin-bone'; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. for details. The old comparison with Etr. *puia* 'wife' (Hammarström *Glotta* 11 (1921): 212) is tempting; if correct, it is probably a Pre-Greek Mediterranean word.

ὄπωπα [v.perf.] 'to watch, observe, view, contemplate' (Il.). ◁IE *h_3ek^w- 'see'▷

•VAR Innovated ipf. ὀπώπεον (Orph.) and aor. ὀπωπήσασθαι (Euph.). Further fut. ὄψομαι (Il.), which like the following forms often occurs with prefixes like ἀπ-, ἐπ(ι)-, κατ-, προ-, ὑπ-, ὑπερ-: aor. pass. ὀφθῆναι (IA) with fut. ὀφθήσομαι, perf. med. ὤμμαι (Att.). As a suppletive present to ὄπωπα, ▸ὁράω is used.

•DER ὀπωπ-ή [f.] 'observation, view, eyeball', plur. 'eyes' (Od., A. R.), -ητήρ [m.] 'scout' (*h. Merc.* 15), -ια [n.pl.] (scil. ὀστέα) 'the bones of the eyes' (Hp.). Derivatives: 1. verbal adjective ὀπτός (Luc. *Lex.* 9, Ath.), earlier and more common as a derivation from prefixed verbs, e.g. ὑπ-, ἀπ-, κάτ-, πρό-οπτος (προὔπτος); thence ὑπ-, ἀπ-, κατ-οπτ-εύω, ὑποψ-ία, etc.; 2. agent and instrument nouns: a) ἐπ-, κατ- (*h. Merc.* 372), ὑπερ-, δι-όπτης, etc., also ἐπ-, κατ-, ὑπερ-, δι-οπτ-εύω (K 451), διοπτήρ (K 562); thence the simplex ὀπτεύω (Ar. *Av.* 1061); b) ὀπτήρ [m.] 'scout' (Od.), also with δι-, ἐπ-, κατ-; thence ὀπτήρ-ια [n.pl.] 'gifts upon seeing a person' (E., Call.); c) δί-, εἴσ-, ἔν-, κάτ-οπτρον [n.] (Alc., Pi., A.) with derivatives; 3. Adjectives: ὀπτ-ικός 'ptng. to sight', -ική [f.] 'optics' (Arist.), older (Pl.) συν-, ἐπ-, ὑπερ-οπτικός. 4. Action noun: ὄψ [f.], gen. ὀπός 'eye, face, look' (Emp. 88, Antim. 65), more frequent as a second member, e.g. οἶν-οψ 'wine-colored' (Hom.); ὄψις (ἔπ-, πρόσ-, σύν-) [f.] 'sight, vision, view, appearance' (Il.); ὄψανον [n.] 'appearance' (A. *Ch.* 534). 5. For ὀπτίλ(λ)ος [m.], see on ▸ὀφθαλμός. 6. Verbs: ὀπτ-άνομαι (LXX, Hell.), -άζομαι (LXX) 'to appear, become visible', probably after αἰσθάνομαι and αὐγάζομαι; ὀπταίνω (Eust.), like παπταίνω, etc.

•ETYM The verbal root is also found in YAv. *aiβii-āxšaiia-* 'to watch over' < *h_3ek^w-s-* (other interpretations in LIV² s.v. *h_3ek^w-*) and in Skt. *īkṣate* 'to perceive' < *h_3i-h_3k^w-s-*, which (like the Greek future) are originally desideratives. The root is also contained in ▸ὄπις, ▸ὅσσε, ▸ὄμμα, and ▸ὤψ.

ὀπώρα [f.] 'end of the summer, beginning of autumn' (Il.), 'harvest, fruit' (post-Hom.), cf. on θέρος s.v. ▸θέρομαι. ◁IE *$h_3op\acute{i}$ 'at, on' + *h_3os-r/n- 'harvest-time, summer'▷

•VAR Ion. -η. Also ὀπώρα; Lac. (Alcm.) ὀπάρα (see below).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὀπωρο-φύλαξ [m.] 'fruit watcher, garden watcher' (Arist.).

•DER 1. ὀπωρ-ινός 'belonging to ὀπ.' (Il.); 2. τὰ ὀπωρ-ιαῖα [n.pl.] 'fruits' (Thphr.); 3. -ιμος 'fructiferous' (Anon. *apud* Suid.), after κάρπιμος; 4. -ιμεῖος 'of fruit, belonging to fruit' (*PLond.*; uncertain); 5. -ικός 'belonging to ὀπ.', also name of a medicine against dysentery (Plin., Gp.); 6. Ὀπωρεύς [m.] epithet of Zeus in Akraiphia (inscr.); hοπορίς [f.] PN (Lacon. or Mess. inscr.), *Hopora* [f.] PN (Lat. inscr.). 7. ὀπωράριον = *pomarium* (gloss.). 8. Denominative verb ὀπωρ-ίζω 'to reap (fruit), harvest in autumn' (IA) with -ισμός [m.] 'vintage' (Aq.). Hypostasis μετ-όπωρον (μεθ-) 'what comes after ὀπώρα', φθιν-όπωρον 'when the ὀπ. ends', '(late) autumn' (IA), a verbal governing compound with them. enlargement. Thence μετ-, φθιν-οπωρ-ινός (IA), etc.

•ETYM The aspiration is not original and must have been taken from a word with closely related meaning, e.g. ὥρα. The form is a contraction from **op-oharā*, yielding Lacon. ὁπάρα; it consists of the preposition ὀπι- (see on ►ἔπι and ►ὄπισθεν) and a heteroclitic neuter **ohar* < **h₃os-r*. The Greek word properly means 'the time following summer'. The oblique form **h₃os-n-* is continued in Balto-Slavic and Germanic as an *n*-stem, e.g. CS *jesenь*, Ru. *ósen'* [f.] 'autumn', Go. *asans* [f.] 'harvest, summer', OHG *aran*, MoHG *Ernte* 'harvest'.

ὀραυγέομαι [v.] 'to inspect closely' (Aesar. *apud* Stob. 1, 49, 27). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Verbal *dvandva*-compound from ὁράω and αὐγέομαι; cf. Wahrmann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 178. On the topic in general, see Schwyzer: 645.

ὁράω [v.] 'to look, perceive, contemplate, see' (Il.). ◂IE **uer-* 'observe, note'▸

•VAR Ion. also ὁρέω (Hdt.), also ὅρηαι (ξ 343), ὁρητο (A 56 and 198 acc. to Zenodotus, uncertain accent), ὁρῇς, -ῇ, -ῆν (Hp., Democr., Herod.), Aeol. ὄρημι (Sapph.), ὅρη (Theoc.); ipf. ἑώρων (Att.), epic 3sg. ὅρα, Ion. ὥρα (Hdt.), etc.; present also ὅρονται (ξ 104) with -ντο (γ 471), ὅρει· φυλάσσει 'guards, watches' (H.); innovated perf. act. ἑόρακα (Att., also ἑώρ-), Ion. ὁρώρηκα and ὥρηκα (Herod.), Dor. ptc. ὡρακυῖα (Epid.), med. ἑώραμαι (late Att.), aor. pass. ὁραθῆναι (Arist., D. S.), plpf. also ὁρώρει (Ψ 112).

•COMP Highly frequent with prefix, e.g. ἐφ- (ἐπ-), καθ- (κατ-), παρ-, προ-, συν-, ὑπερ-.

•DER Almost all derivatives are Hell. and late, as opposed to the older ones which derive from primary ὀπ- (see ►ὄπωπα) and from ►ἰδεῖν: 1. ὁρᾱτός 'visible' (Hp., Pl.), προ-ορατός 'which can be foreseen' (X. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 23) as against πρό-οπτος (προὔπτος) 'foreseen, apparent' (IA); 2. ὅραμα [n.] 'sight, spectacle, appearance' (X., Arist., LXX), also παρ- (Hell. and late), with ὁραματίζομαι (Aq.) against ►ὄμμα, ►εἶδος; 3. ὅρασις [f.], also with προ-, παρ-, ὑπερ-, etc., 'sight, face, look, apparition', plur. also 'eyes' (Demad., Arist., Men.) as opposed to ὄψις; ὑφόρασις 'suspicion' (Plb.) for older ὑποψία; 4. ὁρατής [m.] 'viewer' (LXX, Plu.) against ὀπτήρ 'scout'; ὁρατήρ (H. as an explanation of ὀπτήρ); 5. ὁρατικός 'able to see, provided with sight' (Arist., Ph.), with ἐφ- 'fit for oversight' (X.), as against ἐποπτικός 'belonging to the ἐπόπτης' (Pl.). 6. ὁρατίζω [v.] 'to catch sight of, aim for' (medic. IV^{p}). 7. See ►οὖρος [m.] 'watcher' and ►ἐπίουρος.

•ETYM The ipf. ἑώρων < *ἡ-ϝόρων, with aspiration after ὁρῶ, and the perf. ἑόρακα < *ϝε-ϝόρακα, also ἑώρ- after the ipf., seem to point to an original ϝ-, which has left a trace neither in Homer nor epigraphically, and is also absent in Myc. *o-ro-me-no*. It remains uncertain whether the rough breathing is connected with the older ϝ-.

The presentic forms, from which all non-presentic forms are derived, including the verbal nouns, seem to require three different stems: 1. ϝορᾱ- in ὁρά-ω, whence perhaps regularly Ion. ὀρέω; 2. ϝορη- in Aeol. ὄρημι, ὄρη, epic ὄρηαι, etc. (see above); 3. ϝορ- in ὄρονται, -ντο, ὄρει.

Original *$worā$-$i̯e/o$- can be either an iterative-intensive deverbative of the type ποτάομαι, which fits the meaning well, or be explained as a denominative from a feminine *$worā$, as found in φρουρά < *προ̯hορά < *προ-ϝορά, and in Germanic, e.g. OHG *wara* [f.] 'attentiveness', *wara neman* 'observe', ToA *war*, ToB *were* 'flavor'. The Germanic and Tocharian words are usually reconstructed as verbal nouns *uor-eh_2-, *uor-o-, respectively, but Hackstein 2002: 123-131 reconstructs the root as *$su̯erh_3$-, and connects it with ▸ἔρυμαι.

More difficult to judge, however, are Aeolic (ϝ)όρημι and other seemingly athematic verbal forms. The forms ὀρῇς, -ῇ, -ῆν may have been transformed from this by thematization. One may compare Lat. *verēri* 'to venerate', though it has an ablauting stem vowel.

The primary thematic formation ὄρονται, -ντο, to which perhaps also belongs ὄρει (H.), is built on the root. It is attested in the formulaic expression ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄρονται (-ντο), and modified in the plpf. ἐπὶ δ' ἀνὴρ ἐσθλὸς ὀρῴρει. The *o*-vocalism is remarkable, though analogous cases can be found, e.g. ὄθομαι, οἴχομαι.

From the primary verb are derived both *προ-ϝορ-ά in ▸φρουρά (see above) and *-ϝορός 'guardian', a form which occurs only as a second member in compounds, e.g. θυρ-, τιμ-ωρός, κηπουρός from θυρα-, τιμα-, κηπο-ϝορ-ός. Formally, we may compare Germanic adjectives like OS *war* 'attentive, cautious, aware', OHG *giwar* 'id.'.

Further instances of a root *uer- include Latv. *veruôs*, *vērtiês* 'to inspect, observe', ToA *wär*, ToB *wär-sk*- 'to smell'.

See ▸οὖρος 2, ▸ὥρα.

ὀργάζω [v.] 'to soften, mold, tan'. ⇒ἐόργη.

ὄργανον [n.] 'implement, tool, instrument, sense organ, organ' (Hp., Ctes., Att., Arist.). ◂IE *$uerǵ$- 'work'▸

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ὀργανο-ποιός [m.] 'instrument maker' (D. S.).

•DER Diminutive ὀργάν-ιον (*AP*, M. Ant.), -ικός 'instrumental, operative, practical' (Arist.), -ίτης [m.] 'engineer' (pap. IV^{p}), -ιστής [m.] 'engineer of waterworks' (pap. II^{p}), unattested *ὀργανίζω, but δι-, κατ-οργανίζω (*AP*, Alchem.); ὀργανάριος = *fistularius* (gloss.); ὀργαν-όομαι 'to be organized, be provided with organs' (S. E., Iamb.), also with δι-, whence (δι-)ὀργάν-ωσις [f.] 'organisation' (Iamb.). Ὀργάνη [f.] epithet of Athena (Thasos V^{a}, Athens), cf. Ἐργάνη; as an adjective ὀργάνα 'operative, formative', of χείρ (E. *Andr.* 1014, not quite certain).

•ETYM Formation like ξόανον (from ξέω, -ξοος), ὄχανον (from ἔχω, ὄχος, -οχος), πλόκανον (from πλέκω, πλόκος), όρκάνη (from ὅρκος, ἕρκος), etc. (Chantraine 1933: 198, Schwyzer: 489f.); similarly, ὄργανον stands beside -οργός, ὄργια, ἔοργα, ἔργον. It is unclear whether it was derived directly from the verb or from -οργός or ἔργον. See ►ἔργον and ►ἔρδω.

ὀργάς, -άδος [f.]⇒ὀργή, ὀργάω.

ὀργεών, -ῶνος [m.]⇒ὄργια.

ὀργή 1 [f.] 'psychical drive, propensity, character, (strong) emotion, passion, wrath' (*h. Cer.* 205, Hes. *Op.* 304); on the mg. see Marg 1938: 13f., cf. Diller *Gnomon* 15 (1939): 597. ◅IE **uerǵ-* 'swell of juice, strength, anger'▻

•COMP As a second member in ἄν-, δύσ-, εὖ-οργος (Cratin., S.), analogically enlarged in άν-, δυσ-, εύ-όργητος (Hp., Gorg., Th., cf. ἄνοος : ἀνόητος, etc.), with -ησία [f.] (Hp., E.); transformed into an *s*-stem, e.g. περι-οργής (Th.).

•DER ὀργ-ίλος 'irascible' (Hp., X., D., Arist.) with -ιλότης [f.] (Arist., Plu.).

The verb ὀργάω 'to bristle, swell with nourishing liquids and juice' (of the earth and of fruits), 'to bristle with, be full of lust and desire' (of men), 'to desire strongly' (IA), rarely with ἐξ-, etc., is probably a denominative, and mostly presentic. Thence: 1. back-formation νέ-οργος 'freshened', of γῆ (Thphr.); 2. ἐξόργησις [f.] 'stong desire' (Herm. *in Phdr.*); 3. ὀργητύς· ὀργή (H.); 4. ὀργασμός [f.] 'orgasm' (sch. Hp.), after σπασμός, etc.

From ὀργή in the sense 'wrath': 1. ὀργίζομαι [v.] 'to be angry', also -ίζω 'to make angry', also with prefix, e.g. συν-, δι-, ἐξ-, παρ-, περι-, (Att.), with παροργ-ισμός [m.], -ισμα [n.] 'provocation, wrath' (LXX, *Ep. Eph.*); 2. ὀργαίνω [v.] 'to make wrathful, be wrathful' (S., E.).

From ὀργάω (if not from ὀργή or an older root-noun, see below) also ὀργάς, -άδος [f.] 'luxuriously fertile', of earth, marshes (Att.).

•ETYM ὀργή has a direct correspondence in Skt. *ūrjā́* [f.] 'nourishment, strength', but the latter is an enlargement of older *ū́rj-* 'id.', and the formal identity of ὀργή and *ūrjā́* is secondary. At first sight, the Skt. form seems to require **urHǵ-*, but the same problem occurs in Skt. *ūrdhvá-* beside ὀρθός, and there is yet no definite solution for this.

Semantically, *ū́rj(ā́)* fits much better with ὀργάω, which preserved the original concrete meaning. The transference to the psychological sphere in ὀργή is found in OIr. *ferc* [f.] 'rage' < IE **uerǵ-h₂-*.

For semantic influence of ἔργον on ὀργή (S. *Ant.* 355) and ὀργάς, etc., see Tovar *Emerita* 10 (1942): 228ff.

ὀργή 2 [f.] a difficult word in Herond. IV 46; perhaps an adjective opposed to βέβηλος. Cf. V. Schmidt 1968: 109-114, who thinks that the underlying substantive is γυνή rather than γῆ; it could mean 'initiated' and belong to ὄργια. ◅?▻

•ETYM Uncertain.

ὄργια [n.pl.] 'secret religious customs, sacred secret service' (IA). ◅?▻

•VAR Rarely -ιον [sg.].

•DER ὀργιάς, -άδος [f.] 'belonging to ὄ., orgiastic' (Man.), ὀργιάζω 'to celebrate ὄ., to initiate into the ὄ.' (E., Pl., Ph.), also with ἐξ-, συν-, etc., with ὀργιασ-μός [m.] 'celebration of the ὄ.', -τής [m.] 'participant in the ὄ.' (Str., Plu.); -τικός 'orgiastic, passionate' (Arist.).

ὀργεών, also -(ε)ιών, -ῶνος [m.] 'member of a religious brotherhood' (*h. Ap.* 389, Att.), with ὀργεωνικός (inscr.), from ὄργια with suppression of -ια after other nouns in -εών (see on this topic Chantraine 1933: 163f., Schwyzer: 521); positing a pre-form *ὄργος is unnecessary.

•ETYM Traditionally interpreted as a derivative from the root of ἔργον, ἔρδω, with *o*-vocalism like in ►ὄργανον, etc. Alternatively, is it related to ὀργή and ὀργάω? Chantraine 1933: 55 considers foreign origin because of the meaning. On history and meaning of ὄργια, see van den Burg 1939.

ὄργυια [f.] 'fathom' (Ψ 327). ◄PG►

•VAR Att. inscr. -υα, also ὀρόγυια (Pi.), gen. -ᾶς, -ῆς, plur. αί (cf. below).

•COMP As a second member, beside regular and usual -ὀργυιος (λ 312), also δεκ-ώρυγος 'ten fathoms long', etc. (X. *Cyn.* 2, 5) with compositional lengthening and remarkable *u*-vocalism, which can hardly be explained by Cowgill's Law.

•DER ὀργυι-αῖος (*AP*), -όεις (Nic.), 'a fathom long or wide', ὀργυι-όομαι in (δι-, περι-)ωργυιωμένος 'outstretched (a fathom wide)' (Ctes., Hipparch., Lyc.).

•ETYM Traditionally explained as a substantivized perf. ptc. fem. from ὀρέγω 'to stretch (the arms)' without reduplication, reminiscent of ἄγυια, ἄρπυια, etc.; see Beekes 1969: 27f. This explanation meets with semantic and formal difficulties: why use a feminine form to express this notion, and why a perfect? The supposed archaic ablaut ὄργυια: ὀρόγυια is problematic as well; one rather expects that the o was anaptyctic, as suggested by DELG s.v. Anaptyxis could also explain the variant *-ορυγ-, seen in compounded -ωρυγ-.

Most problems have been solved by De Lamberterie *Die Sprache* 35 (1991-1993): 128-130, who assumes that the word originally occurred in a syntagm ὄργυια χείρ, which was used in the dual; this presupposes an adjective *ὀργύς. Further traces of a *u*-stem of the root **h*$_3$*reǵ-* are found in Skt. *ǰú-*, Av. *arəzu-*, and especially in Ved. *ǰu-hásta-* 'with outstrechted hands'. See ►ὀρέγω.

ὄρδειλον ⇒τὀρδῦλον.

ὄρδ<η>μα [n.] · ἡ τολύπη τῶν ἐρίων 'ball of wool', ὄρδικον· τὸν χιτωνίσκον. Ιάριοι 'short frock' (H.). ◄?►

•VAR Or <ι>, <ω>?

•ETYM Isolated in Greek. Taken as a verbal noun of Lat. *ōrdior* 'to begin a web, start', e.g. by Pok. 60, which seems doubtful. The form ὠρδυλευσάμην· ἐμιόχθησα 'was weary, etc.' (H.) also belongs here, which is from ὀρδυλεύω, deriving from *ὄρδυλος, -ύλη with a formation like in κόνδυλος, κορδύλη, etc.; cf. τολυπεύειν, which also means μοχθεῖν.

ὀρεᾶνες = ἄνδρες in the language of the Pythia (Plu. Mor. 406e). ⇒ὀρε(ι)ᾶνες.

ὀρέγω, -ομαι [v.] 'to reach out (one's hand), hand over, stretch oneself, to stretch out for'. ◂IE *h_3reg- 'stretch, direct'▸

•VAR Aor. ὀρέξαι, -ασθαι, fut. ὀρέξω, -ομαι (Il.), perf. and plpf. med. 3pl. ὀρωρέχαται, -το (Il.), ὤρεγμαι (Hp.), aor. pass. ὀρεχθῆναι (E., X., Hp. *Ep.*). Other presentic forms: 1. ptc. ὀρεγ-νύς (A 351, X 37), -νύμενος (*AP*, Mosch.); 2. ὀριγ-νάομαι (Hes. *Sc.* 190, Herod., Theoc.), together with the innovated aor. ὠριγν-ήθην (Antipho Soph., Isoc.), fut. -ήσομαι (D. C.); for ι as a secondary prop vowel, cf. κίρνημι (s.v. ▸κεράννυμι).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπ-.

•DER 1. ὀρεκτός 'stretched out' (B 543, Str.), see Ammann 1956: 20, 'desired, longed for' (Arist.) with ὀρεκτεῖν· ἐπιθυμεῖν 'to desire', ὀρεκτιῶν· ἐπιθυμιῶν (H.); ἀν-ὀρεκτος 'without desire for, undesired' (Arist.), with ἀνορ-εκτέω, -εξία (late). 2. ὄρεγμα [n.] 'stretching (e.g. of the hand, also of the foot), step', also as a measure of length (A., E., Arist., *Tab. Heracl.*). 3. ὄρεξις [f.] 'desire, appetite' (Democr., Arist.) with ὀρεκτικός 'inclined to desire, pursuing' (Arist., Arr.), 'arousing appetite' (Dsc.). 4. ὀρέγδην 'by stretching out' (sch., H.). On ▸ὄργυια, see s.v.

•ETYM As a thematic root present, ὀρέγω agrees with Lat. *regō* 'to direct, lead, govern' and OIr. *rigim* 'to stretch out'; other Graeco-Latin correspondences are ὀρέξαι ~ *rēxī* and ὀρεκτός ~ *rēctus* (Lat. long *ē* is due to Lachmann's Law). Gm. words like Go. *raihts* 'straight, right' and Av. *rāšta-* 'directed, arranged, straight' also belong here. Independent formations are ὄρεγμα, Av. *rasman-* [m., n.] 'line of battle', and Lat. *regimen* [n.] 'leadership'. It is uncertain whether there is an old connection between the isolated ptc. ὀρεγ-νύς, -νύμενος and the Av. adjective *raš-nu-* 'straight'; the present ὀριγνάομαι, with suffixed nasal, is probably independent from Skt. *ṛñjáti* 'stretches itself, runs' with nasal infix.

ὀρε(ι)ᾶνες [m.pl.] acc. to Plu. 2, 406e = ἄνδρες in the language of the oracle of the Pythian Apollo; cf. ὀρείονες· ἄνδρες (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Formation like Ἀκαρνᾶνες, etc.; further unclear. Acc. to Güntert 1921: 122f., it belongs to ἄρσην, etc.

ὀρεμπότης name or epithet of rivers in the language of the Pythia (Plu. *Mor.* 406e). ⇒'Ορομπάτας.

ὀρέοντο [v.] 'they stirred, hurried' (B 398, Ψ212). ◂?▸

•ETYM If not poetic licence for ὄροντο, it is best taken (with Bechtel 1914 s.v.) as an intensive of ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη 'was stirred' and the aor. ἔρσῃ· ὁρμήσῃ 'will move' (H.), from a root *h_1er- 'move'; see on ▸ἐρέθω and ▸ὄρνυμι.

ὀρεσκῷος [adj.] 'living in the mountains' (*A* 268, ι 155, Hes. *Fr.* 79, 5). ◂IE *$\acute{k}ei$- 'lie'▸

•VAR ὀρεσκόος (A., E.).

•ETYM Compound of ▸ὄρος and ▸κεῖμαι with *o*-grade (cf. e.g. δορυ-σσόος to σείω); the irregular length (cf. Skt. *-śay-á-* 'lying') is probably metrically conditioned, and the -ι- is analogical after κοῖτος, etc. Acc. to Bechtel 1914 s.v., we should write -οι- for -ῳ-. An innovation (after the adjectives in -ιος) is ὀρέσκιος epithet of Dionysus (*AP*); the same holds for ὀρεσκεύω 'to live in the mountains' (Nic.).

ὀρεσχάς, -άδος [f.] 'vine with grapes', = ὄσχη, -ος (Harp., H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM The word is evidently related to ►ἀρασχάδες, and as variants, both are of Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 348).

ὀρεύς [m., f.] 'mule', replacing original Att. ἡμίονος (Il., Ar., Arist.). ◅IE *h_1er- 'go', *h_3er- 'raise'►

•VAR Ion. οὐρεύς.

•COMP As a first member in ὀρεω-κόμος [m.] 'mule driver' (Att.), etc. (perhaps for ὀρεο- with influence of the gen. ὀρέως?).

•DER ὀρικός 'belonging to a mule' (Is., Aeschin.).

•ETYM Derived from ὅρος, Ion. οὖρος 'frontier', which originally means 'furrow'. Thus, ὀρεύς would properly mean 'furrow-drawer'. The lack of aspiration in ὀρεύς may be explained through secondary association with ὅρος; on the psilosis, see Chantraine 1942: 185.

ὀρεχθέω [v.] expressive epic poetic verb of unclear mg., in Hom. of βόες σφαζόμενοι (Ψ 30, traditionally explained as 'to rattle'), in Theoc. of the sea (θάλασσαν ... ὀρεχθεῖν 11, 43) 'to roar, surge', but in Ar. (*Nu.* 1368), A. R. (1, 275), Opp. (*H.* 2, 583) of the heart (καρδία, κέαρ), also of θυμός (A. R. 2, 49); after this in Nic. (*Al.* 340) of the κύστις and in the tragedian Aristias (6; V^a) of πέδον, which is rather obscure. ◅?►

•ETYM The acoustic notion, which is undeniable in Theoc. and obvious in Homer, cannot possibly be assumed for the other attestations. Etymologically unclear. The ancient connection with ῥοχθέω 'to rustle, roar' is formally difficult, and does not explain all attestations; that with ὀρέγω (assuming an enlargement -θ-; cf. Schwyzer: 703) is gratuitous as long as the meaning is unclear. See DELG s.v. for interpretations from antiquity.

ὀρθαγορίσκος [m.] 'sucking-pig' (Ath., H.), also as a fish-name (Plin.), after its grunting sound, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 69. ◅GR►

•DER Further βορθαγορίσκια· χοίρεα κρέα. καὶ μικροὶ χοῖροι βορθαγορίσκοι (-θάκεοι cod.). Λάκωνες 'pig meat; also, small pigs are called β. (Laconian)' (H.).

•ETYM Acc. to several sources in Ath. 4, 140b, it stands for *ὀρθραγορίσκος, "ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄρθρον πιπράσκονται", 'because they are sold at day-break'. Thus it would literally mean 'who has its market at day-break', a qualification which Bechtel 1921, 2: 328 rightly finds remarkable. Still, he considers it to be beyond doubt, and the name would then be a word of pleasantry. Acc. to Pisani *Paideia* 13 (1958): 143, it was created by the Lacedaemonians with unfriendly reference to Ὀρθαγόρας, the first tyrant of Sicyon, whence ὀρθρ- by folk etymology. The meaning was much discussed.

(ϝ)ορθαία [f.] epithet of Artemis (Lacon. and Arc. inscr. since VI^a, X., Plu.). ◅IE? *$uerd^h$- 'grow'►

•VAR Also ϝωρ-, -θεια, -θεα, -θια.

•DER ϝορθασια (Lacon. and Arc. inscr. since V^a), ὀρθωσία (Pi., Hdt., Meg. inscr.); doubtful explanation by Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 155f., see Risch *Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954): 29^{41}.

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ὀρθός, but this is doubtful, since the latter has no initial ϝ-, and the semantic connection with Artemis is not clear either. Ruijgh 1967a: §130[315] has suggested that the epithet denotes Artemis as a goddess of growth and fertility; he derives (ϝ)ορθαία from the IE root **uerd^h-*, Skt. *várdh-* 'to grow'.

ὀρθός [adj.] 'upright, straight, right, true' (Il.). ◅IE **h$_3$rd^{h}uo-* 'high, upright'▻
•DIAL Myc. *o-to-wo-*, *o-tu-wo-* and *o-two-wo-* point to /ort^{h}wo-/.
•COMP As a first member in several compounds, e.g. ὀρθό-κραιρα (see ►κραῖρα), ὀρθό-μαντις, -πολις (Pi.), ὀρθο-στάτης [m.] 'column standing upright, etc.' (Att. inscr., E.); rarely as a second member, e.g. ἔξ-ορθος 'upright' (Ath.), a back-formation from ἐξ-ορθόω (Pl.).
•DER 1. ὄρθ-ιος (-ιο- formal enlargement) 'upright, steep, going up, shrill, loud, arranged in columns' (Λ 11), on the difference of mg. against ὀρθός, see Chantraine 1933: 37; thence ὀρθ-ίαξ [m.] (-ίας H.) 'the lower part of the mast' (Epich.), -ιάζω [v.] 'to cry loudly' (A.), -ιάσματα [pl.] 'high pitch' (Ar.), also 'to raise' (*APl.*), -ίασις [f.] 'erection' (medic.); -ιάω = -όω (gloss., sch.). 2. ὀρθ-ηλός 'tall, straight' (Hell. inscr.), after ὑψηλός; also -ηρός 'id.' (pap. I^a). 3. ὀρθέσιον· ὄρθιον, μακρόν, ὀξύ, μέγα 'tall, sharp, large' (H.), cf. θεσπέσιος. 4. Ὀρθάννης (Pl. Com., inscr.), also single -ν- (Phot., H.) [m.] name of a Priapus-like demon (-νν- hypocoristic gemination; cf. Ἐργάνη, etc.). 5. ὀρθότης [f.] 'uprightness, straight position; correctness' (IA); -οσύνη [f.] 'uprightness' (Democr.). 6. Denominative verbs: a) ὀρθόω 'to raise, straighten, improve, succeed' (Il.), aor. -ῶσαι, often with prefix, especially δι-, κατ-, ἀν-. Thence (δι-, κατ-, ἀν-)όρθωσις [f.] 'raising, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), δι-, κατ-, ἀπ-όρθωμα [n.] '(implement for) raising, right act, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), δι-, κατ-ορθωτής [m.] 'improver, etc.' (LXX), ὀρθωτήρ [m.] 'raiser, upholder' (Pi.), δι-, κατ-ορθωτικός 'improving, successful' (Arist.); b) (δι-)ορθεύω = (δι-)ορθόω (E.).
•ETYM Traditionally, ὀρθός is identified with Skt. *ūrdhvá-* 'raised, high' and derived from **uord^h-uo-;* for the initial ϝ-, the gloss βορσόν· σταυρόν. Ἠλεῖοι 'pole, stake (Elean)' (H.) is compared. The words are thought to derive from the verbal root **uerd^h-*, preserved in Skt. *várdhati* 'to raise, grow (trans.)' and in Av. *varəd-* 'id.'. However, it is highly awkward to disassociate ὀρθός and *ūrdhvá-* from the group of Lat. *arduus* 'steep, lofty', OIr. *ard* 'high, great', and especially Av. *ərəduua-* 'high', etc. We have to leave the reflex of the initial in Skt. *ūrdhvá-* as an inner-Sanskrit problem. Note that a similar problem occurs in the correspondence between ὀργή 'impulse, drive' and Skt. *ūrj-* 'refreshment, strength'.
There is no evidence for initial *w-* in Mycenaean. This has been explained in a number of different ways, in order to maintain the connection with Skt. *várdhati*, e.g. the assumption that PGr. **wo-* > **o-* at an early date. See ►ὄρθρος and ►(ϝ)ορθαία.

ὀρθόκραιρα ⇒κραῖρα.

ὄρθρος [m.] 'time before daybreak, time of the cock-crow, first dawn', later 'morning' (*h. Merc.* 98, Hes. *Op.* 577). ◅IE? **h$_3$r-tl^{h}ro-* 'sunrise'▻
•COMP ὀρθρο-βόας [m.] name of the cock (*AP*), cf. ►ἠϊκανός; τὸ περί-ορθρον 'dawn' (Th., Hdn.).

•DER 1. Adjectives ὄρθρ-ιος 'belonging to dawn, happening at dawn' (*h. Merc.* 143), Ὀρθρία [f.] name of a goddess (Schwenn *RhM* 86 (1937): 298); -ινός 'id.' (Arat., LXX, *AP*), cf. ἑωθινός, etc.; -ίδιος 'id.' (*AP*), cf. ἀΐδιος, etc.; grades of comparison ὀρθριαί-τερος, -τατος (Hdn.), adverbial also ὀρθρί-τερον (pap.) after πρωΐ-, ὀψί-τερον.

2. Verbs: a) ὀρθρ-εύω, -ομαι 'to be sleepless or awake in the early morning' (E., Theoc.), back-formation Ὄρθρος [m.] name of a mythical dog (Hes. *Th.* 309), see Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 270, with ἐπ- also 'to be out of bed early' (D. Chr., Luc.); b) -ίζω 'id.' (LXX, *Ev. Luc.*) with (ἐπ-)ορθρισμός [m.] (Aq, Plu.).

•ETYM The best etymology proposes **h₃r-dʰro-*, from the root **h₃er-* 'to rise' also found in Lat. *ortus* 'rise of a star', *oriens* 'sunrise'. Acc. to Frisk, the meaning 'time before daybreak, first light of the morning' would seem to contradict this etymology, but it is unclear why. Frisk further adduced ►ὀρθαγορίσκος as proof for *ϝορθρ-, but the relevance of this word for the present entry is doubtfyl. At any rate, a direct comparison between ὄρθρος and OCS *ranъ* 'ὄρθριος', Ru. *ráno* 'early' as **urōdʰ-no-* is useless, in view of the unmotivated lengthened grade in the reconstruction.

ὀρῑ́γανον [n.] name of a sharp or bitter tasting herb, 'marjoram, organy, *orīganum*' (Epich., Hp., Ar., Arist.). ◄?►

•VAR Also -ος [f.]; also written ὀρεί-; variant ἐριγ- (pap. II[a]).

•COMP With determining first member: ἀγρι-ὀρίγανον (Dsc.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 257, τραγ-ὀρίγανον (Nic., Dsc.).

•DER ὀριγαν-ίς (-ις) [f.] = μᾶρον, a kind of salve (Ps.-Dsc.), -ίτης (οἶνος) 'wine spiced with ὀ.' (Dsc.), -όεις 'belonging to ὀ.' (Nic.); -ίων [m.] name of a frog (Batr.), -ίζω 'to be like ὀ.' (Dsc.).

•ETYM Unexplained word of foreign origin. Marjoram originates from Northern Africa. Was it folk-etymologically adapted to ὄρος and γάνος? Incorrectly, Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 97f.

ὀρίνδης (ἄρτος) [m.] 'bread made of rice flour' (S. *Fr.* 609 from Ath. 3, 110e, Poll. 6, 73). ◄LW Iran.►

•DER ὀρίνδιον σπέρμα (Poll.); ὀρίνδα· ἥν οἱ πολλοὶ ὄρυζαν καλοῦσι 'what most people call rice' (Phryn. *PS* 93).

•ETYM Acc. to Ath. and Poll. l.c., ὀρίνδης would be Ethiopian, but in fact it is an Iranian loan; cf. MoP *birinǰ* and Arm. *brinj* (from Iranian), and see the discussion in Brust 2005: 488ff. See ►ὄρυζα.

ὀρῑ́νω, -ομαι [v.] 'to excite, stir' (Il.). ◄IE **h₃r-i-* 'set in movement'►

•VAR Lesb. ὀρίννω (only Hdn., -ν- Alc.; see Hamm 1957: 36 and 131), aor. ὀρῖναι, -ασθαι, pass. ὀρινθῆναι.

•COMP Also with συν-, ἐξ-, ἀν-.

•DER ὀρίντης [m.] 'exciter' (Theognost.). Uncertain is the appurtenance of the Corinthian horsename Ὀριϝων (Fraenkel *Gnomon* 22 (1950): 238).

•ETYM The present ὀρῑ́νω, whence the other forms derive, may either be from *ὀρι-ν-ι̯ω (a *yod*-present built on a nasal present, like κλίνω) or from *ὀρῑ-νϝ-ω (a thematicized νυ-present).

Disyllabic **ori-* is found also in Arm. *ari* [ipv.] 'stand up', aor. *y-are-ay* (< **-ari-*) 'I stood up', as well as in Lat. *orior*. These derive from an earlier *i*-present which is found in Anatolian: Hitt. *arai-^{i} / ari-* 'to arise, raise' < **h_3r-oi-*, **h_3r-i-*; cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. This is an extension of the root **$h_3$er-* 'rise' seen in ►ὄρνυμι.

ὀρκάθους · ἐφ' ὧν τὰ σῦκα ψύχουσιν 'on which figs are dried' (H.). ◂PG?(S)▸

•ETYM Unknown. Probably Pre-Greek.

ὀρκάνη ⇒ἔρκος.

ὅρκος [m.] 'oath' (Il.), 'object to swear by', originally of the water of the Styx (B 755, Hes., *h. Cer.* 259). ◂?▸

•COMP ὀρκ-ωμότης [m.] 'who takes an oath' (Arc., Locr. inscr. VI-V^{a}) with ὀρκωμοτ-έω [v.] 'to take an oath' (trag., etc.), a compound of ὅρκον ὀμόσαι with a suffix -τη-; εὔ-ορκος 'faithful to one's oath' (Hes.) with εὐορκ-έω; ἔν-ορκος 'bound by oath' (Att.) with ἐνορκ-ίζομαι [v.] 'to bind by oath'; but ἔξορκος 'sworn' (Pi.) is a back-formation from ἐξ-ορκόω, -ορκίζω; on ►ἐπίορκος, see s.v.; πεντορκ-ία [f.] "taking of five oaths", 'oath by five gods' (Locr. V^{a}), with a suffix -ία-.

•DER 1. ὅρκια [pl.], rarely -ιον [n.] 'objects to swear by, oath pledge, animals sacrificed for an oath, oath, solemn treaty' (Il.), ὅρκιος 'belonging to an oath, sworn by' (Att., *Leg. Gort.*). 2. ὁρκικός 'belonging to an oath' (Stoic.). 3. ὁρκόω [v.] 'to make one swear, put under oath' (IA), aor. -ῶσαι, often with ἐξ-, whence ὁρκώματα [pl.] 'oath' (A.), ὁρκωτής [m.] 'who makes swear, who puts one under oath' (Att.), ἐξόρκω-σις [f.] 'swearing, adjuration' (Hdt., J.). 4. ὁρκίζω [v.] 'to make one swear, adjure, administer an oath' (Ion., X., D., Hell., also Dor.), aor. -ίσαι, Dor. fut. ὁρκιξεω (Delph.), also with δι-, ἐξ-. Thence ὁρκίσματα [pl.] 'adjurations' (Megara I-II^{p}), (δι-, ἐξ-)ὁρκισμός [m.] 'swearing, adjuration' (LXX, Plb.), ἐξορκισ-τής [m.] 'exorcist' (*Act. Ap.*). 5. ὁρκίλλομαι [v.] 'to swear in vain' (Phot.), as if from a pejorative diminutive **ὁρκίλος*. 6. -ορκέω only in derivatives from compounds, with analogical formations: εὐορκ-έω (with εὐορκ-ία) from εὔ-ορκος (see above), ψευδορκ-έω from ψεύδ-ορκος (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 258), with ἐμπεδ-, ἀληθ-, δυσ-, παρ-ορκέω, etc.; for ἐπιορκέω see on ►ἐπίορκος.

Isolated, with a different mg., ὁρκάνη [f.] 'enclosure' (A., E.) beside late ἑρκάνη, like Ὀργάνη : Ἐργάνη (see on ►ὄργανον and ►ἔργον); cf. also PN Ὄρκατος (Calymna II^{a}).

•ETYM Formally, ὅρκος seems to be connected with ἕρκος 'fence' (thus already Eust. and *EM*), in which case it would properly denote the oath as the bounds that one assumes, a restriction, tie, or obligation. A meaning 'tie, bond' is indeed found in ὅρκοι· δεσμοὶ σφραγῖδος 'bonds of a seal' (H.), perhaps to be corrected to **σφραγῖδες*; cf. also ►ὁρκάνη. Discussion in Luther 1935: 90ff. and Luther 1954: 86ff., who assumes that ὅρκος is originally a magical power that fences in the swearer. Bollack *REGr.*71 (1958): 1ff. and Hiersche *REGr.* 71 (1958): 35ff. identify ὅρκος with the Στύξ, by which the gods swear, and take it as the world-embracing fence (μέγας ὅρκος).

Criticism of these views by Benveniste 1969:2: 165ff., who thinks of ὅρκος as a sacralizing object, and refuses to give an etymology. Similarly, Leumann 1950: 91f.

proposed that ὅρκος = Lat. **sorcus* or **surcus* in *surculus* 'twig', in which case it could denote a staff which is raised when swearing; ὄμνυμι 'to swear' would then properly mean 'to grasp', and ὅρκον ὀμόσαι 'to grasp the staff' (cf. on ►ὄμνυμι). See ►ἔρκος.

ὀρκύπτειν · τὸ ὑπερκύπτειν <πρὸς τὸ> ἰδεῖν τι· τὸ ἐκτείνειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐπ' ὀνύχων ἵστασθαι 'to raise one's head in order to see sth.; overstretch oneself and to stand on one's toe-nails' (H.). Cf. ὤρκυπτεν· ὑπερέκυπτεν ἐπαιρόμενος (Suid.), i.e. 'to stand on the tips of one's toes, in order to see over the heads of others'.
•ETYM Contains κύπτω; acc. to DELG, the first part is suggestive of ὄρνυμαι or ὀρθός, but the spiritus is unexplained.

ὄρκῦς, -ῦνος [m.] 'tuna' (middle com., Arist.). ◅PG(S)►
•VAR Later ὄρκῦνος (Dorio and Hikes. [I^{a}] in Ath.).
•DER ὀρκυνεῖον [n.] mg. uncertain (Halicarn. V^{a}). On the stem-formation see Schwyzer: 458 and 488. Also ὀρκύαλος 'id.' (v.l. Xenocr. *apud* Orib.), like φύσαλος, etc. (Strömberg 1943: 127f.).
•ETYM Unexplained loanword; cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. Probably Pre-Greek; note the suffix and the meaning.

ὄρμενος [m.] 'shoot, stalk, stick, especially of cabbage and asparagus' (Diph. Siph. and Posidipp. [III^{a}] in Ath.). ◅?►
•VAR Plur. also -α; also ὄρ-.
•DER ὀρμενόεις 'having a (long) stalk' (Nic.); ἐξ-ορμενίζω 'ὄρμενα ἐκβάλλειν, to put forth shoots' (S. *Ichn.* 275 [uncertain], Nicostr. Com., Phryn., Poll.).
•ETYM Formally identical with the aor. ptc. of ὄρνυμι, which is semantically quite plausible. Cf. ►ἔρνος.

ὁρμή [f.] 'onset, assault, onrush, outset, effort' (Il.). ◅IE **sor-meh$_2$-* 'flow, stream' or **h$_3$(o)r-sm-* 'uprising'►
•COMP As a second member in ἐφορμή 'onset, assault' (χ 130, Th.), ἀφορμή 'starting point, resource, etc.' (IA), but these are back-formations from ἐφ-, ἀφ-ορμάω (cf. Chantraine 1933: 149).
•DER Denominatives: 1. ὁρμαίνω [v.]'to (re)consider, ponder' (Il.), aor. -ῆναι (rarely with ἐφ-, ὑπερ-); on the mg. as opposed to μερμηρίζω, etc. see Voigt 1934, later 'to put in violent motion, be eager' (A., Pi., B.); perhaps ὁρμανόν· ἀνεστηκός, χαλεπόν 'stirred up, troublesome' (H.); analogical ὁρμάστειρα [f.] 'she who urges on' (Orph. *H.*) like θερμάστρα, etc. beside θερμαίνω. 2. ὁρμάω [v.] 'to incite, excite', intr. (also midd.) 'to rise quickly, charge, begin' (Il.), aor. -ῆσαι, often with prefix, especially ἀφ-, ἐφ-, παρ-, ἐξ-. Thence ὁρμήματα [pl.] 'onrush' (Β 356 = 590), (παρ-)ὁρμημα [n.] 'onset, incitement' (LXX, Epicur.), (παρ-, ἐφ-, ἐξ-)ὁρμησις [f.] 'incitement, onset, assault, eagerness' (X., Plb.); ὁρμ-ητήριον, Dor. -ᾱτήριον [n.] '(operation) base' (Att., Cret. III-II^{a}), -ητής [m.] 'he who urges on' (Philostr. Iun.), -ητίας [m.] 'id.' (Eust.), (ἐφ-, ἀφ-, παρ-, ἐξ-)ορμητικός 'offensive, desiring, eager, etc.' (Ti. Locr., Arist.); back-formation ἄφορμος 'setting off, leaving' (S.).

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Skt. *sárma-* [m.] 'flowing, streaming' (only RV 1, 80, 5), from a verbal root seen in Skt. *sí-sar-ti, sár-ati* 'to flow, stream', also 'to hurry, drive, etc.', which is formally excellent and semantically possible. However, within Greek one might also compare ὄρνυμι 'stir' and propose a pre-form **or-smā-* (a similar formation is perhaps continued in ►ἄρμα). The form ἑρμή· ἔξοδος 'way out' (H.), with a variant ἐρίμη 'id.', is difficult to assess.

ὅμικας ⇒μύμηξ.

ὄρμῖνον [n.] 'sage, Salvia Horminum' (Thphr.). ◄PG(S)►

•VAR Also -ος [m.]; also -μῖν-.

•ETYM Formation like σέλῖνον, κύμῖνον, καρδαμῖνη, βολβῖνη, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 204, Schwyzer: 491). Frisk mentions three options: a loan (like the first two words), a derivative from ὄρμος (though the semantics would need further argumentation), or one from ὁρμή 'assault, onrush' (Strömberg 1940: 93), as the plant was used as an aphrodisiac. However, the word is no doubt Pre-Greek, just like the other words with a suffix -ῑν- (not in Fur.).

ὅρμος 1 [m.] 'chain, necklace, lace' (Σ 401); name of a dance in a ring (Luc.). ◄IE **sor-mo-* 'string'►

•DER 1. Diminutive ὁρμ-ίσκος [m.] 'small necklace' (Att. inscr., LXX), 'signet-cord' (LXX, J.) together with -ίσκιον name of a precious stone (Plin.); 2. -ιά [f.] 'fishing-line' (Pl. Com., Antiph., Arist.), ὁρμια-τόνος [m.] 'angler' (E. *Hel.* 1615); 3. ὁρμ-αθός [m.] 'string, chain' (ω 8, Ar., Pl.), on the formation see Chantraine 1933: 367, although -αθος seems to be Pre-Greek, cf. ►γνάθος), with -άθιον (Gal.), -αθίζω [v.] 'to string' (H., Suid.). 4. ὑφ-όρμιον [n.] acc. to Ael. Dion. *Fr.* 417 παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρυσοῦν τι κοσμάριον 'among the ancients, a little golden ornament'.

•ETYM Old thematic derivative with a suffix *-mo-*, from the root seen in ►εἵρω 1 'string'. Martirosyan 2010 s.v. connects it with Arm. *orm* 'wall', which is formally impeccable.

ὅρμος 2 [m.] 'anchorage, road(stead), harbour', also metaph. (Il.). ◄IE? **sor-mo-* 'string'►

•COMP ὁρμο-φύλαξ 'harbour-master' (pap.); often as a second member, e.g. πάν-ορμος 'offering anchorage to all (ships)' (λιμένες, ν 195), often as a PN (Sicily, etc.), δύσ-ορμος 'with a bad harbour, inhospitable' (A., X.); often with preposition, partly as back-formations from the relevant verbs: ἔξ-ορμος 'sailing out' (E.), to ἐξ-ορμέω, ὕφ-ορμος 'at anchor, fit for anchoring' (Ph., Str.), also [m.] 'anchorage' (Arist., Str.), to ὑφ-ορμέω, πρόσ-ορμος [m.] 'id.' (Str.), to πρόσ-ορμέω, -ορμίζω.

•DER Two denominatives: 1. ὁρμέω 'to be at anchor (in the harbour)' (IA), also with ἐφ-, ἐξ-, ὑφ-, etc., with ἐφόρμησις [f.] and (as a back-formation) ἔφορμος [m.] 'being at anchor, blockade' (Th.). 2. ὁρμίζω 'to bring to an anchorage or harbour', -ομαι 'to anchor, moor' (Il.), aor. -ίσαι, -ίσασθαι, often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, προσ-, καθ-, μεθ-. Thence (προσ-, etc.)ὁρμισις [f.] 'anchoring' (Th.), (ἐν-)ὁρμισμα [n.] 'anchorage, anchoring' (App.), προσορμισμός [m.] 'anchoring' (sch.), προσορμιστήριον (H. as an

explanation of ἐπίνειον [cod. ἐπήνιον]), ὁρμιστηρία [f.] 'rope for anchoring, attaching' (Ph., D. S.), ὁρμίστρια [f.] "the anchoress" epithet of Isis (pap. II^{p}).

•ETYM No certain etymology. Often connected with ►ὁρμη 'impulse', but with various ways of argumentation for the semantics (details in Frisk). Connection with ►εἴρω 'to string' is more promising, starting from an original meaning 'attachment' and identity with ὅρμος 'chain'. Comparison with ►ἔρμα, in plur. 'supporting stones', has also been proposed (unclear).

ὄρνεον [n.] 'bird' (N 64). ◄IE *$h_3$er-n- 'bird'►

•VAR Also ὄρνῑς, -ῑθος [m., f.] '(augural) bird' (Il.), in later Att. especially 'hen, cock', acc.sg. also -ιν, plur. also -εις, -ῑς (trag., D.), Dor. -ῖχος, etc. (Pi., Alcm., B., Theoc., Cyrene), dat.pl. -ίχεσσι and -ιξι, whence nom.sg. -ιξ, gen.pl. -ίκων (Hell. pap.).

•COMP A few late compounds, e.g. ὀρνεο-θηρευτική [f.] 'the art of bird-catching' (Ath.). Often as a first member, e.g. ὀρνιθο-θήρας [m.] 'bird-catcher' (Ar., Arist.), ὀρνιχο-λόχος [m.] 'id.' (Pi.). Also as a second member, e.g. δύσ-ορνις 'with bad auspices' (A., E., Plu.), πολυ-ὄρνιθος 'rich of birds' (E.).

•DER A: From ὄρνεον: ὀρνε-ώδης 'bird-like' (Plu.), -ώτης [m.] 'bird-catcher' (Poll.), -ακός 'avian' (Tz.), -άζομαι 'to twitter' (Aq.), 'to hold one's head up high' ("watching the birds", *Com. Adesp.*).

B: From ὄρνις: 1. diminutives ὀρνίθ-ιον (IA), -άριον (com., Arist.), also ὀρν-ύφιον (Thphr., Dsc.), rather from ὄρνεον. Substantives: 2. ὀρνιθ-ᾶς, -ᾶ [m.] 'poulterer' (pap. II-VI^{p}); 3. -ίαι [m.pl.] "bird-winds", which bring migratory birds (Ion., Arist.), χειμὼν ὀρνιθίας (Ar.); cf. ἐτησίαι, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 95); -ίας [m.] 'bird-fancier' (Lib.); -ίων [m.] PN (Att.); 4. ὀρνιθ-ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'henhouse' (inscr., pap.); 5. ὀρνιθία [f.] 'poisoning by bird dung' (*Hippiatr.*). Adjectives: 6. ὀρνίθ-ειος 'of a bird, of a chicken' (Att.); 7. -ικός 'belonging to birds, hens' (Luc.); 8. τὰ ὀρνιθιακά name of a work on birds by D. P. (on the formation Schwyzer: 497 with lit.); 9. -ώδης 'bird-like' (Arist.). Verbs: 10. ὀρνιθ-εύω 'to catch birds' (X.), -εύομαι 'to watch the birds, auspicari' (D. H.) together with -εία [f.] 'auspicium' (Plb.), -ευτής [m.] 'bird-catcher' (Att.), -ευτική [f.] 'the art of bird-catching' (Pl.); 11. ὀρνιθ-όομαι 'to be changed into a bird' (Philoch.); 12. ὀρνιθ-ιάζω 'to speak the language of birds' (sch. Ar. *Av.*).

Further ὄρνιος = ὀρνίθ-ειος (*AP*), ὀρνίζω 'to twitter' (Aq.), uncertain; cf. ὀρνεάζομαι above. On itself stands ὀρναπέτιον [n.] (Boeot., Ar. *Ach.* 913), hypocoristic and contempting, with unclear α; cf. further κινώπετον, ἑρπετόν, etc., also Bechtel 1921, 1: 308. On the various formations see F. Robert 1944: 67ff.

•ETYM Both ὄρν-εον and ὄρν-ῑ-ς derive from an *n*-stem *$h_3$er-n-, which in ὄρνεον was enlarged with a suffix -ε(ι)ο-, probably marking gender (Chantraine 1933: 62). The more common form ὄρνῑς is originally a feminine derivative in *-*ih*$_2$, to which the suffixes -θ-, Dor. -χ- were later added.

The *n*-stem that must be assumed for Greek is also found in the Germanic and Anatolian words for 'eagle': Go. *ara*, gen. **arins*, ON *ari*, and *ǫrn* < **arn-u-*, OE *earn*, etc., Hitt. *ḫāran-*. Balto-Slavic has an *l*-stem, e.g. Lith. *erẽlis* from older *arẽlis*, OCS *orъlъ*, Ru. *orël* 'eagle'.

ὄρνυμαι [v.] 'to stir, rise, rush away, hurry' especially 'to excite, incite, revive' (Il.). ◂IE *h_3er- '(a)rise'▸

•VAR Aor. ὠρόμην, -ετο, often older athem. ὦρτο, ptc. ὄρμενος, etc., fut. ὀροῦμαι, ὀρεῖται, perf. ὄρωρα; act. ὄρνυμι, also -ύω, aor. ὦρσα, redupl. 3sg. ὤρορε, fut. ὄρσω, aor. pass. 3pl. ὦρθεν (Corinn.).

Further ὀρούω 'to rise quickly, rush away' (Il.), fut. ὀρούσω, in Hom. only aor. ὀροῦσαι, often with prefix (e.g. ἐπ, ἀν-, ἐν-, ἐξ-).

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἐπ-, ὑπ-, ἀν-. As a first member in governing compounds, e.g. ὀρσο-τρίαινα [m.] 'wielder of the trident' (Pi.), ὀρσί-αλος 'stirring the sea' (B.), PNs like Ὀρσέ-λαος (Boeot.), Ὀρσί-λοχος (Il.) beside Ὀρτί-λοχος (Dor.); see Schwyzer: 442, Bechtel 1917b: 353f., Wackernagel 1916: 236[1]. As a second member in the compound κονι-ορτός (see ▸κόνις), in verbal adjectives like θέ-ορτος 'sprung from the gods' (Pi., A.), νέ-ορτος 'newly arisen' (S.).

•DER Perhaps ▸ὀρμή. Further only ὄρουσις [f.] 'rise, ὅρμησις, ὀρμή' (Stoic.), ὀρούματα· ὀρμήματα, πηδήματα 'leaps' (H.); remarkable ὀρσότης, -ητος [f.] = ὀρμή (Critias), ὀρσίτης [m.] name of a Cretan dance (Ath.).

•ETYM The pervasive *o*-vocalism points to a reconstruction *h_3er-. Traces of an *e*-grade have been supposed in ἔρετο· ὠρμήθη 'was excited' (H.), etc. (see ▸ἐρέθω), as well as in Λα-έρτης (related to ▸λαός), but such forms can never derive directly from *h_3er-. It is best to derive these forms from the root *h_1er-, or to assume secondary ablaut in Greek.

Kümmel 2000a: 253-266 has found a distinction in Indo-Aryan between the roots [1]*ar*- 'sich in Bewegung setzen' < *h_3er-, aor. *ārta* (= ὦρτο), pres. *īrte*, and [2]*ar*- 'treffen, stoßen auf, wohin gelangen' < *h_1er-, pres. *ṛcchati* (cf. ▸ἔρχομαι). This gives a solid foundation to the formal distinction between PIE roots *h_1er- and *h_3er- on the basis of the root vocalism.

The presents ὄρνυμι, Skt. *ṛṇóti*, and Hitt. *arnu-*^{zi} 'to deport, etc.' may be old parallel formations (though Hitt. may rather derive from *h_1r-*nu*- as a productive causative formation).

An original form *ἴρνυμι (ι was assumed to be a *schwa secundum* like in κίρνημι; see on ▸κεράννυμι) was formerly found in the epithet Ἐπιρνύτιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ (H.), but the connection is arbitrary, and formally impossible in laryngealist terms (*h_3r- always gives Gr. ὀρ-). Under an analysis *h_3r-*n*-*eu*-, we may compare the aorist ὀροῦσαι, whence later the rare present ὀρούω, as an *o*-colored full grade (cf. κρούω, κολούω) from an extended root *h_3r-*u*-; compare Lat. *ruō* 'to rush, collapse'. See ▸ὀρίνω, ▸ὄρος, ▸οὖρος 1.

ὄροβος [m.] 'chickpea, Vicia Ervilia', plur. 'chickpea seeds' (Hp., D., Arist., Thphr.). ◂PG(V)▸

•COMP ὀροβ-άγχη [f.] name of a weed, "smotherer of the ὄροβος", 'Cuscuta' (Thphr., Dsc., Gp.); πεντ-όροβος (also -ώρ- with compositional lengthening) [m.] properly "with five ὄρ.", name of the γλυκυσίδη, usually metaph. of an architectural ornament (Hell. inscr., Dsc., Plin.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: ὀρόβ-ιον [n.], also 'flour made of ὄρ.' (Hp., Ph., Dsc.), = χρυσοκόλλης εἶδος 'kind of dish of linseed and honey' (H.); -άδιον [n.] = ὀρόβαξ

(Ps.-Dsc.). 2. -ίας [m.] name of a kind of ἐρέβινθος and a kind of λίβανος (Thphr., Dsc.). 3. -ίτης [m.] (λίθος), name of an ὄροβος-like stone (D. S.), -ῖτις [f.] 'prepared χρυσόκολλα' (Plin.). 4. -αξ [f.] = γλυκυσίδη (Ps.-Dsc.), -ακχος σίδης [pl.] 'fruit of the pomegranate' (Nic.), -άκχη· βοτάνη τις. οἱ δὲ τῆς ῥοιᾶς τοὺς καρπούς 'a plant; others: the fruit of the pomegranate tree' (H.). 5. -ηθρον [n.] plant name = ὑποκισθίς (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. θορύβ-, κόπ-ηθρον, etc., Chantraine 1933: 373f. 6. -ινος ἄλευρον 'meal of ὄ.' (Ph., Dsc.). 7. -ιαῖος 'of the size of a ὄρ.' (Dsc.). 8. ὠροβισμένοι· κεχορτασμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν (leg. ὀρόβων?) 'fed, fattened, of cows' (H.).

•ETYM Like ἐρέβινθος, Lat. *ervum*, etc., an old substrate word, probably from the eastern Mediterranean area. In any case, ὄροβος need not have undergone assimilation from *ἔροβος, as per Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 325. For further details, see ►ἐρέβινθος.

ὀρόδαμνος [m.] 'branch, twig' (Thphr., Call., Nic., *AP*). ◄PG(V)►

•DER Diminutive ὁροδαμνίς [f.] (Theoc.).

•ETYM Probably for Aeol. ϝρόδαμνος = ►ῥάδαμνος, with ὀ- as a graphic indication for ϝ (cf. ►ὀρίνδης). The form ὄραμνος 'id.' (Nic., *AP*) is unclear; it is probably not a cross with ὄρμενος.

ὀροθύνω [v.] 'to excite, incite, revive' (Il., also A. *Pr.* 202). ◄GR?►

•VAR Aor. ὀροθῦναι.

•COMP Also with ἐξ-, ἀμφ-.

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, a secondary formation from ►ἐρέθω, replacing earlier *ὀροθέω (after θαρσύνω, ὀτρύνω, etc.), or directly from a lost noun *ὄροθος. Not assimilated from *ἐροθύνω; see Van Beek fthc.b.

ὄρομαι [v.] •VAR Only ὄρονται, -ντο (epic). ⇒ὁράω.

ὄρον [?] · σκεῦός τι γεωργικὸν ὡς Ἰσαῖος (*fr.* 5) 'an agricultural tool acc. to I.' … μήποτε μέντοι τὸ ὄρον παρά τε Αἰσχύλῳ καὶ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ σημαίνει ᾧ τὴν πεπατημένην σταφύλην πιέζουσι (Harp. 139) so the piece of wood with which bunches of grapes are crushed; also for olives (Poll. 7, 150); cf. *SEG* 11, 244. ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

ὀρόντιον [n.] 'cuckoo-pint', name of a plant used as a remedy against jaundice (Archig. *apud* Gal.). ◄PG►

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1944: 51, from the PN Ὀρόντης; naming motive unknown. Fur.: 345 refers to Gams in *DKP* 1: 602f., who connects it with ἄρον 'Natterwurz', a kind of shore-weed.

ὀρός [m.] 'the watery part of curdled milk, whey', also metaph. of other liquids (Od., Hp., Pl., Arist.). ◄IE **ser-* 'flow', **sor-o-*►

•COMP ὀρο-ποτέω [v.] 'to drink whey', with -ίη [f.] (Hp.).

•DER ὀρώδης 'whey-like' (Thphr.); ἐξορ-ίζω [v.] 'to press out the whey' (*EM*, H.).

•ETYM An oxytonized agent noun (like τροφός, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 9f.) with Ionian psilosis, beside the action noun in Lat. *serum* [n.] 'id.', Skt. *sará-* 'flowing,

liquid', from the verbal root **ser-* 'run, flow' retained in Skt. *sísarti, sárati,* aor. *ásarat.*

ὅρος [m.] 'border, boundary mark (pole, column, stone), term, limit, mark, appointment, definition' (Att.). ◂IE? **ueru-* 'draw', **uoru-o-*▸

•VAR οὖρος (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *wo-wo* /worwos/, Corc. ορϝος, Cret., Arg. ὦρος, Heracl. ὄρος. Brixhe *REGr.* 109 (1996): 640 adds ὄρρος (Heracl. Pont.) < *hόρϝος, also ὄρρος (Chalcid., Megar.), cf. *RPh.* 71 (1997) 170.

•COMP As a first member, e.g. ὁρο-θεσία [f.] 'the fixing of boundaries' (Hell. inscr., *Act. Ap.*, pap.), like νομο-θεσία, etc., formally from ὁρο-θέτης (gloss.), a composition of ὅρον θεῖναι with a suffix -τη-; often as a second member, e.g. δί-ωρος 'with two boundary stones' (Arc. IV[a]), ἀμφ-ούριον [n.] 'toll paid by the seller to the owner of the neighbouring estate as a fixation of the sale' (pap. III[a], Rhod. inscr. II[a]), ἀμιφουριασμός [m.] (*ἀμιφουρι-άζω); on ▸εὐθυωρία, see s.v.

•DER 1. ὅρία [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'borderline, border areas, etc.' (Hp., Att., Arc.); 2. ὁρία [f.] 'border' (Att. inscr.); 3. ὅριος 'belonging to the border' (Ζεὺς ὅρ., Pl., D.) = Lat. *Terminus* (D. H., Plu.); 4. ὁρικός 'ptng. to definition' (Arist.); 5. ὁρ-αία τεκτονική = *gruma,* -ιαῖος λίθος (gloss.); 6. ὁρίζω (Ion. οὑρ-) [v.] 'to border, demarcate, separate, determine, define' (IA), aor. -ίσαι, often with prefix, e.g. δι- (ἐπι-δι-, etc.), ἀφ-, περι-, προσ-, with (ἀφ-, περι-, δι-)ὅρισμα (also οὖρ-) 'delimitation, border' (Hdt., E.), (ἀφ-, περι-, etc.)ὁρισμός 'delimitation, determination, etc.' (Att.), (δι-)ὅρισις (Pl., Arist.), ὁρισ-τής [m.] 'land surveyor' (Att., *Tab. Heracl.*), -τικός 'ptng. to delimitation or determination, limiting, defining' (Arist.). 7. On ▸ὁρεύς, see s.v.

•ETYM In view of Mycenaean, all Greek forms must go back to ϝόρϝος. This can be connected wih Lat. *urvāre (amb-)* 'to mark out a boundary with a furrow' (Enn. *apud* Fest., Dig.); the basic noun is *urvum* 'curved part of a plough' (Varro) < **u(o)ru-o-*, which may in principle continue the same formation as *ϝόρϝος.

Within Greek, further connection wih ▸ἐρύω 'to draw' is probable. See ▸οὐροί, ▸οὖρον 2.

ὄρος [n.] 'mountain, height'; also (in Egypt) 'desert' in contrast to the cultivated plain (Il.). ◂IE **h₃er-* 'rise', **h₃er-s-*▸

•VAR With metrical lengthening οὔρ-εος, -εα, etc. (epic), also ὤρ-εος, -εα (Theoc.).

•DIAL Myc. *o-re-a₂* /ore[h]a/.

•COMP As a first member: 1. with unenlarged stem i.a. in ▸ὀρεσκῷος; 2. thematically enlarged in ὀρεο-σέλινον [n.] 'mountain-parsley' (Thphr.); 3. often in loc.sg., e.g. ὀρει-δρόμος 'going through the mountains' (Pi., E., Nonn.); thence i.a. ὀρεί-χαλκος [m.] 'mountain ore, brass' (*h. Hom.* 6, 9, Hes. *Sc.* 122), borrowed as Lat. *orichalcum,* folk-etymological *auri-*; also ὠρό-χαλκος (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, *PGiss.* 47, 6), perhaps ὠ- = Lat. *au-*; 4. in loc.pl., e.g. ὀρεσί-τροφος 'grown up in the mountains' (Hom.).

•DER 1. ὀρέσ-τερος 'living in the mountains, consisting of mountains' (X 93); 2. ὄρειος (epic lyr. οὔρ-) 'mountainous' (*h. Merc.* 244) < **ores-i̯o-*, fem. -ειάς (*AP*), as a substantive 'mountain-nymph' (Bion, Nonn.); 3. ὀρεινός < **ores-no-* 'id.' (IA); 4. Ὀρέσ-τις [m.] PN (Il.), with Ὀρεστ-άδης, ὀρέστ(ε)ιον [n.] = ἐλένιον (Dsc., Plin.);

Ὀρέσ-ται [m.pl.] "highlanders", name of an Epeirotic people (Th.); ὀρεστ-ιάδες νύμφαι (Z 420, *h. Hom.* 19, 19), metrical for *ὀρεστ-άδ- (Schwyzer: 508); ὀρεστ-ίας [m.] 'mountain wind' (Call.), like Ὀλυμπίας, etc.; 5. ὀρώδης 'mountainous' (*EM*).
•ETYM The original meaning is "elevation", a verbal noun *h_3er-*s*- related to the root of ►ὄρνυμαι 'to rise, etc.'. A further derivative of this *s*-stem may be found in Skt. *ṛṣvá-* 'rising up, high'. See ►ὄρρος, ►ὀρσοθύρη.

ὀρούω ⇒ὄρνυμαι.

ὀροφή, -φος ⇒ἐρέφω.

ὄρπαξ [?] · θρασὺς ἄνεμος 'rough wind' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Fur.: 327f. compares Ὄρπα· Ἐρινύς (H.) and Ὄριψα· Ἐρινύς (H.) with anaptyctic vowel, as well as ►ἁρπάζω. Probably Pre-Greek. Perhaps Ἅρπυια (Fur.: 327, 347) also belongs here?

ὄρπας [?] · τῆς ἀκρίδος ὁ γόνος, ἔνθεν γάρον ποιοῦσι 'offspring of the locust, from which sauce is made' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

ὄρπη [f.] · σίδηρος ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐλέφαντα τύπτουσι 'metal in which ivory is beaten' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM DELG compares ►ἅρπη 'elephant-goad'.

ὄρπηξ [m.] 'sprig, twig, (shaft of a) spear' (Φ 38, Hes. *Op.* 468). ◅PG(S)▻
•VAR Also ὄ-; Dor. Aeol. -ᾶξ, -κος.
•COMP εὐ-όρπηξ 'with fair twigs' (Nonn.).
•ETYM Formation like σκώληξ, κάχληξ, νάρθηξ, etc. without a clear etymology. The comparison with Lith. *várpa* 'ear' is not very illuminating; derivation from the root of Lat. *sarpō* 'to trim the vines', *sarmentum* 'osiers', ►ἅρπη 'sickle' is unlikely, as an o-grade of this root is not attested elsewhere. Frisk connects ἕρπω in the sense of a slow movement over the ground: "crawler, sneaker".
It is rather a Pre-Greek word, given the suffix -ᾱκ-.

ὄρρος [m.] 'rump, arse' (Ar.), 'end of the os sacrum' (Gal.). ◅IE *h_1ers-, *h_1ors- 'bottom, arse'▻
•COMP As a first member in ὀρρο-πύγ-ιον, Ion. ὀρσο-, see ►πυγή. As a second member in παλίν-ορσος 'moving back' (Γ 33, Emp.); -ρρ- (Ar. *Ach.* 1179); not in ►ἄψορρος.
•DER ὀρρώδης 'belonging to the rump' (Hp., Gal.), ὀρροχμόν· ἔσχατον, ἄκρον 'utmost, extremity' (H.), perhaps after ►νεοχμός.
•ETYM Old inherited expression for 'bottom, ass', avoided by the epic because of its vulgar status, and identical with the Germanic group of OHG *ars*, MoE *arse*, Arm. *oř*, plur. *oř-k'* (*i*-stem), and Hitt. *arra-* 'id.', all pointing to IE *Hors-o-, *Hors-i-. Regarding the color of the laryngeal, OIr. *err* 'tail' seems to point to original *h_1ers-h_2- but, alternatively, the Celt. *e*-vocalism is a secondary development. In the latter case, the word could be understood as enlargement of an *s*-stem *h_3er-(*o*)*s*- 'elevation', and would thus be closely related to ►ὄρος 'mountain'.

The intervocalic sequence *-*rs*- was probably retained in Greek when preceded by the accent (it subsequently became -ρρ- in Attic), but **s* dropped with compensatory lengthening if the accent followed (cf. on ►οὐρά). See ►ὀρσοθύρη.

ὀρρωδέω [v.] 'to shudder, fear, dread' (Att.). ◅GR?▻

•VAR Ion. ἀρρωδέω (Hp., Hdt.).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατ-.

•DER ὀρρωδία, ἀρρωδίη [f.] 'fear, dread' (Hdt., Th., E.).

•ETYM Not definitively explained. The proposal by Bréal *MSL* 8 (1894): 309 is semantically attractive: ὀρρωδέω comes from ὄρρος 'ass' through *ὀρρώδης 'afraid, anxious', like in MoFr. *couard*, Ital. *codardo* from Lat. *coda*. However, this would amount to assuming that the Att. form with -ρρ- came into Ionic with substitution of ἀρρ- for ὀρρ- (perhaps after ἀρρωστέω, -ία?), which is hard to believe. Acc. to Schmidt *KZ* 25 (1881): 112, Att. ὀρρ- developed from older ἀρρ- by assimilation to the folowing ω; a better option seems folk-etymological influence of ὄρρος on original ἀρρ-.

Taillardat *RPh.* 71 (1997): 170 (also DELG *Supp.*) defends the old interpretation as τὸν ὄρρον ἰδροῦν 'to shit in the pants' vel sim. The ἀ- would be due to Ionic dissimilation of ὀ - ω.

Fur.: 342 considers the word to be Pre-Greek, which would make the variation ἀ-/ ὀ- understandable.

ὀρσοδάκνη [f.] name of an insect which eats the buds of plants (Arist. *HA* 552a). ◅GR▻

•ETYM See Gil Fernández 1959: 140. The word probably contains ►ὄρρος (-ρσ-) and ►δάκνω.

ὀρσοθύρη [f.] especially a side-door or side-opening at the back, leading from the men's hall in the λαύρη to the rooms upstairs (χ 126, 132, 333); see Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff., Bérard *REGr.* 67 (1954): 18ff.; also sens. obsc. (Semon. 17). ◅IE **Hors-o-* 'back' + **d*^{h}*uer-* 'door'▻

•DER With ὀρσο-, we also find: ὀρσολόπος epithet of Ares, who cuts the enemy into pieces (Anacr. 70 = 393 P), ὀρσολοπεύω (metrical for -έω) [v.] 'to attack, revile' (*h. Merc.* 308, Max. 102), -έομαι 'to be teased or disquieted' (A. *Pers.* 10); ὀρσολόπος 'attacker' vel sim., properly = ὁ λέπων τὸν ὄρρον 'who thrashes the back', scil. τοῦ φυγόντος πολεμίου 'of the fleeing enemy', cf. Lasso de la Vega *Emerita* 23 (1955): 114f. Further ►ὀρσοδάκνη [f.] name of an insect that eats buds (Arist.); naming motive unknown.

•ETYM It is clear that the first element should be identified with ὄρρος, ὄρσος 'back, ass', for which we may compare παλίν-ορσος in Homer (but not ἄψορρος). The word means 'back door', which is a very natural interpretation.

Following sources from antiquity, others explained it as a high door, connecting either Skt. *ṛṣvá-* 'high' or *varṣ-* in *várṣ-man-* [n.] 'culmen'; cf. also εἰρεθύρη (H.) and ἔρθυρις (*EM*). See Risch *IF* 59 (1944): 20. In the same sphere belongs ὀρρόβιλος· ὀδός (cod. ὀδ-). Ἰταλιῶται 'threshold' (H.).

However, there is no indication in our texts that the door is located above the ground, and the obscene use in Semon. (though in an unclear context) proves the connection with ὄρρος.

ὀρσοί [m.] · τῶν ἀρνῶν οἱ ἔσχατοι γενόμενοι (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM The word resembles ▸ἔρσαι, with different vocalism and with different inflexion.

ὀρταλίς [f.] 'hen' (Nic. *Al.* 294). ◂?▸

•DER ὀρτάλιχος [m.] 'young bird' (A. *Ag.* 54, Ar. *Ach.* 871, *AP*, Opp.), 'young animal' (S. *Fr.* 793), 'chick' (Theoc.), -ιχεύς [m.] 'id.' (Nic. *Al.* 228: accus. -ῆα, metrical enlargement in verse-final position). Denominative ἀν-ορταλίζω [v.] 'to prance, clap the wings like a hen (cock)' vel sim. (Ar. *Eq.* 1344).

•ETYM Popular formations in -ίς and -ιχος (cf. ἀηδονίς, κόψιχος, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 344 and 403), or perhaps rather with -αλίς like in συκ-αλίς, δορκ-αλίς (to δορκ-άς), etc. It is assumed to be derived from a noun *ὄρτος of unknown meaning. The obvious connection with ὄρνυμαι 'rise, come into movement' (cf. κονι-ορτός, θέ-ορτος) does not mean much semantically.

ὄρτυξ [m.] 'quail, Coturnix vulgaris' (Epich., IA); also as a plant-name = στελέφουρος, 'Plantago Lagopus' (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 50. ◂IE? **uort-* 'quail'; PG?▸

•VAR Fem. in Lyc. 401; γόρτυξ (i.e. ϝόρτυξ), -ὔγος (H.), -υκος (Philem. 245).

•COMP As a first member in ὀρτυγο-μήτρα [f.] "quail-mother", 'corncrake, Rallux crex' (Cratin., Arist., LXX), acc. to H. = ὄρτυξ ὑπερμεγέθης; as a second member in φιλ-όρτυξ 'quail-loving' (Pl. *Ly.* 212d).

•DER Diminutive ὀρτύγιον [n.] (com.); Ὀρτυγία, -ίη [f.] old name of the island Delos and other islands (Od., Str.), see Tréheux *BCH* 70 (1946): 560ff., thence epithet of Artemis (S.); patronymic Ὀρτυγίων (Euboea).

•ETYM Formed like the rare bird names ἴβυξ, βαῖβυξ; cf. also κόκκῡξ, πτέρυξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 397, Schwyzer: 498). Except for the ending, ϝόρτυξ corresponds to Skt. (Ved.) *vártikā* [f.] 'quail', later attested as *vartaka-* [m.], with the highly productive suffixes *-ikā-* and *-aka-*. Note also MoP *vardīj-* 'id.'. The original form of the word cannot be reconstructed. Fur.: 122 points out that both the suffix and the variation κ/γ point to a loan.

ὀρύα 1 [f.] 'intestine' (Epich.). ◂PG?(V)▸

•VAR In H. also -ούα.

•ETYM Not certainly explained. The connection with Lat. *arvīna* [f.] 'grease, fat, lard, especially around the intestines' is doubtful (see Pok. 782 and WH s.v.); E-M points out that the ending *-īna* recalls the Etr. ending *-ēna, -in(n)a*. The variation -υα/ -ουα might point to a Pre-Greek word.

ὀρυα 2 [f.] name of an instrument used in a quarry (*PCair. Zen.* 759 [III^{a}]).

•ETYM See ▸ὀρύττω.

ὄρυζα [f.] 'rice' (Aristobul. Hist., Megasth., Str.). ◂LW Eastern Iran.▸

•VAR ὄρυζον [n.] (Thphr.).

•COMP ὀρυζο-τροφέω [v.] 'to grow rice' (Str.).
•DER Diminutive ὀρύζ-ιον [n.] (sch.), -ίτης πλακοῦς 'rice-cake' (Chrysipp. Tyan.).
•ETYM Eastern Iranian loan; cf. Afghan. *vrižē* [f.pl.] 'rice', as well as Skt. *vrīhí-* [m.] 'id.'; earlier history unknown. See Brust 2005: 494ff., as well as on ►ὀρίνδης.

ὀρυμαγδός [m.] 'noise, din' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR ὀρυγμάδες· θόρυβοι 'noise' (H.).
•ETYM Expressive word with the same ending as κέλαδος, χρόμαδος, ῥοῖβδος, etc., and with a comparable meaning. Cf. ►ὠρύομαι and ὠρυγμός, as well as ἐρυγεῖν, ἐρύγμηλος (Kretschmer *KZ* 38 (1905): 135); further details are unclear.

ὄρυμος · βωμός. οἱ δέ ὄρυμβος 'altar; others: ὅ.' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word, due to the variations.

ὀρύσσω [v.] 'to dig (up, in, out), scrape, bury' (Hom.). ◄IE? *$h_3$reu-k-* 'dig up, grub'►
•VAR Att. -ττω, late -χω (Arat.), ipv. ὄρυγε (Seriphos); aor. ὀρύξαι, fut. ὀρύξω (Hom.), pass. aor. ὀρυχθῆναι, fut. ὀρυχθήσομαι, perf. ὀρώρυγμαι (IA), prefixed κατ-ώρυγμαι, act. ὀρώρυχα (Att.), them. aor. ὀρυγεῖν, pass. ὀρυγῆναι (late).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. κατ-, δι-, ἀν-, περι-.
•DER 1. back-formation ὄρυξ, -υγος [m.] 'pickaxe' (*AP*), usually name of an Egyptian and Libyan (also Indian) gazelle or antelope (Arist., LXX), seemingly after the pointed horns, but rather a folk-etymologically transformed loan; also name of a large fish (Str.). Prefixed compounds, e.g. κατ-ῶρυξ, -υχος 'buried, dug in, underground' (ω by compositional lengthening), as a fem. noun 'grave, crypt' (trag.); dat.pl. κατωρυχέεσσι (λάεσσι, λίθοισι ζ 267, ι 185), probably metrical enlargement; δι-ῶρυξ, -υχος (late mostly -υγος) [f.] 'ditch, channel, mine' (Ion., Th., *Tab. Heracl.*, pap.). 2. (δι-, ὑπ-)όρυγμα [n.] 'hole, grave' (IA); 3. ὀρυγμός [m.] 'id.' (Priene). 4. (δι-)ορυχή [f.] (-ωρ-) 'digging' (D., Delos), also -γή (LXX). 5. (κατ-, ἐπ-, ὑπ-)όρυξις [f.] 'id.' (Arist.). 6. ὀρυκτή [f.] = ὄρυγμα (Ph.). 7. ὀρυκ-τήρ [m.] 'miner' (Zeno Stoic.), -της [m.] 'digger, tool for digging' (Aesop., Str.); (δι-)ορυκτρίς [f.] epithet of χελώνη 'mine protection roof' (Poliorc.). 8. ὀρυγεύς·*fossorium* (gloss.).
•ETYM The basis of all verbal forms and derived nouns seems to be a stem ὀρυχ-; the voiced stop in ὀρυγ- and the present ὀρύχω are secondary.
Thus, we can explain the primary *yod*-present ὀρύσσω from *$h_3$rug^h-ie/o-*. However, cognate forms appear to continue a root *$h_3$ruk-*, e.g. the secondary nasal present Lat. *runcō, -āre* 'to weed out, root up', *runcō, -ōnis* [m.] 'weeding hook', Latv. *rūkēt* 'to dig, scrape', Skt. *luñcati* 'pluck off' (with *l-* for IE **r*).
Further cognates include Ir. *rucht* < **ruk-tu-* 'swine', Alb. *rrah* 'excavation, reclaimed land' < **rouk-so-* (Restelli *RILomb.* 91 (1957): 475). Therefore, we have to assume that the aspirated stop, which is seen only in Greek, is analogical.
It is possible that the root-final **k* is a root extension; a root *$h_3$reu-* is perhaps found in ►οὐροί [m.pl.] 'trench'. Connection with ►ὅρος 'boundary' is impossible because of Myc. *wo-wo*, etc.

ὀρφανός [m.] 'orphaned, orphan', metaph. 'bereft, abandoned' (υ 68). ◄IE *$h_3$orb^h-o-* 'orphaned, bereft'►

•COMP As a first member in ὀρφανο-δικασταί [m.pl.] "orphan-judge" (*Leg. Gort.*).
•DER 1. Adj. ὀρφαν-ικός 'belonging to ὀρφανοί' (Il., Pl., Arist.), -ιος 'abandoned, lonely' (*AP*). 2. Substantive ὀρφαν-ία [f.] 'orphanhood, bereavement' (Pi., Att.), -ότης [f.] 'id.' (Cappadocia). 3. Verbs. a) ὀρφαν-ίζω (also ἀπ-) 'to make an orphan, bereave of' (Pi.); thence formally -ιστής [m.], but in the sense of 'guardian' (S. *Ai.* 512), also name of an official (Selymbria); b) -εύω 'to bring up orphans', med. 'to be orphaned' (E.) with -ευμα [n.] 'orphanhood' (E.), -εία [f.] (if not itacistic for -ία) 'id.' (pap.); c) -όομαι 'to be bereft' (*AP*, sch.).
•ETYM The glosses ὀρφοβόται· ἐπίτροποι ὀρφανῶν 'guards of orphans', ὀρφοβοτία· ἐπιτροπή 'guardianship', and ὤρφωσεν· ὠρφάνισεν (H.) point to the previous existence of a noun *ὀρφος. From this noun, ὀρφανός (with the same meaning) seems to be a purely formal enlargement after other adjectives in -ανός.
This pre-form *ὀρφος agrees exactly with Arm. *orb, -oy* 'orphan', and Lat. *orbus* 'orphaned, bereft' < IE **Horbʰo-*. A *i̯o*-derivative is supposed in the Celtic and the Germanic word (perhaps a Celtic loan?) for 'heritage', e.g. OIr. *orb(b)e, orpe* [n.], Go. *arbi*, OHG *arbi, erbi* [n.]; thence 'heir', e.g. OIr. *orb(b)e* [m.], Go. *arbja*, OHG *arpeo, erbo* [m.].
Melchert fthc., for which see Kloekhorst 2008, argues that Hitt. *ḫarp-*$^{tta(ri)}$, *ḫarp-*^{zi} 'to separate oneself and reassociate, change allegiance, join with' (from an original middle **h₃erbʰ-to*) preserves the original verbal root, with a derivative **h₃orbʰ-o-* which developed a specialized meaning 'bereft, orphan' in some languages (Gr., Lat.) but a meaning 'inheritance, heir' in other (Celt., Gm.).
Compare loanwords into Uralic languages, e.g. Fi. *orbo, orvo* 'orphan'.

ὄρφνη [f.] 'dark(ness), murk, night' (Thgn., Pi.). ◂?▸
•VAR Dor. -ᾱ.
•DER ὀρφν-αῖος 'dark, murky' (Il.), -ώδης 'id.' (Hp.) and several expressions for 'dark color, dark red': ὄρφν-ινος (Pl., X.), -ιος 'id.' (Arist., Plu.), -ήεις (Q. S., Man.), -ός (Nic.); unclear ὀρφν-ίτας [m.] (Dor.), epithet of τάλαρος (*AP*).
•ETYM The similarity with ἔρεβος has often been observed. If related to ὄρφνη, we would have to posit a basis **h₁rgʷ-sno-* (with the same suffix as in the opposite λύχνος < **luk-sno-*) > PGr. **erkʷʰno-*, from which a feminine *orgʷʰnā-* was created, with secondary *o*-grade (Schwebeablaut with **h₁orgʷ-sno-* is unattractive).
Also compared with a Germanic adjective for dark shades of color, e.g. OHG *erpf* 'fuscus', OE *eorp, earp* 'dark-colored, blackish', from PGm. **erpa-;* to this also belong names of the partridge (with different ablaut), e.g. OHG *repa-huon*, and Slavic words with nasal, e.g. Ru. *rjab* 'motley', CS *jerębъ* 'partridge'.
Comparison with Arm. *arǰn* 'dark brown' < QIE **argʷʰen-*, **orgʷʰen-* has been proposed as well (Scheftelowitz *BB* 29 (1905): 17). ToB *erkent-*, ToA *arkant-* 'black' are unclear, as are ToB *orkamo* 'dark', ToA *orkäm* 'darkness'. All in all, neither comparison is convincing.

ὄρφώς name of a large seafish of the genus of the perches, 'Serranus gigas' or 'Polyprion cermum' (com., Arist.). ◂?▸

•VAR Also -ῶς, -ώ, -ών; secondary ὀρφός or ὄρφος (Arist.); acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 224, ὄρφος κοινῶς, ὀρφῶς δὲ Ἀττικῶς.
•DER ὀρφ-ίσκος [m.] = κίχλη as a fish name (Pancrat. Ep. *apud* Ath.), -ακίνης [m.] 'young ὀρφώς' (Dorio *apud* Ath.), derived from *ὄρφαξ (cf. δέλφαξ, etc.) with a suffix -ινη- like in δελφακ-ίνη, ἑλαφ-ίνης, etc.; ὀρφ-εύς [m.] = ὀρφώς (Marc. Sid., Alex.), with allusion to the PN. Details in Thompson 1947 s.v. and Strömberg 1943: 21f.
•ETYM Formation like the fish names λαγώς, -ός (originally a compound?), ἀχαρνώς, etc. Often compared to ὄρφνη, with reference to the color (see Strömberg 1943: 21f.), but unclear in detail. Connected with ὀρφός in ὀρφο-βόται (see ►ὀρφανός) by Bechtel 1917a: 32, but without semantic argumentation; perhaps because of its solitary way of life (described by Arist. as μονήρης)? Borrowed as Lat. *orphus*, MoHG *Orf*.

ὄρχαμος [m.] only in the Homeric formulae ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν, ὄρχαμε λαῶν, later ὄρχαμος στρατοῦ (A. *Pers.* 129 [lyr.]), etc. ◄PG?►
•ETYM Etymology and meaning debated. Traditionally derived from ἄρχω with a superlative suffix -μο-, and interpreted as 'leader'. If inherited, the o-vocalism must be due to ablaut (cf. ὄγμος : ἄγω). Fur.: 342 thinks that ἀ-/ ὀ- (in ἄρχω/ ὄρχαμος) points to a Pre-Greek word. However, Bechtel 1914 s.v. and others proposed to compare ὄρχατος 'ordered plantation' and cognates (see on ►ὄρχος) in the sense 'protecting wall (of the men)', like ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν; Wright *Class. Rev.* 29 (1915): 111f. compared ὄρχος 'row of trees'.

ὀρχάς 1 [f.] 'kind of olive' (Nic.). ⇒ὄρχις.

ὀρχάς 2 · περίβολος, αἰμασιά 'enclosure, wall' (H.). •VAR ὄρχατος. ⇒ὄρχος.

ὀρχέομαι [v.] 'to dance', act. 'to make dance' (Il., Ion., trag.). ◄IE? **h*₁*erg*ʰ- 'mount(?)'►
•VAR Aor. ὀρχήσασθαι (Od.).
•COMP Also with prefixes like ὑπ-, κατ-, ἐξ-.
•DER 1. Action noun ὀρχ-ηθμός [m.] 'dance' (Hom., *h. Ap.*), -ησμός [m.] 'id.' (A.), -ηστύς [f.] 'id.' (Hom., E. *Cyc.* 171), like κιθαριστύς; younger -ησις [f.] 'id.' (post-Hom.), -ημα (ὑπ-) [n.] 'id.' (Simon., S., Pl.). 2. Agent noun ὀρχ-ηστήρ (Il.), -ηστής, Dor. -ηστάς (Il., Thera, OAtt.) [m.] 'dancer' with fem. -ηστρίς (com., Pl.), -ήστρια (Moer.). 3. the *nomen loci* ὀρχ-ήστρα [f.] 'dancing-room, orchestra' (Pl., Arist.). 4. adjective -ηστικός 'ptng. to dance(r)s, fit for dancing' (Pl., Arist.).
•ETYM Taken by Frisk as an iterative-intensive formation from primary ►ἔρχομαι (but DELG finds this unconvincing, both formally and semantically). Skt. *ṛghāyáti* 'to tremble, scream, rage', which is traditionally compared (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 249), is indirectly connected at best. In inscriptions, ὀρχέομαι is often found in the meaning 'to mount' (Watkins *BSL* 70 (1975): 11-26, especially 18-19, and LIV² s.v. **h*₁*erg*ʰ-; the latter remarks that the semantic developments are unclear in detail). However, in view of the reconstruction given under ►ὄρχις, Watkins's connection with the word for 'testicle' is dubious.

ὀρχίλος [m.] name of a small bird, probably 'wren' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.); details in Thompson 1895 s.v. ◁?▷

•VAR On the accent Schwyzer: 485; also -ιλος (mss.).

•ETYM Formation like κορθ-, τροχ-ίλος, etc., perhaps from ὀρχέομαι because of the liveliness of the bird. Unclear.

ὄρχις, -εως [m.] 'testicles' (IA); also the plant name 'orchid' (Thphr., Dsc.), after the shape of the root, and a kind of olive (Colum.), after the shape of the fruit (see Strömberg 1940: 37 and 55). ◁IE *$h_3(e/o)rǵ^h$-*i*- 'testicle'▷

•VAR Ion. gen. -ιος, plur. mostly -εις, -ιες.

•COMP ὀρχί-πεδα [n.pl.] 'scrota, testicles' (Ar.), whence ὀρχι-πεδίζω (Ar., H.); ἔν-ορχις 'provided with testicles, uncastrated' (Hdt., Luc.), also ἔν-ορχος (Ψ 147, Hp.), ἐν-όρχης also 'buck' (Ar., Arist., Theoc.), with substantivizing -ης (see Schwyzer: 451), -ής (Milete VI[a]), with shift to an *s*-stem (see Schwyzer: 513).

•DER Diminutives ὀρχίδια [pl.n.] (Dsc.) and ὀρχάς, -άδος [f.] 'kind of olive' (Nic., Verg.).

•ETYM An old inherited word, retained in several languages. Ignoring enlargements, ὄρχις agrees with Arm. *orjikʿ* [pl.] 'testicles', gen. *-wocʿ* < IE *$h_3(o)rǵ^hi$-*i̯o*-, and with Alb. *herdhë* [f.] 'id.' < QIE *$h_3erǵ^h$-*ih*$_1$ [du.], MIr. *uirgge* [f.] 'id.' < *$Horǵ^hi̯ā$-.

Av. *ərəzi* [m.du.] 'id.' points to a zero grade IE *$Hrǵ^h$-*i*-h_1. Beside the inherited *i*-stem in Hitt. *arki-* [c.] 'testicle' < *$h_3rǵ^h$-*i*-, Hittite also has a verbal root *ark-*$^{a(ri)}$, *ārk-*^{i} / *ark-* 'to mount, cover, copulate' < *$h_3rǵ^h$-, *$h_3orǵ^h$-, with loss of initial *h_3 in front of *r and of *o (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

A derivative in *-l-* is found in Baltic, e.g. Lith. *eržilas*, dial. *aržˉ* [m.] 'stallion', where the vocalism of the former can be explained to be secondary by Rozwadowski's change (a recent overview of this effect is found in Derksen *Baltu Filologija* 11 (2002): 5-12).

The material shows that we may safely reconstruct initial *h_3- for PIE, which is also what the *o*-vocalism in most languages points to. In our reconstruction *$h_3(o)rǵ^h$-*i*-, it is unknown what the exact original ablaut pattern looked like: Greek and Hittite may continue a zero grade, Avestan certainly attests to it, and Armenian may do so as well, if *h_3e- yields Arm. *ho-* as opposed to *h_3o- > *o*-, as per Kortlandt 2003: 42.

ὄρχος [m.] 'row of vines or fruit trees' (η 127, ω 341, Hes. *Sc.* 296, B., Ar., X., Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR ὀρχός [m.] 'border of the eyelid, ταρσός' (Poll. 2, 69); ὀρχάς· περίβολος, αἰμιασιά 'enclosure, wall' (H.), ὀρχάδος στέγης (S. *Fr.* 812); ὀρχηδόν (Hdt. 7, 144) is explained by H. as ἡβηδόν 'from youth upwards', but usually as 'in a row, general'.

•DER ὄρχατος [m.] 'ordered plantation, garden' (η 112, ω 222, *AP*), plur. 'rows of garden plants, fruit trees or vines' (Ξ 123, E. *Fr.* 896, 2, Moschio Trag. 6, 12), metaph. ὀδόντων, κιόνων ὄρχατος (*AP*, Ach. Tat.).

With a suffix -μι-: ὀρχμαί· φραγμοί, καλαμῶνες, φάραγγες, σπῆλυγξ 'fences, reed-beds, chasms, caves' (H.); ὀρχμούς· λοχμῶδες καὶ ὄρειον χωρίον οὐκ ἐπεργαζόμενον 'bushy and mountaineous area, uncultivated land' (*Lex.*); in the same mg. ὀρχάμη (Poll. 7, 147).

•ETYM If the *hapax* ὀρχηδόν is correctly understood as 'following the row', the meaning 'row' has to be accepted for ὄρχος, as well. The word ὄρχατος was probably a collective abstract meaning 'order of rows (of plants)'. Thus, it seems hardly possible to combine the above words under a notion 'fence, enclosure', which hardly fits ὄρχος. Thus, the traditional connection with IE **uerǵʰ-* 'to turn, wind together, fence in' in Lith. *veržiù* 'to fence in, string', ON *virgill* 'snare', MoHG *er-würgen*, etc. becomes unlikely for semantic reasons; the same holds for the comparison with Lith. *sérgmi* 'to preserve, watch over' (Fraenkel *KZ* 72 (1955): 193ff.).
The connection of the TNs Ὀρχομενός (older Ἐρχ-; cf. Schwyzer: 255) and Illyrian Ὀργομεναί (Krahe *ZNF* 7 (1931): 25[4] and Krahe *ZNF* 11: 81) is commonly accepted.
As there is no IE etymology, it seems more probable that the word is Pre-Greek (note the agricultural meanings, and the name of the town with its variants). See ►εἴργω, ►ἔρχατος, and ►ὄρχαμος.

ὅς 1 [pron.rel.] 'who, which' (Il.). ◅IE **h₁i-o-* 'which'▻
•VAR ἥ, ὅ.
•DER ὅτερος 'who, which of the two' (Cret.), also ὅσ-τις, ὅ-τε, οἷος, ὅσος, etc.
•ETYM Inherited and identical with Skt. *yás, yā́, yád*, Av. *yō, yā, yaṯ*, OPhr. *ios*, NPhr. ιος, from IE **Hi-o-s, Hi-eh₂, Hi-o-d*. Old too is ὅτερος = Skt. *yatará-*, Av. *yatāra-* 'id.'. The original function was not relative, but rather demonstrative (the pronominal stem **h₁i-*); see Gonda *Lingua* 4 (1954-1955): 1ff., Gonda 1956: 96f., 126, and Monteil 1963: 1-17. Thus, in the framework of the development of initial **i̯-* versus **Hi̯-*, ὅς testifies to PIE **Hi̯-* > PGr. *j-*, PIE **i̯-* > Gr. ζ-.

ὅς 2 [pron.demonstr.] •VAR in καὶ ὅς, etc. ⇒ὁ.

ὅς 3 [pron.poss.] 'suus'. ⇒ἑ.

ὅσιος [adj.] 'sanctioned or permitted', by the gods or by nature, 'pleasing to the gods, just (= Lat. *fas*), devout, ritually pure' (Thgn., IA), cf. ὁσίη below. On the mg. of ὅσιος, -ίη, see on ►ἱερός and also Terstegen 1941, Jeanmaire *REGr.* 58 (1945): 66ff., van der Valk *REGr.* 64 (1951): 417ff. ◅?▻
•VAR Substantivized τὸ ὅσιον, τὰ ὅσια.
•COMP As a second member in ἀν-όσιος (IA), probably a bahuvrīhi 'who is without τὸ ὅσιον, ἡ ὁσία' (Frisk 1941: 10f.), ἀφ-ὅσιος = ἀν-όσιος (Eg. inscr. I[a]), see Strömberg 1946: 41.
•DER ὁσία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'divine or natural law, law, holy custom, holy service' (Od.), probably for ὁσίία (Frisk); ὁσιό-της [f.] 'divine obedience, piety' (Pl., X.).
Denominative ὁσιό-ομαι, -ω 'to purify (oneself), hallow' (IA), especially with ἀφ-, also with καθ- and ἐξ-. Thence (ἀφ-, καθ-)οσίωσις [f.] 'purification, hallowing' (D. H., Plu.), ἀφοσιώματα· καθάρματα, καθάρσια 'purifications' (H.), ὀσιωτήρ [m.] "purificator", name of a sacrificial animal in Delphi (Plu.).
•ETYM There is no convincing etymology. Often explained as a derivative in -ιο- from a participial form **s-o-to-* beside alleged **seto-* in ἑτά· ἀληθῆ (see ►ἑτάζω). However, the root for 'to be' is now established as **h₁es-*, and the type of formation assumed is untenable. The older connection with Skt. *satyá-* 'true' < IE **h₁s-nt-io-*

fails because there is no reflex of the laryngeal, and because of the vocalization *$n̥$ > o, which is not found in this environment in any dialect.
The derivation from *soto- (from a different root *set-, seen in ►ἑτάζω and ►ἑτεός) is defended by Pinault 1996: 43f.: *sotiio- 'conforme à l'ordre établi, pieux'. Cf. Benveniste 1969:2: 198-202. A recent attempt by Willi *JHS* (2008): 153-172 is unconvincing (see on ►νόσος).

ὀσμή = ὀδμή. ⇒ὄζω.

ὅσος [pron.rel.] 'how great' (Il.). ◁IE *h_1i-o- 'who'▷

•VAR Epic δσσος, -η, -ον.
•ETYM Derived from the relative ►ὅς; see s.v. and on ►τόσος.

ὄσπριον [n.]. 'pulse, legumen' (IA). ◁?▷

•VAR Mostly plur.; late also -εον.
•COMP ὀσπριο-πώλης [m.] 'pulse trader' (Att. inscr.), ὀσπρ-ηγός < *ὀσπρε-ηγός (Schulze 1933a: 430[4]) 'transporter of ὄ.' (Abydos V-VI[P]).
•DER ὀσπρι-ώδης 'like a pulse' (Aq., Orib.), -γίτης [m.] (-γ- spirantic indicator of hiatus) 'pulse trader, pulse planter' (pap. VI[P]); ὀσπρ-εύω [v.] 'to sow with ὄ.' (Att. inscr.).
•ETYM No etymology; probably a loan (Chantraine 1933: 55). IE hypotheses (see Frisk s.v.): connection with σπεῖρον 'cover' or with σπείρω 'to sow', but these are impossible, since ὀ- is not a prothetic vowel.

ὄσσα [f.] '(prognostic) voice, rumour' (B 93). ◁IE *uok^w-ih_2 'voice'▷

•VAR Att. ὄττα.
•DER ὀττεύομαι [v.] 'to wait for omens, interpret, predict' (Ar., Plb., D. H., Plu.), ὀττεία [f.] 'prediction' (D. H.); probably after μαντεύομαι.
•ETYM Formation like γλῶσσα (to γλῶχες), derived with a suffix -i̯α from ὄπ- 'voice', as seen in accus. ὄπα, etc. (see ►*ὄψ 1).

ὄσσε [n.du.] 'both eyes' (Il.). ◁IE *h_3ek^w- 'see, face'▷

•COMP As a second member in τρι-οττ-ίς [f.] 'pendant provided with three eyes (eye-like ornaments)' (cf. τρίγληνα ἕρματα) with the diminutive suffix -ιον (Hdn. Gr., Eust.); also -ης [m.] (Phot., *EM*).
•ETYM An inherited dual, from PGr. *$ok^wi̯e$ < *$h_3ek^wih_1$, identical with OCS *oči* 'both eyes', Arm. *ač'k'* [pl.] 'eyes'. See Forssman *MSS* 25 (1969): 39f. See ►ὄμμα, ►ὄπωπα, and ►ὄσσομαι.

ὄσσομαι [v.] 'to look, forebode, presage' (Il.). ◁IE *h_3ek^w- 'see'.▷

•COMP Also with προτι-, ἐπι-, κατ-.
•ETYM An old *yod*-present from PIE *h_3k^w-*ie/o*-, from the root *h_3ek^w- 'see, face'. The present ὄσσομαι had a semantic development different from the non-presentic forms ὄπωπα, ὄψομαι, etc.; cf. Treu 1955: 62f. Att. ὀττεύομαι is rather derived from ►ὄσσα. See ►ὄπωπα, ►ὄμμα, and ►ὄσσε.

ὀστακός ⇒ἀστακός.

ὀσταφίς ⇒ἀσταφίς.

ὀστέον [n.] 'bone' (Il.), also 'stone of a fruit' (pap. III[a]), see below. ◁IE *h_3esth_1-*i*- 'bone'▷

•VAR Att. ὀστοῦν, Aeol. plur. -ια, Dor. (Theoc.) -ία.

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ὀστ(ε)ο-κόπος [m.] name of a bone-disease (Hp., Thphr., Gal.), ὁλ-όστεον [n.] 'Plantago Bellardi', a substativized bahuvrīhi "consisting only of bones", because of its healing power; cf. ὀστεο-κόλλος [f.] and Strömberg 1940: 88f. and 32.

•DER Diminutives: ὀστ-άριον [n.] (medic.), -αρίδιον [n.] (Pall.); adjectives -έϊνος (IA), -ινος (Ar. *Ach.* 863 [Boeot.], Arist.), -όϊνος (Aq.) 'made of bone', -ώδης (X., Arist.), -εώδης (Plu.) 'bony'; -ίτης [m.] 'ptng. to the bones' (Ruf.).

•ETYM The PIE word for 'bone' was originally a neuter root noun, as evidenced by Av. *ast-* (e.g. gen. *astō*, acc. *asča* < **ast-ča*) and by Lat. *os* < *oss* < **ost*, gen. *ossis*.

It was transformed in various ways in other languages, e.g. Skt. *ásth-i* [nom.acc.], *asth-n-ás* [gen.] with interchange of *i* and *n*, and Hitt. *ḫaštāi* / *ḫašti-* with ablaut **ōi* : *i*. The root shape must have been **HestH-* (as shown by Skt. *-th-*). The initial laryngeal is shown to be **h_3-* by Lat. *os* (root nouns generally have *e*-vocalism), while Greek ὀστέον shows that root-finally we have **-h_1-*. The Greek ending -εον < **-ei-o-* is probably a thematization of the full grade of the IE suffix **-i-*, which also seems to be found in Skt. *hṛ́d-aya-* [n.] 'heart' beside *hā́rd-i* 'id.' (cf. ▸καρδία).

The words ▸ὄστρακον, ▸ἀστράγαλος, ▸ἀστακός, ▸ὀστρύα, and ▸ὀσφύς are unrelated.

ὄστλιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'lock of hair, tendril, vine, curling flames, tentacle of an octopus' (Thphr., Call., A. R., Nic., Hdn. Gr.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also ἄστλ- (Hdn. Gr. 1,44).

•ETYM Formation like εἴλιγξ, στρόφιγξ, θῶμιγξ, πύλιγγες, etc., with comparable meanings (Chantraine 1933: 399f., Schwyzer: 498); otherwise obscure. The word is Pre-Greek, as is shown by the varying anlaut and the suffix -ιγγ-. Fur.: 276 also refers to *ὄστρυγξ in ὀστρύγγιον ἡ ἐπιφυλλὶς 'racemus', 'stalk of a bunch of berries' (gloss.; not in LSJ). H. has ἄστλιγγας· αὐγάς ἤ ἄστριγγας; *EM* 159, 38 has ἄστριγας.

ὄστρακον [n.] 'hard shell of snails, mussels, turtles, etc.' (*h. Merc.*, A., Hp., Arist.), 'earthen potsherd (for writing on, e.g. at a vote), earthen vessel' (Hp., Att.). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP Few, e.g. ὀστρακό-δερμος 'having a shell for skin, with a hard skin' (Batr., Arist.), μαλακ-όστρακος 'with a soft shell' (Arist.).

•DER A. Substantives: 1. Diminutive ὀστράκ-ιον [n.] (Arist., Str.); 2. -ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'pine-cone' (Mnesith. *apud* Ath.); 3. -εύς [m.] 'potter' (*APl.*). 4. -ᾶς [m.] 'id.' (inscr. Corycos, Hdn. Gr.); 5. -ίτης [m.] name of a stone (Dsc., Plin.), of a kitchen (Ath.), fem. -ῖτις 'calamine' (Dsc., Plin.); 6. -ίας [m.] name of a stone (Plin.).

B. Adjectives: 7. -ινος, 8. -ε(ι)ος, 9. -όεις (*AP*), -οῦς (Gal.) 'earthen'; 10. -ώδης 'shell- or sherd-like, full of sherds' (Arist., LXX, pap.). 11. -ηρά [n.pl.] 'crustaceans' (Arist.).

C. Adverb: 12. -ίνδα 'played with potsherds' (Ar.), see Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 189ff.

D. Verbs: 13. -ίζω 'to write sbd.'s name on a potsherd and thus vote for his exile; to exile' (At., Arist.) with -ισμός [m.] 'ostracism' (Arist.); 14. -όομαι 'to crack into

pieces' (A.), 'to become covered with a shell' (Lyc., Gal.), -όω 'to turn into a shell, harden' (Arist.), 'to cover with sherds' (Att. inscr. IV[a]).

•ETYM Traditionally (Schwyzer: 497, Chantraine 1933: 384), it was assumed to be a formation in -ακο- derived from an *r*-stem ὀστ-ρ-, seen also in ►ὄστρεον. This *r*-stem was assumed to interchange with the *i/n*-stem in Skt. *ásthi*, gen. *asthnás* (see ►ὀστέον). However, there is no alternation between **r/n* and **i* in IE, nor a suffix **-ŋ̍ko-* (as per DELG) leading to Gr. -ακο-. Therefore, the word must be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

The suffix -ακο- is also seen in ►ἀστακός 'smooth lobster; hollow of the ear', which may be related as a Pre-Greek word, displaying typical variations. The same holds for ►ἀστράγαλος.

ὄστρειον, -εον [n.] 'oyster, mussel, sea-snail; purple dye' (A., Epich., Att.). ◅PG(S)▻

•COMP ὀστρειο-γραφής 'painted with purple' (Eleg. *apud* Plu.), λιμν-όστρεα [pl.] 'pond oysters' (Arist.).

•DER ὀστρ-έϊνος 'mussel-like, provided with a shell(?)' (Pl.), -ῖνος 'purple' (*POxy.* 109, 5; III--IV[P]), probably from Lat. *ostrīnus* 'id.' (since Varro), cf. below; -ε(ι)ώδης 'oyster-like' (Arist., Str.), -ειακός 'belonging to oysters' (Zonar.), -ίτης [m.] kind of stone (Orph. *L.*).

•ETYM The old etymology, which analyzes ὄστρε(ι)ον as a suffix -ε(ι)ο- added to a stem ὀστρ- 'bone', which is also assumed for ὄστρακον, is wrong, as there is no evidence for an Indo-European pre-form **ostr-* meaning 'bone' (see on ►ὄστρακον). Therefore, the word must be Pre-Greek. I assume that -ε(ι)- continues a Pre-Greek suffix *-ay-* (*Pre-Greek*: Suffixes s.v. -αι-/-ε(ι)-). For a word with this meaning, substrate origin is most likely in any case.

It was borrowed as Lat. *ostreum* [n.], *ostre-* [f.] (from ὄστρεα [n.pl.]), together with *ostr-īnus* (whence Gr. ὀστρῖνος; see above), *-ēātus*, *-ēārius*, etc.; thence MoHG *Auster*, etc.

ὄστριμον [n.] 'stable, fold' (Antim., H.), Ὄστριμα [pl.] name of a mountain (Lyc.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Improbable hypothesis by Bezzenberger *BB* 27 (1902): 174, who reconstructs **h₁od[h]-tro-*, comparing the Germanic group of OS *edor* 'fence' < **h₁ed[h]ro-* and the Slavic group of OCS *odrъ* 'bed' < **h₁od[h]ro-*: both the Greek suffixation and the formation in **-tro-* remain unexplained. Acc. to Frisk, ὄστριμον belongs to ►ὄστρακον, ►ὄστρεον, assuming a prior meaning **'protecting roof', for which he gives a parallel in Lat. *lestūdō* 'tortoise', also 'protecting roof'.

Since there is no IE etymology, the word may be Pre-Greek, although there appears no further indication for this.

ὀστρύα, -ύη [f.] name of a tree with hard, white wood, 'hop hornbeam, Ostrya carpinifolia' (Thphr., Plin.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Also ὀστρύς, -ύος (or -υς, -υος?), and ὀστρυΐς, -ίδος.

•ETYM Frisk compares ►ὄστρεον, but the semantics are weak. The assumption of syllable dissimilation from **ὄστρο-δρυς* is extremely doubtful. Heubeck 1961: 37 and

Neumann *Glotta* 37 (1958): 106-112 consider ὄστρυς to be Pre-Greek. Indeed, the enlargements -ύς, -ύα, -υίς are typical for an adapted foreign word. Not in Fur.

ὀσφραίνομαι [v.] 'to catch scent of, smell' (IA). ◅IE *h_3ed- 'smell' + *$g^{wh}reh_1$-▻

•VAR Aor. ὀσφρ-έσθαι (Att.); ὤσφραντο (Hdt. 1, 80), fut. ὀσφρ-ήσομαι (Att.), also ὀσφραν-θῆναι (Hp., Arist.), -θήσομαι (LXX), younger present ὀσφρ-ᾶται (Paus., Luc.), aor. ὠσφρ-ήσαντο, -ήθη (Arat., Ael.). Rare and late causative ὀσφραίνω 'to give to smell, make smell' (Gal., Gp.), also with ἀπ-, συν-, παρ-, etc.

•COMP Rarely with περι-, ὑπ-, κατ-. Compound καπν-οσφράντης [m.] 'who smells smoke' (*Com. Adesp.*, Alciphr.).

•DER 1. ὄσφρ-ησις [f.] 'olfactory sense or organ' (Pl., Arist.), 2. -ασία [f.] 'smell, smelling' (LXX, Arr.), 3. -ανσις [f.] 'olfactory sense' (Clearch.). 4. back-formation ὄσφραι [f.pl.] 'flavours, smell' (Ach. Tat.) with ὀσφράδιον [n.] 'bunch of flowers' (Eust.). 5. ὀσφρ-αντήριος 'smelling, sniffing' (Ar.), 6. -αντικός 'smelling, able to smell' (Arist.), -ητικός 'id.' (Gal., D. L.); 7. -αντός (Arist.), -ητός (S. E., Gal.) 'smellable'.

•ETYM The triad ὀσφρέσθαι : ὀσφρήσομαι : ὀσφρητός corresponds to αἰσθέσθαι : αἰσθήσομαι : αἰσθητός, which is semantically related and much more frequent; ὀσφραίνομαι may have been built after this on the basis of examples like ἁλιτέσθαι : ἁλιταίνομαι, βήσομαι : βαίνω, πεφήσεται : φαίνω, etc.; ὀσφρανθῆναι possibly after εὐφρανθῆναι, and ὤσφραντο (Hdt.) probably after ἠνείκαντο, etc.

It is widely agreed that the initial syllable contains a zero grade *s*-stem from the root *h_3ed- seen in ►ὄζω, ►ὀδμή, ►ὀσμή. This *s*-stem also occurs in the suffix -ώδης (s.v. ►ὄζω). Against further identification of ὀσ-φραίνομαι with ἀ-, εὐ-φραίνω (which belong to ►φρήν) speak the non-presentic forms ὀσ-φρέσθαι, -φρήσασθαι, for which no parallels exist in ἀ-, εὐ-φραίνω.

Brugmann's old connection (e.g. Brugmann *IF* 6 (1896): 100ff.) with Skt. *jíghrati, ghrāti* 'to smell', *ghrāṇa-* [n.] 'scent, nose' is now followed by LIV² s.v. *$g^{wh}reh_1$-. The verbal compound in Gr. ὀσ-φρη- < *h_3eds-$g^{wh}reh_1$- was compared with *$mens$-d^heh_1- in IIr. *$manz$-$d^hā$- by Schindler 1975: 266. Thus, all Greek forms derive from the future.

Seebold 1980: 482 also connected OE *brǣð* 'smell, breath', etc.

ὀσφῦς, -ύος [f.] 'hips, loin(s)' (IA). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Accented thus in Hdn. Gr.; the codd. often have -ύς.

•COMP As a first element e.g. in ὀσφυ-αλγής (A. *Fr.* 361 = 111 M., Hp.) 'suffering from a hip-disease (lumbago)', with -έω, -ία (Hp.).

•DER Diminutive ὀσφύδιον [n.] (Theognost.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ἰξύς, νηδύς, etc. Often connected (but without serious argumentation) with ὀστ-έον, assuming different second members, e.g. φῡ- as in ἔφυν, or σφυ- as in σφυδῶν· ἰσχυρὸς ... 'strong' (H.). Fur.: 375 adduces φύς = ὀσφύς (AB 1096), with Doric loss of initial σ- before φ, pointing to a Pre-Greek prothetic vowel. He also accepts (op.cit. 393) the connection with ψύαι 'loin-muscles' and ►ψόαι, which was suggested already by Prellwitz and is too obvious to be discarded. Thus the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

ὄσχη 1 [f.] 'scrotum' (Hp.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR In the same mg. also ὀσχ-έα [f.], -εος [m.] (Arist.), -εον [n.] (Poll., H.). Also ὄσχεα· βαλλάντια, μαρσύππια ἢ τὸ τῶν διδύμων ἀγγεῖον 'bags, purses or a sack of twins (sens. obsc.)' (H.).

•COMP ἀν-οσχήν· ἄνανδρος 'unmanly' (H.).

•ETYM Explained by Frisk as a metaphorical use of ►ὄσχη 2. DELG considers this possible, but uncertain. Improbable is derivation from a prefix ὀ- (see ►ὀ- 2) and σχεῖν (suggestion by DELG). The word may well be Pre-Greek.

ὄσχη 2 [f.] in ὄσχαι· κλήματα βοτρύων γέμοντα 'branches full of bunches of grapes' (H., similar Harp.; unclear Nic. *Al.* 109). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also ὤσχη· κληματίς 'vine-branch' (*EM*, Suid., H.); msc. plur. ὠσχοί· τὰ νέα κλήματα σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βότρυσι 'young branches, with the bunches themselves' (H.); likewise, among others, *EM* 619, 32 with οἰ-, perhaps after οἶνος; sg. in Aristodem. *apud* Ath. 11, 495f.

•COMP Frequently in ὠσχο-φόρια [n.pl.] name of an Athenian festive day, together with -φόροι [m.pl.], -φορικός (since IV^{a}); on the mg. see Rutgers van der Loeff *Mnem.* 43 (1915): 404ff.; codd. also ὀ- (cf. ὄσχος Ar. *Ach.* 997 as a conjecture). Hypostasis ἐπ-ὀσχιον [n.] 'offshoot of a vine' (Gal.).

•ETYM Scheftelowitz *IF* 33 (1913/1914): 141, 144f. hypothetically compares MP *azg* 'branch', MoP *azay* 'twig, bud', but this word is further isolated. Previously connected with σχεῖν 'to hold' with prefixed ὠ-, ὀ- (see Frisk for lit.), but this prefix does not exist in Greek (see ►ὀ- 2). The variation of the initial vowel rather shows that the word is Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

ὅτε [conj.] 'when, as', mostly temporal (IA, Arc., Cypr.). ◁IE *h_1i-o- 'if, when'▷

•DIAL Myc. *o-te*, Aeol. ὅτα, Dor. ὅκα.

•ETYM Usually explained from the relative ὅ- < IE *h_1i-o- and the particle -τε, -τα, -κα (cf. on ►εἶτα, ►ἡνίκα and Schwyzer: 629).

ὄτλος [m.] 'burden, load, suffering' (A. *Th.* 18, S. *Tr.* 7 sch.). ◁PG?▷

•DER ὀτλ-έω (Call., A. R., Lyc.), -εύω (A. R., Babr.) [v.] 'to bear, undergo', -ημα [n.] 'distress' (H., Theognost.).

•ETYM Taken as a verbal noun to τλῆναι 'to bear, suffer', under the dubious assumption that the prothetic vowel ὀ- was rhythmically conditioned, or a prefix. However, this is no explanation, and moreover *tlh_2-o- would give Gr. *ταλο-, so the etymology is wrong. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

ὄτοβος [m.] 'noise, sharp sound' (Hes., A., S., Antim.). ◁ONOM, PG?▷

•DER ὀτοβ-έω 'to produce noise' (A.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic with a suffix -βο- like in θόρυβος, κόναβος, etc. Besides, there is the reduplicated interjection ὀτοτοῖ 'ah!, woe!' (trag.), with ὀτοτύζω 'to cry ὀτοτοῖ, lament' (A., Ar.); see Schwyzer: 716.

ὀτόστυλλον [n.] name of an unknown plant (Epich. 161 cited in Ath. 70f). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

ὀτραλέως [adv.] 'swift, quick' (Γ 260, Τ 317, τ 100, Hes. *Sc.* 410, Sapph. 44, 11, A. R. 1, 1210). ◂?▸

•VAR Also -λέος [adj.] 'id.' (Opp., Q. S.). Cf. ὀτρηρός 'id.' (Hom., Ar.).

•DER ὀτρῡ́νω [v.] 'to encourage, urge, incite, stir up' (Il.), aor. ὀτρῦναι, fut. ὀτρυνῶ, also with prefix (always in prose), especially ἐπι-. Hence ὀτρυν-τύς, -ύν [f.] 'incitement' (Τ 234f., Antim. 91), -τικός 'inciting' (Eust.), -τεύς [m.] name of a Lydian, together with -τείδης (Υ 383f., 389); ἐργότρυς· κατάσκοπος ἔργων 'labour inspector' (H.), a back-formation.

•ETYM Like κλῑ́νω < *κλῐ̆-ν-i̯ω, ὀτρῡ́νω < *ὀτρυ-ν-i̯ω is an older nasal formation to which a presential *yod*-suffix was added. ὀτρηρός is undoubtedly a recent formation in -ηρός (on which, see Chantraine 1933: 231ff.); perhaps ὀτραλέος was formed to ὀτρύνω after the model θαρσαλέος : θαρσύνω.

The variation in ὀτρύνω : ὀτραλέως recalls that in τρῠφάλεια : τράπεζα < *(*k*^{w})*tu̯r̥*-. The form ὀτρύνω has therefore been analyzed as *ὀ-τρῠ̆-ν-i̯ω, consisting of a prefix ὀ- and a zero grade IE **tu̯r̥*- which metathesized to τρυ- (cf. on ▸τρυφάλεια). In this way, connection with Skt. *tvárate* 'to hurry' and with the Germanic group of OHG *dweran* 'to turn round quickly' < IE **tuer*- became possible. This analysis seems quite uncertain, however, since a prefix ὀ- probably did not exist in Greek; cf. ▸ὀ- 2. See ▸τορύνη 1.

ὀτρύγη, -φάγος ⇒τρύγη.

ὀτρύνω ⇒ὀτραλέως.

ὀττεύομαι ⇒ὅσσα.

οὐ [pcl.] 'not' (Il.). ◂IE? **h*$_2$*eiu*- 'lifetime, long period'▸

•VAR Antevocalically οὐκ, οὐχ (Il.), οὐκί (epic), οὐχί (trag., also Hom. and Att. prose).

•DIAL Myc. *o-u-qe* 'and not'.

•ETYM Pre-Greek origin has been considered for a long time, until Cowgill *Lang.* 36 (1960): 347ff. connected the element with ▸αἰών and cognates, assuming a basic expression **ne h*$_2$*oiu k*^{w}*id*, where **ne* is the sentence negative; it lost its meaning to the second element, a development which occurs more often. The syntagm would also explain Arm. *oč*^{c} and Alb. *as* (cf. Kortlandt 2003: index).

The other Greek forms are easily explained in this way: Hom. οὐ-κί contains the IE indefinite pronoun **k*^{w}*id* and is the oldest form; thence οὐκ by elision and οὐχ with aspiration, if the latter was not elided from οὐ-χι, containing the stressing particle IE **ǵ*^{h}*i* (Pok. 417f.), like ναί-χι, ἦ-χι, etc. = Skt. *hí* (in *na-hí* 'since not', etc.), Av. *zi*.

From οὐδὲ εἷς arose οὐδείς, younger Att. and Koine οὐθείς 'nobody'; in the same way, οὐδ-αμοῦ, -αμοῖ, -αμῶς, -αμός, and -άμινος arose from ▸*ἅμο-, ἅμα.

οὐαί [excl.] 'alas!' (LXX). ◂LW Sem.▸

•ETYM A loan from Semitic; see Lowe *Hermathena* 105 (1967): 34-9.

οὐγγία, οὐγκία [f.] = Lat. *uncia*.

•VAR Also ὀγκία (Epich. 203).

•ETYM A loan from Latin by the Greeks of Sicily.

οὖδας, -εος [n.] 'ground, soil' (Il.). ◁PG?, ?▷

•VAR Dat. -ει. On the inflexion see Chantraine 1942: 210f.

•DER οὐδαῖος 'on or under the ground' (Lyc., Orph., *AP*) and several hypostases: κατ-ουδαῖος 'subterranean' (Hes. *Fr.* 60, *h. Merc.*, Call.), ὑπ-ουδαῖος 'id.' (Plu., Opp.), ἐπουδαῖοι· ἐπιχθόνιοι 'who dwell on the earth' (H.); προσ-ουδ-ίζω, -ίσαι [v.] 'to throw on the ground' (Hdt., Plu., D. C.), ἐποτούδιξε· κατὲβαλεν ἐπὶ γῆν 'threw to the ground' (H.), containing the prefix ποτ-.

•ETYM There is no good etymology. Semantically attractive but phonetically difficult is the connection with Arm. *getin* 'bottom of the earth' < **ueden-o-*, Hitt. *utnē* 'land' < **ud-n-i-*, but then οὐ- remains unexplained; see ►οὐδός 'threshold' for details. See Peters 1980a: 57f. for a discussion of all possible reconstructions. One also compared ►ἔδαφος 'ground, bottom'.

οὐδός [m.] 'threshold' (Il.). ◁PG?, ?▷

•VAR ὁδός (Att.), ὠδός (Cyrene, H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. A basis **ὀδϝός* enables connection with οὖδας, but only if one accepts that this is a generalized Ionic form (Att. **ὄδας* would be expected). The further connection of Arm. *getin* and Hitt. *utne* with οὖδας and οὐδός used to be justified by the assumption of a form **ὀ-ϝοδ-* besides ὁδός from **ϝοδ-ός*, but a prothetic vowel cannot be assumed anymore in an inherited word. In any case, **h_3uC-* did not give οὐC- (as per Peters 1980a: 72f.). In principle, οὐδός and οὖδας could be variants of the same Pre-Greek word. See ►οὖδας.

οὐδών, -ῶνος [m.] 'kind of felt-shoe made of goat hair' (Poll. 10, 50). ◁LW Asia Minor▷

•DER Diminutive -ώνιον (*Edict. Diocl.* [Asine]), -ωνάριον (Charis., gloss.).

•ETYM Borrowed as Lat. *ūdō*, *-ōnis* [m.], also *odō*. Acc. to Martialis 14, 140, the word is Cilician, thus a foreign word from Asia Minor; cf. WH s.v. and Neumann 1961: 33.

οὖθαρ, -ατος [n.] 'udder', also metaph. (Il.). ◁IE **h_1e/ou(H)d^h-r/n-* 'udder'▷

•DER οὐθάτιος (*AP*), -όεις (Nic., Opp., Orph.) 'belonging to udders, fertile'.

•ETYM Old inherited word for 'udder', preserved in several languages. The original *r/n*-stem is also seen in Skt. *ū́dhar*, gen. *ū́dhnas*. In Lat. *ūber*, *-eris* [n.] (secondarily with adjectival mg. 'rich, fertile'), the *r*-stem was generalized, like in Germanic, e.g. MHG *ūter*, ON *júgr* < **jūdr* with deviating initial, and in Lith. *ūdr-óti*, 1sg. *-óju* 'to be pregnant', *pa-ūdróti* 'to get an ever larger udder', of pregnant swines and dogs. If the Germanic forms with initial **e-* are not secondary, the root starts with **h_1-* and shows ablaut *e / o* / zero. Slavic rebuilt the word after the neuters in *-men*, e.g. SCr. *vȉme*, Ru. *výmja* [n.].

The variations in anlaut seem to point to an old ablaut **HeuHd^h-*, *HouHd^h-*, *HuHd^h-*. Acc. to Schindler *BSL* 70 (1975): 7f., this reflects a PIE static heteroclitic formation. To explain the Greek form, the Saussure Effect is assumed: loss of the laryngeal after a root with *o*-grade and a resonant or semivowel. However, if the length in Skt. could

be explained in a different way, there is no need to reconstruct the internal laryngeal at all, since in Balto-Slavic, initial **HuC-* merges with **uHC-* (see Pronk fthc.c).

οὐλαί [f.pl.] '(unground) barley corns, roasted and sprinkled between the horns of the sacrificial animal' (Ion. since γ 441); Lat. *mola salsa.* ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR ὀλαί (Att.), ὀλοαί (Arc. II[a]). Cf. ὄλπα· χόνδρου τις ἔψησις. ἔδεσμά τι 'cooking of groats, a dish'. ἢ ὄλβος 'wealth, blessed state' (H.).

•COMP As a first member in οὐλο-χύτας [acc.pl.f.] 'id.' (Hom.); οὐλόχυτα· τὰ κατάργματα 'first offerings' (H.); compounds of οὐλαί and ►χέω with a suffix -το- (cf. e.g. ἀκμό-θετον); οὐλο-χύτας took the gender of οὐλαι (but acc. to Schwyzer: 439, it stands for *οὐλὰς χυτάς); thence οὐλοχυτ-έομαι [v.] 'to besprinkle with οὐ.' (Thphr. *apud* Porph.). Also οὐλο-χόϊον (-χοεῖον?)· ἀγγεῖον, εἰς ὃ αἱ ὀλαὶ ἐμβάλλονται πρὸς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν θυσιῶν 'vessel in which the ὀ. are thrown at the beginning of sacrifices' (H.); as if from *οὐλο-χόος, -χοέω.

•DER Also (with ὀλβ- = ὀλϝ-) ὀλβ-άχνιον [n.] 'basket for the ὀλαί' (*EM* 257, 53 [Syracuse]), ὀλβάχιον· κανοῦν. Δεινόλοχος (H.); ὀλβακήϊα 'id.' (Dor., acc. to H. s.v. εὔπλουτον κανοῦν); ὀλαγμεύειν· ὀλὰς βάλλειν 'to throw ὀ.' (Phot.) with ὀλαιμεύς· ὁ (cod. τὸ) τὰς ὀλὰς βάλλων 'he who throws the ὀ. (H.).

•ETYM The second ο in Arc. ὀλοαί may stand for ϝ (cf. δοάν = δϝάν, see ►δήν), from which we obtain a basic form ὀλϝαί. The comparison with ὄλυραι and ►ἔλυμος 'barley' is hypothetical. In view of the gloss ὄλπα (H.), which Fur.: 155 and 240 connects with ►ὄλβος under an original meaning 'Nährung, Getreide', it is probably Pre-Greek.

οὐλαμός [m.] 'throng, crowd' (Il.: οὐλαμὸς ἀνδρῶν); metaph. of bees (Nic.); technical usage 'troop of cavalry' (Plb., Plu.). ◁IE? **uel-* 'press together'▷

•COMP As a first member in οὐλαμη-φόρος, οὐλαμ-ώνυμος (Lyc.); details in Trümpy 1950: 159.

•ETYM From γόλαμος (=ϝόλ-)· διωγμός 'pursuit' (H.), a pre-form (ϝ)ολαμός with metrical lengthening is deduced (cf. Chantraine 1942: 124f.). This is derived from ►εἰλέω 1 'to press together', with an *o*-grade root and suffixal -αμ-, like ποταμός, πλόκαμος.

οὔλαφος [m.] · νεκρός 'corpse' (H.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER Also in οὐλαφη-φόρος 'bearer of corpses' (Call. *Iamb.* 1, 234).

•ETYM Often connected with ►οὖλος 3 as containing a suffix -φο- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 263). However, it rather seems to be an independent Pre-Greek word.

οὖλε 'salve' (ω 402). ⇒ὄλος.

οὐλή [f.] 'scarred wound, scar' (Od.). ◁IE **uel-* 'draw, tear'▷

•COMP οὐλο-πρόσωπος 'with scarred countenance' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*).

•DER οὐλόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to scar, cause scars' (Arist.), with -ωσις (Gal.), -ωμα (Suid.) 'scarring'.

•ETYM From a pre-form **wolnā-*, but without a direct counterpart outside Greek. Closest is Lat. *volnus* [n.] 'wound' < PIt. **welanos-* < QIE **uelh$_3$-nos-*. Celtic words

like MW *gweli* [m.] 'wound', also 'blood' < **uelīso-* (vel sim.), OIr. *fuil* [f.] 'blood' < **uolH-i-* are root-related.

As a common basis for these nouns, the root **uelh$_3$-* 'to strike' must be assumed, as represented by Hitt. *ú̯alḫ-^{zi}* 'to hit', Lat. *vellō* 'to pull out' and, within Greek (with change of meaning), ►ἁλίσκομαι 'to be caught'. The loss of laryngeal in **uolH-neh$_2$-* > PGr. *wolnā-* can be attributed to the Saussure Effect; for an alternative, see Van Beek 2009.

οὔλιος 'baneful'. ⇒οὖλος 3.

οὖλον [n.] 'gums' (Hp., A., Pl., Arist.). ◅?▻

•VAR Mostly plur. -α.

•ETYM The basic form is uncertain: **(ϝ)όλσον, *(ϝ)όλνον*, or even (if an Ion. loan into Att.) **(ϝ)όλϝον*? It is etymologically uncertain as well: both the connection with εἰλέω, εἵλομαι 'press together' (referring to the compact, massive structure of the gums) and that with εἰλέω 'to turn, wind', εἰλύω 'to envelop' (properly **"tumor, envelopment"*; Pok. 1141, WH s.v. *gingīva*) seem conceivable.

οὖλος 1 'whole, entire'. ⇒ὅλος.

οὖλος 2 [adj.] A. 'frizzy, shaggy, woolly, crinkly', of κόμη, λάχνη, χλαῖνα, τάπητες, etc. (Il.), as a first member in οὐλό-θριξ, -κάρηνος, -κομος, etc. (Od., Hdt., Alex., Arist.); also of plants like ἕλιξ, σέλινον (Simon., Hdt.); B. Later, of ξύλον, δένδρον, etc. (Thphr.), also of the voice (Plu., *AP*), of movements (Call.) 'compact, dense, thick, πυκνός, συνεστραμμένος'. ◅IE? **uol(H)-no-* 'wool'▻

•VAR Myc. *wo-ro-ne-ja* was interpreted as /wloneja/ with metathesis for /wolneja/ by Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 322; uncertain.

•DER From A. οὐλάς [f.], of χαίτη (Nic.); from B. οὔλιος [adj.], of χλαμύς; οὐλάς also as a substantive = πήρα, θύλακος (Call., *AP*, H.).

•ETYM In the meaning 'frizzy', οὖλος can be connected with ►εἰλέω 2 'to roll, turn, wind' (Bechtel 1914). The later-attested meaning 'compact, thick, etc.' agrees better with ►εἰλέω 1 'to press together', but we may also be dealing with a semantic shift 'twisted' > 'compact' (cf. ►συστρέφειν), and it is often difficult to separate the two verbs.

However, the morphology is difficult: a base form like **ϝόλνος* fits better with a substantive. A reduplicated **ϝό-ϝλ-ος* is improbable. If Myc. *wo-ro-ne-ja* stands for /wolneja/, we may reconstruct **uol(H)-no-* 'wool', either from **uel-* 'to twist' or **uelH-* 'to pluck' (Lat. *vellō*). See ►ἴουλος.

οὖλος 3 [adj.] 'baneful', epithet of Ares and Achilles, also of Ὄνειρος (Il.); of Eros (A. R.), also of χεῖμα (Bion), of στόμιον (Nic.); probably also in οὖλον κεκλήγοντες (P 756, 759; acc. to the sch. and McKenzie *Class. Quart.* 21 (1927): 206 'thick, loud, violent', to ►οὖλος 2). ◅IE **h$_3$lh$_1$-u-* 'destructive'▻

•DER With a suffix -ιο- and in the same mg.: οὔλιος, said of ἀστήρ (Λ 62), of Ares, etc. (Hes. *Sc.*, Pi., S.); also of Apollo and Artemis (Delos, Milete), probably originally as bringers of pest and death (= λοίμιος), later connected with Apollo as a healing

god and connected with ὅλος (whence Ἀπ. Ὄλιος in Lindos; cf. on ὅλος). On ▶οὔλαφος, see s.v.

•ETYM Derived from the root *h_3elh_1- of ▶ὄλλυμι, but the details of the derivation are disputed. It seems best to assume an original *u*-stem *h_3elh_1-*u*-, *h_3lh_1-*eu*-, which is probably continued in ὀλοός, as well.

As an epithet of Ὄνειρος, οὖλος was interpreted by Bechtel 1914: 259f. as 'deceiving' and connected with Lith. *vìlti* 'to deceive', which Frisk calls "verlockend aber überflüssig".

οὖλος 4 [m.] 'sheaf of corn', secondarily 'song to worship Demeter' (Ath. 14, 618d); οὖλοι· δράγματα 'sheaves' (H.). ◁?▷

•DER Οὐλώ [f.] epithet of Demeter (Semus 19). Egetmeyer *Kadmos* 32 (1993): 35f. compares the Cyprian epithet of a goddess *wo-lo-we-a-i* /wolweai/ [dat.sg.f.].

•ETYM Unknown. Hardly the same word as ▶ἴουλος, as assumed e.g. by Frisk.

οὖν [adv.pcl.] 'well, so', also (originally?) affirmative: 'in fact, indeed, certainly' (Hom., Att.). ◁?▷

•VAR Post-Hom. Ion. ὦν (also attested as οὖν), Lesb. Boeot. Dor. ὦν, Thess. οὖν (< ὦν?).

•ETYM The relation between οὖν and ὦν is unclear. Unconvincing explanations in Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 633 and in Schwyzer 1950: 586f. On οὖν in Homer, cf. Reynen *Glotta* 36 (1957): 1ff. and Reynen *Glotta* 37 (1958): 67ff.

οὕνεκα, -κεν [rel. adv., conj.] 'wherefore, because of which, for the reason that' (Il.), as a preposition 'because of' = ἕνεκα (mostly Att. poetry, Herod.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM As a relative, compounded from οὗ ἕνεκα; as a preposition, arisen from ἐκείνου ἕνεκα > ἐκεινούνεκα (vel sim.) by false division.

οὖνον

•VAR οὔνει.

•ETYM Acc. to Mayer *Acme* 14 (1961): 233ff., it was borrowed from Eg. *wny* (cf. Copt. ου(ε)ινι) 'to run'. See ▶ἐριούνης.

οὐρά [f.] 'tail' (Il.), later often metaph. 'rear (guard)' (X., Plb.). ◁IE *h_1ers- 'tail', PG?▷

•VAR Ion. -ή.

•COMP οὐρ-ᾱγός [m.] 'leader of the rear guard', with -έω, -ία (X., Plb., LXX); on κόλ-ουρος see ▶κόλος; see also ▶κόθουρος, ▶πάγουρος.

•DER 1. Diminutive οὐράδιον (Gp.); 2. Adjectives οὐρ-αῖος 'belonging to the tail' (Ψ 520, Hp.) with -αία [f.] (like κεραία, etc.) 'tail' (Aret.), -αῖον [n.] 'id.' (E.). 3. οὐρ-αχός [m.] 'foetal organ, point, outer end', e.g. of the heart, of the eyebrows, of a stalk (medic., Ael.), -ίαχος [m.] 'lower end of a spear' (Il., A. R., *AP*; metrically conditioned?); cf. κύμβ-αχος, στόμ-αχος, etc. 4. οὐρώδης 'belonging to the tail' (Hp. v.l.). See also ▶οὖραξ.

•ETYM The alternation between οὐρά and ὄρρος, -ορσος mirrors that between κουρά and κόρρη, κόρση. The cause for this alternation may have been the accent: *ὁρσά gave οὐρά, while -ρσ- remained when the accent preceded: ὄρσος (> Att. ὄρρος). Note OIr. *err* [f.] 'tail' < IE *h_1ers-h_2-.

The form οὐραχός is remarkable, with a suffix that is probably Pre-Greek; here again there are the parallels with -αχ-, -ιχ-, -υχ- (cf. Chantraine 1933: 403). Even stranger is the form οὐρίαχος, which has been considered to be a metrical licence (there is no other word in -ιαχος). One might suppose, therefore, that the preceding consonant was palatalized, i.e. *-rsʸ-*; cf. Beekes 2008. This might lead to the conclusion that the word for 'tail' is Pre-Greek (unless one concludes that οὐρ(ι)αχός is not cognate with the tail-word). See ►ὄρρος.

οὐρανός [m.] 'heaven, sky' (Il.), also personified (Hes.). ◄PG?, IE? **uors-o-* 'rain'►

•VAR Dor. Boeot. ὠρανός, Aeol. ὤρανος, ὅρανος (both probably for ὄρρ-, see below).

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. οὐρανο‿μήκης 'sky-high' (ε 239); in hypostases like ἐπ-ουράνιος 'in the sky' (Il.).

•DER 1. Diminutive οὐρανίσκος [m.] 'tent-roof, palate' (Hell.), also name of a constellation (sch.); 2. οὐράν-ιος 'heavenly' (Pi., IA), -ίς [f.] (*AP*); -ία [f.] name of one of the Muses (Hes.); 3. Οὐραν-ίωνες (θεοί) [m.pl.] 'the heavenly (gods)' (Hom., Hes.), also 'the Titans' (E 898; from Οὐρανός); -ίδης, Dor. -ίδᾱς 'son of Ouranos', plur. 'the Titans', also 'the heavenly' (Hes., Pi.); 4.Οὐραν-ιάς [f.] 'game to worship Ourania' (Sparta); 5. οὐραν-ίζω or -ίζομαι 'to go up high' (A. *Fr.* 766 M.), -ιάζω 'to toss up high' (H. s.v. οὐρανίαν), -οῦσθαι 'to become deified' with -ωσις (Eust.).

•ETYM As the Aeolic variation ὠρ-, ὀρ- probably stands for geminated ὀρρ-, the basis is likely to have been *(ϝ)ορσανός, accented like ὀρφανός and perhaps an enlargement of a noun **uorsó-* = Skt. *varṣá-* [n., m.] 'rain'.

Alternatively, like e.g. ὄχανον : ἔχω, ξόανον : ξέω, it has been supposed that οὐρανός, as an agent noun, derives from a verbal root **uers-* as seen in Skt. *várṣati* 'to rain'; alternatively, that it derives from the iterative ►οὐρέω, in the way that Indo-Iranian nouns in *-ana-* are connected with verbs in *-ayati* (= Gr. -έω); it would then mean "rainmaker" or "moistener, impregnator". However, the identity of the suffixes Gr. -ανο- and IIr. *-ana-* can only be accepted under the doubtful assumption of PIE **a*.

Specht *KZ* 66 (1939): 199ff., Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *viršùs* and others interpreted it as "der zur Höhe in Beziehung stehende", from the root of Skt. *varṣman-* [m., n.] 'height', Lith. *viršùs* 'upper, highest seat', to which Ἔρρος· ὁ Ζεύς (H.) has also been connected, so from IE **uers-*; however, this is not to be preferred, neither semantically nor formally.

The old identification with the theonym Skt. *Váruṇa-* is certainly wrong; see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.

It has also been suggested that the word is of foreign, i.e. Pre-Greek, origin (DELG); note that -αν- is difficult to account for if the word represents an old IE formation.

οὖραξ, -αγος [f.] Att. name of the bird τέτριξ (Arist.). ◄PG►

•ETYM The suffix occurs in Pre-Greek, and it has parallels with three Pre-Greek vowels: -υγ- -ῑγ- (with long vowel, as appears often in Pre-Greek); see Chantraine 1933: 397, and cf. ►λάταξ. This means that the word is Pre-Greek and probably has nothing to do with the word for 'tail'. Cf. ►οὐρά.

οὐρέω [v.] 'to urinate' (Hes., IA). ◄IE **uers-* 'urinate'►

•VAR Ipf. ἐούρουν, aor. οὐρῆσαι, fut. -ήσω, -ήσομαι, perf. ἐούρηκα.

•COMP Also with prefixes like ἐν-, ἐξ-, προσ-, κατ-.
•DER (ἐξ-, ἀπ-)οὔρησις [f.] 'micturition', -ητήρ [m.], -ήθρα, Ion. -η 'urethra', -ημα [n.] 'urine', -ητικός 'urinating frequently, promoting urine' (Hp., Arist.); also as back-formation οὖρον [n.] 'urine' (Hdt., Hp., Thphr.), together with δυσουρέω [v.] 'to have difficulties with micturition', -ία [f.] 'difficult micturition' (medic.) as if from *δὺσ-ουρος. From οὖρον or οὐρέω: οὐράνη [f.] 'chamber-pot' (A. *Fr.*, S. *Fr.*) = οὐριητήρ (Poll.).
•ETYM Iterative formation **uors-eie/o-* from the primary root present seen in Skt. *várṣati* 'to rain' < IE **uérs-e/o-* and YAv. *aiβi.varəšta-* 'rained upon'. It is a euphemistic expression for ►ὀμείχω; cf. ►οὐρανός and ►ἔρση. The cluster *-rs-* lost its *s* with compensatory lengthening when followed by the accent.
Lat. *ūrīna* goes back to **uh$_1$-r-* (Skt. *vā́r-* [n.] 'water', ON *úr* [n.] 'drizzle'), and therefore cannot be connected. See *CEG* 1 (*RPh.* 70, 1996): 117f.

οὐρία [f.] name of a duck-like waterbird (Alex. Mynd. *apud* Ath. 9, 395e). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unclear. It cannot be combined with the word for 'water' in Lat. *ūrīna*, etc.; see on ►οὐρέω.

οὐροί [m.pl.] 'trench or keel-furrow, through which ships are pulled into the sea' (only B 153). ◅IE **uoru-o-* 'drawer', **uerH-u-* 'draw'▻
•ETYM Formerly, words mentioned s.v. ►ὅρος 'frontier, etc.' were connected, but also ►ὀρύσσω 'to dig'. Recently, however, García Ramón 2004 (see also DELG Supp.) has analyzed οὐροί as an agent noun **uoru-ó-* built on the same root as ἐρύω 'to drag', illustrating the etymology with examples from Homeric phraseology.

οὖρον 1 [n.] 'urine'. ⇒οὐρέω.

οὖρον 2 [n.] in οὖρον (-α) ἡμιόνοιϊν (-νων) (θ 124, K 351) and δίσκου οὖρα (Ψ 431, δίσκουρα Ψ 523) as a measure of length. ◅?▻
•VAR Later only οὖρα (A. R. 2, 795).
•ETYM Because the concrete meaning is unknown, the word has no certain explanation. Wackernagel 1955(2): 1082 supposed that οὖρα was originally a collective plural of οὖρος 'frontier, furrow' (or to οὐροί?, Frisk adds), from which the singular οὖρον was an innovation. Details in Bechtel 1914: 261f.

οὖρος 1 [m.] 'fair wind' (Il.). ◅IE **h$_3$er-* 'arise'▻
•DER οὔριος 'with a fair wind, favourable', also as an epithet of Zeus, ἡ οὐρία (sc. πνοή) = οὖρος (IA); οὐρίζω 'to carry with a fair wind' (trag.), οὐριοω 'id.' (*AP*); often in hypostases like ἐπουρ-ίζω 'id.', also intrans. 'to blow fairly, etc.' (Att.); cf. ἔπ-ουρος 'blowing fairly' (S.).
•ETYM May be derived from the root **h$_3$er-*, extended **h$_3$er-u-*, in ►ὄρνυμαι, ►ὀρούω starting from a pre-form **orwo-*. Att. οὔριος must then be a Homerism or Ionism.

οὖρος 2 [m.] 'watcher, guard(ian)' (Il.); in Hom. almost only in οὖρος Ἀχαιῶν, epithet of Nestor. ◅IE **uer-* 'observe'▻
•VAR Myc. *wo-wo* /worwos/.

•COMP Cret. οὐρεύω [v.] 'to watch, guard' with οὐρεῖα [n.pl.] 'fortress' (III[a]), ὠρεῖα (I[a]); ὀρεύειν· φυλάσσειν 'id.' (H.).
•ETYM Can hardly be separated from ►ὁράω, and probably derives from *ϝόρϝος, which is attested in Mycenaean *wo-wo*. On the Cretan forms, see Bechtel 1921, 2: 691 and 791, as well as Thumb-Kieckers 1932: 153. See ►ἐπίουρος.

οὖρος 3 [m.] 'border'. ⇒ὅρος.

οὖρος 4 [n.] 'mountain'. ⇒ὄρος.

οὖς [n.] 'ear', metaph. 'handle' (Il., IA). ◅IE *h_2*eus-*, *h_2*e/ous-n-* 'ear'▻
•VAR ὦς (Theoc., Hell.); gen. ὠτός (IA, with nom. acc. plur. ὦτα, etc.), also οὔατος, -ατα, etc. (Simon., with nom. acc. sing. οὖας); also the gloss ἄτα (cod. ἄτα)· ὦτα. Ταραντῖνοι (H.); probably also sing. αὖς (Paul. Fest. 100, 4; see Wackernagel 1955(2): 1252ff.).
•DIAL Myc. *a-no-wo-to* /an-ōwotos/ 'without handles'; also *a-no-we* /anōwes-/ like ἀμφ-ώης 'with two ears or handles' (Theoc.), beside ἄμφ-ωτος (Od.).
•COMP ὠτ-ακουστέω [v.] 'to eavesdrop, listen, pay attention' (Hdt., X., D., Plb.), a compound built on ὠτὶ ἀκουστόν (opposite ἀν-ηκουστέω : οὐκ ἀκουστόν), with ὠτακουστής [m.] 'eavesdropper, listener' (Arist.); ἀν-ούατος 'without ears, without handles' (Theoc.), ἄ-ωτος 'id.' (Philet., Plu.); μυόσ-ωτον (μύ-ωτον) [n.], μυοσωτίς [f.] "mouse-ear", i.e. the plant 'madwort, Asperugo', from μυός ὦτα 'id.' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 42. On ►λαγώς, see s.v.
•DER ὠτ-ίον [n.] 'handle, ear' (Theopomp. Com., LXX, NT), -άριον [n.] 'id.' (com. IV[a]); οὐατ-όεις 'with ears, handles' (Simon., Call.), which can also be reconstructed in Hom. and Hes. for ὠτώεις, acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 168f.; ὠτ-ικός 'belonging to the ear' (Gal., Dsc.). Also ὠτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bustard' (X., Arist.), perhaps after the cheek-plumes or the tuft, Thompson 1895 s.v.; besides ὦτος [m.] 'eared owl' (Arist.), after the ear-plumes. See also on ►ἐνώδιον, ►ἐνώτιον.
•ETYM The nominatives οὖς, ὦς (cf. βοῦς, βῶς) can be derived from IE *H*ōus*. The color of the initial laryngeal is determined by Lat. *auris, aus-cultō*, etc., which must continue an *e*-grade *h_2*eus-*. This *e*-grade may also be found in the gloss ἄτα, if from *αὔσ-ατα; see perhaps also on ►ἀάνθα; it is certainly found in ►παρειαί 'cheeks' < *par*-aus-(i)*ai*. It has been supposed that the *o*-vocalism in οὖς was taken from the word for 'eye'.
OAtt. ΟΣ is noteworthy; it cannot contain an inherited diphthong *ou- and thus seems to point to a contraction from *$ōwo$-. An *s*-stem *h_2*ous-os* was reconstructed on this basis, for which support was found in OCS *ucho* [n.] 'ear', gen. *ušese* < *h_2*eus-os*, gen. *h_2*eus-es-es*. However, it is also possible to interpret the OAtt. form as ὦς, analogical after ὠτός, etc. This would eliminate the problem that Homeric οὖς at Υ 473 (there are also problems with Λ 109) contains a contraction which cannot be resolved. Cf. Fischer *MSS* 56 (1996): 42 and the discussion in Haug 2002: 85ff.
The other case forms can be derived from pre-forms *h_2*ous-nt-* (see Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 619-635), so it is no longer necessary to assume a lengthened root grade *h_2*ōus-nt-*, as per Frisk. This gives Hom. (Aeol.) οὔατος, with a geminate as a reflex of the cluster *-*Rh*-, and IA *$ō$*watos* with compensatory lengthening, contracting to

ὠτός. The *n*-stem continued by these forms is also found in Arm. *un-kn* (with *-kn* after *akn* 'eye'; cf. on the Greek vocalism above) and in Gm., e.g. Go. *auso*, *ausins*. However, *n*-stems were highly productive in Germanic, which excludes them as evidence for the original flexion.

To summarize, the Homeric instances may show a trace of an original root noun **h₂ōus* (represented in Lith. gen.pl. *ausų̃*), while the rest of the Greek forms (including OAtt. ΟΣ) may have been built on the *n*-stem **h₂ous-n-*, which need not be inherited (though note the Armenian parallel). Other notable forms are the old duals Av. *uši* < IE **h₂us-ih₁* with zero grade, OCS *uš-ī* < IE **h₂eus-ih₁*.

On the reconstruction of the initial laryngeal, see Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 123f.; extensive treatment of οὖς and derivative compounds in Szemerényi *SMEA* 3 (1967): 47-88. Perhaps related are ►ἀκούω, ►ἀκροάομαι.

οὐσία [f.] 'property, homestead; being, presence, existence, reality, substance' (Att.). ◄IE **h₁s-ont-* 'being'►

•VAR Ion. -ίη, Dor. ὠσία.

•COMP Often with prefix (from ἄπ-ειμι, etc.), e.g. ἀπ-, ἐξ-, μετ-, παρ-, συν-ουσία, -ίη (mostly Att.). Compounds ἐξ-ούσιος 'bereft of property' (Ph.), ὑπερ-ούσιος 'above being', μετ-ούσιος 'below being' (Them., comm. Arist., etc.).

•DER οὐσ-ΐδιον [n.] 'small property', -ιότης [f.] 'nature'; -ιώδης 'substantial, real' (Epicur.), -ιακός 'belonging to property'; verbs συν-ουσιάζω [v.] 'to be together', ἐξ-ουσιάζω 'to have power' (since IV[a]; οὐσιάζω only *PMag. Lond.*), whence συνουσι-αστής [m.] (Pl., X.), -αστικός (Ar.) etc.; οὐσι-όω, -όομαι 'to provide (be provided) with substance', συν- 'to be connected to something' with (συν-)οὐσίωσις (late).

•ETYM Abstract formation in -ία from the ptc. ὤν, οὖσα, ὄν (cf. the pair γερουσία : γέρων). On this was modeled Dor. ὠσία, but also ἐσσία on Dor. Aeol. ἔσσα [f.], ἔντες [pl.] (Pl. *Cra.* 401c); see also ἐστώ s.v. ►εἰμί. Suppositions on the formation in Collinge *Glotta* 49 (1971).

οὖσον [n.] 'ship's tackle, ropes' (Lyc. 20, Antim. 57 Wyss, H.), mostly plur. ◄?►

•ETYM von Wilamowitz *Herm.* 59 (1924): 273 compares σοῦσον (?).

οὐτάω [v.] 'to harm, wound' (Il., also trag.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Present only ipv. οὔτατε (χ 356); 3sg. οὐτᾷ (A. *Ch.* 640 [lyr.] conj. Hermann); more frequent is the present οὐτάζω; aor. οὐτ-άσαι, -ῆσαι, -ηθῆναι, fut. -άσω, -ήσω, pret. 3sg. οὔτα, inf. οὐτ-άμεν(αι), ptc. -άμενος, perf. pass. οὔτασται.

•DER ἄ-ουτος, ἀν-ούτατος 'unwounded', νε-ούτατος 'newly wounded' (Il.), later also -ητος (Nic., Nonn.). ἀν-ουτητί [adv.] 'without wounding, without wounds' (X 371, Q. S.).

•ETYM Athematic οὖτ-α, -άμεν(αι), -άμενος, which certainly function as aorists, should probably be considered to be the common basis of the above forms. Thence οὔτατε and (if correctly restored) οὐτᾷ, together with οὐτ-ῆσαι, -ηθῆναι, -ήσω on the one hand, and the *s*-aorist οὐτ-άσαι, whence in turn -άσω, -άζω, -ασται. See Chantraine 1942: 356, 380, 410f.; on the use in Hom., see Trümpy 1950: 92ff.

Morphologically and etymologically unclear. Often connected with ►ὠτειλή (οὐταμένην ὠτειλήν Ξ 518, P 86) and with ►ἀάω. Already Meister 1921: 229 had

thought of Pre-Greek origin, which seems to be the best solution, by the interpretation of ὠτειλή as a variant. A root of the shape *$h_3u(a)th_2$- (e.g. Peters 1980a: 60ff.) is impossible for PIE.

οὐτιδανός [adj.] 'worthless, insignificant' (Il., also A. *Th.* 361). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Derivation from οὔτι like ἠπεδανός, πευκεδανός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 362), although the δ could also belong to original *οὔ-τιδ < *h_2oiu k^wid; see on ▶οὐ. See ▶ἀλλοδαπός, ▶ἡμεδαπός.

οὗτος [pron.dem.] 'this, this one, that one, *iste*' (Il.). ◁IE *so- + *h_2u-to- 'that one'▷

•VAR αὕτη [f.], τοῦτο [n.].

•ETYM The form οὗτος < *so/to- + h_2u-to- (Beekes 1995: 202), a univerbation of the *so/to- pronoun with the stem that also figures in ▶αὐτός. For the element *h_2u 'away, again' (Skt. *ava* 'away', Gr. αὖ) used in proniminal stems, cf. OCS *ovъ … ovъ* 'the one … the other'. This element is also found in Skt. *só* < *$sá$ u < *so h_2u, and perhaps also πάνυ (see on ▶πᾶς)

ὀφείλω [v.] 'to owe, be obliged, be due' (IA, also Il.). ◁IE *h_3b^hel- 'owe, be obliged'▷

•VAR ὀφέλλω (Aeol., Arc., also Hom.), ὀφήλω (Cret., Arc., Arg.), sigm. aor. ὀφειλ-ῆσαι, pass. -ηθῆναι, fut. -ήσω (Hell. also -έσω), perf. ὠφείληκα (Att.), them. aor. ὤφελον, ὄφελον (Il., Att.).

Further ὀφλισκάνω 'to be guilty, incur punishment, be sentenced', fut. ὀφλ-ήσω, *s*-aor. -ῆσαι, perf. ὤφληκα (Att.), ptc. ϝοφληκόσι [dat.pl.], 3pl. [ϝο]φλέασι (Arc.), them. aor. ὀφλεῖν (IA), also with ἐπ-, προσ-.

•DIALMyc. *o-pe-ro* 'deficit', etc.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. προ-, προσ-.

•DER A. From the present ὀφείλω: ὀφειλ-έτης [m.], -έτις [f.] 'debtor' (S., Pl.) with -έσιον [n.] 'small debt' (Eust.), -ημα [n.] (Th., Pl., Arist.); ὀφήλωμα (Cret.) after ἀνάλωμα; ὀφείλ-ησις [f.] (pap. III^a) 'debt, indebted sum'; -ή [f.] 'debt, leasing' (pap., NT).

B. From the aorist ὀφλεῖν: ὄφλ-ημα [n.] (D., Arist., pap.), -ησις [f.] (LXX) 'penalty, fine'; -ητής [m.] 'debtor' (gloss.), ὀφλοί· ὀφειλέται, ὀφειλαί (H.).

•ETYM The system ὀφλεῖν : ὀφλισκάνω : ὀφλήσω : ὤφληκα neatly corresponds to εὑρεῖν : εὑρίσκω, εὑρήσω, εὕρηκα, except for the presentic enlargement -άνω (see Schwyzer: 700). The aorist ὀφλῆσαι (Lys. and late) was built on the future. Arc. [ϝο]φλέ-ασι also has the same enlarged zero grade without secondary -κ-. This system was built on the zero grade thematic aorist; beside it stands another system, based on the full grade aorist ὤφελον, whence the nasal present *ὀφέλνω was derived (like ἔτεμον : τέμνω), giving the various dialectal forms ὀφείλω, ὀφέλλω, ὀφήλω. As the formation of the present ὀφείλω became opaque by its phonetic development, it was able to become the basis of another system. The form ὀφείλω ~ ὄφελον was also separated from ὀφλεῖν semantically.

An old problem is ϝο-, which only appears in an Arcadian inscription. It cannot be a prefix, but it may be that ϝο- is a notation of (earlier) ὀ-. On the forms, see Hamp *Glotta* 60 (1982): 227f.

For references to attempts to connect ὀφείλω with ▶ὀφέλλω 2 'to augment', see s.v.

ὀφέλλω 1 'to owe'. ⇒ὀφείλω.

ὀφέλλω 2 [v.] 'to increase, enlarge, augment, advance' (epic, Pi., A., Theoc.). ◁IE *h_3b^hel- 'increase, augment'▷

•VAR Aor. opt. ὀφέλλειεν (Π 651, β 334), beside which the ambivalent forms ὀφέλλωσιν (A 510), ὄφελλε(ν) (B 420, Theoc. 25, 120), ὤφελλε (π 174).

•DIAL Myc. *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ /nōp^{h}ele^{h}a/ 'useless' [nom.pl.n.] < *n-h_3b^hel-*es*-h_2.

•COMP Also with ἐξ- (o 18).

•DER ὄφελ-μα [n.] (S. *Fr.* 1079), -μός [m.] (inscr. Lydia) 'increase, advantage', -σιμος 'advantageous, useful' (Call., Orph., Opp.), after χρή-, ὀνή-σιμος; also ὀφέλλιμος 'id.' (Max.) with direct connection to ὀφέλλω.

ὄφελος [n.] 'promotion, use, advantage, gain' (Il.); as a second member in e.g. ἀν-ωφελής 'useless' (IA), replacing *νωφελής seen in Myc. (see above); secondary simplex ὀφελής (pap. II^p); Ὀφελέσ-της [m.] PN (Il.); Ὀφέλ-ανδρος [m.] (VI^a) perhaps after Ἀλέξ-ανδρος (Sommer 1948: 198).

Denominative (with ὠ- from the compounds) ὠφελέω [v.] 'to be of use, help, support' (IA), whence -ίη, -ία, secondary -εια [f.] 'use, help' (IA), -ημα [n.] (trag.), -ησις [f.] (S.) 'benefit, use', -ήσιμος [adj.] 'useful' (S., Ar.); much more common is ὠφέλιμος 'id.' (Att.), probably from ὠφελέω, -ία. More details in Leumann 1950: 120ff. with an attempt to explain the lengthening of the initial vowel. Hamp *Glotta* 60 (1982): 229f. thinks that ὠφελέω was extracted from the negative compound Myc. *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ /nōp^{h}ele^{h}a/.

•ETYM The old verbal noun ὄφελος is widespread in Greek. Beside it stands a *yod*-present ὀφέλλω < *ὀφελ-ι̯ω, and an *s*-aorist ὀφέλλειεν with Aeolic development of *ὀφελ-σ-.

The form ὄφελος can be directly identified with Arm. **awel* in *awel-i* 'more' and the denominative *y-awel-um* 'to add to', in *ar-awel* 'more' and *ar-awel-um* 'to increase': all are from an IE root *h_3b^hel-. It is mostly agreed that ►ὀφέλλω 3 contains the same root as the present lemma, since Armenian also has this meaning; various scholars also believe that ►ὀφείλω derives from the same root as well (see e.g. De Lamberterie 1992, of which a summary is found in DELG *Supp.*). However, opinions differ on the semantic scenario to be proposed for Greek (is 'increase' or 'sweep' primary?); see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 156-158.

ὀφέλλω 3 [v.] 'to sweep, broom' (Hippon. 51). ◁IE *h_3b^hel- 'sweep'▷

•DER ὄφελμα [n.] 'broom' (ibid., Eust.), ὀφέλμασι· σαρώμασιν 'sweepings' (H.), ὄφελτρον· κάλλυντρον 'broom' (H.), whence ὀφελτρεύω (Lyc. 1165).

•ETYM Identical with Arm. *awelum* 'to sweep', *awel* 'broom', except for the formations. Doubts on the identity of the Greek and Armenian etyma were expressed by Jahukyan and Arutjunjan (see Clackson 1994: 158 with fn. 232), who assume borrowings from Near Eastern words. See ►ὀφέλλω 2.

ὀφθαλμός [m.] 'eye' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Boeot. ὄκταλλος, Epid. Lacon. ὀπτίλ(λ)ος.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. μον-όφθαλμος (μουν-) 'with a single eye, one-eyed' (Hdt., Plb., Str.), ἑτερ-όφθαλμος 'bereft of one eye' (D., Arist.); also as a first member, e.g. ὀφθαλμι-ωρύχος 'digging out the eyes' (A.).
•DER 1. Diminutive ὀφθαλμι-ίδιον [n.] (Ar.); 2. -ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'eye-disease' together with -ιάω 'to suffer from an eye-disease' (IA), whence -ίασις [f.] (Plu., H.); 3. -ίας [m.] name of a kind of eagle (Lyc.), also of a fish (Plaut.); because of the fixing glance, Strömberg 1943: 42; 4. -ικός 'ptng. to the eyes', msc. 'eye-doctor' (Gal., Dsc.); 5. -ηδόν 'like eyes' (gloss.).
6. Verbs ὀφθαλμίζομαι 'to be inoculated' (Thphr.), 'to suffer from ὀφθαλμία' (Plu.); with preposition ἐν-ὀφθαλμι-ίζω 'to inoculate' (Thphr.), -ίζομαι pass. (Delos) with -ισμός (Thphr.); also -ιάζομαι (Plu.); ἐξ-οφθαλμιάζω 'to disregard, disparage' (pap. IV^{p}); ἐπ-οφθαλμι-ίζω (Pherecyd., Plu.), -ιάω (Plu., pap. III^{p}), -ἐω (pap. IV^{p}) 'to ogle, peep at'.
•ETYM Understandably, attempts have been made to derive the word from the root ὀπ- 'to see'. However, there are variants in Boeot. ὄκταλλος, Epid. Lacon. ὀπτίλ(λ)ος. This interchange κτ : πτ : φθ was interpreted by Frisk as follows: -κτ- is old, πτ is analogical and φθ is expressive. This κτ / πτ was then compared with group *kṣ* in Skt. *ákṣi* 'eye', and a correspondence between the suppletive *n*-stem in Skt. gen. *akṣṇás* and a putative *l*-stem in ὀφθ-αλ-μός was assumed by Specht.
However, since an IE labiovelar became a labial before a consonant, the explanation that takes -κτ- as a regular reflex is just plain wrong. Also, expressive aspiration is a meaningless explanation for -φθ-. Moreover, the repeated attempts to explain ὀφθαλμός as a compound are all wrong (e.g., from θάλαμος 'bedroom' and θάλλω 'to flower'; for literature see Frisk s.v. ὀφθαλμός).
Finally, not only the variation cannot be explained from Indo-European; the rise of a suffix -αλ(λ)- would be incomprehensible as well. In Beekes 2008, it is shown that ὄκταλλος has a Pre-Greek suffix (thus already Beekes 1969: 193); it continues a palatalized **l^{y}*, which was represented as a geminate. This leads to a PGr. reconstruction **ok^{w}t-al^{y}-(m)-*. Here the labiovelar could become a labial, but the labial element could also be ignored, which yielded ὀκτ-. Aspiration was not phonemic in Pre-Greek, hence the variant ὀφθ- is unproblematic on this account. In ὀπτίλ(λ)ος, **a* apparently became *i* by influence of the following palatalized consonant. The fact that PGr. **ok^{w}t-* strongly resembles IE **h$_3$ek^{w}-* is a mere coincidence, and such accidents may be expected to occur every now and then.
By way of contrast, the gloss ὄκκον· ὀφθαλμόν (H.) may well be of IE origin (related to Arm. *akn*?). For words derived from the inherited root ὀπ- 'see', see ►ὄμμα, ►ὄσσε, ►ὄπωπα.

ὄφις [m.] 'snake' (M 208). ◁IE **h$_3$eg^{wh}i-* 'snake'▷
•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εος, -εως.
•COMP As a first member in the constellation name ὀφι-οῦχος [m.] 'snake-holder', Lat. *Angui-tenens* (Eudox., Arat.), see Scherer 1953: 184f.
•DER Diminutive ὀφ-ίδιον (ι and ῑ) [n.] (Att. inscr., Arist.); -ίασις [f.] (to **ὀφιάω*) "snake-disease", name of a disease of the skin (Gal.); -ιώδης 'rich of snakes, snaky' (Pi., Arist.); -ιόεις 'rich of snakes' (Antim.), HN Ὀφιοῦς [m.], Ὀφιοῦσσα [f.] name of

several islands (Antim., Arist.), of a plant (Plin.); -ιακός 'belonging to snakes', τὰ ὀφιακά title of a work (sch. Nic.); -ῐόνεος 'snaky' (Opp.), perhaps from *-ι-ίνεος (Schwyzer: 491[1]); -ίτης (λίθος) [m.], -ιῆτις πέτρη [f.] 'serpentine' (Orph. *L.*), after the color, Redard 1949: 59, 'erysipelas' (Gal.); Redard 1949: 104.

•ETYM Probably identical with Skt. *áhi-*, Av. *aži-* [m.] 'snake' from IE *$*h_3ég^{wh}i$-* (the absence of reflexes of Brugmann's Law points to IE *e*-vocalism). The traditional connection with Arm. *iž*, instr. *-iw* 'id.' is problematic, since it presupposes a preform *$*Hēg^{wh}i$-* (with unexplainable lengthened grade). The appurtenance of the first member of the Germanic word for 'lizard' (OHG *egi-dehsa*, etc.) is unclear, since one expects *$*h_3eg^{wh}i$-* to yield PGm. *$*awi$-*. The lengthening of the ὀ- in M 208 (after which Hippon. 49, 6, etc.) is metrically conditioned; see O. Masson 1962: l.c. See on ►ἔχις and (unrelated) ►ἔγχελυς.

ὀφλισκάνω ⇒ὀφείλω.

ὀφνίς [?] · ὕννις, ἄροτρον 'ploughshare, plough' (H.). ◅IE *$*uog^{wh}$-n-i-* (?) 'coulter, ploughshare'▻

•ETYM Can be identified with OPr. *wagnis* 'coulter' < IE *$*uog^{wh}ni$-*. Beside this stands Lat. *vōmis (-er)*, *-eris* [m.] 'ploughshare', from an unclear base form; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. It is probablye that ὄφατα· δεσμοὶ ἀρότρων 'ties of the plough'. Ἀκαρνᾶνες (H.) also belongs here; see Bechtel 1921, 2: 76. See ►ὕνις.

ὄφρα [adv., conj.] 'so long as, until; in order that'; in correlation τόφρα 'so long as, meanwhile' (Il.); on the use in Hom. see Bolling *Lang.* 25 (1949): 379ff. ◅IE *$*-b^hr$-*▻

•ETYM From relative ὀ- and demonstrative το-, perhaps comparable to Arm. *erb* 'when?' (IE *$*h_1e$-*$*b^hr$-*), ToA *ku-pre* 'when', *tä-preṃ* 'so much', etc. Ehrenfellner *KZ* 107 (1994): 101-104 explains the second member as the zero grade of *$*b^her$-* 'to bear' as 'auf welches hinzielend'.

ὀφρῦς, -ύος [f.] 'eyebrow', mostly plur.; metaph. 'elevated edge, brow of a hill' (Il.). ◅IE *$*h_3b^hreuH$-* 'eyebrow'▻

•VAR Details on the inflexion in Schwyzer: 571.

•COMP As a second member in σύν-οφρυς 'with meeting eyebrows' (Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ὀφρύ-διον [n.] (H. s.v. ἐπισκύνιον, Theognost.), MoGr. (ὀ)φρύδι; ὀφρύη, -α 'elevation' (Hdt., Argos) like ἰχθύ-η, -α, etc.; -όεις 'situated on an edge, terraced' (X 411), -ώδης 'protrusive' (Gal.).

Denominative verbs: 1. ὀφρυ-όομαι [v.] 'to be haughty' (Timo, Luc.) with -ωσις [f.] 'elevation, edge' (Paul. Aeg.), older συν-οφρυόομαι [v.] 'to knit one's brows' (S., E.); with κατ- in κατωφρυωμένος 'to be provided with brows' (Philestr. *VA*, Luc.); 2. ὀφρυ-άζω 'to beckon with the eyebrows', also as an expression of pride (Amips. Com. V-IV[a]); 3. -άω 'to be hilly' (Str.); 4. ὀφρυγνᾷ· ὁμοίως (i.e. = -άζει). Βοιωτοί (H.); unclear, perhaps after ὀριγνάομαι.

•ETYM ὀφρῦς continues an old root noun *$*h_3b^hruH$-*, identical with Skt. *bhrū́-* [f.], acc. *bhrúvam*, and with forms from Celtic and Gm.: OIr. *for-bru* [acc.pl.], OS *brū*. The root noun is also visible in Balto-Slavic: OCS *brъv-ь*, Lith. *brùvė*, dial. *-ìs*. The IE paradigm was nom. *$*h_3b^hrēuH$-s*, gen. *$*h_3b^hruH$-os*, which explains the Gm. forms

OHG *brāwa* [f.] 'eyebrow', *wint-prāwa* 'eyelash', which belong with OS *brāha* 'id.' to OE *brǣw* [m.] 'eyebrow', ON *brá* [f.] 'eyelash'.
The root noun was extended as an *n*-stem in ON *brún*, while ToB *pärwāne* [du.] may contain the regular dual ending in this language. An extension with dental is found in Av. *bruuaṯ-biiąm* [dat.pl.f.], MIr. *brúad* [gen.du.], and in ἀβροῦτες· ὀφρῦς. Μακεδόνες (H.).

ὄχα [adv.] 'by far', before ἄριστος (Hom.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Backformation from ἔξοχα 'id.' (ἔξοχος, ἐξέχω); see Leumann 1950: 133ff.

ὀχάνη •VAR ὄχανον, ὀχή, etc. ⇒ἔχω.

ὀχεή [f.] 'cave, grotto' (Arat., Nic., Orph.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Hellenistic for ▶χειή after ▶ὀκρυόεις for κρυόεις; perhaps through cross with sematically related ὀχετός.

ὀχετός ⇒ὀχέω.

ὀχεύω [v.] 'to cover, mount', med. 'to copulate' (IA). ◁GR▷
•VAR Aor. -εῦσαι.
•COMP Also with ἐπ-, κατ-, παρ-, etc.
•DER ὀχ-εῖος 'serving as a cover' (Din.), -εῖον [n.] 'covering place, stallion' (Lycurg., Arist.); -εία [f.] (X., Arist., pap.), ὀχή [f.] (Arat.), -ευσις [f.] (J.) 'covering, impregnation', -ευμα [n.] 'product of the body' (Arist.); -ευτής [m.] 'stallion' (pap. III[a]), -ευτικός 'ruttish' (Arist., Thphr.); -εύτριαν (H. s.v. ψὸαν). Also ὀχῶν· ὀχευτικῶς ἔχων (H.), ὀχέωνται (Arat. 1070 verse-final) = ὀχεύωνται.
•ETYM Etymology debated. Acc. to older interpretations, it is related to ὀχέομαι 'to drive, ride', in which case the ending -εύω and the active diathesis would be remarkable in ὀχεύω. Others connected ▶ἔχω in the sense 'to overpower'. More attractive is the hypothesis by Boßhardt 1942: 30, who takes ὀχεύω as a denominative from ὀχεύς 'door-bolt, etc.' (which also derives from ἔχω): this was originally a wooden pin which was fitted in a hole in the wall to block the door. The *hapaxes* ὀχῶν, ὀχέωνται are secondary innovations.

ὀχέω, -έομαι [v.] 'to carry, bear, endure, sustain', 'to let mount or ride', 'to anchor' (Od., E. *Hel.* 277); more frequent in med. 'to drive, ride, swim, be at anchor' (Il.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Aor. and fut. (not in Att. prose) act. ὀχῆ-σαι (Call.), -σω (A., E.), med. -σασθαι, -σομαι (Hom.), pass. -θῆναι (Hp.).
•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐπ-οχέομαι.
•DER 1. ὀχ-ετός [m.] (from ὄχος?) 'canal, furrow' (Pi., IA) together with -ετεύω 'to conduct by a canal', whence -ετεία, -έτευμα, etc.; ὀχετ-ηγός 'drawing a canal' (Φ 257); 2. ὄχετλα· ὀχήματα (H.); 3. ὄχ-ημα [n.] 'vehicle', also metaph. (Pi., IA) with -ηματικός; 4. -ησις [f.] 'driving, riding' (Hp., Pl.).
•ETYM The middle is an iterative of ▶ἔχω 2 'to carry, offer' (Schwyzer: 717); the meaning 'to drive, ride, transport' is old; cf. especially Lat. *vehō*, etc. The rarer active forms can also be understood from this meaning, but in some instances, the

meaning of the active has shifted by influence of ►ἔχω 1 'to hold, possess, etc.': note ὀχέοντας οἴζύν (η 211) beside πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ οἴζύν (N 2, θ 529). See ►ὄχος, ►ὄχλος.

ὀχθέω [v.] 'to cherish resentment, get angry or wrathful'. ◁GR▷

•VAR Only aor. ptc. ὀχθήσας and 3pl. ὤχθησαν (Hom.), fut. ὀχθήσω (Q. S.), ὀχθεῖ· στένει, στενάζει 'to wail, sigh, groan' (H.); cf. ὀχθᾶσθαι· ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχθη. οἱ γάρ στένοντες ἑαυτοὺς μετεωρίζουσιν 'from ὄχθη; for the wailing elevated themselves' (H.); enlarged ὀχθ-ίζω (Opp. *H.*), προσ-οχθ-ίζω, -ίσαι, -ιῶ, -ώχθικα (LXX).

•DER ὄχθησις· θόρυβος, τάραχος 'noise, agitation' (H.), προσόχθισ-μα [n.] 'displeasement, object of indignation' (LXX), προσοχθισμός· πρόσκρουσις, δεινοπάθεια 'offence, exaggerated complaint' (H.), etc.

•ETYM Probably a causative or iterative-intensive of ἔχθομαι, ἔχθω (see ►ἔχθος), like φοβέω : φέβομαι, σοβέω : σέβομαι, θροέω : θρέομαι; ποτάομαι : πέτομαι, etc. Connection with ►ἄχθος, -ομαι is phonetically less convincing.

ὄχθη [f.] 'high and rocky edge by the water, bank, shore' (Il.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR Usually plur. -αι.

•DER ὄχθος [m.] 'height, hill' (Ion. since *h. Ap.* 17), 'hunch, outgrowth, tubercle' (medic.) with ὀχθ-ηρός 'hilly' (Hell.), -ώδης 'full of outgrowth, tuberculous' (D. H., medic.).

•ETYM Seems to display a suffix like in μόχθος, βρόχθος, etc., but the connection with ἔχω 'to hold' is semantically unconvincing. Cf. further ►εὔοχθος, -έω. Fur.: 110, etc. compare ἀκτή 'promontory, edge', which would point to a Pre-Greek word with obvious variations.

ὄχθοιβος [m.] 'purple stripe or edge of a chiton' (Ar., Pherecr.); 'tuft neckband' (Att. inscr.); cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 16 (1928): 169. ◁PG▷

•ETYM Technical word with a suffix -β- like in ►κόσυμβος, ►κόλλαβος, etc. Connection with ὄχθη 'high edge' seems possible. Cf. also οἶβος (Luc. *Lex.* 3)?; acc. to Poll. τοῦ τραχήλου τοῦ βοὸς τὸ κάλλιστον 'the best part of the neck of a bovine'. No doubt a Pre-Greek word; cf. Fur.: 321.

ὀχλεύς •VAR -έω, -ίζω. ⇒ὄχλος.

ὄχλος [m.] 1. '(orderless) crowd, multitude, throng', plur. 'crowd, people'; 2. 'disturbance, perturbation, annoyance' (Pi., IA). ◁IE **uoǵʰ-(s)lo-*, **ueǵʰ-* 'drive, ride, transport'▷

•COMP ὀχλο-κρατία [f.] 'mob-rule' (Plb., Plu.), ἄ-οχλος 'without disturbances, not disturbing' (Hp.).

•DER Adjectives 1. ὀχλ-ηρός 'bothersome, annoying' (IA) with -ηρία [f.] (LXX); 2. -ικός 'belonging to the crowd, mobbish' (Hell.); 3. -ώδης 'annoying' (IA), 'popular, common' (Plu.).

Substantives 4. ὀχλεύς· μοχλός, στρόφιγξ, δεσμός 'bolt, pivot, tie' ... (H.); ἐποχλεύς [m.] 'brake shoe on a cart' (Ath.), probably for *ἐποχεύς; ἐποχλίζομαι 'to be bolted' (Apollon. *Lex.*).

Denominative verbs 5. ὀχλέω 'to put in (rolling) motion, roll away' (Φ 261), 'to disturb, perturb, bother' (Ion., Hell.; with prefix, especially ἐν-, also Att.); ἀν-οχλέω = ἀν-οχλίζω (S. E.). Thence ὄχλ-ησις (ἐν-) [f.] 'bothering, interference, perturbation' (Democr., Hell.), (ἐν-)ὄχλ-ημα 'id.' (Epicur., medic.), ὀχλητι-κός = ὀχλικός (Procl.); 6. ὀχλεύονται = ὀχλεῦνται· κυλινδοῦνται 'roll' (H.); 7. ὀχλ-ίζω 'to pull up or out of place' (Il.), also with μετ-, ἀν-, etc.; 8. ὀχλ-άζω 'to be disturbed or confused' (LXX).

•ETYM The original meaning of the verbal noun ὄχλος, which was concretized in the sense 'crowd', cannot be established with certainty; in the sense of 'perturbation, etc.', it may have been influenced by ὀχλέω.

Starting from **uoǵʰ-(s)lo-* (on the lack of a ϝ- in Homer, see Chantraine 1942: 125), ὄχλος corresponds with the well-known verb 'drive, carry' seen in ϝέχω (see ►ἔχω 2), ὀχέομαι, Lat. *vehō*, etc. Several possibilities exist for the semantic development: e.g. an agent noun **'driving, carrying, moving', or an instrument noun **'driver, carrier, mover'. ON *vagl* [m.] 'tiebeam, roost' (properly **'bearing-bar, carrier') is formally identical. The primary nouns Lat. *vectis* and ON *vǫg* < IE **uoǵʰ-h₂-* 'lever' agree semantically with the denominatives ὀχλ-ίζω 'to raise', ὀχλ-έω 'to roll away' (both by using a lever), and with ὀχλ-εύς 'bolt, etc.'. An original meaning 'drive' could easily develop into both 'stirred mass, mob' and 'spiritual excitement, unrest'; the same holds for the denominative ὀχλέω (cf. Lat. *turba*, *-āre*).

ὄχμα •VAR ὀχμάζω, ὄχμιος. ⇒ἔχω 1.

ὄχος [m.] 'cart, carriage, vehicle'. ◅IE **uoǵʰ-o-*, **ueǵʰ-* 'carry, drive'▻

•VAR Gender: msc. (Pi. *O.* 6, 24 [ὅκχος, see below], Hdt., A., etc.), often plur. -οι (since *h. Cer.*); also ntr. plur. ὄχεα, -εσφι (Hom., Pi.).

•ETYM Old verbal noun from ϝέχω 'to carry' (see ►ἔχω 2), ὀχέομαι 'to drive', thus from **ϝόχος* (on the loss of the ϝ- in Hom., see Chantraine 1942: 125), and identical with Slav. words like OCS *vozъ* [m.] 'wagon', IE **uóǵʰo-*. The *e*-vocalism expected in an *s*-stem is preserved in ἔχεσφι· ἅρμασιν 'with carts' (H.); ὄχεα is modeled on ὄχος, ὀχέομαι.

The forms **ϝόχος* and [ϝ]ὀχεα correspond to Skt. *vā́has-* [n.] 'vessel' (metaph. for the song of praise), *vāhá-* [m.] 'draught animal', as well as 'vessel', Av. *vāza-* [m.] 'draught animal' (would be Gr. ὄχος). A derivation in *-n-* with the same meaning was formed in the Western languages: OIr. *fén* 'kind of wagon' < IE **ueǵʰ-no-*, OHG *wagan* 'wagon' < IE **uoǵʰ-no-*; a suffix **-tlo-* is used in Lat. *vehiculum* [n.] 'vessel', Skt. *vahi-tra-* [n.] 'ship', and appears also in ὄχετλα· ὀχήματα (H.). The geminate in ὄκχος, ὀκχέω (Pi.) is unexplained. Cf. ►ὀχέω, ►ὄχλος, and ►γαιάοχος.

ὄχνη ⇒ὄγχνη.

ὀχυρός ⇒ἐχυρός.

***ὄψ 1** [f.] 'voice, sound, word' (Il.). ◅IE **uekʷ-* 'speak'▻

•VAR Only in ὄπα, -ός, -ί.

•COMP On ►εὐρύοπα, see s.v.

•DER On ►ὅσσα [f.], see s.v.

•ETYM A root noun from IE **uok^{w}-s*. Lat. *vōx* has a long vowel, which must stem from the nom.sg. Skt. has *vāk*, acc. *vācam* pointing to a paradigm **uōk^{w}s*, **uok^{w}-m*. Besides these, there is an *s*-stem in ►ἔπος. Cf. ►ἐνοπή.

ὄψ 2, ὀπός [f.] 'eye, face'. ⇒ὄπωπα.

ὀψέ [adv.] 'afterwards, after a long time, late (in the evening), too late' (Il.). ◄IE **h$_{1}$e/op-* 'on'►

•VAR ὄψι (Aeol., *Lyr. Adesp.* 57).

•COMP Often ὀψι- as a first member (after ἀγχι-, ἠρι-, etc.), e.g. ὀψί-γονος 'late arrival, younger' (Il., Hdt., Arist.); also ὀψ-, e.g. ὀψ-αρό-της [m.] 'who ploughs late' (Hes. *Op.* 490). As a second member in ἀπ-οψέ (A. D.), κατ-οψέ (Alex. Trall.) 'late (at night)', cf. κατ-όπιν, ἀπο-πρό, etc.

•DER 1. ὀψι-αίτερος, -αίτατος (Att.), after παλαίτερος, etc. 2. ὄψ-ιος 'late' (Pi., Arist.) with ὀψιό-της [f.] (Thphr.), like πρώϊ-ος; -ιμος 'id.' (X., Hell.), like πρώϊ-μος (perhaps by reinterpretation of ὄψιμος 'visible' B 325); -ινός 'id.' (imperial period), after ἑωθι-νός, etc. 3. ὀψίχα· ὀψέ. Βυζάντιοι (H.), diminutive like ὁσσ-ίχος, etc. 4. ὀψ-ία [f.] 'evening' (IA). 5. ὀψ-ίζω 'to be late, be overdue' (Lys., X.) with -ισμός [m.] 'delay' (D. H.).

•ETYM The final accented -é in ὀψέ is unexplained. The form ὄψι recalls ὕψι 'in a high place', but it must in fact have spread from compounds with **ὀψι-*. We can therefore assume a basic form **ὄψ*, which recalls ►ἄψ and is identical with Lat. *ops-* 'towards' (beside *op*, *ob*), e.g. in *o(b)s-tendō*.

ὀψιανός [m.] of λίθος, a black stone (Peripl. M. Rubr. 5, Plin. *HN* 36, 196 ntr.pl. *obsiana*). ◄LW Lat.►

•ETYM Acc. to Pliny, it is named after a person called Obsius, who discovered it.

ὀψείοντες [m.pl.] 'wishing to see' (Ξ 37), desiderative ptc. to ὄπωπα, etc. ◄IE?►

•ETYM Hypothesis by Wackernagel *KZ* 28 (1887): 141ff.: from ὄψει ἰόντες, whence the Hom. ind. ὀψείω and the other post-Hom. desideratives in -σείω; hardly probable, acc. to DELG. See Schwyzer: 789 and Chantraine 1942: 453; see also Lindeman *BSL* 60 (1965): 46f.

ὄψις •VAR ὄψομαι. ⇒ὄπωπα.

ὄψον [n.] 'side-dish, especially meat'; in Athens and other places especially 'fish' (Il.). ◄GR, IE **h$_{1}$op-s*►

•COMP ὀψο-ποιός [m.] 'cook' (IA), εὖ-οψος 'rich of side-food, especially fish' (middle com.). ὀψ-αρτυ-τής [m.] 'cook' with -τικός, -σία (com.), back-formation ὀψαρτύω (Hell.).

•DER Diminutive ὀψάριον [n.] (com., pap.), MoGr. ψάρι 'fish'; ὀψ-ών-ης [m.] 'buyer or trader of side-dishes' (Ar. *Fr.* 503) together with -ία, -έω (Critias, Ar.), -ιον [n.] "meant for buying ὄψον", 'cash salary, wages' (Hell.) together with -ιάζω, etc.; borrowed as Lat. *opsōnium* [m.] 'side-food', *opsōnāre* (to ὀψωνέω) together with *-ātor*, re-borrowed as ὀψωνάτωρ, cf. WH s.v.

•ETYM Convincing analysis by Taillardat in DELG *Supp.*: thematicized from the adverb *ὄψι, reconstructed for ὀψέ 'late' and ὄψι, and seen in Lat. *obs-*. The ὄψον was a supplementary dish, which was always eaten on top of e.g. grain or bread. This suggests the comparison with Myc. *o-pi*. Taillardat adduces other parallels from Greek for the use of a prefix ἐπι- with verbs for eating, expressing the same sense of a supplementary meal.

Π

πάγασα [f.] · θύρα. καὶ παγασαί 'door' (H.). ◂PG▸

•ETYM Fur.: 157[57] identifies the word with the town Παγασαί in Thessaly. Other place names in -ασα, such as Περγασα, are mentioned by Fur.: 64[268]. The word is Pre-Greek.

πάγη [f.] 'snare, trap' (IA). ◂IE **peh₂ǵ-* 'make fast, stiff'▸

•COMP ἐπίπαγος [m.] 'hardened frozen crust' (Plu., medic.; back-formation to ἐπιπήγνυμι, -μαι).

•DER παγίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Ar. *Fr.* 666, Hell.), derivatives -ιδεύω, -ίδευμα (LXX). πάγος [m.] 1. 'pinnacle, cliff, hill' (epic Ionic since ε 405, 411); 2. 'ice, hoarfrost, frost' (A., S., Pl., Arist.), late also ntr. after ῥῖγος, κρύος. Thence (or from παγῆναι, πήγνυμι) 1. παγετός [m.] = πάγος (Pi., IA), παγετώδης 'ice-like, icecold' (Hp., S., Arist.); 2. παγερός 'freezing, icecold' (D. Chr., Arist.; after κρυερός); 3. παγώδης = παγετώδης (Thphr.).

•ETYM Verbal nouns in **ph₂ǵ-h₂/o/i-* of ▸πήγνυμι 'to fasten, attach'. See ▸πάξ, ▸πάσσαλος, and ▸πάχνη.

πάγουρος [m.] '(edible) crab, Cancer pagurus' (Ar., Arist.). ◂PG▸

•ETYM Usually interpreted as "whose tail (οὐρά) consists of πάγος", due to the hard short back of the body (as opposed to the softer tail of other species). However, this traditional etymology is unconvincing; see σκίουρος for a similar case. More probably, πάγουρος is a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 165 and 331 connects φάγρος, φάγωρος 'kind of fish' (H.); with secondary *r*, we find φαγρώριος. The word was borrowed into Latin as *pagurus*, whence Middle French, MoFr. *pag(r)ure* 'Cancer pagurus'.

πάγχυ [adv.] 'altogether' (Il., Sappho, Hdt.). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Derived from *παντ- 'all' (ntr. πᾶν), but -χυ is unclear. Most often considered to be a transformation of *πάγ-χι (like ἦ-χι) et al. on the model of πάνυ 'altogether'. Others have suggested haplology from *πὰν ἀγχύ (related to Skt. *aṃhú-* 'narrow'; see ▸ἄγχω and ▸ἄγχι), or a dissimilation from *πάγχνυ after πρόχνυ (see Frisk s.v.). Meier-Brügger *KZ* 107 (1994): 87f. assumes a compound 'completely poured', with a second member **-kʰu-t-* from χέω 'to pour'.

πάθνη [f.] 'crib'. ⇒φάτνη.

πάθος [n.] 'incident, experience, misfortune; emotion, passion; state, condition'. ⇒πάσχω.

παιάν, -ᾱνος [m.] 'choral song, hymn', especially for Apollo, 'paean'; also personified as 'divine physician' (Hom.); epithet of Apollo, 'physician, savior'; also name of a foot (Arist., Heph.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR παιήων, -ονος (Il.), παιών, -ῶνος (IA), πάων, -ονος (Aeol.); παιάν, -ᾱνος (Dor., trag., Hell.).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-ja-wo-ne* /Paiāwonei/ [dat.].

•DER 1. παιών-ιος 'belonging to a paean, healing, saving' (A., S., Ar.), fem. -ιάς (*AP*), -ίς (S. E.); also -ία [f.] epithet of Athena (Paus.), as a plant name 'peony' (Thphr., Ps.-Dsc.); παιανίδες [pl.] epithet of ἀοιδαί (Pi.); Παιηόνιος = Παιώνιος (*APl.*); παιανίας [m.] 'paean-singer' (Sparta). 2. παιωνικός = παιώνιος (Plu., Gal.), παιανικός 'paean-like' (Ath.). 3. παιηοσύνη· ἰατρεία 'medical treatment' (H.). 4. παιωνίζω (IA), -ανίζω (Dor.) 'to strike up a paean, to worship with a paean', παιωνισμός [m.] (Th., Str., D. H.), -ισται [m.pl.] 'guild of the paean-singers' (Rome, Piraeus, II-III^{p}).

•ETYM Probably taken from the exclamation ἰὴ παιήων, ἰὼ παιάν (as the begining of a song). The basis is *παιά-(ϝ)ων like Ιά(ϝ)ονες, κοινά(ϝ)ων (see ►Ἴωνες and ►κοινός), but is otherwise unclear. Perhaps 'who heals illnesses through magic (Apollo)', from *παῖϝα, *παϝίᾱ 'blow', related to ►παίω 'beat'; otherwise, related to παύω? In origin, the word may well be Pre-Greek.

παιπάλη [f.] 1. 'fine flour, flour dust' (Ar. *Nu.* 262, Apollon. Med.), 2. 'shrewd person, crafty person' (Ar. *Nu.* 260). ◁?▷

•COMP 1. δυσ-παίπαλος, epithet of a valley (Archil.), the waves (B.), Mount Othrus (Nic.), etc.; 2. δυσ-οδο-παίπαλα [n.pl.] 'difficult and rugged' (A. *Eu.* 387, reading uncertain); 3. πολυ-παίπαλος, of the Phoenicians (o 419), of the air (Call. *Fr. anon.* 225).

•DER Several formally close, but semantically doubtful fomations: 1. παιπαλ-όεις [adj.] 'rugged', of islands, mountains, roads (Il., epic); 2. -ιμος [adj.] 'artful, shrewd' (Theognost., sch.); 3. -ώδης 'id.' (*EM*, Suid.); 4. -εος (meaning unknown) of πιπώ 'woodpecker' (Antim.). Verbs: 1. παιπαλᾶν· περισκοπεῖν, ἐρευνᾶν 'to look around, inquire' (H.), παιπάλημα [n.] (Ar., Aeschin.) = παιπάλη, probably enlargement; 2. παιπάλλειν· σείειν 'to shake' (H.); 3. παιπαλώσσω· τὸ παίζω καὶ τὸ παροινῶ 'to dance and act like a drunk' (Theognost.). παίπαλά τε κρημνούς τε (Call. *Dian.* 194) is probably a back-formation.

•ETYM The adjective παιπαλόεις, used by the epic poets as an epitheton ornans, is most often interpreted as 'raw, steep' or 'twisted'; hence δυσ-παίπαλος 'rough and steep'. In view of the glosses παιπάλλειν· σείειν 'to shake' (H.) and παιπαλώσσω (Theognost.), παι-παλ- could be an intensive reduplication of the root *παλ- of ►πάλλω 'to swing, rock', thus 'be agitated' vel sim. Acc. to Tichy 1983: 306ff., meaning 1. is a ghost word.

παῖς, παιδός [m., f.] 'child, boy, son, slave, servant', more rarely 'girl, daughter' (Il.). ◁IE *peh_2-u- 'few, little'▷

•VAR Also πάϊς (epic Lesb., Boeot.).

•COMP παιδ-αγωγός [m.] 'children's attendant, schoolteacher', ἄ-παις 'childless' (IA), etc.

•DER A. Nouns. Several hypocoristic diminutives, partly replacing παῖς: 1. παιδ-ίον [n.] (IA), -ιότης [f.] 'childhood' (Aq.), -ιώδης 'childish' (D. H.). 2. diminutive παιδ-ίσκος [m.], more usually -ίσκη [f.] (Att.), -ισκι-ωρός [m.] (Sparta) 'guard of girls'?, -ισκάριον (Hell.), -ισκεῖος (IV^{a}), -ισκεῖον 'brothel' (Ath.). 3. παιδ-άριον (Att.) 'little boy', -αρίσκος (Hld.), -αρίδιον (gloss.), -αριήματα· παιδάρια 'little boys' (H.), -αρίων (H.), -αριώδης 'childish' (Pl., Arist.), -αρικός 'belonging to slaves' (pap. VI^{p}), -αριεύομαι [v.] 'to behave childishly' (Aristox.). 4. πάϊλλος 'male child' (Tanagra). 5. παιδ-ία 'childhood' (Hp.), -ιά 'child's play, pleasantry, pastime' (Att.); -ιώδης 'playful' (Ion Hist., Arist.). 6. παίγνιον [adj.] 'playful', -ίη [f.] 'play'.

B. Adjectives: 1. παιδ-νός 'in infancy, childish' (Od., epic). 2. παίδ-ειος, -εῖος, -ήϊος 'childlike' (Pi., trag., Pl.); τά -ήϊα name of a festival (Delph. V--IV^{a}). 3. παιδ-ικός 'concerning the child, childlike'; τά παιδικά 'dear' (B., Att.). 4. παιδοῦς, -οῦσσα 'having many children, pregnant' (Call., Hp.).

C. Verbs: 1. παίζω [v.] 'to behave like a child, play' (Od.), also with ἐν-, e.g. ἐμπαίκτης, -γ-μός, -γ-μονή (LXX, NT), κατα-, συν-, etc., aor. παῖσαι, analogically also παῖξαι (Crates Com., Ctes., Hell.), παῖγ-μα 'play' (E.), φιλο-παίγμων 'fond of playing' (ψ 134), -μοσύναι [pl.] 'id.' (Stesich.); παιγ-νίη 'play' (Hdt.), -νιήμων 'playful' (Hdt.), -νιον (Att.), -χ-νιον (Erinna, Theoc. in pap. Antin., Call.) 'play, jest'. Probably, παιγ-ν- for *παιδν- because of an early connection with παίζω. (συμ-)παίκ-της 'player, team-mate' (*AP*), -τρια [f.] (Ant. Lib.), (συμ-)παίσ-της [m.] (Pl. *Min.*, pap.), -τικός 'jocular' (Clearch.), -τρη [f.] 'playground' (Herod.); συμπαίκ-τωρ, -παίσ-τωρ (X., *AP*). 2. παιδ-εύω [v.] 'to raise, breed, educate' (also with ἐκ-, συν-, etc.) (IA), with παιδ-εία [f.] 'upbringing, education, breeding' (A., Democr., Att.), also 'childhood, youth'; -ευσις [f.] 'upbringing, education' (Pi., trag., Pl.), -ευμα 'subject, outcome of the upbringing, pupil' (Att.), -ευτής 'instructor, teacher' (Pl.), -ευτικός 'belonging to the upbringing' (Pl., etc.), -ευτήριον 'school' (D. S., Str.). 3. *παιδ-όω in παίδ-ωσις [f.] 'adoption' (Elis).

•ETYM Disyllabic πάϊς points to original *παϝ-ι-δ-. The unenlarged stem is still seen in Att. παῦς (vase inscr.) and in the Cypr. gen. Φιλό-παϝ-ος; uncertain is Cypr. διπας, = δί-παις? A parallel enlargement occurs in ►παῦρος < *peh_2u-*ro*-, cf. Lat. *parvus* 'small'. Other cognates are Lat. *paucus* 'few' < *peh_2u-*ko*-, *pau-per*, if from *peh_2u-(*o*-)*p*(*o*)*rh*$_3$-*o*- 'providing little' (see de Vaan 2008 s.v.), and Go. *fawai* [pl.] 'few'. The appurtenance of Lat. *puer* < *ph_2u-*ero*- 'smaller' is not certain.

παισά [n.pl.]? · πλακούντια παρά Κώοις '(flat) cakes (Cos)' (Iatrocl. *apud* Ath. 646f.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

παιφάσσω [v.] mg. uncertain: 'to twitch, sway, move vehemently?'; πυκνά ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλον ὁρμᾶν, ἐνθουσιαστικῶς ἔχειν, σπεύδειν, θορυβεῖν, πηδᾶν 'to move often to another and from another, be inspired, hasten, make noise, leap' (H.), 'to flash, flicker?' (B 450, E 803, A. R., Q. S., Opp.); cf. παραιφάσσει· τινάσσει, πηδᾷ, παρακινεῖ

'shakes, leaps, stirs up', διαφάσσειν· διαφαίνειν 'to show through', παιπάσσουσα· παντὶ φαινομένη (B 450) 'completely clear' (H.). ◂?▸

•VAR Only present stem.

•COMP Rarely with ἐκ-, περι-.

•ETYM Probably a reduplicated intensive present, but the uncertain meaning does not allow us to establish an etymology. See Tichy 1983: 309ff. for further suggestions.

παίω [v.] 'to strike, hew, thrust, hit, bump' (IA, Cret.; relatively rare in Attic prose). ◂IE *ph_2u-ie/o-▸

•VAR Boeot. πήω (Hdn.), aor. παῖσαι, pass. παισθῆναι, fut. παίσω, -ήσω, perf. πέπαικα, -σμαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. παρα-, άντι-, ἐν-, συν-, ὑπερ-.

•DER παῖμα [n.] 'impression' (Crete), παραπαίσματα [pl.] 'attacks of madness' (Oenom.), παραίπαιμα· παρακοπή 'frenzy' (H.); ἀνάπαι-στος 'struck back', [m.] 'anapest' (com., Arist.); ἔμπαι-στος 'embossed, coined', -σμα [n.] 'embossment' (Delos II[a]). -στικὴ τέχνη 'the art of embossing' (Ath.); back-formations ἔμπαι-ος, πρόσπαι-ος (to ἐμ-, προσ-παίω) 'bursting in, suddenly' (A.).

•ETYM All Greek forms are based on the present παίω. Cognate forms: Lat. *paviō*, *-īre* 'to thump, pound, strike' (< *ph_2u-ie/o-), Lith. *pjáuti* 'to cut' (3s. *pjáuna*), Latv. *pļaũt* 'to mow, harvest' < *peh_1u- (or *$pi̯eh_2$-u-). LIV[2] follows Hackstein 1992: 161 and reconstructs a pres. *$pi(e)h_2$-u-ie/o-, which would have lost the first *$i̯$ due to dissimilation (LIV[2]) or simple phonetic loss (Hackstein). The development may have been *pih_2u-$i̯$- > *ph_2u-$i̯$-, the absence of laryngeal metathesis being due to the following *$i̯$ instead of a stop. Perhaps connected with the group of ToB *pyakar* [3pl.] 'they struck down', Gr. ▸πταίω 'to hit', ToAB *putk-* 'to divide', Lat. *putāre* 'to prune (trees)'.

παλάθη [f.] 'cake made of preserved fruits' (Hdt. 4, 23, Thphr., LXX). ◂PG(V)▸

•DER Diminutive παλαθ-ίς [f.] (Ph. *Bel.*, Str.), -ιον [n.] (Polem. Hist.), παλάσ-ιον (Ar. *Pax* 574; v.l. -θιον); adj. -ώδης (Dsc.).

•ETYM Has often been connected with ▸πλάσσω 'to knead' < *πλαθ-, but the latter requires a preform in *pld^h-, whereas παλά-θη would have to reflect word-initial *plh_2-e-. If this line is followed, it can be compared with παλά-μη, παλα-στή, 'flat of the hand, etc.'; the word πέλα-νος 'dough, pulp' could show the full grade of the root in *$pelh_2$-n-, and the PIE root would be *plh_2- 'to hit', whence the roots *plh_2g/k- in LIV[2] may derive. However, the semantics of this etymology are not compelling, of course. Alternatively, παλάθη could reflect a loanword. Fur.: 259 cites παλάσια · τά συγκεκομμένα σῦκα. καὶ διά τοῦ θ παλάθια 'harvested figs, also παλάθια with -θ-' (H.); the variation θ/ σ could point to a Pre-Greek word.

πάλαι [adv.] 'of old, formerly, long ago, bygone, earlier' (Il.). ◂IE *plh_2- '?'▸

•DIAL Myc. *pa-ra-jo* /palaios/.

•COMP παλαι-γενής 'born long ago, of high age' (Il.), ἔκ-παλαι 'long since, long ago' (Hell.).

•DER παλαιός 'old, ancient, former' (Il.), παλαι-ότης 'age, antiquity' (Att.), -όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to grow old, make old, declare archaic' (Hp., Pl., Arist.); hence παλαί-ωσις

[f.] 'aging' (Hp., LXX, Str.), -ώματα [pl.] 'antiquity' (LXX). Compar. παλαί-τερος, -τατος (Pi.), also παλαιό-τερος (Ψ 788), -τατος (Pl.).

•ETYM Formation like χαμαί, παραί, except for the accent. A frozen case-form, perhaps originally a dative. The Mycenaean form precludes a labio-velar, and points to *plh_2-ei; see Chadwick *Glotta* 54 (1976): 68-70. Thus, the earlier connection with ►τῆλε 'far away, far' < *k^w- must be abandoned.

παλαίω [v.] 'to wrestle, survive a wrestling match' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Aeol. -αιμι, Boeot. -ήω (Hdn. Gr.); aor. -αῖσαι, -αισθῆναι, fut. -αίσω.

•COMP Also προσ-, κατα-, συν-.

•DER 1. Παλαίμων, -ονος [m.] 'wrestler', only as the name of a sea-god and an epithet of Heracles (E., Call., Lyc., inscr.); from 'wrestler' were derived παλαιμον-έω [v.] 'wrestle' (Pi.) and παλαι(σ)μο-σύνη 'art of wrestling' (Hom., Simon.). 2. πάλαι-σμα 'wrestling, bout in wrestling, trick' (IA), 3. -σις [f.] 'prize fight' (Ptol.); 4. -στής 'wrestler', fighter' (θ 246), -στικός 'belonging to wrestling, to the wrestler' (Arist.); 5. -στρᾱ [f.] 'wrestling school, gymnasium, arena' (IA) with -στρίδιον, -στρίτης, -στρικός, -στριαῖος. The noun πάλη [f.] 'wrestling, wrestling match' (Il.) is a back-formation, hence ἀντί-παλος [m.] 'rival, opponent' (Pi., IA), δυσ-παλής 'hard to beat' (Pi.; with transition to the *s*-stems) et al. Similarly, διαπάλ-η [f.] (Pln.) from δια-παλαίω (Ar., Ph.).

•ETYM One could derive 'wrestle' from 'rock, sway', and connect παλαίω with ►πάλλω, for which a root *plh_1- has been suggested. Gr. παλαίω may be a recent enlargement of a stem *παλα- (cf. κεραίω : κερά-σαι), but there is no way to arrive at a sequence παλα- from a preform *plh_1-. Alternatively, one could connect πίλναμαι 'to approach' < *plh_2- (semantics: 'to make close contact' > 'wrestle'), and posit a zero-grade verbal formation *plh_2-*e*- > παλα-. However, since no synchronic traces of such a verbal stem remain, this remains hypothetical.

παλάμη [f.] '(flat) hand, device, means, function' (Il.). ◄IE *plh_2-(*e*)*m*- 'hand'►

•COMP δυσ-πάλαμος 'mischievous, helpless' (A. [lyr.]).

•DER πάλαμις (cod. -ίς)· τεχνίτης παρά τοῖς Σαλαμινίοις 'craftsman (Salam.)' (H.), παλαμίς [f.] 'mole' (Alex. Trall.). Denominative παλαμ-άομαι, -ήσασθαι 'to handle, perform, plan' (Alc., E., Ar., X.) also παλαμήσας· τεχνάσας, ἐργάσας 'having wrought, produced' (H.), -ημα [n.] 'performance, plan' (*Com. Adesp.*, Ael.). Furthermore ἀπάλαμνος (also ά-πάλαμος) 'without hand', 'unadept, helpless, indeliberate, inconsiderate' (E 597); παλαμναῖος 'who does sth. with his own hand', euphemistically 'murderous, murderer' (trag.); both from *πάλαμα [n.].

•ETYM Related to Lat. *palma* [f.] 'flat hand', OHG *folma*, OIr. *lám* 'hand', all with an old zero grade *m*-derivation (*plh_2-*m*-) of a lost verb for 'spread out'. Greek requires *plh_2-*em*-; cf. Beekes 1975: 10ff. Other derivations of the same verb have been suspected in ►παλαστή and ►πέλαγος; see also ►πέλανος, ►πλάσσω, and ►πλανάω, as well as ►ἐπιπολῆς.

παλάσσομαι [v.] 'to draw lots'. ⇒πάλλω.

παλάσσω [v.] 'to besprinkle, stain, taint' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Fut. inf. παλαξέμεν, perf. ptc. πεπαλαγμένος, plpf. πεπάλακτο.
•COMP ἐμ-παλάσσομαι 'to be tampered, be entangled' (Hdt., Th.), ἐμπαλάξαι· ἐμπλέξαι 'to entwine' (H.), with ἐμπαλάγματα [pl.] 'entanglements, embracements' (A. *Supp.* 296).
•DER πάλαξις [f.] 'sprinkling' = 'priming' (Epid. III[a]).
•ETYM Possibly connected with ►πάλλω 'to swing', though this verb itself has no certain etymology. One would have to posit a Proto-Greek root **pal-* with the suffix -άσσω, also found e.g. in ►σταλάσσω, αἱμάσσω, et al.

παλαστή [f.] 'surface of the hand, breadth of four fingers' (IA). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR -άστα (Aeol.), -αιστή (Hp., Arist., pap.; perhaps secondary after παλαίω?), also -αιστής [m.] (LXX, Hero); after μετρητής, etc.
•COMP τρι-πάλα(ι)στος 'measuring three handbreadths' (IA, Hell.).
•DER παλα(ι)στ-ιαῖος 'measuring a handbreadth' (IA, Hell.).
•ETYM Frisk derives this noun from the same verb for 'spread out' as ►παλάμη, with a suffix *-st-*. However, the word rather seems Pre-Greek, as is confirmed by the variation σ/ ισ (which probably points to a palatal **s'*); cf. Fur.: 296.

παλεύω [v.] 'to act as a decoy, lure into, tempt' (Ar. *Av.*, Ph., Plu.). ◁PG?▷
•DER παλευταί· οἱ τὰ λίνα ἱστῶντες, οἷς τὰ θηρία παλεύεται 'those setting up the nets by which animals are trapped' (H.), -ευτικόν (cod. πατ-)· θηρευτικόν 'related to hunting' (H.), -ευτά· τὰ λίνα οἷς τὰ θηρία ἁλίσκεται 'nets by which wild animals are caught' (Phot.), -εύτρια [f.] 'decoy bird' (Eub., Arist.), -ευτρίς [f.] (Phot.), -ευμα 'bait, lure' (anon. *apud* Greg. Cor., p. 1017 Schaefer).
•ETYM A technical word, probably Pre-Greek.

παλέω [v.] ◁PG?▷
•VAR Only in the aor.opt. παλήσειε, said of a fleet which cannot fight (Hdt. 8,21), ind. ἐπάλησεν· ἐφθάρη 'to destroy' and perf. πεπαληκέναι· ἐκπεσεῖν 'to fall out', πεπαλημέναι· βεβλαμμέναι 'who are disabled or hindered' (H.); furthermore (as if from πάλλω) πεπαλμένος· βεβλαμμένος, ἔξαρθρος γεγονώς 'disabled; who has got dislocated joints' (H.), πεπαλκέναι λέγεται τὸ ἐκπίπτειν τὰ πλοῖα 'suffer shipwreck' (Phot.).
•DER ἐκπαλής 'dislocated' (Hp., H.), ἐκπαλέω [v.] 'to dislocate, disjoint' (Hp.), ἐκπάλησις, -εία [f.] 'dislocation' (medic.).
•ETYM If Frisk's proposal is correct -- viz. that the rare simplex could be a backformation from ἐκπαλέω, a denominative of ἐκπαλής 'jumped out', which in turn was from from ἐκ-πάλλομαι 'to jut out' (see ►πάλλω 'to sway, rock') -- then this entire lemma is secondary. Only the forms πεπαλμένος and πεπαλκέναι must be older. Fur.: 149 connects these words with glosses in βαλ-, and with the root βλαβ-, which could show that the word is Pre-Greek.

πάλη 1 [f.] 'wrestling match'. ⇒παλαίω.

πάλη 2 [f.] 'fine flour, fine dust' (Hp., medic., Pherecr.). ◁?▷
•DER πάλημα [n.] 'id.' (Nic.), -ημάτιον (Ar.*Fr.* 682). Reduplicated ►παιπάλη; perhaps to παλάσσω and παλύνω.

•ETYM Has been derived from πάλλω 'to swing, rock' = 'to sieve flour', which is conceivable but not compelling. Alternatively, one could connect πάλη with Lat. *pollen* 'flour, powder' < **pol(H)-*, Gr. ►πόλτος, Lat. *puls*, *-ltis* 'kind of porridge' < **polt-*.

πάλιν [adv.] 'backwards, reverse; again; anew' (Il.). ◄IE **k^{w}lH-i-* 'turn'►

•VAR Also πάλι (Hell. poet.).

•COMP As a second member in originally prepositional expressions like ἔμ-παλιν 'reversely, on the contrary', ἀνά-παλιν 'backwards, aback' with ἀναπαλεύω [v.] 'to take back, cancel' (pap.). Very often as a first member, e.g. παλίν-ορσος (see ►ὄρρος), παλῑ̓ωξις [f.] 'pursuit, counterattack' (Il., App.) < *παλι-ϝίωξις, where παλι- was formed after other first members in -ι.

•ETYM Frozen accus. of a noun *πάλις 'turning, turn' (from ►πέλομαι; see also ►πάλαι), which may first have been used as an accus. of content in cases like πάλιν ἰέναι, βαίνειν, διδόναι. See Dihle *Glotta* 83 (1985): 7-14 on the mg. of παλῑ̓ωξις: it may be a technical term used in chariot fighting during the second millennium, from πάλιν ϝιώκειν.

παλίουρος [m.] plant name, 'Christ's thorn, Paliurus australis' (Thphr., Theocr.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM A connection with οὐρά 'tail' makes little sense, nor it is to be taken with οὖρον 'urine' (thus DELG). The word is most probably Pre-Greek (cf. Dihle *Glotta* 51 (1973): 270f.); see ►πάγουρος.

παλλακή [f.] 'concubine' (IA, Hell.). ◄PG?►

•VAR παλλακίς (Hom., X., Hell.).

•DER παλλακ-ίδιον (Plu.), -ῖνος [m.] 'son of a concubine' (Sophr.), -ία (also -εία to -εύω) 'concubinage' (Is., Str.); -εύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to take as a concubine, be a concubine' (Hdt., Str., Plu.). A probable back-formation is πάλλαξ [f.], also [m.] 'youth' (gramm.), -άκιον = μειράκιον 'boy' (Pl. Com., Ael. Dion.), παλλακός· ἐρώμενος (ἐρρωμένος cod.) 'eromenos' (H.), Phot.; πάλληξ [m.] (Samos III--II^{a}, Ar. Byz.), παλληκάριον (pap., written. -ι-), MoGr. παλληκάρι. A different suffix is found in πάλλᾱς, -αντος [m.] 'youth' (Philistid.; after γίγᾱς). Athena's epithet Παλλάς, -άδος [f.] (Il.) is isolated; among the Greeks in Thebes (Egypt), it functions as a sacral term for 'girl'; -άδιον 'statue of Pallas', originally 'doll, female idol' (Hdt., Ar., inscr.).

•ETYM The word may well be Pre-Greek, with a suffix -ακ-. Similarly, Levin *General Linguistics* 23 (1983): 191-197 regards Latin *paelex* 'mistress' as a loanword from a Mediterranean language, maybe a Semitic one, in view of Hebr. *plgš* /pi(y)leyeš/ 'concubine'. The remaining connections that have been proposed, particularly those with Ir. *airech*, gen. *airige* [f.] 'concubine', Avestan *pairikā* [f.] 'witch', MP *parīk*, MoP *parī* < PIr. **parῑ̆kā*, should all be dismissed for formal or semantic reasons.

παλλάντιον [n.] kind of grass (Hippiatr. 66). ◄?►

•ETYM Fur.: 344 compares ἀπολάντιον 'id.', but the analysis of the latter is unknown.

παλλιχίαρ [n.] · πεμμάτιόν τι παρὰ Λάκωσι 'small cake (Lacon.)' (H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM DELG suggests a compound of πᾱν and λείχω (after Bourguet 1927: 148[1]), but it may rather be a Pre-Greek word.

παλλύτας [?] ὄργανον βασανιστήριον 'instrument of torture' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM From πᾱν and ▸ λύω?

πάλλω [v.] 'to sway, rock, draw lots', med. 'to vault', also 'to jump, hop'. ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. πῆλαι (Il.), med. πήλασθαι (Call.), πάλτο (ἀν-, κατ-έπαλτο), reduplicated ἀμ-πεπαλών (Hom.; see below on πεπάλ-εσθε, -έσθαι, if for -ασθε, -άσθαι or -αχθε, -άχθαι), aor. pass. ἀνα-παλείς (Str.), perf. med. πέπαλμαι (A.).

•COMP Also ἀνα- (ἀμ-). As a second member in ἐγχέσ-, σακέσ-παλος 'swaying the spear, shield' (Il.).

•DER 1. πάλος [m.] '(shaken) lot' (Sapph., Hdt., trag.), ἄμπαλος [m.] 'fresh casting' (of the lot, Pi.); ἀναπάλη [f.] name of a dance (Ath.); 2. παλτόν [n.] 'javelin' (A., X.), ἐπάλταξα 'threw the javelin' (H.), παλτός [adj.] (S.); 3. παλμός [m.] 'vibration, pulsation' (Hp., Arist., Epicur.), -ώδης 'full of vibrations' (Hp.); παλματίας σεισμός 'heavy earthquake' (Arist.); 4. πάλσις (ἀνά-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'pulsation, etc.' (Arist., Epicur.). Intensive verb παι-πάλλειν 'to shake' (H.). A velar enlargement seems to be present in *παλάσσομαι, πεπάλαχθε, -άχθαι (*H* 171, ι 331); these difficult perfects must perhaps be read as reduplicated aor. -εσθε, -έσθαι.

•ETYM The forms πάλτο and back-formed πάλλομαι arose through metanalysis of the compounds κατ-επ-αλτο, ἀν-επ-αλτο, which belong to ἄλλομαι 'to jump', as containing augmented ἔ-παλτο. The remaining forms show a common basis παλ- (pres., reduplicated aor., etc.). In LIV[2], Gr. παλ- 'to swing' is connected with Slavic material such as Sln. *pláti*, 1sg. *póljem* 'to surge, let seethe', as well as Gr. ▸ πελεμίζω and ▸ πόλεμος. The root would be PIE **pelh₁-*, whence a nasal present **pl-n-h₁-e/o-* > Gr. πάλλ-ε/ο- (with similar phonetics as in βάλλω), and a reduplicated aorist **pe-plh₁-e/o-* > πεπαλ-ε/ο-. This analysis is possible in theory, but note that there is no independent evidence for πάλλω continuing a nasal present. Thus, everything remains uncertain. Alternatively, we could be dealing with a different, Proto-Greek stem **pal-*, to which παλύνω and παλάσσω could belong as well. The appurtenance of πόλεμος is semantically uncompelling. The noun πάλος is probably deverbal, as the meaning suggests. See ▸ παλαίω.

πάλμυς, -υδος, -υν [m.] 'king' (Hippon., A. *Fr.* 437 = 623 M., Lyc., *AP* 15, 25), also PN of a Trojan (N 792). ◂LW Lyd.▸

•ETYM Originally a Lydian word (Lyd. *qalmlus*).

πάλος [m.] 'lot'. ⇒πάλλω.

πᾱλος [m.] 'gladiator'. ◂LW Lat.▸

•ETYM From Lat. *pālus* 'stake', a gladiator's rank.

παλύνω [v.] 'to sprinkle flour; to besprinkle with flour, dust, snow, etc.' (Il.). ◂GR▸

•VAR Aor. παλῦναι.

•COMP Rarely with ἀμφι-, δια-, ὑπερ-.

•ETYM Either a direct derivative of ►πάλη 2 'fine flour' or from an unattested *u*-stem **pal-u-* 'flour'.

παμπήδην [adv.] 'wholly, throughout', = πάμπαν (Thgn., A., S.). ◄GR►
•VAR -ηδόν, -ηδονίς (Theognost.).
•ETYM Transformation of πάμπαν after the adverbs in -ήδην, -ηδόν. See ►ἔμπης.

παμφαίνω [v.] 'to shine brightly, radiate' (Il., epic). ◄GR►
•VAR Only present; iterative παμφαίνεσκε (Eratosth.).
•DER παμφανόων, -όωσα, -όωντα [ptc.], as if from *παμφανάω.
•ETYM Reduplicated intensive of ►φαίνω.

παμφαλάω [v.] 'to gaze around in astonishment' (Hippon., Anacr., Herod.), ἐπαμφάλησεν· ἐθαύμασε, περιεβλέψατο 'wondered, gazed around' (H.). ◄PG?(V)►
•ETYM Reduplicated intensive in -άω. Frisk assumes that it represents a dissimilation of *φαλ-φαλ-άω, probably from φαλός 'white' (H.; see ►φαλακρός), with the same semantic development as assumed for λευκός 'white' > λεύσσω 'to look'. Fur. 161 equates παμφαλάω with παπταλάομαι 'to look around' (Lyc.), assuming Pre-Greek origin.

πάμφι [adv.] παντάπασι 'altogether' (H.). ◄GR►
•ETYM An instrumental in -φι, derived from πᾶν [n.] 'all'?

Πάν [m.] pastoral god from Arcadia (*h. Hom.*, Pi., Hdt.). ◄IE? **peh₂us-*►
•VAR Case forms Πα-νός, -νί; Πάονι (Arc. VI[a]); plur. Πᾶνες (Ar.).
•DER 1. Diminutive Πανίσκος (Cic.); 2. Πάνιος 'belonging to Pan' (A. *Fr.* 98 = 143 M.), -ιον [n.] 'sanctuary of Pan' (Epid. III[a]), -ειον [n.] 'id.' (Str.), τά Πάνεια 'festival of Pan' (Delos III[a]), fem. Πανιάς (Nonn.); 3. Πανικός 'id.' (Hell.); 4. Πανιασταί [m.pl.] 'worshippers of Pan' (Rhod., Perg.; like Ἀπολλωνιασταί etc.; Πανισταί conj. in Men. *Dysc.* 230); 5. πανεύω 'to treat in the manner of Pan' (Heracl. Paradox.).
•ETYM Often identified with Skt. *Pūṣán-* [m.] 'god who protects and augments the herds', assuming an IE ablauting paradigm **peh₂us-* (> PGr. **pauh-on-* > Πάν) / **ph₂us-* (> Skt. *Pūṣ-án-*), derived from PIE root **peh₂-* 'to protect'. Doubts by Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2 s.v.

πανδούρα, -δοῦρα [f.] three-stringed lute (Euph. *apud* Ath. 183f., Poll.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR πάνδουρος (Euph. l.c., inscr. Seleucia ad Calycadnum), φάνδουρος (Nicon. Harm. 4).
•DER -δούριον, -δουρίς (H.), -δουρίζω , -δουριστής.
•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word. Hübschmann 1897: 395 compares Arm. *p'andir*, Oss. *fændur*, and Georg. *panṭuri*.

πάνθηρ, -ηρος [m.] 'panther' (Hdt., X., Arist.). ◄LW Orient.►
•COMP λυκο-πάνθηρος [m.] 'wolf-panther' (Hdn. *Epim.*).
•DER Diminutive -ηρίσκος (Hero).
•ETYM Foreign word of Oriental origin. Compare Skt. (lex.) *puṇḍarīka-* [m.] 'tiger'; if connected with ►πάρδαλις, one might consider original *πάρθηρ, which was

changed to πάνθηρ by folk-etymological association with πᾶν 'all' and θηράω 'to hunt'. See Fur.: 190[33].

πᾱνός [m.] 'torch' (A. *Ag.* 284 [codd. φαν-], S. *Fr.* 184, E. *Ion* 195 and 1294 [codd. πταν-], Men.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 318 thinks the word may be Pre-Greek because of the variant with πτ-.

πανσῠδί (-εί) [adv.] 'rushing in collectively or jointly, with the entire army' (Th., Pherecr., X.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Also πασσ-.
•DER -δίη (Il., A. R.), -δίᾳ (E., X.) 'id.', also 'in a great hurry', -δίην (*EM*, H.); -δόν 'together' (Nonn.); denominative πασ<σ>υδιάζω [v.] 'to assemble' (Cyme; imperial period).
•ETYM Compound of πάν and ▶σεύομαι (aor.3sg. σύτο), with the adverbial suffix -δί, etc.

πάνυ ⇒πᾶς.

πάξ [adv.] 'enough, well' (Men., Diph., Herod.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Probably from ▶πήγνυμι, παγῆναι, with adverbial *-s* like in ▶ἅπαξ.

παξαμᾶς [m.] 'biscuit'. ◁?▷
•DER παξαμίτης, παξαμίδιον (Gal.).
•ETYM Allegedly from the name of a baker, Πάξαμος (Gal., Suid.).

παπαῖ [adv.] exclamation of pain and astonishment (IA). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR On the accent see Hdn. Gr. 2, 933.
•DER παπαιάξ (Ar., E., Luc.); redupl. παπαπαπαῖ (Ar. Th. 1191).
•ETYM Nursery word.

πάππᾰ [m.voc.] 'papa!' (ζ 57, etc.) ◁ONOM▷
•VAR Accus. -ᾰ̓ν.
•COMP πρό-παππος 'great-grandfather, proavus' (Att.), ἐπί-παππος 'great-grandfather, abavus, forebear in general' (Jul., Lib., Poll.).
•DER πάππος 'grandfather, ancestor' (IA), 'down (on seeds, on the chin)', name of an unknown bird; παπ-ῷος 'ancestral' (Ar.), -ικός 'id.' (pap. II[P]), -ώδης 'fluffy' (Thphr.). Denominatives παπ-άζω (E 408, Q. S.), -ίζω (Ar.) [v.] 'to say papa, call papa', -ασμός [m.] 'calling out "papa"' (Suid.); hypocoristic παπ-ίᾱ, -ίδιον (Ar.). Fully inflected: πάπας, -αν, -ᾳ (Hell.).
•ETYM Reduplicated nursery word

πάπραξ, -ακος [m., f.] name of a fish in the Thracian lake Prasias (Hdt. 5, 16). ◁PG?(S)▷
•ETYM Has been connected with πέρκη 'perch', περκνός 'spotted', or explained as onomatopoeic after the supposed sound of the fish; cf. βαβράζειν 'to chirp'. The word may be Pre-Greek (suffix -ακ-).

παπταίνω [v.] 'to look around, glance at sth.' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Aor. παπτῆναι, also -ᾶναι (Pi.), fut. -ανέω.
•COMP Rarely with άπο-, δια-, περι-.
•DER πεπτήνας· περιβλεψάμενος 'looking around' (H.); παπταλώμενος (Lyc.).
•ETYM Intensive reduplicated formation πα-πτ-αίνω. Could be connected with πέτομαι 'to fly', assuming the image of a restless gaze, but this is hardly compelling. No good IE etymology. Other forms which have been connected: some Cypriot glosses from H., such as ἰμπάταον· ἔμβλεψον. Πάφιοι 'looked at (Paph.)', ἰνκαπάταον· ἐγκατάβλεψον 'id.', etc. (see Frisk s.v.).

πάπῡρος [m., f.] 'papyrus shrub, linen, paper' (Thphr., Dsc., pap.). ◁LW▷
•DER Diminutive παπύρ-ιον [n.] (Dsc.), -(ε)ών [m.] 'bed of papyrus' (Aq., inscr.); -ινος [adj.] 'made of papyrus' (Delos II^{a}, Plu., pap.), -ικός 'id.' (pap.), -ώδης (Gal., sch.).
•ETYM Loanword of unknown origin. Note that Pre-Greek has a suffix -ῡρ-.

πάρα [adv., prep.] 'besides, by; from, next to, alongside, against' (Il.). ◁IE *prh_2-, *$preh_2$- 'beside, by'▷
•VAR With gen., dat., acc. Also παρά, epic also παραί (Παραι-βάτᾱς in dial. inscr.), non-IA mostly πάρ.
•DIAL Myc. *pa-ro*.
•ETYM Discussion by García Ramón 1997: 47-62. For Indo-European, he distinguishes *prh_2- 'at the front, beside', with a loc. *$preh_2$-*i*, also *$pr̥$- 'id.' and *pres- in πρέσβυς. Beside these, there is also a gen.-abl. *prh_2-*es* > πάρος, and finally, **pro* and *pro-h_1 'to the front'.
The words παραί, παρ, and παρά are synonymous; παραί may derive from *$preh_2$-*i* with analogical *$pr̥$-. The word παρά lost the meaning 'forward' to πρό. See ▶πάρος, ▶πέρα, ▶πέρι, ▶πρίν, ▶πρό, and ▶πρός.

παραγαύδης [m.] 'garment with purple border' (Lyd. Mag. 1, 17; 2, 4). ◁LW OP▷
•VAR παραγώδας (cod. παραγώγας) 'a Parthian garment' (H.).
•DER παραγαύδιον (*POxy.* 1026, 12; V^{p}; Ed. Diocl.).
•ETYM A loanword from Old Persian; see R. Schmitt *Glotta* 49 (1971): 107-110.

παράδεισος [m.] 'enclosed park with animals' (X.), 'garden' (LXX, Hell., pap., inscr.), 'garden of Eden' (LXX), 'abode of the blessed, paradise' (NT). ◁LW Pers.▷
•ETYM Loanword from Av. *pairi-daēza-* [m.] 'enclosure', MIran. **pardēz*, MoP *pālēz* 'garden'. Iranian **daiźa-* is cognate with Gr. ▶τεῖχος, from the IE root *$d^{h}eig^{h}$-.

παρακλαυσίθυρον 'lover's complaint sung at his mistresses's door, serenade' (Plu.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Univerbation of παρα-, κλαῦσις, and θύρα (Leroy 1969: 223-237).

παρασάγγης [m.] Persian length measure (Hdt., X.). ◁LW OP▷
•ETYM From OP; cf. MP *frasang*, MoP *farsang*. The view that παρασάγγης was used in the meaning 'ἄγγελος' is probably due to a misunderstanding (Pearson on S. *fr.* 520).

πάραυτα, -τά [adv.] 'immediately' (Aesch., D).

•ETYM From παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα.

παραψιδάζω [v.] 'to spatter' (Hippon. 92 M.).
•ETYM Masson cites Coppola, who adduced ψίδες· ψιάδες, ψακάδες 'drops, drops of rain' (H.). See ▶ψίζομαι.

παρδακός [adj.] 'wet, damp' (Archil., Semon., Ar. *Pax* 1148); πάρταξον (-ζον cod.)· ὔγρανον. Λάκωνες 'wetting' (?) (H.). ◀PG(V)▶
•VAR V.ll. πορ-, -δοκός.
•ETYM The variations α/ο and δ/τ show that the word is Pre-Greek. Fur. 241 further adduces ἄρδω 'to irrigate' < *ά-ϝάρδω (Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 29f, Neumann 1961: 91); he also compares Basque forms.

πάρδαλις, -ιος, -εως [f.] 'panther, leopard' (Il.); also name of a fish of prey (Ael., Opp.), of a bird, perhaps 'red-backed shrike, Lanius' (Arist. [-λος], H.). ◀LW?▶
•VAR Also πόρδ-.
•COMP παρδαλή-φορος 'borne by a panther' (S. *Fr.* 11), καμηλο-πάρδαλις [f.] 'giraffe' (Agatharch., LXX).
•DER παρδαλ-έη, -έα, -ῆ [f.] 'pelt of a panther' (Il.), -ια [n.pl.] 'panthers' (Arist.), -ιδεύς 'young panther' (Eust.), -ε(ι)ος 'belonging to the panther, panther-like' (Arist.), -ώδης (Ath.), -ωτός 'spotted like a panther' (Luc.); πάρδος [m.] 'panther' (Ael. *NA* 1,31 [v.l. πάρδαλος]); as a second member in ▶λεόπαρδος.
•ETYM Loanword from an unknown Oriental source; compare several Iranian words for 'panther, leopard', e.g. Sogd. *pwrδnk*, Pashto *pṛāng*, MoP *palang*, and Skt. *pṛ́dāku-* 'panther'. Gr. πάρδος might be a back-formation from Lat. *pardus* (Lucan). H.'s statement that πόρδαλις is male, πάρδαλις female probably represents a secondary distinction. For the suffix, compare δάμαλις and, more remotely, κνώδαλον, ἔταλον, ἴξαλος, et al. See ▶πάνθηρ.

παρειαί [f.pl.] 'cheeks' (Il.). ◀IE *h_2*eus-* 'ear'▶
•VAR Rarely sing. -ιά (trag.), for -ιᾶ (cf. ἀγυιαί to sing. -ιᾶ)? Aeol. παραῦαι [pl.] (Theoc. 30, 4 [cod. -αύλαις], Hdn.). Furthermore παρήϊον [n.] (also plur. -α) 'cheek(s), bridle' (Hom.; Ceos V^{a}?).
•DIAL Myc. *pa-ra-wa-jo* [du.] 'bridle'?
•COMP καλλι-πάρηος (-ηος, -ειος) 'having fair cheeks' (Il.), μαλο-πάραυος (Aeol.) = λευκο-πάρειος (Theoc., H.; literally 'having apple-colored cheeks'), εὐ-πάραος = εὐ-πάρειος (Pi.).
•DER 1. παρηΐς, -ίδος (-ής, -ῆδος) [f.] 'cheek' (trag., *AP*); 2. παρειάς (-ηϊάς), -άδος [f.] 'cheek, cheek band' (Hell. epic, medic.); 3. παρείας (ὄφις) [m.] 'kind of snake' (after the light spots on both sides of the neck; Att.); also παρούας (Apollod. *apud* Ael.; after οὖς).
•ETYM From PGr. **par-aws-ā*, **par-aws-i̯o-* 'that which is next to the ears', a compound of παρά and the (original) *e*-grade of οὖς, either with or without a suffix -ιο-. The Greek words present some phonetic problems; cf. the discussion in DELG, Forssman 1966: 153, Ruijgh 1967a: §32, and especially Peters 1980a: 295ff. on the question whether a separate form **par-aws-i̯ā* should be assumed.

παρήορος [m.] '(horse) in the same harness' (Il.), metaph. 'walking beside the track, irrational', also 'outstretched, sprawling' (through false interpretation of Π 471?). ◁IE *$h_2$uer- 'bind, connect, hang'▷

•VAR Also -άορος (A. *Pr.* 363; v.l. -ή-), -ᾱρος (Theoc. 15, 8), -ῶρος (Tryph., *AP*).

•DER A rhythmic byform is παρηόριος 'driven out of course', of a ship (A. R.), 'irrational' (*AP*). Thence παρηορίαι [f.pl.] 'side-traces' (Il.), metaphorically 'outlying reaches of a river' (Arat. 600); παρηρία (for -ηορία?)· μωρία 'folly' (H.).

•ETYM Verbal noun of παρ-αείρω; see ▶ἀείρω 2.

παρθένος [f.] 'virgin, girl, young woman' (Il.). ◁IE? **psteno-* 'breast'▷

•VAR Also παρσένος (Ar.).

•COMP παρθεν-οπῖπα (Λ 385), see ▶ὀπιπεύω; καλλι-πάρθενος 'having fair virgins, of a beautiful virgin' (E.).

•DER A. Nominal: 1. Diminutive παρθεν-ίσκη, -ισκάριον (Hdn. Gr., gloss.); 2. παρθένιος (analogical -ειος, -ήϊος) 'vestal' (Il.); 3. -ική [f.] 'maiden' (Il.), -ικός 'vestal' (LXX, D. S.); 4. -ιον, -ικόν, -ίς names of several plants, 'artemisia' et al. (Hp., Dsc.); 5. -ώδης 'vestal' (St. Byz.); 6. -ιανός 'born under the sign of Virgo' (*Astr.*); 7. -ίας [m.] 'son of a maiden' (Arist., Str.); 8. -ών (-εών *AP*, etc.), -ῶνος [m.] 'bower', usually the name of the temple of Athene παρθένος (Att.). 9. παρθενία (-εία), -ίη 'virginity' (Sapph., Pi.).

B. Verbs: 1. παρθενεύομαι, -ω (also with άπο-, δια-, έκ-) [v.] 'to be a maiden, treat as a maiden' (Ion., A., E.), -ευμα [n.] 'maiden's work, son of a maiden' (E.), -ευσις [f.] = -ία (Luc.), -εία 'id.' (E.). 2. άπο-παρθενόω [v.] 'to deflower' (LXX).

•ETYM Klingenschmitt 1974 proposed a reconstruction **pr̥-steno-* 'having protruding breasts', with a development of **-rst-* to -ρθ-. The -σ- in Ar. is the Laconian development of θ. Though one might expect **pro-* or **pra-*, the development to PGr. **parsteno-* is considered acceptable. For **steno-*, cf. Skt. *stána-*, Arm. *stin*; however, note that the original form was probably **psteno-*, as proven by YAv. *fštāna-* 'breast', *ərəduua-fšnī-* 'having firm breasts' < **-pstn-ih₂-*.

Παρνᾱσ(σ)ός [m.] mountain chain in Phocis (Pi., Od., Hdt.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Epic Ion. -ησ(σ)ός.

•ETYM Acc. to ancient sources (St. Byz., *EM.* sch. A. R.), the older name of the mountain was Λαρνασσός. It clearly contains a Pre-Greek suffix; note the interchange σσ/σ. Beekes *JIES* 37 (2009): 191-197 explains the phoneme σσ/ττ from Pre-Greek **kʸ*.

πάρνοψ [m.] 'grasshopper' (Ar.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aeol. Boeot. (Str. 13, 1, 64) πόρνοψ, also κόρνοψ (Str. l.c.), gen. -οπος. We also find the variants πρανώ· άκρίδος εἶδος 'kind of grasshopper', and κάρνος· μεγάλη άκρίς 'big grasshopper' (both H., see Fur.: 344, 388).

•DER Παρνόπιος (-πίων) Ἀπόλλων (Paus., Str.), who protects against grasshoppers; Κορνοπίων, gen. -ωνος, epithet of Heracles in Oitaia (Str.); thence the Aeolic month name Πορνόπιος, -πίων (Cyme, Str.). Also κορνώπιδες· κώνωπες 'gnats, mosquitos' (H.).

•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of δρύοψ, σκάλοψ, and other animal names; -οπ- is a Pre-Greek suffix. Given the vacillation in the form of the word, it is unlikely that π- and κ- are due to a simple dissimilation. Probably the word had an initial labiovelar stop in Pre-Greek, the labial element of which could have been lost before o. The o itself may reflect α after a labiovelar.

παροιμία [f.] 'proverb, saying' (Att., etc.), also 'incidental remark' (Herod. 2, 61), 'comparison' (*Ev. Jo.*). ◂GR▸
•DER παροιμιώδης 'proverbial' (Plu.), -ιακός 'id.', also name of a meter (Plu., Heph.); -ιάζομαι, -ω [v.] 'to speak in proverbs' (Pl., Arist.).
•ETYM An abstract from πάρ-οιμος 'by the road, neighbor' or παρ' οἶμον, οἴμην; semantically unclear. Traditionally derived from οἶμος 'course, way', e.g. by H.: 'proverb which is spoken along the road' (cf. πάροιμος 'neighbor', παροιμώσαντες 'turned aside from the road'). Alternatively, one could derive it from ►οἴμη 'song, tale'; see Frisk s.v.

πάρος [adv., prep.] 'before, sooner, previously'; prep. (+ gen.) 'before' (Il.). ◂IE *prh_2-*os* 'before, earlier'▸
•DER πάροι-θε(ν) 'in front of, beforehand' (Il.), -τερος 'former, earlier' (Il.), -τατος (A. R.).
•ETYM An adverb that can be traced back to PIE, probably deriving from an earlier gen.sg. in *-*os*. Cognates: Skt. *purás* 'in front of, before' (beside *purā́* 'earlier'), Av. *parō* 'in front, earlier'. The forms in παροι- have a locatival origin. See ►πάρα, ►πέρι, ►πρό, ►πρός, etc.

παρῶαι [f.pl.] 'sorrel' (Phot., Arist.). ◂GR?, ?▸
•VAR παρόαν, παρούαν, παραύαν [acc.sg.].
•COMP μαλο-παρούαν [adj.] 'white and sorrel-colored'.
•DER παρωαῖος [adj.] (Call. *Artemis* 91, if correct).
•ETYM It is assumed that the word is an Aeolism, and was derived from the snake name παρείας (s.v. ►παρειαί); see Hoffmann & Debrunner 1954(2): §76. However, the variation of the vowels remains unexplained.

πάρων, -ωνος [m.] 'light ship' (Plb.). ◂?▸
•VAR -ών LSJ.
•ETYM No etymology.

πᾶς [adj.] 'whole, all, every' (Il.). ◂IE *ph_2-*ent*- 'all'▸
•VAR fem. πᾶσα (Cret. Thess. Arc. πάνσα, Aeol. παῖσα), ntr. πᾶν (Dor. Aeol. πᾰ́ν), beside πᾰ̆ν-, ἅ-πᾱν, etc.
•DIAL Myc. *pa-te* /pantes/ [nom.pl.], *pa-to* /pantos/ [gen.sg.], *pa-sa* /pansa/ [nom.sg.f.], *pa-si* /pansi/ [dat.pl.]; *ku-su-pa* /ksumpans/, *to-so-pa* /tosospans/.
•COMP Very often as a first member πᾶν-, e.g. παν-ἦμαρ 'all day' (ν 31); more rarely παντο-, e.g. παντο-μισής 'all-hateful' (A.), παντο-κράτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'the Almighty' (LXX; older παγ-κρατής, see on ►κράτος).
•DER παντ-οῖος [adj.] 'various, manifold' (Il.), -οδαπός 'id.' (since *h. Cer.*); -οσε 'in all directions' (Il.), -οτε 'always' (Arist., Hell.), -αχῇ, -αχοῦ, -αχόθεν, -αχόσε, etc.

'(from) everywhere, every way' (IA). ►πάγχυ, πάν-υ 'altogether, very' (Att., also Ion.).

•ETYM Gr. πᾱ́ς < *παντ-ς, with analogical πᾶν << πᾰ́ν (< *πάντ). Furthermore, we find ἅ-πᾱς 'the whole' < *sm-pant-. The Myc. forms prove initial *p- (rather than *k^w-), and enable connection with ToA *puk, pont-*, ToB *po, pont-* 'all' (Adams 1999: 402). The -υ in ►πάγχυ and πάνυ is unexplained.

πάσασθαι [v.aor.] 'to acquire'. •VAR πάσομαι [fut.]. ⇒πέπαμαι.

πασπάλη [f.] 'fine flour, etc.' = παιπάλη, πάλη (Ar. *V.* 91 [metaphor for a very small measure], H., Phot., Suid.). ◅?▻

•COMP πασπαλη-φάγος 'eating πασπάλη' (Hippon.).

•DER πάσπαλος 'millet', πασπαλέτης 'grinding millet' (Gal.); PN Πασπαλᾶς.

•ETYM Formation and origin unknown. It seems obvious to connect παιπάλη, but the relation is unclear.

πάσσαλος [m.] 'plug, pin, peg' (Il.). ◅PG▻

•VAR Att. πάτταλος.

•DER Diminutive πασσαλ-ίσκος (Hp.) and -ιον (H.); -εύω (often with προσ-, also with δια-, κατα-) [v.] 'to pin, hang up' (Hdt., Att.); instrument noun -εῖον (Plb., *EM*); -όομαι [v.] 'to be provided with a peg' (sch.), προσ-πασσαλόω [v.] 'to pin' (Thphr.). Gr. πάσσᾰξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'πάσσαλος' (Megar., Ar. *Ach.* 763), with derivatives -άκιον, -ακίζω (H.); πασσάριος· σταυρός 'stake, pole' (H.).

•ETYM This word is usually derived from PIE *ph_2k- 'stiff, hard', but this is improbable: a pin has not become stiff (like a peg of ice); it has been fastened or fixed to a wall or a pillar. The suffix -αλ- is Pre-Greek and cannot be IE; the same goes for the suffix -ᾱκ-; cf. πόρπᾱξ, κνώδᾱξ, etc. Hence, πάσσαλος is probably Pre-Greek (*pak^y-al-).

πάσσω [v.] 'to strew, sprinkle' (Il.), also 'to weave' images 'into' a piece of cloth. ◅?▻

•VAR Att. πάττω (Ar.), aor. πάσ-αι, -ασθαι, πασθῆναι (Att.), perf. med. πέπασμαι (LXX, A. R.).

•COMP Frequently with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐπι- (προ-επι-, παρ-επι-, προσ-επι-), ἐν- (συν-εν-, παρ-εν-, προσ-εν-).

•DER πασ-τός [adj.] 'strewn, sprinkled' (Hp.), χρυσό-παστος 'gold-stitched' (A.), κατά-παστος 'bestrewn, decorated (with figures)' (Ar.); παστός [m.] 'knitted curtain, blanket, bridal bed', also 'bridal chamber' (Hell.); παστόω 'to build a bridal chamber' (Aq.); (κατά-, ἐπί-, διά-, σύμ-)πάσμα [n.] '(medicinal) powder' (Thphr., medic.); πάστρια [f.] 'embroiderer' (sch.).

•ETYM With a similar form and meaning, we find πῆ- in πῇ καὶ πῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατάπασσε καὶ καταπάσσειν (H.); note especially ἐπιπῆν φάρμακον (inscr. Epid.) beside ἐπι … φάρμακα πάσσεν (E 900).

Under a reconstruction *k^wh_2t- (ignoring the *ē to which the Epidauric form points), it would be possible to connect Lat. *quatiō* 'to shake' and PCl. *k^wāti-* 'chaff, husks', which is almost identical with the glosses πήτεα· πίτυρα 'husks of corn', πητῖται·

πιτύρινοι ἄρτοι. Λάκωνες 'bran-like breads (Lacon.)' (H.). Perhaps related is Lat. *quālus* 'wicker basket', if from 'sieve'.
Semantically good, but phonetically very uncertain is the comparison with ToAB *kät*^{a}- 'to strew' (which points to a root **KeT-* and is usually connected with ►σκίδνημι).

παστάς, -άδος [f.], often [pl.] 'annex, porch, atrium', also 'inner room, bridal chamber' (through association with ►παστός 'bridal chamber'; Ion., Delph.). ◅GR▻
•ETYM From *παρ-στάς = παρα-στάς, pl. -άδες [f.] 'door-post, pillar, atrium, etc.', from παρα + **sth*$_2$- 'stand'. With a different dissimilation, we find παρτάδες (-άδαι cod.)· ἄμπελοι 'grape-vine' (H.). A parallel development is shown by Lat. *postis* '(door)-post' < **pr-sth*$_2$*-i-* 'standing forth' or **po-sth*$_2$*-i-* 'standing upright'.

παστός ⇒πάσσω.

πάσχω [v.] 'to experience, undergo, suffer' (Il.). ◅IE **b*^{h}*end*^{h}- 'bind'▻
•VAR fut. πείσομαι, aor. παθεῖν, perf. πέπονθα (πέποσχα Stesich., Epich., pap. III^{a}).
•COMP Also with άντι-, συν-, προ-, etc.
•DER 1. πένθος [n.] 'sorrow, grief' (Il.), whence πενθέω [v.] 'to grieve, sorrow' (Il.), πένθ-ημα, -ήμων, -ητήρ, fem. -ήτρια, etc.; πένθ-ιμος [adj.] 'belonging to grief' (poet.; perhaps after θανάσιμος), -ικός 'id.' (X., LXX), -ηρός 'id.' (Anaxil.); PN Πενθεύς, reshaping of Τενθεύς. 2. πάθος [n.] 'experience, passion, suffering' (IA); πάθ-η [f.], -ημα [n.] 'id.', -ησις, -ητικός, -ικός, etc.; άντι-, συμ-παθής 'feeling repulsion' or 'sympathy', with derivatives -εια [f.], -έω [v.] (Ar., Hell.), to the verb άντι-, συμ-παθεῖν. Denominative παθ-αίνομαι, -αίνω 'to be filled with πάθος; to arouse πάθος' (Hell.). 3. πασχ-ητιάω 'to feel an (unnatural) lust', -ητιασμός (Luc.).
•ETYM On the semantic development of παθεῖν, see Dörrie 1956, and Boreham *Glotta* 49 (1971): 231-244. Old ablaut: zero grade in πάσχω (< *πάθ-σκ-ω) and παθεῖν < PGr. **p*$^{(h)}$*nt*^{h}-, *e*-grade in πείσομαι < *πένθ-σ-ομαι) and πένθος, *o*-grade in πέ-πονθ-α. The further etymology is uncertain. LIV^{2} supports the old connection with Lith. *kenčiù* 'to suffer, endure', OIr. *céss(a)im* 'id.', but a root **k*^{w}*end*^{h}- would violate the PIE root structure contraints. Alternatively, the Greek forms could belong to the root **b*^{h}*end*^{h}- 'bind' (see ►πενθερός), with a semantic shift in intransitive usage from 'be bound' to 'suffer'; thus Janda 2000: 128f. after E. Leumann *ZII* 6 (1928): 10 and Pedersen *REIE* 1 (1938): 192 ff. See ►πῆμα.

πάταγος [m.] 'clatter, crash, rattle' (Il.). ◅PG?▻
•DER 1. παταγ-έω (also άντι-, ὑπο-, etc.) [v.] 'to make noise, splash, roar' (Alc. [πατάγεσκε]), -ή [f.] (D. P., Longos), -ημα [n.] (Men.) = πάταγος. 2. πατάσσω (aor. πατάξαι, also ἐκ-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to knock, beat, hurt' (Il.; Att. mostly as an aor. and fut.act. to the present τύπτω). 3. πατάξ [interj.] (Ar. *Av.* 1258). 4. καπατᾷ· κατακόψεις. Πάφιοι 'you break down (Paph.)' (H.).
•ETYM Possibly an onomatopoeic verb. On the derivation of πάταγ-έω, compare Tucker 1990: 106. The suffix in -γ- is found in semantically close forms, such as λαλαγή, σμαραγέω (Σμάραγος), οἰμωγή, etc. Fur.: 279 compares σπαταγγίζειν· ταράσσειν 'to agitate, disturb' (H.); the word may be Pre-Greek.

πατάνη [f.] '(flat) dish' (Sophr. 13, Poll.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Dor. -ᾱ, ntr. -ον 'id.' (Poll. v.l., H.).
•COMP As a first member in πατάν-εψις, name of a (boiled) eel (Epich. 211).
•DER Diminutive -ιον [n.], -ίων [m.], name of a cock (com. IV[a]).
•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word, as per Fur.: 149, who connects πέταχνον/πάτ- 'broad flat cup'; also compare the suffix of λεκάνη 'dish, pot', οὐράνη 'chamber-pot', etc.

πάτελλα [f.] 'large cup' (Poll). ◁LW Lat.▷
•VAR βάτελλα.
•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *patella* (see E-M s.v. *patera*).

πατέομαι [v.] 'to dine, enjoy, eat and drink' (Hdt.). ◁IE *ph_2t- 'graze, feed'▷
•VAR Aor. πάσ(σ)ασθαι and perf. med. πέπασ-μαι (Il.), fut. πάσομαι (A.).
•DER ἄ-πασ-τος 'uneaten, sober' (Il.). Backformation πάτος = τροφή (sch.).
•ETYM Present stem with enlargement *-*t*- from the PIE root *peh_2- 'to protect, graze'. In Germanic, we find Go. *fodjan* 'to feed' < *peh_2-*t*-, a short vowel only in OHG *ka-vat-ōt* 'pastus'. See ▶ποιμήν and ▶πῶμα 1 for further derivatives of the root *peh_2-.

πατέω [v.] 'to step, tread, enter, tread underfoot', 'to despise' (poet. since Pi.), 'to tread grapes, grain' = 'to press, thresh' (LXX, pap.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. πατῆσαι, etc.
•COMP With prefix, especially περι-, κατα-, ἀπο-.
•DER From the verb: πατ-ησμός [m.] 'treading' (A.), 'threshing' (pap.); -ησις [f.] 'treading (of grapes)' (Corn.); -ημα 'refuse, sweepings, waste' (LXX); -ητής [m.] 'grape-treader' (pap.), -ητήριον 'treading place' (Mylasa); πατηνόν· πεπατημένον, κοινόν 'trodden, common' (H.). From περι-πατέω: περιπάτησις 'walk-around' (late), -ητικός name of a school of philosophers (Hell.). From κατα-πατέω: καταπάτησις 'treading' (LXX), 'tour, inspection' (pap.), -ημα 'that which is trodden underfoot' (LXX). From ἀπο-πατέω 'to retire' = 'to do one's needs' (IA): ἀποπάτημα, -ησις (com., Gal.), also -ος [m.] 'excrement, dung' (Hp., Ar.). From πηλοπατέω [v.] 'to tread in the mud' (pap., sch.): πηλοπατ-ίδες [f.pl.] "mud-treaders" = kind of shoes (Hp.). πάτος [m.] 1. 'road, path' (Hom., A. R.), ἐκπάτιος 'astray, extraordinary' (A.); 2. 'treading, place where one treads, floor'; 'trampling, trampled matter, threshing, dust, dirt' (Hell.); περίπατος [m.] 'walk-around, place for walking, discussion', name of a philosophers' school (Att., etc.).
•ETYM The meaning 2. of πάτος shows that it is a back-formation from πατέω. In the meaning 'way, path', however, Frisk regards πάτος as a possible old variant of πόντος; πατέω could then be its denominative. Yet it is not evident that 'way, path' would yield 'to tread', an action which focuses on the individual movement of the legs. DELG doubts the connection with ▶πόντος. If the latter is rejected, πατέω has no etymology.

πατήρ [m.] 'father' (Il.). ◁IE *$ph_2tēr$ 'father'▷
•VAR Gen. πατρός, acc. πατέρα (Il.).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-te*.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. πατρο-φόνος 'parricidal, parricide' (trag., Pl.), acc. -ῆα (Od.); -φόντης [m., f.] 'id.', ἀ-πάτωρ 'fatherless' (trag., Pl.).

•DER 1. Diminutive πατρ-ίδιον (com.), also πατέρ-ιον (Luc.), -ίων [m.] (late; from voc. πάτερ). 2. πάτρα, Ion. -η [f.] 'paternal ancestry, tribe; native city, country, homeland' (Il.). 3. πατριά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'paternal ancestry, lineage, family' (Hdt., El., Delph., LXX, NT), -ιώτης, Dor. -ιώτας, [f.] -ιῶτις 'from the same lineage, native, fellow-countryman' (Att., Troezen, Delphi V^a), -ιωτικός 'belonging to fellow-countrymen, homeland' (Delphi IV^a, Arist.). 4. πάτριος 'paternal, hereditary, customary' (Pi., IA), fem. πατρ-ίς 'paternal, homeland' (Il.); younger πατρ-ικός 'paternal' (Democr., Att., Hell.). 5. πατρόθεν 'from one's father' (Il.). 6. εὐ-πατρίδης, Dor. -ίδας, fem. -ις 'of a noble father, noble', usually as a name of the Old Attic aristocrats (trag., Att.), antonym κακο-πατρ-ίδας, fem. -ις (Alc., Thgn.). 7. πάτρως, gen. -ωος and -ω [m.] 'male relative; father's brother, uncle' (Pi., Cret., IA); hence πατρώ-ϊος, πατρῷος 'belonging to the paternal clan, paternal' = πάτρως, πατρικός (Il.). 8. πατρωός 'stepfather' (Hell.; formation unclear), also πατρυιός. 9. Verbs: πατερίζω (Ar. *V.* 652) 'to call father' (from the voc.), -εύω 'to hold the office of πατήρ πόλεως (πατερ-ία)' (Milete VI^p); πατρῴζω 'to take after one's father' (Philostr., Alciphr.), -ιάζω 'id.' (Poll.).

•ETYM Inherited word for 'father' (as the head of the family), preserved in most IE languages, e.g. Skt. *pitár-*, Lat. *pater*, Go. *fadar*. Skt. *pítriya* and Lat. *patrius* agree with πάτριος. Possible cognates of πάτρως, with formation like ►μήτρως, include Lat. *patruus* and Skt. *pitṛvyà-* 'id.'.

πάτος 1 [m.] 'road, path'. ⇒πατέω.

πάτος 2 'nourishment, τροφή'. ⇒πατέομαι.

πάτος 3 [n.] ἔνδυμα τῆς Ἥρας 'garment of Hera' (Call. *Fr.* 495, H.). ◅IE? **(s)pen-* 'spin'▻

•ETYM Has been connected with PIE **(s)pen-* 'to spin' (see on ►πένομαι), or explained as a back-formation of πατέω as 'what is tread' = 'long garment reaching to the feet, train'. Neither is convincing.

παῦνι [?] mg. uncertain (Hipp. 79 M.). ◅?▻

•VAR παῦνι· μικρόν· οἱ δὲ μέγα· ἢ ἀγαθόν 'small', others say 'big' or 'good'; παῦνις· ἀποχρέως 'sufficient'; παῦνον· μέγα (all H.).

•ETYM If the explanation as 'small' is correct, one might connect it with παῦρος.

παῦρος [adj.] 'small, little', plur. 'few' (Il.). ◅IE? **peh$_2$u-ro-*▻

•VAR Fem. παυράς (Nic.).

•DER Adv. παυράκις· ὀλιγάκις 'seldom' (H.); παυρακίς· τὴν πέμπτην Σαμοθρᾷκες καλοῦσιν 'the pinky finger (Samothr.)' (H.); diminutive παυρίδιος (Hes. *Op.* 133).

•ETYM Cognate with Lat. *parvus* 'small'. With different suffixes, Lat. *pau-cus* 'few', *paul(l)us* 'small, few' (basic form unclear). Without a suffix, we find Att. παῦ-ς = ►παῖς.

παύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to withhold, hold back, arrest, stop (trans.)', med. 'to cease, stop, run out' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. παῦσαι, -ασθαι, etc.

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἀνα-, κατα-.

•DER 1. ἀνά-, κατά-, διά-παυμα [n.] 'rest, ease, placation' (Il., Hes.), ἀνάπαυμα also 'fallow land', adj. -ματικός (pap.). 2. ἀνά-, κατά-, διά-παυσις [f.] 'rest, ease, relaxation' (Pi., IA), rare παῦσις (Hp., LXX). 3. παυσ-ωλή (μετα-) [f.] 'id.' (B 386, T 201), probably derived from the aor. παῦσαι. 4. παῦλα (ἀνά-) [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Att.). 5. παυστήρ, -ῆρος (S.), παύστωρ, -ορος (Isyll.) 'stopper, terminator', adj. παυστήριος 'ending' (S.), with ἀνα- 'fit for resting' (Hdt., X.). 6. ἀνα-, κατα-παυστικός 'giving rest, relaxing' (Phld., Ptol.). 7. παυσι- in governing compounds, e.g. παυσί-πονος 'ending pain' (E., Ar.), παυσ-άνεμιος 'calming the wind' (A.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The form would allow for a PIE reconstruction **peh₂-u-*, as per LIV² s.v., but there are no certain cognates outside Greek.

παφλάζω [v.] 'to bubble, boil' (N 798). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Aeol. -άσδω (Alc.).

•COMP Rarely with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, etc.

•DER παφλάσματα [n.pl.] 'bubbles, bombastic words' (Ar.), ἐκπαφλασμός [m.] 'boiling over' (Arist.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic reduplicated formation like καχλάζω, βαβράζω, etc. With reduplication, we find the aor. φλαδεῖν 'to crush, tear up (intr.)' (A. *Ch.* 28 [lyr.]); with ε-vocalism, φλεδών, -όνος [f.] 'babble' (Plu.), φλέδων, -ονος 'babbler' (A., Timo); with long vowel, φληδῶντα· ληροῦντα 'talking nonsense' (H.). A similar onomatopoeia is Lat. *blatiō, -īre* 'to babble, prate'. See ▶φλέω and ▶φλύω.

πάχνη [f.] 'hoar-frost, rime', also metaphorically, e.g. of clotted blood (ξ 476). ◁IE **peh₂ḱ/ǵ-* 'make compact, congeal'▷

•DER παχν-ήεις (Nonn.), -ώδης (Gp., *Hymn. Is.*) 'frosty'; -όομαι (also with περι-) [v.] 'to become covered with rime', -όω 'to cover, (make) clot' (*P* 112).

•ETYM From earlier *πάκ-σν-ᾱ or *πάγ-σν-ᾱ, related to the root of ▶πήγνυμι. A similar semantic development is shown by πάγος 'hill; ice, hoar-frost' (see ▶πάγη). Compare νύξ ... πηγυλίς 'icy-cold' beside πάχνη (ξ 475f.).

παχύς [adj.] 'thick, fat, well-fed, dense, stout' (Il.). ◁IE **bʰn̥ǵʰ-u-* 'dense, thick'▷

•COMP παχυ-μερής 'consisting of thick parts, gross, massive' (Ti. Locr., Arist.); ὑπέρ-παχυς 'too fat' (Hp.).

•DER 1. Compar. πάσσων, only acc. -ονα (Od.), superl. πάχ-ιστος (Il., Call.), -ίων (Arat.), -ύτερος, -ύτατος (IA). 2. πάχετος (rather -ετός [mss.]) = παχύς (θ 187, ψ 191, Hp.); also as a ntr. noun (Nic., Opp.); 3. πάχητες· πλούσιοι, παχεῖς 'wealthy, thick' (H., after πένητες); PN Πάχης, -ητος [m.] (Th.). 4. παχυλῶς 'in large draughts' (Arist.). 5. πάχος [n.] 'thickness, strength, force' (since ι 324). 6. παχύτης (-υτής?) 'thickness'. 7. Denominative παχύνω (sporadicaly with ἐπι-, ἐκ-, συν-, ὑπερ-) [v.] 'to fatten, batten' (IA), πάχυνσις [f.] 'thickening', -τικός 'fattening' (medic.), -υσμός [m.] (Hp.), -υσμια [n.] (Aët.). 8. παχῶσαι [aor.] 'to fatten' (medic., Herm. 33, 343).

•ETYM An old *u*-stem adjective, cognate with Skt. *bahú-* 'many, much, numerous', OAv. *bəzuuaitē* [dat.sg.m.] 'dense', Arm. *bazum* [adj.] 'much', Hitt. *panku-* [adj.] 'total'.

πέαρ [n.] · Γλαυκίας λιπαρόν 'radiant' (H.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM A contamination of πῖαρ and στέαρ 'fat', or the result of a phonetic development *ia* > *ea* in some dialect.

πεδά [prev.] 'after, with, amidst', = μετά (Aeol., Dor., Arc.). ◁IE **ped-* 'foot'▷

•COMP Πεδα-γείτνιος [m.], a month name (Rhodes, etc.) = Att. Μεταγειτνιών.

•ETYM Probably from **ped-* 'foot, trace', as attested in πούς, ▸πέδον; thus literally 'on the floor, in the tracks, vel sim.'. Compare Arm. *y-et, z-het* 'after' from *het* 'trace' (= πέδον). The rare form πετά is probably a contamination with μετά. For the ending -α, compare μετά, ἀνά, διά, etc.

πέδη [f.] 'shackle, fetter' (Il.). ◁IE **ped-* 'foot'▷

•VAR Dor. -α, mostly plur. -αι.

•COMP Often as a second member, especially in poetry and in late prose, e.g. ἱστο-πέδη (see on ▸ἱστός).

•DER Diminutive πεδίσκη [f.] (Thebes III[a]), -ιον (*EM*); πεδήτης [m.] 'fettered, prisoner' (com., Herod., LXX), πέδων, -ωνος [m.] 'id.' (Ar. *Fr.* 837); denominative πεδάω (rarely with κατα-, ἀμφι-, συν-) [v.] 'to fetter, bind, shackle' (especially poet. since Il.), to which πεδα-τάς [m.] (Dor.) 'fetterer' (*AP*).

•ETYM Derivative of PIE **ped-* 'foot'; cf. ▸πέδον and ▸πέζα. The same semantics are found in Lat. *ped-ica* 'shackle', *im-ped-iō* 'to hinder', ON *fjǫturr* [m.] 'shackle' (< PGm. **fetura-*).

πέδῑλον [n.] 'sole under the foot, sandal', secondarily also of other footwear (Il.; also Hdt. and Plu.). ◁IE? **ped-* 'foot'▷

•VAR Mostly plur. -α.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-di-ro.*

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. χρυσο-πέδιλος 'with golden sandals' (Od.).

•ETYM Derived from **ped-* 'foot' with a suffix -ῑλο-. The suffix might be Pre-Greek.

πέδον [n.] 'soil, earth, ground' (Il.). ◁IE **ped-o-* [n.] 'trace, footstep'▷

•VAR πέδον-δε (N 796).

•COMP As a second member in δά-πεδον, κράσ-πεδον, etc.; ἔμ-πεδος 'standing on the ground, firm' (epic poet., late prose), whence ἐμπεδόω [v.] 'to confirm, consider inviolable' (Att., etc.); ἄπεδος 'flat' (Hdt., Th., X.) (< **sm-pedo-* 'having one surface'); as a first member e.g. in πεδο-βάμων 'earth-walking' (A.). Adverbs πεδ-όσε, -όθεν, -οι (epic poet.).

•DER πεδίον [n.] 'surface, plain, field' (Il.); Cypr. πεδίϳα 'plain', fem. after χώρα, γῆ? Thence: 1. πεδιάς, -άδος [f.] 'flat, level, on the plain' (Pi., IA); 2. πεδιεινός (also πεδεινός, -ϊνός) 'flat, level' (IA); 3. πεδιακός 'belonging to the plain', plur. 'inhabitants of the plain of Attica' (Lys. *Fr.* 238 S., Arist., pap.); 4. πεδιεῖς [m.pl.] 'id.' (Plu., D. L.); 5. πεδιάσιος 'on the plain' (Str., Dsc.); 6. πεδιασιμαῖος = *campester* (gloss.); 7. πεδιώδης 'flat' (sch.); 8. Πεδιώ [f.] 'goddess of the plain' (Hera; Sicily).

•ETYM Derived from **ped-* 'foot'. Cognate forms from PIE **pedo-*: Hitt. *peda-* [n.] 'place', Skt. *padá-* [n.] 'footstep, piece of ground', OAv. *pada-*, YAv. *paδa-* [n.] 'footstep', Lat. *oppidum* 'fort', U *peřum* 'ground, place', Arm. *het* 'footprint', OPr. *pedan* 'ploughshare', Lith. *pėdà*, (dial.) *pėdas* 'footprint', Latv. *pẽda* 'foot-sole, footstep' < **ped-o-*; ON *fet* 'step'.

πέζα [f.] 'instep', usually metaphorically 'foot-end, lower edge, border of a garment, coast, net, mountain range, etc.' (Ω 272, medic., Hell.). ◁IE **ped-* 'foot'▷
•DER Independently of the simplex: ἀργυρό-πεζα [adj.f.] 'with silver feet', said of Thetis, etc. (Il.), msc. -πεζος (*AP*). πεζίς, -ίδος [f.] 'seam' (Ar., Att. inscr.).
•ETYM Derived from **ped-* 'foot' with a suffix -i̯α. A comparable form is found in PGm. **fet-ī* [f.] > ON *fit*, gen. *fit-jar* 'web', and perhaps also in OHG *fizza*, MoHG *Fitze* 'winding, thread'. See ▶τράπεζα.

πέζις [m.] 'puffball, lycoperdacea' (Thphr. *HP* 1, 6, 5). ◁IE **pesd-* 'break wind'▷
•ETYM From **pesd-*, the root of Lat. *pēdō*, Gr. βδέω; see Forssman *MSS* 29 (1971): 47-70.

πεζός [adj.] 'going on foot, living on the land', said of men and animals, 'walker, footsoldier', as a collective 'infantry, land-force' (Il.); metaphorically 'common, prosaic' (Hell. and late). ◁IE **ped-* 'foot'▷
•COMP Frequently, e.g. πεζο-μάχας, -ος 'fighting as a footsoldier' (Pi., IA).
•DER πεζικός 'of a πεζός' (Att., etc.), -ίτης [m.] = πεζός (Suid.: ὁπλίτης), -ότης, -ητος [f.] 'being πεζός' (comm. Arist.); πεζεύω [v.] 'to go on foot, be a pedestrian' (Att., Arist.), -ευτικός 'going on foot' (Arist.).
•ETYM Except for the accent, the word is formally identical to Skt. *pád-ya-* 'regarding the foot' < PIE **ped-i̯o-*. See ▶πούς.

πεῖ [n.] name of the letter. ◁LW Sem.▷
•VAR Later πῖ.
•ETYM Indeclinable; equal to Semitic *pē*.

πείθομαι [v.] 'to trust, rely, obey, be persuaded' (Il.). ◁IE **b^hid^h-* 'convince, trust'▷
•VAR fut. πείσομαι, aor. πιθέσθαι, πεπιθέσθαι, perf. πέποιθα (all Il.), aor. pass. πεισθῆναι, fut. -θήσομαι, perf. πέπεισ-μαι (Att.), med. πείσασθαι (Hell.), aor. ptc. πιθήσας (Il.), fut. πιθήσω (φ 369); act. πείθω, πείσω, πεπιθεῖν with fut. πεπιθήσω, πεῖσαι (all Il.), πιθεῖν (Pi., A.), πέπεικα (young Att.) 'to convince, persuade'.
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, παρα-, συν-. As a first member in governing compounds, e.g. πείθαρχος 'obedient to the authorities' (A.), PN Πεισίστρατος; as a second member in ἀ-, εὐ-π(ε)ιθής (Thgn., A., Att.), aor. ἀπίθησε (Il.), fut. ἀπιθήσω (K 129, Ω 300); thence πιθήσας and πιθήσω.
•DER A. From the root aorist: 1. πιστός 'faithful, reliable, credible' (Il.), πιστό-της 'faith' (IA), πιστεύω (δια-, κατα-, etc.) [v.] 'to rely, trust, believe, confide' (IA), whence -ευμα, -ευσις, -ευτικός; πιστόομαι (κατα-, συν-, προ-), -όω [v.] 'to trust entirely, warrant, assure; to make reliable' (Il.), whence -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτής, -ωτικός. 2. πίστις [f.] 'faith, trust, authentication, assurance' (IA), whence πιστικός 'faithful' (Plu., Vett. Val.; if not for πειστικός; see below). 3. πιθανός 'trustworthy, reliable,

believable, obedient' (IA), πιθαν-ότης, -όω (Pl., Arist.). 4. πίσυνος 'relying on somebody or something' (mostly epic poet. Il.), probably after θάρσυνος.

B. From the present: 1. Πειθώ [f.] '(goddess of) persuasion, conviction, obedience' (Hes.), thence Boeot. aor. ἐπίθωσε, -σαν (III[a])?; 2. πειθός 'pesuading (easily), persuasive' (*Ep. Cor.*). 3. πειθήμων 'obedient, persuasive' (late epic).

C. From the present or *s*-aor. (more recently): 1. πεῖσα [f.] 'obedience', 2. -πειστος as a second member in εὖ-, δυσανά-, ἀμετά-πειστος etc. (Att.), as opposed to older ἄπιστος. 3. πειστικός 'fit for persuasion, convincing' (Pl., Arist.), -ήριος 'id.' (E.). 4. πεῖσμα [n.] 'conviction, confidence' (Plu., Arr., S. E.), -μονή [f.] 'id.' (*Ep. Gal.*, pap.). 5. πεῖσις (παρά-, κατά-) [f.] 'conviction, etc.' (Plot., Hdn., sch.). 6. πειστήρ 'who obeys' (Suid.) 7. Πειστίχη epithet of Aphroditē (Delos).

D. From the perfect: πεποίθ-ησις [f.] 'trust' (LXX, Phld.), -ίαν 'hope, expectation'.

•ETYM Present πείθομαι < PIE pres. or aor. subj. **b*[h]*eid*[h]*-e/o-*, aor. πιθ- < PIE aor. **b*[h]*eid*[h]*-* /**b*[h]*id*[h]*-*. Cognate with Lat. *fīdō, -ere* < IE **b*[h]*eid*[h]*-e/o-*, *fīdus* 'faithful, reliable', *fidēs, -ēī* 'trust, guarantee', *foedus, -eris* [n.] 'treaty, agreement'; Alb. *bē* [f.] 'oath', *besë* [f.] 'faith', *bindem* 'to be convinced, believe'; OCS *běda* 'distress, necessity' < **b*[h]*oid*[h]*-eh*$_2$, *běditi* 'to force, persuade', 1sg. *běždǫ* < **b*[h]*oid*[h]*-eie-*. Probably also related to Go. *beidan* 'to wait', *baidjan* 'to force', OE *bǣdan*, OHG *beitten* 'to demand'.

πείνη [f.] 'hunger, famine' (o 407, Pl.). ◂?▸

•VAR More recent πεῖνα (Pl. *Resp.* 437d, Arist.).

•COMP γεω-πείνης 'hungry for land, without land' (Hdt.); with transition to the o-stems, ὀξύ-πεινος 'very hungry' (Arist.), πρόσ-πεινος 'hungry' (medic., *Act. Ap.* 10, 10).

•DER πειν-αλέος 'hungry' (com., Plu., *AP*; after διψαλέος et al.), -ώδης 'id.' (Gal.). Verbal forms: ptc. πεινᾶων (Il.), inf. πεινήμεναι (υ 137), πειν-ῆν, -ῇς, -ῇ (Ar., Pl.), fut. -ήσω, aor. -ῆσαι, perf. πε-πείνηκα (Hdt., Att.) [v.] 'to hunger, be hungry'; later πεινᾶν, -ᾷ, -ᾶσω, -ᾶσαι (LXX); rarely with δια-, ὑπο-, ὑπερ-, ἀνα-. Gr. πείνη could be a back-formation to πεινῆν, like δίψα to διψῆν.

•ETYM Fur.: 339, 378 compares ἡ-παν-ᾷ, -εῖ 'flows off', which is rather doubtful. According to De Lamberterie *RPh.* 74 (2000): 280, πεῖνα may be the older form; in that case, short -α may be the Pre-Greek ending.

πεῖρα [f.] 'test, research, experience' (Alcm., Thgn., Pi., IA). ◂IE **per-* 'cross, pass'▸

•COMP ἔμ-πειρος 'experienced'; ἱππο-πείρης [m.] 'horse specialist' (Anacr. 75, 6), μονο-πεῖραι (λύκοι) 'hunting alone' (Arist., Men.); ἀπείρων 'unexperienced' (S.). Backformations such as ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά-πειρα (Pi., IA) from ἀνα-πειράομαι, etc.; ταλαπείριος 'who has suffered much'.

•DER Three denominatives: 1. πειράομαι (more rarely -άω, often with prefix like ἀνα-, δια-, ἄπο-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to tempt, put to the test, try' (Il.). Thence πειρᾱτής [m.] 'pirate' (Hell.), -τικός 'belonging to pirates' (Str., Ph.), -τεύω [v.] 'to act like a pirate' (LXX); πειρατήριον (Ion. -ητ-) [n.] '(juridical) trial' (Hp., E.). 'gang of pirates, pirates' nest' (LXX, Str.), πειρητήριος 'exploring, trying' (Hp.); πείρασις [f.] 'temptation, assault' (Th., D. C.; may also belong to 2.). 2. πειράζω, aor. -άσαι, -ασθῆναι (also with κατα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, etc.) [v.] 'to tempt, put to the test, assault' (Od., Arist., Hell.), fut. πειράξω

(Cret.), κατα-πειράσω (Lys.). Thence πειρ-ασμός [m.] 'temptation' (LXX, NT), -αστής [m.] 'tempter' (Ammon. Gramm.), -αστικός 'belonging to, fit for tempting, trying' (Arist.), ἀπείραστος 'unexperienced, untempted' (Hell.). 3. πειρητίζω (only present) [v.] 'to tempt, explore, assault' (Il.).

•ETYM From PGr. **per-ia* (Aeol. πέρρα acc. to Choerob. *An. Ox.* 2, 252), from the root **per-* 'to cross, pass'. See further ►πείρω and ►περάω.

πεῖραρ, -ατος [n.] 'end, boundary, outcome, goal, decision' (Il.); epic also 'rope, cable'. ◄IE **per-ur / *per-u(e)n-* 'ford, crossing'►

•VAR mostly plur. -ατα (περ(ρ)άτων Alc.), younger πεῖρας (Pi.), πέρας (Att.).

•COMP As a second member in ἀ-πείρων (Il.), remade into an o-stem ἄ-πειρος (Pi., Ion., trag., Pl., Arist.) 'endless, unlimited', also ἀ-πε(ί)ρατος 'id.' (Pi., Ph.); here also ἀπειρέσιος, ἀπείριτος; ἀπέρονα· πέρας μὴ ἔχοντα 'without boundary' (H.); πολυ-πείρων 'with many (wide) boundaries' (*h. Cer.* 296, Orph.).

•DER 1. πειραίνω (Hom.), περαίνω (Att.), aor. πειρῆναι, περᾶναι (also with δια-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to bring to an end, finish, conclude', ἀ-πέραντος (-εί-) 'unlimited' (Pi., Att.), περαντικός 'conclusive' (Ar., Arist.), συμπέρασμα [n.] 'end, conclusion' (Arist.), -ματικός (Arist.). 2. περατόομαι, -όω (also with ἀπο-, συν-) [v.] 'to end, bring to an end, limit' (Arist.), ἀποπερᾰτ-ωσις (medic.). 3. ἀπο-περατίζω 'to end' (sch.). 4. περατεύει· ὁρίζει 'delimits' (H.). Also περάτη [f.] 'extremity of the heavens' (ψ 243, Arat., Call.), after the superlatives; περάτ-ηθεν 'from the boundary, from beyond' (A. R.).

•ETYM From a basic form **πέρϝαρ* with PIE *r/n*-inflexion, from the root **per-* 'to cross, pass through'. From the *n*-stem, Greek derived ἀ-πείρων; πεῖρας, ►πέρας are remakes as well. Compare Skt. *párur* [nom.acc.sg.n.], *párvaṇas* [gen.abl.] 'knot, joint, section'. The mg. 'rope, cable' may derive from the use of ropes for measuring or delimiting a space. See further ►πείρω and ►πέρᾱ.

πείρινθα [acc.sg.f.] 'basket on a cart' (ο 131, Ω 190). ◄PG(S)►

•VAR Gen.sg. -ινθος (A. R. 3, 873), nom.sg. πείρινς (gramm.).

•ETYM Like many words in -νθ-, this word is probably Pre-Greek. Several TNs have been connected with it: Πειρήνη, Πειραιεύς, etc.

πείρω [v.] 'to perforate, pierce, pervade' (Il.); as a simplex epic poet., with prefix also in (late) prose. ◄IE **per-* 'cross, pass'►

•VAR Aor. πεῖραι, perf. midd. πέπαρμαι, aor. pass. παρῆναι (Hdt.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἀνα-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. διαμπερ-ές [adv.] 'right through, continuously' (Il.). 2. περ-όνη [f.] 'brooch, buckle' (Il.), also -ονίς, -όνιον, -ονίδιον, -ονάω, -όνημα, -ονητήρ, -ονητρίς.

B. With *o*-grade: 1a. πόρος [m.] 'passage, ford, narrowing, journey, road, way; means, way out', plur. 'earnings' (Il.), whence πορ-εύς, -ιμος; b. πορεύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to carry, provide' (IA), whence -εία, -εῖον, -ευμα, -ευσις, -ευτικός; c. πορίζω, -ίζομαι 'to bring about, provide oneself' (IA), whence -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστικός. As a second member in ἄ-πορος 'without escape, impassable, destitute' (Pi., IA), whence

ἀπορέω, -ία. 2. πορθμός [m.] 'ferry, strait, sound, etc.' (IA), whence -θμίς, -θμιος, -θμικός, -θμεύς, -θμεύω, -θμεία, -θμεῖον, -θμευμα et al.

•ETYM Gr. πείρω < **per-ie/o-*, πόρος < **por-o-*, πορ-θμός < **por-dʰmo-*. The old meaning 'to carry over, ferry over' is still found in Greek in πόρος, πορθμός. Cognates are Skt. *píparti* [3sg.act.pres.], aor. *párṣ-* 'to bring across', Av. *(fra)frā* [1sg.subj.aor.act.] 'to cross', YAv. *pāraiia-* 'to bring, lead'; Go. *faran* 'to wander', *farjan* 'to ferry over'; Lat. *portāre* 'to carry, transport' (denominative). See also ▸πορεῖν and ▸πέρνημι.

πεῖσμα [n.] 'rope, cable' (Il.). ◂IE **bʰendʰ-* 'bind'▸

•DER πεισμάτ-ιον 'navel-string' (sch.), -ιος 'concerning cables' (Orph.); also -ικός 'cable-like' = 'persistent, unaccommodating' (pap., Eust.)?

•ETYM From *πένθ-σμα, derived from the PIE verb 'to bind', which Greek may have retained in ▸πάσχω, albeit in a totally different meaning. An isolated derivative is ▸πενθερός; ▸φάτνη is unrelated. The zero grade **bʰndʰ-sm-* might be preserved in πάσμα· ᾧ συνήρτηται πρὸς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ φύλλον 'by which the leaf is joined to the plant' (H.); a mixed form is πέσμα· ἢ πεῖσμα, ἢ μίσχος 'stalk, husk, shell'. ἔστι δὲ ἐξ οὗ τὸ φύλλον ἤρτηται 'by means of which the leaf is attached' (H.).

πέκω [v.]. 'to comb (oneself), card, shear' (Il.). ◂IE **pek-* 'pluck, card'▸

•VAR πείκετε (σ 316) and πείκειν (Hes. *Op.* 775) are metri causa; aor. πέξαι, -ασθαι.

•DIAL Myc. *po-ka* /pokā/ 'shorn wool'.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-. Furthermore πόκ-υφος [m.] 'wool weaver' (pap. II^{a}); εἰρο-πόκος 'wool-fleeced', εὔ-ποκος 'with fair wool' (A.); νεόποκος 'newly shorn' (μαλλός, S.).

•DER 1. πόκος [m.] 'sheep's wool, fleece' (M 451, Hell.), ποκ-άριον (*Sammelb.* III--IV^{p}), -άδες [f.pl.] 'lock or tuft of wool or hair' (Ar.), Πόκιος [m.] "shearing month", Locr. month name (inscr.); verbs: ποκίζομαι 'to shear wool' (Theoc.), whence -ισμός, -ιστί (pap.); -άζω 'id.' (sch., Suid.); -όομαι 'to be covered, as if with a fleece' (*AP*). 2. πόκτος [m.] = πόκος (*Lyr. Adesp.* 73, Hdn.). 3. πέκος [n.] 'id.' (*An. Ox.* 3, 358), πεῖκος· ἔριον, ξάμμα '(carded) wool' (H.). 4. πεκτήρ (Suid.), ποκτήρ (pap. II^{p}; after πόκος) [m.] 'shearer'. Enlarged verb πεκ-τέω 'to shear wool' (Ar.).

•ETYM Gr. πέκω < PIE **pek-e/o-*; cf. Lith. *pešù, pèšti* 'to pluck, pull out'; for πεκτ-έω < **pek-t-*, cf. Lat. *pectō* 'to comb, card', OHG *fehtan* 'to battle' (if originally 'to pluck each other'). Gr. πέκος phonetically agrees with Lat. *pecus* [n.] '(small) cattle, sheep' < PIE **pek-e/os-* [n.]; πόκος is probably an innovation. Latin has a present **pekte/o-* and a noun *pecten*, with unknown quantity of the final vowel in the nom.sg. (Sommer in De Vaan 2008). Traditionally, a present with a suffix **-t-e/o-* is reconstructed on the basis of Lat. *pectō* and Gr. πεκτέω, but this formation is very rare in IE. The alternative reconstruction proposed by Pinault *MSS* 62 (2006) is therefore quite attractive: reduplicated **pe-pḱ-* with dissimilation to **petḱ-*, whence the *n*-stem **petḱ-n-*, **ptḱ-én-* 'comb'. A reduplicated present fits the repetitive meaning of 'to comb, pluck' very well. See also ▸κτείς.

πέλαγος [n.] 'high seas, sea' (Il.). ◂PG?▸

•COMP Late: πελαγο-δρόμος 'sailing on, flying over the sea' (Orph., *PMag. Par.*), εὐ-πελαγής 'lying by a fair sea' (Orph.).

•DER πελάγ-ιος 'belonging to the sea' (trag., Th., X., Arist.; after ἄλ-ιος, θαλάσσ-ιος), -ικός 'id.' (Plu.), -ῖτις [f.] 'id.' (*AP*); -αῖος epithet of Poseidon (Paus.). Verbs: πελαγίζω (also with ἐν-) [v.] 'to form a sea, be flooded, be out in the open sea, sail the sea' (Hdt., X., Str.), -ισμοί [pl.] 'experiences at sea' vel sim. (Alciphr.); -όομαι 'to form a sea, overflow' (Ach. Tat.).

•ETYM Frisk connects πέλαγος with ►πλάξ, -ακός [f.] 'plain, plain of the sea, etc.', πλάγ-ιος 'athwart, transverse, sloping, curved', and ►πέλανος. However, nothing confirms a connection of πέλαγος with the root **pelh₂-* 'to spread out', and the connection with πλαγ/κ- is phonetically impossible. Thus, the word rather seems to be Pre-Greek.

πέλανος [m.] 'liquid flour dough, flour pulp, honey and oil', often presented as a sacrifice, 'sacificial cake' (A., E., Pl., Att. inscr., Herod.); name of a weight or coin (Delph., Arg. V--III[a]), = ὀβολός (Nic. *Al.* 488). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also -ός (Hdn. Gr. 1, 178).

•DER Cf. πέλανορ· τὸ τετράχαλκον 'a coin', πέλαινα· πόπανα, μειλίγματα 'round cakes, propitiations' (H.). On πελάχνιν· τρύβλιον ἐκπέταλον 'outspread cup or bowl' (H.) see πέταχνον (s.v. ►πετάννυμι).

•ETYM The original meaning and etymology are uncertain. If the original mg. was 'flat cake, flat dough', which the coin name πέλανος in particular seems to evidence, πέλανος could be derived from PIE **pelh₂-* 'to be flat, level' as **pelh₂-no-*. Fur.: 338 compares πέλαινα, and concludes that it is a Pre-Greek word. The argument is uncertain, but the conclusion may well be correct.

πελᾱργός [m.] 'stork' (Ar., Pl. *Alc.* 1, 135d, Arist.); also = ἄγγος τι κεράμεον 'kind of earthen vessel' (H.), after the form? ◅?▻

•VAR The length of the α is mentioned by Phrynichos 88.

•DER πελαργ-ιδεύς [m.] 'young stork' (Ar., Plu.), -ικός 'of a stork' (H., Suid.), -ώδης 'stork-like' (Str.), -ῖτις [f.] 'kind of ἀναγαλλίς 'pimpernel' and γεράνιον 'crane' (Ps.-Dsc.). Denominative ἀντι-πελαργ-έω 'to show love in return (like storks do)' (Aristaenet., Iamb.); ἀντιπελάργ-ωσις, -ησις, -ία (*Com. Adesp.* 939, 1570). On Πελαργικόν (τεῖχος), see ►Πελασγοί.

•ETYM Uncertain. *EM* 659, 7 already connected the name with the black and white feathers of a stork; Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 294f. therefore analyses the word as *πελαϝ-αργός, from ἀργός 'white' and *πελαϝός 'blackish' (connected to Lith. *pal̃vas* 'sallow', πελιός, etc.). This seems improbable.

πέλας [adv.] 'near, nearby' (Od.). ◅IE **pelh₂-* 'approach'▻

•VAR ὁ πέλας 'next, nearest, neighbour' (IA).

•DER 1. πελά-της, Dor. -τας [m.] 'one who comes near, serf, jobber' (trag., Pl.), [f.] -τις (Plu.), with -τικός (D. H.); ἐμπελάτειρα [f.] = πελάτις (Call., Euph.); 2. πέλασις [f.] (ἐμ-, προσ-) 'approach' (S. E., Procl.); 3. ἄ-πλητος (epic), ἄ-πλᾱτος (Dor., trag.) 'unapproachable, appalling'; 4. πλᾱτις, -ιδος [f.] 'wife' (Ar., Lyc.); 5. τειχεσι-πλῆτα [voc.] epithet of Ares (E 31, 455); 6. πλήτης· πλησιαστής 'neighbour' (H.).

Adverb πλησίον (Il.), Aeol. πλᾱ́-σιον, Dor. πλᾱτίον 'near', adjective πλησίος 'standing nearby, neighbouring' (Il., epic Ion.); πλησιό-χωρος 'neighbouring' (IA), πλησι-ότης [f.] 'neighbourhood' (A. D.); πλησι-άζω (Dor. πλᾱτι-) 'to approach, accompany, associate with' (Att.), whence -ασμός, -ασμα, -ασις (Arist.).

•ETYM Clearly related to the verbs meaning 'to approach' (see below), but the morphological analysis is unclear. Gr. πέλας has been explained as an old nom.sg. 'who is near'; the forms in πλη-, πλᾱ- reflect the zero grade *plh_2-. See ►δασπλῆτις, ►πίλναμαι, ►πλᾱ́θω, ►πλήν, and ►πλήσσω.

πέλεθος [m.] 'ordure'. ⇒σπέλεθος.

πέλεθρον [n.]⇒πλέθρον.

πέλεια [f.] 'wild pigeon' (Il.). ◄IE **pel-* 'gray'►

•VAR πελειάς, gen. -άδος, mostly plur. -άδες [f.].

•COMP As a first member in πελειο-θρέμμιων 'feeding pigeons' (A.); also metaphorically as a name of the priestesses of the sanctuary at Dodona (Hdt., S., Paus.).

•DER πελείους· Κῶοι καὶ οἱ Ἠπειρῶται τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς πρεσβύτιδας 'old men and women in Cos and Epirus' (H.).

•ETYM The msc. πελείους is a secondary innovation. The bird was clearly named after its color, like e.g. Lat. *palumbēs* 'dove', *palleō* 'to be pale'. It could reflect a *u*-stem *πελύς 'grey', cognate with πελιός, πολιός, πελιτνός. The priestesses in Dodona (like the aged people in Cos and Epirus) were called "doves" because of the color of their hair. Cf. ►πελιδνός.

πελεκάν, -ᾶνος [m.] 'pelican' (Anaxandr. Com., Arist.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Cf. πελεκανός 'fulica' (gloss.).

•DER πελεκᾶς, -ᾶντος [m.] 'green woodpecker' (Ar. *Av.*); πελεκῖνος [m.] 'pelican' (Ar. *Av.*, Dionys. *Av.*); more usually as the name of several plants, "axeweed", especially 'Securigera Coronilla' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc.), and in the architectural technical expression 'dovetail' (Ph. *Bel.*, Hero *Bel.*).

•ETYM Derived from πέλεκυς 'axe' because of the functional and/or formal similarity with an axe. For πελεκάν, compare especially the ethnonyms in -άν (Ἀκαρνάν, etc.). Fur. 320 compares σπέλεκτος· πελεκάν (H.).

πέλεκυς [m.] 'axe, double axe, hatchet' (Il.). ◄PG(S,V)►

•VAR Gen. -εως, Ion. -εος; also βέλεκκος, see below.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* (?, Puhvel *KZ* 73, 221f.).

•COMP ἑξα-πέλεκυς = Lat. *sexfascalis* (Plb.), σφυρο-πέλεκυς 'hammer-axe' (Att. inscr.); ἡμι-πέλεκκον [n.] "half-axe", 'axe with one edge' (Ψ 851) (< adj. *ἡμι-πέλεκϝ-ος 'consisting of half an axe').

•DER Diminutive πελέκ-ιον (Att. inscr.), πέλεκκον (-ος) 'axe-handle' (N 612, Poll., H.; from -κϝ-ον), πελεκυ-νάριον 'id.' (Theo Sm.); πελεκᾶς, -ᾶτος 'axe-smith' (Ostr. I^a). Denominatives: 1. πελεκ-άω (-εκκάω ε 244 < *-εκϝ-άω; rarely with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-) 'to cut with an axe' (ε 244), whence -ημια, -ησις, -ητής, -ήτωρ, -ητρίς, -ητός (Hell.); 2. πελεκίζω (ἀπο- *AB*) 'to chop off with an axe', especially 'to behead'

(Plb., Str.), whence -ισμός (D. S.). The gloss πέλεκρα· ἀξίνη 'axe' is obscure and may be late. Gr. πέλυξ 'id.' (LXX, pap.) on the model of instrument names in -υξ, whence πελύκ-ιον (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, pap.).

•ETYM Compare Skt. *paraśú-* [m.] 'axe, battle-axe', Oss. *færæt* 'axe' (from Iranian into Tocharian: ToA *porat*, ToB *peret* 'axe') < QPIE **peleḱu-*. These words have long been identified with Akk. *pilakku*, which however never means 'axe', but rather 'spindle'. Thus, this comparison must be given up. Fur.: 150f. points to βέλεκκος· ὄσπριόν τι ἐμφερὲς λαθύρῳ μέγεθος ἐρεβίνθου ἔχον 'pulse resembling a λ. with the size of a chick-pea' (H.). Further, compare his notes 39 and 40. He also assumes that the -κκ- represents Pre-Greek gemination. πέλεκρα, too, may be a Pre-Greek formation, like πέλυξ.

πελεμίζω [v.] 'to vibrate, shake', pass. 'to tremble' (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Aor. -ίξαι, -ιχθῆναι.

•ETYM Denominative formation in -ίζω, from an unknown noun, *πέλεμα vel sim. Possible cognates are identified in Germanic, e.g. in the compounds Go. *us-film-a* 'frightened, appalled' (*usfilmei* 'fright, horror'), ON *felms-fullr* 'full of frightening', which would presuppose a noun PGm. **felma-* 'fright'. If the suffix was **-mo-*, one could connect it to πάλλω 'to sway, rock'. Another cognate may be ►πόλεμος. Fur.: 151 calls πελεμ- "entschieden ungriechisch"; the suffix -εμ- would be Pre-Greek.

πελιδνός [adj.] 'blue, dark color, pale, bloodshot' (Hp., Arist., Nic.; also Th. and com.?) ◁IE? **peli-* 'pale, grey'▷

•VAR πελιτνός (Att. according to gramm.; perhaps to be restored in Th. 2, 49, Alex. 110, 17 et al.).

•DER πελιδν-ήεις (Marc. Sid.), -αῖος (Nonn.), whence -ότης [f.] 'blue stain' (Aret., Gal.), -όομαι [v.] 'to turn blue, etc.' (Hp., Arist.), whence -ωμα, -ωσις (medic.). Also πελιός 'blue, dark' (Hp., D., Thphr., Nic., etc.), πελι-ώδης (sch.), -ότης [f.] (medic.), -όομαι (Hellanic., Hp., LXX), whence -ωσις, -ωμα (medic., sch.), -αίνομαι (Hp.); πελλός (πέλλος?) 'dark-colored' (S. *Fr.*?, Arist., Theoc.), -ᾶς [m.] 'old person, very old man' (Hdn., H.). With γ-enlargement: πελιγόνες [m.pl.] = γέροντες (Lac., Massal.), = οἱ ἐν τιμαῖς (Macedonian acc. to Str. 7 *Fr.* 2); πελιγᾶνες· οἱ ἔνδοξοι. παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταί 'esteemed ones, in Syrian councillors' (H.).

•ETYM Traditionally explained as an enlargement of πελιός, or a transformation of older πελι-τν-ός, which would have the same combination of suffixes as Skt. *pálikn̄ī* [f.] < **pali-t-n-ī* 'grey' beside msc. *pali-t-á-* (would be Gr. *πελιτός; thence perhaps πελιτ-νός after the fem.?). An *i*-stem has been assumed as the basic form, which may be retained in πελιός (probably for *πελι-ϝό-ς), and perhaps also in πελλός (if from *πελι̯ός). See on ►πέλεια for a different formation. ►See also ►πολιός.

πέλλα 1 [f.] 'milk pail', also 'drinking bowl, goblet' (Π 642, Hippon., Theoc., Nic.). ◁PG? (S, V)▷

•VAR Also -η acc. to Arc. 108, 1.

•DER πελλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Hippon., Hell. poetry); πέλιξ, -ικος [f.] = κύλιξ or προχοΐδιον (Cratin.); -ίκη, Aeol. -ίκα [f.] = χοῦς, λεκάνη 'a liquid measure = 12 κοτύλαι; dish, pot or pan' (Poll.); πελλίχνη [f.] = πέλλα (Alcm., Hell. poetry; after

κύλ-ιξ, -ίχνη; cf. further ἑλίκ-η from ἕλιξ). πελλητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'milk pail, drinking bowl' (Hell. authors in Ath. 11, 495e), πελλαντῆρα· ἀμολγέα 'milk pail' (H.) (to *πελλαίνω).

•ETYM The comparison with Lat. *pēluis* [f.] 'bowl, dish' or Skt. *pālavī* [f.] 'kind of barrel, vessel', *pārī* [f.] 'milk-pail' is unconvincing, and does not lead to a PIE reconstruction. Fur.: 134 posits a Pre-Greek word because of the vacillation -ικ-, -υκ- (and -λ-, -λλ-).

πέλλα 2 [f.] · λίθος 'stone' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Cf. φελλεύς below.

•ETYM Assuming PGr. *πελσᾱ, it has been connected with OHG *felis* 'rock', MIr. *all* 'crag' (< PCl. **palso-*), Skt. *pāṣāṇá-* [m.] 'stone, rock', Psht. *parṣa* 'id.' (< IIr. **pars-*, IE **pels-*); however, the variation **pelso-* / *peliso-* does not seem IE (cf. Fur.: 162[77]). The noun could be identical to the Macedonian town Πέλλα. Fur.: 161f. further compares φελλεύς 'stony ground', which shows a different anlauting consonant, and therefore points to Pre-Greek origin.

πελλοράφος [comp.] an artisan who sews together hides (gloss.). ◁LW Lat.▷

•ETYM Hybrid form containing Lat. *pellis* 'hide'and ῥάπτω.

πέλλῦτρα [n.pl.] 'foot-wrapper, foot bandage' (A. *Fr.* 259 = 435 M., S. *Fr.* 1080; H., who also gives the suspicious forms πελλασταί, πελλύτα and πελλύτεμα). ◁IE? **ped-* 'foot'▷

•ETYM Analyzed as *πεδ-ϝλῦ-τρα, a compound of πεδ- 'foot (see ▶πούς) and the root εἰλύω 'to wrap', with a suffix -τρο-. Nevertheless, monosyllabic ϝλυ- and its length are surprising.

πέλμα [n.] 'sole of the foot or shoe' (Hippon., Hp., LXX, Hell.). ◁IE? **pel-* 'hide'▷

•COMP As a second member in βαθύ-, δί-, μονό-πελμος (*AP, Edict. Diocl.*).

•DER κατα-πελματόομαι 'to be soled' (LXX), πελματίζω 'to sole' (pap. VI[P]), 'to sleek the soles' (Anon. on *EM* 659, 43).

•ETYM For the formation PIE **pel-mn* 'skin, hide', compare OS *filmen*, OFris. *filmene*, OS *æger-felma* 'pellicle of an egg'. With *n*-suffix: Lat. *pellis* < **pel-n-i-* 'skin, hide', Lith. *plėnė̃* 'membrane', OPr. *pleynis* 'cerebral membrane', Ru. *plená* 'membrane' < **pl-ēn-(i)ā-*; OCS *pelena* 'band for swathing children', Ru. *pelená* 'shroud, (dial.) nappy', Sln. *plẹ́na* 'bandage' < **pel-en-h₂-*, OHG *fel, -lles*, OE *fell*, ON *fjall* [n.] 'hide' < PGm. **fel-n-*. Perhaps ▶ἐρυσίπελας [n.] name of a skin-disease belongs here as well. There is no corresponding primary verb. See also ▶πέλτη, ▶ἐπίπλοον, and ▶σπολάς.

πέλομαι [v.] 'to stir' (in compounds), 'to become, take place, be' (Il.). ◁IE **k*[w]*lh₁-* 'go round'▷

•VAR More rarely πέλω, aor.med. 2sg. ἔπλεο, 3sg. -το, act. ἔπλε (M 11; v.l. ἦεν).

•COMP Also with prefix (especially in aor.ptc. περι-, ἐπι-πλόμενος).

•DER 1. πόλος [m.] 'axis, world axis, pole, vault of heaven, disc of the sundial, etc.' (IA); denominative ptc. ὁ πολεύων (*Cod. Astr., PMag.* et al.). 2. -πόλος in compounds like αἰ-πόλος, ▶δικασπόλος, ἱπποπόλος 'horse-breeding' (Il.),

νυκτιπόλος 'travelling by night' (E. [lyr.]); τρίπολος 'ploughed thrice' (Hom., Hes.); from the prefixed verbs are derived ἀμφίπολος (see s.v.), περίπολος, etc. 3. deverbatives: a. πολέω, -έομαι (often with prefix, e.g. ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, περι-, προσ-) [v.] 'to go about, wander around, take care of, etc.' (Pi., Att., etc.); also with nominal first member, e.g. πυρ-πολέω 'to watch a fire' (Od., X.), 'to ravage with fire, destroy' (IA); here belong, partly as back-formations: περί-, πρόσ-πολος, πυρ-πόλος, πύρ-πολος, etc.; trans. 'to turn (said of the earth), root up, plough' (Hes. *Op.* 462, Nik. *Al.* 245). b. πολεύω (χ 223, trans. S. [lyr.]) 'id.', from ἀμφι-πολεύω (epic Od., Hdt.), metri causa for -έω; c. πωλέομαι (also with ἐπι-) [v.] 'to come or go frequently' (Il.) ἐπιπώλησις [f.] 'muster, review of the army' (name of Il. 4, 250ff. in gramm., Str., Plu.).

•ETYM Greek has a thematic present πέλομαι, -ω < PIE **k^{w}elh$_{1}$-e/o-*, like Lat. *colō*, *-ere* (< **k^{w}el-e/o-*) 'to build upon, inhabit, attend, honor', Skt. *cárati* 'to move around, wander, drive (on the meadow), graze', Alb. *siell* 'to turn around, turn, bring'. The zero grade them. aor. ἔ-πλ-ετο has no counterpart. Because of π- before ε, πέλομαι must be an Aeolic form; the expected τ- of Ionic-Attic is seen in ►τέλομαι, ►τέλλομαι, τελέθω, ►τέλος. The PIE connotation of cattle-breeding and agriculture is preserved in compounds such as ►αἰπόλος, ►βουκόλος, τρί-πολος. The formal similarity of πωλέομαι and the Skt. causative *cārāyati* is secondary. Whereas πόλος may be a productive *o*-derivative from the verb, ►ἀμφίπολος (= Lat. *anculus*) and several words for 'car, wagon' (see ►κύκλος) may be inherited nominals. Note also περίπολος 'patrolling guardian' (Epich., Att.) = Skt. (Ved.) *paricará-* [m.] 'servant'. See ►πάλιν, ►τῆλε, ►ἐμπολή, and ►ἔπιπλα.

πέλτη [f.] 'small light shield without an edge, mostly made of wattle-work, with a cover of leather' (Hdt., *Tab. Heracl.*, Att.). ◅LW? Thrac.▻

•DIAL Dor. -ᾱ.

•COMP As a first member in πελτο-φόρος (X., Plb.), Boeot. -φόρας, also -α-φόρας = πελταστής.

•DER Diminutive πελτ-ίον (Men.), -ίδιον (sch.), -άριον (Callix., Luc.). Denominative πελτάζω [v.] 'to bear a shield' (X., App.), πελτ-αστής 'shield-bearer, peltast, lightly-armed man' (Att.), -αστικός 'of a peltast' (Att.). A probable back-formation is κατα-πελτάζω 'to overpower with peltasts' (Ar. *Ach.* 160).

•ETYM Acc. to Hdt. 7, 75 and other sources, the πέλτη was carried by the Thracians; thus perhaps it is a loanword. Usually connected with ►πέλμα, Lat. *pellis*, etc. as a derivation in *-t-*. Semantically, this is quite possible, but there are no good cognates with a *t*-suffix.

πέλτης [m.] 'the pickled Nile fish κορακῖνος' (Diph. Siph *apud* Ath. 121b, H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. See Strömberg 1943: 131 and Thompson 1947 s.v.

πέλτον [n.] 'base of an altar, tomb' (inscr. Lycaonia). ◅LW Asia Minor▻

•ETYM LW from Asia Minor, belonging to Hitt. *palzaḫḫa-* 'pedestal, base' (Haas *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 3 (1953): 132); accepted by Neumann 1961: 99f.

πέλυξ ⇒πέλεκυς and πέλλα 1.

πέλωρ [n.] 'monster, monstrosity' (Hom., Hes., *h. Ap.*, Nonn.). ◅?▻

•VAR Plur. πέλωρα beside sing. πέλωρον [n.].
•DER Adj. πέλωρ-ος (certainly first in Hes.), older and more usual -ιος (Il.), 'monstrous, enormous'. Diminutive πελωρ-ίς (Xenocr. Med.), -ὰς (Hell. and late poetry) [f.] 'kind of shell'.
•ETYM Old formation in -ωρ (to which perhaps the PN πελάρης [Styra] belongs). Hesychius gives the variants τέλωρ· πελώριον, μακρόν, μέγα 'long, big' and τελώριος· μέγας, πελώριος 'big, monstrous' (H., also grave inscr. Memphis I[a]). This suggests an original *k^w-, and Aeolic origin for πέλωρ. Frisk compares τέρας 'marvel, monster' and suggests that πέλωρ arose from dissimilation of *$k^werōr$; however, the latter would not easily explain τέρας (from *k^werh_2-*s*?), so this word is better left aside. Thus, πέλωρ remains without etymology.

πέμπελος [adj.] 'old, old man' (Lyc. 682, 826). Glossed by Gal. 6, 380 as παρὰ τὸ ἐκπέμπεσθαι εἰς Ἅιδου πομπήν 'after the sending of a procession to Hades', 'id.' in Suid.; H. gives στωμύλον, λάλον, οἱ δὲ λίαν γηραλέον 'wordy, loquacious; very old'. ◅ ? ▻
•ETYM Galen's explanation is a folk etymology based on the similarity with πέμπω. Blanc *RPh.* 72 (1998): 134 proposes reduplicated *πελ-πελ- > πέμπελος, from the root for 'grey' seen in πελιδνός, πελιός (see also Blanc *KZ* 110 (1997): 233f.).

πέμπω [v.] 'to send, dispatch, guide, accompany', med. (mostly with prefix) also 'to send for someone, fetch'. ◅ ? ▻
•VAR Aor. πέμψαι, fut. πέμψω (Hom.), aor. pass. πεμφθῆναι (Pi.), perf. πέπομφα (IA), med. πέπεμμαι (Att.).
•COMP Very often with different prefixes, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, μετα-, προ-.
•DER 1. πομπή (ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, etc.) [f.] 'conduct, escort, procession, *pompa*' (Il.). 2. πομπός [m.], also [f.] 'escort, messenger' (Il.), also adj. 'guiding, bringing a message' (A., Ael.); prefixed compounds, e.g. προπομπ-ός 'escort, escortess, guide (m./f.), guiding, escorting' (A., X.); as a second member in compounds, e.g. ψυχο-πομπ-ός 'guide of souls' (E.). From 1. or 2. (not always discernable): a. πομπ-αῖος 'guiding, leading' (Pi., trag.), ἀπο- (LXX, Ph.); b. -ιμος 'id.' (Pi., trag.), 'sent off' (S.), also ἀνα-, δια-, etc. (D. S., Luc.); c. -ικός 'belonging to the procession' (X., Hell. and late); d. -ιος 'led' (Plot.); e. -ίλος [m.] name of a fish that accompanies ships, 'Naucrates ductor' (Erinna, A. R.); f. πομπεύω (προ-, συμ-, ἐπι-, δια-) [v.] 'to escort, guide, partake in a procession' (Il.); thence πόμπευ-σις, -τής, -τήριος, -τικός; -εῖα [pl.], -εία [f.]; probably also, as back-formation, πομπεύς 'escort, partaker of a procession' (Od., Att.). 3. πέμψις (mostly with ἀπό-, ἔκ-, ἐπι-, μετά-, etc.) [f.] 'sending' (IA). 4. πεμπτήρ 'escort' (S. *Fr.* 142 II 10 [lyr.]); προπεμπτήρ-ιος 'escorting' (Philostr. *VA*), ἀπο-, προ-πεμπ-τικός (Men. Rh.); 5. ► εὐπέμπελος.
•ETYM All forms belong to productive derivational patterns. The verb has no IE etymology, nor does it show characteristics of loanwords or Pre-Greek vocabulary.

πεμφηρίς [f.] a small fish mentioned by Numen. *apud* Ath. 309f. ◅ ? ▻
•ETYM Unknown. Cf. Thompson s.v.

***πέμφιξ, -ῑγος** [f.] poetic word of unstable mg., partly due to the artificialities of Hell. poets: 'bubble of air or water' (secondarily of the soul), 'blister on the skin, drop (of water or blood), drizzle, spraying spark, also said of the sunlight' (Ibyc., trag., Hell. poetry). ◁PG?▷

•DER πεμφιγώδης 'full of vesications' (Hp.). πεμφίς, only attested in the gen.pl. -ίδων (Lyc. 686; v.l. -ίγων). With *o*-grade: πομφός [m.] 'blister on the skin' (Hp.); more often with λ-suffix in πομφολύζω (-ύσσω?), only aor. 3pl. πομφόλυξαν 'sprang up' (of tears; Pi.), and πομφόλυξ, -ῠγος [f.], also [m.], 'bubble' (Hp., Pl., Arist., Thphr.), metaphorically of a female hair ornament (Ar., Att. inscr.), of an architectural ornament (Att. inscr.), of shield-knobs (H.), of a zinc oxyde (medic.). As a first member in πομφολυγο-παφλάσματα [pl.] jocular formation (Ar. *Ra.* 249). Thence πομφολυγ-ωτός 'provided with bosses' (Ph. *Bel.*), -ώδης 'like bubbles', -ηρόν [n.] 'plaster with zinc oxyde' (medic.), -όω [v.] 'to make bubbles' (Arist.), -όομοι, -ίζω 'to bubble' (medic.).

•ETYM Possibly Pre-Greek words. They might be onomatopoeic in origin; compare similar expressions for 'swelling, etc.' in Baltic: Lith. *pam̃pti* 'to swell', *pempùs* 'fat-bodied', *pumpùlis* 'roundish, thick-bellied thing', also *bum̃balas* 'knob, bladder'. Cf. ▶βέμβιξ and ▶βόμβος.

πεμφρηδών, -όνος [f.] 'kind of wasp, tree wasp' (Nic.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM The suffix is the same as in the synonyms ▶τενθρηδών, ▶ἀνθρηδών. The base was probably onomatopoeic, and possibly Pre-Greek: compare words for 'humming, buzzing', such as SCr. *bŭmbar* 'bumble-bee', Skt. (lex.) *bambhara-* [m.] 'bee', Arm. *boř, -oy* 'bumble-bee, hornet'; also, Skt. *bhramará-* 'bee', OHG *breman* 'to hum', Latin *fremō* 'to roar' < *b^hrm-, etc. Cf. Kuiper 1956: 222 and Fur.: 222.

πενέσται [m.pl.] name of the serf population of Thessalia; as an appellative 'slaves, servants, poor farm laborers' (Att., Arist.). ◁LW? Illyr.▷

•VAR Rarely sing.

•DER πενεστ-ικός 'belonging to the *penestai*' (Pl.), -εία [f.] 'the class of *penestai*' (Arist.).

•ETYM Possibly identical with the Illyrian PN *Penestae* (cf. also the *Apenestae* in Apulia). The ancients connected πενέσται with πένης 'poor', πένομαι 'to toil', which in itself is possible (from **pen-e/os-* [n.]).

πένης, -ητος [adj.] 'poor'; as a msc. subst. 'poor man'.

•DER πενία 'poverty'. ⇒πένομαι.

πενθερός [m.] 'father-in-law = father of the wife' (cf. ἑκυρός), also 'brother-in-law, son-in-law' (Il.). ◁IE *b^hend^h- 'bind'▷

•DER πενθερά, Ion. -ή [f.] 'mother-in-law' (D., Call.), -ιδεύς 'son-in-law' (inscr. Asia Minor, imper. time.), -ίδης 'id.' (pap. VI^P; Schwyzer 510); -ιος (Arat.), -ικός (Man.) 'belonging to the πενθερός'.

•ETYM Inherited kinship term *$b^he\underline{n}d^h$-*er-o-*, formally almost completely agreeing with Lith. *beñdras* 'participant, sharer'; compare Skt. *bándh-u-* [m.] 'relative'.

Derived from 'to bind', hence literally "ally". The oxytone accentuation of πενθερός is after ►ἐκυρός. See ►πεῖσμα.

πένθος [n.] 'sorrow'. ⇒πάσχω.

πένομαι [v.] 'to exert oneself, toil, work, prepare, provide' (Il.), 'to exert onself, (have to) do hard labor, be poor, lack sth.' (Sol., trag., Pl.). ◅IE **(s)penh₁-*►

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•COMP Often with ἀμφι-, also συν-.

•DER 1. πενία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'poverty, lack' (ξ 157); 2. πενιχρ-ός 'poor, devoid of sth.' (γ 348; cf. μελιχρός s.v. ►μέλι), -ότης [f.] (S. E.), -αλέος 'id.' (*AP*). 3. πένης, -ητος [m.] (fem. πένησσα· πτωχή 'beggary' [H.]) 'who has to live from the labor of his hands, needy, poor', πενέσ-τερος, -τατος (X., D.); thence πενητ-εύω 'to be poor' (Emp.), -υλίδας [m.] "son of poverty" (Cerc.), which presupposes a hypocoristic **Πενητ-ύλος*. 4. πόνος [m.] '(hard) labor, effort, struggle, sorrow, pain' (Il.); also as a second member, e.g. παυσί-πονος 'ending pain' (E., Ar. [lyr.]); but ματαιο-πόνος et al. to πονέομαι. Thence πον-ηρός 'toilsome, useless, bad, evil' (IA), whence -ηρία, -ηρεύομαι, -ήρευμα; πονόεις 'id.' (Man.). 5. Iterative deverbative πονέομαι (also with ἀμφι-, δια-, etc.) [v.] 'to exert oneself, provide, suffer' (Il., mostly in the older language), and active πονέω (also with δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc.) also trans. 'to cause pain' (post-Hom.). As a second member in ματαιο-πονέω [v.] 'to labor in vain' (Democr.), whence -πονία (Str.), -πόνημα (Iamb.), -πόνος (Plu., Gal.). Deverbal πόν-ημα (δια-) [n.] 'labor, work' (Pl., E.), -ησις (δια-, κατα-) 'labor, effort' (Plu., D. L.); as a back-formation e.g. διάπον-ος 'working hard, weary' (Plu.) from δια-πονέω. 6. πονάω only in ἐπονάθη (Pi.) and ἐπόνασαν (Theoc.).

•ETYM A primary formation is the present πένομαι; iterative πονέομαι, -έω and the noun πόνος may be productive derivatives. The only viable cognates are words for 'to stretch, twist, weave' in PIE **(s)penh₁-*, e.g. Lith. *pìnti* 'twist', OCS *pęti* 'stretch', Arm. *hanum* and *henum* 'weave', Go. *spinnan*, etc. Greek would then have undergone a semantic shift from 'to stretch' > 'tense, strain' > 'exert oneself'.

πέντε [num.] 'five' (Il.). ◅IE **penkʷe* 'five'►

•VAR Aeol. πέμπε, Pamph. πέ(ν)δε.

•COMP As a first member, beside πεντε- and πεμπε-, we mostly find πεντα- (Il.), after ἑπτα-, δεκα-, τετρα-, etc.

•DER Ordinal πέμπτος 'fifth', Arc. πέμποτος (after δέκοτος), Gortyn πέντος, whence πεμπταῖος 'belonging to the fifth (day), happening on the fifth (day)' (ξ 257); πεντάκις [adv.] (Pi.) beside πενπάκι (Sparta), πεμπτάκις (D. S.) 'five times'; collective πεμπάς [f.] 'quintet' (Pl., X.) besides πεμπτάς (Pl. *Phd.* 104a), πεντάς (Arist.)., whence πεντάδ-ιον [n.] 'quintet' (pap. II-III^{p}), πεμπαδ-ικός 'fivefold' (Dam.). Adverb πέντα-χα (M 87), -χοῦ, -χῇ, -χῶς; adjective πενταξός 'fivefold' (Arist.); noun πεντάχα· ἡ χείρ 'the hand' (H.), cf. MoGr. Lac. πεντόχτη 'hand' (Κουκουλές Ἀρχ. 27, 61 ff.). A denominative verb, probably from πεμπάς, is πεμπάζομαι, -ω [v.] 'to count (by the five, with the five fingers)' (δ 412, A.), with ἀνα- 'to estimate, calculate, think over' (Pl., Plu.) with πεμπαστάς [m.] (Dor.) 'the counting one' (A. [lyr.]). From πεντήκοντα 'fifty': πεντηκοσ-τύς [f.] 'body of fifty', part of a Spartan λόχος (Th., X.),

πεντηκοστήρ, sec. -κοντήρ [m.] 'commander of a πεντηκοστύς' (Cos, Th., X., Att. inscr.).

•ETYM Non-Aeolic πέντε, whence Pamph. πέ(ν)δε, Aeol. πέμπε and the other IE words for 'five', e.g. Skt. *páñca*, Lat. *quīnque*, Lith. *penkì*, Go. *fimf*, all go back to IE **pénkʷe*. Similarly, Gr. πέμπτος < **penkʷ-to-*, like Lat. *quīntus*, Lith. *peñktas*, Go. *fimfta*. The lengthening in πεντή-κοντα (PGr. **ē*) not only appears in Skt. *pañcā-śát-* [f.], but also in Arm. *yi-sun* (*i* < **ē*); the lengthening was caused by the glottal feature which resulted from the loss of **d* in **dḱomt-* (see ►ἑκατον; Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 97-104). A parallel development is found in Lat. *quinquā-gintā* 'fifty' (after *quadrā-gintā* 'forty'?).

πέος [n.] 'penis' (Ar. *Ach.*). ◅IE **pes-os-* n. 'penis'▻

•DER πεοίδης 'with a swollen member' (*Com. Adesp.*), also πεώδης 'id.' (Luc. *Lex.*).

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *pásas-* [n.] 'id.', cognate with Hitt. **pešan- / pešn- / pišen-* 'man, male' [c.] < **pés-ōn*, **pes-(e)n-*, Lat. *pēnis* 'tail, penis' < **pes-n-is*. See ►πόσθη.

πέπᾱμαι [v.] 'to possess, acquire' (Argos V[a]). ◅IE **ḱueh₂-* (?)▻

•VAR Aor. πᾱ́σασθαι, fut. πᾱ́σομαι (Dor., Arc., poet. since Pi., Sol.); pres. ἐμ-πιπάσκομαι 'to acquire'.

•DER 1. πᾶμα [n.] (Arc., Arg., Cret.), ἔππαμα (< ἐμ-π-; Boeot.) 'possession'. Derivations: πολυ-πάμων 'wealthy' (Δ 433), ἐχέ-πᾱμον (γένος) 'having possessions, inheritor' (Locr.), ἔκ-παμον· ἀκλήρωτον 'without lot' (H.); with transition to the *o*-stems: ἐμ-πάμῳ (cod. ἐμπαγμῶ)· πατρώχῳ 'heiress'; ἐπι-<πα>ματ-ίδα· τὴν ἐπίκληρον 'heiress' (H.); παμῶχος· ὁ κύριος 'lord' (H.), whence παμωχέω 'to possess' (*Tab. Heracl.*). 2. ἔμπᾱσις (Corc., Meg.), ἴνπᾱσις (Arc.), ἔππᾱσις (Boeot.) [f.] 'acquisition', πᾶσις· κτῆσις 'possession' (H.). 3. παμ-πησία [f.] 'full possession' (A., E., Ar.). 4. πάτορες· κτήτορες 'possessors' (Phot.), πᾱτήρ 'possessor' (Critias). 5. With analogical -σ-: πάστας [m.] 'possessor, lord' (Gort.); also PN Εὔ-παστος (Argiv.), Γυνο-, Θιό-ππαστος (Boeot.), probably also πέπασται (Thgn. 663).

•ETYM The forms τά πιάματα (Boeot.), Γυνό-ππαστος, etc., with geminate πτ, show a trace of the original cluster **ḱu̯* (cf. ἵππος). Thus, πέ-πᾱ-μαι, πᾱ́-σασθαι, πᾱ́-σομαι continue a monosyllabic full grade. A connection with PIE 'to swell' **ḱu̯eh₁-* is impossible because of the different laryngeal. There is no exact correspondence outside Greek. The zero grade **ḱuh₂-*, which correponds with IE **ḱu̯eh₂-*, is found in ἄ-κῡ-ρ-ος, ►κύριος 'lord, possessor'.

πεπαρεῖν [v.aor.inf.] 'to demonstrate, show', acc. to H. = ἐνδεῖξαι, σημῆναι (Pi. *P.* 2, 57; v.l. πεπορεῖν). ◅IE **prh₃-* 'give, provide'▻

•VAR πεπαρεύσιμον· εὔφραστον, σαφές 'easy to make intelligible, wise' (H.).

•ETYM Floyd *AmJPh.* 92 (1971): 676-9 demonstrated that the word contains the root **prh₃-* of πορεῖν, with -παρ- < **-pr̥h₃-V-*; for the development, we may compare ἁλίσκομαι with ϝαλ- < **u̯l̥h₃-V-* (see Beekes, in: Bammesberger 1988: 75). Cf. ►πορεῖν.

πέπερι [n.] 'pepper' (Eub., Antiph., Arist.). ◅LW Orient.▻

•VAR Gen. -ιος, -εως; also -ις, -ιδος [m.]. Rarely πί-.

•COMP πιπερό-γαρον [n.] 'peppered fish broth', μακρο-πέπερι [n.] 'long pepper' (medic.).
•DER -ις, -ιδος [f.] 'pepper tree' (Philostr. *VA*). Thence πιπερῖτις [f.] plant name 'siliquastrum' (Plin., etc.); πεπερίζω [v.] 'to taste like pepper' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Oriental LW, first from MInd. *pipparī* (Skt. [epic cl.] *-lī*), further of unknown origin.

πέπλος [m.] 'woven cloth, blanket' (Hom., trag.), usually 'female or male garment, women's skirt' (Il.). ◁IE? **pel-* 'fold'▷
•COMP e.g. εὔ-πεπλος (ἐῦ- epic) 'having a beautiful garment' (Il.).
•DER πέπλωμα [n.] 'robe, garment' (trag.).
•ETYM In theory, it could be a reduplicated formation πέ-πλ-ος of the root PIE **pl(H)-* 'to fold', found e.g. in Gr. ἀ-πλ-όος, ►ἁπλόος 'single, simple', διπλόος, διπλοῦς 'double, twofold', OIr. *díabul* 'double'. Alternatively, the root might be **pl-* 'skin, hide'; see ►πέλμα. Neither solution is compelling.

πέπνῡμαι [v.perf.] 'to be prudent, clever, clear-minded', very often in ptc. πεπνῡμένος 'to be prudent, clever, clear-minded' (Il., also late prose); also aor. pass. opt. 2sg. πνῡθείης (Nic.). ◁IE? **pneuH-*▷
•COMP ἄμ-πνῡτο 'regained consciousness'.
•ETYM The verb is generally derived from the root **pneu-* of ►πνέω 'to blow', but LIV² posits a separate root **pneuH-* to explain the length of πνυ-. The appurtenance of Hitt. *punuszi, punuššanzi* 'to ask' < **pnuH-s-*, however, is difficult for reasons of both phonetics and semantics (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.).

πέπρωται 'it is destined by fate'. ⇒πορεῖν.

πεπρίλος ⇒πέρδομαι.

πεπρωίων [gen.pl.] perhaps the name of a phratry or deme (Erythrae, IV[a]). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

πέπων, -ονος [adj.] 'ripe', metaphorically 'soft, mild' (IA). ◁IE **pek^{w}-* 'cook'▷
•VAR Hom. only voc. πέπον. πέπων is used for msc. and fem., but fem. also πέπειρα (Anacr., Hp., S., Ar.), new msc. πέπειρος (Hp., Thphr., LXX); compar. πεπαί-τερος, superl. -τατος (after πεπαίνω?), also πεπειρό-τερος, -τατος.
•DER πεπαίνω (aor. πεπᾶν-αι, -θῆναι with -θήσομαι, perf. inf. πεπάνθαι (Arist.), also with ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπερ-) [v.] 'to make ripe, ripen', metaphorically 'to mollify, mellow, soothe' (IA), whence πέπαν-σις [f.] 'ripening' (Arist.), -τικός 'making ripe' (Hp., Dsc.); back-formation πέπαν-ος (-ός) 'ripe' (Paus., Artem.); πέπανας· πλακούντια 'flat cakes' (H.) (= πόπανα, see ►πέσσω).
•ETYM A derivative PIE **pek^{w}-on-* from the root **pek^{w}-* 'to cook, ripen'. The verb πεπαίνω < **pe-pan-i̯e/o-* continues **pek^{w}-n-ie/o-* with the zero grade of the suffix.

περ [pcl.] enclitic pcl. of emphasis (Il.). ◁IE **per* 'going through?'▷
•ETYM Identical in form and function with Lat. *-per* in *nu-per, parum-per*, etc.; see ►πέρι.

πέρᾱ [adv.], also [prep.] + gen. 'beyond, further, longer, more, past' (Att.). ◁IE **per* 'beyond, across'▷

•COMP compar. περαι-τέρω (Att.), -τερον; adj. -τερος (Pi.).

•DER πέρᾱν, Ion. -ην [adv., prep.] + gen. 'over, across, beyond, opposite to' (Il.). adj. περαῖος 'ulterior', especially ἡ περαία (χώρα, γῆ) 'the country on the other side', also PN (Hdt., A. R., Plb., Str.). Thence 1. Περαῖτης [m.] 'inhabitant of the Περαία' (J.); 2. περαιόθεν 'from the other side' (A. R., Arat.); 3. περαιόομαι, -όω (also with δια-, etc.) 'to cross over, bring over' (since ω 437), 'to accomplish' (Gort.), 'to end' (medic.), περαίωσις [f.] 'crossing' (Str., Plu.). Denominative verb περάω (aor. -ᾶσαι, Ion. -ῆσαι, also with prefix, especially δια- and ἐκ-) [v.] 'to pass through, go beyond, reach the end' (Il.), (δια-)πέρ-αμα [n.] 'crossing' (Str.), ἐκπέραμα 'coming out' (A.), πέρ-ασις [f.] 'stepping through' (S.), -ἀσιμος 'crossable, passable' (E., Str.); -ατός, Ion. -ητός 'id.' (Pi., Hdt.); -ατής 'ferryman' (Suid., Procl.), also 'stranger, emigrant' (LXX; probably from πέρᾱ); περᾱ-τικός 'foreign', and -τός 'id.' (pap. III^{a}). Often with intensifying ἀντι-: ἀντιπέραια [n.pl.] 'the stretches of coast on the opposite side' (B 635), -αια [f.sg.] (A. R., Nonn.); ἀντιπέρας 'opposite' (Th., X.), -πέραν, -ην (Hell.), -πέρᾱ (*Ev. Luc.*) 'id.'; -πέρηθε(ν) 'from the opposite coast' (A. R., *AP*).

•ETYM Gr. πέρᾱ and πέρᾱν are petrified case forms of a noun 'other side': the latter continues the acc.sg. of a noun **per-h*$_2$- [f.], while the former allows for several interpretations (instr.sg.fem. or nom.pl.ntr.?). See ▶πέρι and ▶πάρος.

πέρας, -ατος [n.] 'end, boundary'. ⇒πεῖραρ.

πέργουλος ⇒σπορ(γ)ίλος.

πέρδιξ, -ῐ̆κος [m., f.] 'partridge' (Archil., Epich., S., Ar., X.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Cret. πήριξ (H.), with -ηρ- < -ερδ-.

•COMP e.g. περδικο-θήρας [m.] "partridge-hunter", kind of hawk, συρο-πέρδιξ = Σύρος πέρδιξ (Ael.).

•DER Diminutive περδίκ-ιον (com.), -ιδεύς [m.] 'young partridge' (Eust.), adjective -ειος 'of the partridge' (Poll.), -ιάς, -ιάδος [f.] (Gal.), -ίτης [m.] name of a stone (Alex. Trall.).

•ETYM Frisk explains the word as a derivative in -ικ- from ▶πέρδομαι 'to fart', due to the droning sound when partridges take the air.

πέρδομαι [v.] 'to fart' (Ar.). ◁IE **perd-* 'fart'▷

•VAR Perf. πέπορδα (with resultative mg.), aor. -παρδεῖν, fut. -παρδήσομαι.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, προσ-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. πορδή [f.] 'fart' (Ar.), whence πόρδων, -ωνος [m.] nickname of the cynics (Arr.); 2. πρᾰδησις [f.] 'farting' (Hp.); 3. πραδίλη [f.] 'id.' (Theognost.); reduplicated πεπραδῖλαι [pl.] 'id.', also name of a fish (H., Phot.), equally πεπρίλος· ἰχθῦς ποιός 'kind of fish' (H., after the sound it produces). 4. with additional suffix πήραξον· ἀφόδευσον 'they shitted' (H.), Cret. for *πέρδαξον as if from *περδ-άζομαι; furthermore ἀποπαρδακᾷ (-κα?)· τοῦτο εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ ἀποπαρδεῖν (H.).

•ETYM A thematic present **perd-e/o-* from the root **perd-* 'to fart' of Skt. *pardate*, OHG *ferzan*, Lith. *pérsti*, 1sg. *pérdžiu*, Ru. *perdét'*, Alb. *pjerdh*. See ►σιληπορδέω and ►πέρδιξ.

πέρθω [v.] 'to destroy, devastate' (Il.). ◄IE? **bʰerdʰ-*►
•VAR Aor. πέρσαι, πραθεῖν, fut. πέρσω (Il.). Inf. pass. πέρθαι (Π 708; aor. *περθ-σ-, or with haplology from *πέρθεσθαι); unclear is πέρθετο (M 15, etc.), semantically aoristic.
•COMP Also with δια-, ἑκ-, συν-. As a first member in governing compounds περσέ-π(τ)ολις 'destroying cities' (A. [lyr.]); second member in πτολί-πορθος 'id.' (Il.), also -ιος (ι 504), -ης (A. [lyr.]). πέρσις [f.] 'destruction', title of several poems (Arist., Paus.).
•DER Deverbative πορθέω (aor. πορθῆσαι, also δια-, ἑκ-, etc.) [v.] 'to destroy, devastate, pillage' (Il.), whence (ἐκ-)πόρθησις (D.), -ημια (Pl.), (ἐκ-)ήτωρ (A., E.), -ητής (E.), *-ητήριος (Tz.), -ητικός (H.).
•ETYM Without a convincing etymology. Janda 2000: 240-242 and LIV² propose a PIE root **bʰerdʰ-* < **bʰer-* + **dʰh₁-* "Beute machen" = 'capture'.

πέρι [adv.] 'around, round; excessively, quite; by, at, concerning' (Il.). ◄IE **per-* 'cross, pass'►
•VAR Prep. περί (dial. also πέρ), + gen., dat., acc.
•DIAL Myc. *pe-ri-*, as a first element in compounds.
•DER Adv. πέριξ (suffix *-k-*), also prep. 'around, round' (mostly Ion. poet.), + *-ιο- in περι-σσός, -ττός 'excessive, extraordinary, superfluous', whence -σσεύω, -ττεύω, etc. (Hes.).
•ETYM From a PIE loc.sg. **per-i* 'in crossing, in passing' > Skt. *pári*, Av. *pairi* 'around, about, among, etc.'; Lat. *per* 'through, across', *per-* 'very', *-per* 'through, during', Ven. *per* 'for' < **peri*, Lith. *peř* [prep.] 'over, around, through', OCS *prě-*, Ru. *pére-* 'over, through, very, exceedingly' < **per*; OCS *prědъ* 'in front', Ru. *péred(o)* 'before, in front of' [prep.] < **per-dʰh₁-om*; Go. *fairra* 'far'. See ►περ.

περιάγνυται [v.] Meaning uncertain. Used of ὄψ 'voice' (Π 78), thence of ἠχώ 'echo' (Hes. *Sc.* 279). ◄GR►
•ETYM The allegedly late occurrence in Π 78 is about a voice which is broken. Thus is it derived from ἄγνυμι 'to break' as "is broken on all sides"? Or is it cognate with Skt. *vagnú-* [m.] 'sound, call, invocation', Lat. *vāgiō* 'to lament'?

περιβᾱρίδες [f.pl.] 'kind of women's shoes' (com.). ◄?►
•VAR Also περίβαρα [n.pl.] 'id.' (Poll., H., Phot.).
•ETYM Formation like περισκελίδες 'foot-clasps, -rings', but further unclear. Jocular derivation of βᾶρις, Egyptian name of a ship?

περιημεκτέω [v.] 'to be very reluctant, be upset' (Hdt.). ◄?►
•VAR Thence ἡμεκτεῖ· δυσφορεῖ 'is angry' (H.).
•ETYM The formation is reminiscent of synonymous ►ἀγανακτέω and of ὑλακτέω, but the origin is unclear. Frisk hesitatingly suggests *περι-εμέω 'to vomit', with compositional lengthening as in εὐ-ημέτης.

περίναιος (-εος) [m.] 'perinaeum, the space between the anus and the scrotum' (medic., Arist.), plur. 'male genitals' (Arist.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also -ον [n.]. Doubtful by-forms are: περινῷ· περινέῳ Gal.; περίνα (for πηρῖνα?)· περίναιον. τό αἰδοῖον 'pudenda' and περίνος· τό αἰδοῖον … ἢ τό τῶν διδύμων δέρμα, ἤγουν ὁ ταῦρος 'pudenda; the skin of the testicles or male pudenda' (H.).

•ETYM Body part derived from περί and ἰνάω, -έω 'to empty', with a suffix -ιο- (-εο-), thus literally "empty region". See ▻πήρα.

περίνεως, -ω [adj.] "exceeding the ship (the equipment of the ship, its crew)", so 'surplus'; as a msc. subst. 'fellow passenger, passenger' (Att. inscr., Th.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM A hypostasis from περὶ *νᾱϝός, with περί 'over, in excess'.

περιρρηδής [adj.] Uncertain. Usually explained as 'falling over, tumbling away' (χ 84, A. R. 1, 431), 'bent, misplaced' (Hp. *Art.* 16, *Mul.* 2, 158). ◅?▻

•DER περιρρήδην (A. R. 4, 1581).

•ETYM Formation like περι-καλλής 'very beautiful', thus probably from a noun *ῥῆδος. The root etymology is unknown. It has been connected with ▻ῥαδινός 'flexible', ▻ῥάδαμνος 'branch'; hence, **u̯reh₂d-* has been proposed.

περισκελής 1 [adj.] 'very rough, very hard, inflexible' (S., Hp., Thphr.). ◅GR▻

•DER περισκέλ-εια, -ία [f.] 'harshness, roughness' (Arist., Porph.), -ασία 'id.' (Orib.); same extension as in θερμασία, φλεγμασία, etc.

•ETYM Probably literally 'completely dried' (cf. ▻σκληρός; from *σκέλος 'barrenness') > 'dry all around'. The same is also supposed for ▻ἀσκελής. See ▻σκέλλω.

περισκελής 2 [adj.] 1. 'going around the legs', in τὰ περισκελῆ 'trousers', sing. τό -ές (LXX). 2. 'with the legs around', i.e. 'with the legs put apart' (sch.). ◅GR▻

•DER From 1. is derived περισκελίς [f.] 'leg-band, -ring' (Hell.), with -ίδιον (Delos II[a]).

•ETYM From ▻σκέλος 'leg'.

περισσός, -ττός ⇒πέρι.

περιστερά [f.] 'pigeon' (IA). ◅?▻

•VAR Secondary -ός [m.] 'cock pigeon' (com.).

•COMP περιστερο-πώλης 'pigeon-vendor' (Hell. pap.).

•DER Diminutive περιστερ-ίς [f.] and -ιον [n.] (also used as decoration of women), -ίδιον (com., pap.), -ιδεύς (Hell. pap.); -(ε)ών [m.] 'pigeonry' (Pl., pap.). Gr. περιστερ-ιον, -εών also occur as a plant-name for 'Verbena officinalis, supina' (Dsc, Ps.-Dsc.), which are visited by pigeons.

•ETYM Not certainly explained. Perhaps from πελιός 'dark, blue', πέλεια 'wild pigeon', by a wrong restitution of earlier *πελιστερά (cf. MoGr. πελιστέρι).

περιώσιον, -ια [adv.] 'excessive, immoderate', also + gen. (Il., Pi.). ◅GR▻

•DER Adj. -ιος 'id.', also 'extraordinary' (Sol. and Emp.); περώσιον· μέγα 'big' (H.).

•ETYM From πέρι, with the same suffix as ἐτώσιος 'fruitless', perhaps created after the latter. An intermediate form *περι-ο- can hardly be justified. Hence ὑπερώσιος 'id.' (*EM* 665, 29).

περκνός [adj.] 'spotted, having dark spots', also the name of a kind of eagle (Ω 316, Hp., Arist.). ◁IE **perḱ-* 'variegated, motley'▷

•DER ἐπί-περκνος 'somewhat spotted' (X.). πέρκος [m.] 'kind of eagle' (Arist.), πέρκη [f.] 'redfin perch, Perca fluviatilis' (Emp., com., Arist.), -ίς, -ίον, -ίδιον (com., pap., Dsc.); περκάς [adj. f.], attribute of κίχλη, probably as a fish name (Eratosth.). Denominatives: a. περκάζω, -ομαι (also with ὑπο-, ἐπι-, ἐν-) [v.] 'to get dark spots, start ripening', act. also 'to darken' (η 126, Thphr., LXX); b. περκαίνω, -ομαι (ἐμ-) [v.] 'id.' (E., H.); c. ἀπο-περκόομαι [v.] 'to become dark', of ripening grapes (S. *Fr.* 255, 6). Here περκώματα· τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου ποικίλματα 'spots on the face' (H.). Furthermore: 1. with zero grade: πρακνόν· μέλανα 'black' (H.); 2. with different full grade, probably secondary: πρεκνόν· ποικιλόχροον ἔλαφον 'deer with various colors' (H.), to which belongs 3. with *o*-ablaut ►πρόξ, -κός [f.] and προκάς [f.] 'deer- or roe-like animal', Πρόκνη PN 'Nightingale' or 'Swallow'; 4. with lengthened grade ►πρώξ, -κός [f.] 'dewdrop'.

•ETYM An adj. *περκός lies at the basis of the nouns πέρκος, περκάς, the adj. περκνός, and the verbs περκ-άζω, -αίνω, -όομαι. Compare MIr. *erc* (W *erch*) 'spotted, dark-red', 'salmon, trout', also 'cow, lizard'. The form πρακνόν is from a zero grade **pr̥ḱ-n-*; cf. Skt. *pŕśni-* 'spotted, variegated', OHG *forhana* 'trout', OE *forn(e)* [f.]; further cognate forms are MoSw. *färna* fish name < **perḱ-n-*; OHG *faro, farawa* 'variegated' < IE **porḱ-uó-*. Perhaps Lat. *pulc(h)er* 'beautiful' < **pelk-ro-* for **perk-ro-* belongs here too?

πέρνᾱ, -ης [f.] 'ham' (Str., pap. II^{p}, Ath.). ◁LW Lat.▷

•VAR By epic influence, or as an error of transmission, also πτέρνα (Batr., Poll. 2, 193).

•ETYM Loanword from Lat. *perna* 'id.'. See also ►πτέρνη.

πέρναξ ⇒θρίδαξ.

πέρνημι [v.] 'to sell' (Il.). ◁IE **perh₂-* 'sell'▷

•VAR πέρναμαι (Il.), aor. περασ(σ)αι (Il., also Aeol. and Ion. inscr.), fut. inf. περάαν (Φ 454), pass. πρᾱθῆναι, Ion. πρηθ-, with fut. -ήσομαι, perf. med. πέπρᾱμαι, -ημαι (IA), fut. πεπράσομαι (Ar., X.); recent Att. innovations are act. πέπρᾱκα and pres. πιπράσκομαι, later -ω (Thphr. [?], Luc., Plu.), -ήσκω (Call.). Further forms: ἔπρησα (Samos VI^{a}; to ἐπρήθην), πέρνησον· πώλησον 'sell!' (H., from the present); πεπερημένος (Φ 58; for πεπρημένος after περάσαι).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, παρα-, συν-, etc.

•DER 1. πρᾶσις, Ion. πρῆσις (διά-, ἀπό, etc.) 'sale' (IA), πράσιμος 'for sale' (Pl., X.). 2. ἀπόπραμα [n.] 'subletting' (Hell. pap.). 3. πρατήρ, Ion. πρη- 'salesman' (IA), -ήριον [n.] 'selling point, market' (Hdt.; Hell.); also πράτωρ, -ορος 'salesman' (Hell. inscr. and pap.; also with προ-, Din. and Is. in Poll.), πρατορεύω [v.] 'to act as a salesman' (Tenos III^{a}). 4. πράτης, -ου 'salesman' (also συμ-, προ-; Att. orators in Poll., pap.); in

late papyri, often in compounds like ἐλαιο-, οἰνο-πρά-της. 5. adj. πρατικός in -ή 'sales tax', -όν 'sale on commission' (pap.).

•ETYM The system περᾰ́σαι, πέπρᾱμαι, πρᾱθῆναι points to a root **prh₂-*, with a root aorist and a nasal present **pr-n(e)-h₂-* (cf. LIV²). The forms πέρνημι, περναμαι must have analogical ε for the original zero grade, which is preserved in πορνάμεν· πωλεῖν 'to sell', πορνάμεναι· πωλούμεναι 'selling' (H.), which are probably Aeolic. There are no certain cognates of **perh₂-* outside Greek, since OIr. *renaid, -ren* 'to sell' may belong to a root **h₂reiH-* 'to count' (Schumacher 2004: 551f.). See ▶πόρνη.

περόνη ⇒πείρω.

πέρπερος [m.] 'dandy, boaster'; as an adj. 'vain, boastful' (Plb., Arr., S. E.). ◁LW Lat.▷

•DER περπερ-ότης [f.] 'boasting' (Chrysost.), -εύομαι [v.] 'to be a windbag, boast' (1 *Ep. Cor.* 13, 4, M. Ant.); also ἐμ- (Arr.); -εία [f.] (Clem. Al.); ῥωπο-περπερ-ήθρα [f.] 'empty boasting' (*Com. Adesp.*).

•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *perperus* 'perverse, wrong-headed', attested since Hellenistic times.

περσέα (-αία, -ία, -είη) [f.] name of an Egyptian tree, 'Cordia myxa', which originated from Persia (Hp., Hell.). ◁GR▷

•DER περσέϊνος 'belonging to the persea tree' (pap.), πέρσ(ε)ιον [n.] 'its fruit' (Thphr.); diminutive -ίδιον (pap.).

•ETYM Named after its Persian origin; suffix like in μηλέα, etc.

περσεύς [m.] name of an unknown fish from the Red Sea (Ael. *NA* 3, 28). ◁?▷

•VAR Also πέρσος 'id.' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

Περσεφόνη [f.] spouse of Hades (Pluto), queen of the underworld; as a daughter of Demeter, identified as Κόρη (Ion. since *h. Cer.* and Hes.) ◁IE **perso-g^{wh}n-t-ih₂* 'threshing▷

•VAR Also Περσε-φόνεια (Il., Od.). Several by-forms are found: Φερσε-φόνα (Simon., Pi., Thess.), -φόνεια (H.), Πηριφόνα (Locr.), Πηρεφόνεια (Lac. acc. to H.); with a different ending: Περσέ-φασσα (A.), Φερσέ-φασσα (S., E.), Φερρέ-φαττα (Pl., Ar., Att. inscr.) etc., περσό-φαττα (Att. inscr.), name of the sanctuary Φερ(ρ)εφάττ-ιον [n.] (D., *AB*).

•DER Plant name Περσεφόνιον, Φερ- (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 100.

•ETYM It was long thought that the original form of the first member was Φερσε-, whence the various other forms would have arisen by dissimilation of aspiration, compositional lengthening, etc. The name was always considered obscure until Wachter *Kratylos* 51 (2006): 139-144: the original form is περσόφαττα, as found in eight attestations, seven of which are on 5th c. BC Attic vases (by seven different painters). Note that the form περσόφαττα was not even mentioned by Frisk. It should be analyzed as containing a first member **perso-*, cognate with Skt. *parṣá-* [m.] 'sheaf of corn' (following a suggestion by Weiss, Wachter l.c. also mentions the possibility that Lat. *porrum* 'leek' and πράσον 'id.' are related, perhaps implying a meaning 'ear of corn' for Περσο- and Skt. *parṣá-*). The second member is derived

from *-$g^{w}n$-t-ih_2 (to *$g^{wh}en$- 'to hit, strike'). Thus, the name refers to a female thresher of corn.

The forms in -φόνεια beside -φόνη (cf. Ιηνελόπεια beside -η) may be folk-etymological; Ιερσε-, etc. too, after πέρθω.

πέρυσι(ν) [adv.] 'last year' (IA). ◁IE *per, *uet- 'year'▷

•VAR Dor. πέρυτι(ς).

•DIAL Myc. *pe-ru-si-nu-wo.*

•DER περυσινός 'from last year' (Att.).

•ETYM PIE adverb of time *per-ut-i, literally 'on the other side of a year', a loc.sg. of a compound of *per and *uet- 'year'. Cognate forms: Arm. *heru*, ON *í fjǫrð*, MHG *vert* 'id.', OIr. *ónn-urid* 'ab anno priore' < *peruti. Without final *-i in Skt. *parút* 'last year'. See ▶ἔτος.

πέσκος [n.] 'skin, rind' (Nic. *Th.* 549); πεσκέων· δερμάτων 'hides' (H.); ἀ-πεσκής 'without a cover' (of τόξα; S. *Fr.* 626; not quite certain). ◁?▷

•ETYM The word rhymes with ▶μέσκος 'skin, fleece'. Perhaps from *πέκ-σκ-ο-, from *pe*k*- 'to comb' (cf. πόκος 'fleece')? Rejected by Frisk.

πεσσός [m.] 'the oval stone in board games', mostly plur. 'gaming piece, board game, checkers', often metaphorically in several mgs. (α 107). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Att. πεττός.

•COMP As a first member in πεσσο-νομέω 'to arrange the gaming pieces', also metaphorically (A., com.).

•DER πεσσάριον [n.] 'pessary' (medic.); πεσσ-ικός, -ττ- 'belonging to board games' (Apion); -εύω (rarely with δια-, μετα-) [v.] 'to play on a board with pieces' (IA), whence -εία, -ευτής, -ευτικός, -ευτήριον (Pl., pap.).

•ETYM Loanword of unknown origin. A Semitic etymology (belonging to Aramaic *pīs(s)ā* 'stone, small table') has been proposed. Fur.: 270 cites Hitt. *piššu* [n.] 'rock, block of stone' (without conclusion). The word may well be Pre-Greek (perhaps *pek^{y}-).

πέσσω [v.] 'to ripen, bake, cook, digest' (Il.). ◁IE *pek^{w}- 'cook'▷

•VAR Att. πέττω, aor. πέψαι (Il.), fut. πέψω (Ar.), pass. perf. πέπεμ-μαι, aor. πεφθῆναι with πεφθήσομαι (Hp., Att.). The pres. πέπτω (Arist.) is an innovation.

•COMP Also with κατα-, περι-, συν-. Nominal: ἀρτο-κόπος (Hdt.), Myc. *a-to-po-qo* /artopok^{w}os/ 'baker', δρυ-πεπ-ής 'ripening on the tree' (com., *AP*).

•DER 1. πέμμα [n.] 'pastry, cake' (IA), whence -άτιον (Ath.); 2. πέψις [f.] 'digestion, cooking, ripening' (Hp., Arist.). 3. πεπτός (E. *Fr.* 467, 4, pap., Plu.), more usually in compounds, e.g. ἄ-, δύσ-πεπτος 'indigested, hard to digest' (Hp., Arist.), whence ἀ-, δυσ-πεψ-ία [f.] (Arist., Hell.); 4. πεπτ-ικός 'fit for digestion' (Arist.), -ήριος 'id.' (Aret.). 5. πέπτρια [f.] 'bakeress' (H.). With *o*-grade: 6. πόπανον [n.] 'pastry' (Att., Hell.), whence -ώδης 'like pastry' (H.), -ευμα [n.] 'id.' -εῖον· *panificium* (gloss.). 7. ποπάς, -άδος [f.] 'id.' (*AP*).

•ETYM Gr. πέσσω is from PIE *pek^{w}-*io/e-*, like Skt. *pácyate* [3sg.med.] 'ripens'. Other cognate forms: thematic root present *pek^{w}-*o/e-* > Skt. *pácati*, Lat. *coquō*, W *pob-*,

OCS *pekǫ*, Lith. *kepù* (with metathesis), Alb. *pjek* 'to cook, bake'. Nominal formations: πέμμα < **pek^{w}-mn*, άρτο-κόπος < **-pok^{w}-o-* with metathesis; πέπτρια presupposes a msc. **pek^{w}-tr-* 'baker'. See ► πέπων.

πετάννυμι, -ύω [v.] 'to spread out, unfold, open' (Att.). ◄IE **peth$_2$-* 'spread out'►

•VAR πίτνημι, -άω (Il.; ἔπιτνον Hes. *Sc.* 291), πετ-άζω (LXX), -άω (Luc.), aor. πετά-σ(σ)αι. Pass. -σθῆναι, perf. med. πέπταμαι (all Il.), πεπέτασμαι (Orac. *apud* Hdt., D. S.), act. πεπέτακα (D. S.), fut. πετ-άσω (E. [lyr.]), -άσσω (Nonn.), -ῶ (Men.).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἐκ-, ἀνα-, κατα-.

•DER 1. πέταλον [n.] 'leaf' (Il.), 'metal or gold plating' (Att. inscr.); also -ηλα [pl.] (Hes. *Sc.*; metri causa); πετάλ-ιον, -ια, -ίς, -ειον, -ῖτις, -ώδης, -όω, -ωσις, -ίζω, -ισμός; hypostasis ἐμπεταλ-ίς· ἔδεσμα διά τυροῦ σκευαζόμενον 'a dish prepared from cheese' (H.). 2. πέτασος [m., f.] 'broad-brimmed hat', also metaphorically (Hell.), whence πετάσ-ιον, -ώδης, -ών, -ῖτις. 3. πέτασμα (also with κατα-, παρα-, ὑπο-, etc.) [n.] 'blanket, curtain, etc.' (IA). 4. ἐκπέτασις [f.] 'spreading out' (Plu.). 5. πετασμός [m.] 'id.' (LXX). 6. πέταχνον [n.] 'drinking bowl' (Alex.), -ακνον (H.). 7. πέτηλος (-λός) 'grown onto' (μόσχος, βοῦς; Ath., H.), "ἀναπεπταμένα τά κέρατα ἔχων", 'having the horns spread out'. 8. ἀναπετ-ής 'spread out', whence -εια [f.] 'spreading out' (medic.). 9. ἐκπέτα-λος 'open, flat' (Mosch., ἀγγεῖον). With unclear semantics: πετήλας· τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ θαμνώδεις φοίνικας 'small and shrubby date-palms'; πετηλίς· ἀκρίς 'top, peak' (H.); πετηλίας καρκίνος (Ael.).

•ETYM The forms πετά-σαι, πίτ-νη-μι, πέ-πτᾰ-μαι point to a root **p(e)th$_2$-*; the present πετά-ννυμι was formed analogically after the aor. πετά-σαι, etc. The old nasal present πίτνημι has a secondary -ι- introduced in earlier zero grade **pt-neh$_2$-*. Cognate verbal forms are found in Lat. *patēre* 'to be open' < **pt-ē-*, with *patulus* 'spread out broadly', and the nasal present Lat. *pandō* 'spread out', Osc. *patensíns* [3pl.ipf.subj.] 'to open' < **patn-* < **pt-n-h$_2$-*. With an *l*-suffix like πέταλον, we find OHG *fedel-gold* [n.] 'leaf-gold'.

πέτευρον [n.] 'hen-roost, acrobat's bar or framework, high platform, public noticeboard' (Ar. *Fr.* 839, inscr. IV^{a}, Hell.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also -αυρον, πέντευρον, see below

•DER πετεύρ-ιον [n.] 'small noticeboard' (Erythrae IV^{a}), -ίζομαι [v.] 'to act as an acrobat' (Phld.), whence -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήρ (Plu., Man.).

•ETYM Technical expression with vacillation between ευ and αυ, and between πετ- and πεντ-. No good IE etymology is available. Thus, it is probably a Pre-Greek word; cf. Fur.: 291, 353.

πέτομαι [v.] 'to fly' (Il.). ◄IE **pet-* 'fall'►

•VAR Aor. πτάσθαι, πτέσθαι (all Il.), with pres. πέταμαι (poet. since Sapph., Arist.), aor. πετασθῆναι (Arist., LXX), ἵπταμαι (late; s.v.); aor. act. πτῆναι, ptc. πτάς, etc. (poet. Hes., also Hell. prose); fut. πτήσομαι (IA), πετήσομαι (Ar.), perf. κατ-έπτηκα (Men.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, εἰσ-, ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπερ-. Compounds: a. -πέτης, Dor. -πέτας [m.], e.g. ὑψι-πέτης, -ας 'flying high' (Hom., Pi.), enlarged -ήεις (Hom.); b. -πετής, e.g. ὑπερπετής 'flying over' (Hell.); c. ἐκπετ-ήσιμος

'ready to fly' (Ar.); d. ἀερσι-πότης and -πότη-τος 'flying high' (Hes., *AP*, Norm.), from ποτάομαι.

•DER 1. ποτή [f.] 'flying, flight' (ε 337, *h. Merc.* 544 [v.l. πτερύγεσσι]); 2. πτῆσις [f.] 'id.' (A., Arist.), whence πτήσιμος (Jul.); πτῆμα [n.] 'id.' (Suid.). 3. Adj. in *-no-*: a. πτηνός, Dor. πτᾱνός 'winged' (Pi., trag., Pl.); b. πετεινός, -ηνός 'id.' (Thgn.; Ιπετήνη Att. ship's name [inscr.]; from πέτομαι); c. πετε-ηνός, -εινός 'id.' (Il.), with diectasis; d. ποτᾱνός 'id.' (Pi., Epich., trag. [lyr.]; -ηνός epic poetry in Pl. *Phdr.* 252b), probably modelled on ποτάομαι. 4. Deverbative: ποτάομαι, -έομαι (also with ἀμφι-, περι-, ἐκ-, etc.) 'to fly, flap' (Il.); πωτάομαι (also with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-) 'id.' (M 287, *h. Ap.* 442, etc.); thence πωτήεις 'flapping' (Nonn.), also πωτήματα [pl.] 'flight' (A. *Eu.* 250; usually corrected to ποτ-).

•ETYM The Greek root aorist πτά-σθαι, ἔ-πτα-το, πτά-μενος, with full grade in πτῆ-ναι, ἔ-πτᾱ-ν, πτή-σομαι, seems to require a root **peth₂-*, whereas most of the cognates in the other IE languages (Lat. *petō* 'to make for, reach', MW *ehedec* 'to fly' < PCl. **-fet-e/o-*, OIr. *én*, W *edn* 'bird' < **fetno-* [m.]; Hitt. *pattai-* / *patti-* 'to run, fly, flee', LÚ*patteiant-* 'fugitive', Skt. *pátati* 'to fly, fall', Av. *auuapasti-* 'falling', *pata-* 'to fly', *haṃ.pata-* 'to fall down', OP *ud-pata-* 'to fall down, become unfaithful') can or should be explained on the basis of **pet-*. Hackstein 2002b: 140-143 argues that the root was originally **pet-* in Greek as well. The pres. πέτα-μαι may be analogical to πτά-σθαι, after πτέσθαι next to πέτομαι. Gr. ποτέομαι and Skt. *patáyati* 'fly, hurry' agree in their formation, but πωτάομαι is independent. See ►πτερόν and ►πτέρυξ.

πέτρᾱ, -η [f.] 'rock, rocky mountain range, cliff, ridge; rock cavern, cave' (Il.), 'boulder, stone' (Hell.). ◁PG▷

•COMP πετρ-ηρεφής 'covered with rocks' (A., E.), πετρο-βόλος 'throwing rocks', whence -ία (X., Plb.); ὑπό-πετρος 'rocky' (Hdt., Thphr.).

•DER πέτρος [m., f.] 'boulder, stone' (Il.). Several adjectives in the meaning 'rocky, stony': πετρ-αῖος (poet. since μ 231), also as an epithet of Poseidon (Pi.), -ήεις (Il.), -ινος (Ion. poet.), -ώδης (IA), -ήρης (S.), -ώεις (Marc. Sid.). Diminutive -ίδιον (Arist.); adverb -ηδόν (Luc.). πετρών, -ῶνος [m.] 'rocky place' (Priene II^a). Denominative πετρόομαι, -όω (also with κατα-, ὑπο-) [v.] 'to be stoned to death, turn / be turned into stone' (E., X., Lyc.), πέτρωμα [n.] 'stoning' (E.), also 'heap of stones' (Paus.). Several plant names: πετρ-ίνη, -αία, -αῖον, -ώνιον, -ίς, ἐπί-πετρον, etc.

•ETYM We find πέτρος 'stone' and its collective, πέτρα. There is no etymology. The suggestion by Meier-Brügger *KZ* 94 (1980): 122ff. that πέτρος derives from **per-tro-* 'Instrument zum Hindurchkommen' is improbable. The word is probably Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 272 etc.

πεύθομαι ⇒πυνθάνομαι.

πεύκη [f.] 'pine', especially 'Pinus Laricio' (Il.), metaphorically 'torch' (trag.). ◁IE **peuḱ-* 'sting'▷

•DER πευκ-ήεις, Dor. -άεις 'made of pine, belonging to the torch, stinging, sharp' (trag. [lyr.], D. P., Opp.); -ινος 'made of pine' (S., E., Plb.); -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'pine forest' (Hdn. Gr.); -ία [f.] 'taste of pitch' (Tz.). πευκάλιμος, epithet of φρένες (Il.),

also of πραπίδες, μήδεα (Orac. *apud* D. L., inscr.); πευκεδανός, epithet of πόλεμος (K 8), of βέλεμνα, ἀσπίς (Orph.), of θάλασσα (Opp.); with oppositional accent, we find πευκέδανον, the name of a bitter umbelliferous plant, 'sulphur weed' (Thphr.).

•ETYM Similar names of pine and fir-trees are found in Baltic, Germanic, and Celtic: OPr. *peuse* [f.] (< PIE **peuḱ-*), Lith. *pušis* (< **puḱ-*), OHG *fiuhta*, MIr. *ochtach* [f.] (< **peuḱ-t-*, **puḱ-t-*). A by-form is found in ► πυγμή. If πεύκη has the same origin as the second member of ἐχε-πευκής, περι-πευκής 'stinging, sharp', it can be derived from an adj. **πευκός 'sharp, stinging'. Gr. ἐχε-πευκής may contain an *s*-stem **πεῦκος [n.] 'stinging, point'. From the same basis, we find the adjectives πευκάλιμος and πευκεδανός, for which a meaning 'sharp, intrusive, stinging, bitter' must be posited. The λ-suffix also occurs in πευκαλέον· ξηρόν 'dry', πευκαλεῖται· ξηραίνεται 'dries up' (H.). For Indo-Iranian cognates, see Morgenstierne *NTS* 13 (1942): 229 and Turner 1966 No. 8407 **pōśi*.

πεφνεῖν ⇒θείνω.

πήγανον [n.] 'rue, Ruta graveolens' (Diocl. *Gr.*, com., Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR φαίκανον· πήγανον 'id.' (H.).

•COMP ἀγριο-πήγανον 'Syrian rue' (H., Aët.), πηγαν-έλαιον 'rue oil' (medic.).

•DER πηγάν-ιον [n.] 'rue' (Thphr., Nic.); adj. -ινος, -ειος (Gal.), -όεις (Nic.) 'belonging to the rue', -ώδης 'rue-like' (Thphr.); -ίτης οἶνος (Gp.), -ῖτις χολή (Sopat.); -ηρά [f.], -ηρόν [n.] 'rue plaster' (medic.); -ίζω [v.] 'to be like a rue' (Dsc., Gal.).

•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word; note the formal variation in φαίκανον (Fur.: 162). The suffix recalls other plant names, such as λάχανον, βάκανον, πλάτανος, and ῥάφανος.

Πήγασος [m.] name of the mythical horse, that Poseidon conceived with Medusa (Hes.). ◁LW Anat.▷

•VAR Dor. Πάγ-.

•DER Πηγάσ-ειος, fem. -ίς 'belonging to Pegasus' (Ar., Mosch., *AP*).

•ETYM It is now agreed upon that Pegasus derives from the first element of *piḫaššašši-*, an epithet of the Hittite and Luwian Storm-God (Starke 1990: 103-6). The adjective *piḫaššašši-* is to be regarded as a Luwian genitival adjective of a stem **piḫašš-*, which is attested in HLuw. *pihas-*. Acc. to Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *piḫa-*, the meaning of this onomastic element in Anatolian is 'strong' vel sim., and not 'lightning'. Based on the latter translation, which has been current for some time, scholars have proposed a formation **b^{h}ēh$_2$-o-* to **b^{h}eh$_2$-* 'shine', but Kloekhorst argues that this unappealing reconstruction (unmotivated lengthened grade) should be abandoned.

πηγή [f.] 'well, hot spring', also plur. 'waters, stream' (Il.). ◁GR?, PG?▷

•VAR Dor. παγά.

•DER Diminutive πηγ-ίον (pap. II^{a}), -ίδιον (Suid.); adj. -αῖος 'belonging to a well' (IA), -ιμαῖος 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*); -άζω (also with ἀνα-, κατα-) [v.] 'to spring up' (Ph., *AP*), παγάσασθαι [aor.inf.] 'to bathe in a well' (Dodona; late.).

•ETYM Since 'wells' are often denominated as being 'cold' (e.g. OCS *studenъcь* : *studenъ*, Lith. *šaltìnis* : *šáltas*, Gr. νίβα [= νίφα]· χιόνα, καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως καὶ κρήνη ἐν Θρᾴκῃ 'snow, also the word for "source" in Thracia' [Phot.]), a derivation from the root of πήγνυμαι 'to get stiff' has been proposed; cf. πηγυλίς 'ice-cold', παγετώδης 'ice-cold', παγετός 'ice'. While theoretically possible, we have no further evidence for this suggestion. Alternatively, we could be dealing with a Pre-Greek word.

πήγνυμι [v.] 'to fix, stick, join, congeal or coagulate' (Il.). ◂IE **peh₂ǵ-* 'coagulate, fix'▸
•VAR Dor. Aeol. πάγ-, also -ύω (X., Arist.), πήσσω, -ττω (Hell.), aor. πῆξαι (ἔπηκτο Λ 378), pass. παγῆναι, πιχθῆ-ναι, fut. πήξω, perf. act. intr. πέπηγα (all Il.), trans. plpf. ἐπεπήχεσαν (D. C.), med. πέπηγμαι (D. H., Arr.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, συν-, κατα-, παρα-. Compounds: πηγεσί-μαλλος 'having dense wool' (Γ 197); -πηξ, e.g. in ἀντί-πηξ, -γος [f.] 'kind of chest' (E.); ναυ-πηγ-ός [m.] 'shipbuilder' (Att., etc.); -πηγ-ής and -παγ-ής, e.g. εὐπηγής, εὐπαγής 'well built' (φ 334, Pl.), περιπηγής 'frozen around' (Nic.); συμπαγής 'put together' (Pl.).
•DER A. From the full grade: 1. πηγός 'solid, dense, strong', originally 'attaching'; in late poetry 'white', also 'black'. 2. πηγάς, -άδος [f.] 'hoar-frost, rime' (Hes.); 3. πηγυλίς [f.] 'frosty, icecold' (ξ 476, A. R.), 'hoar-frost, rime' (*AP* et al.). 3. πῆγμα (διά-, παρά-, σύμ-, πρόσ-, etc.) [n.] 'joint together, stage, scaffold, etc.' (Hp., Hell.; conjecture *apud* A. *Ag.* 1198), -μάτιον (Ph., Procl.); 4. πῆξις (σύμ-, ἔκ-, ἔμ-, etc.) 'fixing, fastening, coagulation' (Hp., Arist.); πήγνυσις 'id.' (Ps.-Thales). 5. πηκτός, Dor. πᾱκ- (κατά-, σύμ-, εὖ-, etc.) 'solid, etc.' (in Att.); πηκτή [f.] 'net, framework' (Ar., Arist.), πακτά [f.] 'fresh cheese' (Theoc.); ἐμπήκτης [m.] 'who posts up' (Arist.); πηκτίς (Dor. Aeol. πακ-), -ίδος [f.] name of a Lydian harp (IA); πηκτικός (ἐκ-) 'coagulating' (Thphr., Dsc.). 6. πηγετός [m.] = παγ- (D. P.).
B. From the zero grade: πάγος, -ετός, -ερός, ►πάγη, ►πάξ, ►πάχνη; also πάγιος 'stout, solid' (Pl., Arist.), παγεύς [m.] 'pedestal' (Hero). Further also πᾰκ-τός in καταπακ-τός, (Hdt.) and πακτό-ω (ἐπι-, ἐμ-) 'to fix' (IA; πακτός for traditional πηκτός in Hom.?).
•ETYM From PIE **peh₂ǵ-* 'to coagulate, become fixed' > πηγ-, zero grade **ph₂ǵ-* > παγ-. Cognate verbal forms in other IE languages: Lat. *pangō, -ere* 'to insert firmly, fix' < **ph₂-n-ǵ-*, Skt. *pajrá-* 'solid, firm' with loss of the laryngeal by Lubotsky's Law (Lubotsky *MSS* 40 (1981): 133-138), *pā́jas-* [n.] 'side, surface?', Khot. *pāysa-* 'surface', Lat. *compāgēs* 'joint' (etc.), *pāgus* 'district', *pāgina* 'column'.

πηδάω [v.] 'to leap, jump; to beat' (of the heart or pulse) (Il.). ◂IE **ped-* 'foot'▸
•VAR Hyperdoric παδ-; aor. πηδῆσαι.
•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-.
•DER (ἀνα-, ἐκ-)πήδ-ημα [n.] 'leap' (trag.), -ησις (ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, etc.) 'jumping, leaping' (IA), -ηθμός [m.] 'pulse beat' (Hp.), -ητής (ἐπ-εισ-) [m.] 'leaper' (Ptol., gloss.), -ητικός (ἐκ-) 'fit for jumping' (Arist.). Backformation τρί-πηδος or -ον "three-jump", 'trot' (Hippiatr.).

•ETYM Deverbative or denominative formation on the basis of a form **pēd-*, which could be the lengthened grade of the root **ped-* 'to tread, fall', whence **ped-* 'foot' and several verbal forms derive, such as Skt. *pād-ya-te* 'falls, treads', OE *fetan* 'to fall'. The Greek verbal stem suggests a denominal formation, thus from a noun **pēd-o-*; see ►πηδόν 'blade of an oar'.

πηδόν [n.] 'blade of an oar' (Od., Hell. epic). ◄IE **ped-* 'foot'►
•DER πηδάλιον [n.] 'rudder, fin-rudder' (Od.), πηδαλι-ώδης 'like a fin-rudder', -ωτός 'equipped with a rudder' (Arist.), -όομαι [v.] 'to be equipped with a rudder' (Simp.).
•ETYM From a preform **pēd-o-* 'sole' or 'footstep'. Often compared with Lith. *pėdà*, dial. also *pėdas*, 'sole of the foot', but these have acute long *ė* from **e* before **d*, according to Winter's Law. Thus, the long vowel in Greek was taken from the root noun **ped-*, **pēd-*. Semantically, the use of 'foot' for 'rudder' can be explained by the flat form and low position of a ship's rudder. The verb πηδάω must have been formed before **pēd-o-* 'sole' or 'footstep' acquired its nautical meaning.

πηδός [m.] name of an unknown tree (Thphr. *HP* 5, 7, 6, *EM* 669, 40). ◄?►
•VAR Also πῆδος.
•DER πήδινος, old v.l. for φήγινος (E 838, acc. to Eust., *EM*, H.); perhaps also πηδήεσσα (v.l. Λ 183 for πῖδ-); πάδος tree name (Thphr. *HP* 4, 1, 3).
•ETYM Etymology unknown. Pliny *HN* 3, 16 mentions *padus* as a Gaulish word for 'pine'.

πηΐσκος [m.] 'offspring, son' (Crete V[a]). ◄?►
•ETYM Unexplained.

πηκτίς ⇒πήγνυμι.

πηλαμύς, -ύδος [f.] '(young) tuna' (S. *Fr.* 503, Phryn. Com., Arist.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also παλαμίς (Cyran.).
•DER -υδεία [f.] 'catching tuna', -υδεῖον [n.] 'site for catching tuna' (Str.).
•ETYM Strömberg 1943: 79ff. (also 128ff.) extensively argues for derivation from πηλός 'mud', after the habitat of the fish. Nevertheless, this is improbable; the word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

πήληξ, -ηκος [f.] 'helmet' (Il.). ◄PG(S)►
•ETYM Like so many other expressions for weapons and armor, it is probably a loanword or a Pre-Greek word; note the suffix -ηξ < -ᾱξ, which often occurs in Pre-Greek words.

πηλίκος [pron.adj.] 'how big?, how old?' (IA). ◄IE **k[w]o-* 'how'►
•ETYM An interrogative adjective **k[w]eh₂-l-i-*, derived from the interrogative pronoun **k[w]o-* 'which'. Compare demonstrative ►τηλίκος (Dor. τᾱλ-) 'this big, this old', and relative ►ἡλίκος 'how great, how old'. An identical formation (without a suffix **-ko-*) is found in Lat. *quālis* 'what kind of', *tālis* 'such' and, with short initial vowel, OCS *kolikъ* 'how much'. The element **k[w]eh₂-* 'to what extent' may continue the PIE nom.acc.pl.ntr. of the pronoun. See ►πόθεν.

πηλός [m.] 'loam, clay, mud, dung, bog' (IA). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Dor. πᾱλός (Sophr., inscr.).
•COMP e.g. πηλο-φορέω [v.] 'to carry clay' (Ar.), ἀκρό-πηλος 'with mud on top' (Plb.).
•DER πήλ-ινος 'made of clay' (D., Arist.), -αῖος 'made of clay; living in mud' (Man., Paus.), -ώδης 'loamy, muddy' (IA), -ώεις 'id.' (Opp.); -όομαι, -όω (rarely with περι-, etc.) [v.] 'to be covered with loam, burden with clay' (late), -ωσις [f.] 'besmearing', -ωμα [n.] 'mud' (Charis.). Denominative προ-πηλακίζω [v.], literally "to tread in the mud in front of oneself" = 'to taunt, insult' (Att.), probably formed directly from πηλός after other verbs in -ακ-ίζω; thence -ισμός [m.] 'dishonor, reproach' (IA), -ισις [f.] 'insulting' (Po.).
•ETYM Without a convincing etymology. Pre-Greek?

πῆλυξ [?] · ῥαγὰς 'fissure in the soil, crevice' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM See ►σπήλαιον.

πῆμα [n.] 'disaster, sorrow, distress' (Il.). ◁IE? **peh₁-*▷
•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἀ-πήμων 'without disaster, undamaged' (Il.); thence πήμων 'baleful' (Orph.). Denominative πημαίνω [v.] 'to do harm, damage' (Il.).
•DER πημον-ή [f.] 'id.' (trag., treaty in Th. 5, 18), πημο-σύνη [f.] 'id.' (A., E., Orph.), ἀπημο-σύνη [f.] 'freedom from worries' (Thgn.) = ἀπήμον-ίη [f.] (Call.).
•ETYM Primary verbal noun in **pē-*, as suggested by the vocalism of πῆμα in Pi. and S. [lyr.]. Within Greek, it could be related to ►ταλαίπωρος 'enduring hardship'; see s.v. In Indo-Iranian, Av. *pāman-* [n.] name of a skin disease, Skt. *pāmán-* [m.] 'kind of skin disease, scratch' could reflect **peh₁-mn-*. Formally, these forms could be connected with the root **peh₁-i-* 'to taunt', as reconstructed by LIV² for Skt. *pīyati* 'to taunt, scold'.

πῆ, πῆν 'to sprinkle'. ⇒πάσσω.

πηνέλοψ, -οπος [m.] 'duck or wild goose with colored neck' (Alc., Ibyc., Ar., Arist.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Aeol., Dor. πᾱν-.
•ETYM Formation like other animal names in -οψ, such as δρύοψ, κέρκοψ, πάρνοψ et al. The bird may have served as the base for the PN ►Πηνελόπεια. The stem is also found in Πηνέλ-εως [m.], name of a Boeotian leader (Il.). Because of its suffix, the word may be Pre-Greek in origin.

πήνη [f.] 'the thread of the woof, wound around the bobbin; woof' (E., *AP*). ◁?▷
•VAR πῆνος· ὕφασμα 'woven robe, web' (H.).
•DER πηνίον, Dor. πᾱν- [n.] 'spool with thread' (Ψ 762, Thphr., *AP*), also metaphorically of a kind of puppet (Ar. *Fr.* 377, Arist.); Πηνῖτις (Πᾱν-), -ίτιδος [f.] "weaveress", epithet of Athena (Ael., *AP*), Πανίτης [m.], PN of a Messenian (Hdt.). πηνίζομαι (Dor. πανί-σδομαι (Theoc.); also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to reel (off)' (com., Arist., Thphr.), whence πήνισμα [n.] 'reeled wool' (Ar. *Ra.* 1315 [parody of A.], *AP*).

•ETYM Has been connected with the verb ►πένομαι 'to spin', but this is impossible because of Doric -ᾱ-. Lat. *pannus* 'piece of cloth, rag', Go. *fana* [m.] 'cloth, towel', OHG *fano* 'cloth', MoHG *Fahne*, OE *fana* 'banner' < **fan-ōn* have a different meaning and short **-a-* (and no PIE etymology).

πηνήκη [f.] 'false hair, wig' (Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 5, 3, etc., Phot., Poll.). ◅GR▻

•DER πηνηκίζειν· ἀπατᾶν 'deceive' (H., Cratin. 319), also with δια- (Cratin. 282); πηνηκισμάτων· φενακισμάτων 'cheatings' (H.).

•ETYM As a wig may seem a bobbin of threads, the word has probably been derived from πήνη on the model of φενάκη 'wig'.

πηνίκα [adv.] 'when?' (Att.). ◅IE **k*^{w}*o-* 'who?'▻

•ETYM Formed from the interrogative pronoun, on the model of ἡνίκα 'when'.

πηός [m.] 'kinsman by alliance' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR Dor. Aeol. πᾱός.

•DER παῶται· συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι. Λάκωνες 'kinsmen, relatives (Lac.)' (H.), perhaps after πατριῶται. Also in the patronym Πολυ-παΐδης (Thgn.). Denominative παόομαι [v.] 'to become a kinsman' in παώθεις (Alc.). Abstract πηοσύνη [f.] (A. R.).

•ETYM Kinship term without certain connection. As PGr. **pāso-* it has often been connected with Lat. *pār*, *paris* 'equal, matching' (perhaps from **parVs*, **pās-i-*), but this is formally not compelling; also, the etymology of the Latin word is disputed. Unrelated to ►πηΐσκος 'son, offspring'.

πήρα [f.] 'leather bag, knapsack' (Od., Ar.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Ion. -η.

•COMP πηρό-δετος (ἱμάς) 'binding a knapsack' or 'bound around the knapsack' (*AP*).

•DER Diminutive πηρίδιον [n.] (Ar., Men.); πηρ-ίς or -ίν, gen. -ῖνος [f.] 'scrotum' (Nic.); enlarged -ίνα [f.] (Gal.) = περί-ναιον.

•ETYM Unexplained; cf. on ►θύλακος and ►σάκκος. Fur.: 152 compares βηρίδες· ὑποδήματα, ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐμβάδες λέγομεν 'sandals, which we call ἐμβάδες' (H.) and περι-βᾰρίδες 'womens shoes'; he further mentions Lat. *perō* 'soldiers shoes' and pre-Romance **barr-* 'small vase'.

πηρία [f.] · Ἀ<σ>πένδιοι τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἀγροῦ 'region of the field (Aspendos)' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM The connection with Go. *fera*, OHG *fiara* [f.] 'side, region' is very doubtful. It is unknown whether the Thess. PN Πηρείη (B 766) belongs here.

πηρός [adj.] 'infirm, invalid', of the eyes 'blind', of the limbs 'lame', etc. (*B* 599, Semon., Hp., Luc.). ◅?▻

•VAR Att. πῆρος acc. to Hdn. Gr. 1, 190.

•COMP πηρο-μελής 'crippled' (*AP*), ἄ-πηρος 'unmaimed' (Hdt.), ἔμ-πηρος 'maimed, crippled' (Hdt., Hp.), ἔμπαρος· ἔμπληκτος 'stunned' (H.); *s*-stem ἀπηρής (A. R.), ἀπαρές· ὑγιές, ἀπήρωτον 'healthy, unimpaired' (H.).

•DER πηρώδης (H. s.v. γυιός), beside νοσώδης. Denominative πηρόομαι, -όω (Dor. πᾱρ-) [v.] 'to be maimed, maim' (IA, Gortyn), whence πήρ-ωσις [f.] 'maiming' (IA),

-ωμα [n.] 'id.', also 'maimed animal' (Arist., Gal.). Backformation πᾶρος [n.] 'infirmity' (Alc.; uncertain).

•ETYM Isolated. Cannot be connected with πῆμα 'sorrow' because of the **ā*, as shown by Doric πᾱ̃ρ-.

πῆχυς [m.] 'forearm, arm', as a measure 'cubit', and other metaphorical mgs. (Il.). ◁IE **bʰeh₂ǵʰ-u-* 'lower arm, elbow'▷

•VAR Dor. Aeol. πᾶχυς, gen. -εος, -εως.

•COMP δί-πηχυς 'two cubits long' (IA).

•DER 1. diminutive πηχίσκος [m.] (Anon. *apud* Suid.); 2. adjectives πηχυ-αῖος (IA, παχυ- Epich.), -ιος (Mimn., A. R.) 'one cubit(on g'; 3. verbs: πηχίζω [v.] 'to measure by the cubit' (LXX), whence πηχ-ισμός [m.] 'measuring by the cubit' (LXX, pap.), -ισμα [n.] 'cubit-measure' (Sm.); πηχύνω (περι-) [v.] 'to embrace' (Hell. and late epic).

•ETYM PIE word for 'arm'. Cognates: Skt. *bāhú-*, Av. *bāzu-* [m.] 'lower arm, arm, foreleg of an animal', ON *bógr*, OHG *buog* [m.] 'the upper part of the foreleg, bow', ToA *poke*, ToB *pokai* [obl.] 'arm'.

πῖαρ [n.] 'fat, tallow' (epic Ion. Il). ◁IE **piH-uer-* 'fat'▷

•DIAL Myc. PN *pi-we-ri-di, -si* (?)

•DER Adjective πίων [m.], πῖον [n.], πίειρα [f.] 'fat, fertile, rich' (Il.), whence πιερός, πιαρός 'id.' (Hp., Arist.); grades of comparison πιό-τατος, -τερος (Hom.), new positive πῖος (Epich., Nic.); πιότης [f.] 'fatness' (Hp., Arist.). Poetic πιήεις 'id.' (*AP*). Denominative verb πιαίνω (aor. πιᾶναι, also with δια-, κατα-, etc.) 'to make fat, fatten, enrich' (Pi., IA), πία-σμα [n.] 'fattening food' (A.), ποτι-πίαμμα [n.] 'remaining fat (on the altar)' (Cyrene), -σμός [m.] 'fattening' (Ael.); -ντήριος (Hp.), -ντικός (Apoll. *Lex.*) 'making fat, fattening'. With λ-suffix: πιαλέος 'fat' (Ion. poet.), rarely πίαλος 'id.' (probably reshaped after σίαλος [Hp.]).

Isolated: πιμελ-ή [f.] 'fat, lard' (IA), whence -ώδης 'fatty' (Hp., Arist.), -ής 'id.' (Aq., Luc.).

•ETYM Gr. πῖαρ derives from PIE **piH-u̯r̥* [n.] 'fat'; the adjective πίων, πίειρα presupposes *πίϝων, *πίϝερ-ι̯α from PIE **piH-uōn*, fem. *-uer-ih₂* 'fat', which corresponds precisely to Skt. *pī́van-*, fem. *pī́varī-* 'fat, swelling'. Further cognate forms: Skt. *pī́vas-*, Av. *pīuuah-* [n.] 'fat'. Gr. πῖμελή presupposes an earlier *m(o)*-stem **piH-m(o)-* 'fat'; a cognate formation may be Av. *paēman-* 'mother's milk' [n.] < **pe/oiH-mn-*.

πίγγαλος [adj.] · σαῦρος ὁ καλούμενος χαλκίς 'horse-mackerel' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Has been compared with Skt. *piṅgalá-* 'reddish, brown-yellow', with a variant *piñjára-*. Also in the gloss πιγγανεόσσιον. Ἀμερίας γλαυκόν (which one corrects into πίγγαν· νεόσσιον)? Uncompelling.

πῖδαξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'eruption, geyser' (epic Ion. poet. Π 825). ◁PG?▷

•COMP πολυ-πῖδαξ 'having many springs' (Il.).

•DER πιδακ-ῖτις [f.] 'belonging to a spring' (Hp. *Ep.*), -όεις 'rich in springs' (E.), -ώδης 'id.' (Plu.). Also πιδήεσσα [f.] 'id.' (of Ἴδη, Λ 183); πιδυλίς (cod. πηδ-)· πέτρα,

ἐξ ἧς ὕδωρ ῥέει 'a rock from which water flows' (H.). Verbs: πιδάω (also with δια-) [v.] 'to spring, spout up' (Arist.); πιδύω (also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-) 'id.' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); πίδυσις [f.] 'trickling through' (Hp.).

•ETYM For πῖδαξ, πιδάω, and -ήεσσα, one might assume a noun *πίδ-ᾱ-, but πιδ-ύω and -υλίς point to an υ-stem *πῖδυς. No certain cognates outside Greek. The word could well be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 259). See ►πίσεα and ►πίτυς.

πιέζω [v.] 'to press, push, beset' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR -έω (v.l. in Hom.; Hp., Herod., Plb.), aor. πιέσαι (IA), pass. πιεσθῆναι (θ 336), also πι-έξαι, -εχθῆναι (Hp., Epidaur.); fut. πιέσω, perf. med. πεπίεσμαι (Arist.; -ίεγμαι Hp.), act. πεπίεκα; also πιάζω (Alcm., Alc., Hell.), πιάσαι (-άξαι Theoc.), πιασθῆναι, πεπίασμαι (Hell.).

•COMP Often with συν-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, etc.

•DER 1. πίε-σις (συν-, ἀπο-; also (-)πία-) [f.] 'pressing, pressure' (Pl., Arist.); 2. -σμός (ἐκ-, συν-, etc.) [m.] 'id.' (Hp., Arist.); 3. -σμα (ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.) [n.] 'pressure, compressed mass' (Hp., Eub.); 4. -στήρ [m.] 'presser, press' (Att. inscr., medic.), whence -στήριος 'pressing', ntr. 'press' (Dsc.); 5. -στρον [n.] 'id.' (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM The variant πιάζω is an innovation after the verbs in -άζω, or by phonetic development from πιέζω. The etymology is uncertain. Skt. *pīḍáyati* 'to squeeze, press, hurt' < **pisd-* is very similar both in phonetics and semantics. If from **pisd-*, πιέζω might be connected with Gr. πτίσσω 'to bruise, to husk', Latin *pīnsō* 'to crush', Skt. *pinásti* 'id.' < PIE **pis-*. However, **pis-d-* would be a unique kind of enlargement in PIE. Also, the passage of alleged *πίζω to πιέζω would remain unexplained. Katz *Glotta* 72 (1994): 151-168 assumes a compound **h₁pi-sd-* with loss of the laryngeal in composition, which is an improbable rule.

πίθηκος [m.] 'monkey' (IA since Archil.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Dor. -ᾶκος (Ar. *Ach.*, Eg. inscr.).

•COMP πιθηκο-φαγέω [v.] 'to eat monkey(-meat)' (Hdt.), χοιρο-πίθηκος [m.] "pig-monkey", 'monkey with a pig's nose' (Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: πιθήκ-ιον [n.] (Plaut.), also as a plant name (Ps.-Apul.), and as a designation of a weight hung between two warships (Ath. Mech.); -ιδεύς [m.] (Ael.). 2. Adjectives: -ώδης 'monkey-like' (Arist., Ael.), -ειος 'belonging to monkeys, monkey-' (Gal.); -όεις, fem. -όεσσα in Πιθηκοῦσσαι νῆσοι [f.pl.] 'the Monkey Islands', off the coast of Campania (Arist., Str.). 3. Verb -ίζω (also with ὑπο-, δια-) 'to play the ape', whence -ισμός [m.] 'monkey-trick' (Ar.). Metaphorically πιθήκη [f.] = ψύλλα, 'flea' (Ael.); consonant stem πίθηξ, -ηκος (Aesop.). Isolated is πίθων, -ωνος [m.] 'small monkey' (Pi., Babr.), probably a hypocoristic.

•ETYM The same suffix can be found e.g. in ἱέρᾱξ, μύρμηξ, thematicized also in ψιττακός. A loanword from an unknown language.

πίθος [m.] 'large, mostly earthen vessel for storing wine, which is open at the top' (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻

•DIAL Myc. *qe-to*.

•COMP πιθ-οίγ-ια [n.] 'ceremony for the opening of vessels' (Plu.).

•DER πιθάκνη (Thasos V^{a}), also in Att. mss., beside φιδάκνη (A., D., Thphr., Moer.), Dor. πισάκνα [f.] (H.); πιθάκνιον [n.] (Eub., Hyp., Luc.), -νίς [f.], φιδ- (Poll.). Other derivations: 1. diminutives πιθ-ίσκος [m.] (Plu. *Cam.* 20), -άριον [n.] (H., *EM*); 2. πιθ-(ε)ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'cellar' (com., inscr. IV--III^{a}); 3. -ίας [m.] 'jar-shaped comet' (Seneca); 4. -ῖτις, -ιδος [f.] 'kind of poppy' (Dsc.); 5. -ώδης 'like a jar' (Arist.).

•ETYM The word displays vowel variation *e : i* (see the Myc. form), and consonant variation in πιθ- vs. φιδ-. Thus, probably Pre-Greek.

πικέριον [n.] = βούτυρον 'butter' (Hp.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Phrygian, according to Erotian. 73,13.

πικρός [adj.] 'sharp, pointed, piercing, bitter, painful' (Il.), on the meaning see Treu 1955: 78 and 273. ◅IE **pi̯k-ro-* 'motley, painted'▻

•COMP πικρό-χολος 'full of bitter gall' (Hp.), γλυκύ-πικρος 'bittersweet' (Sapph.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 32.

•DER 1. Abstract: πικρ-ότης [f.] 'sharpness, bitterness, etc.' (IA), -ία [f.] 'id.' (D., Arist., Hell.). 2. plant name: πικρ-άς, -ίς, -ίδιον (Arist., Thphr., Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 63; -άς [f.] also of the soil 'acid' (pap. III^{a}); -ίδιος as an adjective 'somewhat bitter' (Ath.). 3. Verbs: πικρ-αίνομαι 'to become bitter, embitter', -αίνω 'to make bitter' (IA), also with ἐκ-, ἐν-, παρα-, etc.; thence -ασμός (παρα-) [m.] 'embitterment' (LXX, *Ep. Hebr.*), -αντικῶς [adv.] 'in an embittering way' (S. E.); πικρ-όομαι 'id.' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), almost only with ἐκ-, with -ωσις [f.] (Gal.); back-formation ἔκπικρος 'very bitter' (Arist.), see Strömberg 1946: 73; cf. πικρ-άζομαι, -άζω 'id.' (S. E.), also with ἐκ-. 4. Substantivization πίκρα [f.] name of an antidote (Alex. Trall.). 5. PN Πρίκων [m.] (Eretria, Tanagra) with metathesis as in MoGr. πρικός (Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 304).

•ETYM Formally identical to a Slavic word for 'motley', e.g. CS *pьstrъ* < IE **pi̯kro-*, derived from a verb 'to sting, cut, embroider, paint'; cf. Skt. *piṃśáti* 'to carve, cut to measure, ornament', OCS *pьsati* 'to write'; further cognates under ►ποικίλος. The adjective πικρός has also been compared to Skt. *śilpá-* 'motley' (if metathesized from **piślá-*).

πίλα [f.] 'mortar' (*POxy.* 1890, 12). ◅LW Lat.▻

•DER πιλάριον (medic.) 'eye-salve'.

•ETYM Loanword from Lat. *pila.*

πίλναμαι ⇒πέλας.

πίλος [m.] · κοχλιός 'screw' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

πῖλος [m.] 'felt, felt hat', also 'felt shoe, felt blanket, etc.' (K 265); as a plant name 'touchwood, Polyporus igniarius', also 'lotus bud' (Thphr.). ◅?▻

•COMP κραταί-πιλος 'with hard felt' (A. *Fr.* 430 = 624 M.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: πιλ-ίον (Arist., Hell.), -ίδιον (Att.), -άριον (medic.), -ίσκος (Dsc.). 2. Adj. -ινος 'made of felt' (Andania I^{a}, Poll.) -ωτός 'id.' (Str.), -ώδης 'felt-like, pressed together' (Ptol.). 3. Verbs: πιλέω 'to felt, press together, make dense, knead'

(Att., Hell.), also with prefix, especially συν-; thence πίλ-ησις [f.] 'felting, densening, concentration by cold' (Pl., Thphr.), -ημα [n.] 'felting, felted fabric' (Arist.), -ητικός, -ή (τέχνη) 'belonging to felting, the art of felting' (Pl., Arist.); πιλ-όομαι 'to concentrate, contract (oneself)' (Thphr.), trans. -όω, also with συν-, προσ-; thence -ωσις (v.l. of -ησις, Thphr.).

•ETYM Formally similar words for 'felt' are found in Latin, Germanic and Slavic: Lat. *pilleus, -eum* 'feltcap', OHG *filz* [m.], OE *felt* [m., n.], ORu. *pьlstь* [f.] 'feltcover', Ru. *polst'* [f.] 'cover, carpet, felt'. The Germanic words go back to a PGm. *s*-stem **filtiz-*, **feltaz-*, ostensibly from IE **peld-os-* / **pildos-* [n.]. If, however, the Germanic words were derived from OHG and MoHG *falzen* [v.] 'to connect, put on, in' (etc.), they can be dismissed. The Slavic words are ambiguous because the *-ti-* suffix may have been preceded by either *d* or *s*. Lat. *pilleus*, too, is ambiguous: it can be linked with Gr. πῖλος on the one hand, or with Lat. *pilus* 'hair' on the other. Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 387f. reconstructed **pil-s-*, which could be a zero grade of the IE *s*-stem **pilos-* [n.] beside **pilo-* [m.] 'hair'. This solution seems no longer convincing. More probably, we here have an old culture word of unknown origin (cf. Ernout *BSL* 30 (1930): 115). On the phonetic developments, see Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 243.

πιμελή ⇒πῖαρ.

πίμπλημι, -αμαι [v.] 'to fill, make full', intr. 'to fill oneself, become or be full' (Il.). ◁IE **pleh$_1$-* 'fill'▷

•VAR -άνεται [3sg.] (*I* 679), rare -άω, -έω (Hp.), also πλήθω (intr., late also tr.; Il., epic poet.). Aor. πλῆ-σαι, -σασθαι, -σθῆναι, (Il.), intr. πλῆ-το, -ντο (epic), ἐν-έπλητο, etc. (Att.), fut. πλή-σω, -σομαι (Od.), -σθήσομαι (Att.), perf. med. πέπλησμαι (IA), act. πέπληκα (Att.), intr. πέπληθα (poet.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα- (συν-ανα-, προσ-ανα-, etc.), ἐν- (ἀντ-εν-, παρ-εν-, etc.). As a first member in some governing compounds, e.g. πλησίστιος 'filling the sail' (Od., E.), 'with full sails' (Ph., Plu.).

•DER 1. πλέως, Ion. πλέος, epic πλεῖος (for *πλῆος), ntr. πλέον 'full' (Il.), also with ἐν-, ἀνα-, ἐκ-, etc. from the compounded verbs. For the comparison of ►πλείων with the superl. πλεῖστος. 2. πλή-μη [f.] 'high tide, flood' (Plb., Str.), -σμη [f.] 'id.' (Hes. *Fr.* 217), πλῆμα· πλήρωμα 'complement' (H.), -σμα [n.] 'fertilization' (Arist.); -σμιος 'saturating, causing tedium' (Epicur., medic.); -σμονή [f.] 'fullness, congestion, (over)saturation' (IA), see Chantraine 1933: 207, with -σμονώδης (Hp., Gal.), -σμονικός (Pythag. *Ep.*) '(over)saturating'. On ►πλήμνη, see s.v. 3. πλή-ρης 'full' (IA); as a first member in e.g. πληρο-φορέω [v.] 'to fulfill' (Ctes., LXX, NT, pap.); πληρό-της [f.] 'fullness' (Plu.), πληρ-όω 'to make full, (ful)fill, finish, pay entirely' (IA), often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-, συν-; thence -ωμα (ἀνα-, συν-, etc.) [n.] 'filling, filling piece, full number, full payment, (full) crew' (IA), also -ωσις (ἀνα-, ἐκ- etc.) [f.] 'accomplishment, complement, satisfaction' (IA), -ωτής (ἐκ-, ἀπο-) [m.] 'finisher, executor, collector' (Att.), -ωτικός (ἀνα-, συν-, etc.) 'fulfilling, completing' (Epicur., medic. et al.). 4. πλῆ-θος [n.] 'fullness, mass (of people), herd' (Il., Dor., Arc.); often as a second member, e.g. παμ-πληθής 'consisting of a whole mass, very numerous' (Att.); -θᾱ [f.] 'id.' (Locr., Boeot.); -θῦς, -θύος [f.] 'id.' (Ion., Cret., Locr.,

Hell.); see Ruijgh 1957: 110; thence πλη-θύω [v.] 'to be full, become full, increase', -θύνομαι, -θύνω 'to belong to the mass, agree with it, augment oneself; to make full, augment' (A., Arist., LXX, NT); hence -θυσμός [m.] 'increase' (Procl., Simp.), -θυντικός 'plural' (gramm.); 5. πληθ-ώρα, Ion. -η [f.] 'fullness', medic. 'plethora, full-blooded' (Ion. Hell.); on the secondary barytonesis see Wackernagel and Debrunner *Phil.* 95 (1942): 181f. Thence πληθ-ωριάω [v.] 'to suffer from π.', -ωρικός 'plethoric' (Gal.), -ωρέω 'to be full' (Suid.).

•ETYM The conjugation has parallels in e.g. Indo-Iranian, viz. 3sg. aor. ἔ-πλησ-ε = Skt. *á-prās* < **é-pleh₁-s-t*; 3sg.pres. πίμ-πλη-σι = Av. *ham-pā-frāi-ti* 'fills up' < **pe/i-pleh₁-ti*, but the zero grade 1pl.pres. πίμ-πλα-μεν cannot regularly be from IE **pi-plh₁-mé*, because this should have become **πίμπλημεν (the ablaut was restored). Some nominal suffixations can be dated back to the parent language: e.g. πλή-ρης, Arm. *lir* 'fullness', Lat. *plērus* 'for the greater part', *plēri-que* 'most' < **pleh₁-r-*; πλῆμα < **pleh₁-mn* is echoed by the Lat. gloss *plēminābantur· replēbantur*. The theta as a suffix occurs in a number of presumably young formations, viz. πλῆ-θος, πλή-θ-ω, πέ-πλη-θα (cf. βρῖ-θος : βρί-θω : βέ-βρι-θα), but πληθύς is comparable with Lat. *plēbēs* < **pleh₁-dʰuh₁-* (on the original inflection, see Pok. 799f., Schrijver 1991: 380f., Kortlandt 1997b: 160, and De Vaan 2008: 471). See ▶πολύς.

πίμπρημι [v.] 'to blow (up), fan, kindle, burn up' (Il.). ◀IE **prh₁-* 'blow, blaze'▶

•VAR Inf. -άναι (IA), also -άω (X., Plb.), ipf. ἐν-έπρηθον (*I* 589), fut. πρήσω, aor. πρῆσαι (Il.), pass. aor. πρησθῆναι, perf. πέπρησμαι, -ημαι (IA, also Epid.), perf. act. πέπρηκα (Hp.).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἐν-.

•DER 1. πρηστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'heavy gale, hurricane accompanied by a stroke of lightning' (Hes.), also 'bellows, jugular' and name of a snake that causes inflammation (Arist., Ds.), with πρηστηριάζω [v.] 'to ignite as if by lightning' (Hdn. *Epim.*); ἐμπρηστής [m.] 'incendiary' (Aq., Ptol.). 2. πρῆσις (mostly ἔμ-) [f.] 'blowing up, ignition, inflammation' (IA, Aret.); 3. ἐμπρησμός [m.] 'ignition, inflammation' (Hell.); 4. πρῆσμα [n.], -μονή [f.] 'id.' (Gal., Hippiatr.); παραπρή(σ)ματα [n.pl.] 'inflammations on the legs of horses' (pap.). 5. πρηστικός 'blowing up' (Hp. *apud* Gal.). Also 6. πρηδών, -όνος [f.] 'inflammatory swelling' (Nic., Aret.) and, with a suffix -μ-, πρημαίνω [v.] 'to blow intensively' (Ar. *Nu.* 336 [lyr.], Herod.), πρημονάω 'to snore, roar' vel sim. (Herod.), as if from *πρῆμα, *πρημονή. As a second member in βού-πρηστις, gen. -ιδος or -εως [f.] "inflammatress of cows", name of a poisonous insect (Hp.); for the formation cf. on βού-βρωστις.

•ETYM The verb πίμπρημι, πιμπράναι, πρήσω, πρῆσαι, πρησθῆναι, also πρήθω forms a sub-class with ▶πίμπλημι, πιμπλάναι, etc. It seems to have been heavily influenced by it. Directly related is Hitt. *parai-ⁱ* 'to blow, inflate, ignite' < **prh₁-(o)i-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 631), but it is hardly related to Skt. *próthati* 'to cough, sneeze', *pruṣṇóti* 'to sprinkle', ON *frúsa, frýsa*, etc. (see Pok. 809).

πίναξ, -ακος [m.] 'wooden plank, dish, writing table, public statement, chart, painting' (Il.). ◀PG(S)▶

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πινακο-θήκη [f.] 'collection of paintings' (Str.), λειχο-πίναξ [m.] 'dish-licker' as a jocular name (Batr.).
•DER Diminutives: πινάκ-ιον (Att.), -ίς (com.), -ίδιον (Hp., Arist.), -ίσκος (com.), -ίσκιον (Antiph.). Other derivatives: πινακ-ι-κός 'belonging to the board' (Vett. Val.), -ιαῖος 'as thick (large) as a πίναξ' (Hippiatr.), -ωοις [f.] 'timber-, tablework' (Plu.); -ιδ-ᾱς [m.] 'salesman of πινακίδες' (Hdn. Gr.); -ηδόν 'like planks' (Ar.).
•ETYM The word belongs in technical contexts, like other formations with the productive -ακ- suffix; cf. κάμαξ, κλῖμαξ, στύραξ, πύνδαξ (Chantraine 1933: 377f.). It may perhaps be akin to the Slavic group of CS *рынь*, Ru. *pen'* [m.] 'tree-stump, bobbin, stem' (but doubts in Derksen 2008: 427). The parallel suffixation of Skt. *pināka-* [n.] 'staff, stick' is coincidental in any case. The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix.

πίνη [f.] 'pen shell', late also 'pearl shell, pearl' (com., Arist., pap.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Younger πῖνα (codd. predominantly have -νν- instead of -ν- in pap. and inscr.).
•COMP Few compounds, e.g. πινο-τήρης [m.] "pen shell guard", name of a kind of crayfish (S., Ar., Arist.), ἀληθινό-πινος 'consisting of real pearls' (pap. II^{P}).
•DER πιν-άριον 'pearl shell, pearl' (pap.), -ικόν 'pearl' with -ίκιος 'of pearls' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), -ινος 'belonging to the πίνη' with λίθος = 'pearlshell' (LXX), -ώτιον 'earring made of pearls' (pap. III^{P}); probably haplological for *πιν-[εν]ώτιον.
•ETYM Perhaps from Hebr. *pĕnin* 'coral' (Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 28), but in view of the variation ν/νν, it is more probably Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

πῖνον [n.] 'beer' (Arist.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Probably a foreign word, perhaps adapted to πίνω (cf. Schwyzer: 693[8]).

πίνος [m.] 'dirt', on clothes, on the body, in the hair, 'grease in wool' (trag., Paul. Aeg.), 'coating, patina on bronze or metals', metaph. of archaic style (D. H., Plu.). ◁IE? *$k^{w}in$- 'dirt', PG?▷
•COMP As a second member (with transition to the *s*-stems) in ἀ-πινής 'without dirt, clean' (Ath.), δυσ-, κακο-πινής 'badly begrimed' (S., Ar.); opposite εὐ-πινής 'neat, beautiful, plain' (Cratin., E., Cic.).
•DER πιναρός 'dirty' (com., E., inscr. Delos), πιναρ-ότης [f.] (Eust.), -όομαι in πεπιναρωμένα (Suid.); πιν-ηρός (Hp. *apud* Erot.), -όεις (Hp., A. R., *AP*), -ώδης (Hp., E., Lyc.) with -ωδία· ἀκαθαρσία 'uncleanness' (H.). Denominative: πιν-όομαι in πεπινω-μένος 'dirty, etc.' (Hell. poet., D. H., Cic., Plu.), ἀ<πο>πινοῦται· ἀπορυποῦται 'is cleaned' (H.); -άω in πινῶν (Ar. *Lys.* 279), after ῥυπῶν.
•ETYM The connection with Lat. *caenum* 'mud' is phonetically impossible (De Vaan 2008: 81), but the linkage with Lat. *inquināre* 'to soil' and Latv. *svīnît* 'id.' < *$k^{w}ein$- (?) seems tenable. Further, hardly related to MoSw. dial. *hven* [f.] 'swamp' < **hwainō*- (cf. Nw. dial. *kvein* 'blade of grass').

πινύσκω, πινυτη ⇒πινυτός.

πινυτός [adj.] 'intelligent, sensible, reasonable, prudent, rational' (Od.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Variant forms are πνυτός· ἔμφρων, σώφρων 'sensible, reasonable' (H.), frequent in Cypr. PN, e.g. Πνυτ-αγόρας (O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 7 (1956): 238ff.).

•DER πιν-ύσσω (late epic) from **pinut-y-*, aor. ind. ἐπίνυσσεν (Ξ 249), ptc. pass. πινυσθείς (Pythag.) 'to make deliberate, warn to be clear-minded' with πινυ-τή [f.] 'prudence' (H 289, υ 71 and 228, Hp. *Ep.*), -τότης [f.] (Eust.); further -τάς, -τᾶτος [f.] (Dor., *AP*), after ταχυ-τής etc. (Schwyzer: 529[1]); πίνυσις· σύνεσις 'comprehension', πινυμένην· συνετήν 'wise' (H.). Also ἀπινύσσω 'to be thoughtless, rash' (O 10, ε 342 = ζ 258), = ἀπινυτέω (Apollon. *Lex.*), from *ἀ-πίνυτος; adverb ἀπινύτως (H.), see ►ἀπινύσσων. Also pres. πινύσκω, -ομαι (Simon., A., Call., Orph.); probably from *πινυτ-σκ-.

•ETYM The relation between the relevant forms has not been satisfactorily explained thus far. Older explanations take πινυτός to have somehow developed out of a full grade form **penu-* with ε raised to ι (Schulze 1892: 323[3], Frisk *Eranos* 43 (1945): 215ff., Nehring *Class. Phil.* 42 (1947): 108ff.), so as to connect the word with Lat. *putāre* 'to prune, estimate, consider', OCS *pytati* 'to examine, scrutinize' < **p(e)ut-*. These attempts must be rejected for a number of reasons. First, a form *penu-* is not attested. Secondly, the change ε to ι is not systematic. Third, the alternation πινυτός ~ πνυτός is unexpected. The last variation is, however, known from Pre-Greek, and must reflect the varying rendering of a palatalized cluster, viz. **pʲnut-* (cf. Beekes 2008: 51). The etymon has nothing to do with πνέω.

πίνω [v.] 'to drink' (Il.). ◅IE **peh$_3$-*, *ph$_3$-i-* 'drink'▻

•VAR Pres. Aeol. and Dor. (Call. *Cer.* 95) πώνω, fut. πίομαι, aor. ἔπιον, πιεῖν (all Hom.; later πεῖν), ipv. πῖθι (com. et al.), Aeol. πῶθι, pass. ἐπόθην with fut. ποθήσομαι, perf. act. πέπωκα (all Att.), med. πέπομαι (Od.); also causat. πιπίσκω, fut. πίσω, aor. πῖσαι, πισθῆναι, also with προ-, ἐν-, συν- et al. 'to give to drink, water' (Pi., Hp., Nic.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐκ-, προ-, ὑπο-, ἐν-.

•DER A. From the zero grade πο-, mostly with suffix -τ-: 1. ποτόν [n.] 'beverage' (Il.), ποτός 'drinkable' (trag., Th.), ἔμποτος 'id.' (Aret.), πότος [m.] 'drinking, beverage' (Att., Theoc.); from this πότ-ιμος 'drinkable, fresh, pleasant' (IA), -ικός 'inclined towards drinking, etc.' (Alc. com., Plu.), most with συμ- 'belonging to the bacchanalia, pot companion' (Att.), see on ►συμπότης, -σιον; ποτ-ίζω, Dor. -ίσδω 'to make drink, drench' (IA, Theoc.), also with προ- et al., with -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστές, -ιστήριον, -ιστρίς, -ίστρα.

2. ποτή [f.] 'drink, draught' (pap.), gen. and acc. -ῆτος, -ῆτα (Hom.), metrically enlarged, originally at verse end (Schwyzer: 529), not haplological from *ποτο-τη-τος, -τη-τα (as per Fraenkel *Gnomon* 21 (1949): 40 et al.); πότ-ημα [n.] '(medical) drink' (medic.), on the enlargement see Chantraine 1933: 178. 3. πόσις [f.] (also with προ-, κατα- etc. in different senses) 'drinking, drink, bacchanalia' (Il.), πόσιμος 'drinkable' (pap. IV^{p}, Ps.-Callisth.), cf. πότιμος above; on ►πόμα see s.v. 4. ποτήρ [m.] 'drinking cup' (E.), -ήριον [n.] 'id.' (Aeol., IA); πότης [m.] 'drinker' (only in πότης λύχνος Ar. *Nu.* 57), fem. πότις (com.); did both arise by decomposition from frequent compounds like συμπότης (Pi.), οἰνοπότης, -τις (Anacr., etc.), as supposed

by Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 12? Superl. ποτίστατος (Ar. et al.); to this derivatives like συμπόσ-ιον 'bacchanalia' (Pi., Alc.), καταπότ-ιον 'pill' (medic.), καταπότης 'throat' (H., Suid.); οἰνοποτ-άζω 'to drink wine' (Hom.). 5. καταπό-θρα [f.] '(region of the) throat' (Paul. Aeg.).

B. From the full grade: πῶμα [n.] 'draught, drink, beverage' (Att.), ἔκπω-μα [n.] 'drinking ware' (IA), beside πόμα (also πρό-, κατά-, ἔκ-) [n.] 'id.' (Pi., Ion. Hell.); ἔκπωτις = ἄμπωτις (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*); εὔπωνος ὄμβρος· εὔποτος 'easy to drink' (H.), γακου-πώνης· ἡδυπότης 'fond of drinking' (H.).

C. From the zero grade πῑ-: 1. πίστρα [f.], πῖστρα [n.pl.] 'drinks' (E. *Cyc.*, Str.), also πισμός, πιστήρ, πιστήριον (H.); the -σ- is analogical, like in 2. πιστός 'drinkable, fluid' (A.), after χριστός acc. to Leumann *Mus. Helv.*14 (1957): 79, and in πιστικός 'id.' (*Ev. Marc.*, *Ev. Io.*); 3. Boeot. πιτεύω [v.] 'to drench, give water' with ἀ-πίτευτος 'unwatered' (Thespiae III[a]), from a noun *πῑτ(ο)-; cf. below. Cf. Benveniste *BSL* 51 (1955): 29f. with litt.

•ETYM The *n*-presents πίνω and πώνω have no counterparts in other IE languages, and therefore seem to be innovations within Greek. An archaic formation is the reduplicated present **pi-ph$_3$-eti*; cf. Skt. *pibáti*, Lat. *bibō*, OIr. *ibid* (with the change of initial **b-* to **p-* or medial **-ph$_3$-* to **-b-*), but it is absent from Greek. The root also had an aorist; cf. Skt. 1sg. *á-pā-m* < **h$_1$e-peh$_3$-m*, and especially the imperative πῶ-θι (beside πῑ-θι; see below) = Skt. *pā-hí* < **peh$_3$-d^{h}i*. This aorist may have served as a basis for the *n*-present πώνω. The perf. act. πέ-πω-κα corresponds to Skt. *pa-páu* < **pe-poh$_3$-*, but may also have been created within Greek on the basis of πώνω (if not the other way around).

In addition, the widespread variation between **p(e)h$_3$-* and **p(e)h$_3$i-* presupposes the existence of an old *i*-present **ph$_3$-(e)i-*; cf. OCS *piti* < **ph$_3$-i-*, Skt. *pītá-* 'drunk' < **ph$_3$i-to-*, and further the Skt. causative *pāyáyati* < **poh$_3$i-éie/o-*. In Greek, this secondary root gave rise to the *n*-present πίνω (< **ph$_3$i-n-(i)e/o-*), the factitive ἔ-πῑ-σα 'I gave to drink' (modeled after ἔ-στη-ν : ἔ-στη-σα, ἔ-φῡν : ἔ-φῡ-σα, etc.) and the reduplicated present πι-πί-σκω, while the primary **p(e)h$_3$-* is still found in πώνω and in nominal formations such as ποτός 'drinkable', πῶμα 'drink', etc. (cf. Skt. *pā-tár* 'drinker' < **peh$_3$-ter-*, *pā́-na-* [n.] 'drink' < **peh$_3$-no-*, Lat. *pōculum* 'cup' < **peh$_3$-tlo-*, etc.). It is mostly assumed that Hitt. *pāš-^{i}* / *paš-* 'to swallow' derives from **poh$_3$-s-ei* [3sg.]; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. See ►ἄμπωτις and ►πῖνον.

πιπαλίς [f.] · ἡ παρά τισι χαλκίς, παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ σαῦρα 'a migratory fish, horse-mackerel' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

πιπ(π)ίζω [v.] 'to beep' (Ar. *Av.* 306). ◄ONOM►

•ETYM An onomatopoeia, like MoE *beep*. See ►πιπώ.

πιπράσκομαι, -ω ⇒πέρνημι.

πῑ́πτω [v.] 'to fall (off), drop down, fall out' (Il.). ◄IE **petH-* 'fly, fall'►

•VAR Fut. πεσέομαι (epic Ion.), -οῦμαι (Att.), aor. πετεῖν, ἔπετον (Dor. Aeol.), πεσεῖν, ἔπεσον (IA), perf. ptc. acc. πεπτ-εῶτ', -εῶτας (epic), nom. -ηώς (Ion.), which may also be from πτήσσω, πεπτ-ώς (trag.); ind. πέπτωκα, ptc. -ωκώς (Att.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. εἰσ-, ἐκ-, ἐμ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, μετα-, περι-, προ-, συμ-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. πότ-μος [m.] 'fate, destiny, (fate of) death' (Il., epic poet.). 2. πτῶ-μα [n.], often prefixed (σύμ-, etc.) in different senses, 'fall, which has fallen, corpse' (Att. A., Hell.), whence diminutive -μάτιον (inscr. Asia Minor), -ματίς [f.] 'tumbling cup' (Mosch. *apud* Ath.), -ματικός 'inclined towards falling, etc.' (Hell.), -ματίζω 'to bring down' (Hell.) with -ματισμός [m.] 'falling sickness' (Ptol.). 3. πτῶ-σις (σύμ-, etc.) [f.] 'fall' (Hp., Att.), i.a. 'throw of the die', whence as a grammatical term '(in)flectional form, case form' (Arist.), with -σιμος 'brought down' (A.), perhaps after ἁλώσιμος; -τικός (μετα-, etc.) 'inflectable' (gramm.). 4. πέσ-ος [n.] 'corpse' (E. [lyr.]), -ημα [n.] 'fall, which has fallen down, corpse' (trag.), see Chantraine 1933: 184; -ωμα [n.] 'plunge' (vase inscr.), after πτῶμα. 5. -πετής i.a. in περι-πετής 'falling down, blundering into something', προ-πετής 'ready, rash', with περι-, προ-πέτ-εια [f.] (IA); also in compounds like εὐ-πετής 'turning out well, convenient, fortunate', with -εια [f.] (IA); ►διι-πετής s.v. 6. -πτώς in ἀ-πτώς, -ῶτος 'not falling' (Pi., Pl.); also -πτης in ἄπτης (inscr. Olympia)? On ►ποταμός, see s.v.

•ETYM The derivational history of the different formations poses many problems. The formation πῑ́πτω represents PIE **pi-pt-e/o-* or **pi-pth₁-e/o-* (latter form in LIV² s.v. **peth₁-*), but the origin of the vowel length (noted by Hdn. Gr. 2, 377) is unclear. Influence from ῥῑ́πτω is usually assumed. The Schwebeablaut of πετ- with the roots πτω-, πτη- in πέ-πτω-κα, πτῶ-μα, -σις, πε-πτη-ώς (**peth₁-* : **pte/oh₁-*?) is problematic, but does not have to be old; it may be a secondary innovation within Greek. The same is probably true for the *n*-present πίτ-νω (also -νῶ), which has an anaptyctic ι, like other *n*-presents (e.g. ►πίτνημι). The -σ- in the IA aorist and future is unexpected, and its origin is unclear.

The whole system seems to be a specific Greek development of the old IE verb also found in πέτομαι 'to fly', Skt. *pátati* 'to fly, fall'. Further details s.v. ►πέτομαι; cf. also ►πτήσσω and ►πίτυλος (the latter hardly belongs here).

πῑπώ, -οῦς [f.] 'woodpecker, Picus maior and minor' (Arist. [v.ll. πίπος, πίπρα, etc.], Lyc.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Formation like ἀηδώ, τυτώ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 115f.), probably onomatopoeic like ►πιππίζω, Skt. *píppakā* [f.] name of a bird. A similar bird name πίππος or πῖπος is supposed by Ath. 9, 368f. for ἵππους. The name may well be Pre-Greek; cf. ►πίφιγξ.

πισάκιον [n.] · περιστόμιον 'mouth of a vessel' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM See Schmidt's edition of Hesychius.

πισγίς, -ίδος [f.] ¨ = πύξις 'box, of box-wood' (*IG* 11(2), 287: B 50; 54 [Delos III[a]]). ◅?▻

•ETYM The word is phonetically incompatible with πύξις within the Indo-European framework. The variation of **pisg-* with **puks-* (**pugs-*?) could point to a Pre-Greek substrate word.

πίσεα [n.pl.] 'humid prairies' (Il.). ◅?▻

•DER πισεύς 'inhabitant of low terrains' (Theocr. 25, 201).

•ETYM Has been compared with Steph. Byz. Πῖσα· πόλις καὶ κρήνη τῆς Ὀλυμπίας. Chadwick *Minos* 9 (1968): 64 reconstructs *Πισϝα on the basis of Mycenaean facts.

πίσος [m.] 'pea, Pisum arvense' (com., Thphr.). ◅LW?▻

•VAR Also -ον [n.].

•DER πίσινος 'made out of peas' (Ar.).

•ETYM LW from an unknown source. Lat. *pisum* is identical, probably as a loan from Greek (cf. WH s.v.).

πῖσος [n.] 'meadows, pastures' (Υ 9 = ζ 124, Call. *Fr.* anon. 57, A. R. 1, 1266). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Only plur. ►πίσεα.

•ETYM No certain etymology. Traditionally analyzed as *πῖδ-σος, related to ►πῖδαξ, ►πιδύω, etc.; this is rejected by Fur.: 260[48] and 254[27], who takes the alternation δ/σ to point to Pre-Greek origin.

πίσσα [f.] 'pitch' (Il.). ◅IE? **pik-* 'pitch, resin'▻

•VAR Att. πίττα.

•COMP E.g. πισσο-, πιττο-κοπέω 'to besmear, depilate with pitch' (Att. inscr., com., Thphr.), κηρό-πισσος [f.] 'mix of wax and pitch' (Hp.).

•DER 1. Diminutive πισσάριον [n.] (medic.); 2. Several adj. (Att. forms are not separately indicated): πισσ-ηρός (Hp.), -ήρης (A.), -ινος (Att.), -ήεις (Nic.) 'pitchy'; -ώδης 'pitch-like' (Arist., Thphr.); -ίτης (οἶνος) 'tasting like pitch' (Str.); 3. Verbs πισσ-όω, πιττ-όω, -όομαι 'to besmear, depilate (oneself) with pitch' (since IV[a]), whence -ωσις, -ωτής, -ωτός (Hell.); also -ίζω [v.] 'to taste like pitch' (sch.); *-άω in πίσσᾱσις [f.] 'a pitching over' (Epid. IV[a]).

•ETYM Old designation of pitch and resin, an inherited word also retained in Lat. and in Slav. The oldest form is Lat. *pix*, *pic-is* [f.] < IE **pik-*; thence, Greek derived πίσσα with a suffix ⟨α⟩, like in νῆσσα, μυῖα, etc. Slavic shows a suffix *-l-*, e.g. CS *pьkъlъ*, OCS *pьcьlъ* [m.]. As a loan, the word has spread further: from Lat. *pix* to Germanic, e.g. OHG *peh*, from Gm. to Lith. *pikis*, Ru. *pek*, etc. (Pok. 794). Another option is to connect ►πίτυς.

πιστάκη [f.] 'pistachio tree' (Alciphr.). ◅LW Iran.▻

•DER πιστάκιον (also βιστ-, ψιττ-, φιττ-) [n.] 'pistachio' (Nic., Posidon., Dsc.).

•ETYM Foreign word of Oriental origin; cf. MoP *pista* 'pistachio (nut)'. On the suffix -(α)κ-, see Chantraine 1933: 376.

πίστις, πιστός ⇒πειθομαι.

πῑ́συγγος [m.] 'shoemaker' (Sapph., Alex. Aet., Herod., com. *apud* Poll.). ◅PG(S)▻

•VAR Also -σσ-. See below on πεσσ-/ττ-.

•DER -ύγγιον [n.] 'shoemaking' (com. *apud* Poll., Hdn. Gr.). Besides πέσσυμπτον· σκυτεῖον 'shoemaker's workshop' and πεσσύπτη· σκυτεύ<τ>ρια 'female shoemaker' (H.). Cf. πεττύκια [n. pl.] 'small pieces of leather' (Moer.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 357), as revealed by the suffix -υγγ-.

πίσυνος ⇒πείθομαι.

πίσυρες ⇒τέσσαρες.

πιτεύω 'to drench, give water'. ⇒πίνω.

πιττάκιον [n.] 'writing table, leaflet, note, letter, label, etc.', also 'list of members, society' (Dinol., Plb., Hell., pap. and inscr.). ◁LW Thrac.?▷
•COMP πιττακι-άρχης [m.] 'chairman of the society'.
•DER Diminutive -ίδιον [n.] and -ίζω 'to label' (pap.).
•ETYM Origin unknown; Friedmann 1937: 51ff. assumes that the word came from Thracia via Lesbos (cf. Πίττακος). Both πίσσα (Bq) and πεττύκια (s.v.) are unrelated. Borrowed as Lat. *pittacium.*

πίτυλος [m.] 'stroke of an oar', metaph. 'rhythmical, heavy beat, attack, etc.' (trag.). ◁?▷
•DER πιτυλεύω [v.] 'to make a stroke with an oar', also metaph. (Ar. *V.* 678, *Com. Adesp.* 3 D.), -ίζω 'id.' (Gal.).
•ETYM No etymology. The connection with πίπτω, πέτομαι (favored by DELG) does not convince. Cf. on ►πίτῦρα.

πίτῦρα [n.pl.] 'husks of corn, bran', also metaph. = 'bran-like rash, sediment' (Hp., D., Thphr.). ◁PG? (S, V)▷
•VAR Rarely -ον [sg.].
•DER πιτῦρ-ίς (also -ις) [f.] 'bran-colored olive' (Call.), -ίας [m.] 'bread baked of bran' (Gal., Poll.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) 'id.' (Philem. gloss. *apud* Ath., Gal.), -ώδης 'bran-like' (Hp., Thphr.), -όομαι [v.] 'to suffer from pituriasis' (Hp.), -ίζω [v.] 'to have bran on oneself' (pap.), with -ισμα [n.] 'scab' (Hdn. Gr.); -ίασις [f.] 'bran, scab' (medic.), from *-ιάω, cf. ψωρίασις etc. On the PN Πιτυρεύς see Boßhardt 1942: 119.
•ETYM Formation like λέπῦρον, but without a certain explanation. Dissimilation from *πύτῦρον has been assumed (cf. Schwyzer: 258, Specht *KZ* 61 (1934): 277 ff.), with a root etymology connecting Lat. *putus* 'clean', *putāre* 'to purify, etc.', Skt. *pávate* 'to purify', of grain and other things, *pávana-* [n.] 'winnow, sieve'; this is highly unlikely. In favor of connection with πίτυλος, Thumb *KZ* 36 (1900): 180 adduced semantic parallels. Note the synonymous glosses πήτεα· πίτυρα, πητῖται· πιτύρι<ν>οι ἄρτοι (H.), which are connected with πῆν, ►πάσσω. Because of its -ι-, πίτυρα cannot be combined with these, unless we assume substrate origin. The same is suggested by the suffix -ῦρ- (Fur.: 262). Cf. ►πτύον.

πίτυς, -υος [f.] 'pine, fir, spruce' (Hom., Hdt., Thphr.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Epic dat.pl. -υσσιν.
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πιτυο-κάμπη [f.] 'pine caterpillar' (Dsc.), χαμαί-πιτυς [f.] plant name (Nic., Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 61f., 109.
•DER Diminutive πιτύ-διον [n.] (Plin., Theognost.), πιτυ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'pine seed' (Dsc.), -ινος 'made of pinewood' (Hp. Thphr.), -ώδης 'rich in pines' (Alcm., Str.); -ουσα (v.l. -οῦσσα) [f.] 'kind of milkweed, Euphorbia' (Dsc.), on the formation see Strömberg 1940: 43; -οῦσσαι [f.pl.] name of a group of islands on the Spanish coast;

-οῦς, -οῦντος [m.] name of a town on the Black Sea (Str.), -εια [f.] town in Mysia (B 829), -ασσος [f.] town in Pisidia (Str.); cf. von Blumenthal *ZONF* 13 (1937): 155 and 158.

•ETYM πίτυς resembles Lat. *pīnus* [f.] 'fir, pine' and Alb. *pishë* 'fir, pine', both with an unclear basis and, on the other hand, Skt. *pī́tudāru-*, *pūtúdru-* [m.] tree name (extensive treatment in Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 137f.). Benveniste *BSL* 51 (1955): 29ff. argued against the procedure of collecting all kinds of phonetically similar forms that should be kept separate semantically (e.g. ►πίων, ►πίνω, ►πίτυς, etc.). Fur.: 260 compares the toponyms Πισύη = Πιτύη (St. Byz.) and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek; not very certain.

πιφαύσκω ⇒φάος.

πίφιγξ [?] name of an unknown bird (Arist., Ant. Lib., *EM*), acc. to H. = κορυδαλλός 'lark'; also πιφαλλίς (after κορυ-δαλλίς?) (H.). ◅PG(S,V)▻

•VAR Also -φιξ, -φηξ.

•ETYM Probably an onomatopoeia, and as such comparable to ►πιπ(π)ίζω, ►πιπώ; the suffixation is reminiscent of instances such as σάλπιγξ, πέρδιξ, etc., and the morphological variation between -ιξ and -ιγξ strongly points to Pre-Greek origin. For further details, cf. Chantraine 1933: 397ff., 382 and Thompson 1895 s.v. ►πιφαλλίς.

πίφρημι [v.] 'to let in, bring in, out, or through', intr. 'to intrude, come in, etc.' (com., E., also Th., D., Arist., Plb.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Only inf. ἐσ-πιφράναι (Arist.), beside -φρέω in εἰσ-έφρουν (D.), -εφρούμην (E.). Otherwise only future and aorist forms, always with prefix, especially εἰσ- (ἐπ-εισ-, etc.) and ἐκ-, but also δια- and άπο-: εἰσ-, ἐκ-, δια-φρήσω; άπο-, εἰσ-, ἐξ-έφρησα, ἐκ-φρησθῆναι; also (ἐπ-)εισ-, ἐξ-έφρηκα with subj. ἐπ-εσ-φρῶ, ptc. ἐπ-εισ-φρείς, inf. εἰσ-φρῆναι (for -φρεῖναι? H.), ipv. ἔκ-φρες (Ar. *V.* 162 with Buttmann; codd. ἔκφερε); to this ipf. ἐξ-εφρίομεν (Ar. *V.* 125), for -εφρίεμεν?

•ETYM The verb primarily occurs in the future and aorist, presentic formations being scant and secondary. Thus, εἰσ-έφρουν, -εφρούμην is modeled after the type ἐφίλουν, the hapax ἐσ-πιφράναι after ἱστάναι, πι(μ)πλάναι, etc. This infinitive, then, can hardly be based on a conjectured 1pl. *πί-φρα-μεν corresponding to Skt. *bibhṛmás* (pace e.g. Pok. 128). Most probably, the verb is to be analyzed as from *προ-ἵημι, the aspiration being taken on by the initial π after the loss of ο (cf. on ►φροῦρος). This process probably took place in the aorist forms: -φρήσω, -έ-φρηκα continuing -πρ(ο)-ἥσω, -πρ(ο)-ἧκα. Hence, the reduplicated present developed.

πίων •VAR Fem. πίειρα. ⇒πῖαρ.

πλάγγος [m.] name of a kind of eagle (Arist.; v.l. πλάνος), *plancus* (Plin.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Frisk assumes derivation from πλάζομαι 'to wander about', which is not evident. The word may well be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 122).

πλαγγών [f.] 'wax figure, wax doll' (Call. *Cer.* 91). ◅?▻

•DER πλαγγόνιον [n.] 'kind of ointment' (Polem. Hist. *apud* Ath. 15, 690e, Sosib., Poll.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. According to Polem., πλαγγόνιον was named after the discoverer Πλαγγών; Frisk wonders whether the noun πλαγγών has the same origin, but on the whole, the semantic gap between 'wax figure' and 'salve' is hardly big enough to justify etymological separation of the two words.

πλάγιος [adj.] 'oblique, athwart, sloping; crooked', τὰ πλάγια 'the sides, flanks' (Pi., IA). The sense 'horizontal', misleadingly given as the first mg. by Frisk, must derive from 'transverse'. ◁PG?▷

•COMP E.g. πλαγιό-καυλος 'with side stalks' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 108f., παρα-πλάγιος 'sideways, oblique' (Thphr.).

•DER πλαγι-άζω [v.] 'to turn amiss, sideward; to lead astray' (LXX, Ph., Plu.) with -ασμός [m.] 'lateral direction, aberrance' (Epicur.); -όω 'id.' (X.), with -ωσις (H.) as an explanation of λόξωσις; further also πλάγος [n.] 'side' (*Tab. Heracl.*).

•ETYM Ostensibly from QIE **plg-iHo-*, but the non-laryngeal root of this reconstruction is incompatible with supposed cognates like ►πέλαγος 'sea' < **pelh₂g-o-* (should this word be related). In view of Gm. correspondences such as OHG *flah* 'flat', OS *flaka* [f.] 'sole of the foot' (further cf. ON *flóki* [m]., OE *flōc* [n.] 'flounder'), presupposing **plog-* or **plag-*, it may be proposed to reconstruct πλάγιος as **plag-*. Since PIE did not have a phoneme **a*, the word may be from a European substrate. The variant ►πλάξ, -ακός [f.], too, can be understood from this perspective. However, unlike for ►πλάξ, the semantic side of this connection is not evident.

As Van Beek suggests (p.c.), a semantically better connection would be that with ►πλάζω 'to lead astray' and perhaps ►ἀμπλακίσκω 'id.', in which case the group may be from Pre-Greek **(a)^{m}pla^{n}k-*. Cf. on ►πλήσσω and ►πλάζω.

πλαδαρός [adj.] 'damp, watery, spongy, soft, flaccid, tasteless' (Hp., A. R., Dsc.). ◁PG?▷

•DER πλαδαρ-ότης [f.] 'flaccidity' (Epicur.), -όομαι [v.] 'to become soft' (Aq.), -ωσις [f.] (medic.), -ωμα [n.] (Suid.). Further πλαδάω [v.] 'to be watery, soft' (Hp., Arist., Ph.) with -ησις [f.] (Sor.); also -ωσις [f.] (Aët.), as if from *-όω; πλάδος [m.] 'dampness, sponginess' with -ώδης (Hp.), -όεις (sch.); πλάδη [f.] 'id.' (Emp.), perhaps a back-formation from πλαδάω.

•ETYM Unclear word, found especially in medical literature; an apparent derivational pattern emerges from πλαδ-αρός : -άω : -ος and the semantically close rhyming words κλαδ-αρός : -άω : -ος, μαδ-αρός : -άω : -ος; also ῥυπ-αρός : -άω : -ος (see Chantraine 1933: 227). Clearly, several words that were originally more dissimilar influenced each other formally, semantically, or both. As a result, it is risky to reconstruct the original form of πλαδ-αρός. Lith. *peldėti* 'to swim' (cf. Fraenkel 1955: 565) < IE **peld-* comes into consideration, but hardly Lith. *pìlti* 'to pour' < **plh₁-*, ►πλέω, or even ►πολύς. Alternatively, we may consider a Pre-Greek origin for the word.

πλαδδιάω [v.] 'to babble' vel sim. (Lacon.); cf. πλαδ<δ>ιῆ· ματαΐζει, σοβαρεύεται 'to speak folly, act pompous' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Only inf. πλαδδιῆν and ipv. πλαδδίη (Ar. *Lys.* 171 and 990).
•ETYM Perhaps modeled after verbs in -ιάω designating diseases (Schwyzer: 732), but at any rate onomatopoeic; cf. MLG *pladderen* 'to babble'.

πλάζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to make devious, repel, dissuade from the right path, bewilder', med.pass. 'to become devious, go astray, wander about' (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Aor. πλάγξαι, pass. πλαγχθῆναι, fut. πλάγξομαι.
•COMP Also with παρα-, άπο-, etc.
•DER πλαγκτός 'devious, mad, bewildered' (φ 363, epic poet.), Πλαγκταί [f.pl.] (scil. πέτραι) (μ 61, etc.), meaning not quite clear; πλαγκτο-σύνη [f.] 'wandering about' (ο 343, Nonn.); πλαγκ-τύς, -ύος [f.] 'id.' (Call.); -τήρ [m.] epithet of Dionysus (*AP*), 'confuser' or 'wanderer'?, -τειρα ἀτραπιτός 'zodiac' (*Hymn. Is.*). Appurtenance of ►πλάγγος is uncertain.
•ETYM Usually connected as **plang-ie/o-* with Lat. *plangō* 'to hit', Go. *faiflokun* 'ἐκόπτοντο' (cf. Pok. 832-833) < IE **pleh₂g-*. The shortness of the α is unexpected, however, as **plh₂g-* should have given **πληγ-; in principle, it is conceivable that it spread from forms with a nasal infix by Osthoff's law, i.e. *πλᾰγγ- > *πλᾰγγ-. Frisk points at the formal agreement between πλάγξαι, πλαγκτός, and Lat. *plānxi*, *plānctus*.
However, the semantics of the Latin verb are different, 'to beat (the breast)' > 'to bewail', and it is probably rather related to ►πλήσσω. It is not evident at all that the meaning 'to drive off course' derives from 'to beat'; rather, πλήσσω and πλάζω influenced each other both semantically and formally. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests that πλάζω is related to ἀμπλακίσκω as a Pre-Greek word **(a)ᵐplaⁿk-*, to which πλάγιος may perhaps also be connected.

πλάθανον [n.] 'cake mold or form' (Theoc., Nic.). ◁PG▷
•COMP Synthetic compounds like κορο-πλάθος [m.] 'one who forms feminine figures, doll modeller' (Pl., Isoc.).
•DER πλαθανίτας ἄμυλος 'cake baked in a mold' (Philox. 3, 17; not quite certain); πλαθά [f.] 'image, εἰκών' (Dor. in Plu.).
•ETYM See ►πλάσσω.

πλᾰ́θω 'to approach' (Dor.).
•ETYM See ►πέλας.

πλαίσιον [n.] 'long quadrangle, rectangle, rectangular frame' (Att.). ◁LW Lyd.▷
•DER πλαισιόομαι [v.] 'to be put into a πλαίσιον' (Delos).
•ETYM No relation with the synonymous πλιν-θίον (pace Frisk), but a direct loan from Lyd. *bλaso* /plʸasʸo/ 'socle'. This word is related to Hitt. *palzaḫ(ḫ)a-*, *palzašḫa-* 'pedestal, a flat base for statues', which Kloekhorst 2008: 623 reconstructs as **plth₂-sh₂o-* (cf. Gr. πλατύς). Fur.: 260 also appropriately adduces πλάτας 'basis of a tomb' (inscr. Patara), which is very likely to be of Anatolian origin.

πλανάομαι, -άω [v.] 'to go astray, wander, go about, sway'; 'to lead astray, lead around, deceive' (Ψ 321). ◁?▷
•VAR Fut. πλανήσομαι, -ηθήσομαι, aor. -ηθῆναι, perf. πεπλάνημαι.

•COMP Also with περι-, ἀπο-, etc.

•DER 1. πλάν-ημα [n.] 'straying, going astray' (A., S.), -ησις [f.] 'leading astray, suggesting' (Th.), ἀπο- 'wandering' (Pl., LXX); a very common back-formation is 2. πλάνη [f.] 'extravagating, (pointless) wandering about, odyssey, mistake' (IA); 3. πλάνης, -ητος [m.] 'who wanders around, wanderer', also 'wandering star, planet' (Scherer 1953: 4of.), medic. 'unstable temperature', [adj.] 'wandering' (IA); thence enlarged πλαν-ήτης, Dor. -άτας [m.] 'id.' (trag., etc.), -ῆτις [f.] (Lyc.) with -ητικός 'infiltrating, misleading' (Str., sch.), -ητεύω [v.] 'to wander about' (*AB*).

From πλανάω probably also the back-formation 4. πλάνος [m.] = πλάνη, also 'tramp, vagabond, deceiver', as an adjective 'errant, misleading' (trag., Pl.), with πλαν-ώδης 'inconstant, irregular, sliding away' (medic.), -ιος 'wandering about' (*AP*); also ἀπόπλαν-ος, -ίας; περιπλάν-ιος, -ίη (*AP* et al.).

5. Opaque formation πλα-νύττω 'to wander about' (Ar. *Av.* 3); 6. As a second member very often -πλανής and -πλανος, -πλάνος, e.g. ἀ-πλανής (ἀστήρ) 'fixed star' (Pl., Arist.), ἁλί-πλανος 'wandering the sea' (Opp.), λαο-πλάνος 'leading the people astray' (J.).

•ETYM Uncertain etymology. Perhaps a thematization of a nasal present **pl-néh₂-ti*, **pl-nh₂-énti* > **πλανᾶσι, **πλανανσι, corresponding to the IE root **pleh₂-* 'broad, flat' (cf. Lat. *plānus*), but the semantics are highly problematic. Borrowed as Lat. *planus* [m.] 'tramp', *planētae* [f.pl.] 'planets, etc.', *implanō*, *-āre* 'to seduce' (= πλανάω). The meaning strongly recalls ►πλάζω, but it is hard to think of a formal connection.

πλάξ, -ακός [f.] 'plane, plain, surface of a sea, a mountain' (Pi., trag.), 'flat stone, board, table' (Hell.). ◅?▻

•COMP As a second member probably in ►δίπλαξ (see s.v. and Fraenkel 1910: 37[4]), and τρί-πλαξ.

•DER 1. Diminutive πλακ-ίον [n.] (Troezen IV[a]), -ίς· κλινίδιον 'small couch' (H.). 2. -άς [f.] 'floor of a wine cellar' (pap. II[p]). 3. -ίτας ἄρτος 'flat cake' (Sophr.), -ῖτις [f.] 'kind of calamine or alum' (Gal.). 4. Adjective -ερός 'flat' (Theoc.), -όεις 'id.' (D. P.), -ινος 'made of marble slabs' (inscr.), -ώδης 'overdrawn with panes, a crust' (Arist.). 5. πλακ-οῦς, -οῦντος (from -όεις) [m.] '(flat) cake' (com., etc.), with -ούντ-ιον, -ικός. -ινος, -ᾶς, etc. 6. πλακ-όω [v.] 'to cover with slabs of marble' (Syria), with -ωσις [f.] (Asia Minor), -ωτή [f.] 'kind of calamine' (Dsc.). 7. TN: Ἰλάκος [m.] part of Mount Ida (Il.), with ὑποπλάκ-ιος (*Z* 397), -ος (Str.); Ἰλακίη [f.] name of a Pelasgian colony on the Propontis (Hdt.), with πλακιανόν [n.] a kind of eyesalve (Aët.).

•ETYM Apparently from a root noun **plk-s*; cf. (with different vocalism) Latv. *plakt* 'to become flat', *plaka* [f.] 'low lying place, plain', ON *flaga* [f.] 'thin layer, flatness' < **plok-eh₂-*; possibly directly related to a Germanic root noun with lengthened grade: ON *fló*, pl. *flœr* [f.] 'layer, stratum'< **plōk-s*, **plōk-es*; perhaps also OHG *fluoh*, MoHG *Flüche*, Swi. *Fluh* [f.] 'rockwall'. From πλακοῦς, -οῦντος came Lat. *placenta* 'a kind of flat cake' (phonetic details unclear). Beside **plk-*, we also find **plg-* in ►πλάγιος, **pld[h]-* in ►πλάσσω, and **plh₂-* in ►παλάμη. It is uncertain whether any of these is related. The connection with ►πέλαγος is doubtful.

-πλάσιος •VAR in δι-, τρι-, πολλα-πλάσιος etc., late Att. Hell. -πλασίων. ⇒διπλάσιος.

πλάσσω [v.] 'to knead, form, mold, shape (a soft mass); to think up, imagine, pretend' (Hes.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Att. -ττω, fut. πλάσω, aor. πλάσ(σ)αι (Hes.), pass. πλασθῆναι, perf. πέπλασμαι (IA), act. πέπλακα (Hell.).

•COMP Very often with prefix in different senses, e.g. κατα-πλάσσω 'to spread, besmear', ἐμ-πλάσσω 'to smear, stop up' (cf. below).

•DER Action nouns: 1. πλάσμα [n.] 'forming, formation, fiction' (IA) with -ματίας [m.] 'fictional', -ματώδης 'id.' (Arist.), -ματικός 'id.' (S. E.); ἔμ-, ἐπί-, κατά-πλασμα [n.] 'plaster' (medic.). 2. πλάσις (ἀνά-, κατά-, etc.) [f.] 'forming, formation, figuration' (Hp., Arist.). 3. ἀνα-πλασμός [m.] 'figuration' (Plu.), μετα-πλασ-μός [m.] 'transformation' (gramm.), etc. 4. κατα-πλαστύς [f.] 'besmearing' (Hdt. 4, 175).

Agent and instrument nouns: 5. πλάστης [m.] 'former, molder, maker' (Pl.), often in synthetic compounds, e.g. κηρο-πλάστης [m.] 'modeller in wax' (Pl.), with -έω (Hp.), etc.; πλάσ-τις (Ael.), -τειρα (Orph., *APl.*), -τρια (*Theol.Ar.*). 6. πλάστρον [n.] 'earring' (Att. inscr., etc.), ἔμπλασ-τρον [n.], -τρος [f.] 'ointment' or 'plaster' (Dsc., Gal., pap.).

Adjectives: 7. πλαστός 'formed, shaped, thought up' (Hes.), ἔμπλασ-τον [n.], -τος [f.] 'ointment, plaster' (Hp.); πλαστή [f.] 'clay wall' (pap.) with περι-, συμ-πλαστεύω [v.] 'to surround, construct with π.', πλαστευτής [m.] 'builder of a π.' (pap.). 8. πλαστικός (προσ-, ἐν-, ἀνα-) 'suitable for forming, plastic' (Pl.).

Directly from the verbal root 9. πλάθ-ανον [n.] 'cake mold or form' (Theoc., Nic.), πλάθανίτας ἄμυλος 'cake baked in a mold' (Philox. 3, 17; not quite certain); πλαθά [f.] 'image, εἰκών' (Dor. in Plu.); synthetic compounds like κορο-πλάθος [m.] 'one who forms feminine figures, doll modeller' (Pl., Isoc.).

•ETYM From *πλαθ-ι̯ω < QIE *pld^h-*ie/o*-. The stem *pld^h- cannot be Indo-European, however, because roots with both plain stops and voiced aspirates were not allowed. It has been considered an inner-Greek innovation, comparable to formations such as πλή-θω, βρί-θω, etc. (Schwyzer: 703). However, since the verb shows no traces of a laryngeal, it cannot be (directly) related to the group of *$pelh_2$- 'broad', e.g. παλάμη, OHG *folma* 'palm of the hand' < *$pélh_2$-*m*, *plh_2-*m*-*ós*, *plh_2-*ém*-*m*, Lat. *plānus* 'flat' < *plh_2-*no*-, etc. (pace e.g. Pok. 805ff.). Perhaps, however, this root became conflated with that of Gr. πλατύς, Skt. *pṛthú*- 'flat' < *$plth_2$-*u*-. From ἔμπλαστρον was borrowed Lat. *emplastrum*, whence MoFr. *emplâtre*, etc.; also, MLat. *plastrum* 'plaster', MoFr. *plâtre*, OHG *pflastar*, etc.

The word may well be Pre-Greek, both due to the lack of etymology and in view of the anomalous root structure.

πλάστιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'scales' (Att.), also 'disk of the kottabos-standard' (Critias, Hermipp.), metaph. 'oyster shell' (Opp.), 'horse-collar', which hangs from the wood of the yoke, like the scales from the weigh-bridge (E. *Rh.* 303), also (plur.) 'surgical splints' (Hippiatr.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR πλήστιγγες [pl.] 'id.' (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 131).

•ETYM From a stem πλαστ- (the hapax πλήστιγ-γες points to a root variant *πλᾱστ- with a long vowel, but the evidentiality of this form is limited) plus the suffix -ιγγ- (Chantraine 1933: 398ff., Schwyzer: 498). The etymological base of the word is not clear. Formally there is no reason to disconnect the word from ►πλάσσω 'to knead, mold' < *pld^h-*ie/o-*, but this linkage is not evident on the semantic side. The same holds true for the connection with IE *$plth_2$- as in πλατύς 'flat'. In view of the suffix -ιγγ-, it therefore seems better to assume a Pre-Greek origin (not in Furnée).

πλαταγέω, -ῆσαι [v.] 'to rattle, crash, clap (one's hands)' (Ψ 102 συμπλατάγησεν [v.l. -πατ-], Hell. poet.). ◅PG?▻

•COMP Also with συν-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER πλατάγ-ημα [n.] 'bang' (Theoc.). Also πλαταγ-ή [f.] 'rattle, steed' (Hellanic., Pherecyd., Arist., A. R.), -ών 'id.' (sch. Theoc.), -ώνιον [n.] 'broad petal of the poppy or anemone' (Theoc.), -ωνίσας· ἀπολεκυθίσας καὶ ψοφήσας 'having declaimed in a hollow voice, made a noise' (H.). Cf. πλατάσσω = -αγέω (Suid.).

•ETYM It has been suggested that the verb (onomatopoeia?) is a conflation of ►παταγέω and πλήσσω (Güntert 1914: 120f.), but this is questionable. The word may well be Pre-Greek (not in Fur.). See ►πλατυγίζω.

πλάτανος [f.] 'plane tree' (Ar., Pl., Thphr.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Lat. *platanista* [m.] name of a great dolphin in the Ganges (Plin.); cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. πλατανιστής.

•DER πλαταν-ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'plane grove' (Dsc.), -ιον [n.] 'kind of apple, like the plane's fruit' (Diph. Siph.). Also early πλατάνιστος [f.] 'id.' (B 307 and 310, Hdt., Theoc.) with -ιστοῦς, -οῦντος [m.] 'plane grove' (Thgn.), Lacon. -ιστάς (-ιστᾶς?), dat. -ιστᾷ 'id.' (Paus.), -ίστινος attribute of an apple (Gal.).

•ETYM The word has been derived from ►πλατύς (etc.), under the assumption that the tree was named after its broad leaves or flat patches of bark (Strömberg 1940: 39, Chantraine 1933: 199f.). This etymology must be rejected in view of the opaque derivation of the oldest attested form πλατάνιστος. Instead, we may assume that the name of this Asiatic and South-East European tree was borrowed from Pre-Greek, and only secondarily became associated with ►πλατύς.

πλάταξ, -ακος [m.] Alexandrian name of the fish κορακῖνος, 'Sciaena nigra, brown meagre' (Ath. 7, 309a). ◅PG▻

•DER πλατάκιον [n.] 'id.' (pap. II-III^{p}).

•ETYM Frisk refers to Athenaeus's comment that the fish was named after its considerable size, i.e. "ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος", and therefore connects it to ►πλατύς. Since, however, -ακ- is one of the most common Pre-Greek suffixes, the word is probably Pre-Greek as well. Furthermore, there is πλατίστακος (-κός) [m.], according to Dorio *apud* Ath. 3, 118c the greatest kind of the fish called μύλλος; however, according to Parmeno ibd. 7: 308f., it is synonymous with σαπέρδης and κορακῖνος; metaph. = τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον (H., Phot.).

πλᾶτις, -ιδος [f.] 'wife' (Ar., Lyc.). ⇒πέλας, πελάζω.

πλατυγίζω [v.] 'to slosh the water with one's wings; to splash', also metaphorically of idle noise (A., Eub.). ◂PG▸
•ETYM Distortion of πλαταγέω (*-γίζω) under the influence of πλατύς or otherwise πτερυγίζω.

πλατύς 1 [adj.] 'wide, broad, flat, level' (Il.). ◂IE *$pleth_2$- 'broad'▸
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. πλατύ-φυλλος 'broad-leaved' (Arist., Thphr.).
•DER πλατύτης [f.] 'width, breadth' (Hp., X.); πλατύνω [v.] 'to widen, make broad' (X., Arist.), also with δια-, ἐν- etc., with πλάτ-υσμα (-υμμα) [n.] 'dish, brick, etc.' (Herod., Hero, pap.), -υσμός [m.] 'broadening' (Arist., LXX). Also πλατεῖον [n.] 'board, table' (Plb.), after the instrument nouns in -εῖον; from πλατεῖα (χείρ, φωνή etc.): πλατειάζω [v.] 'to blow with the flat of the hand' (Pherecr.), 'to pronounce broadly' (Theoc.).
Several additional formations: πλάτος [n.] 'width, breadth, size' (Simon., Emp., Hdt., Ar.) with ἀ-πλατής 'without breadth' (Arist.); πλατ-ικός (v.l. -υκός) 'concerning the width, breadth, exhaustive, extensive' (Vett. Val., comm. Arist.); cf. γεν-ικός to γένος.
πλαταμών, -ῶνος [m.] 'flat stone, ledge of rock, flat beach, etc.' (*h. Merc.* 128, Hell.), with -αμώδης 'flat' (Arist.). πλάτη [f.] 'blade of an oar, oar', metonymic 'ship', also 'shoulder blade' (trag., Arist.), usually ὠμο-πλάτη (Hp.); πλάτης, Dor. -ᾱς [m.] 'pedestal of a gravestone' (inscr. Asia Minor, cf. γύης, πόρκης); πλάτιγξ· τῆς κώπης τὸ ἄκρον 'the end of a handle' (H.). TN Πλάταια (B 504 et al.), usually plur. -αί [f.] (IA) town in Boeotia, with -αιίς, -αιεῖς, etc.; change of accent like in ▸ἄγυια : -αί.
•ETYM Identical to Skt. *pṛthú-*, Av. *pərəθu-* 'wide, broad' < PIE *$plth_2$-u-* (for πλάτος, cf. βάρος vs. ▸βαρύς); πλαταμών corresponds to Skt. *prathi-mán-* [m.] 'extension, breadth' < *$pl(e)th_2$-mon-*; notably, the TN Πλάταια matches Skt. *pṛthivī-* [f.] 'earth', W *Llydau* 'Brittany' < *$plth_2u$-ih_2*. Other relevant formations outside Greek are Arm. *lain*, OIr. *lethan*, MW *llydan* 'broad' < *$plth_2$-no-*, and the verb Skt. *práthati* 'to extend' < *$pléth_2$-eti*.

πλατύς 2 [adj.] 'salty' (Hdt. 2, 108 [πόματα], Arist. *Mete.* 358f. [ὕδωρ, ὕδατα]). ◂GR▸
•ETYM No doubt due to erroneous interpretation of πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος (Hom.; cf. A. *Pers.* 875) the 'broad Hellespont' as the 'salty Hellespont', because the epithet 'broad' was perceived as inapproprate. In Hdt. 7, 35, the Hellespont is characterized as θολερός τε καὶ ἁλμυρὸς ποταμός 'muddy and salty river' (Heubeck *Glotta* 37 (1958): 258ff.).

πλέθρον [n.] measure of length of 100 feet, square measure of 10000 square feet (IA); later (Plu.) = Lat. *iugerum*; also 'race-track' (Syrac.). ◂PG▸
•VAR πέλεθρον (Hom., also Delph. and Corc.).
•COMP As a second member in e.g. ἀ-πέλεθρος 'immeasurable' (Hom., Nonn.), δί-πλεθρος 'measuring two πλ.', -ον [n.] 'length or area of a πλ.' (Hell.). -ία [f.] 'id.' (Corc.).
•DER πλεθρ-ιαῖος 'measuring one πλ.' (X., Pl.). -ιον [n.] designation of part of the Gymnasia in Olympia (Paus., Luc.), -ίζω [v.] 'to measure, spread oneself over sth.' vel sim. (Thphr. *Char.* 23, 2), also ἐκ- (Gal.), with -ισμα = δρόμημα (H., Phot.).

•ETYM Etymology unclear, in spite of attempts to derive the word from πίμπλημι 'to fill' or πέλομαι 'to turn'. On the variation πέλεθρον : πλέθρον, cf. Schwyzer: 259 and Szemerényi 1964: 214f., who takes πλέθρον as a Greek syncope of πέλεθρον. Fur.: 152 adduces βλέθρον (inscr. Thespiae, LSJ 1414), a form that further complicates the issue. In all likelihood, a foreign word (Hermann *IF* 34: 340).

πλείων [adj.] compar. 'more, longer, larger' (Hom.). ◂IE **pleh₁-* 'full'▸

•VAR Also πλέων, ntr. πλεῖον, πλέον (Il.), epic. Aeol. plur. also πλέες, Cret. πλίες, etc. (additional forms in Seiler 1950: 113, Schwyzer: 537⁶; cf. also below); superl. πλεῖστος (Il.) 'most, the longest, the greatest'.

•COMP As a first member in e.g. the compounds πλεον-εξ-ία [f.] 'greed, benefit', πλεον-εκτέω, with -έκτημα, -έκτης, -εκτικός (IA), from πλέον ἔχειν, cf. εὐεξία etc. (►ἔχω 1); πλειστό-μβροτος 'very rich in people' (Pi.).

•DER From πλε(ί)ων, πλέον: πλειότης [f.] 'plurality' (*Theol. Ar.*), πλειονότης [f.] 'the superior length of the chord' (Nicom. *Harm.*); πλεον-άκις 'more often' (IA), -αχός, -αχῶς 'multiple, in multiple ways' (Arist.), -αχῇ 'in more respects' (Pl.); -άζω [v.] 'to have an abundance, be excessive, grow in number, increase' (IA), with -ασμός, -ασμα, -ασις (Arist., Hell.).

From πλεῖστος: πλειστ-άκις 'most often, very often' (IA), -αχόθεν 'from the most (or: very many) places' (Ar.), -ήρις 'the most (χρόνος), the longest' (A. *Eu.* 763), -ηρίζομαι [v.] 'to appoint someone as the highest authority', vel sim. (A. *Ch.* 1029), -ηριάζω [v.] 'to bid the highest price (in auctions), outbid' (Lys., Pl. Com., Them.), with -ηριασμός· ὑπερθεματισμός 'overbidding' (H.).

•ETYM The comparative πλέων and superlative πλεῖστος are to be reconstructed as PGr. **pleihōn*, **pleisto-* from PIE **pleh₁-is-on-*, **pleh₁-is-to-*; cf. ON *fleiri* 'more', *fleistr* 'most', Av. *fraēštəm* 'mostly' (also Skt. *prāyaḥ*, Av. *frāiiah-* 'more, much, many' < **pleh₁-io-*); πλείων is analogical to πλεῖστος (cf. also μείων).

The seemingly archaic forms πλέες, πλίες (see Schwyzer: 537⁶) are best taken as innovations from πλέον, plur. πλέα (see Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 1f.). Att. πλεῖν = πλέον and Arc. πλος (πλως?) 'more' is unclear; see Schwyzer: 537 and Leumann l.c. The sporadic attestations with η, e.g. πλῆον (Milete, etc.), Πλήστ-αρχος (Tegea) can hardly be interpreted as testimonies of an older situation (see Seiler 1950: 113).

From the same root as ►πολύς < **polh₁-u-* and ►πίμπλημι < **pi-pleh₁-mi*.

πλειών, -ῶνος [m.] used by hellenistic poets in the sense of 'year' (cf. H.: πλειών· ὁ ἐνιαυτός. ἀπό τοῦ πάντας τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς συμπληροῦσθαι 'year, from its getting full with all the fruits of the earth'); the meaning in Hes. is unclear, cf. Troxler 1964: 186f. (Hes. *Op.* 617, Call. *Jov.* 89, Lyc. 201, *AP* 6, 93, *IG* 9(1), 880: 16 verse inscr.). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Most probably with an original meaning "full period", thence to be connected with πλέως, epic πλεῖος 'full'. The suffix -ών- is reminiscent of the formation αἰών (cf. Schwyzer: 488).

πλέκω [v.] 'to braid, knit, wind, twine' (Il.). ◂IE **plek-* 'twine'▸

•VAR pres.ptc. πλεγνύμενος (Opp.), aor. πλέξαι (Il.), pass. πλεχθῆναι (Od.), πλακῆναι (IA), innovation πλεκῆναι (Tim. *Pers.*), fut. πλέξω, pass. πλεχθήσομαι,

πλακήσομαι, perf. πέπλοχα (Hp., Att.), also πέπλεχα (Hp.), -εκα (Call.), med.-pass. πέπλεγμαι (IA).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially περι-, έν(ι)-, συν-.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. πλεκτός (σύμ-, εὔ-, etc.) 'braided, knit' (Il.). 2. πλεκτή [f.] 'winding, knitwear, rope, fish trap' (A., E., Pl.). 3. πλεκτάνη [f.] 'wattling, sling, winding' (IA); enlargement of πλεκτή after δρεπάνη, etc., like βοτάνη to βοτόν (Schwyzer: 490), with -άνιον (Eub.), denominative verbs -ανάομαι (A.), -ανόομαι (Hp.) 'to be twined around'. 4. πλέγμα (ἔμ-, σύμ-, etc.) [n.] 'plait, wattling, etc.' (IA) with -μάτιον (Arist.), -ματεύεσθαι· ἐμπλέκεσθαι (H.). 5. πλέκος [n.] 'wattling, basketwork' (Ar.). 6. πλέξις (περί-, ἔμ-, σύμ-) [f.] 'braiding, twining around, etc.' (Pl., Arist.) with -είδιον (Suid.), (περι-, συμ-)πλεκτικός 'belonging to braiding, etc.' (Pl.). 7. πλέκτρα [n.pl.] 'wattling' (Samos IV[a]). 8. πλέκωμα = δράγμα (sch.). 9. ἐμπλέκ-της, [f.] -τρια 'braider [m./f.] of hair' (gloss., *EM*). 10. (περι-, ἐμ-)πλέγδην 'entwined, interwoven' (Hell.). 11. ἀμφι-, περι-, συμ-πλεκ-ής 'id.' (Nonn., Orph.), a verbal adj. after the *s*-stems, with περιπλέκ-εια [f.] (Jamb.). 12. Desiderative πλεξείω (Hdn. *Epim.*).

B. With *o*-grade: 1. πλόκος [m.] 'twine, lock, wreath, collar' (Pi., trag.); adjectives διά-, σύμ- (*AP*, Nonn.) from δια-, συμ-πλέκω; πλόκιον [n.] 'necklace' (Hell. inscr. et al.), ἐμ- 'hair-slide, etc.' (Hell.), also plur. = ἑορτὴ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις 'festival (Athenian)' (H.); πλόκ-ιμος 'suited for braiding' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 171, διαπλόκ-ινος 'braided' (Str.), περιπλοκ-άδην 'in a close embrace' (*AP*); πλοκ-ίζομαι [v.] 'to let one's hair be braided' (Hp.). 2. πλοκή [f.] (Epich., Arist.) 'plait, fabric, intertwining, complication, etc.', very frequently from prefixed compounds (περι-, ἐμ-, κατα-, συμ-, etc.) in different senses (IA). From πλοκή or πλόκος : πλοκάς [f.] 'hair plait, lock' (Pherecr.), after γενειάς, etc.; πλοκεύς [m.] 'hair braider' (Epich., Hp.). 3. πλόκαμος [m.] 'lock of hair' (epic poet. since Ξ176) with -ίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'id.' (Hell.), perhaps by decomposition from ἐυπλοκάμιδες Ἀχαιαί (Od.) after ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί beside κνημίς (Leumann 1950: 122f.); πλόκαμα· τὰ περιόστεα νεῦρα 'the sinews around the bones' (H.), -ώδεα· τὸν οὖλον βόστρυχον 'the curling lock of hair' (H.). 4. πλόκανον [n.] 'braiding, knitwear, etc.' (Pl., X.); after ξόανον, ὄργανον, etc. 5. πλοχμός, mostly plur. -οί [m.] 'locks of hair' (*P* 52, A. R., *AP*), with a suffix *-smo-* (Schwyzer: 493).

•ETYM The thematic root present πλέκω < **pleḱ-e/o-* has no parallels in other IE languages, where we usually find the extended root **pleḱ-t-*; cf. Lat. *plectō* = OHG *flehtan* 'to braid', OCS *plesti* 'συρράπτειν', Ru. *plestí* 'to twine'. The original root is still found in isolated formations, e.g. Skt. *praśna-* [m.] 'turban, headband' < **ploḱ-no-*, OHG *flahs*, OE *fleax* [n.] 'flax' < **ploḱ-so-* (parallelism with the rare *s*-stem πλέκος is probably coincidental).

πλεονεκτέω, πλεονεξία, etc. ⇒πλείων.

πλεύμων, -ονος [m.] 'lung(s)' (Il.), metaph. 'jellyfish' (Pl., Arist.). ◂IE **pleu-mon-* 'lung'▸

•VAR Mostly plur. Secondarily πνεύμων after πνέω, πνεῦμα.

•COMP Isolated compounds, e.g. πλευμο-ρρωγής 'with a rupture in the lung' (Hp.), ἁλι-πλεύμων [m.] 'jellyfish' (Marcell. Sid.).

•DER πλευμον-ώδης (also πν-) 'lung-like' (Arist.), -ία [f.] 'inflammation of the lungs, pneumonia' (*Com. Adesp.*, medic.), much more common is the hypostasis περι-πλευμον-ία, -ίη 'id.' (IA), πλευμον-ίς [f.] 'id.' (Hp.). Professional short-form πλεῦμος [m.] 'lung-sickness', with πλευμ-άω, v.l. -όω 'to suffer from lung-sickness' (Hp., Gal.).

•ETYM Gr. πλεύμων is closely related to Skt. *klomán-* [m., n.] 'the right lung', [pl.] 'the lungs' < *$k^{(w)}$leu-mon-*, Lat. *pulmō* 'lung' < **pul-mon-* (with metathesis), but the correspondences all contain minor irregularities. The root **pleu-* must be the starting point, as it reappears in OCS *pljušta*, Lith. *plaũčiai* [pl.] 'lungs' < **pleu-t-ieh*$_2$, and seems to be old. Perhaps related to ▸πλέω.

πλευρά [f.] 'rib(s), side of the body', metaph. 'side of an area, of a geometrical figure, flank of an army' (Il.). ◂?▸

•VAR Usually plur. -αί; also -όν [n.], usually plur. -ά.

•COMP Very often as a second member, e.g. περί-πλευρος 'going around the ribs, covering the sides' (E. [lyr.]).

•DER Diminutive πλευρ-ία [pl.] (Hp., Delph. inscr.), -ιάς [f.] 'side of an area' (*Tab. Heracl.*), after πεδι-άς, etc.; cf. Chantraine 1933: 354; -ιαῖος 'situated at the sides' (Boeot. inscr.), -ικός 'belonging to the ribs' (sch.); -ίτης [m.] 'connected to the ribs', designation of a bone of the spine (Poll.), -ῖτις (νόσος) [f.] 'pleurisy' (Hp., Ar.), also as a plant name = σκόρδιον (Ps.-Dsc.), because of its effects, cf. Redard 1949: 75; -ώματα [n.pl.] = πλευρά (A.), a poetic enlargement, see Chantraine 1933: 186; -ισμός [m.] meaning unclear, 'dam'? (pap.); πλευρ-ών, -ῶνος [m.] Aetol. TN (B 639, etc.), see Krahe *ZNF* 8 (1932): 159. Hypostasis παρα-πλευρ-ίδια [n.pl.] 'side armors' (X., Arr.).

•ETYM No clear etymology. Hardly related to πλάξ < **plk-* (pace Benveniste 1935: 112f.) or παλάμη < **plh*$_2$*-em-eh*$_2$- via *πλᾱ̃-ϝαρ (pace Frisk 2, 559).

πλέω [v.] 'to travel by sea, sail, navigate', with prefix also 'to swim, flow' (Il.). ◂IE **pleu-* 'sail, flow'▸

•VAR Aor. πλεῦσαι (Att.), fut. πλεύ-σομαι (Il.), -σοῦμαι (Att.), -σω (Hell.), perf. πέπλευκα (S.), pass. πέπλευσμαι (later Att.), πλευ-σθῆναι, -σθήσομαι (Arr.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐπι-.

•DER πλόος, contracted πλοῦς (ἀνά-, ἐπί-, περί-, etc.) [m.] 'navigation, seafaring', also 'traveling time, traveling wind' (IA); compounds, e.g. εὔ-πλοος 'good for sailing, having a fair voyage' (Erinn., Theoc.) with -ίη, -ια [f.] (Il., epic poet.), περί-πλους [adj.] 'possible to sail around' (Th.), 'sailing around' (*AP*), also 'encasing' (Hp.; cf. ἐπίπλοον).

From πλόος: 1. the old inherited *io*-derivative πλοῖον [n.] 'craft, ship' (IA), with πλοι-άριον (Ar., X.), -αρίδιον (pap.); 2. πλόϊμος 'navigable' (Att.), often written πλώϊμος after πλώω, etc. (cf. Arbenz 48f.); 3. πλοώδης 'swimming, flowing', i.e. 'not fixed, mobile' (Hp.), see Strömberg 1944: 25. 4. πλοϊκός 'id.' (Suid.); but 5. πλοΐζω [v.] 'to commit navigation' (Hell.) rather for older deverbative πλωΐζω (see ▸πλώω).

From πλέω stems the rare form πλεῦσις (simplex only in H. s.v. νεῦσις), i.a. in ἐπίπλευσις [f.] 'attack at sea' (Th. 7, 36 beside ἀνάκρουσις; otherwise ἐπίπλους). On► ►πλοῦτος s.v.

•ETYM The primary thematic root present πλέ(ϝ)ω is a PIE formation; cf. Skt. *plávate* 'to swim, flow', OCS *pluti* 'to flow, sail', Lat. *pluit* 'it rains', etc. < **pleu-e/o-*. The future πλεύσομαι also has parallels outside Greek, such as Skt. *ploṣyati* and OIr. *luäd, -lú* 'to drink' < **pleu-s-*; further, πλοῖον (< *πλόϝιον) matches ON *fley* [n.] 'ship' < **flauja-* < **plou-io-*, and πλόος, πλοῦς corresponds to Ru. *plov* 'ship, barge', ToB *plewe* [m.] 'ship' < **plouo-*. See also ►πλύνω.

πλέων 'more'. ⇒πλείων.

πλέως 'full'. •VAR πλῆθος 'multitude'. ⇒πίμπλημι.

πλεγή ⇒πλήσσω.

πλημμελής [adj.] 'out of tune, faulty' (Democr., Att.). ◅GR▻

•DER πλημμελ-έω [v.] 'to fail, commit an offense', -εια [f.] 'fault, offense, mistake' (Att.).

•ETYM Compound of πλήν 'without' and μέλος 'tune', the opposite of ἐμμελής. Cf. ►πλήν and ►μέλος.

πλήμνη [f.] 'nave, drum' (Il., Hes. Sc., Hp., A. R.). ◅GR?▻

•COMP πλημνό-δετον [n.] 'hoop with which the spokes are attached to the nave' (Poll.).

•ETYM Traditionally associated with πίμπλημι (cf. H. "ἀπὸ τοῦ πληροῦσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄξονος"), but this is popular etymology. Preferably derived from **k^{w}lh$_1$-mneh$_2$* 'part that turns about the axle' (Waanders 1992: 594), i.e. from the root of ►πέλομαι.

πλημῠ́ρις, -ίδος [f.] 'rise of the sea, flood' (ι 486, Ion. poet., Hell.). ◅PG? (S, V)▻

•VAR Acc. also -ιν (cf. below); -μμι- (mss.).

•DER πλημῠ́ρ-ω [v.] 'to overflow, make flow' (Archil., B., Call.) with πλήμῡρα [f.] = πλημυρίς (Hell.); byform πλημῦρ-έω 'id.' (Hp., Plu.), like κύρ-ω beside -έω, etc. (Schwyzer: 721); thence -ίη, -ία [f.] (Aret., sch.).

•ETYM Πλημ-ῠ́ρις may have been derived from πλήμη 'flood-tide', like ἁλμ-ῠ́ρις from ἅλμη, whence the *yod*-present πλημῠ́ρω with additional derivatives; the vowel length of this verb could have spread back to the primary noun πλημῡ́ρις. Note, however, that the forms with double -μ- are problematic. This, in combination with occurrence of the suffix -υρ-, may point tó Pre-Greek origin.

πλήν [prep.] with gen. 'except', adv. and conj. 'except, aside from, save that, however' (θ 207). ◅IE **pelh$_2$-* 'near'▻

•VAR Dor. Aeol. πλάν.

•ETYM Like the antonym ►δήν, the frozen accus. from a root noun *πλής < **plh$_2$-s*, **plh$_2$-m*, related to ►πέλας and cognates. Probably originally 'close, near', then 'aside, except' (see Schwyzer 1950: 542f.).

πλήρης 'full'. ⇒πίμπλημι.

πλησίον 'near'. ⇒πέλας.

πλήσσω [v.] 'to strike, slap, thrust, hit', pass. 'to be beaten, thrust, hit, struck' (ἐκ- 'to startle', ἐπι- usually 'to criticize, scold', παρα- in pass. 'to become crazy', etc.). ◁IE *$pleh_2k/g$- 'beat'▷

•VAR In the older language, the pres. is always prefixed. Att. -ττω (ἐκ-πλήγνυμαι Th.), aor. πλῆξαι (Il.), Dor. πλᾶξαι, redupl. (ἐ-)πέπληγον (Hom.), pass. πληγῆναι (Il.), Dor. Aeol. πλᾱγῆναι, with prefix -πλᾰγῆναι (IA), πληχθῆναι (E., late), fut. πλήξω (Il.), pass. πληγήσομαι, -πλᾰγήσομαι (Att.), perf. πέπληγα (Il.: πεπληγώς), πέπληχα (Hell.), pass. πέπληγμαι (IA).

•COMP Often prefixed in various senses, e.g. with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-. As a first member in governing compounds, e.g. πλήξ-ιππος 'flogging horses' (Il., epic poet.).

•DER Action nouns: 1. πληγή, Dor. πλαγά [f.] 'hit, wound, etc.' (Il.). 2. πλήγανον· βακτηρία 'staff', πληγάς· δρέπανον 'curved sword' (H.). 3. πλῆγ-μα [n.] = πληγή (S., E., Arist.), -μός [m.] 'id.' (medic.), κατά- (LXX). 4. ἀπό-, ἔκ-, ἔμ-, ἐπί-, κατά-πληξις [f.] 'apoplexy, concussion, etc.' (IA); πλῆξις, Dor. πλᾶξις [f.] 'striking' (Ti. Locr.).

Agent and instrument nouns: 5. πλῆκτρον, Dor. πλᾶκτρον [n.] 'instrument for striking, mallet' (*h. Hom.*, Pi.). 6. πληκτήρ [m.] 'id.' (Hdn. Gr.); πλακτήρ· τὸ τοῦ ἀλεκτρυόνος πλῆκτρον 'cock's spur' (H.); πλάκτωρ [m.] (Dor.) 'striker' (*AP*), πλήκτης [m.] 'id.' (Hp., Arist.), ἐπι- 'blamer, castigator' (gloss.), -πλήκτειρα [f.] 'id.' (*AP*).

Adjectives, mostly as a second member: 7. -πληξ, e.g. παραπλήξ, -γος 'stricken sideways' (ε 418), 'crazy' (IA), 'paralyzed' (Hp.) with -ηγία, -ηγικός (Hp.), οἰστρο-πλήξ 'stung by a gadfly' (trag.); πλήξ as a simplex only as a designation of a bandage (Sor.); 8. -πληκτος, e.g. ἀπόπληκτος 'stirred by strikes' with -ηξίη, -ία (IA); 9. ἐκ-, κατα-πλαγής 'startled' (Plb., Luc.). 10. πληκτικός 'striking, hitting' (Pl.), ἐκπληκτικός (Th.), etc.

Verb: 11. πληκτίζομαι 'to fight' (Φ 499 et al.), mostly 'to dally' (Ar., Herod.), with -ισμός [m.] (*AP*), probably an enlargement of the primary verb (cf. λακτίζω and Schwyzer: 706) rather than from a nominal τ-derivative.

•ETYM The verb πλήσσω ostensibly continues *$plāk$-$i̯e/o$-, but the kappa probably arose secondarily in the verb; cf. πληγή. Therefore rather PIE *plh_2g-ie/o- than *plh_2k-ie/o-, although both variants have correspondences in other Indo-European languages; cf. *$pleh_2k$-ie/o- in OCS *plačǫ* 'to lament' (if from "to beat one's chest"), with which agrees Lith. *plókis* [m.] 'blow, stroke', as opposed to *$pleh_2g$- in Lat. *plangō* 'to beat, bewail' < *$pl(e)h_2ng$- with a nasal infix, and the Gm. group of Go. *fai-flokun* 'ἐκόπτοντο', OE *flōcan* 'to slap'. Lith. *plàkti* 'to beat, chastise' (would be IE *$plok$-) can only be indirectly related, via secondary ablaut.

As Van Beek suggests (p.c.), it is doubtful that ►πλάζω is related. Semantically, it may have influenced πλήσσω, but the formal connection is problematic, and πλάζω seems to be semantically closer to ►ἁμπλακίσκω, etc.

πλίκιον [n.] 'kind of tart, pie' (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 647e). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM No etymology; maybe Pre-Greek.

πλίνθος [f.] 'brick, air-brick', metaph. 'square building-stone, metal ingot, abacus' (IA). ◁PG▷

•COMP E.g. πλινθο-φόρος 'bearing bricks, brick-bearer' (Ar.), ἡμι-πλίνθ-ιον [n.] 'ingot in the shape of a half-brick' (Hdt., Att. inscr.).

•DER 1. Diminutive: πλινθ-ίον (Att.), -ίς [f.] (Hell.), both predominantly in metaph. use; -άριον (LXX), -ίδιον (Iamb.). 2. Adjectives: πλίνθ-ινος 'made of bricks, of brick' (IA), -ικός 'id.' (pap.), -ιακός 'busy with bricks' (D. L.), after βιβλι-ακός, θηρι-ακός, etc.; -ωτός 'brick-shaped' (Paul. Aeg.). 3. Substantive: πλινθ-ῖτις [f.] 'kind of στυπτηρία' (Gal.). 4. Adverb: -ηδόν 'shaped like a roofing tile' (Hdt.). 5. Verbs: πλινθ-εύω [v.] 'to cut out bricks, make bricks' (IA) with -εία, -εῖον, -ευσις, -ευμα, -ευτής (Hell.); -όομαι 'to cover with bricks' (*AP*).

•ETYM The semantic field (architecture), as well as the presence of the notoriously foreign element -ινθ-, suggest that the word is a loan from Pre-Greek; see Chantraine 1933: 371.

πλίσσομαι [v.] 'to cross the legs' (ζ 318). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. ἀπεπλίξατο 'trotted off' (Ar.), πλίξαντα· διαναβάντα (H.), perf. δια-πεπλιγμένος 'with legs spread out' (Archil.), περι- 'with legs laid around' (Stratt.), περιπεπλίχθαι· διηλλαχέναι τά σκέλη ἀσχημόνως 'interchange the legs indecorously' (H.), act. δια-πεπλιχός (στόμα) 'standing open' (Hp.), fut. pass. καταπλιγήσει (Ar. *Fr.* 198, 3), according to H. = κατακρατηθήσῃ.

•COMP ἐκ-πλίσσομαι 'to gape', of a wound, etc. (Hp.), ἀμφι-πλίσσω (Poll.), διαπλίσσοντες (v.l. Ψ 120).

•DER πλίξ = βῆμα (sch.; Dor.), πλιχ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'perineum, inside of the thighs' (medic.), πλίγμα [n.] 'sprawling, perineum' (Hp., H., *EM*); ἀμφι-πλίξ [adv.] 'with sprawled legs' (S. *Fr.* 596), περι-πλίξ· περιειληφώς 'holding embraced' (H.), περιπλίγδην· περιβάδην 'astride' (H.).

•ETYM Uncertain etymology. Perhaps related to OIr. *sliassait* [f.] 'shank' < **spleigʰ-s-ont-ih₂-* or (without *s*) Skt. *plehate* 'to go' < **pleigʰ-e/o-* (Pok. 1000). Not related to OCS *plęsati*, Ru. *pljasát'* 'to dance' < (?)**plenḱ-e/o-* (pace Pisani 1938: 181ff.).

πλοῖον, πλόος, πλοῦς ⇒πλέω.

πλόκαμος ⇒πλέκω.

πλοῦτος [m.] 'riches, wealth' (Il.), also personified (Hes.), cf. Πλούτων below. ◁IE **pleu-* 'run, flow, swim'▷

•VAR Late also [n.], see Schwyzer 512.

•DIAL Myc. *po-ro-u-te-u* /Plouteus/.

•COMP E.g. πλουτο-δότης [m.] 'who spends riches' (Hes.), καλλί-πλουτος 'with beautiful riches' (Pi.).

•DER 1. πλούσ-ιος, Lac. πλούτιος (*EM*) 'rich' (Hes., *h. Merc.*), with -ιακός 'belonging to the rich' (Alex. Com.), -ιάω = πλουτέω (Alex. Aphr.). 2. πλουτ-ηρός 'bringing riches' (X.); -ᾶξ, -ᾶκος [m.] 'a rich fool' (com.). 3. πλουτ-ίνδην [adv.] 'acc. to property' (Arist.). 4. πλουτ-έω [v.] 'to be rich' (Hes.); -ίζω 'to make rich, enrich' (trag., X.; with κατα- Hdt.), with -ιστής, -ιστήριος, ισμός (late). 5. Πλούτων, -ωνος

[m.] god of riches, i.e. of the corn provisions buried in the earth (trag.); on the motive of designation see Nilsson 1941(1): 471ff.; according to H. εὔπλουτον κανοῦν· πλοῦτον γὰρ ἔλεγον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν περιουσίαν, 'πλ. was called the surplus of barley and wheat'. 6. Πλουτεύς 'id.' (Mosch., *AP*).

•ETYM Derivative from πλέω, i.e. **plou-to-* 'flow, multitude', with the suffix *-to-* as in e.g. βίοτος, νόστος, etc.

πλύνω [v.] 'to wash, clean' (cf. ►λούω, ►νίζω). ◄IE **pleu-* 'flow, swim'►

•VAR Iter. πλύνεσκον (X 155), aor. πλῦναι (Od.), fut. πλῦν-έω (epic Ion.), -ῶ (Att.), pass. perf. πέπλυμαι (IA), aor. πλυθῆναι (Hell.), fut. -θήσομαι (*Com. Adesp.*).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc.

•DER Adjectives: 1. νεό-, ἔκ-πλυ-τος 'newly washed, washed out' (ζ 64, A., Pl.), πλυτός 'washed' (Hp.); 2. ἐϋ-πλυν-ής 'washed well' (Od.); 3. πλυν-τικός 'belonging to washing' (Pl., Arist.), πλυ-τικός 'id.' (Alex. Aphr.).

Substantives: 4. πλυνοί [m. pl.] 'washing pits, troughs or sites' (Hom., Hell.), with the diminutive πλύνιον [n.] (inscr. Sicily); with barytonesis 5. πλύνος [m.] 'laundry' (pap., ostr.), see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3, 3; unclear in Ar. *Pl.* 1061; with πλυνεύς [m.] 'washer' (Att. inscr., Poll.).

Action nouns: 6. πλύσις (περί-, κατά-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'washing' (IA), late ἀπόπλυν-σις (Sophon.); πλύσιμος 'belonging to laundry' (pap. III^{a}); 7. πλύμα (ἀπό-, περί-; also πλύσμα Phot., also mss.) [n.] 'washing water, swilling water, swill' (Hp., Pl. Com., Arist., pap.); 8. πλυσμός· πλυτήρ '(washing) trough' (H.).

Agent and instrument nouns: 9. πλύν-τρια [f.] 'washer' (Att. inscr., Poll.), -τρίς [f.] 'id.' (Ar.), also 'fuller's earth' (botanics in Thphr., see Capelle *RhM* 104 (1961): 58), msc. πλύν-της (Poll.), πλύ-της (*EM*, Choerob.); also πλυτήρ (H.; see above) and *πλυν-τήρ in Πλυν-τήρ-ια [n.pl.] name of a purification festival (Att. inscr., X.) with -ιών, -ιῶνος [m.] month name (Thasos), if not rather analogical after other nouns in -τήρια, -τήριον (see Chantraine 1933: 63f.); likewise κατα-πλυντηρ-ίζω 'to shower with abusive words', properly perhaps 'to immerse in swilling water, to drench with swilling water'? 10. πλύν-τρον [n.] = πλύμα (Arist.) [pl.] 'payment for washing' (pap. III^{a}, Poll.).

•ETYM The vowel length of πλῦνω points to a thematicized nasal present *πλύ-ν-ι̯ω (cf. κρῑ́νω from *κρί-ν-ι̯ω). The formation must be an inner-Greek creation from the IE root **plu-* (which gave πλέω < **pleu-e/o-*), but a nasal present with the same meaning is also found in Armenian, viz. *lua-na-m* 'to wash, bathe'. See ►πλέω and ►πλώω.

πλώσσειν [v.] · φθειρεσθαι 'to be destroyed' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM DELG suggests a connection with πλώω, but the gloss may be corrupt.

πλώω [v.] 'to swim' (Il., epic Ion.), aor. also 'to sail, go by sea', beside πλέω as a pres.; on πλώω beside πλέω see Bechtel 1921(3): 196ff., 208. ◄IE **pleu-* or **pleh$_3$-*►

•VAR Aor. πλῶ-ναι (ἐπ-έπλων, etc., Hom., Hes.), πλῶσαι (Γ 47 ptc. ἐπι-πλώσας; Hdt., Arr.), fut. πλώσ-ομαι (Hdt.), -ω (Lyc.), perf. πέπλωκα (Hdt., Lyc.; also E. *Hel.* 532 and Ar. *Th.* 878 [parody]).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἐκ-, κατα-, παρα-.

•DER Probably, all derivatives are Ionic (cf. Fraenkel 1912: 3f.).
Adjectives: 1. πλω-τός (πρόσ-, ἔκ-) 'swimming, navigable' (κ 3, Hp., Hdt., Arist.) with -τίς [f.] 'raft' vel sim. (Demetr. Astrol.), -τεύομαι [v.] 'to be navigated, cruised' (Plb.); 2. πλω-τικός 'seafaring' (Hell.); 3. -σιμος 'navigable, seaworthy' (S., Diogenian.), rather from πλῶσαι than from *πλῶσις; likewise πλώϊμος alongside πλόϊμος.
Substantives: 4. κατάπλωσις [f.] 'home-coming by sea' (Herod.); 5. πλωτήρ [m.] 'sailor' (rare in E., Ar., Pl., often in Arist., etc.), 'swimmer' (Opp., Nonn.); 6. πλωάδες, -ϊάδες (Thphr.), -ίδες (A. R.) [f.pl.] 'swimming, flowing'; also 7. πλώς, pl. πλῶτες name of a fish, = κεστρεύς (but cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. πλῶτα); but δακρυπλώειν (τ 122) is not a denominative from *δακρυ-πλώς, but modeled after δάκρυ χέων, χέουσα and built as a univerbation; cf. Leumann 1950: 36.
Verb: 8. πλω-ΐζω (-ώζω) 'to go by sea' (Hes., Th.), with -ϊσις [f.] 'seafaring' (Just.).
•ETYM Within Greek, the derivation of πλώω, with its -ω-, is not clear, but etymological separation from πλέω < *pleu-e/o- seems unattractive. The formation has a close parallel in Germanic, e.g. ON *flóa*, OE *flōwan* 'to flow' < PGm. **flōan-* < PIE **plōu-* (with **-ōu-* > **-ō-* like in Go. *sauil* [sōil] 'sun' < **seh₂u-el-*), whence Go. *flodus* [m.] 'river' (etc.). The apparent lengthened grade is also found in Slavic, e.g. OCS *plavati*, Ru. *plávat'* 'to swim (to and fro)'. See ▸πλέω and ▸πλύνω.

πνεύμων 'lung'. ⇒πλεύμιων.

πνέω [v.] 'to blow, breathe, respire, smell' (Il.). ◂IE? **pneu-* 'breathe, cough, smell'▸
•VAR Epic πνείω, aor. πνεῦσαι (Il.), ipv. ἄμπνυε, med. -ῦτο, -ΰ(ν)θη (Hom.), fut. πνεύ-σομαι (IA), -σοῦμαι (Ar., Arist.), -σω (Hell.), perf. πέπνευκα (Att.), pass. πνευσ-θῆναι (Thphr.), -θήσομαι (Aret.).
•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, εἰσ-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, προσ-.
•DER 1. πνοή, Dor. πνο(ι)ά, epic πνοιή [f.] 'wind, breeze, breath' (Il.), also ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-~, etc., etc. Epic -οι- metrically conditioned after πνείω, see Wyatt 1969: 166-168. Very often as a second member, e.g. ἡδύ- (ἀδύ-)πνοος, -πνους 'with a pleasant wind, breath' (Pi., S., E.), ἐπί-πνοος, -πνους 'inspired' with ἐπίπνοια [f.] 'inspiration' (A., Pl.); -πνοια also beside -πνοή in ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά- etc.; also ἀναπνόϊκος 'concerning breathing' (Ptol.).
2. πνεῦμα (ἄμ-, πρόσ-) [n.] 'wind, breeze, breath, ghost' (Pi., IA) with πνευμά-τιον (Hell.), -τικός 'concerning the wind, etc.' (Arist.), -τιος 'bringing wind' (Arat.), -τώδης 'like wind or breath, windy' (Hp., Arist.), -τίας [m.] 'asthmatic' (Hp.) with -τιάω [v.] 'to gasp' (sch.); πνευμα-τόω, -τόομαι [v.] 'to blow up, (cause to) vaporize' (Anaxipp., Arist.) with -τωσις, -τωτικός; πνευμα-τίζω (άπο-) [v.] 'to fan by blowing' (Antig., H.) with -τισμός.
3. πνεῦσις [f.] 'blowing', more usual in compounds, e.g. ἀνάπνευ-σις 'inhalation, respite' (Il.). 4. With secondary -σ-, and a suffix -τ- like in ἄ-πνευσ-τος, -τί, -τία: πνευσ-τικός 'belonging to breathing' (Gal.), more generally ἀνα- (Arist.) etc.; -τιάω 'to gasp' (Hp., Arist.). 5. εἴσπν-ηλος, -ήλας 'loving, lover' (Call., Theoc., *EM*), from εἰσ-πνέω 'to inspire (love)', with analogical -ηλος; cf. Chantraine 1933: 242.

•ETYM The verb and its derivatives appear to have been regularized to a large extent. The only isolated forms are epic ἄμπνυε, etc. 'take breath' = 'recover from'. The appurtenance of the perfect πέπνυμαι, -μένος 'to be mentally active, animated, be sedate' is doubtful, and ►πινυτός and cognates are certainly unrelated. Schulze 1892: 322ff. also separated ἄμπνυε and πέπνυμαι from πνέω.

From other languages, only some Germanic formations can be compared: ON *fnýsa* 'to sniff', OE *fnēosan* 'to sneeze', which may go back on IE *-*eu-*; however, beside them stand several variants, e.g. ON *fnasa*, OHG *fnehan*, and the whole group may be onomatopoeic in origin.

Cf. also ►ποιπνύω and ►πνῑ́γω.

πνῑ́γω [v.] 'to limit one's breath, asphyxiate by squeezing, water or vapor, to choke, drown, be drowned', also 'to muffle, smother' (Epich., Sophr., IA); on the meaning 'to drown, be drowned' see Schulze *Berl.Ak.Sb.* 1918: 320ff. ◄PG?►

•VAR Aor. πνῖξαι, intr. and pass. πνῐ́γ-ῆναι with fut. -ήσομαι, late πνιχθῆναι, perf. med. πέπνιγμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο- and κατα-.

•DER Action nouns: 1. πνῖγος [n.] 'stifling heat' (IA), opposite ῥῖγος; 2. πνῐ́γ-μα [n.] 'suffocating' (Hp.), -μός [m.] 'id.' (Hp., X., Arist.) with -μώδης 'suffocating' (Hp.), -μονή [f.] 'id.' (Hdn. *Epim.*), cf. φλεγμονή, πτημονή; 3. πνῖξις (κατά-) [f.] 'choking, asphyxiation' (Arist., Thphr.), 'drowning' (*PMag.Par.*); 4. πνίξ, -γός [f.] 'choking, asphyxiation' (Hp., Dsc.), like φρίξ (Chantraine 1933: 2f.); 5. πνιγετός [m.] = πνῖγος (Ptol.; H. s.v. ἀγχόνη), like πυρετός, παγετός; 6. περιπνιγή [f.] 'suffocation' (Vett. Val.).

Agent nouns: 6. πνῐ́γεύς [m.] "suffocator", 'cover for extinguishing coals' (Ar., Arist.), 'air chamber' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*), 'muzzle' (com.), probably by analogy of πνίγω, πνῐγῆναι with τρῐ́βω, τρῐβ-ῆναι, -ή, -εύς, etc. (Boßhardt 1942: 48); 7. πνικτήρ [m.] 'choker, choking' (Nonn.). 8. πνιγ-ῖτις (scil. γῆ) 'kind of clay' (Dsc., Plin.); 9. -αλίων, -ωνος [m.] 'nightmare, incubus' (medic.), like αἰθαλ-ίων beside αἰθ-άλη, αἴθω; 10. πνῖ-γηρός 'choking', especially 'stifling hot' (Hp., Att.), from πνῖγος or πνίγω; 11. πνῐγόεις 'id.' (Nic., *AP*), ῐ̆ metrically conditioned; 12. περι-, συμ-πνῐγ-ής 'suffocated' (Nic., J., D. S., after πνῐ́γ-ῆναι); 13. πνικτός 'steamed, smothered' (com.), 'airtight' (Hero), 'suffocated, choked' (*Act. Ap.*); 14. enlarged πνιγ-ίζω [v.] 'to choke, strangle' (*AP*), influenced by πυγ-ίζω.

•ETYM No clear etymology. Earlier attempts to analyze the formation as a conflation of several different verbs are unconvincing. Rather onomatopoeic or, given its onset in πν-, sound-symbolic. A Pre-Greek origin cannot be excluded.

πόα [f.] 'grass, herb, grass plot', late also '(time of the) hay harvest, summer' (Il., Att.). ◄IE **poiH-ueh₂* 'grass, meadow'►

•VAR Epic Ion. ποίη (Il.), Dor. (Pi.) ποία.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ποιο-νόμος 'feeding on grass', ποιό-νομος 'having grassy pastures' (A. [lyr.]), λεχε-ποίης (see ►λέχος).

•DER 1. Diminutive πο-άριον (ποι-) [n.] (Thphr.); 2. ποι-ήεις, Dor. -άεις 'rich in grass' (Hom., Pi., S. [lyr.]); -ηρός 'id.' (E. [lyr.]); 3. ποι-άζω [v.] 'to be rich in grass, bear

grass' (Str.); 4. -ασμός [m.] 'weeding, clearing of weeds' (Thphr.), -άστρια [f.] 'weeder (fem.)' (Archipp.), -άστριον [n.] 'weeding tool' (Poll.), from ποάζω = 'to weed, clear of weeds' (only as a conj. in Philem. Com. 116, 4). On supposed Boeot. *πύας 'meadow', see Finley *Glotta* 33 (1954): 311.

•ETYM PGr. **poiwā-* is formally identical to Lith. *pieva* [f.] 'meadow' < **poiH-ueh₂-* or **poHi-ueh₂-*. Connection with the root of ποιμήν cannot be shown. The deviating ποινά· ποία. Λάκωνες (H.) may be due to conflation with κοινά· χόρτος (H.).

ποδαπός [adj.] 'native of where?, whence?' (Hdt., Att.); also 'of what sort?' (D.); in this meaning Hell. ποταπός (with τ from πότερος, πότε, etc.). ◂IE **k*ʷo-* 'who?'▸

•ETYM Formation like ▸ἀλλοδαπός, etc. The first member is from IE **k*ʷod* = Lat. *quod* (see on ▸πόθεν and ▸τίς), if not analogical after ἡμεδ-απός, etc. (Schwyzer: 604¹). The form (ὁ)ποδαπός in Hdt. as opposed to (ὁ)κότερος is unclear; cf. Wackernagel 1916: 35².

ποδάρκης [adj.] epithet of Achilles, in ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς (Il.), also of Hermes (B.), of δρόμοι and ἡμέρα (Pi.); also epithet of a remedy against gout (Gal.). ◂GR▸

•ETYM A compound from πούς and ἀρκέω 'to keep off, aid, suffice'; cf. ποδώκης 'quick-footed', also 'helping the feet' (Gal.). On ποδάρκης beside ποδώκης and πόδας ὠκύς, see Treu 1955: 6.

ποδηνεκής 'stretching to the feet' (Il., epic, Hdt.).

•ETYM Compound from πούς and ἐνεγκεῖν; see ▸διηνεκής and ▸ἐνεγκεῖν with references.

ποδοκάκκη [f.] 'foot block'. ⇒κάκαλα.

πόθεν [interr.adv.] 'whence, from where?' (Il.). ◂IE **k*ʷo-* 'who?'▸

•DER Indefinite ποθέν 'from somewhere' (Il.), Ion. κόθεν (Hdt.). Also πόθι, ποθί 'where?', 'somewhere' (Il., epic); ποῦ, που (Att.), Ion. κοῦ, κου 'id.'; ποῖ, ποι 'whither?', 'to somewhere' (Att.), πόσε 'whither?' (Hom.).

•ETYM Formations from the pronominal stem πο-, Ion. κο-, from IE **k*ʷo-* with representatives in most IE languages, e.g. Skt. *kás* 'who?', Go. *hvas* 'id.', Lat. *quod* 'what?'. Cf. ▸ποῖος, ▸πόσος, ▸πότε, and ▸πότερος; see also ▸τίς. On the adverbial endings -θεν, -θι, -σε, see Schwyzer: 628f.; on the petrified case forms ποῦ (gen.) and ποῖ (loc.), op.cit. 621f.

ποθέω [v.] 'to desire, long for, miss' (Il.). ◂IE **g*ʷʰed*ʰ- 'long for, desire, pray'▸

•VAR Inf. -ήμεναι (Od.), ind. -ήω (Sapph.), aor. ποθ-έσαι (Il.), -ῆσαι (IA), fut. -έσομαι (Att.), -ήσω (IA), perf. πεπόθ-ηκα, -ημαι (late).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, especially ἐπι-.

•DER (ἐπι-)πόθ-ησις, -ημα (Aq., *Ep. Cor.*, et al.), ἐπιποθ-ία (*Ep. Rom.*) 'longing'; also ποθ-ητός [f.] 'id.' (Opp.), -ήτωρ [m.] 'desirous person' (Man.).

Furthermore πόθος [m.] 'desire, longing, love' (Il.), also a plant name (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 107, ποθή [f.] 'id.' (Hom., late prose), ποθεινός 'longed for' (Lyr., trag., also Att. prose), after ἀλγεινός etc.; ποθινός 'id.' (*AP*).

•ETYM Formally, ποθέω directly corresponds to OIr. *guidid* 'to pray'= PIE *$g^{wh}od^h$-*éie-*, which is an iterative formation. Additionally, Balto-Slavic has a nasal present in Lith. *pa-si-gendù*, *-gèsti* 'to long for, miss', OCS *žędati* 'to desire, long for' < *$g^{wh}end^h$-. The related aorist ►θέσσασθαι can be compared to the OIr. *s*-subj. 1pl. *-gessam* < *$g^{wh}ed^h$-*s*-. In Indo-Iranian, the root is found in YAv. *jaiδiiemi* 'to ask for'. The development *g^{wh}- > *b*-, needed to account for the Gm. group of Go. *bidjan* 'to pray', is controversial. On the concept of πόθος, see now Weiss *HSPh.* 98 (1998): 31-61.

ποι [prep.]
•DIAL Arg., Phoc., Locr.
•ETYM See ►ποτί.

ποιέω [v.] 'to do, make, produce (also of poetry), act', med. also 'to choose, deem, appraise' (Il.). ◄IE *k^wi-eu-*, *k^wei-u-* 'gather, deem'►
•VAR Aor. ποιῆσαι, fut. ποιήσω, perf. med. πεποίημαι (all Il.), act. πεποίηκα, aor. pass. ποιηθῆναι (IA), fut. ποιηθήσομαι (D.), πεποιήσομαι (Hp.).
•COMP Often prefixed in different senses, e.g. with ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, περι-, προσ-. As a second member -ποιός in productive compounds, e.g. λογοποιός [m.] 'historian, fabulist, newsmonger' (IA) with λογοποι-έω, -ία, -ικός, -ημα.
•DER 1. ποίημα (προσ-, περι-) [n.] 'production, work, poem' (IA) with -ημάτιον (Plu.), -ηματικός 'poetic' (Plu.); 2. ποίησις (προσ-, περι-, ἐκ- etc.) [f.] 'creation, production, poetry' (IA); on the meaning of ποί-ημα, -ησις see Ardizzoni *Riv. fil. class.* 90 (1962): 225ff., Chantraine 1933: 287. 3. ποιητός (προσ-, ἐκ-, etc.) 'made, produced' (Il.), also 'made artificially, not by nature' = 'adopted' (Pl., Arist.). 4. ποιητής [m.] (IA), fem. -ήτρια (Hell.) 'creator, producer, poet', especially of Homer, with -ητικός 'creating, poetic', ἡ -ητική (τέχνη) 'the art of poetry' (Pl., Arist.), -ητικεύομαι 'to speak poetically, etc.' (Eust., sch.). 5. desiderative ποιησείω 'to wish to do' (Hdn.).
•ETYM The verbal root must have contained a ϝ; cf. Arg. ποιϝῆσανς, ἐποιϝῆνε, ἐποιϝῆθε, Boeot. ἐποιϝῆσε, pres. opt. El. [πο]ιϝέοι (beside repeated ποιέοι), which derive from *ποιϝεjω. Usually derived from a stem *k^wei-u-*, akin to Skt. *cinóti* 'to pile, arrange, erect', Av. *cinuuaiti* 'to select' < *k^wi-n(e)u-ti* (Pok. 637-638), but the exact derivation is unclear. It has often been argued that the verb is derived from a noun *ποιϝος (Schwyzer: 450, 726[7]), but this only occurs in compounds from the Vth c. onwards. The alternative view that it continues a root *k^weiu-*, abstracted from the *nu*-present *$k^wineuti$ > Skt. *cinóti* (Frisk, DELG), is rejected by LIV[2]. On the meaning of ποιέω and other *verba faciendi*, see Braun *Stud. ital. fil. class.*N. S. 15 (1938): 243ff.; also, Valesio *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Glottologia* (Bologna) 5 (1960): 97ff.

ποικίλος [adj.] 'varicolored, wrought in many colors (stitched, knitted, woven), manifold, versatile, cunning' (Il.). ◄IE *peiḱ- 'stitch, paint'►
•DIAL Myc. *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* /poikil-ōnuk^{h}a/ [n.pl.].
•COMP E.g. ποικιλό-θρονος (see θρόνα and Bolling *AmJPh.* 79 (1958): 275ff.), πολυ-ποίκιλος 'much variegated' (E.).
•DER 1. ποικιλ-ία [f.] 'variegation, diversity, embroidering' (IA); 2. -ίας [m.] fish name (Paus.), see Strömberg 1943: 25, Thompson 1947 s.v., -ίς [f.] name of a bird that eats

the lark's eggs (Arist.), Thompson 1895 s.v.; 3. -εύς [m.] 'embroiderer, stitcher' (Alex. Com.).

4. Denominative verb ποικ-ίλλω 'to make varicolored, work artfully, etc.', also with δια-, κατα- etc., whence -ιλμα [n.] 'varicolored work, stitching, etc.' (Il.), -ιλμός [m.] 'elaboration, decoration' (Epicur., Plu.), -ιλσις [f.] 'id.' (Pl.); -ιλτής [m.] 'embroiderer, stitcher' (Aeschin., Arist.), fem. -ίλτρια (Str.), -ιλτικός 'belonging to stitching' (LXX, etc.); ποικ-ιλόω [v.] 'to stitch' (A. *Fr.* 304 = 609 Mette); -ιλεύομαι [v.] 'to be artful, versatile' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM The suffixation -ίλος (cf. κόϊλος, ναυτίλος, ὀργίλος, etc.) implies a root *ποικ-, which is directly comparable to Skt. *péśa-* [m.] 'ornament', Av. *paēsa-* [m.] 'leprosy', Lith. *paīšas* [m.] 'smut, dust-spot' < PIE **poiḱ-o-*; the same formation (also as an adjective) occurs in Skt. *puru-péśa-*, Av. *paēsa-* 'leprous', Go. *filu-faihs* 'πολυποίκιλος'.

These derive from the verbal root **piḱ-*, seen in OCS *pьsati* 'to write', *n*-present Skt. *piṃśáti* 'to carve, cut, ornament', Lat. *pingō* 'to stitch with a needle, paint' (through nasalized coda **pi*^{n}*g*^{n}- from **pik-n-*). Cf. ►πικρός 'cutting in, stitching'. The forms πεικόν· πικρόν, πευκεδανόν (H.) and ►πίγγαλος are uncertain.

ποιμήν, -ένος [m.] 'herdsman, shepherd', metaph. 'guardian, leader, master' (Il.). ◄IE **peh₂-(i-)* 'protect'►

•DIAL Myc. *po-me* /poimēn/.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ποιμ-άνωρ = ποιμὴν ἀνδρῶν with ποιμανόρ-ιον [n.] 'herd, troop of men' (A. *Pers.* 241 and 74); φιτυ-ποίμην 'guardian of plants' (A. *Eu.* 911).

•DER ποιμέν-ιος (*AP*, *APl.*), earlier and more often attested is -ικός (Pl., Hell. poet.) 'belonging to herdsmen'; -ισσα [f.] 'shepherdess' (pap. III^{a}); ποίμν-η [f.] 'herd, flock of sheep' (ι 122) with -ιον [n.] 'id.' (IA); -ένιον (Opp.), -ιος 'belonging to herds' (E.), -ήϊος (B 470, Hes.), -ικός (pap. III^{p}), -ίτης (E., Poll.), -ιώτης (sch.) 'id.'; -ηθεν [adv.] 'of the herd' (A. R.).

Denominative verb ποιμαίνω 'to be a herdsman, to herd, pasture', med. 'to graze', of the herd (Il.), rarely with δια-, συν-; thence ποιμαν-τήρ = ποιμήν (S.), -τικός = ποιμενικός (Gal., H.), ποιμασία [f.] 'the grazing' (Ph.). Also πῶυ, -εος [n.] 'flock of sheep' (epic, Il.).

•ETYM Formally, ποιμήν has an exact correspondence with Lith. *piemuõ*, gen. *piemeñs* 'herdsman' = PIE **poh₂i-mōn*, **poh₂i-mén-s;* the neuter πῶυ < **poh₂i-u*, **poh₂i-eu-(o)s* is formally close to Skt. *pāyú-*, Av. *pāiiu-* [m.] 'herdsman, protector' < nom. **poh₂i-u-s*, gen. **poh₂i-u-os*; all are from the primary verb **peh₂-ti* > Skt. *pā́ti* 'to keep, protect', whence also *go-pā́-* [m.] 'cowherd'. The frequent *i*-extension seems to imply the pre-existence of an *i*-present, 3sg. **ph₂-éi-ti*, 3pl. **ph₂-i-énti*; from this verb probably derives Skt. *nṛ-pā́y-(i)ya-* 'protecting men', *nṛ́-pī-ti-* [f.] 'protection of men'. Cf. ►πῶμα 1.

ποινή [f.] 'ransom, fine, penalty, vengeance' (Il., epic poet.). ◄IE *$\hat{k}^{w}$oi-neh₂* 'punishment, vengeance'►

•COMP E.g. ποιν-ηλατέω 'to pursue with vengeance' (see ►ἐλαύνω), νή-ποινος 'unpunished, unavenged' (Od.); on ►ἄποινα s.v.

•DER 1. ποι[ν]ίον [n.] = ποινή (Delph. IV[a]), like πεδ-ίον, χωρ-ίον, etc.; 2. adjectives ποίν-ιμος 'avenging' (S.), -αῖος 'punishing, avenging' (late); 3. verbs ποιν-άομαι 'to avenge oneself' (E.) with -άτωρ (A., E.), -ήτωρ (Nonn.), -ητήρ (Opp.) 'avenger'; fem. -ῆτις 'avengeress' (AP); -ίζομαι in aor. -ίξασθαι 'to exact a penalty' (Arc. VI[a]). 4. ποινώματα· τιμωρήματα 'vengeances' (H.), after μίσθωμα, κεφάλωμα, μηχάνωμα, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 187).

•ETYM Identical with Av. *kaēnā-* [f.] 'punishment, vengeance', Lith. *káina* [f.] 'price, utility', OCS *cěna* [f.] 'τιμή', Ru. *cená* [f.] 'price, value' < **k^{w}oi-neh$_{2}$-*, from the verbal root **k^{w}ei-* seen in Skt. *cáyate* 'to avenge, punish' (cf. ἀπότισις, τίσις beside *ápa-citi-* [f.] 'revenge'), Av. *kaii-* 'to atone, make pay'. Within Greek, this root is continued in ►τίνω, etc. Borrowed as Lat. *poena* >> MoE *pain*.

ποῖος [interrog. pron.] 'of what kind?' (Il.). ◅IE **k^{w}o-* 'who?'▻

•VAR Ion. κοῖος.

•ETYM From interrogative **k^{w}o-* 'who?' (see ►πόθεν) with suffixal -οῖος; see ►τοῖος.

ποιπνύω [v.] 'to snort, pant, bustle about panting, be bustling' (epic since Il.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Thence aor. ποιπνῦσαι.

•DER Dat.pl. [π]οιπνυτρ[ο]ισι (Antim. in *PMilan.* 17, 43 in unknown meaning, cf. ed. ad loc.); explained by H. as σπουδαίοις 'earnest'. In ποιπνυός· θεράπων 'attendant' (H.), the ending is corrupt.

•ETYM Reduplicated intensive formation ποι-πνύω (Schwyzer: 647) from ►πνέω, ►πέπνυμαι. Cf. ►ποιφύσσω.

ποιφύσσω [v.] 'to snort, hiss, puff, blow' (Hell. poet., title in Sophr.), ποιφύξαι· ἐκφοβῆσαι 'to alarm' (H.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Dor. fut. -φυξω.

•DER ποίφυγμα [n.] 'the blowing' (A. *Th.* 280), ποιφύγδην [adv.] 'hissing' (Nic.); the sch. on Nic. has a pres. ποιφύζειν.

•ETYM Reduplicated intensive formation of onomatopoeic character; see on ►φῦσα.

πόκος ⇒πέκω.

πόλεμος [m.] 'battle, war' (Il.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Epic also πτόλεμος.

•DIAL Myc. *e-u-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo* /Euru-ptolemoio/.

•COMP E.g. πολέμ-αρχος [m.] "warlord", name of an official (IA, Dor.), φιλο-π(τ)όλεμος 'friend of battles, warlike' (Il.).

•DER A. Adjectives: 1. πολέμ-ιος 'militant, hostile', as a substantive 'enemy' (Pi., IA); 2. -ήϊος 'belonging to battle, war' (Il., epic); metrically conditioned, probably after Ἀρήϊος (Trümpy 1950: 134); 3. -ικός 'belonging to war, militant, hostile' (Hdt. 3, 4 as a v.l., Att.); 4. -ώδης 'id.' (Olymp. *in Grg.*).

B. Verbs: 1. πολεμ-έω 'to battle, fight a war' (IA), often with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-, ἐκ-; thence -ήτωρ (Antioch. Astr.), -ητής (Gytheion III[p]) [m.] 'warrior', -ητήριον [n.] 'military base, operation base, headquarters' (Plb.); διαπολέμησις [f.] 'ending of the

war' (Th.). 2. πολεμίζω (also πτολ-) 'to fight' (Il., epic), metrical for -έω, see Chantraine 1942: 95; thence -ιστής [m.] 'fighter, warrior' (Il., epic), fem. -ίστρια (Heraclit. *Ep.*), -ιστρίς (Tz.), -ιστήριος 'belonging to warriors' (IA). 3. πολεμ-όομαι 'to become enemies' (Hdt., Th., X.), also with ἐκ-, etc., whence ἐκπολέμ-ωσις [f.] 'becoming of enemies' (Plu.). 4. Desiderative πολεμησείω 'to wish for war' (Th., D. C.).

PNs, e.g. Πολέμων, whence the plantname πολεμώνιον (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 135; Πτολεμαῖος.

•ETYM The alternation between initial πτ- and π- (see Schwyzer: 325 with literature, as well as Trümpy 1950: 131 ff., Ruijgh 1957: 75f., and Merlingen 1956: 55f.), although echoed by ►πόλις < PIE **tpolh₁-i-*, must have been adopted from Pre-Greek (Fur.: 317). Formally, the word has been linked with πελεμίζω 'to shake, tremble', and more distantly to πάλλω, but this is semantically unattractive.

πολιός [adj.] 'whitish-grey', especially of hair, also of foaming seas (Il., epic, also Hell.). ◁IE? **pol-io-* 'grey'▷

•COMP E.g. πολιο-κρόταφος 'with grey temples' (Θ 518 et al.), ὑπο-, ἐπι-πόλιος 'grizzled, mixed with grey' (Anacr., D.), probably back-formations (cf. ἐπιπολιόομαι below), see Strömberg 1946: 101ff.; on μεσαι-πόλιος see ►μέσος.

•DER 1. Fem. πολιάς (Luc. *Lex.*); 2. πόλιον [n.] 'Teucrium polium or creticum' (Thphr., Nic., Dsc.), named after the color of the flower (Dsc. 3, 1 10); 3. πολιότης [f.] 'greyness' (Arist.), πολιά (from πολι-ιά) [f.] 'id.', also as a disease (Arist.); 4. denominative πολι-αίνομαι 'to become whitish', of the sea (A. *Pers.* 109 [lyr.]); -όομαι 'to become grey', -όω 'to make grey' (Arist.), also with ἐπι-, προ-, whence -ωσις [f.] 'becoming grey' (Arist.), -ωμα [n.] 'greyness' (Eust.); -άζω 'to become grey' (sch.).

•ETYM The formation πολιός has been reconstructed as from *πολιϝο- on the basis of Myc. *po-ri-wa* and the link with Skt. *palitá-* 'grey', but the appurtenance of the Myc. word is quite uncertain, and the Sanskrit word may contain a suffix *-ita-*. Since, furthermore, the reconstruction **pol-i-uo-* with its double suffixation is *a priori* improbable, the original form must rather be set to **pol-io-*; cf. Arm. *alik'* [pl.] 'wave's crests, white tuft, beard' < **pl-io-es*. With the suffix *-uo-* for color designations, we find the related formations Lith. *palvas* 'light yellow, straw-colored', OCS *plavъ* 'white', ON *fǫlr* 'pale' < **pol-uo-*. Cf. ►πελιός.

πόλις [f.] 'citadel, fort, city, city community, state' (Il.), on the meaning in Hom. Hoffmann 1956: 153ff. ◁IE **tpelH-* 'fortification' from **pelH-* 'pout'?▷

•VAR Ion. -ιος, -ηος, also πτόλις, -εως (epic, Cypr., Thess., Arc.).

•DIAL Myc. *po-to-ri-jo* has been interpreted as *Πτολίων.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in πτολί-πορθος (-πόρθιος, -πόρθης) 'sacking cities, destroyer of cities' (Il., epic); enlarged in IA πολιοῦχος (from -ιο-ουχ.); Dor. πολι-ᾶ-οχος, -ιᾶχος, epic πολι-ή-οχος 'ruling a city, city protector'; unexplained is πολισσο- in πολισσοῦχος, πολισσο-νομέω (A.). Very frequent as a second member, e.g. ἀκρο-πολις = πόλις ἄκρη 'upper town, citadel' (Od.); on this and related compounds, see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 261ff.

•DER 1. With a secondary suffix πτολί-εθρον [n.] (epic Il.); cf. μέλαθρον, θέμεθλα, ἔδεθλον (Schwyzer: 533). 2. Diminutive πολίχνη [f.], often as a TN (IA), with -ίχνιον (Att.); πολίδιον (ῑ̆) [n.] (Str.). 3. Πολιεύς (-ηύς) [m.] 'city guardian' (Thera before V^a, Arist., Hell.); fem. Πολιάς (IA, Arg.). 4. πολῖτης (epic, Sapph., Att.) 'citizen, townsman', πολι-ᾱ̆-τας, -ή-της [m.] (Dor. Aeol., B 806, Ion.), after οἰκιά-τας, -ιή-της, etc., fem. -ῖτις (S., E., Pl.); hence πολιτ-ικός 'civic, political' (Hdt. 7, 103, Att.); -εύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to be a citizen, take part in state affairs' (Att., etc.), πολιατεύω (Gortyn), whence -εία, Ion. -ηίη, -ευμα (Hdt., Att.); also πολιτισμός 'administration' (D. L.), see Chantraine 1933: 143. 5. Denominative πολίζω 'to found (a city), cultivate a place by founding a city' (epic Ion., X.), aor. -ίσ(σ)αι, also prefixed (rare and late) with ἐν-, συν-, etc. Thence πόλ-ισμα 'foundation (of a city)' (Ion. poet., Th.), -ισμάτιον (Hell.), -ισμός 'foundation of a city' (D. H., Lyd.), -ιστής 'founder of a city' (rejected in Poll. 9, 6).

•ETYM Together with the variant πτόλις (= Arc. Πτόλις, name of the castle in Mantinea; Thess. οἱ ττολίαρχοι with assimilation) from PIE **tpolH-*, to which correspond the zero-grades Skt. *pū́r*, gen. *puraḥ* [f.], Lith. *pilìs* [f.] < **plH-*. The two forms suggest that PIE had an ablauting root noun (cf. Pok. 798-801). Original meaning 'hill top'; cf. the *s*-stem **pélH-s*, **plH-és-os* supported by OIr. *all* [n.] 'cliff', ON *fjall* [n.] 'mountain'.

πόλος [m.]⇒πέλομαι.

πόλτος [m.] 'flour porridge' (Alcm., Epich., Plu.). ◁?▷

•COMP πολτο-ποιέω 'to make into π.' (Orib.).

•DER Diminutive πολτάριον [n.] (Dsc.), adjective πολτώδης 'porridge-like' (Erot.).

•ETYM The form **pol-to-* is reminiscent of ►πάλη 'fine flour' < **plH-eh$_2$-* and ►πέλανος 'liquid substance (of flour)' < **pelh$_2$-no-*. Outside Greek, it has been compared with Lat. *puls*, *-tis* [f.], which is reconstructed as **pol(H)-t-* with the Saussure Effect, and sometimes with *pollen* [n.] 'flour, powder' < **polH-n-* (cf. De Vaan 2008: 474). The Saussure Effect would need to be invoked in order to connect the Greek as **pol(h$_2$)-to-*. The situation is obscured, however, because the nominal formations may have been derived relatively recently from the verb ►παλλω. A final alternative would be that πόλτος is a substrate word, related to e.g. παλάθη 'cake of conserved fruits' and πλάθανον 'cake mold' (suggested by Van Beek 2009).

πολύς [adj.] 'much, many, often' (Il.). ◁IE **p(e)lh$_1$-u-* 'many'▷

•VAR πολλή, πολύ, Ion. poet. alo πολλός, πολλόν.

•COMP Highly productive as a first member, e.g. πολύ-τροπος 'much-wandering, much-turned, wily', of Odysseus, Hermes and others (Od., *h. Merc.*), 'many-shaped' (Th.). On the Homeric compounds in πολυ- see Stanford *Class. Phil.* 45 (1950): 108ff. Beside this, we rarely find πολλα-, e.g. πολλα-πλάσιος, -πλήσιος 'manifold' (IA), like δεκα-πλάσιος, πολλά-κις etc.; see also δι-πλάσιος. Compar. and superl. ►πλείων, πλέων, πλεῖστος (from **pleh$_1$-is-to-*), s.v.; innovation πόλιστος (*Tab. Heracl.*), see Seiler 1950: 61.

•DER πολλότης [f.] 'plurality' (Damasc.), πολλ-οστός "the manieth", 'one of many, small' (Att.), after εἰκοστός etc.; -άκις 'often' (Il.), epic and lyr. also -κι; after δεκά-κις etc.; explanation uncertain.

•ETYM The *o*-grade in πολύς, -ύ < **polh₁-u-* is flanked by a zero grade in Skt. *purú-* 'many' < IE **pl̥h₁-u-* and an *e*-grade in e.g. OIr. *il*, Go. *filu* 'many' < **pelh₁-u-*. The geminated stem πολλο- is not certainly explained; it is mostly assumed that it contains the same suffix as in μεγαλ-. The adjective is an old derivative of the verbal root 'to fill' as in ►πίμπλημι.

πολφοί [m.pl.] farinaceous food, 'wire noodles' (com.). ◄?►

•VAR Also sg. -ός.

•COMP πολφο-φάκη [f.] 'dish of wire noodles and lentils' (Poll. 6, 61).

•ETYM Of unknown origin. Perhaps somehow connected with πλεφίς· σησαμίς (H.).

πομπή ⇒πέμπω.

πομφόλυξ, πομφός ⇒πέμφιξ.

πονέομαι, πόνος ⇒πένομαι.

πόντος [m.] 'sea' (Il., epic), often in names, e.g. ὁ Εὔξεινος πόντος 'the Black Sea', for which also (ὁ) Πόντος (IA), also as a name of the southern coast of the Black Sea and a state in that area (App. et al.). ◄IE **pont-eh₁-*, **pn̥t-h₁-* 'path'►

•COMP E.g. ποντο-πόρος 'crossing the sea' (Il., epic), with ποντοπορ-έω, -εύω [v.] 'to cross the sea' (Od.), on the formation see Chantraine 1942: 62, 95 and 368); on ►Ἑλλήσποντος see s.v.

•DER 1. πόντ-ιος 'belonging to the sea' (*h. Hom.*, Pi.), fem. -ιάς (Pi.); 2. -ικός 'from Pontos' (IA); 3. -ίλος [m.] name of a mollusc (Arist.), cf. ναυτ-ίλος; 4. -εύς [m.] name of a Phaeacian (θ 113); 5. ποντ-ίζω [v.] (A., S.), elsewhere with κατα- (Att., NT) 'to sink into the sea', whence ποντίσματα [n.pl.] 'oblations sunk into the sea' (E.), καταποντ-ισμός [m.] 'the drowning' (Isoc., LXX), -ιστής [m.] 'one who throws into the sea, who lets drown' (Att.); 6. κατα-ποντ-όω 'id.' (IA); ποντ-όομαι 'to form a sea' (Q. S.), -όω = -ίζω (Nic. Dam.), with -ωσις [f.] (Tz.).

•ETYM Together with ►πάτος, πόντος represents an old IE **h₁*-stem with ablaut of the root, viz. **pont-éh₁-s*, gen. **pnt-h₁-ós*; cf. Skt. *pánthāḥ*, gen. *pathaḥ*, Av. *pantå*, gen. *paθō*, Lat. *pōns*, gen. *pontis* [m.] 'bridge, passage', Arm. *hun* 'ford', OCS *pǫtь* [m.] 'road', OPr. *pintis* 'id.', etc. In Germanic, the root is mainly verbal; cf. Go. *finþan* 'to find', etc. < **pent-e/o-*. See ►πατέω.

πόπανον ⇒πέσσω.

πόποι interjection of surprise, disagreement, etc. (Il., epic). ◄PG►

•VAR Epic ὦ πόποι. Also πόπαξ (A. *Eu.* 143).

•ETYM Creation like ►παπαῖ, ►βαβαί, -άξ. On the reinterpretation of ὦ πόποι (also ὤ) as 'oh gods!' in Lycophr. and Euph., see Leumann 1950: 33 and Ruijgh 1957: 101.

ποπύζω [v.] 'to click with the tongue', as a calling signal, etc. (com., Thphr., Theoc.). ◄PG►

•VAR Dor. -ύσδω.

•DER ποππ-υσμός [m.] (X., Plu.), -υσμα [n.], (Dexipp. *in Cat.*, Juv.) 'the clicking'; enlarged in ποππυ-λιάσδω 'id.' (Theoc.), cf. βομβυλιάζω (see βόμβος).

•ETYM Onomatopoeia with reduplication.

πορεῖν [aor.] 'to provide, donate, offer, grant' (Il., epic). ◁IE *$perh_3$- 'give'▷

•VAR πέπρωται [perf.] 'it is given or decided (by fate)', ptc. πεπρωμένος (Il., epic); ptc. πρωτός (Hdn. Gr.).

•ETYM Morphologically similar to e.g. μολεῖν : μέμβλωκα < *$melh_3$-. The verb is derived from the root *$perh_3$-, which is also found in Skt. *pūr-dhi* [ipv.] 'give!' < *prh_3-d^hi. Because of the color of the laryngeal, the verb cannot be related to περάω, πείρω 'to penetrate' < *$perh_2$-(*i*)*e*/*o*-, nor to πέρνημι 'to sell' < *pr-neh_2-*mi*.

πορθέω ⇒πέρθω.

πορθμός ⇒πείρω.

πόρις, -ιος [f.] 'calf, heifer', metaph. 'young girl' (epic since κ 410); also πόρταξ [f.] 'id.' (*P* 4) modeled after δέλφαξ, σκύλαξ, etc. ◁?▷

•VAR More common is πόρτις, -ιος (epic since E 162).

•DIAL Myc. *po-ti-pi* /portip^{h}i/ [instr.pl.].

•DER πορτι-τρόφος 'feeding calves' (*h. Ap.*, B.); glosses πορτάκινον (or -ιον?)· μοσχίον 'young calf', πορτάζει (or -ακίζει?)· δαμαλίζεται 'is subdued' (H.).

•ETYM Presupposes IE *por-*i*-, an *i*-stem beside e.g. ON *farri*, OHG *far(ro)* 'bull' < *por-*só*(*n*)- / *por-*nó*(*n*)-, MHG *verse*, MoHG *Färse* [f.] 'young cow' < *por-*s*-ih_2-. Perhaps from a verb *prH-*e*/*o*- as in Lat. *pariō* 'to mate' (Lith. *perėti* 'to brood, sit on eggs', however, has no laryngeal in the root, and therefore cannot be related).

πόρκης [m.] 'ring around the shaft of a spear, holding the metal spearhead' (Z 320 = Θ 495). ◁?▷

•DER πορκώδης 'like a π.' (Eust.).

•ETYM Suffixation like in γύης, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 30, Schwyzer: 461), but no further etymology. Cf. ►πόρκος and ►πόρπη.

πόρκος [m.] 'kind of fishing-net' (Pl., com.) ◁?▷

•DER πορκεύς [m.] 'net-fisher' (Lyc.).

•ETYM Etymology uncertain: if connected with Arm. *ors* 'hunting, hunting-booty', it derives from PIE *$pork$-*o*- (Patrubány *KZ* 37 (1904): 428). Doubts on the meaning of the Arm. word in Clackson 1994: 164. Cf. ►πόρκης.

πόρνη [f.] 'prostitute, whore' (IA). ◁IE *$perh_2$- 'sell'▷

•COMP E.g. πορνο-βοσκός [m.] 'procurer', with -έω, -ία, -εῖον (Herod., Att.); πορνο-λύτας [m.] (inscr. Tarentum), see Parlangèli *Glotta* 40 (1962): 50.

•DER 1. Diminutive πορν-ίδιον [n.] (com.); 2. -ικός 'belonging to harlots' (Aesch., LXX); 3. -εῖον [n.] 'brothel' (Ar., Antipho), 4. -οσύνη [f.] 'prostitution' (Man.); 5. -εύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to live like a harlot; to prostitute', also metaph. 'to practise idolatry' (NT), with -εία, -ευσις, -ευμα, -εύτρια (IA). From πόρνη also πόρνος [m.] 'lover-boy, lover' (Att., LXX, NT).

•ETYM Linked to ►πέρνημι 'to sell', and hence derived from **porh₂-neh₂-*. The loss of laryngeal is mostly ascribed to Saussure's Law (loss of laryngeal after *o*-grade); for a different interpretation (loss between liquid and nasal), see Van Beek 2009.

πόρος [m.]⇒πείρω.

πόρπη [f.] 'clasp' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER πορπίον, -άω, -ημα, -όομαι, -ωμα; with a suffix -ᾱκ-: πόρπᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'ring or loop on the inner (bulging) side of a shield' (B., S., E. Ar.), 'part of the headgear of a horse' (E. *Rh.* 385) with -ᾱκιζομαι (Ar.); originally a Doric expression, see Chantraine 1933: 381, Björck 1950: 296f.

•ETYM Neither a reduplicated formation from πείρω, nor a creation **pork-ueh₂-* from πόρκης makes sense (pace e.g. WP 2, 39). Fur.: 163 connects πορφίτῳ· περόνῃ 'buckle' (H.), and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek on account of the variation π/φ.

πόρσω [adv.] 'forward, beyond, far away from something, away' (Pi., trag. [lyr.]). ◁IE **per*, or **preti, proti* 'forward'▷

•VAR πόρρω (Att.). Compar. and superl. πόρσ-ιον, -ιστα (Pi.), see Seiler 1950: 106f.; πορρω-τέρω, -τάτω (Att.). Adverb πόρσω-θεν (Archyt.), πόρρω-θεν (Att.) 'from far'.

•DER Denominatives 1. πορσ-ύνω [v.] 'to accomplish, provide' (epic Ion., also X.), also with ἐπι-, συν-, originally 'to bring forth' (cf. Lat. *producere*, MoHG *hervorbringen*); 2. πορσαίνω 'id.' (Hom. v.l., *h. Cer.*, Pi.), rejected by Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 261.

•ETYM May be identical to Lat. *porrō*, Praen. *porod* 'forward' if < **p(o)rsō(d)*, with an ending like in ἄνω, κάτω, etc. DELG, however, prefers to derive πόρσω from πρόσω (< **προτι̯* + -ω) with metathesis (comparing ►πρότι beside πόρτι), because both words share the same sense. See ►πρόσω.

πορφύρα [f.] 'purple dye, purple snail, purple clothes' (Sapph., Hdt., A.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Ion. -ρη.

•COMP E.g. πορφυρό-ζωνος 'with a purple girdle' (B.), παμ-πόρφυρος 'consisting only of purple, all-purple' (Pi.), ἐπι-, ὑπο-πόρφυρος 'something purple' (Thphr., Arist.), see Strömberg 1946: 104f., 138; also άλι-πόρφυρος 'of sea purple, dyed with real purple, purple-red' (Od.); different Marzullo *Maia* 3 (1950): 132ff., Marzullo 1970: 255.

•DER 1. πορφύρ-εος (Att. -οῦς, Aeol. -ιος) 'purple, purple dye', of cloth(e)s, also of blood, etc. (Il.), cf. on ►πορφύρω. 2. πορφυρ-εύς [m.] 'purple snail fisher' (Hdt., Arist.), with -ευτικός 'belonging to the πορφυρεύς (-ευτής?)' (E., Poll.), probably after άλιευ-τικός, cf. Fraenkel 1912: 63¹, Chantraine 1956a: 119; πορφυρ-εύω [v.] 'to fish for purple snails' (Philostr.), -ευτής [m.] = -εύς (Poll.). 3. πορφυρ-ίς [f.] 'purple garment' (X.), also name of a bird (Ibyc.), see Thompson 1895 s.v. 4. diminutive πορφύρ-ιον [n.] (Arist.), also 'purpur cloth' (pap.). 5. -εῖον [n.] 'purple dye house' (Str.). 6. -ίτης (λίθος), fem. -ῖτις 'like porphyry, containing porphyry' (Plin., inscr., ostr.), -ιτικός 'containing porphyry' (pap.). 7. πορφυρ-ίων [m.] 'purple coot, Fulica porphyrion' (Ar., Arist.), see Thompson 1895 s.v., Chantraine 1933: 165. 8. -ική [f.]

'purple taxes (pap. II^{a}). 9. πορφυρώματα· τῶν ταῖς θεαῖς τυθέντων χοίρων τὰ κρέα 'the meat of pigs offered to the gods' (H.). 10. πορφυρ-ίζω 'to make purple' (Arist., Thphr.), also with ἐπι-, ὑπο-. 11. TNs like Πορφυρ- ίς, -εών.

•ETYM There are no Indo-European connections; probably a loanword from a Mediterranean language. On πορφύρα, -ύρεος, -ύρω, see Vieillefond *REGr.* 51 (1938): 403ff.; further, Castrignanò *Maia* 5 (1952): 18ff., Gipper *Glotta* 42 (1964): 39ff., and Tichy 1983: 280ff. Borrowed as Lat. *purpura*, whence MoE *purple*, etc.

πορφύρω [v.] 1. 'to surge, boil', of the sea (Ξ 16, Arat., A. R.), metaph. of the heart (Od., A. R., Q. S.); 2. 'to dye purple, redden' (Hell.), 'to paint red' (Nonn.). ◁?▷

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•COMP With περι- (Man.).

•DER πορφύρεος (Aeol. -ιος) 'boiling, whirly', of the sea (Hom., Alc.); to be kept apart from πορφύρεος 'purple'.

•ETYM Reduplicated formation like ►μορμύρω (s.v. with lit.); for πορφύρεος, cf. μαρμάρεος from ►μαρμαίρω. Traditionally compared to Skt. *jár-bhurīti* 'to have convulsions, sprawl' from the primary verb *bhuráti* 'id.' (see further on ►φύρω). In the sense 'to dye purple', πορφύρω was adapted to πορφύρα. Discussion in Tichy 1983: 280ff.

πός [prep.] = ►ποτί, ►πρός. ◁IE **pos* 'near, after', **poti*▷

•VAR Before vowel also πο- (Arc. Cypr., Phr., Pisid.).

•ETYM Traditionally thought to be identical in origin with Lith. *pàs* 'by, near', OCS *po* 'behind, after' < **pos*, which would also be present in Lat. *post* < **posti*, Alb. *pas* 'behind, after', etc. However, DELG is quite explicit in its rejection of this comparison, arguing that all Greek variants πότ-, πός, πο- must be expained from **poti* > Myc. *po-si*.

πόσθη [f.] 'penis' (Ar. *Nu.* 1014), also 'foreskin' (medic.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Cf. ἀκροβυστία below.

•DER Diminutive πόσθιον [n.] (Hp., Ar.); -ία [f.] 'foreskin' (Ph.), metaph. 'stye on the eyelid' (medic.); perhaps shortened from ἀκρο-ποσθ-ία (Scheller 1951: 43^{2}); -ων, -ωνος [m.] 'provided with a π.', vulgar designation of a boy (Ar. *Pax* 1300; meaning unclear in Luc. *Lex.* 12); also PNs like -ίων, -ύλος; perhaps also Βόσθων (Halicarn.), O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 10 (1975): 162.

Furthermore ποσθ-αλίων (Dor. inscr. around 200^{a}), with a familiar enlargement -λ-; see Taillardat *RPh.* 87 (1961): 249f.; -αλίσκος = -ων (Ar. *Th.* 291; conj. Dindorf, accepted by Taillardat l.c.).

Compound ἀκρο-ποσθ-ία [f.] (Hp., Arist.) -ιον [n.] (Poll., Ruf.) 'foreskin'; for this ἀκροβυστία [f.] 'id.', coll. 'the uncircumcized people' = 'heathendom' (LXX, NT), formerly assumed to contain a folk-etymological euphemism after βύω (*EM* 53, 47, Blass & Debrunner 1959 §120, 4).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ►πέος < **peso-*, but the required derivation **pos-$d^{h}h_{1}$-o-* is rather artificial. If ἀκρο-βυστία is not analogical, the word must be Pre-Greek in view of the variation. This explanation is increasingly attractive in view of the semantic field. Note that the derivation from **$g^{wh}osd^{h}$-eh_{2}-* (Szemerényi *Archiv.*

Linguist. 5 (1953): 13ff.) is wrong, because root was *$g^{w}osd$-; cf. OSw. *kvaster* [m.] 'twig, brush', OIr. *bot* [m.] 'tail, penis' < *$g^{w}osd$-o-.

πόσις 1, -ιος [m.] 'husband, spouse, consort' (Il., epic poet.), cf. Chantraine *REGr.* 59-60 (1946-1947): 219ff.). ◁IE *$poti$- 'lord (of the house), husband'▷

•ETYM Old and widespread designation of the lord of the house and the husband: Skt. *páti-*, Av. *paiti-* 'lord, ruler, husband', Lith. *pàts* 'husband' (for older *patìs*), ToA *pats*, ToB *petso* [obl.] 'husband', Lat. *potis* 'capable, powerful', all from IE *$póti$-. The word is often used as a second member of a compound or with a gen., e.g. ►δεσπότης, Skt. *viś-páti-* 'lord of the house', Lith. *vieš-pats* 'Lord-(god)' (cf. on ►οἶκος), Lat. *hos-pes* 'guest, host', Ru. *gos-pód'* 'Lord, god', Go. *bruþ-faþs* 'bridegroom'.

The meaning 'lord, husband' is usually explained (see Benveniste *Word* 10 (1954): 256, following Pedersen) from an older meaning 'self' in Lith. *pàts* (and in Av. *$^{x^{v}}aē$-paiti-*) and in the particle Lith. *pàt* 'self, even', Hitt. *=pat* 'the same, also, even, etc.'; however, the Hittite particle probably derives from *-$b^{h}od$ (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). This interpretation is extensively criticized and rejected by Szemerényi 1964: 337ff. See ►πότνια and ►Ποσειδῶν.

πόσις 2 'drink, beverage'. ⇒πίνω.

πόσος [interr. pron.] 'how great?, how much?, how many?' (Att.). ◁IE *$k^{w}oti$- 'how much'▷

•VAR Ion. (Hdt.) κόσος.

•COMP Epic ποσσ-ῆμαρ 'in how many days?' (Ω 657).

•DER ποσό-της [f.] 'quantity' (Arist.), ποσ-ώδης 'quantitative' (comm. Arist.), -ίνδα [adv.] (X.), see Schwyzer: 627, -άκι(ς) 'how often?' (Pl., Call.), -όω [v.] 'to calculate the quantity, to count up' (Thphr.); also πόστος "the how-manieth?" (ω 288, Att.), dissimilated from *ποσ(σ)ο-στός, and accented after πόσος; hence ποστ-αῖος 'on what day?' (X.), after δευτερ-αῖος, etc. Indefinite ποσός (Att., Hell.), ποστός (late).

•ETYM From *πότι̯-ος, an adjective formed from IE *$k^{w}óti$, found in Skt. *káti*, Lat. *quot* 'how many?'. See further on ►πόθεν and ►τόσος.

ποταίνιος [adj.] 'new, fresh, unexpected, unheard of' (Pi., B., trag., also Hp.), acc. to Eust. and Phot., Doric for πρόσφατος. ◁GR▷

•VAR ποταινί = προσφάτως (Zonar.).

•ETYM Can hardly be separated from προταίνιον· πρὸ μικοῦ, παλαιόν (H.) and ►προταινί 'in front' (E. *Rh.* 523), Boeot. προτηνί 'earlier'. As this stands for πρὸ ταινί (scil. ἡμέραι), ποταινί, -νιος must go back to an adverbial *ποτὶ ταινι with haplology.

ποταμός [m.] 'river' (Il.). ◁?▷

•COMP E.g. ποταμο-φύλαξ [m.] 'river-guard' (pap.), καλλι-πόταμος 'with fair rivers' (E. [lyr.]).

•DER 1. Diminutives ποτάμι-ον [n.] (com., Str.), -ίσκος [m.] (Str.). Further substantives: 2. ποταμ-εύς [m.] designation of the east wind in Tripolis (Arist.), 3. -ίτης [m.] 'river-worker' (pap.). Adjectives: 4. -ιος 'belonging to the river' (Pi., Hdt., trag., etc.), -ιαῖος 'id.' (Arist. [v.l. -ιος], Ruf.); -ήϊος (Nonn.), fem. -ηΐς (A. R., Nic.)

'id.', both metrically conditioned. 5 -ώδης 'river-like' (Eun.); 6. -ηνή [f.] epithet of Μήτηρ, the river goddess (inscr. Pisidia), cf. Schwyzer: 490. 7. Adverb -ηδόν 'like a river, in streams' (Luc., Aret.); 8. Verb -όομαι 'to form a river' (Aq.). 9. nickname Ποτάμιλλα [m.] (Sophr.), see Schwyzer: 561.

•ETYM Formation like οὐλαμός, πλόκαμος, etc. Combined with πίπτω, ἔπετον 'to fall' in previous centuries, thus originally "waterfall" vel sim., referring to a river sweeping away things in a mountainous area. Etymological comparison with the epithet διιπετής (Π 174, δ 477) is difficult. The analysis faces the problem that the root-final laryngeal was *h_1, and thus cannot explain the suffix vocalism -αμ-.

Others have connected ποταμός to πετάννυμι in the sense of "extension", and supposed identity with the Germanic group of OS *fathmos*, OE *fæðm* 'extension (of the arms), embrace, fathom' (OE *flôdes fæðm*). A final option, formally more attractive and semantically possible, is a relation with **peth*$_2$- 'to fly', as evidenced by Gr. ἔπτατο. Connection with Lith. *tekù* 'run', assuming metathesis from *τοπαμός (Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 502f.), should be rejected.

In sum, the etymology remains uncertain. In principle, the word could be Pre-Greek.

ποτανός, ποτάομαι, ποτέομαι ⇒πέτομαι.

πότε [interr. adv.] 'when ?', indefinite ποτε, ποτέ 'at some time' (Il., Att., Arc., Cypr.). ◁IE **k*^{w}*o*- 'which?'▷

•VAR Ion. κότε, Aeol. πότα, Dor. πόκα.

•ETYM From the pronominal stem πο- with various particles added; see ►πόθεν and ►ὅτε. Formerly, ►τίπτε was also assumed to contain πότε, but this is now unlikely.

πότερος [pron. adj.] 'who or which of either?' (Il.). ◁IE **k*^{w}*o*- 'which?'▷

•VAR Ion. κότερος.

•ETYM Old pronoun, identical with Skt. *katará*-, Go. *hvaþar*, Lith. *katràs*, etc., IE **k*^{w}*o-tero*- (cf. on ►πόθεν); on the varying accentuation, see Schwyzer: 381.

ποτί [prev., prep.] 'towards, by' (Il., epic poet., Dor.). ◁IE **poti* 'against'▷

•VAR ποτ' before vowel.

•DIAL Myc. *po-si*-.

•ETYM Identical with Av. *paiti*, OP *patiy* 'against, by'. Beside it stand ►πρότι, ►πρός, and ►πός.

πότμος ⇒πίπτω.

πότνια [f.] 'lady, mistress', especially of goddesses (Il., epic poet.). ◁IE **pot-n-ih*$_2$ 'lady'▷

•VAR On disyllabic πότνα for older πότνια (Od. et al.), originally only in the voc. πότνα θεά, which may have been an Aeolic syntagm, see Peters 1980a: 213ff.

•DIAL Myc. *po-ti-ni-ja*. On the Myc. adjective *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* see Lejeune *Par. del pass.* 17 (1962): 401ff.

•DER ποτνιάδες [pl.] 'id.' (E.), after μαινάδες etc., see Chantraine 1933: 355 and 357; ποτνι-άομαι [v.] 'to beseech (a goddess); to wail, lament', especially of women (late prose), on the mg. see Mras *Glotta* 12 (1923): 67f. Thence -ασμοί [pl.] (Str.), -ασις [f.]

(Poll.) 'wail', -αστής [m.] 'lamenter' (Phld.); also -άζομαι in ποτνιάζου· εὔχου, παρακάλει 'pray, call' (H.). TN Ποτνιαί [f.pl.] Boeotian town name (Paus.), called after the Πότνια (Demeter and Kore); hence the adjective Ποτν-ιάς (A. et al.) and the PN -εύς (Paus.).

•ETYM Identical with Skt. *pátnī* [f.] 'mistress, goddess', Av. *paθnī-* [f.] 'mistress', OLith. *vieš-patni* [f.] 'lady, mistress': IE **pótnih₂*. This is the old feminine of IE **póti-* 'lord, husband' in πόσις 'husband'; πότνια 'mistress, goddess' became isolated from it.

ποῦ ⇒πόθεν.

πουκρίς [f.] 'river perch, Perca fluviatilis' (inscr. Acraiphia before 224-210 BC). ◁IE **perḱ-* 'motley'▷

•ETYM Acc. to Taillardat (see DELG *Supp.*), the same word as περκίς [f.] 'small perch' (Dsc.). The word would be a metathesized form of **πρυκ-ίδ- < *pr̥ḱ-*, with ρυ from *r̥*, written πουκριδ- in Boeotian. It would then be cognate with πρακνόν, πρεκνός, etc.; see on ►πρόξ and ►περκνός.

ποῦπος [m.] 'hoopoe' (Cyran. 20). ◁ONOM▷

•ETYM The word is onomatopoeic; cf. ►ἔποψ 'id.'.

πούριον [n.] 'kind of tart' (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647d). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

ποῦρος ⇒πῶρος.

πούς, ποδός [m.] 'foot', also metaph. in several mgs. (Il.). ◁IE **pod-* 'foot'▷

•VAR Dor. πώς, πός; see below.

•DIAL Myc. *po-da-ko* /podargos/ [n.] name of an ox (Chantraine *RPh.* 89 (1963): 13), *ti-ri-po* /tripod-/, etc.

•COMP Very frequent in compounds, e.g. Πόδ-αργος [m.] name of a horse (Il.), also as an appellative 'swift- or white-footed' (Lyc.), cf. ἀργί-πους s.v. ►ἀργός; τρί-πους (-ποος) 'three-footed', msc. 'tripod' (Il.), cf. Myc. *ti-ri-po*. Extensive discussion on ποδ- as a second member in Sommer 1948: 28ff. Hypostases with a suffix -ιο-, e.g. ἐμ-πόδ-ιος 'at one's feet, in the way, obstuctive' (IA), ὑπο-πόδ-ιον [n.] 'footstool' (LXX, Hell. inscr. and pap.).

•DER 1. Diminutives πόδ-ιον [n.] (Epich., Hp.), -άριον [n.] (com.), -ίσκος [m.] (Herod.), cf. Myc. *ti-ri-po-di-ko*.

Further substantives: 2. ποδ-εῖα [n.pl.] designation of a foot covering, 'leggings' vel sim. (Critias, com.); 3. -εών, -εῶνος [m.] 'foot-end of an animal skin, strip or sheet' (Ion., Theoc.); 4. -ία [f.] 'sail sheet' (gloss., Serv. ad Verg.); 5. -ίδες [f.pl.] designation of a foot covering (Poll.); 6. -ότης [f.] 'the property of being provided with feet' (Arist.); 7. -ωμα [n.] 'floor, base' (pap.).

Adjectives: 8. ποδ-ιαῖος 'measuring one foot' (IA); -ικός 'concerning a metrical foot' (Aristid. Quint.).

Verbs 9. ποδ-ίζομαι 'to be bound by the feet' (S., X.), also (metrical) 'to divide in feet, scan' (Eust.), with -ισμός [m.] 'measuring by feet' (late), -ίστρα [f.] 'foot-trap' (*AP*);

also with prefix, e.g. ἐμ-ποδ-ίζω 'to bind the feet' (Hdt., A.), but usually 'to hinder, obstruct' (Att.), from ►ἐμποδών, ἐμπόδιος (see above); ἀνα-ποδ-ίζω 'to make to step back, to call back, go back' (IA); ιο. ποδ-όω, -όομαι 'to tighten the sail sheet, be provided with feet' (Lyc. et al.), whence -ωτός.

•ETYM The old word for 'foot' was a consonant stem **pod-*. In most languages, it was either preserved as such, or enlarged: e.g. Arm. *ot-kʿ* [pl.] = πόδες, *otn* [nom.acc.sg.] = acc. πόδα < IE **pód-ṃ*. The *o*-grade appears also in Hitt. *pāt- / pat-*, CLuw. *pāta/i-* 'foot'. A lengthened grade is found in Gm., e.g. ON *fótr*, OE *fēt* [pl.] < PGm. **fōt-iz* < IE **pṓd-es*. An innovation after the *u*-stems is Go. *fotus*, acc. *fotu* < IE **pṓd-ṃ*. An *e*-grade is attested in Lat. *pēs*, *ped-is*, while the original color of Skt. *pā́t*, acc. *pā́d-am*, gen. *pad-ás* cannot be deduced.

ToA *pe*, ToB *paiyye* 'foot' contain an enlargement, but are difficult to analyze precisely (see Adams 1999 s.v. *paiyye*). The appurtenance of Lith. *pādas* 'sole of the foot, threshing-floor, etc.', Ru. *pod* 'bottom, ground, plank-bed' is hardly possible in view of Winter's Law (see Derksen 2008 s.v. *podъ*).

All this seems to point to old static ablaut IE **ped- : pod-*. In Greek, the *e*-grade is retained in a series of derivations: ►πέδη, ►πέζα, ►πεζός, ►πέδον, ►πέδιλον, ►πεδά; further, an old zero grade is found in ►ἔπιβδα.

The originally lengthened grade of the nom.sg. is found in Greek only in πώς (Dor. *apud* H.). It was replaced by Dor. πός, Hom. τρί-πος after the oblique forms; Att. πούς recalls δούς, etc., but has no certain explanation.

πραγορίτης [m.] 'kind of wine' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

πράμος [adj.] = πρόμος (Ar. *Th.* 50). ◅?▻

•ETYM If the tradition is correct, it could contain a zero grade form of ►πρόμος, but a form **pr̥-* beside προ is improbable. The form is most often corrected to πρόμος.

πράμνειος [adj.] 'qualification of wine' (Hom.). ◅?▻

•VAR -ιος (Hp.).

•ETYM Cf. the note of J. André *ad* Plin. 14, §54. H. has πράμνη· δίκελλα ἄμπελος; also, Poll. 7, 150 πράμνημα = vine branch of Pramnos.

πρανής ⇒πρηνής.

πρανώ [?] · ἀκρίδος εἶδος 'kind of locust' (H.). ◅PG▻

•ETYM Gil Fernández 1959 adduces πάρνοψ. This means that the word is Pre-Greek; see Fur.: 344, 392.

πρᾶος, -ον [adj.] 'soft, gentle, mild' (Pi., Att.). ◅?▻

•VAR πραΰς, πρηΰς (epic Ion., lyr., Hell.). Grades of comp. πραό-τερος (also πραΰ-, πρηΰ-), πραό-τατος (πράϋστος Phrygia); adverb πράως, rarely -έως; also πρα-όνως (Ar., Lys.), acc. to Frisk after εὐδαιμόνως, but acc. to DELG adverb to a compar. πρᾴων.

•DIAL Att. fem. -εῖα, plur. -έων, -έσι.

•COMP Also as a first member (mostly late), e.g. πραῦ-μητις 'mild-tempered' (Pi.); on ►πρευμενής see s.v.
•DER πρα-ότης (Att.), -ύτης (LXX) [f.] 'mild temper'; πραΰνω, Ion. πρηῢνω 'to make mild, soothe' (Hes., *h. Merc.* 417), also with κατα- (rarely ἀπο-, δια-, etc.); thence πρά-υνσις [f.] (πρή-), πρα-υσμός [m.] 'the soothing', -υντικός 'soothing' (Arist., medic.), -υντής [m.] (*EM*).
•ETYM The *o*-stem πρᾱος may have developed from the older υ-stem πραῦς, probably through the adv. πράως, which was contracted from πραέως, belonging to πραῦς; extensive treatment in Egli 1954: 100ff. The subscript ι in πρᾷος is secondary, probably from ῥᾴων. The form πραῦς is regularly derived form **pr(e)h₂-i-u-* by Hamp *MSS* 43 (1984): 52f.; see Pok. 844.

πραπίδες [f.pl.] 'midriff', mostly as a seat of intelligence and of emotions, 'sense, mind' (Il., epic poet.). ◅IE? **prep-* 'appear', **kʷrp-* 'body, shape'▻
•VAR Rarely sg. -ίς.
•COMP No compounds or derivatives.
•ETYM Formation in -ίς (like παρηῗς, σανίς, ἐλπίς, φροντίς), probably from the root **kʷrp-* which may also be seen in ►πρέπω 'to be conspicuous' (but see the comments there). From this root derive words for 'body, shape', like OHG *(h)rëf*, OE *hrif* 'body, abdomen, belly', Lat. *corpus*, Skt. *kr̥p-á* [instr.] 'shape, beauty'. In the OE compound *mid-hrif* 'midriff', the meaning (which agrees with πραπίδες) may depend on the first member *mid-*.

πράσον [n.] 'leek, Allium porrum', also of a kind of seaweed, like leek (com., Thphr.). ◅PG?, IE? **prs-o-* 'leek'▻
•COMP E.g. πρασο-ειδής 'leek-like', from the color (Hp., Arist.), θαλασσό-πρασον [n.] of a seaweed (Ath. Mech.).
•DER 1. πράσ-ιος (Pl.), -ινος (Arist., LXX), -ιανός (M. Ant.), -ώδης (Thphr.) 'leek-color, blue-green'; 2. -ῖτις [f.] name of a stone, after the color (Thphr.); 3. -ιον [n.] plant name 'horehound, Marrubium, etc.' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); 4. πρασιά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'garden-bed' (Od., Hell.), mostly plur. -ιαί, also Att. deme name and a town in Laconia (Th.). Thence πρασ-ιάζομαι, -ιόομαι 'to be divided into beds' (Aq.); see Scheller 1951: 67; 5. πρασίζω [v.] 'to be leek-colored' (Dsc.); 6. Πρασσαῖος [m.] nickname of a frog (Batr.).
•ETYM The traditional identification with Lat. *porrum* leads to a reconstruction IE **pr̥so-*. The maintenance of -σ- between resonant and vowel recalls ►δασύς beside Lat. *densus* < **dns-u-*. It could be argued that the meaning points to substrate origin for this word. If the word is Pre-Greek, this would explain the -σ-.

πρᾰ́σσω [v.] 'to pass through, travel' (only epic), 'to finish, accomplish, do, exact', intr. 'to come to an end, succeed, act' (IA, etc.). ◅IE **per(h₂)-* 'go through, cross'▻
•VAR Att. -ττω, Cret. -δδω; epic Ion. πρήσσω, fut. πράξω, Ion. -ήξω, aor. πρᾶξαι, -ῆξαι (all since Il.), pass. πραχθῆναι (S., Th.), perf. πέπρᾶγα, -ηγα (Pi., Hdt.), -ᾶχα, -ηχα (Att., Hdt.), pass. πέπραγμαι (A.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, εἰσ-, κατα-, συν-. Compounds: e.g. εὐ-πρᾱγ-ία [f.] 'prosperity, success', κακο-πρᾱγ-ία 'accident, misfortune' (Pi., Att.), whence εὐ-,

κακο-πρᾱγ-έω (Att.); analogical δυσ-, κακο-πρᾱγής (Vett. Val., H.), not from πρᾶγος; also εὐ-πραξ-ία, Ion. -πρηξ-ίη [f.], after πρᾶξις, πρᾶξαι.

•DER Action nouns: 1. πρᾶξις, πρῆξις (also with δια-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'realization, accomplishment, advancement, act, exaction' (Il.), with πραξ-είδιον [n.] diminutive (*EM*), -ιμος 'realizable' (Cyprus II-III^{P}), 'recoverable' (Delos I-II^{P}), also πράκτιμος (from Dor. *πρᾶκτις or after πρακτι-κός?) 'liable to a monetary penalty' (Delphi II^{a}). Further compounds προ-πραξ-ία [f.] 'precedence in negotiation' (Acarnan. inscr. V-IV^{a}), ὑπερ-πράξ-ιον [n.] 'over-exaction, blackmailing' (Mylasa V^{P}), cf. also 10. below.

2. πρᾶγμα (post-Hom.), Ion. πρῆχμα (< -κσμ-; inscr.), πρῆγμα (Hdt.) [n.] 'performed act, fact, business', plur. 'facts, affairs of state, etc.'; as a second member in ἀ-, πολυ-πράγμων, etc.; hence πραγμά-τιον, -τικός, -τίᾱς, -τᾶς, -τώδης, -τεύομαι, with -τευμα, -τεία, -τειώδης, -τευτής, -τευ-τικός.

3. πρᾶγος [n.] poetic replacement for the worn-out word πρᾶγμα (Pi., trag.). 4. πρακτύς (Dor.) = πρᾶξις (*EM*).

Agent nouns: 5. πρακτήρ, πρηκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'executor, tradesman' (Hom.), 'exactor' (Hell.) with -τήριος 'effective, decisive' (A.). 6. πράκτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'executor, avenger' (A., S., Antiph.), 'exactor, tax official' (Att., pap.) with -τορ-ικός, -ειος, -εύω with -εῖον, -εία (-ία?). 7. εἰσ-, ἐκ-πράκτης [m.] 'collector, tax official' (Aq.). 8. πρηξών = ἀγοραῖος, i.e. 'notary' (Sicil.; Theognost.); probably from πρῆξις (Schwyzer: 517). 9. Adjective πρακτικός 'concerning action, skilled, practical' (Att.).

•ETYM All forms go back to a common stem πρᾱκ- or πρᾱγ-, which is a κ-enlargement of a zero grade πρᾱ- (DELG compares ἐρύ-κ-ω). Frisk connected this with the root *$perh_2$- 'to sell' in πέπρᾱμαι, πιπρᾰ́σκομαι (see ►πέρνημι), but semantically, connection with ►πέρᾱ, ►πείρω (root *per-) is much more likely, given the oldest meaning 'to travel, fare', etc. Further details are obscure.

For the function of the velar, πλήσσω : πληγή, τμήγω : τέμνω, etc. have been adduced. It is designated as terminative by Schwyzer: 702^{5}.

πρατήνιον [n.] designation of goats of a certain age (Ar. Byz., H., Phot.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also προ-, and πρητήν, ἐπιπρητήν -ῆνος [m.].

•ETYM Unknown. Anatolian, acc. to Solmsen 1909: 140f.

πρέμνον [n.] 'tree-stump, trunk, stub', also 'bole', metaph. of a column, etc. (*h. Merc.*). On the mg. see Strömberg 1937: 98f. ◅PG?(V)▻

•VAR Also -ος [m.].

•COMP As a second member i.a. in αὐτό-πρεμνος 'together with the trunk, root and branch, entirely' (A., S.).

•DER πρέμνια· τὰ πάχος ἔχοντα ξύλα 'wood having thickness' (H.); πρεμν-ώδης 'stump-like' (Thphr.), -ίζω [v.] 'to pull up, remove the stump' (Test. *apud* D. et al.), ἐκ- (D. et al.), -ιάσαι· ἐκριζῶσαι 'to root out' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Fur.: 65 assumes that it is a variant of ►πρυμνός, and considers the words to be Pre-Greek.

πρέπω [v.] 'to draw attention, be comspicuous, distinguish oneself, excel', also (mostly impersonal πρέπει) 'it is fitting, appropriate' (Il.+). ◅IE *$prep$- 'be conspicuous, appear' or *$k^{w}rep$-▻

•VAR Rare fut. and aor. πρέψ-ω, -αι (A., Pl.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, μετα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-.
•DER πρεπ-ώδης (Att.), -όντως (Pi., Att.) 'fitting, appropriate', πρεπ-τός (also εὔ-) 'drawing attention' (A. et al.); often from the prefixed compounds, e.g. μετα-, δια-, ἐκ-πρεπ-ής, also εὐ-, ἀρι-πρεπ-ής 'striking, excelling, pre-eminent, etc.' (Il.), whence εὐπρέπ-εια (Att.), -έω, -ίζω (Aq.), etc. Further πρέπων, -οντος [m.] name of a fish (Opp., Ael.), properly "fit (for eating)" (Strömberg 1943: 33)? On ▶θεοπρόπος, see s.v.
•ETYM Identical with Arm. *erewim* 'become visible, appear', traditionally reconstructed as **prep-*. An old independent formation is Arm. *eres*, plur. *eres-k'* 'face, appearance' < IE **prep-s-*. Celtic too seems to have maintained a derivation from this verb in OIr. *richt* 'form, shape', W *rhith* 'species' < IE **prp-tu-*. The connection of OHG *furben* 'to purify, clean' is quite uncertain.
For Armenian *erewim* etc., a reconstruction **k*^{w}*rep-* is just as possible as **prep-* (Clackson 1994: 165f.), and it has been argued that there was in fact one root **k*^{w}*rep-*, not two roots **ḱrp-* and **prep-* (cf. Schindler *BSL* 67 (1972): 67, DELG *Supp.*). This would mean that the group of Skt. *kṛpā́* [ins.] 'beauty', Lat. *corpus* 'body', etc. is related to Gr. πρέπω.

πρέσβυς [m.] 'old man, elder' (poet. Pi., trag.), 'president' (Sparta); plur. πρέσβεις mostly 'ambassador, messenger' (Att., Dor. inscr.); further πρεσβ-ῆες (Hes. *Sc.* 245), -εῦσιν (Lyc.), dual -ῆ (Att.); cf. below on πρεσβεύω. ◁IE **pres-g*^{w}*eu-*, **preis-g*^{w}*eu-* 'who goes in front'▷
•VAR Gen. (rare) -εως, -εος, acc. -υν, voc. -υ.
•DIAL Myc. *pe-re-ku-ta* (PY An 172.2) /presgu-/ or /prei(s)gu-/, *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* (PY Va 15.2) /preigu-wanaks/ (cf. Hackstein 2002: 109).
•COMP As a first member in πρεσβυ-γενής 'first-born' (Il.), etc.
•DER 1. Grades of comparison: πρεσβύ-τερος 'old, venerable', -τατος 'the oldest, most venerable' (Il.), also -τέριον 'council of elders' (NT); also πρέσβιστος 'most venerable' (*h. Hom.*, A., S., etc.) after κράτιστος, κύδιστος, with a cross πρεσβίστατος (Nic.). 2. Feminines: πρέσβα (θεά) 'the venerable', of Hera and others (Il., epic), reminding of πότνα (θεά); πρέσβεα μήτηρ (poetic inscr. Caria II-I^{a}), metrically conditioned; πρέσβειρα, of θεῶν, etc. (*h. Ven.*, etc.), after πίειρα, -άνειρα, etc.; πρεσβηΐς, of τιμή (*h. Hom.*), after βασιληΐς, etc., cf. πρεσβῆες above.
3. πρεσβ-ήϊον [n.] 'gift of honor' (Θ 289), -εῖον 'privilege (of age)' (Att., Hell.). 4. -εία [f.] 'right, privilege (of age)' (A., Pl.), usually 'embassy' (Att.), to πρεσβεύω. 5. πρεσβῦτης [m.] 'the old, aged one' (IA), enlargement of πρέσβυς after πολίτης, etc., with fem. -ῦτις, -υτικός [adj.] 'senile' (Att., etc.). 6. πρεσβῦτης, -ητος [f.], Dor. -τας. -τατος '(higher) age' (inscr. Messene I^{a}, etc.), after νεότης. 7. πρέσβις [f.] 'age, rank', only in κατὰ πρέσβιν (*h. Merc.*, Pl., etc.); after κατὰ τάξιν, etc. 8. πρέσβος [n.] '(object of) veneration', after κῦδος, κράτος, etc. 9. πρεσβ-εύω [v.] 'to be the eldest, have precedence, be ambassador', trans. 'to attend, venerate like a πρέσβυς', med. 'to send ambassadors', also with παρα-, συν-, ἀπο-, etc. Thence -ευτής [m.] 'ambassador, messenger' (Att.), singulative to πρέσβεις. Also πρεσβ-ευτικός, -εύτειρα, -ευτεύω, -ευμα, -ευσις; partly also πρεσβεία (see 4. above) and, as a back-

formation, πρεσβεῦσιν [dat.pl.] (Lyc.). 10. Shortened names like Πρέσβων (to πρέσβειρα, perhaps after πέπειρα : πέπων), Πρέσβος, etc., see Bechtel 1917b: 385. On the different spellings and formations see Lejeune 1955-1996: 239ff.

•ETYM Beside the above forms, Doric (especially Cretan) and NWGr. have several by-forms with γ instead of β and with a different initial syllable: Cret. πρεῖγυς, πρείγιστος with compar. πρείγων, also πρειγ-εύω, whence -ευτάς, -ήϊα, -εία; also, Locr. πρείγα [f.] 'council of elders'; πρεσγευτάς, πρεγγ-; later πρήγιστος with -ιστεύω (Cos); πρεσγέα = πρεσβεία (Argos); πρισγε(ι)ες (Boeot.) is perhaps itacistic for πρεισ-; also σπέργυς· πρέσβυς and πέργουν· πρέσβεις (H.). See García Ramón *Emerita* 53 (1985): 51-80 for a discussion of all dialectal forms.

The common basis is probably πρεσγ- (with voiced σ; cf. Delph. πρεζβευτάς); thence the other forms arose, but the phonetic developments are uncertain in detail. The interchange β : γ may point to an original IE labiovelar *g^w. The preceding syllable, which should probably be taken as the first member of a compound, is generally assumed to contain a frozen adverb πρές 'in front' (see ►πρός). The origin of the final syllable is debated. It has been compared with Skt. *puro-gavá-* 'leader', of which the second member is derived from a root *g^weu- 'go' (a variant of *g^wem-), so it originally means "who goes in front". Some recognize this root variant in Lith. *žmogùs* 'man' < "going on the earth" (Fraenkel). The connection with the Arm. *u*-stem *erēc'*, gen. *eric'-u* 'elder, priest' is tempting. It may derive from **preisg^{w}u-*, and is usually connected with Lat. *prīscus* 'ancient, of old'. It may also be assumed that πρεισ- is an old element, identical in origin with Lat. **prīs*, in *prīmus* < **pris-mo-* and in *prīs-tinus*.

De Lamberterie 1990: 909ff. comments extensively on the formation, meaning, and use of the Greek term. Clackson 1994: 165 is critical about the formal side of the Greco-Armenian comparison (claiming that *-*sg^w*- would have to give Arm. -*c*- instead of -*c'*-). See ►μεσ(σ)ηγύ(ς).

πρευμενής [adj.] 'gentle, merciful, pleasing, welcome' (A., E.). ◄GR►

•DER πρευμένεια [f.] 'gentleness' (A., E.).

•ETYM Probably from *πριῆϋ-μενής, with diphthongization and shortening of the long diphthong. Thus, it would be an Ionism in the language of the tragedians. On this ground, DELG criticizes the etymology, and instead posits *προ-ευμενής; this poses other formal problems, however. The form προευμενής (*SEG* 18, 592, Soloi [Cyprus]) may support the latter view, but may also be a reinterpretation of the opaque word πρευμενής, acc. to Brixhe and Hodot 1988: 147f.

πρηγορεών, -ῶνος [m.] 'crop of a bird' (Ar., H., Poll.). ◄GR►

•ETYM Originally means "body part where the food is collected", ἔνθα προαθροίζεται ἡ τροφή (Poll.), is a formation in -εών like ἀνθερεών, κενεών, and other designations of places and parts of the body (Chantraine 1933: 164f., Schwyzer: 488): thus from *προ-άγορος (on the compositional vowel, see Schwyzer: 398 and 402), or directly from προ-αγείρειν.

πρηδών •VAR πρήθω (ἐν-έπρηθον), πρηστήρ etc. ⇒πίμπρημι.

πρῆθμα [n.] · πολύποδος κεφαλὴ ἔνιοι πλεκτάνη 'tentacled head of an octopus' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

πρημαδίη [f.] name of a kind of olive (Nic. *Al.* 87). ◁?▷

•ETYM Formation in -άδιος, as if from *πρημάς (cf. ἐρινάς, κοτινάς, ἰσχάς, etc.). For further connection with *πρῆμα, πρημαίνω, πίμπρημι, there is no indication. Cf. also ▶πρημιάς.

πρημάς, πρημνάς [f.] name of a (young) tunny-fish (Pl. Com., Nicoch., Opp.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also πριμάδες, -άδιαι (Arist.), πρῆμναι (H.) [pl.].

•ETYM Strömberg 1943: 126ff. discusses the many names for 'tunny'; see also Thompson 1947 s.v. Fur.: 245 considers the variation ν/zero to be a Pre-Greek phenomenon.

πρηνής [adj.] 'leaning forward, headlong, inclined, steep' (Il., epic Ion. poet., Arist.). ◁IE? *h_2en-os- 'face'▷

•VAR πρᾱνής (X. et al.).

•COMP Also κατα-, προ-, ἐπι- (cf. Leumann 1950: 77ff.).

•DER πρην-ίζω 'to throw head over heels, throw down, destroy' (Hell.), aor. -ίξαι, also with ἀπο-, κατα-; rarely πρην-όω 'id.' (*AP*, H.), also with κατα-; to this belongs (back-formation?) πρανόν· τὸ κατωφερές, πρανές 'leaning down, face-down or head-first' (H.).

•ETYM Cannot be seprated from ἀπ-, προσ-ηνής, so it may contain a substantive *$\bar{e}nos$- or *$\bar{a}nos$- [n.] 'face'; see ▶ἀπηνής for the etymology, which is rather doubtful.

πρητήν ⇒πρατήνιον.

πρηών ⇒πρών.

πρίασθαι [v.] 'to buy' (Od.). ◁IE *k^wreih_2- 'buy'▷

•VAR Ptc. πριάμενος, finite forms ἐπριάμην, πρίωμαι, πριαίμην, ipv. πρίασο (-ίω, -ίᾱ).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, συν-.

•DER Negative verbal adj. ἀ-πρία-τος in ἀπριάτην [acc.sg.f.] 'unbought, without ransom' (A 99, *h. Cer.*132), as an adv. 'gratuitous' (ξ 317, Agath. 4, 22), plur. ἀπριάτας (Pi. *Fr.* 169, 8); PN Ἀπριάτη; cf. Leumann 1950: 167f.

•ETYM An old aorist, exclusively attested in Greek. A comparable formation is OIr. *ni-cria* [subj.] 'emat' < PIE *k^wrieh_2-t. Greek does not have the nasal present that is found in Sanskrit, Celtic, and Slavic, viz. Skt. *krīṇā́ti* (for older **kriṇā́ti*), OIr. *ni* [subj.], ORu. *krъnuti* 'to buy'. It is possible that the expected Greek reflex *πρίνημι had become awkward because of its resemblance to the antonym πέρνημι, Aeol. πορνάμεν 'to sell' (Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 14). The verbal adj. ά-πρίατος is close to Skt. *krītá-* 'bought' < *k^wrih_2-to-, but Greek may also continue *n-k^wrih_2-eto-.

Numerous post-Indo-European formations are found in the various branches, e.g. Skt. *krayá-* [m.] 'purchase (price)' ≤ *k^wroih_2-o-, OIr. *críth* 'payment, purchase', OLith. *krienas* 'price', ToB *karyor*, ToA *kuryar* 'purchase, trade'.

πρίν [adv., conj.] 'before, previously' (Il.). ◁IE *$prei$ 'earlier, before'▷

•VAR Rarely as a prep. with gen.; Hom. also πρῑ́ν, Gort. πρειν (once beside frequent πριν), Locr. φριν.
•ETYM With final -ν like in νῦν, νῦν, πάλιν, etc. Clearly related to ▶πρό < *pr-o-, with ι as in Lat. *prior*, *prīscus*, etc. The base form may have been the old locative *pr-i. The *e*-vocalism in Cret. πρειν and perhaps in Hom. πρῑ́ν (if itacistic) could be mirrored by Lith. *priẽ* < *prei.

πρῖνος [f., m.] 'holm-oak, kermes oak, Quercus ilex, coccifera' (Hes.). ◁EUR?▷
•VAR πρίνη [f.] 'id.' (Eup.).
•DER Diminutive πριν-ίδιον [n.] (Ar., Ael.), -εύς [m.] 'oak grove' (Erythrae IV[a]), -ινος 'made of π., hard, tough' (Hes.), -ώδης 'π.-like, hard' (Ar.); Ἱρινόεσσα [f.] name of an island (Epirus).
•ETYM No Indo-European etymology. The Carian TN Ἱριναασσός points to an Anatolian origin (Carnoy *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* N.F. 10 (1975): 222). Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 155 compares Slav. *brinъ* 'larch', assuming a loan from a common source. Fur.: 165 assumes a Pre-Roman(ce) **brin* 'Pinus mugus' (Machek), which would make the Greek dendronym a European loanword.

πρῑ́ω [v.] 'to saw', medic. 'to trephine', ὀδόντας πρίειν 'to gnash one's teeth', (ὀδὰξ) πρίειν 'to bite (with one's teeth), grasp', pass. metaph. 'to experience a biting pain' (IA). ◁?▷
•VAR Rare and late -ίζω, aor. πρῖσαι, pass. πρισθῆναι, perf. med. πέπρισμαι (all IA), act. πέπρικα (D. S.).
•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *pi-ri-(je-)te-(re)*, see Aura Jorro 2, 124.
•COMP Also with δια-, ἐν-, ἀπο-, etc.
•DER 1. πρίων, -ονος [m.] 'saw' (IA) with πριόν-ιον [n.] (Ph. *Bel.*), -ῖτις [f.] plant name (Aret. et al.), Redard 1949: 76; -ωτός (Ar., Arist.), -ώδης (Thphr.) 'saw-shaped, jagged'. 2. πρῖσμα (παρά-, ἔκ-) [n.] 'anything sawn, sawdust' (Hp., Thphr.), 'trilateral column, prism' (Euc.), with -μάτιον (Procl.); πρισμοῖς· ταῖς βιαίοις κατοχαῖς 'in forced detention' (H.). 3. πρῖσις (ἀνά-, ἔκ-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'the sawing' (Hp., Arist.). 4. πρίστης [m.] 'sawer, saw' (Att. and Hell. inscr. and pap., Poll.), with fem. πρῖστις 'sawfish' (Epich., Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 44; also an instrument (Att. and Epid. inscr.), etc. 5. πριστήρ [m.] 'saw, sawer' (LXX). 6. πριστός 'sawn' (Od.), Ammann 1956: 16; εὔ-, δύσ-πριστος (Thphr.). 7. πριστικός 'belonging to sawing' (Hero).
Some forms were enlarged with ω: πε-πριω-μένος, ἀ-, δια-πρίω-τος (Hp.), (δια-)πρίω-σις [f.] (Delph., Epid.), πριώμασι· πρίσμασι 'sawdust' (H.), with fut. πριωσεῖ and subj. pres. πριῷ (*Tab. Heracl.*).
•ETYM πρῑ́ω seems to point to a stem *pris-, perhaps older *pri-. It may correlate with πείρω 'to pierce' < *per-ie/o-, for which Frisk compared *trī- in Lat. *trīvī*, *trītum*, and perhaps τρῑ́βω 'to rub (down)' < *trh$_1$-i- beside Lat. *terō* and τείρω 'to rub (open)' < *terh$_1$-ie/o-, as well as *skī- in Lat. *scīvī*, *scītum* 'to decide' beside *secō* 'to cut'. The value of this comparison is yet unclear.
Further etymological comparison has proven fruitless; the link with Alb. *prish* 'to spoil, break, destroy' (Meyer 1891: 353) is uncertain. WP 2, 89 assumes that πρίω is

onomatopoeic. The ω-forms are probably due to contamination, perhaps by τετρωμένος, ἄτρωτος, τρώω, τρῶμα.

πρό [adv., prefix, prep.] 'forth, forward, before, for' (Il.). ◂IE **pro* 'forward'▸
•VAR With gen.
•DIAL Myc. *po-ro-*.
•ETYM Allative formation in **-o*, with ending like ἀπό, ὑπό. A common IE adverb; cf. Hitt. *parā* 'forward', Skt. *prá*, Av. and OP *fra-*, Lat. *pro-*, OIr. *ro-*, Go. *fra-*, Lith. *pra-*, OCS *pro-*, Ru. *pro*, from IE **pro*. A lengthened grade **prō* is found in πρωΐ, etc. Cf. also ▸πρόκα, ▸πρόμος, and ▸πρότερος. Other old case forms of the same element **pr* are found in πρίν and πρός < **proti*. More remotely related are ▸πάρα, ▸πάρος, ▸πέρᾱ(ν), ▸πέρι, etc. On Gr. πρό beside παρά and related forms in Latin, see García Ramón 1997.

προαλής [adj.] of a terrain (χῶρος), over which the water flows down quickly, 'sloping, sudden' vel sim. (Φ 262), of water (ὕδωρ) itself, 'breaking forth, streaming down' vel sim. (A. R. 3, 73); metaph. 'rash, heedless' (LXX, Str., A. D.); προαλεστάτην· προπετεστάτην, προχειροτάτην 'most hasty, most ready or accessible' (H.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM From προ-άλλομαι, with a formation like προ-πετής.

πρόαρον [n.] 'large wooden mixing bowl' (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 495a). ◂?▸
•ETYM Usually explained as a compound of πρό and ἀρύειν 'to draw water'. This is not especially illuminating for a vessel from which wine was poured into the drinking cups. See ▸ἀρύω.

πρόβατα [n. pl.] 'cattle, herd, flock' (Il.), 'small cattle'; -ον [sg.] mostly 'sheep' (Att., Gort., etc.); also name of an unknown fish (Opp., Ael.), because of the similarity of the head, acc. to Strömberg 1943: 102. ◂IE **pro-g^{w}eh$_2$-* 'go'▸
•COMP προβατο-γνώμων [m.] 'knower of herds' (A.), πολυ-πρόβατος 'rich of cattle, sheep' (Hdt., X.).
•DER 1. Diminutive προβάτ-ιον [n.] (Att.). 2. Adj. προβάτ-ειος (Arist.), -ικός (LXX, N.T.) 'belonging to sheep (small cattle)', -ώδης 'sheep-like' (late). 3. -ών (-εών Hdn.), -ῶνος [m.] 'sheepfold' (Hell. inscr. and pap.). 4. -ήματα· πρόβατα 'cattle' (H.) (after κτήματα, βοσκή-ματα, etc.; Chantraine 1933: 178). 5. -εύς [m.] 'shepherd' (title of a com. of Antiph.). 6. -εύω [v.] 'to keep, tend cattle or sheep' (D. H., App.) with -ευτικός, -εύσιμος, -ευτής, -εία. 7. Plant names: -ειον, -ειος, -αία (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 137. On πρόβειος, a rhythmical shortening of προβάτειος (*An. Ox.*, et al.) see Palmer *Class. Quart.* 33 (1939): 31ff.
•ETYM The verbal abstract πρόβασις is found once in the same sense as πρόβατα, in β 75 κειμήλιά τε πρόβασίν τε, where it designates movable cattle as opposed to immovable property. For the semantic development, cf. ON *ganganda fé* "going cattle" = 'living stock' beside *liggjanda fé* 'κειμήλια', or Hitt. *iia̯nt-* "the going", 'sheep' ptc. of *iia̯-* 'to go'. It is plausible, therefore, that πρόβατα was derived from προβαίνειν. Cf. Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 91 ff. with extensive treatment and

criticism of diverging views. In the secondary sense of 'sheep', πρόβατον has replaced older ὄις.
In view of the dat.pl. πρόβασι (Hdn.) instead of προβατοις (Hes.), the plural πρόβατα is considered to be old (Risch 1937: 196, Benveniste *BSL* 45 (1949): 91ff., Egli 1954: 41ff.); Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 178ff. opposes this idea, and remarks that participles in -το- do not necessarily have a passive sense in Greek (στατός, πλωτός). Note, however, that the attestation of πρόβασι is very weak.

προβοσκίς, -ίδος [f.] 'elephant's trunk' (Arist., Hell.), also metaph. of the proboscis of an insect and of the two tentacles of the ten-armed squid (Arist.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Formation like ἀγκαλίς, ἐπιγουνίς, κοπίς, and other names of body parts and instruments, probably directly from βόσκω rather than from the rare form βοσκός (cf. Chantraine 1933: 338). For the use of the prefix, compare πρό-δομος 'front room', etc. With a different accentuation, there is also προβοσκός (-ος) [m.] 'assistant herdsman' (Hdt. 1, 113); cf. πρόδουλος. Borrowed as Lat. *proboscis, promuscis.*

πρόδανις [adv.] · πρότερον 'before' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

προηρόσιος [adj.] name of a festival before ploughing (Att.). ◁GR▷
•VAR In Ηροηροσία (scil. ἑορτή, θυσία) [f.], -ια (ἱερά) [n.pl.].
•DIAL Epid. Ηραράτιος (inscr.), also -τριος.
•DER προηρόσιοι θεοί, -ία Δημήτηρ (Plu.).
•ETYM Hypostatic formation from πρὸ ἀρότου (with compositional lengthening). With crasis and dissimilation: πληροσία [f.] (Att. inscr.); see Schwyzer: 258 and 402, Lejeune 1972: 323².

προΐκτης ⇒προίξ.

προίξ, προικός [f.] 'gift, present' (ν 15, ρ 413, both gen., on which see below), 'dowry' (Att.), see Sommer 1948: 94; also late pap. as an archaizing term in juridical jargon. ◁IE **seiHk-* 'stretch forth the hand'▷
•VAR Used adverbially: acc. προΐκα 'gratuitous, for free' (Att.), probably also gen. προικός (ν 15).
•COMP ἄ-προικος 'without dowry' (Att.); see Sommer l.c.
•DER Diminutive προικ-ίδιον [n.] (Plu.); adj. -ίδιος 'forming a gift' (Ph.), -ιμαῖος 'id.' (pap. VI^p), 'gratuitous' (D. C.), -ιος 'gratuitous' (*AP*); verb -ίζω 'to provide with a dowry' (D. S., Ph. et al.). Also προ-ΐκτης [m.] 'beggar' (ρ 352 and 449), -ΐσσομαι 'to ask, beg for a gift' (Archil. 130). Cf. also the fut. κατα-προΐξομαι in οὐ καταπροΐξεται 'he will not get away unpunished', etc. (IA com.).
•ETYM An archaic word that became extinct, but was later revived. Formation like πρόσ-φυξ, so πρό-ϊξ (πρόϊκα with dieresis is Ion., acc. to *EM* 495, 33), from a prefixed verb which is also the basis of προΐκτης. The yod-present προ-ΐσσομαι can be either primary or denominative from προίξ.
Original mg.: "reaching out (of the hand), presentation", related to Lith. *siekti*, 1sg. *siekiu* 'to reach out, etc.'; προΐκ-της originally means 'who reaches out his hand'; cf.

προτείνω χεῖρα καὶ προΐσσομαι (Archil. 130). See further ►ἴκω and LIV² s.v. **seik-* for further cognates from Baltic, Tocharian, and Umbrian.

πρόκα [adv.] 'instantly, suddenly' (Hp., A. R.). ◅IE **pro-k-* 'in front'▻
•VAR πρότε (Hdt., Call.).
•ETYM Temporal formation like αὐτίκα, τηνίκα, τόκα; clearly derived from ►πρό '(be)fore, forward'. The velar suffix has correspondences in OCS *prokъ* 'remaining', Lat. *reci-procus* 'returning on the same road' from *'directed backward and forward'), *proc-erēs* 'chiefs, nobles', *procul* 'far away'. The final -α is ambiguous: perhaps after ἅμα, τάχα, etc. or the ntr.pl. ending? The suffixation with -τε is parallelled by ἐπείτε, αὖτε, etc.

προκώνια [n.pl.] with or without ἄλφιτα, flour of barley (Hp., Att. inscr.); see the TLG. ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

προμάλαγγες [m.' pl.] a group of flatterers and spies on Cyprus (Clearch. *fr.* 19 Wehrli). ◅?▻
•ETYM Indigenous term without etymology. The association with μαλάσσω points to folk etymology (DELG).

προμηθής [adj.] 'forethinking, cautious' (IA). ◅IE? **men(s)-d^{h}h$_{1}$-* 'direct the mind to'▻
•DER 1. προμήθ-εια (Att.), also -ία (trag.), Ion. -ίη, Dor. -μᾱ́θεια [f.] 'caution, foresight'; 2. Προμηθ-εύς, Dor. -μᾱθ-, [m.] "the forethinking one", 'Prometheus' (Hes., Pi.), secondary appellative (A.); to this as an opposite Ἐπιμηθεύς (cf. Boßhardt 1942: 95f.); with -ειος 'belonging to Pr.' (Nic., *AP*), τὰ Προμήθ-εια 'festival of Pr.' (Att.), -ικῶς 'in a way worthy of Pr.' (Ar.), at the same time connected with προμηθής; 3. προμηθ-έομαι 'to be forethinking, cautious' (IA), also -εύομαι 'id.' (Alex. Aphr.) with -ευτικός = προμηθής (Eust.); on προμήθεσαι (ipv. aor.?, Archil.?) see Maas *KZ* 60 (1932): 286.
•ETYM From πρό and *μῆθος, *μᾶθος, which may be semantically associated with μαθεῖν. Since the latter is compared with μενθήρη and Go. *mundon sis*, etc., analogical ablaut must be assumed for προμηθής, perhaps after μήδομαι or μῆτις. This remains a bit doubtful.

προμνηστῖνοι [adj.] 'one by one, one after another' (φ 230), -αι (λ 233). ◅GR▻
•ETYM Formation like ἀγχιστ-ῖνος (from ἄγχιστα), ἔνδῖνα (from ἔνδον); see Meid *IF* 62 (1956): 274[13]. From a noun like *πρόμνηστις 'wooing' (from προ-μνάομαι 'woo for sbd.'), thus the original meaning is 'belonging to wooing', after the ancient custom to present several women one after another. See Hoffmann *RhM* 56 (1901): 474f. The hypothesis of Forssman *KZ* 79 (1965): 26ff. is to be rejected (cf. on ►πρυμνός).

πρόμος [m.] 'protagonist' (Hom.), 'leader, commander' (trag.). ◅IE **promo-* 'first'▻
•ETYM Usually connected with U *promom* 'primum', Go. and ON *fram* 'forward', and identified as an old superlative of IE **pro* in πρό, etc. The hapax ►πράμος, if not corrupt, has been compared to Go. *fruma* 'first'. Since the word only means 'champion' in Hom., we have to consider the possibility that πρόμος was shortened

from πρόμαχος (already suggested by Aristarchus); the meaning 'leader' would be due to a misunderstanding of the epic word. The *hapax* ἀγοὶ πρόμνοι (A. *Supp.* 904 [lyr.]) presents metrical difficulties, but may be due to an error in the tradition; differently, Forssman *KZ* 79 (1965): 11ff. (see on ►πρυμνός).

προνωπής [adj.] 'inclined, stooping, downcast, weak' (A., E.), on the mg. Muller *Mnem.* 55 (1927): 101ff. ◅?▻

•DER προνώπιος 'outside, in front of the house', τὰ προνώπια, τὸ προνώπιον 'front, facade of a house' (E.), ἥρωες προνώπιοι 'Lares compitales' (D. H.); see on ►νωπέομαι with νενώπηται.

•ETYM Formally, νωπέομαι is comparable to deverbatives such as πωλέομαι, ὠθέω. It may have given rise to προνωπής, προνώπιος, but προνώπια is also reminiscent of the synonym ἐνώπια; therefore, it has been suggested (Eust., Bechtel 1914 s.v. νάπη) that προνώπια is from *προ-ενώπια. At any rate, προνωπής and νωπέομαι cannot be connected with νάπη 'woodland, glen' (Bechtel l.c.) with ablaut as in κώπη : κάπτω, as suggested by Frisk.

πρόξ, προκός [f.] 'roe- or deer-like animal' (ρ 295, Archil., Arist. et al.). ◅IE **perḱ-* 'spotted, motley'▻

•VAR Also προκάς, -άδος [f.] (*h. Ven.* 71), like δορκάς, κεμάς.

•ETYM Animal names of the same type as γλαῦξ, γύψ, αἴξ, etc.; see ►περκνός.

προοίμιον ⇒οἴμη.

προπηλακίζω ⇒πηλός.

πρός [adv., prep.] 'furthermore, thereto; from, by, at, to, towards, in face of' (epic IA, Aeol.). ◅IE **proti* 'against'▻

•VAR With gen. (abl.), dat. (loc.), acc. Epic also πρότι, προτί, with metathesis ποτί (Cret.), with *e*-vocalism περτ' (Pamph.), πρές (Aeol. acc. to gramm.), see also on ►πρέσβυς.

•ETYM The form πρότι is identical to Skt. *práti* 'to, against', except for the missing effect of Brugmann's Law. This points to **preti*, which is perhaps found in Pamph. περτ'. See also Lat. *pretium* 'price, worth' < **préti-o-*, "the opposite equivalent", OCS *protivъ* 'against' < IE **proti-*.

The usual forms πρός (and πρές) have arisen by assibilation of **-ti̯-* in antevocalic position; note that final -ος is also found in πάρος and πός. An older form *pres* is found in Messap. *prespolis* (Pisani *Sprache* 7 (1961): 103; meaning unknown; acc. to Pisani 'lord of the house, (house) priest'). Beside προτί/ πρός, Greek has ►ποτί, ►πός. Further connection with πρό is conceivable; cf. on ►πρόσω.

προσάντης [adj.] 'ascending steeply, inclined, craggy, rough, adverse, hostile' (Pi., IA). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Adjectival hypostasis of the adverb πρόσ-αντα (Dicaearch.) 'upwards, up the mountain'; like ἔν-αντα from a noun 'front', which is also seen in the frozen case forms ►ἄντα, ►ἀντί, ►ἄντην. Likewise in ἄν-αντα 'up a mountain', with ἀνάντης 'uphill', and κάταντα 'downwards, downhill', with κατάντης 'going down'.

προσηνής [adj.] 'favorable, gentile, sweet' (Emp., Anacr.). ◁IE? *h_2*en-os-* 'face'▷

•DIAL Dor. προσᾱνής.

•DER προσήνεια (Hp.), προσηνεύομαι = σαίνω 'to flatter' (H.).

•ETYM Like ►ἀπηνής and ►πρηνής, derived from a word for 'face', which itself is of uncertain etymology.

πρόσθε(ν) [adv., prep.] 'ahead, before, formerly, yore; in front of' (Il., IA) ◁IE, GR▷

•VAR With gen.; also πρόσθα (Dor. Aeol.), which gave πρόθθα (Cret.); πρόστα (Delph.).

•COMP Also combined with other adverbs or prepositions, e.g. ἔμ-προσθε(ν) 'in front (of), before' (IA), -θα (Dor., Aeol.), with ἐμπρόσθ-ιος 'in the front', especially of body parts (Hdt., Att., Arist.), -ίδιος 'id.' (A. D., pap.), ἐπί-προσθεν 'close before, near' Att., Hell.) with ἐπιπροσθ-έω [v.] 'to be in the way, in front of it, to hinder, to cover' (Hp., Hell.), ὑπό-προσθε 'just before' (Hp.) with ὑπαπροσθ-ίδιος 'older inhabitant' (Locr.).

•DER πρόσθ-ιος 'in the front', especially of body parts (Hdt. v.l., trag., Arist.; cf. ἐμπρόσθιος above), -ίδιος 'id.' (Nonn.), προστ-ίζιος = προσθ-ίδιος 'earlier, the former' (El.).

•ETYM Formation in -θε(ν), -θα, which in view of the meaning and spread can hardly be derived from πρός (Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 55), but rather from πρό with analogical -σ- (πρό-θεν, however, only in Greg. Cor.). The example cannot have been ὄπισθεν, as this stands for earlier ὄπιθεν itself, and probably took -σ- from πρόσθεν. Therefore, more probably after ἔκτοσ-θε(ν), ἔντοσ-θε(ν), or from πρόσ(σ)ω? Extensive discussion in Lejeune 1939: 333ff.

προσκηδής ⇒κῆδος.

πρόσφατος [adj.] 'undecomposed', of a corpse (Ω 757 ἐρσήεις καὶ π., Hdt.), 'fresh', of plants, victuals, water etc. (Hp., Arist., Hell.), metaph. 'fresh' = 'which happened lately, recently; following immediately', of actions, emotions, etc. (A. [lyr.], Lys., D., Arist.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Acc. to Phot., it means νεωστὶ ἀνῃρημένος 'recently deceased', an interpretation which seems to give the best solution: the second member belongs to πεφνεῖν, φόνος, ►θείνω 'to hit, kill', with the same second member as in Ἀρῃ̈-, ἀρεί-φατος, μυλή-φατος, ὀδυνή-φατος. DELG observes that it may have been a hunting or fishing term, as it is used for flesh in Hp. *Acut.* 49 and in Men. 397. The development of meaning to 'recent' became possible after the second member had become opaque (cf. ἀρείφατος, which also means 'martial' in trag.). The first element cannot be a verbal prefix (as if from *προσ-θείνω), and has not received a good explanation yet (Frisk's suggestion 'close to' does not really make sense).

πρόσω [adv.] 'forward, onward, further', etc (Il.). ◁IE *pro-ti-o- 'against'▷

•VAR Epic also πρόσσω. Compar. προσω-τέρω, -τάτω, adv. πρόσω-θεν 'from far away' (Ion. poet.), πρόσσοθεν (Ψ 533), after other adverbs in -οθεν (epic Ion. poet.).

•ETYM Contains the same formation as ὀπίσ(σ)ω, derived from *pro with a suffix *-ti̯o-, or perhaps a thematic entension of *proti > πρότι. See also ►πόρσω, ►πόρρω.

πρόσωπον [n.] 'face, countenance, mask, role, person' (Il.). ◁IE **proti* 'against' + **h₃ekʷ-* 'see'▷

•VAR Epic pl. also -πατα, dat. -ασι, which can easily be explained as an enlargement favoured by the metre (Schwyzer: 515³).

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. προσωπο-λήπτης [m.] 'who respects persons, who is partial' with -λητέω, -ληψία (NT). Very often as a second member, mostly late., e.g. μικρο-πρόσωπος 'small-faced' (Arist.).

•DER Diminutives προσωπ-ίδιον (Ar.), -εῖον (-ιον) [n.] 'mask' (Thphr., LXX), the plant name -ιον, -ίς, -ιάς, -ῖτις (Dsc. et al.; probably after the form of the flower; Strömberg 1940: 47), -οῦττα [f.] 'face-shaped vessel', "face-urn" (Polem. Hist., Poll.).

•ETYM Similar to ▸μέτωπον 'forehead', πρόσωπον is also a hypostatic form, i.e. from *προτι-ωπ-ον "what is opposite to the eyes (of the other), the sight (of the other)". By connection with epic προτι-όσσομαι, προσ-όψομαι 'to look at', ὄπωπα, etc., πρόσωπον may have been (re)interpreted as verbal noun (cf. G *Angesicht*).

Formally, πρόσωπον neatly corresponds with ToA *pratsak*, ToB *pratsāko* 'breast' (containing ToA *ak*, B *ek* 'eye') and with Skt. *prátīka-* [n.] 'face, appearance' from *práti* = πρότι and a zero grade **-h₃kʷ-*, so **proti-h₃kʷ-* (cf. ▸ὀπῖπεύω < **opi-h₃kʷ-*). The Greek form may continue this old compound, assuming that **Cih₃C* developed to PGr. **Cḭ̄ōC* (which is doubtful), or it may have been recreated within Greek from πρότι and ὄψ.

On the IE expressions for 'face', see Malten 1961: 1ff.

προταινί [adv.] 'ahead, in front of' (E. *Rh.* 523). ◁GR▷

•VAR Boeot. inscr. προτηνί 'earlier'; προταίνιον· πρὸ μικροῦ and παλαιόν 'for a small [time]; old' (H.; text uncertain)

•ETYM Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 1: 309f., it derives from πρὸ ται-νὶ (locatival; scil. ἡμέραι), with a suffix -νι added to the pronoun; cf. also ποταίνιον (Schwyzer: 612). See ▸ποταίνιος.

πρότερος [pron. adj.] 'front, former', usually of time 'earlier' (Il.). ◁IE **pro-tero-* 'further'▷

•VAR Adv. πρότερον 'earlier' (post-Hom.), προτέρω 'further (forward), sooner' (epic since Il.), -ωσε 'forward' (*h. Hom.*, A. R.), -ωθε(ν) 'from before, from earlier on' (Theognost., *EM*); προτερη-γενής 'born earlier, elder' (Antim.), after ἀρχη-γενής, etc.

•DER ἡ προτερ-αία (scil. ἡμέρα) 'the preceding day' (IA), cf. ὑστεραία, etc., also -εία [f.] 'id.' (*Tab. Heracl.*), -ικόν [n.] 'priority' (pap.); προτερ-έω 'to be ahead, have the advantage, prevent' (IA), also with κατα-, συν-. Thence -ημα [n.] (Hell.), -ησις [f.] (Hld.) 'advantage, lead'.

•ETYM Opposite of ὕστερος, from ▸πρό, identical with Av. and OP *fratara-* 'the one more in front, earlier', Skt. *pratará-* 'further, farther, future'.

πρότι, προτί ⇒πρός.

πρότμησις [f.] '(region of the) navel' (Λ 424, Q. S., Sinope III[a], H., Poll.); in H. also προτμῆτις· ὁ περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν κατὰ τὸν λαγόνα τόπος 'area surrounding the navel, waist' and προτμητόν· τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ◁GR▷

•ETYM Verbal noun from προτέμνω 'to cut off in front', originally of the severing of the umbilical cord, then of the navel itself and the area surrounding it (Porzig 1942: 337). Often analyzed as "incision of the body", whence 'waist' (e.g. LSJ, Benveniste 1948: 78), which should be rejected. The form προτμῆτις in H. (also v.l. sch. Λ 424; accent uncertain) must be explained, if the accent in H. is reliable, as a fem. of *προτμής (like προβλής); cf. e.g. δασπλῆτις and προβλῆτις, ἀδμῆτις (but these forms are rare and late). A proparoxytone πρότμητις would be strange, and can hardly be an archaism (Wackernagel 1916: 236).

προύμνη [f.] 'plum tree, Prunus' (Thphr.). ◁PG?, LW Anat.?▷

•DER προῦμνον [n.] 'plum' (Gal. et al.).

•ETYM Probably of Anatolian origin, like the tree itself; cf. the Phryg. TN Πρυμνησσός and Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 181f. Borrowed as Lat. *prūnus*, *-um*, perhaps from an intermediate *πρου(ϝ)νον (Fur.: 243)?

προύνεικος (-ικος) [m.] 'one who bears cargo out of the market, hired porter' (*Com. Adesp.*, Hdn. Gr., Ael. Dion., H., Eust.), also a designation of a loafer or a person from the lower classes (Herod., H.); also adj. (*AP* 12, 209)? ◁GR?▷

•DER προυνικία (H.), see on ►σκίταλοι.

•ETYM A colloquial word without a certain etymology. Hardly derived from προ-ενεῖκαι, as suggested already by Eust. and others, nor related to νεῖκος (*AB*, *EM*); cf. also θορυβώδεις καὶ προυνείκους in D. L. 4, 6.

προυσελέω [v.] 'to ridicule, outrage, maltreat' (A. *Pr.* 438, Ar. *Ra.* 730). ◁?▷

•ETYM Without etymology. One doubtful hypothesis derives it from *προ-εσ-ελέω (from ἕλος) "to dump in the swamp" (Schwyzer: 724), for the semantics of which προπηλακίζειν (H., Suid.) 'id.' has been compared.

πρόφρων [adj.] 'kind, willing' (epic poet. since Il.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Fem. πρόφρασσα (Il., Od.).

•ETYM Bahuvrīhi compound, literally meaning "forward-minded" (cf. Sommer 1948: 110[3]). The form πρόφρασσα is after synonymous ἑκασσα (Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 41f.); cf. on ►ἑκών and ►φρήν.

προχάνη [f.] 'pretext' (Call. *Cer.* 73, *fr.* 26). ◁GR▷

•VAR Dor. -ᾱ.

•ETYM Archaic or dialectal formation with unclear history. Acc. to Eust. 1109, 39, derived from a verb προχαίνω, which is further unattested and translated as προφασίζομαι 'to give a pretext'; unconvincing. More probably, it is derived from προ-έχομαι 'to pretend', thus from *προ-οχάνη with elision.

πρόχειρος [adj.] 'at hand, ready, easy, usual' (IA). ◁GR▷

•DER προχείρ-ιον (-ον) [n.] 'handbag' (pap.), -ότης [f.] 'readiness' (Hell.), προχειρ-ίζομαι, -ίζω [v.] 'to provide (oneself) with, put at disposal, choose' (Att., Hell.), whence -ισις [f.] 'provision, accomplishment', -ισμός [m.] 'provision, choice' (Hell.).
•ETYM Hypostasis from πρὸ χειρῶν, possibly also a bahuvrīhi "with a forward hand" (Sommer 1948: 108, 112, 141, Schwyzer 1950: 508).

πρόχνυ [adv.] 'kneeling, on the knees' (I 570, with καθεζομένη); 'fully, thoroughly, entirely' vel sim. (Φ 460, ξ 69 with (ἀπ-)ολέσθαι; A. R. 1, 1118; 2, 249), mg. uncertain (Antim. Col. 2 P.). ◁IE *ǵon-u 'knee'▷
•ETYM In the meaning 'kneeling', πρόχνυ clearly contains the zero grade of γόνυ, as in ▶γνύξ. The proper meaning is therefore "with the knees forward", a frozen ntr.acc. which stands for *πρό-γνυ = Skt. (gramm.) *pra-jñú-*, of which the meaning is not quite certain (Wackernagel 1916: 74). The origin of the aspiration is uncertain (cf. Schwyzer: 328). The meaning 'fully', if at all from 'kneeling', probably came about by reinterpretation of an epic expression. For a different etymology, cf. Brugmann-Thumb 1913: 127[1], who derived πρόχνυ 'fully' from χναύω 'to plane, gnaw off'; the originally independent *πρό-γνυ 'kneeling' would then have coalesced with it (an idea accepted by Wackernagel 1916: 74).

προχῶναι [f.pl.] 'buttocks, coccyx' (Archipp. 41). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Perhaps a nonce form or comic contamination of κοχώνη and πρωκτός (Güntert 1914: 122); otherwise, with πρό.

πρυλέες, -έων [m.pl.] 'heavily armed foot-soldiers' (Il., Hes. *Sc.* 193, Gortyn), metaph. of birds (Opp.); προυλέσι· πεζοῖς ὁπλίταις 'hoplites on foot' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•DER Also πρύλις [f.] '(Cretan) weapon-dance' (Call.; acc. to Arist. *fr.* 519 Cypr. or Cret.); πρυλεύσεις· ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τῶν τελευτησάντων παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ (H.). From πρύλις comes *πρυλεύω 'to perform a π.', whence πρυλεύσεις [f.pl.] (H.).
•ETYM It is not entirely clear how πρυλέες (sg. -λής [Hdn.] or -λύς [Schwyzer: 572]) and πρύλις are related. According to Leumann 1950: 286f., Cret. πρύλις would have arisen through false interpretation of epic πρυλέες; Ruijgh 1957: 96f. opposes this.
In view of the formal variant προυλέσι, the word is probably of Pre-Greek origin. Unrelated to πρύτανις (Misteli *KZ* 17 (1868): 174; cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v. διαπρύσιος).

πρυμνός [adj.] 'utmost, hindmost, undermost', of the body part that is closest to the torso, vel sim.; also of the undermost part of a tree, a rock, etc. (epic poet. Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR With shift of accent πρύμνη, secondarily -νᾶ [f.] 'hindmost part of a ship, stern' (IA, Il.), in Hom. mostly attributive πρύμνη νηῦς.
•COMP As a first member in e.g. πρυμν-ώρεια [f.] 'lower part, foot of a mountain (Ξ 307), from *πρυμν-ώρης (Solmsen 1909: 249, Risch *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 18). From πρύμνη e.g. πρυμν-οῦχος 'holding the stern' (E., *AP*), ὑψί-πρυμνος 'with high stern' (Str.).
•DER 1. πρυμν-όθεν 'from the lower end, from the bottom' (A.), also (Hell. poet.) = πρύμν-ηθεν, Dor. -ᾱθεν 'from the stern' (Il.); 2. -ήτης [m.] 'steersman', as an adj. 'standing on the stern' (A., E.) with -ητικός (Callix., pap.), -ήσιος (E.) 'id.', τὰ -ήσια

[n. pl.] 'stern cables' (Hom., *AP*); probably analogically built to πρύμνη (Chantraine 1933: 42, Schwyzer: 466); 3. -αῖος 'id.' (A. R.); 4. -εύς [m.] PN (θ 112, Nonn.).

•ETYM Often connected with πρό, assuming υ for ο by Cowgill's Law (e.g. Forssman *KZ* 79 (1965): 11ff.), but this is semantically unconvincing, because πρυμνός indicates not the most foward, but the hindmost part. For the suffix -μν-, one compares Skt. *ni-mná-* [n.] 'depression, depth', adj. 'lying deep'.

The connection with OCS *krъma* 'back part of a ship' is wrong; cf. Vasmer 1953 s.v. *kormá*. Cf. also πρόμνος and ►προμνηστῖνοι, connected with πρυμνός by Forssman *KZ* 79 (1965): 11ff.; see ►πρόμος.

The most promising etymology consists of the connection with πρέμνον, the non-Indo-European interchange ε/υ pointing to a Pre-Greek origin (cf. Fur.: 65[270]).

πρύτανις, -εως [m.] title of a leading official, in Athens member of the governing committee of the council, 'foreman, chief of affairs, prytan' (Dor. IA); also name of a Lycian (E 678). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Aeol. πρό-.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ναυ-πρύτανις = ναύαρχος (Pi.).

•DER 1. Adjecitves πρυταν-ικός (IA inscr.), -ειος (Aristid.) 'belonging to the π.'; 2. substantives -εῖον, Ion. -ήϊον [n.] 'residence of the π., city hall' (IA), in Athens also name of a court of law; τὰ πρυτανεῖα 'legal costs' (Att.); here Πρυταν-ῖτις (Herm. Hist.), -εία (Syros) [f.] epithet of Ἑστία as a protectress of the Prytaneion; 3. verb πρυταν-εύω 'to be π., lead something' (*h. Ap.* 68) with -εία, Ion. -ηΐη [f.] '(term of the) office of a π.' (IA, Rhodes, etc.), -ευμα = Lat. *principatus* (epigr. I[a]), -εύς [m.] = πρύτανις (Rhodos), back-formation acc. to Boßhardt 1942: 77.

•ETYM In view of the close resemblance to Etruscan *pur9ne, epr9ni* 'title of an official', πρύτανις probably belongs to the Anatolian-Aegaean stratum of social designations (cf. βασιλεύς, ἄναξ, τύραννος, and Schwyzer: 62 and 462). The variation of Aeol. πρότανις (Att. inscr. incidentally have προταν-εύω, -εία) and Phoc. and Cret. βρυτανεύω, -εῖον is suggestive of borrowing from a Pre-Greek source; cf. Heubeck 1961: 67f.; Linderski *Glotta* 40 (1962): 157ff. also connects Hatt. *puri* 'lord'. The association with πρό 'in front' is secondary and folk-etymological; πρυ- is not an old by-form of προ, as has been claimed on the basis of διαπρύσιος, πρυμνός, πρυλέες.

πρώην [adv.] 'lately, the day before yesterday' (Il.). ◂IE **proH* 'early, in the morning'▸

•VAR πρῴην (Il.), πρῶν (Call. *fr.*, Herod.), Dor. πρώαν, πρόαν, πρᾶν (Theoc.); on the phonetics Schwyzer: 250.

•COMP As a first member in πρωηρότης [m.] 'early plougher' (Hes.), like ὀψ-αρότης (see ►ὀψέ); often in Thphr., e.g. πρωΐ-καρπος 'with early fruit', compar. πρωϊκαρπότερος (see Strömberg 1937: 162f.).

•DER Also πρωΐ (Il.), Att. πρῴ (πρῷ, πρῶϊ) 'early, in the morning'. Compar. forms: πρωΐ- (πρῴ-)τερος, -τατος, usually -αίτερος, -αίτατος (IA), after παλαίτερος etc.

Other derivatives: πρώϊος, πρῷος 'at an early time' (O 470), πρωΐα [f.] 'early time, morning' (Aristeas, NT), after ὀψία; in Attic replaced by πρώ-ϊμος (X., Arist., pap. and inscr.), to ὄψιμος (Arbenz 1933: 76); also πρό-ϊμος after πρό; Hell. -ϊνός

(Chantraine 1933: 200f.); πρωΐζά [adv.] 'the day before yesterday' (B 303), to πρώην after χθιζά, 'very early' (Theoc. 18, 9), to πρωΐ; πρωΐθεν 'from early in the morning' (LXX).

•ETYM Both πρώην and πρωΐ presuppose an adverb *πρώ, which is confirmed by OHG *fruo* 'early', Lat. *prō* 'for, before', Av. *frā* 'forward, in front', and less directly by Skt. *prātár* 'early, in the morning' beside Av. *fra* = ►πρό. It is perhaps an old instrumental **pro-h_1*.

The form πρώην, -ᾶν may have been influenced by petrified accusatives, like δήν, δᾶν, πλήν, πλᾶν, ἀκμήν. Similarly, πρω-ΐ seems to have been modelled after locatives like ἦρι, πέρυσι, ἀντί. This πρωΐ served as the basis for the adjective πρώϊ-ος (= OHG *fruoji* 'early'), which, interpreted as πρώ-ϊος, gave rise to πρώ-ϊμος, -ινός (see above).

πρωκτός [m.] 'rump, anus' (Hippon., Ar.). ◅IE **pre/oh$_2$ḱt-* 'buttock'▻

•DER πρωκτίζω 'paedico' (Ar.).

•ETYM Closely related to Arm. *erastan-k'* [pl.] 'buttock', an action noun in *-an-*, from IE **preh$_2$ḱt-*. This means that Greek derives from **proh$_2$ḱt-* (Beekes in Kortlandt 2003: 191). The earlier reconstruction as **p(e)rh$_3$ḱt-* (see the discussion in Clackson 1994: 166f.) does not abide by the rules for IE root structure. Skt. *pṛṣṭhá-* 'back' and related forms are more easily derived from **pr-sth$_2$-o-*, and are therefore unrelated.

πρών [m.] 'protruding rocks, mountain top' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR πρῶνος or πρωνός, plur. πρῶνες, also πρώονες (epic poet. since Il.), also πρηών (Hes. *Sc.* 437, Hell.), πρεών (*AP*), -ῶνος, -όνος.

•ETYM Starting from the later attestation πρηών (whence πρεών, πρών), the plur. πρώονες, -ας could be explained as a diectasis of πρῶνες; this would point to original *πρηϝών or *πρᾱϝών (Schwyzer: 377). On the other hand, if we assume a pre-form *πρώϝων, πρώονες becomes regular, but πρηών must then either be due to false analysis, or an old ablaut variant of πρών. A reconstruction *πρώϝων is strongly supported by ►πρῷρα 'prow, bow of a ship', which can hardly be dealt with separately. This goes back to **prh$_3$-ur-ih$_2$*, beside **prh$_3$-uon-* giving πρών; the adjective is probably derived from the forebear of Skt. *pū́rva-* 'frontmost, earlier'.

Fur.: 331 wonders whether προύνος· βουνούς is a variant, or a contamination of πρών and βουνός.

πρώξ, πρωκός [f.] 'dewdrop' (Theoc., Call.). ◅IE **prōḱ-* 'drop, sprinkle'▻

•VAR Only plur. πρῶκες.

•ETYM Formation like κλώψ, ῥῶπες, τρώξ, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 2, Schwyzer: 424); thus, originally an agent noun "dripper, sprinkler" from a lost verb for 'sprinkle', which left traces in several derived adjectives, e.g. ►περκνός. For a parallel of 'sprinkle' beside 'drop', cf. especially Skt. *pṛ́ṣan-* 'spotted, speckled', *pṛṣatá-* [m.] 'spotted gazelle' (Ved.), 'drop of water' (epic class.).

πρῷρα [f.] 'forepart of a ship, prow, bow' (μ 230: gen. πρῴρης, attributive to νηός). ◅IE **prh$_3$-u(e)r-ih$_2$* 'forepart of a ship'▻

•VAR Ion. πρῴρη, secondary after πρύμνη.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. κυανό-πρῳρος 'dark-bowed' (Hom., B.), -πρῴρειος (γ 299, verse-final enlargement), -πρώϊρα [f.] (Simon. 241), explanation uncertain.

•DER πρῴρ-ᾱθε(ν), -ηθε(ν) 'from the bow, at the bow' (Pi., Th.); -εύς [m.] 'officer in command at the bow' (X., D., Arist.), also PN (θ 113); -άτης [m.] 'id.' (S., X.), to πρυμνήτης, κυβερνήτης (Fraenkel 1912: 206) with -ατικός 'concerning the prow' (pap., Poll.), -ατεύω [v.] 'to be in command at the bow' (Att., Hell.); -ήσια [n.pl.] 'uppermost points on starboard' (*EM*: πρυμνήσια); ptc. aor. πρῳράσαντες· κροτήσαντες. ἡ δὲ μεταφορά ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς εἰρεσίας 'making rattle, striking; a metaphor from [the terminology of] ships and rowers' (H.), cf. Men. *Sicyon.* 421 Kassel.

•ETYM Apparently contracted from *πρώϝαρ-ι̯α or *πρώϝερ-ι̯α. The expected msc. *πρώϝων (cf. πίων : πίειρα) is attested as ►πρών. Discussion in Peters 1980a: 190f., who argues that a suffix -ειρα is expected on the basis of πίειρα, πέπειρα, and that it would yield the main attestation πρῷρα. Actually, *πρώϝερ-ι̯α would have to result in πρῶρα instead (which is also attested, but only as a weaker variant in the mss. and pap.). However, in this case, πρῷρα can hardly be explained, as there is no basis for a pre-form in *-αρι̯α. Therefore, Peters argues that -ῳ- was introduced, like in the presents in -ῄσκω, -ῴσκω.

It is improbable that κυανο-πρώϊραν (Simon. 241) preserves an old uncontracted form *πρώειραν (Hdn. 2, 410); see Peters l.c.

Apart from the suffix *-n-*, related *πρώ-ϝων is formally comparable to Skt. *pū́rva-* 'foremost, earlier', ToB *parwe* 'first', OCS *prъvъ* 'first' < **prh₃-uo-*.

Borrowed as Lat. *prōra*, *prōreta* (from Ion. *πρῳρήτης); see WH s.v.

πρῶτος [adj.] 'foremost, first' (Il.). ◄IE **prh₃-to-* (?) 'first'►

•VAR Dor., Boeot. πρᾶτος.

•COMP Very productive in compounding, e.g. πρωτό-γονος 'first-born' (epic poet. Il.).

•DER 1. Superlative πρώτ-ιστα [adv.] 'first of all', -ιστος (epic poet. Il.), Dor. (Thera) πράτιστος 'the very first' (Seiler 1950: 105). 2. πρωτ-εῖον [n.] 'first prize, first rank' (Att.); -ειος 'of the first rank'. 3. -εύω 'to be first' (Att.) with the back-formation πρωτεύς epithet to λαός (Tim. *Pers.* 248). Several short names, e.g. Πρωτ-εύς [m.] Seagod (Od., etc.), -τέας, -τίων, Πρατ-ίνας, -ύλος, etc. (Bechtel 1917b: 387). On Πρωτεσί-λαος, -λεως (Il., etc.), see Risch 1937: §71a.

•ETYM Related to Skt. *pū́r-va-*, Av. *paur-uua-* < **prh₃-uo-*, and Lith. *pir-mas* < **prh₃-mo-*, but with a suffix *-to-* as in τρίτος, τέταρτος, etc. Dor. πρᾶτος is problematic, because it seems to continue **prh₂-to-* with a different laryngeal; in spite of DELG, the two forms cannot be unified under **prH-*. The postulated reconstruction *πρό-ατος, which similarly could explain πρῶτος, but not πρᾶτος, cannot have developed out of **prH-* in a regular way. Cf. Beekes 1969: 214f.

πταίω [v.] 'to nudge, crash into, stumble, err, have bad luck' (IA); rarely trans. 'to knock over' (Pi. *fr.* 205, LXX). ◄PG?, IE? **pi(e)h₂-u-ie/o-* 'strike'►

•VAR Aor. πταῖσαι, fut. πταίσω, also perf. (later Att., Hell.) ἔπταικα, pass. (late) πταισθῆναι, ἔπταισμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially προσ-.

•DER πταῖσμα (πρόσ-) [n.] 'push, fault, misfortune, defeat' (IA, Thgn.), πρόσπταισις [f.] 'push, stumble, collision' (*D. H.*).

•ETYM Rhyming formations like παίω, ῥαίω, and also -κναίω may have influenced πταίω (and *vice versa*); for the onset, cf. ►πτίσσω, ►πτήσσω. The word may well be Pre-Greek. Alternatively, Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 154-167 (see also on ►πτήσσω) reconstructs a present **pi(e)h_2-u-ie/o-* on the basis of πταίω, Lith. *pjáuti* 'to cut', and Lat. *paviō* 'to pound, strike'.

πτάκα [acc.sg.f.] 'hare' (A. *Ag.* 137 [lyr.]). ◄PG?, IE? **pieh$_2$-k-* 'duck away, shy'►

•VAR The nom. is unattested.

•DER πτάκ-ις, -ιδος [f.] 'id.' (*Com. Adesp.* 1127), -ισμός [m.] 'shyness' (ibd. 1128: *πτακίζω), -άδις [adv.] 'shy' (Theognost.); πτακωρεῖν· πτήσσειν, δεδοικέναι 'be scared, fear' (H.), after ὀλιγωρεῖν, τιμωρεῖν etc.

•ETYM Considered to be a root noun of the aorist πτᾶκεῖν (see ►πτήσσω), from a paradigm nom. ►πτώξ < **pioh$_2$k-s*, analogical gen. πτακ-ός. It seems, however, that the whole complex of πτώξ, πτάκα, and πτωχός is Pre-Greek in view of the alternating root-final stops κ/ χ.

πτακάνα 'boat mat' used in boats called κάννα (Poll. 10, 166). ◄PG?►

•DIAL LSJ gives πτακάλα or πτανάκα.

•ETYM No etymology; possibly Pre-Greek.

πτάρνυμαι [v.] 'to sneeze' (Hp., X.). ◄ONOM►

•VAR Rare and late πτάρνεται, πταίρω, πτείρω, πτέρομαι; them. aor. πταρεῖν (since ρ 541), ptc. also πταρείς (Hp., Arist.), πτάραντες (Arist.; uncertain).

•DER πταρ-μός [m.] 'the sneezing' (IA) with -μικός 'causing to sneeze', -μική [f.] 'sneezewort' (Dsc., Gal.), see Strömberg 1940: 85; πτόρος 'id.' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 191).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic word, probably related to Lat. *sternuō* 'id.', OIr. *sreod* 'sneezing'; however, the reconstruction of a root **pster-* remains hypothetical. Arm. *p'ṙngam*, *p'ṙnč'em* 'to sneeze' is probably onomatopoeic; see Clackson 1994: 99. An aspirate is found in the gloss ἀποφθαράξασθαι· τὸ τοῖς μυκτῆρσιν εἰς τὸ ἔξω ἠχον προέσθαι, ἀποφλάσαι, ῥογχάσαι. Κρῆτες καὶ Σάμιοι (H.), with the same meaning as Lat. *stertō* 'to snore'.

Strunk *MSS* 46 (1986): 221-242 assumes an ablauting *n*-present with the full grade shifting between the root (Lat. *sternuō*) and the ending (hence πτάρνυμαι with a zero-grade root).

πτέλας [m.] 'wild boar' (Lyc. 833, verse-final). ◄PG?►

•VAR Also πτελέα· σῦς ὑπὸ Λακώνων 'boar (Lac.)' (H.).

•ETYM The ending is the same as in ἐλέφας. A possible cognate would be ►πτελέη 'elm', but this leaves much unexplained. The connection with Lith. *kiaūlė* 'swine', *kuilỹs* 'breeding-swine', and with Skt. *kirí-* [m.] 'boar', suggested by Merlingen 1956: 58, should also be rejected. Holthausen's connection with πελιτνός, πελιός, etc.

(Holthausen *IF* 62 (1956): 152) is arbitrary. The word may well be Pre-Greek (note initial πτ-).

πτελέα [f.] 'elm tree' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Ion. -έη, Epid. πελέα.
•DIAL Myc. *pte-re-wa*.
•DER πτελέ-ινος 'of an elm' (Att. and Del. inscr., Thphr.), -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'elm grove' (gloss.). Πτελεός [m.] town in Thessaly, etc. (B 697 et al.).
•ETYM The suffix -έα is frequent in tree-names (cf. μηλέα, ἰτέα). The word πτέλας 'boar' is formally close, but the semantics are far off (Strömberg 1940: 140 adduces MoHG *Eberesche* to prove that boars may live in elm-woods). Lat. *pōpulus* 'poplar' cannot be related, since it deviates strongly in form and meaning; phonetically closer is Lat. *tilia* 'lime-tree'. For the variation πτ-: π-, cf. πόλεμος and πόλις. Arm. *t'eli* 'elm' may have been borrowed from πτελέα (Solta *Sprache* 3 (1956): 227[11] argued for old etymological relationship), or both may have been borrowed from a common source, like Lat. *tilia* (which was borrowed into Greek in τιλίαι· αἴγειροι 'black poplars' [H.]); see Clackson 1994: 169. Fur.: 226 assumes that it is a variant of μελίη 'ash'; he concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

πτέρις, -εως [f.] 'fern, bracken' (Hell.). ◁GR▷
•VAR Also -ίς, -ίδος.
•COMP As a second member in δρυ(ο)-πτερίς [f.] 'oak fern' (Dsc., H.), θηλυ-πτερίς [f.] 'female fern' (Thphr., Dsc.). With the same meaning πτέριον (also with θηλυ-) [n.] (Ps.-Dsc., Alex. Trall.); see Strömberg 1940: 40f.
•ETYM The original meaning must have been "feather plant", as it is related to ▶πτερόν; it was named after the form of the leaves (cf. MoHG *Federkraut* 'water milfoil'). Likewise, MoHG *Farn* (OHG *far(a)n*, etc.) 'fern' can be equated with Skt. *parṇá-*, Av. *parəna-* [n.] 'wing, feather, leaf'. Alb. *fier* 'fern' may be related as well, possibly as a loanword, acc. to Mann *Lang.* 28 (1952): 40.

πτέρνη [f.] 'heel', also metaphorically of the lower part of several objects, etc. (epic Ion. poet., Arist., Hell.). ◁IE **tpersneh₂* 'heel'▷
•VAR Secondarily -νᾰ (LXX).
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πτερνο-κοπίς [f.] 'heel-pusher', nickname (middle and new com.; see Wackernagel 1916: 196); *ὑπό-πτερνος 'under the heel' in ὑποπτερν-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'base, underlay' (Ph., Hero *Bel.*).
•DER πτερν-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'foot of a bowl' (middle com.), -ίζω [v.] 'to hit with the heel, trip one up, supplant someone out of his position, provide a shoe with a new heel' (LXX, *Com. Adesp.*), to which -ιστής [m.] (Ph.), -ισμός [m.] (LXX). Isolated and semantically unclear is πτέρνιξ, -ῐκος [m.] 'main stalk of a cactus' (Arist.); next to it we find ▶τέρνακα· τῆς κάκτου τοῦ φυτοῦ καυλόν 'stalk of the cactus' (H.), s.v.
•ETYM Old designation of the heel: Lat. *perna* 'calf of the leg', Gm. (e.g. Go. *fairzna* 'heel'), possibly Hitt. *paršina-* 'buttock (?)' (= *paršna-*; with *paršnāi-* 'to squat down'), from IE **tpersneh₂*. Beside these, we find Indo-Iranian forms with secondary vowel length: Skt. *pā́rṣṇi-* [f.], Av. *pāšnā-* [n.] 'heel'. The initial πτ- must reflect an

original cluster, probably **tp-*, i.e. **tpersn-* (see Lubotsky 2006). On late πτέρνα 'ham', *see* ►πέρνα.

πτερόν [n.] 'feather, wing, pinion', also metaphorically of feather- and wing-like objects (Il.). ◄IE **pet-* 'fly'►

•COMP πτερο-φόρος 'feathered, winged' (A., E.), ὑπό-πτερος '(swift-)winged' (Pi., IA); on ►ὑποπετρίδιος s.v.

•DER 1. πτερό-εις 'provided with feathers or wings' (epic poet. Il.); antonym ἄ-πτερος (Od.), of μῦθος (as an opposite of ἔπεα πτερόεντα); 2. πτερω-τός 'id.' (IA), -τικός 'belonging to plumage' (V^{P}); 3. -μα [n.] 'plumage' (A. *fr.*, Pl. *Phdr.*, etc.), rather enlarged from πτερόν than from πτερόομαι; 4. πτερό-της [f.] 'winged condition' (Arist.); 5. πτέρ-ων [m., n.] of an unknown bird (*Com. Adesp.*), -νις [m., n.] of a kind of hawk (Arist.); 6. πτερ-όομαι (also with ἐκ-συν-) [v.] 'to get wings, become fledged', -όω 'to feather, wing' (IA), whence -ωσις [f.] 'feathering, plumage' (Ar., Arist.). Next to it πτέρυξ, -ῠγος [f.] 'wing' (Il.), often metaphorically like πτερόν. Often as a second member, e.g. τανύ-πτερυξ (Il.), also -πτέρυγ-ος (Simon.) 'spreading the wings'. From πτέρυξ are derived: 1. diminutive πτερύγ-ιον [n.], designation of several wing-like objects (Hp., Arist.); 2. -ώδης 'wing-like' (Hp., Thphr.); 3. -ωτός 'provided with wings' (Arist.); 4. -ωμα [n.] 'poultry, etc.' (late); 5. πτερυγ-ίζω (also with ἀνα-, etc.) [v.] 'to move the wings' (Ar.); also -όομαι, -όω meaning unclear (Lesb. lyr., medic.), with ἀπο- 'to lose the wings' (Vett. Val.); πτερ-ύσσω (also with δια-, etc.) [v.] 'to flap with the wings' (Archil.[?], Hell.), perhaps from πτερόν.

•ETYM The word for 'feather' or 'wing' is derived from the verb for 'fly', represented in Greek by ►πέτομαι, πτέσθαι. A good formal correspondence to πτερ-όν < **pt-er-* is not found in the other languages: Skt. *pátr-a-* [n.] 'wing, feather', Lat. *acci-piter*, *-tris* 'hawk', OHG *fedara*, ON *fjǫðr* [f.] 'feather', etc. all go back to IE **petr-* (which in Greek is represented in ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων 'winged dreams', Alcm. 23, 49). Some connect Arm. *t'er* 'side' as if from **pter-* (comparing *t'ir* 'flight' < **ptēr-* and *t'ř-čim* [v.] 'to fly', aor. *t'ř-eay*), but this is semantically dubious. A heteroclitic stem is found in Hitt. *pattar* (also *pittar*) [n.], gen.pl. *-an-aš*. An *n*-stem is seen in Lat. *penna* [f.] 'feather, wing' < **pet-n-h$_2$* et al.

As for πτέρυξ, no convincing parallel for the suffix -υγ- can be found in Greek (ὄρτυξ and other bird names are too far off); connection with various words in other IE languages has been suggested (see Frisk), but these are all unconvincing. The old connection between πτερόν and Ru. *peró* [n.] 'feather', etc. cannot be substantiated; the Slavic words have cognates in Skt. *parṇá-* [n.] 'wing, feather, leaf', etc., Lith. *spařnas* [m] 'wing, paddle(?), leaf', ToB *paruwa* [pl.] 'feathers', and others, from a root **(s)per-*.

πτῆμα •VAR πτηνός, πτῆσις. ⇒πέτομαι.

πτήσσω [v.] 'to duck (for fright)' (IA); sigm. aor. rarely trans. 'to frighten, drive away' (Ξ 40, Thgn.). ◄PG?, IE? **pieh$_2$-k-* 'duck (away), shy'►

•VAR Also πτώσσω (Il., epic poet.), Aeol. (Alc.?) πτάζω, fut. πτήξω (Att.), aor. πτῆξαι (Il.), Dor. πτᾶξαι (Pi.), also them. aor. ptc. κατα-πτᾰκών (A. *Eu.* 252), perf. ἔπτηχα

(Att.), ἔπτηκα (LXX with v.l. -χα, late); also epic forms ptc. perf. πεπτηώς (B 312, ξ 354, etc.), 3du.aor. κατα-πτήτην (Θ 136).

•COMP Also with prefix, especially κατα- and ὑπο-.

•DER πτῆξις [f.] 'fright' (LXX), enlargement πτωσκάζω 'to duck, have fear' (Δ 372) after similar ἀλυσκάζω (to ἀλύσκω, ἀλύσσω), ἠλασκάζω; perhaps from *πτώσκω; the v.l. πτωκάζω must be after πτώξ. Cf. Schwyzer: 708, Chantraine *RPh.* 57 (1931): 125, Chantraine 1942: 338.

•ETYM The epic forms πεπτηώς, καταπτήτην show that there was a root variant without velar. A further cognate is ►πτοέω. The comparison with Arm. *t'ak'-čim*, aor. *t'ak'-eay* 'to hide oneself' (Pedersen *KZ* 39 (1906): 342f.) is discussed by Clackson 1994: 169f. Photius gives πτεκάς· πτάξ.

The root is extensively discussed by Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 136-165. According to him, ToB *pyāk-tsi* 'to strike down' is related, which requires a reconstruction of the root as *$pieh_2(k)$- (he thus rejects a root *$pteh_2$-k-). Greek has both *ptā- and *ptāk- in πεπτηώς and πτῆξαι, respectively (from the latter, πτήσσω was derived; another present is πτώσσω). Also cognate are πτοᾶν < *$pi̯oh_2$-$ei̯e/o$- and πταίω 'to hit' < *$pi̯eh_2$-u- and, from other IE languages, Lith. *piáuti* 'to cut, mow, harvest, torment' and perhaps Lat. *paviō* from *$pi̯eh_2$-u- (with loss of *$i̯$ after initial *p*- or by dissimilation against the second -$i̯$-).

There are two problems with this reconstruction: first, the semantic connection between Tocharian 'to strike down' and Greek 'to frighten' is not evident, and second, it neglects the evidence of πτωχός 'beggar', which is clearly related and shows a substrate alternation.

πτίλον [n.] 'fluff, down, insect wing', metaphorically 'leaf, etc.' (IA). ◄PG(V)►

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πτιλό-νωτος 'with a fluffy back' (*AP*), τετρά-πτιλος 'with four fluffy feathers' (Ar.).

•DER 1. πτιλ-ωτός 'provided with πτίλα' (Arist., Att. inscr.); 2. -όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to be equipped with πτ.; to equip with πτ.' (late), whence -ωσις [f.] 'emergence of fluff' (Ael.), also of a disease of the eyelid and eyelashes (Gal.); πτίλος 'disease of the eyelids' (LXX, Gal.) is a back-formation on these words, whereas πτίλλος = *lippus* (gloss.) has expressive gemination; 3. -ώσσω [v.] 'to have a disease of the eyelids (lashes)' (Archyt.).

•ETYM The word πτίλον was connected with πτέσθαι by Frisk, with a "hypocoristic" suffix -ιλο- (Chantraine 1933: 248f.). On Dor. ψίλον (Paus. 3, 19, 6), see Bechtel 1921, 2: 319f. Fur.: 263 takes the alternation πτίλον / ψίλον as evidence for a Pre-Greek word, and he further compares Lat. *pilus*. In support of this, one may note that an IE pre-form *pth_2-ilo- does not look convincing.

πτίσσω [v.] 'to shell, grind grains by stamping' (IA). ◄IE *(*t*)*pis*- 'stamp, smash'►

•VAR Att. also πτίττω; aor. πτίσαι, pass. πτισθῆναι, perf. mid. ἔπτισμαι.

•COMP Rarely with prefix, like περι- and κατα-.

•DER πτισ-άνη [f.] (-ανον [n.] Nic.) 'peeled barley, barley groats' (Hp., com., pap.); -μός [m.] 'winnowing' (com.), -μα [n.] 'peeled barley' (Str.; περιπ[τ]ίσματα [pl.] sch.; Jacobsohn *KZ* 42 (1909): 276), -ις [f.] 'skin' (Gal.), -τικός 'fit for shelling' (com.).

•ETYM The word πτίσσω is an old agricultural term, retained in several languages, though exact matches of the Greek forms in πτ- are not found. Note the correspondences ἄ-πτισ-τος 'unstamped' (Hp.) with Skt. *piṣ-ṭá-*, Lat. *pis-tus* 'smashed'. All other nominal and verbal forms are based on πτισ- as well, except for the present πτίσσω, which was formed analogically after πλάσσω, πάσσω, etc. Nasal presents are found in Skt. *pi-ná-ṣṭi* 'to crush' (perf. *pipéṣa*, *pipiṣe*), Lat. *pī-n-sō* 'to pound' (with secondary perf. *pīns(u)ī*, next to *pis-tor* 'pounder, miller', etc.); Balt. and Slav. have secondary formations, e.g. Lith. *paisaũ*, *-ýti* 'chop off ears of corn' (beside primary *pisù*, *-ti* 'to copulate'), Ru. *pixát'* 'to thrust, stamp' (next to primary *pšeno* 'millet' from **pьšenъ* [ptc.] 'stamped'). On Greek πτ- against *p-* elsewhere, cf. on ►πτέρνη.

πτοέω [v.] 'to frighten, scare', pass. 'to become shy, scared, passionately excited' (Thgn.). ◅?▻

•VAR epic πτοιέω (πτοιῶμαι Thgn. 1018), fut. πτοιήσω (*AP*), aor. πτο(ι)ῆσαι (σ 340); ἐπτόαισ' (Sapph. 22, 14), ἐπτόασεν (31, 6 codd., cf. Hamm 1957: §49b3), mostly pass. πτο(ι)ηθῆναι (χ 298); ἐπτοάθης (E. *IA* 586 [lyr.]), perf. ἐπτο(ί)ημαι (Hes. *Op.* 447).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐκ-.

•DER 1. πτο(ί)η-σις [f.] 'excitement, passion' (Pl., Ph., *NT*); 2. πτοία (epic -η, rarely πτόη, -α) [f.] 'fright, passion' (Hell.), πτοι-ώδης (Hp.), -αλέος (Opp.) 'scared, frightened'.

•ETYM The verb πτοέω is a secondary formation, probably an iterative-intensive of the primary verb retained in καταπτήτην, πεπτηώς (see on πτήσσω). It goes back to older **πτω-έω* (cf. πτώξ); πτοιέω and other forms are derived from it by metrical lengthening (cf. e.g. ὁλοιός and πνοιή).

Next to πτοέω, we find the rare πτοάω (see above), like for example πονάω next to πονέω (see πένομαι). The old combination with Lat. *paveō* 'to tremble' (Froehde *KZ* 22 (1874): 259ff.) is accepted by Merlingen 1956: 56, starting from IE **tpou-*. However, see Hackstein *Glotta* 70 (1992): 154-167, who reconstructs **ptoh₂-eie/o-*; see also on ►πτήσσω.

πτολίεθρον

•ETYM See ►πόλις, and further Ruijgh 1957: 77f.

πτόρθος [m.] 'sprout, shoot, young twig, branch' (ζ 128). ◅PG?(V)▻

•VAR Also πόρθος· πτόρθος (H.).

•COMP Rare and late as a second element, e.g. φιλό-πτορθος 'loving offshoots' (Nonn.). The assumption that πτόρθος would have an older abstract meaning 'sprouting' in Hes. *Op.* 421 (e.g. Porzig 1942: 50) is unnecessary.

•DER πτορθ-εῖον [n.] 'id.' (Nic.), -ιος [m.] epithet of Poseidon (as promotor of vegetation, = φυτάλμιος, Chalkis V[a]).

•ETYM There is a variant πόρθος, and Arm. *ort'* 'vine' may somehow be related, as well. Fur.: 317 attributes these matches rather to independent borrowing from a common origin.

πτύον [n.] 'winnowing shovel' (N 588, A., S. in *Fr.*, Theoc.). ◅PG?(V)▻

•VAR Att. πτέον, acc. to Ael. Dion. et al.
•DER Diminutive πτυάριον [n.] (Hdn., *EM*) and δίπτυον· Κύπριοι μέτρον, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἡμιμέδιμνον 'measure (Cypr.), half a μέδιμνος' (H.).
•ETYM Traditionally (e.g. Curtius 1858: 498) compared with Skt. *pávate, punāti* 'to purify', e.g. of corn, and also with OHG *fowen* < PGm. **fawjan-* 'to sieve, purify corn' (Pok. 827), which supposes a secondary πτ-. If an old full grade is accepted for πτέον (only mentioned by grammarians, who label it Attic), πτύον could be secondary after πτύω. However, the variation υ/ε seems rather to point to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 314).

πτύρομαι [v.] 'to get scared, become shy' (Hp., D. S., *Ep. Phil.*, Plu.); ἀπο-πτύρω 'to scare' (gloss.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. πτυρῆναι (late).
•COMP Also with κατα-.
•DER πτυρτικός 'fearful, scared' (Arist., Str.), πτυρμός as an explanation of πτοία (H., Phot.).
•ETYM Unexplained. The initial agrees with πτήσσω, πτοηθῆναι, which is also close in meaning (this connection is mentioned in Persson 1912(1): 429[1] and Merlingen 1956: 56), while the ending recalls the semantic group ὀδύρομαι, μύρομαι, etc. However, πτύρομαι can hardly be a contamination of the two, contrary to what Frisk proposed.

πτύσσω, -ομαι [v.] 'to plead, fold (up)', med. 'to fold around oneself' (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Fut. πτύξω, -ομαι, aor. πτύξαι, -ασθαι, pass. πτυχθῆναι, πτυγῆναι, perf. πέπτυγμαι, ἔπτυγμαι.
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, περι-, προσ-.
•DER 1. πτυκτός 'folded' (Z 169 etc.), πυκτή [f.] (*Cod. Inst.*), πυκτ-ίς [f.] (*AP*, Gal.), -ίον [n.] (sch., Suid.) 'tablet' (dissimilated from πτ-, see Schwyzer: 260); 2. πτύγμα (πρόσ-, περί-, etc.) [n.] 'fold, loop of a garment, compress' (E 315, E., Arist., medic.), with (προσ-)πτυγμάτ-ιον [n.] 'compress' (medic.); 3. πτύξις (also ἀνά-, διά-, etc.) [f.] 'folding, fold' (Hp., Arist.).
Further πτύχ-ες [pl.], acc. -ας, dat.sg. -ί (Hom.), acc. -α (E. [lyr.]) [f.]; with enlargement πτυχ-ή, mostly plur. -αί [f.] (post-Hom. poet.) 'fold, ply, layer', metaph. 'gorge, valley'; it also functions as verbal noun to πτύσσω, especially to the prefixed compounds (e.g. ἀναπτυχή to ἀνα-πτύσσω); as a second member in δί-, τρί-, πολύ-πτυχος (Il.), see Sommer 1948: 65f.), with transfer to the *s*-stems in περι-πτυχής 'folding around' (S.), δι-πτυχής (Arist.), etc.
From πτυχή are derived: 1. πτυχ-ίς, -ίδος (ὑπο-) [f.] 'layer, joint' (Plu.); 2. -ιον [n.] 'folded table, etc.' (Hdn. Gr., pap.), -ιος = πτυκτός (*EM*); 3. -ώδης 'fold-like, ply-like' (Arist.); 4. Πτυχ-ία [f.] name of an island near Corcyra (Th.).
•ETYM Beside πτύσσω, there are also relatively rare forms with -ττ- (δια-πτύττω Pl. *Lg.* 858e, προσ-ανα- Arist.). Therefore, the -σσ- is perhaps rather a Ionism than a strategy to avoid the co-occurrence of τ and ττ in πτύττω (Schwyzer: 319[1]; cf. 755[2]). As an old yod-present, πτύσσω goes back to *πτύχ-i̯ω. It can be considered a denominative from πτύχ-ες.

The etymology is unclear: the connection with Skt. *pyúkṣṇa-* (only in the compound *pyúkṣṇa-veṣṭita-*), which stems from Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 277, is highly questionable (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 173). Fur.: 318 considers the word Pre-Greek, which may well be correct, although his connection with πυκνός, etc. is not convincing.

πτῦω [v.] 'to spew, spit' (Hom.). ◂IE **tspi(e)uH-* 'spew, spit'▸

•VAR Aor. πτύ-σαι (Hom.), pass. πτυ-σθῆναι, -ῆναι (Hp.), fut. πτύσ-ω, -ομαι (IA), perf. ἔπτυκα (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-.

•DER 1. ἀπό-, κατά-πτυστος 'worth spitting upon, abominable' (Anacr., trag., also Att. prose); 2. πτύσις (also ἔκ-, ἔμι-, ἀνά-) [f.] 'spewing' (Hp., Arist.); 3. πτυσμός [m.] 'id.' (Hp.); 4. πτύσμα (ἔμι-, ἀπό-, κατά-) [n.] 'spittle' (Hp., Plb., LXX); 5. ἀπο-πτυστήρ [m.] 'spitter' (Opp.); 6. πτυάς, -άδος [f.] designation of a venomous snake (Gal. et al.); 7. πτύ-αλον, -ελον [n.] (-ος [m.]) 'spittle' (Hp., Arist.); from there -αλώδης 'spittle-like', -αλίζω, -ελίζω 'to secrete spittle' with -αλισμός (-ελ-) [m.] (Hp.).

•ETYM Beside the present πτῦ-ω with long vowel (Schwyzer: 686, Chantraine 1942: 373), we find the aorist πτῦσαι with short vowel, just as in ἐρῦσαι, ἀρῦσαι etc. This stem is further found in πτῦσις and, with analogical σ, in πτύσ-μα, -μός, etc.

Since the onset has several variants in Indo-European cognates, it was often concluded that no preform can be reconstructed, which was attributed to the onomatopoeic origin of the word (e.g. E-M s.v. *spuō*). The sequence *sp-* is found in Lat. *spuō*, Germanic (e.g. Go. *speiwan*), Lith. *spiáuti*, 1sg. *spiáuju* (from **spieuH-*?), and perhaps in Skt. *(niḥ-)ṣṭhīvati*, if *ṭ ṿ* is dissimilated from *p̣ v.* No *s-* is shown by CS *pl̥ʋati*, 1sg. *pljujǫ*, Arm. *t'uk'* 'spittle' with *t'k'-anem* 'to spew, spit'; a different order of sounds is attested in Alb. *pshtyn* (Mann *Lang.* 26 (1950): 387).

Greek πτ- could agree with Arm. *t'*; if for older *πl̥-*, OCS *pljujǫ* and Lith. *spiáuti* can be compared. Others prefer to derive the deviating forms from one preform. It seems that a heavy cluster such as **tsp-* accounts best for the forms attested.

Even within Greek, several variants are attested: ἀπο-, ἐκ-πῠ̆-τίζω (Hp., com., Arist.; the simplex πυτίζω is found only in *EM*), probably extended expressively, and subsequently dissimilated (borrowed into Lat. as *pytissāre*; cf. Leumann 1959: 159[1]); Dor. ἐπι-φθύσδω = ἐπιπτύω (Theoc.); ψύττει· πτύει and σίαι· πτύσαι, Πάφιοι (H.), with ▸σίαλον.

πτῶμα •VAR πτῶσις. ⇒πίπτω.

πτώξ, -κός [m.] 'hare' (*P* 676, Thphr., Theoc.), attributive to λαγωός (X 310, Babr.), of Orestes seeking refuge (A. *Eu.* 326), of a coward (Lyc. 944). ◂PG?, IE? **pteh₂-k-* 'duck away, shy'▸

•COMP As a second member in πολυ-πτώξ 'with many hares', ά-πτώξ 'without hares' (Call., Hdn. Gr.).

•DER πτωκάς, -άδος [f.] epithet of αἴθυιαι (Hom. *Epigr.*), of κύπειρος (Simm.), as a substantive referring to birds (S. *Ph.* 1093).

•ETYM The original meaning must have been "who ducks away, the shy one", an agent noun beside πτώσσω, πτήσσω; this meaning still filters through in πτωκάς and

is also possible for πτώξ in certain attestations (e.g. X 310). A broader use of πτώξ is also suggested by the various explanations in H.: πτῶκες· δειλοί, λαγωοί, δορκάδες, ἔλαφοι, νεβροί. The alternation κ/ χ evidenced by ►πτωχός 'beggar' points to substrate origin; cf. also on ►πτάκα and ►πτήσσω (where an alternative is mentioned).

πτώσσω ⇒πτήσσω.

πτωχός [m., f.] 'beggar', also [adj.] 'begging, poor' (Od.). ◄PG?(V), IE? **pteh₂-(k-)* 'duck away, shy'►

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. πτωχο-ποιός 'drawing beggarly characters' (Ar.), 'making beggars' (Plu.), ὑπέρ-πτωχος 'very poor' (Arist.), see Sommer 1948: 170³.

•DER πτωχ-ικός 'beggarly' (Att.), -εῖον [n.] 'almshouse' (*Cod. Iust.*), -εύω [v.] 'to beg' (Od.) with -εία, Ion. -ηΐη [f.] 'beggary' (IA), -ίζω 'to make a beggar' (LXX).

•ETYM πτωχός is a formation in a velar like ►πτώξ, ►πτώσσω (see s.v. and on ►πτοέω). It seems that its aspiration cannot be explained in an IE framework (there is no direct connection with the much later perfect ἔπτηχα). Since it is highly probable that πτώξ, πτωκός 'hare' is related, we are dealing with a typical Pre-Greek alternation κ/ χ.

πύανος ⇒κύαμος.

πύαρ ⇒πυός.

πῡγή [f.] 'behind, rump' (Archil.). ◄PG?►

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. πυγο-στόλος 'decorating the rump' (Hes.), see Martinazzoli *Par. del pass.* 15 (1960): 209ff., κατά-πυγος (H., Phot.) with -πυγότερος, -πυγότατος (Sophr., *Epigr. Gr.*), and -πύγων, -ωνος [m.] 'voluptuous, lewd' (Arist.); [f.] κατα-πύγαινα (Att. amphora), see Fraenkel *Glotta* 34 (1955): 42ff. with literature); on the insect name πυγο-λαμπίς (Arist.), see Strömberg 1944: 13f.

•DER 1. Diminutives πυγ-ίον [n.] (Tab. Defix.), -ίδιον [n.] (Ar.); 2. substantive πυγ-αῖον [n.] 'buttocks' (Hp., Arist.), -εών, -ῶνος [m.] 'buttocks, arse' (Hippon. 92), after κενεών, cf. Masson ad loc.; 3. adverb -ηδόν 'with the tail foremost, rump to rump' (Arist.), -ιστί '?' (Hippon. 92), cf. Masson ad loc.; 4. -ίζω [v.] 'to inculate, sodomize' (Ar.) with -ισμα (Theoc.). Hypostasis ἐμ-πύγ-ια [n.pl.] 'buttocks, region of the buttocks' (pap. I^{a}).

•ETYM A slang word, completely avoided in epic poetry and higher literature (Wackernagel 1916: 225f.). It has no convincing etymology. Connection with Skt. *pūga-* 'multitude, mass', etc. is phonetically fine, but the semantics are not compelling (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. and below on πύννος). Holthausen *IF* 20 (1906-1907): 329 connects πύξ, ►πυγμή, like MoHG *Steiß* 'rump' beside *stoßen* 'to bump', which in turn is formally difficult because of the long vowel of πῡγή. Differently, Bezzenberger *BB* 27 (1902): 176f. (to ►πύματος, etc.; s.v.). Connections with Germanic by Holthausen *KZ* 74 (1956): 244 are to be rejected. The word πυγή could well be Pre-Greek , due to the variation ῡ / ŭ, but it is not mentioned by Fur.

πυγμή [f.] 'fist, fist-fight' (Il.); as measure of length, 'the distance from the elbow to the knuckles', equivalent to 18 δάκτυλοι (Thphr., Poll.). ◂IE? **puḱ-, puǵ-* 'sting'▸
•DER πυγμαῖος 'as large as a π., dwarf-like' (Hdt., Arist.), nom.pl. "the fistlings", name of legendary people of dwarves (Γ 6, Hecat., etc.); πυγμ-ικός 'belonging to a fist-fight' (*An. Ox.*); name Πυγμιᾶς [m.] (Chantraine 1956a: 18). On Πυγμιαλίων, probably a popular adaptation of a foreign word, see Ruijgh 1957: 136.
πυγών, -όνος [m.] measure of length, 'the distance from the elbow to the first finger-joint', equivalent to 20 δάκτυλοι (Hdt., X.); from this πυγούσιος 'one π. long' (κ 517 = λ 25, Arat.), probably analogical (Risch 1937: 125), since *πυγοντ- (cf. Schwyzer: 526) is not probable; regular πυγον-ιαῖος 'id.' (Hp., Thphr.); πύκτης [m.] 'fist-fighter' (Xenoph., Pi., Att.) with πυκτ-ικός 'belonging to fist-fight(ers), brave in fist-fighting' (Att.), -οσύνη [f.] 'skillfulness in fist-fighting' (Xenoph.), see Wyss 1954: 31; -εύω [v.] 'to be a fist-fighter, have a fist-fight' (Att., Boeot.) with -ευσις, -ευτής (gloss.), -εῖον (Suid.); also with analogical λ-extension -αλεύω [v.] (Sophr.), -αλίζω (Anacr.) 'id.'. πύξ [adv.] 'with the fist, in a fist-fight' (especially epic poetry, Il.); derived from it πυγ-μάχος [m.] 'fist-fighter', -μαχέω, -μαχία, -ίη (Hom., epic poet.), a univerbation from πὺξ μάχεσθαι; cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 180.
•ETYM The above words are all built on a root πυγ-, which was probably both verbal and nominal. As parallels for πυγ-μή, primary formations like ▸παλάμη, στιγμή, and δραχμή could be adduced. The form πυγ-ών recalls ἀγκών and λαγών, the first perhaps being verbal, the last probably nominal (see on ▸λαγαίω). The form πύκτης, too, can be either primary or secondary, whereas for πύξ a nominal origin seems most probable (see Schwyzer: 620); cf. still πύξ· πυγμή (H.).
A corresponding *l*-derivative is seen in Lat. *pug-il* [m.] 'fist-fighter', an *n*-formation in *pug-nus* [m.] 'fist' (*pugnāre*, *pugna* are secondary derivations). Thus we arrive at an isogloss *pug-* 'fist' between Latin and Greek. This etymon has been further connected with Lat. *pungō*, *pupugī* 'to sting' (see WH s.v. *pugil*), for which we would have to assume a specialisation 'to sting' > 'to sting with clenched fist and knuckles stretched out forward', i.e. 'to box'. The word *pug-* 'fist' could be a suffixless agent noun, originally * "the stinger, the boxer". The meaning 'to sting' can still be seen in Lat. *pūgiō* 'dagger'. The same meaning is found in ▸πεύκη, but this word is probably not related, since it has a voiceless stop κ.

πυδαρίζω [v.] 'to fling with the foot, hoof' (*App. Prov.*), acc. to *EM* = λακτίζειν, acc. to H. = τὸ μὴ ἀνέχεσθαί τινος, ἀλλ' ἀποπηδᾶν, χαλεπαίνειν 'to leap off, be angry'; with ἀπο- (Ar. *Eq.* 697), δια- (*Com. Adesp.*), both with ῡ (metrically conditioned?). ◂?▸
•VAR -αλίζω (Suid.).
•DER πυδαρισμός = δυσχέρεια (Zon.).
•ETYM A popular expressive formation in -αρίζω (-αλίζω), further isolated. Grošelj Živa Ant. 3 (1953): 205 compared Lat. *pudet* (if from 'strikes down, is struck down'), Gr. ▸σπεύδω, and Lith. *spáudžiu*, *spáusti* 'to press'. Cf. WH under *tripudium*, with further literature.

πύελος [f.] 'water-trough' (with soaked corn? See τ 553, where grain is washed), 'bath-tub' (Hp., com., pap.), 'coffin' (Hell.), cf. Schulze 1892: 515 and Schulze 1933a: 380[1]. ◁PG?▷

•VAR Hell. and late πύαλος.

•DER πυέλ-ιον [n.] 'coffin' (Crete, Diogenian.), -ίς (-αλίς), -ίδος [f.] 'id.'; also 'setting of a jewel, eye-socket, etc.' (Att., Hell.); -ώδης 'trough-like, hollow' (Arist.).

•ETYM Sometimes thought to be related to ►πλύνω through dissimilation from *πλυ-ελος (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 6 (1915): 308; Renehan *Class. Rev.* N.S. 18 (1968): 133). However, although the suffixal variation -ελος/ -αλος could perhaps be explained, the etymology with πλύνω is almost certainly wrong: it is very likely that πύελος is a Pre-Greek word.

πυετία ⇒πυός.

πυθμήν, -ένος [m.] 'bottom of a vessel, the sea, etc.', 'ground, base, underlay, foot (e.g. of a cup), plant, i.e. root-end, stick, stem' (epic since Il., also Hell. and late prose), 'the lowest number (base) of an arithmetic series' (Pl., etc.). ◁IE *b^hud^h-*m(e)n*- 'bottom'▷

•COMP Infrequently as a second member, e.g. ἀ-πύθμεν-ος 'bottomless, footless' (Thphr.), see Sommer 1948: 99; also (gramm.) ἀ-πύθμην 'id.' (Theognost.), etc. without the thematic vowel.

•DER Diminutive πυθμέν-ιον [n.] (pap.), -ικός 'belonging to the base', -έω [v.] 'to form a base' (late).

•ETYM The formation of πυθμήν is identical to λιμήν and ποιμήν (it is not productive in Greek, see Chantraine 1933: 174). The form πυθ-μήν agrees with Skt. *budh-ná-* [m.] 'bottom, ground, foot, root', from IE *b^hud^h-. The suffixes match, if one derives *budh-na-* from *b^hud^h-*mn-o-* (where the *m* was lost at an early stage). In Germanic, *b^hud^h- became PGm. **bud-* (seen in OE *bodan*, MLG *bōdem(e)*, etc.); then, after *mn* > *n*, **bud-n-* became **butt-* > *bot(t)-* according to Kluge's Law (seen in OE *botem* > MoE *bottom*), ON *botn*; we also find evidence for PGm. **buþ-* (OHG *bodam*, OS *bothme*, ME *bothme*). The developments in Germanic, including the forms with *þ*, have now been explained in detail by Kroonen *ABäG* 61 (2006): 17-25. Metathesis occurred in Lat. *fundus* 'bottom, etc.', MIr. *bond*, *bonn* 'sole, basis' < *b^hund^ho- < PIE *b^hud^hnó-*. On ►πύνδαξ, see s.v.

πύθομαι [v.] 'to putrify, decay' (Il.). ◁IE **puH-* 'rot'▷

•VAR Only pres. stem except καταπέπυθα· κατερρύηκα 'has flown down' (H.); further causative πύθω, fut. πύσω, aor. πῦσαι (πύσαι Call.) 'to cause to rot', both also with κατα- (Il.); on the date of the attestations see Wackernagel 1916: 133.

•DER We further find πύον, πύος [n.] 'purulence' (Hp., Arist.); as a second member in σαρκό-πυον [n.] 'the festering of flesh' with -πυώδης (Hp.); adjectives, e.g. ἔμ-πυος 'festering, full of festering ulcers' (Hp., Att.) with ἐμπυόομαι [v.] 'to fester' (Hp.); πυθεδόνες [f.pl.] 'festering ulcers' (Hell.), after σηπεδών, etc.

Denominatives with prefix: ἐκ-, ἐμ-, ἀπο-, δια-πυέω (-έομαι), -ίσκομαι (late -ίσκω) 'to fester', with -πύ-ησις, -ημα, -ημιατικός, -ητικός, -ικός (Hp., medic.); late simplicia: πύ-ησις, -ητικός (Aret., Gal.).

•ETYM Beside the θ-enlargement in πῡ́-θομαι, -θω (cf. βρί-θω, πλή-θω, etc.; Schwyzer: 703), which can also underlie πύσω and πῦσαι, Sankrit has a yod-present *pū́yati* 'to rot' with a back-formation *pū́ya-* [m., n.] 'festering, pus' (thus *pū́ya-* is not identical with πύον). Baltic has a nasal present Lith. *pūnù* and *pūvù* (i.e. *pi̯vù*) 'id.'; in Germanic, we find an isolated ptc. ON *fúinn* 'rotten'. The nouns πύον and πύος go back to an unextended primary verb; they have their closest agreements in Arm. *hu*, gen. *huoy* (*o*-stem) 'festering blood', and in Lat. *pūs* [n.] (from **puH-os*). Further related are e.g. Lat. *pūteō* 'to rot', *pūter*, *-tris*, *-tre* 'rotten', Go. *fuls* 'rotten'. Here also belongs ►πῡ́ός 2 'beestings', s.v.

πύκα [adv.] 'dense, solid', metaph. 'careful, sensible' (Hom.). ◄?►

•DER We further find πυκάζω, Dor. -άσδω (Theoc.), aor. πυκάσ(σ)αι, pass. -σθῆναι, perf. med. πεπύκασμαι, quite rarely with περι-, etc., 'to tighten, enclose tightly, encase compactly, cover' (epic poet., late prose); thence πύκασμα [n.] 'encased, covered object' (Sm.); adjective πυκνός, epic and lyr. also πυκινός, 'dense, solid, compact, numerous, strong, brave, clever' (Il.). This often occurs as a first member, e.g. πυκνό-σαρκος 'with solid flesh' (Hp., Arist.).

From πυκνός are derived πυκν-ότης [f.] 'density, closeness, etc.' (IA), -άκις = πολλάκις (Arist.), -όω [v.] 'to make dense, tighten, etc.' (IA) with -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτικός; -άζω [v.] 'to be numerous' (*EM*, gloss.). As a first member πυκι- in πυκι-μηδής (-μήδης) = μήδεα πυκνά (Γ 202, 208) ἔχων, 'with a dense mind, considerate, sensible' (α 438, *h. Cer.*, Q. S.), see Bechtel 1914 s.v. On ►ἄμπυξ, see s.v.

•ETYM The forms πύκα : πυκνός : πυκι-μηδής form a system; πύκα : πυκνός can be especially compared with ►θαμά : ►θάμνος, which are also semantically close. The form πυκινός may, acc. to Schwyzer: 490, have been formed analogically to πύκα and πυκνός, after θαμινός, ἀδινός, etc. Szemerényi's theory (Szemerényi 1964: 82ff., 87ff.) that πυκνός and θάμνος are syncopated from πυκινός and **θάμυνος should be rejected.

Further analysis remains hypothetical. The connection of ἄμπυξ with Av. *pus-ā-* 'diadem' is highly doubtful; the same holds for a primary verb IE **puḱ-* 'to fasten, etc.' (Pok. 849), from which πύκα was considered to be a denominative (Schwyzer: 734). Greek only has a secondary verb πυκάζω. Alb. *puth* 'kiss' and *puthtohem* 'to clothe tightly, string oneself, embrace' are unrelated.

In sum, the evidence for IE **puḱ-* (Pok. 849) remains meager. Fur.: 317 assumes that πυκνός, etc. are Pre-Greek, but this assumption, too, is based on scanty evidence.

πυκτή •VAR Also , -τίον, -τίς. ⇒πτύσσω.

πυλεών, -εῶνος [m.] 'wreath' (Alcm., Call. *fr.*, Pamphil. *apud* Ath.). ◄PG?(S)►

•VAR πυλών (H.), also πύλιγγες· αἱ ἐν τῇ ἕδρᾳ τρίχες. καὶ ἴουλοι, βόστρυχοι, κίκιννοι 'the hair/wool in the seat (?); down, locks of hair, ringlets' (H.).

•ETYM The formation of πυλεών and πύλιγγες has been compared with that of ποδ-εών, λυχν-εών and θώμ-ιγγες, λά-ιγγες respectively. On this basis, a pre-form *πύλος has been assumed. This *πύλος is then connected with Skt. *pulaka-* [m.pl.] 'erection or bristling of the hairs of the body', *pula-* 'id.' (Lex.), and *pulastí(n)-* 'wearing the hair straight', which point to < **pula-*. From Iranian, Kurd. *pūr* 'hair of

the head' is adduced, and from Celtic MIr. *ulcha* 'beard', *ul-fota* 'with long beard'. However, Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 151 doubts the connection between the Greek and the Sanskrit words, and the whole remains rather uncertain. In fact, the suffix -ιγγες may even point to a Pre-Greek origin for this etymon.

πύλη [f.] 'wing of a door, gate', mostly plur. 'door, gate', especially of town gates, gates of a camp and the like (Il.); 'entrance, access, bottleneck, etc.', also as a TN (Pi., Emp., IA). ◂PG?▸

•COMP Several compounds, e.g. πυλ-άρτης [m.] 'gate-closer', epithet of Hades, also as a PN (Hom.), where the second member is related to ἀρ- in ἀραρίσκω, with a univerbating suffix -τη- (Bechtel 1914 s.v., Fraenkel 1910: 31); πυλ-ωρός 'gate-keeper, guard' (Il.), epic πυλᾰ-ωρός, Hdt. πυλ-ουρός, also H. πυλ-αυρός (Dor.), -ευρός (Ion.); on the compositional vowel and the second member see on ▸ὁράω; ἑπτά-πυλος 'with seven gates' (Il., epic, lyr.); TN Θερμο-πύλαι [pl.] (Simon., Hdt., etc.), called Πύλαι by Attic orators and others, cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 267.

•DER 1. Diminutive πυλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] (IA); 2. -ώματα [n.pl.] 'gate' (A, E.), an extension (Chantraine 1933: 186f.); 3. -εών (late), -ών (Arist., Hell.). -(ε)ῶνος [m.] 'gate-space, gateway, gate-building'; 4. Πυλ-ᾶτις, -ιδος [f.] 'belonging to Πύλαι' (S. [lyr.]), -αῖτις, -ιδος [f.] 'belonging to a gate' (Lyc. 356), perhaps for Πυλᾶτις; cf. Redard 1949: 10 and 212; 5. πυλαῖος 'belonging to a gate' (late), 'belonging to Πύλαι' (Demeter; Call.); PN Πύλαιος (B 842); Πυλαία, -ίη [f.] epithet of the amphictyonian meeting in Πύλαι (IA); derived from Πυλαία: Πυλαιασταί [m.pl.] originally *"members of the Πυλαία" (on the formation Fraenkel 1910: 175ff.; hardly correct Bechtel 1921, 2: 655), metaphorically 'mountebank, liar' (Phot., Suid.; Rhod. acc. to H.); probably also πυλαϊκός 'like a conjurer' (late); 6. Denominative verb πυλ-όομαι 'to be provided with gates' (Ar., X.).

•ETYM As opposed to inherited θύρα, πύλη is without etymology. It is probably a technical loanword, like many other architectural terms (e.g. μέγαρον); possibly of Pre-Greek origin.

πύματος [adj.] 'utmost, last' (Il.). ◂?▸

•ETYM A frozen superlative without correspondences outside Greek. A remote connection with Skt. *púnar* 'back, again, further' has been proposed, but this is unlikely. It has been argued that the preposition ἀπο has a variant **pu*, but the intermediate form ἀπυ, which is attested in Arc.-Cypr., Lesb., and Thess., may have arisen phonetically from ἀπο. See also ▸πύννος and ▸πρυμνός.

πύνδαξ, -ακος [m.] 'bottom of a vessel' (Pherecr., Arist. et al.), metaph. 'hilt of a sword' (S. *Fr.* 311). ◂?▸

•VAR ἀπυνδάκωτος· ἀπύθμενος 'without bottom' (H.).

•ETYM The word πύνδαξ is formed like κάμαξ, πίναξ, στύραξ, etc.; it further recalls Lat. *fundus* with the same meaning, and so it is close to πυθμήν. However, the medial -νδ- for expected -νθ- is highly problematic: it cannot be explained as a regular development (pace Schwyzer: 333); cf. on -μβ- in ▸ὄμβρος. Likewise, initial π- for expected φ- is puzzling (since it was no longer followed by θ), and most explanations offered (reshaping after ▸πυθμήν; a borrowing from a Germano-Macedonian loan

word [Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 115ff.; cf. on ►πύργος], or a borrowing from Macedonian [Pisani *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 3 (1937): 18ff.]) are not convincing. The suffix -ακ- is typical for Pre-Greek words; of course, the suffix may have been taken over from Pre-Greek words, but this seems to have occurred only rarely (the word is not discussed by Fur.). If an inherited Indo-European form was adapted to Pre-Greek, this could explain π- and -νδ-, and the connection with Lat. *fundus*, etc. could be upheld.

πυνθάνομαι [v.] 'to find out, learn, ask, inquire, investigate' (Il.); act. πεύθω, πεῦσαι 'to announce, cite' (Crete). ◄IE *b^heud^h- 'become awake or attentive'►

•VAR Epic also πεύθομαι (which was metrically easier, see Chantraine 1942: 111, 282, 308), fut. πεύσομαι, them. aor. πυθέσθαι, redupl. opt. πεπύθοιτο, perf. πέπυσμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, προ-.

•DER With zero grade: 1. πύστις [f.] 'questioning, inquiry, tidings' (Att., A.) with πυστι-άομαι [v.] 'to interrogate' (Plu., Phot., H.); 2. πύσμα [n.] 'question, interrogation' with -ματικός 'interrogative, asking' (late); 3. πυστός (*EM*, Eust.), always as a second member, or in prefixed compounds, e.g. ἄ-πυστος, ἀνά-πυστος (Od.).

With full grade: 4. πευθώ [f.] 'tidings' (A. *Th.* 370); 5. πεῦσις (ἀνά-) [f.] 'information' (Ph., Plu.), older πύστις, cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 27 with literature; 6. πευθήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'spy' (Luc., Arr.), see Solmsen 1909: 143;

7. Adjective πευστικός 'interrogating' (A. D., Ph.); 8. As a second member -πευθής, after the stems in -ες (Schwyzer: 513), e.g. ἀ-πευθ-ής 'uninvestigated, unaware' (Od.); 9. φιλό-πευσ-τος (Phot., Suid.), -της (Ptol.) 'who loves questioning' with -πευστέω, -πευστία (Hell.).

•ETYM The full grade thematic present πεύθομαι has exact morphological matches in several languages: Skt. *bódhati*, med. *-te* 'to watch, perceive, understand', Av. *baoδaiti*, *-te* 'id.', also 'to smell', the Germanic group of Go. *ana-biudan* 'to order, arrange', *faur-biudan* 'to forbid', ON *bjóða* 'to offer, present, make known', and in Slavic, e.g. OCS *bljusti*, 1sg. *bljudǫ* 'to preserve, guard, observe', Ru. *bljustí*, 1sg. *bljudú* 'to observe, perceive'; all go back to a thematic present PIE *b^heud^h-e/o- 'to observe, be awake'. The deviating meaning of the Germanic verbs agrees with the (probably secondary) active Cret. πεύθω, and it is related to an old opposition of diatheses; a corresponding meaning is shown e.g. by the Skt. causative *bodháyati* 'to wake up, instruct, inform'. The meaning 'to find out, ask' is a Greek innovation. An exact agreement is found between (ἐ-)πύθοντο and Skt. *budhánta*, and these are in origin identical; a complete formal match is also found between (ἄ-)πυστος, Skt. *buddhá-*, and Av. *hupō.bus-ta-* 'well scented'; likewise, between πύστις and Skt. *buddhi-* [f.] 'insight, intelligence, spirit', and between (ἀ-)πευθής and Av. *baoδah-* [n.] 'observation'. However, in all these cases we have to reckon with independent innovations. A nasalized present like πυνθάνομαι is also found in Lith. *bundù*, inf. *bústi* 'to wake up' (suffixed caus. *búd-inu*, *-inti*) and in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *ad-bond-* 'to give notice, announce'. Here, too, original identity is made doubtful by the strong productivity of these formations.

πύννος [m.] · ὁ πρωκτός 'anus' (H.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Besides πουνιάζειν· παιδικοῖς χρῆσθαι. πούνιον γὰρ ὁ δακτύλιος (= *anus*) (H.).

•ETYM The remote similarity with ▸πυγή, Skt. *putau* 'the two hindmost parts' (only Lex.), Latv. *pun(i)s* 'lump, bump', Lith. *putà* [f.] 'foam-bubble' has attracted attention, but see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. *putau*. In view of its semantics and lack of certain cognates, the word may rather be Pre-Greek.

πύξ ⇒πυγμή.

πύξος [f.] 'box tree, box wood' (Arist., Hell.). ◂LW Italy▸

•DIAL Myc. *pu-ko-so* (cf. Scardigli *Minos* 6:2 (1960): 1f.)

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. παρά-πυξος 'inlaid with π.' (Cratin.).

•DER 1. πυξ-ίον [n.] 'writing-table (made of π.)' (com.); 2. -ίς [f.] 'box (made of π.)' (Hell.); 3. -ίδιον [n.] diminutive of πυξίον and πυξίς (Ar., pap.); 4. πύξ-ινος [adj.] 'made of π., π.-colored' (Ω 269, Att.); 5. -ίνεος [adj.] 'id.' (*AP*); 6. -ώδης [adj.] 'π.-like', of the color (Dsc.); 7. -(ε)ών, -(ε)ῶνος 'box tree grove' (gramm.); 8. -ίζω [v.] 'to be π.-colored' (medic.); 9. Πυξοῦς, -οῦντος [m.] river and town in Lucania, in Latin *Buxentum* (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 233 with literature); perhaps also 10. Πυξίτης [m.] river near Trapezus in Asia Minor (Arr., etc.), see Redard 1949: 175.

•ETYM Unconvincing attempts by Scardigli *Sprache* 6 (1959): 220ff. (extensive treatment with literature), who derives it from Asia Minor (but ultimately from IE *b^hHu- 'grow'; cf. ▸φύω and Arm. *boys* 'plant'), and by Carnoy *Ant. class.* 24 (1955): 22 and Carnoy *REGr.* 69 (1956): 284 (who connects IE *b^heug^h- 'bend'). A further counterargument against an origin in Asia Minor is adduced by Fur.: 157, who stresses that the tree is at home in Italy, not in Asia Minor or Greece (Schrader-Nehring 1917 under Buxus). Therefore, we are rather dealing with a loanword from Italy.

The forms πύξος, -ίς, and -ινον were the source of Lat. *buxus* (or both are independent borrowings; see Fur. 157), Lat. *pyxis*, and Lat. *pyxinum* (see WH s.vv. with further literature); the modern European forms (MoFr. *buis*, MoHG *Büchse*, E *box*, etc.) were in turn borrowed from Latin.

πύον 1 'pus'. •VAR Also πύος. ⇒πύθομαι.

πῦός 2 [m.] 'animal milk, first milk after birth' (com.). ◂IE? *puH- 'rot, pus'▸

•VAR Also πύον (Emp.), πύαρ (Ael. Dion.), πύας (H.) 'id.'.

•DER Besides we find πυετία, with contraction πυτία, and with vowel metathesis πιτύα [f.] 'clotted milk, rennet' (Arist., Hell.), from *πυετός, which relates to πυός like παγετός to πάγος, etc. (thus Schwyzer: 501; differently Scheller 1951: 52).

•ETYM Connection with Skt. *púṣyati* 'to thrive' < *pu-s- 'swell' is improbable. Probably originally identical with πύον, πύος 'pus' (s.v. ▸πύθομαι), but with gender and accent after ὀρός or τυρός, which belong to the same semantic field. The by-forms πύαρ and πύας (if their tradition is correct) may have been formed after ἔαρ, πῖαρ, and ἅλας, κρέας respectively. Both the substance and its properties (smell, fermentation, etc.) may have caused the transference of meaning from 'pus' to 'milk':

expressions for 'congeal, getting sour, ferment', and also for 'rotting', affect each other now and then: Skt. *śara-* [m.] 'sour cream', also *śáras-* [n.] 'skin on cooked milk', from the verb 'to break' in Skt. *śṛṇáti*, ►κεραΐζω, with a ptc. *śīrṇá-* 'rotten, spoiled'. However, the other example given by Frisk, Lat. *cariēs* 'decay', Lat. *colostra* 'beesting', probably does not belong to that root (cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.).

πύππαξ [excl.] exclamation of admiration (Pl., *Com. Adesp.*). ◁ONOM▷

•DER παππάζω (Cratin. 52).

•ETYM The word πύππαξ is an exclamation of onomatopoeic character; ultimately, it could be Pre-Greek.

πῦρ, πῠ́ρός [n.] 'fire' (Il.). ◁IE **peh₂-ur, ph₂-uen-s* 'fire'▷

•DIAL Myc. *pu-ka-wo* /pur-kawoi/?

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. πυρ-καϊά, Ion. -ϊή [f.] 'fireplace, pyre' (Il.), from *πυρ-καϝ-ιᾱ́, a compound of πῦρ and καίω (aor. καῦσαι) with a suffix -ι̯ᾱ-, the accent being the same as in σποδιά, ἀνθρακιά, etc. (cf. Scheller 1951: 93 with a different interpretation), see also Myc. *pu-ka-wo* above; πυρ-φόρος 'fire- or torch-bearing, -bearer' (Pi.), later also πυρο-φόρος (cf. Schwyzer: 440); πυρι-γενής 'born, worked in fire' (E., etc.); ἄ-πυρ-ος 'untouched by fire, without fire' (Il.); on πυρ-πολέω see ►πέλομαι; on πυρ-αύστης, etc. see ►αὔω 2; on ►πυριήκης s.v.

•DER A. nouns: 1. πῦρά [n.pl.] 'watch-fires' (Il.), dat. πυροῖς (X.), originally the plur. of πῦρ, with transition to the o-stems and shift of accent (cf. Egli 1954: 18 and 22f.); 2. πυρ-ᾱ́, Ion. -ή [f.] 'fireplace, pyre' (Il.); 3. ►πυρσός (see also s.v.) [m.], plur. also -σά [n.] 'firebrand, fire-signal' (with remarkable oxytonesis), -σώδης 'firebrand-like' (E. [lyr.]), -σεύω [v.] 'to ignite, give a fire-signal' (E.; X.), -σεία, -σευτήρ, σευτής (Hell.), -σίτης 'fire-color' (Philostr.); 4. πυρ-ετός [m.] 'burning heat, fever' (X 31), perhaps after νιφετός (Porzig 1942: 245); thence πυρ-έσσω, Att. -έττω, aor. -έξαι; adjectives -εκτικός; -ετιάω, -εταίνω, -ετώδης, -έτιον, -ετικός; 5. πυρ-εῖα, Ion. -ήϊα [n.pl.] 'lighter, firesticks' (*h. Merc.*), not from πυρή 'pyre' as per Zumbach 1955: 14; 6. πυρ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'vapor bath, steam bath, etc.' (Ion., Arist.), 'fishing by torchlight' (Arist.), -ιάω 'to prepare a vapor bath, foment, warm' (Hp.), whence -ίαμα, -ίασις, -ιατήρ, -ιατήριον (Scheller 1951: 55); also -ιάτη [f.] 'warmed animal milk' (com.); 7. πυρ-ίδιον [n.] 'spark' (Thphr.); 8. πυρ-ίτης [m.] 'copper ore, ore' (Dsc., pap.), "fireman", epithet of Hephaistos (Luc.), see Redard 1949: 36, 60, 245; 9. πύρ-εθρον, -ος, -ωθρον 'pellitory, Anthemis pyrethrum' (because of its warming effect, see Strömberg 1940: 82 and 146f.); 10. ►πυραλλίς; 11. Πυρ-ωνία epithet of Artemis (Paus.).

B. Adjectives: 1. πυρ-ώδης 'fire-like, fiery' (IA); 2. -ινος 'fiery' (Arist., Plb.); 3. -όεις 'id.' (Hell.), also a name of the planet Mars (Arist., Hell.); 4. on ►πυρρός.

C. verbs: 1. πυρ-όομαι [v.] 'to catch fire', -όω 'to set on fire' (Pi., IA), also with ἐκ-, etc.; see Wackernagel 1916: 124, whence πύρ-ωσις (also ἐκ-, δια-, etc.) [f.], -ωμα, -ωτής, -ωτικός; 2. πυρ-εύω [v.] 'to make fire, kindle' (Pl.); ἐμπυρ-εύω, -ίζω from ἔμ-πυρος; thence -εύς, -ευτής, -ευτικός (more in Boßhardt 1942: 83); 3. πυρ-άζω (*EM*) as an explanation of 4. ►πυρακτέω.

•ETYM The word πῦρ, πῠρ-ός was originally a heteroclitic *r/n*-stem, still inflected this way in Hitt. *paḫḫur*, gen. *paḫḫuenaš* < PIE **peh₂-ur*, gen. *ph₂-uen-s*. Traces of this formation can still be seen in Germanic: Go. *fon*, gen. *fun-ins* and ON *funi* are built on **ph₂uen-s*, while OHG *fuir*, *fiur*, MoHG *Feuer*, and ON *fúrr*, *fýrr* are from PGm. **fūr(-i)-* < **pHur*. Armenian preserves *hur*, gen. *hr-oy* 'fire' < **pHur-o-* with secondary thematization, beside *hn-oc'* 'fireplace, furnace' < **pHun-*.
In Tocharian, we find ToA *por* and ToB *puwăr*, *pwār*. Italic has U *pir* [nom.acc.] < **pūr*, abl. **pure** < **pur-ed*, and perhaps Lat. *pūrigō* 'to clear, clean' if < **pūr-ago-*. Lat. *pūrus* may or may not be related.
The ablaut was eliminated in Greek; the change in the quantity of υ is secondary.

πυρακτέω [v.] 'to harden in fire, burn to coal' (ι 328, Nic. *Th.* 688). ◁GR▷
•VAR Later πυρακτόομαι, -όω 'be singed, carbonized' (D. S., Str., Plu.).
•ETYM Although πυρακτέω is traditionally taken as a compound of πῦρ and ἄγειν with the meaning 'to rotate in fire' (e.g. Bechtel 1914 s.v.), this is both semantically and morphologically unsatisfactory, since ἄγειν cannot mean 'to rotate', and an intermediate form *πύρακτος 'rotating in fire' (thus Bechtel) is without parallel.
The form πυρακτέω is without a doubt an expressive extension in -(α)κτέω, derived from πυρ-άζω (*EM* 697, 16; Stolz *Wien. Stud.* 25 (1903): 234), or from *πυρ-άσσω vel sim., like ὑλακτέω from ὑλάω 'to bark' (beside ὑλαγμός, etc.), or ἀλυκτέω from ἀλύω, ἀλύσσω; for the last examples, cf. Frisk *Eranos* 50 (1952): 8ff. The word πυρακτόομαι is formed after the numerous intransitives in -όομαι with a factitive -όω.

πυραλλίς [f.] name of an unknown bird, probably a kind of dove (Arist., Call., Ael.); a kind of olive (medic.); name of an insect that supposedly lives in the fire (Plin.). ◁GR▷
•VAR v.l. -αλίς, H. πυρραλίς.
•ETYM Diminutive formation in -αλ(λ)ίς (Chantraine 1933: 251f., Niedermann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 9f.), probably from πῦρ after the reddish color; it is also associated with πυρρός (πυρραλίς). However, according to Niedermann (l.c.) it derives from πυρός 'wheat' after its nutrition; cf. συκαλλίς, from ▸σῦκον.

πῡραμίς, -ίδος [f.] 1. 'pyramid' (Hdt. et al.); 2. 'kind of cake of roasted wheat-grains preserved in honey' (Ephipp.), mostly πυραμοῦς, -οῦντος [m.] (Ar., Ephipp., Call. et al.), also πυραμοί [m.pl.] (Artem.); acc. to H. πύραμος also = χόρτος 'food'. ◁GR▷
•DER Besides, we find πυρᾰ́μη [f.] 'sickle' (sch.), a back-formation from πυρᾰμητός [m.] 'wheat-harvest' (Arist. et al.); πυραμιδο-ειδής 'pyramidal' (Epicur.), usually haplologically πυραμο-ειδής 'id.' (Thphr. et al.), -ιδικός 'id.' (Iamb.).
•ETYM In the sense of 'cake', πῡραμίς is derived from πυρός 'wheat', after σησαμίς, -οῦς. According to Diels *KZ* 47 (1916): 193ff. (with literature), the Egyptian pyramids were named after the form of the cake; it must be noted, however, that the form of the cake is actually unknown (Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 243).

πύργος [m.] 'tower, wall-tower', also the fortification wall itself (Il.), metaph. 'closed division of warriors, column' (Il.), 'siege tower' (X.), 'farm-building' (LXX, pap., NT). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP E.g. πυργο-δάϊκτος 'destroying towers' (A. *Pers.* 105 [lyr.]; originally 'with destroyed towers'? See Fraenkel 1910: 82; Williger 1928: 45[1]), εὔ-πυργος 'with fair towers, well-towered' (H 71, etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutives πυργ-ίον, -ίδιον, -ίς, -ίσκος, -ίσκιον, -ισκάριον (mostly Hell. and late); 2. πύργ-ωμα, mostly plur. -ώματα [n.] 'tower structures' (Orac. *apud* Hdt., A., E.); 3. πυργιτρον [n.] form and meaning unclear (pap. VI^{P}); 4. πυργ-ίτης [n.] 'kind of sparrow' (Gal., etc.), see Redard 1949: 84, also on σποργίλος; -ῖτις· βοτάνη 'pasture' (H.); 5. adjective πύργ-ινος 'consisting of towers' (A. [lyr.]), -ειος 'tower-like' (Ion., trag.), -ώδης 'id.' (S.), -ῶτις 'towered' (A. [lyr.]; feminine built on *-ώτης, Redard 1949: 8); πυργ-ήρης 'provided with towers, enclosed within towers or walls' (Orac. *apud* Paus.), with -ηρέομαι [v.] 'to be enclosed within towers or walls, be besieged' (A., E.); 6. adverb -ηδόν 'columnwise' (Il.), 'towerwise' (Aret.); 7. verb πυργ-ῶσαι, -όω 'to fence with towers, pile up' (λ 264), with -ωτός 'piled up' (Str., etc.); 8. Πυργ-αλίδαι [m.pl.] name of a guild in Kameiros (inscr.); after Ταν-ταλίδαι?

•ETYM The word πύργος is a technical term of construction (architecture). It has been wrongfully taken as a Germanic loan word by Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 100ff., because of the striking similarity with MoHG *Burg*, Go. *baurgs* 'town, tower'. The Germanic word is from the root *$b^herǵ^h$- 'high' found in MoHG *Berg*, Hitt. *parku*- 'high', etc.

Likewise, Πέργαμος (-ον, -α) 'the citadel (of Troy)', also as a TN, is considered a loan word related to this root (see Heubeck 1961: 63ff., Pok. 140f.).

Others have taken it as a loan from Pre-Greek. The glosses φύρκος· τεῖχος 'wall' and φ<ο>ύρκορ· ὀχύρωμα 'stronghold' (H.) attest a variant form with different stops; the same variation is found in the TNs Πύργος (Elis, in Hdt. 4, 148 and Str.) and Φύρκος (Th. 5,49). Urart. *burgana* 'palace' may point to an origin in Asia Minor. Although the exact morphology of Περγαμον remains unclear, the suffix -αμο- is otherwise attested as Pre-Greek (cf. κάρδαμον).

That πύργος was not inherited from Proto-Indo-European is further confirmed by the place names Περγασα, Παργασα, and Βαργασα (cf. Fur.: 64[268] on πάγασα). In conclusion, the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

πυρήν ⇒πυρός.

πυριήκης [adj.] 'with a fiery point', i.e. 'provided with a glowing top' (πυριήκεα μοχλόν ι 387). ◁GR▷

•VAR Also -ής.

•ETYM After ἀμφ-ήκης, τανυ-ήκης, etc. (see ▶ήκή); πυρι- is analogical after πυκι-, λαθι-, etc. To be rejected, Bechtel 1914 s.v.: πυρι-(ήκης) like πυκι-(μηδής), as a "replacement" of πύρινο-.

πύρνος [m.] · ψωμός 'morsel' (H.); meaning debated already in antiquity; cf. e.g. H.: πύρνοι· ζειαὶ καὶ σιτώδεις(?) 'one-seeded wheat, cereal'. ἢ ὁ κατειργασμένος σῖτος

'cultivated grain'. ἄλλοι χόρτος, ἄλλοι μαγίδα 'food; cake'; πύρνα· δρύφη, κλάσματα, σιτία 'was torn; morsel; grain'. ◁PG?▷

•VAR πύρνον [acc.sg.] (ο 312, ρ 12: coordinated with κοτύλην; Lyc. 639), πύρνα (σῖτα : σῖτος) [acc.pl.] (ρ 362), φηγίνων πύρνων [gen.pl.] (Lyc. 482).

•COMP As a first member in πυρνο-τόκος ἄρουρα (*Hymn. Is.*).

•DER πύρνηται· ἐσθίηται 'will be devoured' (H.).

•ETYM The word πύρνος is obsolete and without etymology. It was compared with πορύναν· μαγίδα and τορύνη· σιτῶδές τι (H.) by Fick *BB* 16 (1892): 284, adducing Skt. *cárvati* 'to grind, masticate' and *cūrṇa-* [n.] 'powder, flour', as well. This would lead to the reconstruction PIE **k*^{w}*eru-* (Pok. 642), which requires a pre-form *τερύνα for τορύνη. However, this leaves the υ-vowel in πύρνος unexplained (Bechtel 1914 s.v.).

According to Szemerényi 1964: 29ff., πύρνος is syncopated from πύρινος (and derived from πυρός 'wheat'), but this is contestable for several reasons.

Fur.: 370 connects the word with Basque *ap(h)ur* 'crumb', Béarnais (Pyrenees) *purre* 'small bread of maize'. This etymology seems unreliable, but in any case, the word may well be Pre-Greek.

πῡρός [m.] '(grain of) wheat' (Il.). ◁IE **pHu-ro-* 'corn, wheat'▷

•VAR Mostly plur. πῡροί (Chantraine 1953: 30), Dor. (Cos, Thera, Syracuse, etc.) σπυρός.

•COMP E.g. πυρο-φόρος 'wheat-bearing' (Il.), διόσ-πυρον [n.] 'the cherry-like fruit of Celtis australis' (Thphr.), -πυρος [m.] = λιθόσπερμον (Dsc.) (Strömberg 1940: 128 and 138); on the gender cf. ▶βούτυρον, -ος.

•DER Diminutive πυρίδια [n.pl.] (Ar., pap.); adjectives πύρ-ινος (E., X., Hell.), -ικός (pap.), -ώδης (Str.), -άμινος (Hes. *fr.* 117, etc.), after κυάμ-, σησάμ-ινος (Forbes *Mnem.* 4:11 (1958): 157) 'of wheat'; on ▶πυραμίς, -αμοῦς see s.v.; πυρ-ίτης ἄρτος 'wheat-bread' (Aët.), αὐτο-πυρίτης (Phryn. Com., Hp.) = αὐτό-πυρος, etc. (Redard 1949: 90). Also πυρήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'pip, pit, stone of fruit' (Ion., Arist., Hell.), see Solmsen 1909: 125f., with ἀ-πύρην-ος 'pitless' (Ar. *Fr.* 118, Thphr., etc.), etc.; πυρην-ίς (Tanagra III^{a}; written πουρεινις), -ιον (Thphr.), -ίδιον (Delos III^{a}, pap.) 'kernel, knag, knob'; also πυρην-άδες [f.pl.] name of a guild in Ephesus (inscr.); -ώδης 'pit-like' (Thphr.).

•ETYM An old term **puH-ro-* 'wheat' is also retained in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *pūraĩ* [pl.] 'winter corn', *pūras* [m.sg.] 'single winter corn', SCr. *pȉr* [m.] 'spelt', CS *pyro* 'ὄλυρα, κέγχρος', Ru. *pyréj* 'dog-grass, Triticum repens'; OE *fyrs* 'dog-grass' (with a deviating suffix) also belongs here.

The initial σ- in σπυρός may have been taken over from ▶σῖτος or σπόρος, σπέρμα (Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 169f., Fraenkel *IF* 59 (1949): 304f.). In spite of the connections with Balto-Slavic and Germanic, πῡρός may be an old 'Wanderwort' (Schwyzer: 583). According to Nieminen *KZ* 74 (1956): 170f., however, it can be connected to Lith. *pūraĩ* 'to cut, mow' and Lat. *paviō* 'to strike' as "what is beaten, threshed". Janda 2000: 39-43 accepts the derivation from **peh*$_2$*-u-* 'to strike' in Lat. *paviō*, but assumes a semantic development from 'striking' to 'cleansing': wheat was

called pure because the grains could easily be separated from the husks. This is possible, but not compelling.

πυρρός [adj.] 'blazing red, tawny', especially of hair (of the head) (IA, poet.). ◁?▷

•VAR πυρσός (E., Mosch.).

•DIAL Myc. *pu-wo*, *-wa*, *-wi-no* Gallavotti *Par. del pass.* 12 (1957): 11.

•COMP E.g. πυρρό-θριξ (also πυρσό-) 'red-haired' (E. [lyr.], Arist., Poll.), ἐπί-πυρρος 'reddish' (Arist., Thphr.), see Strömberg 1946: 106.

•DER 1. πυρρίας [m.] 'red-haired man', especially of slaves (Ar.), Ἰυρϝίας PN (Corinth VI[a]), see Latte *Glotta* 35 (1956): 296f., Πυρϝαλίων PN (Argos), see Schulze 1933a: 115; πυρράκης 'with reddish hair-color; redskin' (LXX, Hell. pap.), πυρρίχος 'red', of a bull (Theoc.), also as a PN; hence perhaps πυρρίχη [f.] name of a war dance (Att.) with -ίχιος, -ιχίζω, etc. 2. πύρρ-α [f.] name of a bird (Ael.), -αία [f.] 'red robe'? (Halic. III[a]); 3. πυρρό-της [f.] 'red hair-color' (Arist.); 4. verbs: πυρσ-αίνω 'to color red' (E. [lyr.]), πυρρ-ίζω (LXX), -άζω (*Ev. Matt.*) 'to be red', of heaven, -ιάω 'to redden, blush' (late).

•ETYM The relation of the Corinthian horsename Ἰυρϝος (cf. perhaps Myc. *pu-wo*, etc.) and Πυρϝ-ίας, -αλίων (see above) to IA πυρρός is not quite clear: PGr. **purwo-* should have given IA **πῠρός or πῡρός. Therefore, PGr. **purswó-* is usually posited (after Hoffmann 1898: 589). Frisk asks if πυρρός could derive from **πῠ̃ρός by expressive gemination, which seems ad hoc. On the suffix -ϝο- in color adjectives, see Chantraine 1933: 123 and Schwyzer: 472; on the phonetics, see Lejeune 1972: 138[5] and Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 262f. See further ▶πῦρ and ▶πυρσός.

Schulze 1933a: 115f. connected Lith. *pūrvas* 'dirt, muck'; on this, see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. with further literature.

On derivatives from πυρρός in Latin and Romance, cf. Kahane *Glotta* 39 (1960-1961): 133ff.

πυρσός [adj.] 'firebrand, torch'. ◁EUR?▷

•ETYM Fur.: 157 derives ▶πυρρός from this form, adducing the personal names Πύρρων and Πύρσων of Epeirotic kings as cognates. In Latin, we find *burrus* and *birrus*, and in Romance, *būrius* (REW 1410); Lat. *būricus* 'small horse' is probably named after the color, as is Romance **burrīcus* beside **burriccus* 'hinny' (REW 1413). Fur.: suggests that it is an old Pre-European word for the color of a horse, which was only later associated with πῦρ 'fire'.

πυτίζω ⇒πτύω.

πυτίνη ⇒βυτίνη.

πω [pcl.] 'ever, still' (Il.), enclitic, almost always after negation: οὔπω, μήπω, οὐ πώποτε, Dor. (Epich.) οὐ πώποκα, post-Hom. also in negating questions τί πω, etc. ◁IE **k*[w]*oh*[1] 'ever, still'▷

•VAR Ion. κω; further Dor. πη in ἄλλη πη 'anywhere else' (Cyrene), πήποκα 'ever' (Sparta V[a], Theoc., etc.).

•ETYM A fixed instrumental, identical to OP *kā* (confirming pcl.); cf. also Go. *ƕe* 'anyhow', from a PIE instrumental *$*k^wo$-h_1, k^we-h_1*, formed from the pronominal stem *$*k^wo$-*; see ►πόθεν.

πώγων, -ωνος [m.] 'whisker, chin-beard' (IA). ◄PG?►

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. τραγο-πώγων [m.] 'with a goat's beard' (Cratin.), also as a plant name 'goat's beard, Tragopogon' (Thphr., Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 56.

•DER Diminutive πωγών-ιον [n.] (Luc., etc.), -ίας [m.] 'the bearded one' (Cratin., etc.), also [n.] of a comet (Arist.; Scherer 1953: 107), -ίτης, -ιήτης [m.] 'id.' (Hdn., Suid., etc.), -ικός, -ιαῖος 'bearded' (gloss.).

•ETYM The origin of πώγων is unexplained. A connection with ►πήγνυμι, πηγός fails on semantic grounds (ω vs. η). Adams *Glotta* 64 (1986): 16f. explains the word from *ποϝα-γ-ον < *$*poum̥$-g-on-*, derived from his reconstruction for Skt. *púmāṃs*- 'male'; this, too, remains quite dubious.

πωλέομαι [v.] 'to go to and fro, go somewhere frequently'. ⇒πέλομαι.

πωλέω [v.] 'to offer for sale, sell' (IA). ◄IE? *pel-* 'sell'►

•VAR Fut. πωλ-ήσω, aor. -ῆσαι, pass. -ηθῆναι.

•COMP Often with prefix (especially Hell. and late inscr. and pap.), e.g. προ-, δια-, ἀνα-, ἀντι-.

•DER 1. Action nouns: πώλ-ησις [f.] 'sale' (X., etc.), -ημα [n.] 'sale, sold merchandise' (inscr. Tauromenion, etc.); back-formation -ή, Dor. -ᾱ́ [f.] 'sale' (Sophr., Hyp. *fr.*).

2. Agent nouns: πωλ-ητής [m.] 'seller', designation of a financial official (Att., etc.), also -ητήρ [m.] 'id.' (Delph. IV^a, etc.), fem. -ήτρια 'seller' (Poll.), as a second member with λαχανο- (Ar.), etc.; -πώλης [m.] and -πωλις [f.] enjoy unlimited productivity in compounds, e.g. ἀλλαντο-πώλης 'sausage-seller' with ἀλλαντο-πωλ-έω, etc., ἀρτο-πωλις 'bread-seller, baker' (Ar., etc.), cf. Fraenkel 1912: 26 and 109, Schwyzer: 451; the simplex πώλης was extracted from this compound (Ar.);

3. πωλ-ητήριον 'shop' (X., etc.); 4. adjectives -ητικός 'belonging to sale' (Pl.), see Chantraine 1956a: 134; -ιμος 'for sale' (Hell. pap.).

•ETYM In view of its formation, πωλέω must be an iterative-intensive deverbative, although neither in Greek nor in related languages is a corresponding primary verb attested with certainty. Skt. *páṇate* 'purchase, buy' may represent an old nasal present in MInd. shape (reflecting older PIAr. *$*pr̥ṇāti$*), but this is considered unlikely by Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 69. An *-n-* is further found in a Balto-Slavic noun: Lith. *pel̃nas* 'gain, profit, merit', OCS *plěnъ* 'λάφυρον', Ru. *polón* 'captivity, booty' < PIE *$*pel$-no-*. Germanic provides two isolated adjectives: ON *falr* 'for sale' < IE *$*polo$-*, OHG *fāli* 'id.' < IE *$*pēlio$-*, next to OHG *feili*, MoHG *feil* with unexplained vocalism. Semantically, πωλέω is close to ►ἐμπολή 'trade(ware), purchase, gain', which is usually connected with πέλομαι, originally *'to turn' (for the connection of πωλέω to πέλομαι, see Schwyzer: 720). If πωλέω is indeed related to ἐμπολή, the derivation from IE *$*pel$-* of the words mentioned above should be abandoned. Cf. also the literature on ►πέρνημι.

πῶλος [m., f.] 'young horse, foal, filly' (Il.), secondarily also of other young animals (Arist., etc.), poetically also 'horse' in general, metaph. 'young girl, youth, etc.' (Anacr., A., E.). ◂IE **pōlH-, plH-* 'foal'▸

•VAR Myc. *po-ro.*

•COMP Compound πωλο-δάμνης [m.] 'foal-tamer; horsebreaker' (X.) with πωλοδαμνέω (S., E., X.), etc.; λευκό-πωλος 'with white foals' (Pi., trag.).

•DER 1. Diminutives πωλ-ίον [n.] (Att., Arist., etc.), -άριον (Pl. *apud* D. L., etc.); 2. adjectives -ικός 'belonging to, concerning foals' (S., E., Arc., etc., inscr.), 'virginal' (A. [lyr.]), see Chantraine 1956a: 116ff.; -ειος 'id.' (Suid.); 3. Πωλώ [f.] epithet of Artemis in Thasos (Nilsson 1941(1): 483[3]); 4. Denominative πωλ-εύω [v.] 'to break in a young horse' (X.), with -εία, -ευσις, -ευμα, -ευτής, -ε̆υτικός (X., Max. Tyr., etc.).

•ETYM Semantically, πῶλος corresponds exactly with MoHG *Fohlen, Füllen,* and cognates, e.g. Go. *fula,* ON *foli,* OHG *folo* < PGm. **fulan-,* with the diminutive ON *fyl* [n.] < PGm. **ful-ja-,* OHG *fulīn* [n.] < PGm. **ful-īna-.* Contrary to πῶλος < IE *pōlH-,* PGm. **fulan* represents the zero grade **plH-.* Alb. *pelë* 'mare', must be related as well, reflecting **pōl-n-.* Certainly unrelated (contra Frisk) are παῖς, Lat. *puer,* etc. The appurtenance of Arm. *ul* 'small goat', connected by Meillet *REArm.* 10 (1930): 184f. and others (including Arm. *amul* 'infertile' < IE **n̥-pōlo-*), is rather doubtful because of the deviating meaning (cf. Lidén 1906: 25, with older literature). Thieme's theory (Lidén 1897: 48[2]) that πῶλος, etc. are related to PIE **kʷel-* (see ▸πέλομαι), via an original meaning 'meadow-animal', should be rejected.

πώλυπος (-ύπος) [m.] 'sea polyp, cuttlefish', metaphorically 'nose polyp' (Hp., Thphr., etc.); also substantivized adjective τὰ πολύποδα 'many-footed', of insects (Arist.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Plur. -οι (Semon., Epich., Hp. [v.l.]), also πῶλυψ, -υπος (Diph. Siphn., Dsc., Poll.), πόλυψ, -υπος (Paul. Aeg.); more usual is πουλύπους, -ποδος (ε 432), acc. -πουν (Ion. Trag.), also gen. -που, etc. (Thgn., etc.), πολύπους, -ποδος (Arist.).

•DIAL Myc. *po-ru-po-de.*

•DER Diminutive πωλύπιον [n.] (Hp.).

•ETYM The word πώλυπος is a Mediterranean word of unknown origin. The form with ω, confirmed by the borrowing Lat. *pōlypus, -i* (since Plaut.), is clearly the oldest; it is the basis for the folk-etymological formations πουλυ- and πολυ- after πολύς and πούς (Fraenkel 1912: 164[1], with older literature; Specht *KZ* 59 (1932): 129). Note, however, that the inflexion with ποδ- is already attested in Mycenaean and in Homer. The word is not treated by Fur.

πῶμα 1 [n.] 'lid, cover' of a chest, pot, tube, etc. (Il., epic Ion., Arist., Hell.). ◂IE **peh₂-* 'guard, protect'▸

•DER πωμ-άτιον [n.], diminutive (Sor.); -ατίας [m.] 'kind of snail' (Dsc.), and two denominatives: 1. πωμάζω [v.] 'to cover, close with a lid' (Arist., Hero, etc.), also with ἐπι-, περι-, etc., with ἐπιπωμασμός (Eust.) and the back-formation ἐπίπωμα 'lid' (Gal.), ἐπιπωματικός (sch.); 2. πωματίζω 'id.' (Arist., Thphr., etc.), mostly ἐπι-, περι-, ἀπο-, with ἐπιπωμάτισις (VI[P]); the seemingly primary ἐπιπωμάννυμαι 'to be covered' (Hero) is derived from the latter.

•ETYM πῶμα is an old verbal noun from IE *poh_2-mn beside *poh_2-tro-m [n.], reflected in Skt. *pā́tram* 'case, barrel' (if related, this word was certainly influenced by *peh_3- 'to drink'), and in the Germanic group of Go. *fodr* 'sheath, cover', MoHG *Futter* 'lining' (of cloth). The primary verb is retained in Skt. *pā́ti* 'to guard, protect' < IE *peh_2-; see also ►ποιμήν.

πῶμα 2 'drink'. ⇒πίνω.

πωμάριον [n.] 'orchard' (pap. [III^P]). ◄LW Lat.►
•DER πωμαρίτης 'merchant of fruits' (pap. [VI^P]); -ιτισσα (VI^P).
•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *pōmārium.*

πωρέω •VAR πωρητύς. ⇒πῶρος, ταλαίπωρος.

πῶρος [m.] 'tuff' (Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr., etc.), in Anatolia 'stone- or chalk-formation, concretion, stone in the bladder, kidney, etc.' (Hp., Arist., etc.). ◄PG?(V)►
•VAR Also ποῦρος (inscr. Delphi), πόρος (Thphr. Lap. 7, Gal. 6, 57).
•COMP As a first member in e.g. πωρ-όμφαλον [n.] 'concretion in the navel' (Gal.).
•DER 1. Diminutive πωρ-ίον, -ίδιον [n.] 'callosity' (medic.); 2. adjectives πώρ-ινος 'of tuff' (Hdt., Ar., Hell. inscr., etc.), -εία λίθος 'tuff' (Str.), -ώδης 'π.-like' (Gal.); 3. verb πωρ-όομαι, -όω 'to petrify, harden, grow together in a concretion, grow hard' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., NT), also with δια-, ἐπι-, συν-, with (ἐπι-)πώρ-ωμα, -ωσις 'petrification, concretion' (Hp., Gal., NT); 4. πωρ-ίασις [f.] 'callus on the eyelid' (Gal.), as if from *πωρ-ιᾶν (Schwyzer: 732).
•ETYM Originally, πῶρος and derivatives indicated a kind of stone, and it was used as a construction term; later, however, it was used especially as a medical term. It has no etymology. According to Haupt 1912: 84f., it was borrowed from Assyr. *pûlu* 'shell-lime'. However, no connection seems possible with πωρεῖν· κηδεύειν, πενθεῖν 'to worry, mourn', πωρῆσαι· λυπῆσαι 'to be grieved' (H.), and πωρητύς [f.] 'pain' (Antim.). Cf. also ►ταλαίπωρος. Fur.: 328 connects *ψῶρος in ψωρίτης λίθος, a kind of marble (Cyran 46) and Hitt. *purut-* 'loam, chalk, mortar'. This may point to Pre-Greek origin.

πωρός ⇒ταλαίπωρος.

πῶς [interr. adv.] 'how?', πως [indef.] 'somehow' (Il.). ◄IE *k^wo- 'which?'►
•VAR Ion. κῶς, κως (Hdt., etc.).
•ETYM The form πῶς is a frozen ablative from the pronominal stem πο-, Ion. κο- from IE *k^wo-; see ►πόθεν and ►ὡς 1.

πωτάομαι ⇒πέτομαι.

πῶυ ⇒ποιμήν.

πῶυξ [f.] name of an unknown bird, cf. πῶυξ· ποιὸς ὄρνις. ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ ζῴων (H.); attempts at an identification in Thompson 1895 s.v. φῶυξ. ◄PG(S,V)►
•VAR φῶυξ (Arist.), πῶυγξ, plur. -υγγες (Ant. Lib., *EM*).

•ETYM In spite of the fact that the meaning is unknown, the word must be Pre-Greek; cf. especially the variation φ ~ π in the initial, the variation γ ~ γγ in the suffix, and the suffix -υγγ- itself.

P

ῥα •VAR Before vowel ῥ'. ⇒ἄρα.

ῥᾶ [adv.] 'easily' (Alcm., S. *Fr.* 1086, Ion. Trag.). ◁?▷
•VAR Epic ῥῆα (written ῥεῖα), ῥέα (monosyllabic reading necessary or possible; does it stand for Aeol. ῥᾶ?), Ion. ῥέᾶ (Simon.), Aeol. βρᾶ (= ϝρᾶ, gramm.); ῥῆα (Alc.) must be a Homerism or a mistake.
•COMP As a first member in ῥᾳ-θυμος 'light-hearted, carefree' (Att.) from *ῥαϊ-θυμος, if not secondary for well-attested ῥά-θυμος (Wackernagel 1907: 26).
•DER Comparative: epic ῥηΐτερον, Ion. ῥήτερον (Thgn.), Dor. ῥᾴτερον (Pi.), also Ion. ῥήϊον, Att. ῥᾷον; ῥᾶσσον (gramm. in *EM*) analogical for θᾶσσον; superlative epic ῥηΐτατα, Ion. ῥήϊστα, Dor. ῥάϊστα (Theoc.), Att. ῥᾷστα. The adverb served as a basis for the adjectival forms ῥηΐτερος, ῥήϊστος, ῥᾴων, ῥᾷστος; from ῥῆα, ῥᾶ, the positive ῥη-ϊδίως, Att. ῥᾳδίως, Aeol. βρα-ῑδίως (Alc.) was derived, and from there in turn the adjective ῥηΐδιος, ῥᾴδιος (like μαψ-ιδίως, -ίδιος, etc.); hence ῥᾳδιέστερος, etc. Denominal from ῥήϊον, ῥᾷον are: ῥηΐζω, ῥαΐζω [v.] 'to recover' (IA), aor. -ίσαι; ῥαΐαν· ὑγείαν 'health' (H.). From ῥήϊστος, ῥᾷστος are derived: ῥηστώνη, ῥᾳστώνη [f.] 'recovery, leisure' (IA).
•ETYM Starting from epic ῥῆα and Aeol. βρᾶ, we may reconstruct PGr. **wrāha* or **wrāja*. The word is no doubt old and inherited, but a good etymology is lacking. A connection with the root **u̯reh₂-* that has to be assumed for ἄπυρα has been suggested, but this cannot be proven. Specht *KZ* 59 (1932): 93ff. unconvincingly connected ►ἀραιός 'thin'.

ῥᾶ a plant name. ⇒ῥῆον.

ῥαβάττειν [v.] · ἄνω καὶ κάτω βαδίζειν· τινές δὲ τύπτειν καὶ ψόφον ποιεῖν [καὶ φράσειν] τοῖς ποσί, καὶ ῥάσσειν 'to walk upwards and downwards; to beat and make noise with [and to be about to indicate with] the feet, and to strike' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR In Photius 479, 18: σοβεῖν καὶ τρέχειν καὶ συντόνως ποδοκτυπεῖν 'to drive away, run, strike the earth vigorously with the feet'.
•ETYM Has been compared with ἀρράβακα· ὀρχηστήν· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρραβάσσειν ὅ ἐστι ὀρχεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸν βλάσφημον 'dancer, after á., which means to dance; others: slanderer' (H.). Fur.: 142 connects ►ἄραβος and ἀροπῆσαι· πατῆσαι. Κρῆτες, and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

ῥάβδος [f.] 'twig, rod, staff, magic wand; line, stripe, groove' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP Compounds like ῥαβδ-οῦχος [m.] 'staff-bearer', name of an official (Ar., Th., Hell.), πολύ-ρραβδος 'having many stripes' (Arist.).
•DER 1. Diminutive ῥαβδ-ίον [n.] (Arist., Thphr.); 2. ῥαβδ-ωτός 'having rods, streaks, grooves' (X., Arist.), -ωμα (H.) as an explanation of σκυτάλια; -ωσις [f.] 'cannelure' (Att. inscr. late V^{a}); 3. Denominatives: a) ῥαβδ-ίζω [v.] 'to beat with a rod, thresh' (com., Thphr.), to which -ισμός [m.] 'treshing', -ιστήρ [m.] 'thresher' (pap.); b) -εύομαι [v.] 'to fish with a rod' (Arist.); c) -όομαι [v.] 'to have stripes' (Lyd.).
•ETYM A suffixal element -δο- is only found in a few nouns indicating sounds (e.g. κέλαδος) and in isolated, etymologically unclear words (cf. ►κλάδος, which is close in meaning). Analyzed as ῥάβ-δος, it has been compared with Lith. *vir̃bas* 'twig, rod' and Ru. *vérba* (OCS *vrъba*) 'willow' (zero grade IE **urb-*), and Lat. *verbera* [pl.] '(rods for) punishment', *verbēnae* [pl.] 'twigs of the laurel, etc.', with full grade. However, in view of the variants ►ῥάμνος and ►ῥαπίς, we can be certain that the word is Pre-Greek (the word is not treated by Fur.).

ῥαγή [f.] 'tore, chink, gap, cleft' (Hp.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Also with δια-; more usual ῥαγ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'id.' (Hell.).
•DER Diminutive ῥαγ-άδιον [n.] (Celsus); further ῥάγ-δην 'torrential, fierce, vehement' [adv.] (Plu.), ῥαγδ-αῖος 'id.' (com., Arist.), -αιότης [f.] (Poll.); for the meaning cf. ῥαγά (ῥάγα cod.)· ἀκμή, βία, ὁρμή 'point or prime, force, impulse' (H.) (see also Erot. on ῥαγή).
•ETYM The words ῥαγή, etc. are sometimes seen as derivatives of ῥαγῆναι, ►ῥήγνυμι, but ῥαγῆναι is analogical. The word may instead be Pre-Greek. Note also ῥαγδ-αιος with the problematic cluster -γδ-, which can hardly be taken from ῥάγδην.

ῥάδαμνος [m.] 'branch, twig, shoot' (LXX, Suid., H.). ◄PG(S,V)►
•VAR Also ῥόδαμνος (H.) and ῥάδαμον· καυλόν, βλαστόν 'stalk, shoot' (conj. Nic. *Al.* 92), ῥαδαμεῖ· βλαστάνει 'sprouts' (H.).
•DER ῥαδαμνώδης (sch.).
•ETYM The ending of ῥάδαμνος can be compared with θάμνος and ῥάμνος, as well as σφένδαμνος, στάμνος, etc. The Aeol. form ►ὀρόδαμνος points to a pre-form ϝρόδ-. In view of all alternations, the word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

ῥαδινάκη Persian name for a foul-smelling oil found in Arderikka, east of Susa (Hdt. 6, 119). ◄LW Iran.►
•ETYM Probably a pre-Iranian loanword.

ῥαδινός [adj.] 'taper, bendable, slender' (epic since Ψ 583). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR βράδινος (Sapph.); ῥοδανός epithet of δονακεύς (Σ 576; v.ll. ῥαδινός, ῥαδαλός); ῥοδάν-η [f.] 'weft thread' (Batr.), to which -ίζω [v.] (sch.), -ιστήριον (gloss.); also ῥαδανός, -η, -ίζω (Il.), -ᾶται· πλανᾶται 'wanders, strays' (H.), βραδανίζει· ῥιπίζει, τινάσσει 'bursts, shakes' (H.).
•ETYM The formation is like in πυκινός, but the basis is unknown. Some connect ῥαδινός with the semantically unclear ►περιρρηδής or with ►ῥάδαμνος; Lobeck 1837: 156 also connects ῥαδές· τὸ ἀμφοτέρως ἐγκεκλιμένον 'bent to both sides' (H.). Further connected is perhaps also the Arc. PN ϝράδων, but ῥαδανῶροι· οἱ τῶν

λαχάνων κηπουροί 'watchers of vegetable gardens' (H.) remains unclear (rejected by Bechtel 1921, 2: 420).

Other forms that have been hesitantly adduced are Skt. *ávradanta* [3pl.ipf.] 'loosened, became mellow' (*hap. leg.* RV 2, 24, 3; see LIV² s.v. **u̯red-*), Go. *wraton* 'πορεύεσθαι, διοδεύειν', ON *rata* 'id.'; also, Lith. *randù, ràsti* 'find' (see Fraenkel 1955 s.v.). However, all these proposals remain hypothetical (details in Bechtel 1914 s.v. περιρρηδής). The variation **u̯rad- / u̯rod-* shows that ῥαδινός is a Pre-Greek word.

ῥᾰ̈δις, -ῑκος [m.] 'branch, twig' (Nic.), 'palm leaf' (D. S.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM A formal match is found between ῥάδις and Lat. *rādīx* 'root', if they reflect **wrād-*. Lat. *rāmus* 'branch, twig', which may go back to **wrād-mo-* or **wrā-mo-*, is semantically closer. Go. *waurts*, etc. can probably be compared as well. Cf. also on ▸ῥάδαμνος, where the short α certainly does *not* reflect a PIE **urh₂d-*, since this would have yielded long ᾱ instead. The pre-form **wrad- / wrād-*, suggested by these forms, is probably non-Indo-European. Cf. also ▸ῥίζα.

ῥᾴδιος ⇒ῥᾱͅ.

ῥάζω [v.] 'to growl, grouch', originally of a dog; secondarily also of men (Cratin. 25). ◂ONOM▸

•ETYM Perhaps of onomatopoeic origin; cf. ▸ἁράζω and ▸ῥύζω. See also ▸ῥώχω.

ῥάθαγος ⇒ῥαθαπυγίζω.

ῥαθάμιγξ, -ιγγος [f.], mostly [pl.] 'drop' (Λ 536 = Υ 501, Hes., Pi.); also 'dust particle' (κονίης ῥ. Ψ 502), 'spot' (Opp.). ◂PG(S)▸

•DER ῥαθαμίζω [v.] 'to besprinkle' (Opp., Nonn.; like σάλπιγξ to -πίζω). Variants are ῥαθμίζεσθαι· ῥαίνεσθαι 'to be besprinkled' (H.); ῥαθαίνεται· ῥαίνεται, βρέχεται 'is besprinkled, gets wet' (H.); ῥαθασσόμενοι· ῥαινόμενοι (H., Phot.).

•ETYM ῥαθάμιγξ has the same suffix -ιγξ as λάϊγγες, στροφάλιγξ, ▸πύλιγγες, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 398ff.), but it cannot be analyzed any further. We find a variant *ῥαθμός in ῥαθμίζεσθαι (probably by syncope of α, as is often found in Pre-Greek words). Frisk suggests an analogical proportion *ῥαθμός : ▸ῥαίνω to βαθμός : βαίνω, which leads him to assume that contaminations or extensions led to the creation of ῥαθαίνω (to ῥαίνω) and ῥαθάσσω (to σταλάσσω). This is far-fetched. Although the word is not treated by Fur., ῥαθάμιγξ is clearly Pre-Greek, if only because of the suffix.

ῥαθαπυγίζω [v.] 'to kick someone's buttocks' (Ar. *Eq.* 796). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also ῥοθοπυγίζω, to which -ισμός (Suid., Thom. Mag.).

•ETYM Possibly based on πυγή 'bottom', apparently with an onomatopoeic first element that is also seen in ῥάθαγος· τάραχος 'agitation' (H., sch.). Yet the precise morphological relation with πυγή remains to be clarified. Haplology from *ῥαθα[γο]-πυγίζω (Ehrlich 1910: 7) has been assumed, but this seems unlikely. The o-vocalism in ῥοθο-πυγίζω can hardly be secondary after ῥόθος 'roar'; it is much more likely that the variation α ~ ο is caused by the Pre-Greek origin of the word.

ῥᾴθυμος ⇒ῥᾱͅ.

ῥαιβίας [?] · ἀζήμιος δῆμος 'deme that has impunity' (H.). ◁?▷

•VAR ῥαμβάς· ὁ δήμιος 'public executioner' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

ῥαιβός [adj.] 'crooked, bent inward', especially of legs (Arist., Nic.). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP As a first member in ῥαιβο-ειδής 'of crooked shape' (Hp.).

•DER ῥαιβ-ηδόν 'in bendings' (Euph.), -όω [v.] 'to bend' (Lyc., Gal.), -ότης [f.] 'bendedness' (Eust.).

•ETYM The words in -βός often designate a physical defect, e.g. κολοβός, κλαμβός, σκαμβός, ὑβός. The best comparison until now was with the Germanic group of Go. *wraiqs* 'σκολιός', which led to IE **uroigʷo-* or **uroig-uo-*. However, the Greek α-vocalism remains difficult, and neither ▶κλαμβός, etc. above, nor ▶λαιός, ▶σκαιός (with old *uo*-suffix) offer a solution for it. Since the vocalism can only be explained if we assume **ureh₂ig-u-*, whereas the Germanic suggests **uroig-u-*, the word is probably non-Indo-European. It is probably Pre-Greek; see on ▶ῥάμφος. Cf. also ▶ῥοικός and ▶ῥυβός.

ῥαίνω [v.] 'to besprinkle, spray, strew' (Il.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aor. ῥῆναι (Hp.), ῥᾶναι (Att., Hell.), pass. ῥανθῆναι (Pi., etc.), ipv.2pl. ῥάσσατε (υ 150), ptc. περι-ρασάμενοι (Pergamon II[a]) after κεδάσσαι, κεράσ(σ)αι, etc.(?), perf. act. δι-έρραγκα (LXX), med.3pl. ἐρράδαται (υ 354), plpf. -δατ(ο) (M 431), with analogical -δ- acc. to Schwyzer: 672, but see below; ἔρραμμαι (Hell. and late), -ασμαι (sch.).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially περι-.

•DER 1. ῥανίς, -ίδος [f.] 'drop' (trag., Ar., Arist.) with ῥανίζω = ῥαίνω (Poll.); 2. ῥαντός 'besprinkled, spotted' (Hp.) with ῥαντίζω (also with περι-, etc.) = ῥαίνω (LXX, *Ep. Hebr.*, etc.); (περι-)ῥαντ-ισμός [m.] (LXX, NT), -ισμα [n.] (Vett. Val.); 3. ῥαντήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'sprinkler' (Nic.), to which (περι-, ἀπο-)ῥαντήριον [n.] 'vessel with sprinkling water' (IA); 4. (περι-)ῥάντης [m.] 'sprinkler' (pap.); 5. (περί-)ῥανσις [f.] 'sprinkling' (Pl., pap.); 6. ἀπό-ρ(ρ)ανθρον = ἀπορραντήριον (Anaphe, Priene); 7. ῥάσμα [n.] 'sprinkling, spray' (Hell.).

•ETYM The stem pattern of ῥαίνω is based on a stem ῥαν- which, if inherited, represents the zero grade of IE **u̯ren-* or **sren-*. Previous etymological attempts have been: Solmsen *KZ* 37 (1904): 59off. (connecting a Slavic verb 'to let fall, shed', in Ru. *ronít'*, Cz. *roniti*, Pol. *ronić*, etc., which may - but need not - go back to **u̯ron-*); Szemerényi *KZ* 73 (1956): 74 (connecting Hitt. *ḫurnāi-* 'to besprinkle', but this has to be read as *ḫarnāi-*; see Kloekhorst 2008); connection with ▶ῥαθάμιγξ (improbable). None of these etymological attempts accounts for the variation ν and δ (in the perfect), which is a well-known Pre-Greek phenomenon (Kuiper 1956: 216). This proves that the verb is Pre-Greek.

ῥαίω [v.] 'to smash, break to pieces, shatter' (Il., epic). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. ῥαῖσαι, pass. ῥαισθῆναι, fut. ῥαίσω.

•DIAL Myc. *o-pi-ra₃-te-re* /opi-raistēres/ (?), see Baumbach *Minos* 11 (1970): 388-90.

•COMP Also with δια-, ἀπο-.

•DER ῥαιστήρ, -ῆρος 'hammer', both [f.] (Σ 477; after σφῦρα?) and [m.] (*AP* 6, 117). Elsewhere the gender is unknown (A. *Pr.* 56, Call. *Dian.* 59, etc.); ῥαιστήριος 'shattering, destroying' (A. R., Opp.); ῥαίστωρ· κραντήρ 'boar's tusk' (H.). Several compounds in -της, e.g. θυμο-ρραίσ-της 'life-destroying' (Il.), κυνο-ρραίσ-της 'dog louse' (ρ 300, Arist.).

•ETYM The form ῥαίω rhymes with παίω, πταίω (which are semantically close) and with κναίω, ψαίω. The -σ- in ῥαισθῆναι, etc. can be analogical. The etymology is unknown; it can hardly be a contamination of ῥήγνυμι and παίω.

ῥάκος [n.] 'rag, shred, wrinkles, remnants' (Od.). ◅?▻

•VAR Often plur. ῥάκεα, -η.

•COMP As a first member in ῥακό-δυτος, originally 'clothed in rags', 'shabby' (E. [lyr.]).

•DER Diminutive ῥάκιον, plur. -ια [n.] (Ar., etc.); 2. ῥακώματα [pl.] = ῥάκη (Ar.); 3. ἄπορ<ρ>ακίσματα (H.) to ῥάκη (: *ἀπο-ρρακίζειν); 3. adjective ῥάκ-ινος (Hell. inscr.), -όεις (*AP*), -ώδης (D. C., *AP*) 'tattered, wrinkled'; 4. uncertain (corrupt according to Debrunner *IF* 23 (1908-1909): 14) ῥακωλέον· ῥάκος 'rag' (H.), cf. ῥωγαλέος, etc.; 5. denominative ῥακ-όομαι [v.] 'to become ragged, wrinkled' (Hp., Plu.), to which -ωσις [f.] 'wrinkling, wrinkledness' (Sor.).

ῥάκεα, -η corresponds to Aeol. βράκ-εα (Sapph. 57), -η (Theoc. 28, 11), but in the sense of '(long) ladies' garments', cf. also βράκος· κάλαμος, ἱμάτιον πολυτελές 'expensive garment' (H.). Other formations are: βράκαλον· ῥόπαλον 'staff, rod', βράκετον· δρέπανον, κλαδευτήριον 'sickle, pruning knife' (H.), dissimilated from *-τρον; without dissimilation ῥάκετρον 'chopping-knife' (Poll.), v.l. ῥάχ- (after ῥάχις), with -ετρίζω [v.] 'to split, cut through' (Pl. Com.).

•ETYM The deviating meaning 'ladies' garments' casts doubt on the appurtenance of βράκεα, -ος. The other words can easily be connected with ῥάκος (i.e. from *ϝράκος), with βράκαλον formed after ῥόπαλον, σκύταλον; βράκετ(ρ)ον seems to be a primary instrument noun which, just like ῥάκος, presupposes a primary verb (for instance *ῥακεῖν).

Evident morphological cognates lack outside Greek. The traditional comparison with Skt. *vṛścáti* 'to hew, fell (trees), split', with *yūpa-vrask-á-* 'post-cutter' and the ptc. *vṛk-ṇá-* 'hewn, felled' fails to give one too, since it is probably related to Skt. *varj-* 'to turn around, avert' < *h_2*uerg-*.

IE **uresk-*, **urosk-*, which we may reconstruct, has a variant in the Slavic word for 'rumple' (cf. ῥάκος, also 'rumple'), e.g. CS *vraska* < **u̯orsk-ā*. ToA *wraske* 'disease' is phonologically and semantically far-fetched. For this IE **uresk-*, *uersk-*, one could reconstruct an older **ureḱ-sk-* or **uerḱ-sk-*, which enables us to establish connections with *u̯ṛḱ-*, the pre-form of ῥάκος. A pre-form IE **u̯ṛḱ-* may also be found in the Indo-Iranian word for 'tree' (originally 'felled tree'), Skt. *vṛkṣá-*, Av. *varəša-* [m.], IE **u̯ṛḱ-s-o-*, beside **u̯ṛḱ-os-* in ῥάκος (see Lidén in WP. 1, 286). Everything remains highly uncertain. The word could well be Pre-Greek.

ῥακτήριος •VAR ῥάκτρια. ⇒ῥάσσω.

ῥακτός ⇒ῥήγνυμι.

ῥαμβάς ⇒ῥαιβίας.

ῥάμνος [f.] 'briar, rhamnus' (Eup., Hell. and late). ◁PG?▷

•DER Ῥαμνοῦς, -οῦντος [m.] name of an Att. deme, with -ούσιος [adj.] (Att.).

•ETYM The form ῥάμνος may have developed from *ῥάβνος, and thus belong with ►ῥάβδος and cognates; see s.v. with literature. It is quite possibly a Pre-Greek word. The nasal suffix may be the same as in θάμνος (or taken over from it). Cf. also ►ῥαδινός and ►ῥέμβομαι.

ῥάμφος [n.] '(hooked) bird beak' (com., Call., Plu.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Further ῥαμψόν· καμπύλον, βλαισόν 'crooked or bent, distorted'; ῥαμψὰ γόνατα· βλαισὰ γόνατα, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ῥαιβά 'curved knees' (H.).

•COMP λεπτό-ραμφος 'having a thin beak' (Paul. Aeg.).

•DER ῥαμφή [f.] 'crooked knife' (Plb., H.). From ῥάμφος are derived ῥάμφ-ιον [n.] diminutive (sch.), -ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'crooked clasp' (Hero), also = νεὼς εἶδος 'kind of ship' (H.) (cf. κορωνίς), -ιος = πελεκανός (Cyran.), -ώδης 'beak-like' (Philostr.), -ησταί· ἰχθῦς ποιοί 'kinds of fish' (H.) (Strömberg 1943: 43), -άζομαι 'to poke with the beak' (H., Phot.).

•ETYM Next to ῥάμφος, ῥαμφή (cf. e.g. γράφος : γραφή), we find ῥέμφος· τό στόμα, ἡ ῥίς 'mouth or nose' (H.); this cannot be interpreted as a regular full grade, but is a variant (see below). Initial ῥαμφ- has been compared with καμπ-, γναμπ-, κραμβ-, etc. The words ►ῥέμβομαι 'to turn round, roam' and ῥόμβος '(magic) wheel' are phonetically comparable and semantically similar. Cf. further ►ῥάβδος, ►ῥέμβομαι, and also ►ῥομφαία.

Germanic words have been further compared: MLG *wrimpen* 'to turn up one's nose', *wramp-achtich* 'curled, crooked' (i.e. IE **urembʰ*-; however, these comparisons are based on virtually nothing. The variation between β and ψ rather points to Pre-Greek origin, as does the α-vocalism. Moreover, ►ῥαιβός is also clearly a variant (see Fur. 286, 335, 338). This means that ῥάμφος has prenasalization, beside ῥαιβός with the frequent variation α/ αι, where ι is from a following palatalized consonant.

ῥανίς •VAR ῥαντήρ. ⇒ῥαίνω.

ῥᾶξ, ῥᾱγός [f.] 'winegrape, -berry', secondarily also 'berry' in general, metaph. 'kind of spider', plur. 'fingertips' (Att., Hell. and late). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR LXX also [m.]. ῥώξ, ῥωγός (Archil., LXX, Nic.).

•COMP As a first member in ῥαγο-ειδής 'grape-like' (medic.).

•DER ῥαγ-ίον [n.] diminutive (Philum., etc.), -ικός 'belonging to the grape', -ώδης 'grape-like' (Thphr.), -ίζω 'to pick grapes' (Theoc.).

•ETYM The form ῥάξ is reminiscent of ῥάματα (this may come from *ῥάγμ-)· βοστρύχια, σταφυλίς. Μακεδόνες 'bunch of grapes (Maced.)' (H.), as well as of Lat. *racēmus* 'stalk of a cluster of grapes, grapes'. The word is further isolated; it is probably a Mediterranean word (cf. Schwyzer: 425 with literature, also 310). The IE etymologies that have been proposed should all be rejected (WH s.v.; also incorrectly, Carnoy *REGr.* 69 (1956): 286 and Carnoy *Ant. class.* 27 (1958): 326). It is most probable that ῥάξ is of Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 126); ῥώξ would then be a Pre-

Greek variant. Demiraj 1997: 196 adduces Alb. *rrush* 'resin', which is identical to *Rrush*, the old name of *Ragusa*; if related, this would rather suggest a substrate origin of the word.

ῥαπίζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to beat with a stick, a rod, by hand', pass. 'to be beaten' (IA). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Aor. pass. ῥαπισθῆναι, act. ῥαπίσαι, perf. ptc. pass. ῥεραπισμένα.

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἐπι- (also 'to reproach').

•DER ῥάπ-ισμα [n.] 'stroke, slap in the face, box on the ears' (Antiph., NT, Luc.), -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (Corn., Sor.); ἐπιρράπ-ιξις [f.] 'reproach' (Ion. Hist.), -ισμός 'id.' (Plb.). Besides, as a second member, -ραπις in χρυσό-ρραπις, voc. -ι 'with a golden rod', epithet of Hermes (Od., *h. Merc.*, Pi.), ἐῦ-ρραπις (Ερμῆς) 'with a beautiful rod' (Nonn.); ῥαπίς as simplex = ῥάβδος only H., Phot.

•ETYM As the simplex ῥαπίς may have been extracted from χρυσό-ρραπις, where -ις can be explained as a compound suffix (cf. ἄν-αλκ-ις, ἵππ-ουρ-ις), the direct basis of ῥαπίζω is uncertain. It may have been formed from a noun (*ῥάψ, *ῥαπ-ή, vel sim.), but it can also be a transformation of a primary verb (cf. the examples in Schwyzer: 735f.). Formally, ῥαπίζω could be a zero grade formation of ῥέπω, ῥόπαλον; it would have indicated, if deverbative, a sweeping movement (of a rod, the hand, etc.). See further ▸ῥέπω; cf. ▸ῥώψ 1, ▸ῥάβδος, ▸ῥάμνος, and also ▸ῥάπτω. Alternatively, a Pre-Greek origin is a serious option for this etymon, as well.

ῥαπίς kind of shoe. ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM The variation with ἁρπίς (Fur. 392) points to Pre-Greek origin. See ▸ἁρπίς.

ῥάπτω [v.] 'to sew (together), stitch, instigate' (Il.). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. ῥάψαι (Il.), them. aor. ἔρραφον (Nonn.), pass. ῥαφῆναι, fut. ῥάψω, perf. pass. ἔρραμμαι (IA), plpf. act. ἐρραφήκει (X. Eph.).

•DIAL Myc. *ra-pte(-re)* may stand for *ῥαπτήρ [m.] (see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v. with literature; differently Heubeck *IF* 64 (1958-1959): 119ff.); also Myc. *e-ra-pe-me-na* /(h)e-hrapmena/ 'stitched'. Myc. *wa-ra-pi-si-ro*, which was thought to stand for ϝράψιλος, can no longer be connected, since *erapemena* shows that the verb had no initial ϝ-.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. συν-, κατα-, ἐν-.

•DER 1. Action nouns: ῥαφή (also συν-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'hem, seam' (χ 186), here and below, -φ- is analogical; ῥάμμα [n.] 'id.' (Pi., IA); 2. Agent nouns: ῥαφεύς [m.] 'sewer, stitcher, instigator' (A., Poll.), acc. to Boßhardt 1942: 40 from ῥαφή; ῥάπτης [m.] 'stitcher' with -τικός (late), fem. ῥάπτρια (Eust.), with περι- [m.] of a priestess in Piraeus (inscr.); ῥαπτήρ 'id.', see above on Myc.; δικο-ρράφ-ος [m.] 'hack lawyer' (D. Chr. et al.), with -ρραφέω [v.] 'to instigate a lawsuit' (Ar.), -ρραφία (Man.); 3. instrument nouns ῥαφίς, -ίδος [f.] 'sewing needle' (Hp., Archipp., Hell.), ῥαφιδ-εύς [m.], -εια [f.] 'stitcher', -ευτής [m.] 'id.', -ευτός (LXX), -ᾶς [m.] 'id.' (pap. IV^{p}); cf. Boßhardt 1942: 40; ῥαφίς also fish name = βελόνη (Arist., Opp.), see Strömberg 1943: 37; beside it ῥαπίς as a fish name (Epich 51 v.l.), = κρηπίς (H., *EM*), see on ▸ἁρπίς; 4. verbal adj. ῥαπτός 'stitched, sewn together' (ω 228f.); 5. Ῥαψώ [f.] name of a goddess or nymph (Phaleron IV^{a}). On ▸ῥαψῳδός, see s.v.

•ETYM Since Myc. *e-ra-pe-me-na* shows that ῥάπτω does not go back to a form with initial ϝ-, the older etymology with Baltic (Lith. *verpti*, 1sg. *verpiù* 'to spin', Lith. *vérpti* (*vìrpti*), *virpėti* 'to tremble, shudder, vibrate', Latv. *virpêt* 'to spin with a spindle; shudder', *vȇrpt* 'to spin, turn round about') must be abandoned. Cf. further ►ῥέπω, ►ῥέμβομαι.

ῥάπυς •VAR ῥάφυς. ⇒ῥάφανος.

ῥᾶσσω [v.] 'to beat, smash, thrust, stamp' (also of dancers), intr. 'to strike, dash' (Hell.). ◅?▻
•VAR Att. ῥάττω, Ion. ῥήσσω (epic since Σ 571), with ἐπι- (Ω 454, 456, *h.Ap.* 516, also LXX, NT), fut. ῥᾰ́ξω, aor. ῥᾶξαι (Att., Hell.), ῥᾰχθῆναι (LXX).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, συν-, κατα-.
•DER 1. σύρ-, πρόσ-ραξις [f.] 'crash, impact' (Arist., pap.), ἀπό- name of a ball game (Poll., Eust.); 2. κατα-ρρᾰκτης [adj.] 'rushing down, precipitous' (S., Str.), [m.] 'waterfall' (D. S., Str.), 'portcullis, boarding bridge' (LXX, App., etc.), name of a bird that sweeps down (Ar., Arist.); Κατα-ρρήκτης [m.], name of a river in Phrygia (Hdt.); κατα-ρρακτήρ 'rushing down' (Lyc.), of a bird; 3. ῥακτήριον· ὄρχησίς τις 'kind of dance', -τήρια· τύμπανα 'kettledrums' (H.), ῥακτήριος 'suitable for beating' vel sim., also 'clamorous'? (S. *Fr.* 802 and 699); ῥάκτριαι [f.pl.] (-ια [n.pl.]?) 'poles for beating olive trees' (Poll., H., Phot.). On ῥάγ-δην, -δαῖος, see ►ῥαγή; on ►ῥαχία s.v.
•ETYM The form ῥάσσω was rare, and in Koine it became confused with ῥήγνυμι; it has no certain etymology. Since a consonant must have been lost before the ῥ-, a preform PGr. *ϝρᾰ̆χ-i̯ω (cf. ῥαχ-ία) can perhaps be identified with a Slavic verb for 'beat' (also with loss of *u̯-), i.e. Ru. *razít'*, Cz. *raziti*, with Cz. *ráz* 'stroke, stamp', Ru. *raz* 'turn' < **ureh₂ǵʰ-*. The Slav. words, however, have also been connected with Ru. *rézat'* 'to cut, slaughter', OCS *rězati* 'κόπτειν', etc., which are related to ῥήγνυμι (see Vasmer 1953 s.v. *raz* II and Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *rězti* 1). The semantically attractive connection with ►ἀράσσω (Bechtel 1914 s.v. ῥήσσω) would require PGr. **warakʰ-je/o-* (with different development of *CRHC, perhaps conditioned by the accent?), but for ►ἀράσσω, there is no indication for ϝ-. Cf. ►ῥάχις.

ῥᾳστώνη ⇒ῥᾱͅ.

***ῥατάνη** [f.] 'stirring spoon, scoop', only in (Dor.) ῥατάναν· τορύνην 'stirrer, ladle' and βρατάναν· τορύνην. Ἠλεῖοι (H.). ◅PG?, IE? **uert-* 'turn'▻
•ETYM Instrument name in -άνη like πατ-, δρεπ-, οὐρ-άνη, etc., either from a zero grade verb (e.g. aor. *ϝρατ-εῖν) or from a noun (e.g. *ϝρατ-η). An extended verb form is perhaps found in βρατάνει· ῥαΐζει ἀπό νόσου. Ἠλεῖοι 'to recover (El.)' (H.), originally 'gets well again'; cf. e.g. βλαστάνω from βλαστ-εῖν, αἰσθάνομαι from αἰσθέσθαι. The word ►ἄρρατος is formed from a noun, like ἄμαχος from μάχη, etc. Traditionally, this etymon was connected to Skt. *vártate*, Lat. *vertō* 'to turn (intr.)', etc. (cf. Pok. 1156ff.), and ῥοταρία (-άρια?)· τορύνιον (H.) was explained as having Aeol. ρο for ρα (Bechtel 1921, 2: 864). However, the variants βρατ- ~ βροτ- and the suffix -αν- may also point to Pre-Greek origin.

ῥάφανος [f.] 'cabbage, Brassica cretica' (Att., etc.), 'radish, Raphanus sativus' (Arist., pap.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also -άνη (Batr. v.l.), etc. Cf. ῥάφυς, ῥάπυς [f.] 'turnip', ῥέφανος (Hp. *Mul.* 2, 115).

•DER 1. ῥαφανίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'radish' (com., etc.) with -ίδιον [n.] 'id.' (Pl. Com.), -ιδώδης 'like a radish' (Thphr.), -ιδόομαι [v.] 'to be treated with radish' (Ar.); 2. ῥαφάν-ιον [n.] 'radish' (pap.), also ῥαπάνιον; 3. -ινος 'of radish' (pap., Dsc., etc.), -ῖτις [f.] 'kind of iris' (Plin.), see Redard 1949: 76; 4. -ηδόν [adv.] 'in a radish-like way' (medic.).

Besides, ῥάφυς, ῥάπυς [f.] 'turnip' (Ath. 9, 369b, 371 c). Uncertain is the appurtenance of ῥάφας ([acc.pl.] acc. to H. s.v. ῥαφανίς, with Tryphon Dor.), probably miswritten for ῥαφάνους or ῥαφ<άν>ας; cf. Phot. ῥάφανον· τὴν ῥαφανῖδα. Ἐπίχαρμος (*Fr.* 204; improbable).

•ETYM With ῥάφανος, compare πύανος, λάχανον, πήγανον and other plant names; ῥάφυς and ῥάπυς are reminiscent of σίκυς, κάχρυς, στάχυς, etc.

Since the word is widespread only in Europe, and since it has variant forms, it cannot be an inherited word from PIE, but must have been borrowed instead, or otherwise belong to a substrate: cf. Lat. *rāpum* [n.], *-a* [f.], OHG *ruoba* [f.], Lith. *ropė* [f.], which all point to a pre-form **rāp-*; beside these, we find OHG *raba*, CS *rĕpa*, Ru. *répa* [f.], which point to **rēp-* (cf. Machek *Ling. Posn.* 2 (1950): 158ff.). The Greek words, in turn, require **rap-*, or *rap^{h}-*, respectively: ῥάπυς, ῥάφυς, ῥάφανος. The transformation of the old word for 'turnip' to black radish and cabbage would be due to the decline of the cultivation of the turnip in Greece; for 'turnip', a new word γογγυλίς then came into use.

Since the variation π ~ φ and the suffix -αν- are evidently Pre-Greek features, the word may originally be of Pre-Greek stock; thence teh European cognates cited above were borrowed.

ῥάφοι [m.] · ὄρνεις τινές 'birds' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM The etymology is unknown. Probably Pre-Greek.

ῥαχία [f.] 'breakers of the sea, high tide, spot in the surf, rocky beach' (IA); Hell. also 'bustle, clamor of a mob'. ◁GR▷

•VAR Ion. ῥηχίη.

•DER ῥαχι-ώδης 'full of breakers' (Str.).

•ETYM Related to ▶ῥᾰ́σσω, ῥάττω, and ῥήσσω 'to beat, bump, etc.' (s.v. with further literature), i.e. either as an action noun directly from the verb (with -ία from the yod-present **ϝρᾰχ-ι̯ω*? See Scheller 1951: 39f.), or as an original abstract or a collective formation (οἰκ-ία, ἀντλ-ία, etc.) from **ῥᾰχος* 'stroke, bump'.

ῥάχις, -ιος [f., m.] 'spine, back', often metaphorically 'ridge, etc.' (*I* 208). ◁PG▷

•VAR Att. -εως.

•DER 1. ῥαχ-ίτης [m.] 'belonging to the spine' (Arist., medic.), ἐπιρραχ-ίτιδες ἀρτηρίαι (Hippiatr.), Redard 1949: 101f.; 2. ῥαχι-αῖος 'id.' (medic.); 3. ῥαχ-ίζω [v.] 'to crack, chop up (the spine)' (trag.), also 'to show off, boast' (Din., H.), also with δια-, κατα-; thence -ιστής [m.] 'splitter' (pap.), 'showoff, boaster' (Theopomp. Com.), -ιστήρ· ψεύστης, ἀλαζών 'liar or cheat, vagrant' (H.).

With transformation of the stem: 4. ῥάχ-ετρον = ῥάχις (H.), also designation of a certain part of it (Poll., Phot.), perhaps after ἄγκιστρον, δέρτρον, ἧτρον (cf. Fraenkel *Glotta* 4 (1913): 43, Schwyzer: 532), -ετρίζω = ῥαχίζω (Poll.); besides, we find ῥάκ-ετρον, etc. (see ►ῥάκος?); 5. ῥαχάς· χωρίον σύνδενδρον καὶ μετέωρον 'thickly-wooded place on high ground' (H., Phot.), after δειράς, σπιλάς, etc., with ῥαχάδην· ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχεως 'on the spine' (H.); 6. gen.sg. τοῦ ῥαχα, from ῥαχας 'id.?' (Halaesa; Roman times).

Besides, ῥαχός (also ῥᾱχος; codd. also ῥάχος, probably after ῥάχις), Ion. ῥηχός [f.] 'briar, thorn hedge, (thorny) sprig' (Hdt., S., X., Thphr.), ἐῦ-ρρηχος, ῥηχώδης 'thorny' (Nic.); denominative ῥαχῶσαι [v.] 'to cover with sprigs' (Att. [307-6^{a}]). For the meaning 'briar, spine, back', cf. e.g. ἄκανθα, Lat. *spina*, etc. Unclear is ῥάχνος [n.] (pap. IV-VI^{p}), 'cloak' vel sim.?

•ETYM The word ῥάχις was compared with Lith. *ražis* 'stubble' (beside more usual *rãžas* 'stubble, [fork]tooth, barren twig'), from a preform **urag^{h}-i-*; the initial *u̯-* is confirmed in Greek by ὀρήχου (where ὀ- stands for ϝ-)· τῆς αἱμασιᾶς 'wall' (H.). A full or lengthened grade **urāg^{h}-* was seen in ῥᾱχός, ῥηχός (e.g. Pok. 1180). However, since ϝρᾰχ-/ϝρᾱχ- cannot be derived from an IE form (the ablaut in the above reconstructions being impossible), it may instead be Pre-Greek.

ῥαψῳδός [m.] 'rhapsodist, performer of epic (Homeric) poems' (Hdt., S., Pl.). ◂GR▸

•DER ῥαψῳδ-ικός 'belonging to the rhapsodist', -έω [v.] 'to recite epic poems', -ία [f.] 'reciting epic poems, epic poems' (Att., etc.).

•ETYM The word ῥαψῳδός is a verbal governing compound of ῥάψαι ᾠδήν (ἀοιδήν), thus originally 'who sews a poem together', referring to the uninterrupted sequence of epic verses as opposed to the strophic compositions of lyrics; cf. Hes. *Fr.* 265 ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν, Pi. *N.* 2, 2 Ὁμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ... ἀοιδοί (see Patzer *Herm.* 80 (1952): 314ff.; Sealey *REGr.* 70 (1957): 312ff.).

ῥέγκω [v.] 'to snore, snort' (A., E., com., Arist. v.l.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR ῥέγχω (Hp., Arist., Herod., Hell. and late); note the variants ῥεγχ-, ῥοχμ-, and ῥωχμ-.

•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, ὑπο-, παρα-.

•DER ῥέγκ-ος (also -χ-) [n.] 'snore' with -ώδης 'snore-like', ῥέγξις [f.] 'id.' (Hp.); ῥογκιῆν· ῥέγκειν. Ἐπίχαρμος (H.) (after the verbs of disease in -ιάω); ῥογχάζειν (H.) as an explanation of ῥυγχιάζειν, whence ῥογχ-ασμός = ῥέγχος (Gal.), -αστής = *nasator* (gloss.); ῥογχ-αλίζω 'to snore' (gloss.), after γαργαλίζω, etc.; also ῥόγχος (Cael. Aur.), ῥωχμός = ῥέγχος (Erot.); ῥωγμός, ῥοχμός, ῥογμός 'to hiss' (late medic.); ῥώχω 'to hiss, chatter one's teeth' (Sor., H.).

•ETYM The etymon is clearly onomatopoeic; cf. ►ῥύγχος. Although the variation is certainly due in part to the onomatopoeic character of the word, many of the alternations would also fit a Pre-Greek origin. The Celtic forms compared in Frisk (OIr. *srennim* 'to snort', MIr. *sréimm* 'snoring') may derive from **sreg^{h}-n-*.

ῥέζω 1 [v.] 'to act, perform', especially of a sacrifice, 'to sacrifice' (Il., epic). ◂IE **uerg-* 'work'▸

•VAR Fut. ῥέξω, aor. ῥέξαι, pass. ῥεχθῆναι.

•DIAL Myc. *wo-ze* [3sg.pres.] /worzei/, seeAura Jorro 1985-1993(2): 451.
•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.
•DER Verbal adjective ἄ-ρεκ-τος 'undone' (T 150, Simon.), agent noun ῥεκτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'doer' (Hes., Man.), -τήριος 'effective' (Ion Hist.), [f.] -τειρα (Man.); ῥέκτης [m.] 'id.' (Plu., Aret.), -τικός 'capable of sth.' (Porph.), also ῥέκτας 'sacrificer' (Tauromenion; Rom. times); παρρέκτης· πάντα πράττων ἐπὶ κακῷ 'doing all for mischief' (H.); cf. Fraenkel 1910: 150 and 175; on ῥέζω with derivatives, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1929): 85f.
•ETYM Next to (ϝ)έργον with full grade, IE had a zero grade yod-present **urǵ-ie-ti* (Av. *vərəziiāmahī*, etc.), of which the Greek representative *ϝράζω (= Myc. *wo-ze*) was replaced by the full grade ἔρδω < *ϝέργ-ι̯ω (after ϝέργον). This form was substituted by the secondary full grade ϝρεγ-, with a different position of the liquid, at first in the aor. and fut. ῥέξαι, ῥέξω, then also in the pres. ῥέζω, the verbal adj. ἄ-ρ(ρ)εκτος, etc. (cf. Schwyzer: 716[2] with literature). On traces of the same full grade in Albanian and Celtic, cf. Pok. 1168 with literature (cf. also Bader 1965: 1ff.; on ἔρδω and ῥέζω, Hamp *MSS* 45 (1985): 106-109). See further ►ἔρδω and ►ἔργον.

ῥέζω 2 [v.] 'to color, βάπτειν' (Epich. 107, Phot., *EM*). ◄IE **sreg-* 'paint'.►
•VAR Aor. ῥέξαι.
•DER ῥέγος (ἁλιπόρφυρον, Anacr.), more usual ῥῆγος [n.] 'blanket, carpet' (Hom.) = τό βαπτὸν στρῶμα (*Et. Orion.*), τό πορφυροῦν περιβόλαιον (*EM*); ῥέγματα (ποικίλα, Ibyc.); χρυσοραγές· χρυσοβαφές 'gold-embroidered' (H.); agent noun = 'βαφεύς, colorer': ῥεγεύς (*EM* v.l. beside ῥαγ-, ῥιγ-), ῥηγεύς (sch., H.), ῥογεύς (inscr. Sparta, H.); see Boßhardt 1942: 83.
•ETYM This etymon can hardly be separated from Skt. *rájyati* 'to paint oneself, get red, get excited', *rāga-* [m.] 'painting, paint, excitement'. In view of the lack of an initial vowel in Greek, we have to consider a reconstruction **sreg-*. The stem form ῥηγ- is problematic, however.

ῥέθος [n.] 'face, countenance' (S. *Ant.* 529, E. *HF* 1205 [both anap.], Theoc. 29, 16, Lyc. 1137), 'body' (Lyc. 173), meaning uncertain (Sapph. 22, 3); plur. 'faces' (A. R. 2, 68), 'limb' (Theoc. 23, 39); older meaning unclear (ἐκ ῥεθέων Π 856 = X 362, X 68); cf. ῥεθέων· σπλάγχνων, μελῶν, σωμάτων 'innards, limbs, bodies' (H.); the sch. on X 68 proposes 'face, mouth', also 'nostrils', the last of which is preferred by Leumann 1950: 218ff. (with older literature) because of the plur. Cf. Snell 1948: 24-6, who demonstrates the transition from the literal meaning, namely a body part, to the more general mg. 'body'. ◄?►
•COMP As a first member in Aeol. ῥεθο-μαλίδας, literally 'with face-apples', acc. to sch. X 68 = εὐπροσώπους.
•ETYM Since the meaning 'face, countenance', given as Aeolic by grammarians, is certain, we have to depart from this when explaining the word. Both an older epic meaning 'mouth' and 'figure, body' seem possible (cf. e.g. Lat. *ōs* 'mouth, face', *faciēs* 'figure, face'); the pl. could have been formed after μέλεα, στήθεα, στέρνα, νῶτα, etc. On the meaning in Hom., cf. Vivante *Arch. glott. ital.* 40 (1955): 41f. An original meaning 'nostril(s)' fits well, and the transition to 'face' or 'body' is unproblematic.

The form ῥέθος has no convincing etymology. The lack of the ϝ- (β-) in Aeol. ῥέθος makes a connection with Skt. *várdhati* 'to grow' difficult. Fraenkel's suggestion to connect ►ῥίς and ►ῥέω (Frisk *Glotta* 32 (1975): 31ff.; also, Treu 1955: 190[4]) is neither morphologically nor semantically convincing.

ῥεῖα, ῥέα ⇒ῥᾳ̃.

ῥειτος [m.?] an unidentified object from Delos (BCH 54, 1930, 121). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

ῥελατωρία 'receipt' (*POxy.* 3125). ◅LW Lat.▻
•ETYM Formed from a borrowing from Lat. *rēlātor* 'registrator'.

ῥέμβομαι [v.] 'to go about, wander, roam around, act at random' (Hell. and late). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Only pres. except ῥεμφθῆναι· ῥέμβεσθαι (H.).
•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, etc.
•DER ῥεμβώδης 'walking about, aimless, idle' (Plb., Plu.), with the back-formation ῥέμβος [m.] 'wandering about' (Plu., Aret.), adj. ῥεμβός (late), fem. -άς (LXX v.l.). Extensions: ῥεμβ-εύω (also κατα-) = ῥέμβομαι, -ασμός [m.] 'roaming' (LXX; *-άζομαι).
With ablaut ῥόμβος [m.] 'circular movement, top, hummingtop, magic wheel, tambourine' (Pi., Critias, E.), geom. 'rhombus' (Arist., Euc., etc.), also name of a flatfish, 'turbot' vel sim. (Ath., etc.), see Strömberg 1943: 38, Thompson 1947 s.v.; also ῥύμβος (Att. according to grammarians); ῥομβο-ειδής 'rhombus-like, rhomboidic' (Hp., Euc., etc.); ῥυμβ-ίον [n.] 'little top' (sch.); ῥομβ-ωτός 'having the form of a rhombus' (Hell. and late); -ηδόν 'in the way of a ῥ.' (Man.); ῥομβ-έω (also ῥυ-) [v.] 'to go in circles' (Pl., etc.) with -ητής [m.] 'top' (Orph.), ἐπι- 'to whirl like a humming-top' (Sapph.); ῥομβόομαι 'to be turned into a ῥ.' (Hero); ῥυμβ-όνες [f.pl.] 'wrigglings' of a snake (A. R.), cf. ἀγκ-όνες, etc.; -ονάω (also ῥεμβ-) 'to sway, hurl away' (Phld., Ael.), after σφενδονάω.
•ETYM The word ῥόμβος is attested already in Pi., and it proves that the primary form ῥέμβομαι, which is attested much later, must have existed at an earlier stage, too. The by-form ῥύμβος recalls cases like ῥοφέω : ῥυφέω (cf. Schwyzer 351f.); note also ῥυβόν· ἐπικαμπές (*EM*, Hdn. Gr.). The form ῥέμβομαι was compared with MLG *wrimpen* 'to contract (one's face)' (Persson 1912(1): 498), but an IE pre-form **uremb-* is highly doubtful. At least as uncertain is the comparison with Lith. *reñgtis* 'to bow', etc. (de Saussure *MSL* 8 (1894): 443; Lidén 1899: 14f.).
It is difficult to combine ῥέμβομαι with ῥάμφος, ῥέμφος, ῥάμινος, ῥάβδος, and ῥέπω in traditional Indo-European terms, in view of the various different labials (β, φ, π). Because the meanings deviate, an etymological analysis remains hazardous. However, the forms with ῥυμβ-, ῥυβ- seem to point to a Pre-Greek word, as does the interchange π/ β/ φ.

ῥέπω [v.] 'to decline, descend', especially of the balance, 'to sway down, turn out, gain the upper hand', with prefix also trans. 'to lower, let tilt' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Rare fut. ῥέψω and aor. ῥέψαι (IA).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, άντι-, κατα-.

•DER 1. ῥοπή [f.] 'lowering, tilting (of the scales), swing' (Alc., IA), to which (among others) άντί-ρροπος 'equipoising, counterweighing' (Att.), with ἀντιρροπ-ίη (v.l. -ή) [f.] 'counterweight' (Hp.); 2. περί-ρρεψις [f.] 'tilting' (Hp.); 3. ῥόπαλον [n.] 'bludgeon, mace' (Il.), with ῥοπάλ-ιον [n.] (Hell. inscr. and pap.), -ωτός 'equipped with a club-like rounding' (D. C.), -ώδης '(pulsing) like a club', of the pulse, -ωσις [f.] designation of a hair disease (medic.), -ικός 'club-like', as a designation of a verse (gramm.), -ίζει· στρέφει, κινεῖ ὡς ῥόπαλον 'turns, moves like a club' (H.) with -ισμοί [pl.] (Ar. *Lys.*); 4. ῥόπτρον [n.] 'the wood in a trap, knocker, ring at the door, tambourine' (Archil., Att.); dissimilated to ῥόπτον of unclear meaning (Epid. IV[a]), -τίον· κλειδίον 'little key' (H.); 5. περι-, ἐπι-, κατα-ρρεπής 'tilting, etc.' (IA), ἑτερο-ρρεπής, originally 'tilting to (one or) the other side', hence 'indecisive, unbiased' (A. [lyr.], Hp.); 6. ῥεπτικός 'tilting' (*Stoic.*).

•ETYM Attempts have been made to connect ῥέπω with ►ῥάπτω, ►ῥαπίζω, and even ►ῥώψ, but see s.v.v. The alleged common semantic denominator 'to twist (together), wind, bend' was sought in ῥόπαλον, ῥόπτρον, but these words are perhaps not related (see Chantraine 1933: 246), and the supposed meaning 'throwing stick', which was needed for that connection, is unwarranted. Cf. ►ῥέμβομαι with references. The word may instead be Pre-Greek. The word καλαῦροψ (compared by DELG), which is certainly Pre-Greek, is unrelated.

ῥέω [v.] 'to flow, stream', also metaphorically, 'to stream off, fall off', of hair, ripe fruits, etc. (Il.). ◅IE **sreu-* 'flow, stream'▻

•VAR Aor. ῥυῆναι (γ 455), Dor. ἐρρύᾱ, fut. ῥυῆσομαι, perf. ἐρρύηκα (Att.); fut. ῥεύσομαι (Thgn., com., Hp.), ῥευσοῦμαι (Arist.), ῥεύσω (*AP*), aor. ῥεῦσαι (Ar., [anap.], Hp., Hell.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, περι-, ὑπο-.

•DER Many derivatives, also from prefixed compounds:

A. with full grade 1. ῥέεθρον (Il., epic Ion.), ῥεῖθρον (Att.) [n.] 'stream, river, water'; 2. Ῥεῖτος [m.] name of a stream or brook (Eleusis V[a], Th., Paus.), see Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 5 (1954): 89; 3. ῥεῦμα [n.] 'current, stream' (IA), cf. Porzig 1942: 267f., 'stream, rheumatism' (medic.), with -μάτιον, -ματώδης, -ματικός, -ματίζομαι, -ματισμός; 4. ῥέος [n.] 'stream' (A.), cf. on ἐυ-ρρεής below; 5. ῥεῦσις [f.] (Hell. for ῥύσις); 6. ῥευστός 'streaming, fluid' (Emp., Arist., etc.), -στικός (Plu.), -σταλέος (Orac. *apud* Eus.); 7. -ρρεί-της (from -ρρεϝέ-της) in compounds, e.g. ἐϋ-ρρείτης 'streaming beautifully' (Hom., etc.), ►ἀκαλαρρείτης; 8. -ρρεής only in gen. ἐϋ-ρρεῖος = ἐϋ-ρρεϝέος (Il.) from ἐϋ-ρρεής 'id.'; rather to ῥέω than to ῥέος (Schwyzer: 513).

B. With *o*-grade: 1. ῥόος (κατά-, etc.), Att. ῥοῦς, Cypr. ῥόϝος [m.] 'stream, flow'; 2. ῥοή (ἐκ-, etc.), Dor. -ά, Corc. ῥοϝαῖσι [f.] 'flowing, stream, outflow' (Il.); ῥοΐσκος [m.] 'brooklet' (Halaesa), ῥοώδης (ῥοι- Gal.) 'flowing, suffering of flux, having strong currents, watery, falling off' (Hp., Th., Arist., etc.), ῥοϊκός 'fluid' (Hp., Dsc.), ῥοΐζω 'to drench', of horses (Hippiatr.) with ῥοϊσμός (H.); 3. ῥοῖαι [f.pl.] 'floods' (Hp.); 4. -ρροια [f.] in prefixed compounds, e.g. διάρροια (to δια-ρρέω) 'flowing through, diarrhoea' (IA); on the formation Schwyzer: 469.

C. With zero grade: 1. ῥυτός 'streaming, pouring out, flowing strongly' (trag., etc.; with ἀμφί-, περί- since Od.); ῥυτόν [n.] 'drinking horn' (Att., Hell.); 2. ῥύσις (ἔκ-, etc.) [f.] 'flowing, flow' (IA); 3. ►ῥύμα = ῥεῦμα (late) s.v.; 4. ῥύᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'strong current, rushing stream, stream of lava' (Th., Pl., Arist., etc.), probably Sicil. (Björck 1950: 61 and 285); cf. ῥύαγξ (cod. ῥοί-)· φάραγξ 'cleft, chasm' (H.); 5. ῥυᾱχετος [m.] 'multitude of people' (Lac.; Ar. *Lys.* 170), expressive enlargement of ῥύαξ after ὀχετός, συρφετός? 6. ῥυάς [f.] (also [m., n.]) 'fluid, falling off' (Arist., Thphr., etc.), also an epithet of ἰχθῦς or a designation of certain fishes that live in swarms and follow the currents (Arist., etc.), see Strömberg 1943: 50f., Thompson 1947 s.v., also 'flow', with ῥυαδικός, 'suffering flux, etc.' (medic.); 7. ῥυδόν (ο 426), ῥύδην (Crates, etc.) 'flooding, abounding'.

On ►ῥυθμός, see s.v.; on ῥύτρος, ῥόα (ῥοιά), ῥοῦς as plant names see ►ῥόα.

•ETYM The thematic present ῥέω (< *ῥέϝω; cf. ῥόϝος, etc. above) agrees with Skt. *srávati* 'flow' < IE **sréu-e-ti*. There are other exact morphological matches as well, but their age is uncertain because of the strong productivity of the relevant categories. Examples are: ῥόος = Skt. *srava-* [m.] 'flowing' (cf. OCS *o-strovъ*, Ru. *óstrov* 'island', from *'surrounded by stream[s]'); ῥοή = Lith. *sravà* [f.] 'flowing, flow of blood, menstruation' (cf. Skt. *giri-sravā-* [f.] 'mountain brook'); ῥύσις = Skt. *srutí-* [f.] 'way, street'; ῥυτός = Skt. *srutá-* 'flowing' (cf. Lith. *srùtos* [f.pl.] (dial. *-tà* [sg.]) 'liquid manure, [animal] urine'); (ἐϋ)-ρρεής, related to Skt. (*madhu*)*-sravas-* [m.] 'dripping of honey', plant name (lex.). The neuter ῥεῦμα (IE **sreu-mn*) is mirrored by a corresponding masculine in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *sraumuõ*, gen. *-meñs* 'rapid' (IE **srou-mon-*). An *m*-suffix is also found in Germanic, e.g. ON *straumr* 'stream' (IE **srou-mo-*), in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *sruaim* 'stream', and in Alb. *rrymë* 'stream' (Mann *Lang.* 28 (1952): 37).

Genetic connection between the Dor. aor. ἐ-ρρύᾱ and the Lith. pret. *pa-srùvo* 'flowed' < *-*āt* (Schwyzer: 743) seems unlikely. Also formally identical are the futures ῥεύσομαι (-σω) and Skt. *sroṣyati*. Apart from that, the Greek and Sanskrit, as well as the Baltic verbal systems go different ways. Cf. ►ῥώομαι.

ῥήγνυμι [v.] 'to tear (up), break (to pieces), burst' (Il.). ◂IE **ureh₂ǵ-* 'break'▸

•VAR Fut. ῥήξω, aor. ῥῆξαι (all Il.), perf. med. ἔρρηγ-μαι (θ 137), act. (intr.) ἔρρωγα (Archil., Hp., trag.), ptc. ἐρρηγεῖα (*Tab. Heracl.*), trans. ἔρρηχα (Hell.), aor. pass. ῥαγῆναι (Il.), with fut. ῥαγήσομαι (A., etc.), ῥηχθῆναι (late); new pres. ῥήσσω, ῥήττω (Hp., Hell.; to ῥῆξαι, ῥήξω).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, περι-. As a first member in verbal governing compounds ῥηξ(ι)-, e.g. ῥηξ-ήνωρ epithet of Achilles, 'breaking the (rows of) men' (Hom.) with -ηνορίη (ξ 217), cf. Sommer 1948: 180; Jernstedt *Idg. Jb.* 14: 151 connects ῥήσσω 'to throw (down)'.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. ῥῆγμα (ἔκ-, σύν-) [n.] 'tore, cleft, breach' (IA) with ῥηγματίης, -τώδης (Hp.); 2. ῥηγμός 'id.' (pap. III^{a}); 3. ῥηγμίν (-μίς), -μῖνος [f.] 'breaking down of a cart, breaking of the sea' (Il., epic), a derivation in -ῑν-, cf. Chantraine 1933: 168, Schwyzer: 465; Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 40 assumed influence of ►θίς; 4. ῥῆξις (also κατά-, περί-, etc.), Aeol. ϝρῆξις [f.] 'breaking through, breach' (Alc., Hp., E., Arist.) with ῥηκτικός (κατα-) 'fragile, brittle' (Hp.,

Aët.); 5. ῥήκτης [m.] "the disruptor", designation of a certain form of earthquake (Arist., Lyd.); 6. ϝρηγαλέον (cod. τρ-)· διερρωγότα 'broken through' (H.); cf. below B 4; 7. αὔρηκτος = ἄ-ϝρηκτος 'unbroken' (Hdn. Gr.).

B. With *o*-grade: 1. ῥώξ [f.] only ῥῶγας [acc.pl.] (χ 143) 'tore' = 'narrow passage' (cf. Wace *JHS* 71 (1951): 203ff.), further in prefixed compounds, e.g. ἀπορρώξ 'torn off', fem. 'torn-off piece, outflow' (Il., epic poet.); 2. διαρρωγή [f.] 'gap, interspace' (Hp.); ῥωγαί· ῥήξεις (H.); 3. ῥωγάς, -άδος 'torn up, cleft' (Hell. poetry.); 4. ῥωγαλέος 'torn up, full of holes' (Hom.); 5. ῥωγμή [f.] 'breach, tore' (Hp., Arist.) with ῥωγματίης (Hp. *apud* Gal.; cf. A 1); ῥωχμός [m.] 'tore, cleft, gap' (Ψ 420, Hell.), containing a suffix -σμο- (Schwyzer: 493), -μαί [pl.] 'id.' (Marc. Sid.).

C. With zero grade: 1. ῥαγή (δια-), ῥαγάς, ῥάγδην, ῥαγδαῖος (s.v. ►ῥαγή); 2. ῥάγος [n.] 'rag, shred' (pap. II^{p}), ῥαγόεις (Nic.) after ►ῥάκος, -όεις; 3. περιρραγής 'broken all around' (*AP*), from περι-ρραγῆναι.

•ETYM The form ῥήγνυμι < *ϝρήγνυμι (cf. ϝρῆξις, ϝρηγαλέος) corresponds semantically and phonologically with the primary stem in Arm. *ergic-anem*, aor. *ergic-i* with the usual caus. *ergic-uc'anem* 'to tear apart, break'. Phonetically adequate, but semantically less convincing, is the comparison (since Meillet *MSL* 9 (1896): 142) with a Balto-Slavic verb for 'to beat, etc.' in Lith. *rẽžti* 'to cut, incise, beat', OCS *rězati* 'κόπτειν', Ru. *rézat'* 'to cut, slaughter', etc. It seems impossible to connect ►ῥάσσω in view of the different laryngeal. Forms with ῥαγ- must contain a secondary zero grade, since **urh$_1$ǵ-* would give ϝρηγ-.

ῥῆγος ⇒ῥέζω 2.

ῥῆμα •VAR ῥῆσις, ῥήτρα, etc. ⇒εἴρω 2, ῥήτωρ.

***ῥήν** [m.] 'sheep, lamb' (A. R.). ◅GR▻

•VAR ῥῆνα [acc.] (Nic.), ῥήνεσσι [dat.pl.] (A. R.).

•COMP As a second member, e.g. in πολύ-ρρην-ες [nom.pl.] (I 154 = 296), thematic extension in πολύ-ρρην-ο-ς [nom.sg.] (λ 257) 'rich in sheep'; ὑπό-ρρην-ο-ν [acc.sg.] (K 216) 'having a lamb underneath, suckling a lamb'. As a first member in ῥηνο-φορεύς [m.] 'bearer of sheep fleece' (*AP*), see Boßhardt 1942: 29; extracted from there ῥηνικός 'from the sheep', ῥῆνιξ, -ικος [f.] 'sheep fleece' (Hp.).

•DER Several glosses in H.: ῥήνεα· πρόβατα 'cattle' (cf. κτήνεα); ῥᾶνα· ἄρνα 'lambs, sheep' (Elean?), ῥύεινα· ἄρνα. Κύπριοι (does it stand for ϝρην-?); probably also τρανόν (if for **ϝρ-*)· ἑξαμηνιαῖον πρόβατον 'six-month-old cattle' (but then the α remains unexplained). The island name 'Ρήνεια (near Delos) may be related, too.

•ETYM The above forms differ only in ablaut from ►ἀρήν < ϝαρήν; as a basis, one would best assume a formation **urh$_1$-ēn* > ἀρήν, zero grade **urh$_1$-n-* > (-ρ)ῥην-. Lat. *rēnō* (mentioned by Frisk) should remain separate.

The forms ῥήνεσσι and ῥῆνα (Hell. epic) may well have been built after πολύ-ρρην and other compounds, but this explanation does not seem to fit Hippocratic ῥηνικός and ῥῆνιξ, nor the glosses in Hesychius (cf. Sommer 1948: 66ff.; Ruijgh 1957: 161; Schwyzer: 568).

ῥῆον [n.] 'rhubarb' (Gal.).

•VAR Also ῥᾶ (Dsc.).
•ETYM The word would come from the river called Rha (i.e. the Wolga; Amm. Marcell. 22, 8, 28). Cf. André 1956 s.v. *rhā* and *reum*.

ῥησός = ἀρχός ? (Epich. 205, cited by Phot., Suid.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

ῥήσσω ⇒ῥήγνυμι.

ῥητῖνη [f.] 'resin, fir resin' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), on the neuter gender cf. βούτυρον. ◁PG▷
•COMP ῥητινό-κηρον [n.] 'wax dissolved in resin' (medic.).
•DER ῥητιν-ώδης 'resinous', -ίτης οἶνος 'resinous wine' (Dsc.), denominative verbs -ίζω 'be resinous' (Dsc.), -όομαι 'to be made resinous' (Hp., Dsc.).
•ETYM The suffixes -ῖνος and -ῖνη are found both with inherited and with Pre-Greek words (Chantraine 1933: 204f., Schwyzer: 491). Since there are no good cognates, however, the word is probably Pre-Greek. The comparison with Lat. *rasis* [f.], a kind of raw pitch pulverized to dust that was mixed with wine (WH s.v., as a supposed loan word from *ῥάσις), is uncertain. Lat. *rēsīna* gives proof of a dialectal Greek by-form *ῥησίνα (Leumann 1963-1979: 141); the variation attested by this form shows that it is a Pre-Greek word (cf. Fur.: 261).

ῥήτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'speaker, annunciator' (S., E.), especially 'orator in public, public speaker' (Att.), 'master speaker, discourse artist' (late). ◁IE **uerh$_1$-* 'speak'▷
•COMP Some rare and late compounds, e.g. φιλο-ρήτωρ 'who loves orators' (Phld.).
•DER ῥητορ-ίσκος denigratory diminutive (pap. II^{p}), -ικός 'oratorical, silver-tongued, rhetorical', ῥητορ-εύω [v.] 'to act as an orator, practice the art of oratory', rarely with κατα-, ἐπι-, etc.; thence -εία [f.] 'oratory, artful discourse' (Att.). ῥητορ-ίζω 'id.' (Hell.). Further ῥητήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'speaker' (*I* 443), 'orator' (*AP* 7, 579, metrical inscr.), so metrically conditioned?
•ETYM As a term for a profession, ῥήτωρ was created in the Attic official language (Fraenkel 1912: 9); the original function as an agent noun from εἴρω 'speak' can still be seen in E. *Hec.* 124 (anap.) μύθων ῥήτορες, which mirrors Hom. μύθων ῥητῆρα (I 443); a doubtful attempt to find a semantic differentiation can be found in Benveniste 1948: 52ff.). See ►εἴρω 2.

ῥήτανον [n.] name of a plant (*Gp.* 12, 1, 1). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

ῥῖγος [n.] 'frost, cold, shivering fit' (ε 472). ◁IE **sriHg-os* 'cold'▷
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ῥιγο-πύρετος [m.] (-ον [n.]) 'tertian fever, ague' (Gal., Ptol., etc.) for older πυρετὸς καὶ ῥῖγος (Hp.), see Strömberg 1944: 85; ἀ-ρριγής (-γέως [adv.]) 'not sensitive to cold' (Hp.); also ἄ-ρ(ρ)ιγος 'id.; not shivering' (Arist., Aret.); δύσ-ριγος 'to tolerate cold badly' (Hdt., Arist., Thphr.); both connected with ῥιγέω like e.g. δύσ-φορος with φορέω, φέρω.
•DER Denominative ῥιγώω, -ῶσαι [v.] 'to freeze' (ξ 481), rarely with ἐπι-, ἐν-, etc., formed after the antonym ἱδρώω (not from *ῥιγωσ- as per e.g. Schwyzer: 724).

Further the perfect ἔρρῑγα 'freeze, congeal, shudder', aor. ῥιγῆσαι (Il., epic), fut. ῥιγήσω (E 351), pres. ῥιγέω (Pi.); rarely with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-.
Primary comparative ῥίγιον 'colder, ghastlier, more terrible' (Hom., Hes., Semon.), superlative ῥίγιστα (E 873), -ος, -ον (A. R., Nic.).
Further adjectives: 1. ῥιγεδανός 'ghastly, terrible' (T 325, A. R., Opp.), to ῥιγος after an unknown example, or from *ῥιγεδών (Chantraine 1933: 362)? 2. ῥιγαλέος 'id.' (Emp.); to ῥῖγος like ἀργαλέος to ἄλγος; 3. ῥιγηλός (κατα-) 'id.' (ξ 226, Hes. *Sc.*, Nic., Nonn. *Ap*), from ἔριγα, ῥιγέω; 4. ῥιγώδης 'causing a shivering fit' (Hp., Gal.), from ῥῖγος; 5. Ῥῖγμιος [m.] name of a Thracian (Υ 485); to ῥῖγος like θερμός to θέρος?
•ETYM The proportion ἔρριγα : ῥῖγος is matched by γέγηθα : γῆθος, λέληθα : Dor. λᾶθος, or (ablauting) γέγονα : γένος, etc. The pair ῥίγιον : ῥῖγος has a parallel in ἄλγιον : ἄλγος, κέρδιον : κέρδος (Schwyzer: 539).
The form ῥῖγος corresponds exactly to Lat. *frīgus* [n.] 'cold, frost, shivering', from IE **sriHg-os* [n.]. The form ῥῖγέω in turn is identical to Lat. *frīgeō*, but this identity may be due to parallel innovations.

ῥίζα [f.] 'root', also metaphorically 'origin, stem, base' (Il.). ◅?▻
•VAR Aeol. βρίζα, βρίσδα.
•DIAL Myc. *wi-ri-za* /wriza/.
•COMP Several compounds, e.g. ῥιζο-τόμος [m.] 'root-cutter, -gatherer, herbalist', πολύ-ρριζος 'having many roots, rich in roots' (Hp., Thphr.).
•DER 1. ῥιζίον [n.] 'little root' (Ar., Thphr.), plur. -έα (Nic., -εῖα *Al.* 265), probably after ὀστέα beside (Dor.) ὀστία; 2. ῥιζίας (ὀπός) [m.] 'root juice' (Thphr.), opposed to καυλίας; 3. adjectives ῥίζ-ώδης 'root-like' (Thphr., Hero), -ικός 'belonging to roots' (Plu.), -ινος 'made of roots' (*PHolm.*), -αῖος 'serving as a base' (Sardes); 4. adverbs ῥίζ-ηθεν (A. R.), -όθεν (Nic., Luc.) 'out of the root'; -ηδόν 'in a root-like way' (Hld.); 5. verb ῥιζόομαι (ἐρρίζωται), -όω (-ῶσαι) 'to strike root, root, provide with roots, affirm, consolidate' (Od.), also with ἐν-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc., whence ῥίζ-ωμα [n.] 'original soil, origin, roots' (A., Emp., Thphr.), -ωσις [f.] 'striking root' (Philol., Thphr., etc.). On ῥίζα, compounds and derivatives, cf. Strömberg 1937: 5, 8ff.
•ETYM Aeol. βρίζα requires a pre-form PGr. *ϝρίδ-ι̯α, which differs in vocalism from Lat. *rādīx*; in both cases we have a derivative in **-ih₂-* of a noun that is also found in Germanic and Celtic: ON *rót* [f.] 'root' from PGm. **wrōt-* < PIE **ureh₂d-*. An *i*-stem is found in Go. *waurts*, OE *wyrt*, OHG and MHG *wurz* 'herb, root' < PGm. **wurt-i-* < **u̯r̥d(-i)-*, with zero grade, and in Celtic, e.g. W *gwraidd* [coll.] 'roots' < **wradi-* (see Matasović 2009 s.v. **wridā-*). Since the vocalisms are not reconcilable, we have to reckon with borrowings in case most of these words are considered related. The attempt at a regular solution (schwa secundum) by Vine 1999a: 5-30 does not solve all problems. ToB *witsako* 'root' is difficult to explain (Adams 1999 s.v.). See ►ῥάδαμνος and ►ῥάδιξ.

ῥικνός [adj.] 'bent, crooked, shrivelled (of age, dryness, cold), stiff' (epic poet. since *h.Ap.*); ῥικνοφυεῖς· τὰς στρεβλὰς καὶ πεπιεσμένας 'which are crooked and pressed' (H.). ◅IE **uroiḱ-* 'turn, envelop, make crooked'▻
•COMP ἐπί-ρρικνος 'somewhat bent' (X., Poll.).

•DER ῥικν-ήεις 'id.', enlarged form (Nic.); -ότης = καμπυλότης 'crookedness' (H.); -ώδης 'shrivelled' (Hp., *AP*); ῥικνόομαι [v.] 'to shrivel, contract, contort' (S., Arist., Opp.), rarely with κατα-, δια-, whence ῥίκνωσις [f.] 'shrivelling, wrinkledness' (Hp.). Further ῥοικός 'crooked, bow-legged' (Archil., Hp., Arist.) and ῥικάζεται (H.) as an explanation (beside στροβεῖται) of ῥιξικάζεται.

•ETYM The pair ῥικ-νός : ῥοικ-ός can be compared with e.g. πικ-ρός : ποικ-ίλος. The form ῥοικός matches Lith. *ráišas* (also *raĩšas*) 'limping, lame' (for the semantic difference, cf. κυλλός 'crooked, crippled'), Germanic words like ME *wrāh* 'wrong, stubborn', NDu. *wreeg* 'stiff', and (as far as the form is concerned) also Av. *uruuaēsa-* [m.] 'vortex, etc.'; all these words reflect IE **uroiḱo-* [m.] 'turn, curvature' vel sim., [adj.] 'twisted, crooked'. An *e*-grade variant **ureiḱo-* is attested in MLG *wrīch* 'forbidden, distorted, fixed, stiff, etc.'.

Corresponding primary verbs are the zero grade *yod*-present in Av. *uruuisiia-* 'to turn (around)'; a full grade root-present in OE *wrēon* < PGm. **wrīhan* < IE **ureiḱ-* with pret. *wrāh* < PGm. **wraih* < IE **uroiḱ-* 'to envelop' (for the meaning, cf. ►εἰλύω and ►εἰλέω 2), and a zero grade root present in Lith. *rìšti*, 1sg. *rišù* 'to bind'. Within Greek, the hapax legomenon ῥικάζεται (H.) is a denominative or deverbative; the form ῥιξικάζεται, if transmitted correctly, must be an expressive enlargement (cf. Baunack *Phil.* 70 (1911): 370).

ῥίμβαι ⇒ σῖδη.

ῥίμφα [adv.] 'rapid, agile, nimble' (Il., epic). ◅?▻

•COMP ῥιμφ-άρματος 'with a quick cart' (Pi., S. [lyr.]).

•DER ῥιμφ-αλέος (*EM*, Suid., Hdn. Gr.), cf. ὀτραλέος.

•ETYM The word ῥίμφα is formed like τάχα, ὦκα, etc., but the root is unclear. Since a sequence -ιμιφ- cannot have been inherited, the ι has been analyzed as from ε before nasal (see Schwyzer: 275). PGr. **wrenk^{wh}a* (vel sim.) has been connected with Lith. *rangùs* 'dexterous, flexible', *rangiũos, rángtis* 'to hasten', *rengiũos, reñgtis* 'to prepare oneself, be prepared', under a reconstruction PIE **ureng^{wh}-*. It must be said that the connection between Baltic and the Germanic group of OE *wringan* 'to wind, wring', OHG *ringan* 'to make an effort, fight' (thus e.g. LIV^2 s.v. **u̯reng^{h}-*) is much more attractive. In sum, although there are parallels for ε > ι, the proposal is quite shaky.

ῥινεστήρ [m.] probably 'halter' (*P. Tebt.* 886, 68 [II^a]). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

ῥῖνη [f.] 'file, rasp' (X., Arist., Delos III^a), acc. to Hdn. Gr. in the same meaning ῥινή, also 'shark', the rough skin of which was used to polish wood and marble (Hp., Epich., com., Arist.). ◅?▻

•VAR Hell. ῥῖνα Moer.

•COMP As a first member in ῥινό-βατος, -βάτης [m.] designation of a kind of ray, which stands between ῥίνη and βάτος (Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 123 with references, Thompson 1947 s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutive ῥιν-ίον (Gal.), -άριον (Aët.) 'little file'; 2. denominatives: a) ῥινάω [v.] 'to file' (Ar., Arist., Ph. *Bel.*), also with κατα-, δια-, etc., whence (ἀπο-)ῥίνημα

[n.] 'filing, swarf' (Hp., Herod.), (δια-)ῥίνησις [f.] 'filing' (Gal.); b) ῥινίζω [v.] 'id.' (pap. III^{P}), whence ῥίνισμα [n.] 'swarf' (Ctes., medic.).

•ETYM The meaning 'file' is original, and 'shark' is derived from it (see above); Strömberg 1943: 86. ῥινός 'skin' especially denotes a fine, soft cowhide.

Frisk saw a primary formation with a suffix -ν- in ῥίνη from a verb that is not directly attested in Greek, but only in the derived Germanic verb evidenced by OS *wrītan* 'to tear apart, scratch, write', OE *wrītan* 'to dig in, scratch, write'. This root etymology must be rejected, since the Greek form requires **uriH-*, whereas for the Germanic words, **urei-* without laryngeal must be reconstructed (see on ►ῥινός).

ῥινός [f.] 'skin of man and animal, hide; (esp.) cow skin, cow hide; shield made of cow hide' (epic Il.; cf. Leumann 1950: 314f.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Rarely [m.] (Nic., Opp.) and -όν [n.] (after δέρμα, σκῦτος). The feminine gender is analogical after βοέη, αἰγέη, etc. The gloss γρῖνος· δέρμα (H.) attests a ϝ-.

•DIAL Myc. *wi-ri-no* /wrīnos/, adj. *wi-ri-ne-jo*.

•COMP E.g. ῥινο-τόρος 'shield-piercing', epithet of Ares (Φ 392, etc.), of the θύρσος (Nonn.); ταλαύρινος (= ταλά-ϝρινος) 'shield-bearing' (possibly 'shield-enduring', referring to the weight, as argued by Richardson *Hermathena* 55 (1940): 87ff.); usually an attribute of πολεμιστής, epithet of Ares (Il.); on this expression see Leumann 1950: 196 ff.; Trümpy 1950: 38 with Nachträge.

•DER γρίντης (= ϝρίντης)· βυρσεύς 'tanner' (H.), formation probably after primary ξάντης, ὑφάντης, etc.

•ETYM The Aeol. gloss γρῖνος· δέρμα (γρινός Hdn. Gr.) confirms the initial ϝ-, which is also evidenced by ταλαύρινος, so we can safely posit *ϝρῑνός. Frisk connected the same Germanic verb as he did for ►ῥῖνη, but the Germanic *-ī-* must derive from PIE **-ei-* in view of Go. *writs* with a short *i*; this is impossible for the Greek form. Moreover, the parallel that he adduces for the difference in meaning, δέρμα ~ δέρω, is imperfect, since the latter means 'to flay', whereas **urei-(d-)* rather means 'to scratch'. Therefore, his etymology must be rejected. Instead, the word would be Pre-Greek.

ῥῖον [n.] 'mountain peak, foothills' (Hom.); also as a TN in Achaia and other regions (Th.). ◅PG?▻

•DIAL Myc. *ri-jo* TN.

•ETYM The form ῥῖον is isolated within Greek, and has no certain etymology. If it originally had an initial ϝ-, it would recall Thrac. βρία 'πόλις, τεῖχος', and perhaps also ToA *ri*, ToB *riye* 'town' (see the literature on βρία). The connections with Germanic are no better, e.g. OS *wrisil* 'giant' (WP 1, 267), nor those with Skt. *várṣman-* [n.] 'height', Lat. *verrūca*, OCS *vrъxъ*, Ru. *verx*, etc., or with Hitt. *šēr* 'above' (Heubeck *Orbis* 13 (1964): 266f.; Risch *Mus. Helv.* 22 (1965): 194[4]). As an alternative to all these problematic suggestions, we should consider the possibility that the word is of Pre-Greek origin.

ῥῖπος 'wickerwork'. ⇒ῥίψ.

ῥίπτω [v.] 'to throw, hurl, thrust, bolt' (Pi., IA). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Also ῥιπτέω (IA since ν 78), iterative pret. ῥίπτασκον (Hom., Hes. *Sc.*, -εσκον Nic. *Fr.*), fut. ῥίψω, aor. ῥῖψαι (Il.), pass. ῥιφθῆναι, ῥῖφῆναι (Att.) with fut. ῥιφθήσομαι (S.), -ήσομαι (LXX), perf. med. ἔρρῑμμαι (Orac. *apud* Hdt., E., Ar.), ῥερῖφθαι (Pi.), see Schwyzer: 649; act. ἔρρῑφα (Lys.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἀνα-, ἐν-, δια-. As a first member e.g. in ῥίψ-ασπις, -ιδος 'throwing the shield away, coward' (Ar., Pl.), -άσπιδος 'id.' (Eup.); cf. Sommer 1948: 93.

•DER 1. ῥῖπή [f.] 'throw, thrust, gust of wind, sway, press, heavy movement' (epic Il.) with ῥιπίζω (δια-, ἐκ-, etc.) [v.] 'to cause a gust of wind, kindle, fan' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), 'to hurl' (Hld.); ῥίπ-ισις, -ισμός, -ισμα 'fanning' (late); back-formed from ῥιπή; ῥιπίς, -ίδος [f.] 'fanner' (com., *AP*); on εὔ-ρῑπος s.v.;

2. ῥῖψις (διά-, ἀπό-, etc.) [f.] 'throwing, hurling' (Hp., Att., Arist.) with (ἀπο-)ῥίψιμος 'to be thrown away' (late); also ϝριψίδας (Mantinea), cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 5 (1914): 265; 3. (δια-)ῥίμματα [n.pl.] 'heavy movements, bolts' (Arion, X.); 4. ῥῖφή (δια-, ἀπο-) [f.] 'cast, throwing back and forth' (Pratin. Lyr., Lyc.; after ῥῖφῆναι); 5. ῥιπτός 'cast, thrown' (S. *Tr.*), μητρό-ρριπτός (Dosiad.); 6. ῥιπτικός 'capable of throwing' (comm. Arist.); 7. frequentative ῥιπτάζω, -άσαι [v.] 'to thrust back and forth' (epic Ξ 257), with -ασμός (Hp., Plu.), -αστικός (M. Ant.).

•ETYM The regular character of the morphological system, which is completely built on an element ϝρῑπ- (secondarily shortened to ϝρῐπ-), shows that it is a (relatively) late creation. The root has no convincing etymology. Although MLG *wrīven* 'to rub, wipe, scour, draw', MHG *rīben* 'to turn rubbing' matches formally (Pok. 1159), the semantic gap is considerable; moreover, the IE preform **ur-iH-p-* then needed is highly implausible. Instead, we could consider Pre-Greek origin for this etymon. See also ►ῥίψ.

ῥίς, ῥῑνός [f.] 'nose', of man and animal, plur. ῥῖνες 'nostrils, nose' (Il.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Late also ῥῖν.

•COMP ῥιν-ηλατέω 'to seek out with the nose, trace' (A.), cf. on ►ἐλαύνω; εὔ-ρις, -ρινος 'having a good nose, examining keenly' (A., S.), also εὔ-ρινος 'id.' (late); the second member is extensively dealt with in Sommer 1948: 87ff.

•DER ῥινία [pl.] 'nostrils' (Arist.), ῥινάω [v.] 'to lead by the nose' (com.).

•ETYM The word ῥίς replaced the old IE designation of the nose (e.g. Lat. *nārēs*, *nāsus*, Skt. *nas-*). It is formed like ἴς and θίς (cf. Schwyzer: 570[2]), but has no certain etymology. The proposal by Meier-Brügger *MSS* 51 (1990): 125-128 to reconstruct **sr-ih$_2$-n-*, a derivative of the root for 'top, point' seen in Hitt. *šer* 'above', is interesting, but not compelling either. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

ῥίσκος [m.] 'chest, box' to preserve adornment and money (Antiph., Hell.). ◄PG?►

•COMP ῥισκο-φύλαξ, -άκιον 'treasurer; treasure room' (Hell.).

•ETYM Probably a loan word, like MoE *chest*, *coffer* and other synonyms. According to Donatus (on Ter. *Eun.* 754), it is of Phrygian origin, a path followed by Thumb 1901, who considers Celtic to be the ultimate source (cf. OIr. *rúsc* '[basket made of] bark'); the word would have reached Greek from Galatian through Phrygian because

of the change *u* > *i*. The word was borrowed as Lat. *riscus* (note the synonymous rhyming word *fiscus*, of debated origin).

ῥίψ, ῥῑπός [f.] 'willow rod, wickerwork, wattled mat, wattle' (Od., Hdt., Ar.). ◁?▷
•VAR Later also [m.], also ῥῖπος [f.] (v.l. Hdt. 2, 96, Cyrene IV[a]), [m.] (Hell.).
•ETYM No agreement outside Greek. It was connected with ῥίπτω long ago (Persson 1891: 165), assuming a basic meaning 'turn, wind' for both. However, this connection fails due to the weak semantics; cf. also ▶ῥίπτω.

ῥόα [f.] 'pomegranate', tree and fruit (Od.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Accented ῥοά by Hdn. Gr.; epic Ion. ῥοιή; also ῥοιά (Ar., Arist., etc.).
•DER ῥοΐδιον [n.] 'little pomegranate' (Men., pap. II[p]), ῥοΐδια (cod. ῥυδία)· ῥοὰ ἢ ῥοιά (H.); ῥοιάς, -άδος [f.] 'poppy' (Dsc.), after the flowers, see Strömberg 1940: 52; ῥοών, -ῶνος [m.] 'pomegranate plantation' (LXX).
•ETYM The series ῥοιή : ῥοιά : ῥόα can be compared with χροιή: -οιά : -όα. If not a loan word (Schwyzer: 348 and 469), it is perhaps related to ῥέω (Strömberg 1940: 52) because of the richness of the juice. The original form may have been *ῥοϝ-ιά, i.e. a ιᾱ-derivation from ῥοῦς 'stream'; cf. σκοπ-ιά (: σκοπός), ἐσχατ-ιά (: ἔσχατος), etc. Cf. further the plant names ▶ῥοῦς [m.] 'sumach' and ▶ῥύτρος; they are certainly not related to ῥέω (Strömberg l.c.). Apart from a connection with ῥέω, a Pre-Greek origin remains a serious option for ῥόα.

ῥόβιλλος [?] · βασιλίσκος ὄρνις (H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM According to Specht *KZ* 68 (1943): 35 and Specht 1944: 146, related to Pol. *wróbel* 'sparrow'. On -ιλ(λ)ος in bird names, cf. Chantraine 1933: 249; cf. also Thompson 1895 s.v. Is the word instead Pre-Greek?

ῥογός [m.] = σιτοβόλιον, i.e. 'depot of cereals' (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 102, Epich.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Attributed to the Sicilians by Poll. 9, 45. Etymology unknown.

ῥοδάνη, ῥοδανός ⇒ῥαδινός.

ῥόδον [n.] 'rose' (*h. Cer.*). ◁LW Iran.?▷
•VAR Aeol. βρόδον.
•DIAL Myc. *wo-do-we* /wordo-wen/, epithet of oil (Chadwick and Baumbach *Glotta* 41 (1963): 243; Lejeune 1958-1963: 26).
•COMP E.g. ῥοδο-δάκτυλος 'rosy-fingered', epithet of Ἠώς (Hom.), βροδο-δάκτυλος of the moon (Sapph.), cf. Leumann 1950: 18[9]; κυνό-ρροδον [n.] 'dog rose, Rosa canina' (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1940: 30 and 98.
•DER 1. ῥοδ-έα, -έη, -ῆ [f.] 'rose tree' (Archil.); 2. -(ε)ών, -(ε)ῶνος [m.] 'bed of roses' (*AP*, pap.) with -ωνιά [f.] 'bed of roses, rose garden, rose tree' (Hecat.); 3. -ιη [f.] 'bed of roses' (Mycale IV[a]); 4. -όεις 'of roses' (Ψ 186, B., E. [lyr.]), -εος 'id, roselike' (poet. *h. Cer.*), -ινος 'of roses' (Anacr.); on the adjectives see S. Schmid 1950: 47[1], Zumbach 1955: 14, and Forderer *Gnomon* 30 (1958): 96; 5. -άριον [n.] 'rose ornament' (pap.), -ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'rose pastille' (Dsc.); 6. -ίτης [m.] 'rose wine' (Dsc.), -ῖτις [f.] name of a stone, because of the color (Plin.); 7. -ουντία [f.] 'dish flavoured with roses' (Ath.), as if from *ῥοδοῦς; 8. -ίζω [v.] 'to cover with roses', of a tomb, with -ισμός, -ίσια [pl.] =

Lat. *Rosalia* (Asia Minor), also 'to make smell like roses' (Thphr., Alex. Aphr.), intr. 'to resemble a rose' (Dsc.); 9. Perhaps also the name of the island 'Ρόδος (Georgacas *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 6 (1955): 155)?

•ETYM On the basis of Aeol. βρόδον, we can reconstruct PGr. ϝρόδον. The word is certainly borrowed from the East, probably like Arm. *vard* 'rose' from OIran. **u̯r̥da-* (cf. MoP *gul* 'id.'; Schwyzer: 344[2]; on Aram. *wardā'* and Arab. *ward* 'id.', Arab. *warada* 'bloom', *waruda* 'be red', cf. Mayrhofer *Arch. Orbis* 18 (1950): 74; Mayrhofer *Sprache* 7 (1961): 185). Lat. *rosa* was probably borrowed from Greek, but the details are unlear (see WH s.v.).

ῥόθος [m.] 'roar (of waves, of oars)', metaphorically 'noise' in general (Hes., A. Opp.); 'path, trail' (Nic.; Boeot. acc. to Plu. *in Hes.* 13). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR See below.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἁλί-ρροθος 'roared around by the sea' (trag., Mosch.), ταχύ-ρροθοι λόγοι 'quickly rushing words' (A.); παλι-ρρόθιος 'rushing back' (Od., Hell. epic). On ▸ἐπίρροθος, see s.v.

•DER ῥόθιος, [f.] -ιάς 'roaring, clamorous' (epic ε 412, also late prose), mostly -ιον [n.sg.] and -ια [n.pl.] 'roaring wave(s), breaking(s), high-tide; loud stroke of the oar', metaphorically 'noise, bluster, rush' (poet. Pi., trag. [mostly lyr.], also late prose). From ῥόθος are derived (probably denominative, cf. Schwyzer: 726) ῥοθέω [v.] 'to roar, clamour' (A., S.), also with ἐπι-, δια-; ὁμο-, κακο-ρροθέω = ὁμο-, κακο-λογέω (Hp., S., E., Ar.); from ῥόθιον: ῥοθι-άζω [v.] 'to make a rushing sound (with the oar)' (com.).

•ETYM This etymon has no convincing etymology. Segmentation as **sr-ed[h]-* (to *ser-* 'stream') makes little sense. In view of the variation attested in the gloss ῥάθαγος = ῥόθος (sch. Nic. *Th.* 194, H.) and ῥαθα- = ῥοθο-πυγίζω, we have to assume that ῥόθος is a Pre-Greek word. On ▸ῥάθαγος, see ▸ῥαθαπυγίζω.

ῥοῖβδος [m.] 'buzzing, whistling, hissing noise', of arrows, winds (S., Ar.). ◂PG▸

•DER Besides ῥοιβδέω [v.] 'to buzz (etc.); make buzz' (A., Q. S., *AP*), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-; prefixed also of birds, 'to squawk, caw' (S., Thphr., Nonn.); ῥοίβδημα [n.] = ῥοῖβδος (S.), -ησις [f.] 'whistling' (E. [lyr.]); -ηδόν 'with a hissing noise' (Q. S.), also connected with ῥοῖβδος; ἐπιρροίβδην < -βδ-δην 'in a rushing attack' (E. [troch.]).

•ETYM The word ῥοῖβδος, a poetic onomatopoeia, has the same suffix as κέλαδος, ἄραδος, and other words for sounds; for the -β-, one may compare φλοῖσβος, ὄτοβος, etc. (on the root, cf. Haas 1956: 132 f.). Since the word strongly recalls ▸ῥοῖζος and ▸ῥυβδέω and, moreover, the -βδ- in the suffix is certainly not of Indo-European origin, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

ῥοῖζος [m.] 'buzzing, rushing, humming', of arrows, wings, water, etc. (epic Π 361, Hell.). ◂PG▸

•VAR [f.] in ι 315; cf. Schwyzer 1950: 34[1].

•COMP As a second member in ἁλί-ρροιζος 'roared around by the sea' (Nonn.).

•DER 1. Adjective ῥοιζ-ώδης (medic.), -ήεις (Hell. inscr., Nonn.), -αῖος (*Orac. Chald.*) 'buzzing, rushing, humming, etc.'; 2. adverb -ηδόν (Nic., Lyc., 2. *Ep. Pet.*), -ηδά (Nic.) 'with rushing, with humming'; 3. ῥοιζέω [v.] 'to buzz, hum, hiss, rush; make

buzz, etc.' (epic K 502, Hell.), also with ἐπι-, ἀνα-, etc.; thence ῥοίζ-ημα [n.] (Ar.), -ησις [f.] (Aq.) 'buzz, buzzing', -ήτωρ [m.] 'noisemaker' (Orph.).
•ETYM An onomatopoeic word, similar to ►ῥοῖβδος, and likewise without etymology. If related to ῥοῖβδος, ῥοῖζος is certainly of Pre-Greek origin, but even if unrelated, such an origin may still be considered.

ῥοικός ⇒ῥικνός.

ῥόμβος ⇒ῥέμβομαι.

ῥόμος [?] · σκώληξ ἐν ξύλοις (Arc. *apud* H.). ◄?►
•VAR Cod. -οξ, which probably intruded from the following entry.
•ETYM Frisk tried to connect the Indo-European word for worm; cf. Lat. *vermis*, Go. *waurms* 'worm', ORu. *vermie* 'locust, worms' (all < PIE **urm-*), Lith. *varmas* 'gnat' < PIE **uorm-* (Pok. 1152). However, this is based on difficult assumptions: either ῥόμος is a dialectal form for *ῥάμος, which would reflect PGr. **wr̥mo-* (allegedly seen in the Boeot. PN ϝάρμιχος), or a non-dialectal form *ϝρόμος has a wrong *o*-grade for IE **uorm-*.

ῥόμιξα [?] · εἶδος ἀκοντίου (H.). ◄PG?►
•ETYM The ending -ιξα is compared with σόρνιξα by Fur.: 360; the word may be Pre-Greek.

ῥομφαία [f.] a large broad sword, used by the Thracians acc. to Phylarch. and Plu. *Aem.* 18 (LXX, NT, J., etc.); also = 'νυκτερίς, bat' (Cyran.). ◄?►
•ETYM The origin is unclear; as so many weapon terms, it was perhaps borrowed from Thracian. However, the formation may be Greek, as -αία is also found in κεραία, καμιναία, αὐλαία, and other instrument names and concrete objects. The word ῥομφεῖς· ἱμάντες, οἷς ῥάπτεται τά ὑποδήματα 'straps by which shoes are stitched' (H.) is formally closer.
Boßhardt 1942: §228 posits a noun *ῥομφή [f.] 'curving, curvation, hook', from a verb *ῥέμφω 'curve', as the basis for both ῥομφεῖς and ῥομφαία. Cf. ῥέμφος and ►ῥάμφος,; see also WH on *rumpus*.

ῥομφεῖς ⇒ῥομφαία.

ῥόπαλον, ῥοπή, ῥόπτρον ⇒ῥέπω.

ῥοῦς [m., f.] 'sumach, Rhus coriatia' (Dsc.). ◄?►
•ETYM Etymology unknown; the connection with ῥέω is wrong (André *Latomus* 15 (1956): 304ff.).

ῥούσ(σ)εος, ῥούσιος [adj.] 'reddish', especially as a designation of the red faction in the Circus (Lyd., late inscr.); also οἱ ῥουσσᾶτοι (Lyd.). ◄LW Lat.►
•DER ῥουσίζω [v.] 'to be reddish' (Gp.).
•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *russeus*, *russātus*.

ῥοφέω [v.] 'to slurp, gulp', also nasalized ῥυμφάνω (Hp.), see Bechtel 1921(3): 198. ◄IE **s(e)rbʰ-* 'slurp'.►

•VAR Fut. ῥοφήσομαι, -ω, aor. ῥοφῆσαι (Ar., X., Arist.; also Hp.), Ion. (Hippon., Hp.) ῥυφέω, -ῆσαι, also ῥυμφάνω (Jouanna *RPh.* 55 (1981): 205-13); rarely -ἀω (late).
•COMP Also with ἐκ-, ἀνα-, κατα-, etc.
•DER ῥόφ-ημα (ῥύφ-) [n.] 'thick broth, soup' (Hp., Arist.), originally a 'slurped meal', with -ημάτιον (A. D.), -ηματώδης 'soup-like' (medic.); -ησις (ἀνα-, κατα-) [f.] 'slurping' (Arist., medic.), -ητός 'apt for slurping' (Str., medic.), -ητικός 'slurping' (Str.); also ῥόμμα = ῥόφημα, ῥοπτός = ῥοφητός (Hp. *apud* Gal.), as if from ῥόφω (*EM*); ῥόφισμα [n.] (Cyran.).
•ETYM The word ῥοφέω is an iterative-intensive formation. Most cognates represent a zero grade IE *srb^h-: Arm. *arbi* [aor.] 'I drank', Lith. *surbti*, 1sg. *surbiù* 'to suck', OCS *srъbati*, Ru. *serbát'* 'to slurp', Lat. *sorbeō* 'id.'. However, instead of being a zero grade form, ῥυφέω is rather an (onomatopoeic) by-form (see Tichy 1983: 84, pace Schwyzer: 351f.). A primary full grade present is retained in Lith. *srebiù*, *srẽbti* 'to eat (liquid food) with a spoon' < IE *$sreb^h$-, another full grade IE *$sorb^h$- is found in Alb. *gjerp* 'slurp' (probably < *$sorb^h$-*eie/o*-, Huld 1984: 143). The forms ῥόμμα and ῥοπτός seem to go back to a primary verb with remarkable *o*-vocalism, probably after ῥοφέω.
Perhaps the root is also found in Iranian (Psht. *rawdəl* 'suck', etc.; Morgenstierne 1927 s.v.). Cf. ▸ῥυβδέω.

ῥοχθέω [v.] 'to rush, roar', especially of sea-waves (Od., A. R., Opp.), also ἀνα- (Orph.). ◂ONOM▸
•DER ῥόχθος [m.] 'rushing, roaring' (Lyc., Nic.), probably a back-formation (Schwyzer: 726[5]).
•ETYM Sound words without etymology. Note the formal similarity with semantically close ῥόθος, ῥοῖζος, ῥοῖβδος; the medial -χθ- may be compared with μόχθος, βρόχθος, ὀχθέω, etc. Cf. on ▸ὀρεχθέω.

ῥύαξ, ῥυάχετος ⇒ῥέω.

ῥυβδέω [v.] 'to slurp in, up'; καταρυβδήσας· καταπιών, ῥοφήσας 'having swallowed, having gulped down' (H.). ◂GR?▸
•VAR Aor. ῥυβδῆσαι (μ 106), the simplex only here.
•COMP With ἀνα- (μ 104f., 236), ἐκ- (Mnesim. 4, 17).
•ETYM The variant with υ, more frequently written οι in the manuscripts (after ῥοιβδέω), is confirmed by the word-play with Χάρυβδις (Bechtel 1914 s.v. ῥοιβδέω, Wackernagel 1916: 83). The word is without doubt related to ῥυφέω (see ▸ῥοφέω); the cluster βδ may be analogical after ῥοιβδέω. An adverb ῥύβδην (written οι) = δαψιλῶς is cited by Phot. (accordingly, Bergk corrects Hippon. 35 ῥύδην to ῥύβδην, which is hardly correct; see Masson ad loc.).

ῥυβόν [n.] = τὸ ἐπικαμπὲς παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν (Hdn. Gr., *EM*). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Ῥυβᾶς (II[a]), see Bechtel 1917a: 43.
•ETYM The form ῥυβόν might have been adapted analogically from ῥαιβός after a word that is semantically close, perhaps ὑβός or γρυπός (Bechtel 1921, 1: 125). Alternatively, it may be a Pre-Greek word.

ῥύγχος [n.] 'snout of a pig, snout, beak' (Stesich., com., Arist., Theoc.). ◁ONOM, IE **srung^{h}-* 'snore'▷

•COMP Often as a second member (with transition to the *o*-stems), e.g. ὀξύ-ρρυγχος 'with a pointed beak' (Epich.), name of an Egyptian fish (Str., etc.), see Strömberg 1943: 43.

•DER ῥυγχ-ίον [n.], diminutive (Ar.), -αινα = *nasuta* (gloss.), -άζω = μυκτηρίζω (Phot.), -ιάζειν· διαστρέφειν, ῥογχάζειν 'twist about' (H.).

•ETYM The word ῥύγχος can hardly be separated from Arm. *ṙng-un-kʿ* [pl.] 'nostrils, nose' which, if inherited, must go back to IE **srung^{h}-* or **sring^{h}-* (with secondary nasalization). Hübschmann 1897: 486f. assumed borrowing from ῥύγχος. A connection with ῥέγκω, ▶ῥέγχω 'to snore' has been considered.

ῥύζα · βία. ἡ τοῦ τόξου τάξις 'strength, force; the arrangement of a bow' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

ῥύζω [v.] 'to growl, grumble', of a dog (Hermipp., Poll.), also 'to screak', of a falcon (Poll.). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Or -έω.

•ETYM A sound word, like ▶ῥάζω; for the υ-vocalism, cf. ἰύζω, γρύζω, μύζω, etc.

ῥυθμός [m.] 'regular movement, beat, rhythm, measure, consistence, proportion, form' (IA, Archil., Thgn., A.), defined as ἡ τῆς κινήσεως τάξις by Pl. *Lg.* 665a. ◁IE **sreu-* 'stream', **sru-d^{h}mo-*▷

•VAR Ion. ῥυσμός.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. εὔ-ρυθμος 'with a beautifully regular movement, rhythmical, well-proportioned', with -ία [f.] (Att.).

•DER ῥυθμ-ικός [adj.] 'rhythmic' (Pl.), see Chantraine 1956a: 135; -ιος 'id.' (Hdn. Gr.); -ίζω [v.] 'to make regular, organize, set up, instruct, form' (IA), also with prefix, esp. μετα-; -έω 'to organize, determine' (Athens V^{a}), -όομαι 'to develop' (Democr. 197 [-σμ-]; -όω uncertain ibd. 33).

•ETYM The short ῠ (e.g. A. *Ch.* 797) forbids connection with ἔρυμαι, ῥύομαι 'to avert, protect' and ῥῦτήρ 'protector, guardian', with or ἐρύω 'to draw' and ῥῦτήρ 'rein'. Instead, the connection with ῥέω 'flow, stream' must be correct, 'streaming' typically being a quiet and steady movement. For the meaning of ῥυθμός, cf. Wolf 1947, Leemans *Ant.class.* 17 (1948): 403ff., and Waltz *RELat.* 26 (1948): 109ff.; cf. also Sandoz 1971: 58-77.

ῥῦκάνη [f.] 'plane' (*AP* 6, 204). ◁PG?▷

•DER ῥυκάν-ησις [f.] 'planing' (Bito III-II^{a}, ῥυχ-), from *ῥυκαν-άω; ῥυκαν-ίζω [v.] 'to plane' (gloss.).

•ETYM The word ῥῦκάνη has the same formation as σκαπάνη, δρεπάνη, and other instrument names, but the root is unknown. Wackernagel's suggestion (Wackernagel *KZ* 67 (1942): 176) to connect Skt. *srúc-* 'offering spoon' fails to account for the meaning. Lat. *runcina* 'plane' (with *-n-* after *runcāre* 'to weed', or perhaps with distant assimilation) is certainly borrowed from Greek: since ῥυκάνη

has no initial vowel, a genetic relation with the Lat. word can be excluded. A Pre-Greek origin is certainly a possibility for this word.

ῥῦμα 1 [n.] 'tow, towing rope' (Plb., D. H.).
•DER ῥύμη 'pull, press', ῥυμός 'tension wood, pole of a chariot', ῥύσιον 'spoils', ῥυστάζω 'to drag to and fro', ῥυτήρ 'rein', etc. ⇒ἐρύω.

ῥῦμα 2 [n.] 'protection'.
•DER ῥύσιος 'freeing, saving', ῥυσί-πολις 'protecting the city', ῥυτήρ 'protector', etc. ⇒ἔρυμαι.

ῥύμβος ⇒ῥέμβομαι.

ῥύμη [f.] 'street, alley' (since IV[a]).
•ETYM From ῥύμη 'tow, press' (s.v. ►ῥῦμα 1), with a semantic development to a more concrete meaning, i.e. 'where the crowd presses'. See ►ἐρύω.

ῥύμμα ⇒ῥύπος.

ῥυμουλκέω [v.] 'to pull the towing rope, tow, take in tow' (Hell.). ◄GR►
•ETYM A technical term of the nautical language, ῥυμουλκέω may derive from *ῥυμ-ουλκός 'who draws by a line; who tows a boat', or directly from ῥύματι ἕλκειν 'draw the tow-line' after other verbs in -ολκέω, e.g. νεωλκέω (to νεωλκός, ναῦν ἕλκειν), πλινθουλκέω (to πλινθουλκός); cf. Schwyzer: 726. The first member is ῥῦμα 'tow-line', rather than ῥυμός 'pole (of a chariot)', as argued by Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 180f. Borrowed into Latin as *remulcum* [n.] 'tow-rope' (since Caes.), *-āre* 'to take in tow' (Non.).

ῥύομαι ⇒ἔρυμαι.

ῥύπος [m.] 'filth, uncleanliness (e.g. in the ear)' (Semon., Att.), metaphorically 'sealing wax' (Ar. *Lys.* 1198). ◄?►
•VAR ῥύπα [n.pl.] 'filthy clothes, laundry' (ζ 93); ῥύπος [n.] 'whey' (Hp. *Mul.* 1, 64), after λίπος, etc.
•COMP ῥυπο-κόνδυλος 'having filthy knuckles' (com.), ἡμί-ρρυπος 'half dirty' (Hp.).
•DER 1. Adjectives: ῥυπ-όεις 'dirty' (Nic., *AP*), -ώδης 'id.' (Dsc., Vett. Val.); on ῥυπαρός see below.
2. Verbs: a) ῥυπ-άω (epic lengthening to -όω, -όωντα) 'to be dirty' (Od., Ar., etc.; because of the meaning hardly with Chantraine 1942: 357 from ῥύπα, rather from ῥύπος with analogical -άω); b) ῥυπ-όομαι (ῥερυπωμένος ζ 59), also with κατα-, 'to be smudged' (Hp., Hell. inscr.), -όω 'to smudge' (late); c) ῥύπτ-ομαι, -ω, also with ἀπο-, etc., 'to clean (oneself), wash (oneself)' (Ar., Antiph., Arist.) with ῥυπτ-ικός 'apt for washing' (Pl. *Ti.*, Arist., etc.), -ήριον = καθαρτήριον (Suid.), ῥύψις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'cleaning, washing' (Pl. *Ti.*). Besides, ῥυπαρός 'dirty' (IA) with -ία [f.] 'filth, dirty convictions' (Critias, late), -ότης [f.] 'id.' (Ath.); ῥυπαίνω, also with κατα-, etc., 'to besmudge, dishonor' (Att.) with ῥύπασμα [n.] 'filth' (Apollon. *Lex.*) as μίασμα: μιαίνω.

•ETYM No convincing etymology. The word ῥυπαρός may have been formed from ῥυπαίνω after the synonymous pair μιαρός : μιαίνω, but it remains uncertain whether it was an old *r/n*-stem (Benveniste 1935: 19), or built analogically from ῥύπος. The seemingly primary ῥύπτομαι, -ω can be secondary to ῥύπος after τύπτω : τύπος, etc. (possibly also influenced by synonymous νίπτομαι, -ω).
The connection with the Slav. word for 'scab, itch, crust of a wound', e.g. OCS *strupъ*, Ru. *strup* < IE **sroupo-* or **sreupo-*.

ῥυππαπαῖ [interj.] 'cry of Athenian rowers' (Ar.). ◂ONOM▸
•VAR Also ῥυπαπαῖ (*AB*).
•ETYM An onomatopoeia.

ῥύσιον ⇒ἔρυμαι.

ῥύσις ⇒ῥέω.

ῥῦσός [adj.] 'shrivelled, shrunk, wrinkled' (*I* 503). ◂?▸
•VAR In the manuscripts, variants with -σσ- are attested. On ῥῦτίς, -ίδος, see below.
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ἔν-ρυσος 'somewhat wrinkled' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1946: 128.
•DER 1. ῥυσ-αλέος 'id.' (Nic.), see αὐαλέος, etc.; 2. -ώδης 'with a wrinkled appearance' (*AP*, etc.); 3. -ότης [f.] 'wrinkledness' (Plu.); 4. ῥυσίλλας· τὰς ῥυτίδας 'wrinkles' (H.), cf. Chantraine 1933: 252, Schwyzer: 485; 5. ῥυσ-όομαι, -όω 'to shrivel, wrinkle (oneself)' (Arist.), with -ωσις [f.] (Gal.); 6. -αίνομαι 'id.' (Nic., *AP*).
Further: ῥῦτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'wrinkle, fold' (Ar., Pl.), Aeol. βρύτιδες (*EM*); ῥυτιδ-ώδης = ῥυσώδης, ῥυτιδ-όομαι, -όω = ῥυσόομαι, -όω (Hp., Arist.), ῥυτίδ-ωσις [f.] 'wrinkling' (medic.), -ωμα [n.] 'wrinkle' (sch.). Probably related too are ῥυτίσματα [pl.] (Men.), acc. to Phot. = τῶν διερρυηκότων ἱματίων τὰ ἀποπληρώματα 'patch, piece of cloth'.
•ETYM The word ῥυσός can be compared with λοξός, κομψός, γαυσός, and other expressive adjectives in -σός (Chantraine 1933: 434, Chantraine 1956a: 17). For ῥυτίς, DELG and Frisk adduce πηκτίς, ξυστίς, δοκίς, etc., assuming derivation from *ῥυ-τή, -τόν vel sim. with a diminutive suffix -ίδ-.
Solmsen's comparison (*IF* 31, 463) with ▸ἐρύω 'draw, pull, snatch' < **ueru-* is formally possible, but this does not furnish an IE etymology. The (imperfect) similarity with Lat. *rūga* 'wrinkle, fold' and Lith. *raũkas* 'id.' is accidental.

ῥῦτή [f.] 'rue, Ruta graveolens' (Nic., Ps.-Dsc.); acc. to sch. Nic. *Th.* 523, Peloponnesian for πήγανον; cf. ῥυτά· … πήγανον λευκόν 'white rue' (H.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM The etymology is unexplained; Osthoff *MU* 5 (1890): 76ff. connected Lat. *rūmex* 'sorrel' (cf. WH s.v.). Lat. *rūta* is probably borrowed from Greek (Krogmann *WuS* 19 (1938): 133 considers both to be independent loans from a Mediterranean language); English *rue* is borrowed from French *rue*, which continues the same Latin word.

ῥῦτός [adj.] only in ῥυτοῖσιν λάεσσι (ζ 267, ξ 10), for which the sense 'dragged stones' does not make really good sense. ◂PG?▸

•ETYM The connection with ►ἐρύω 'to draw' is formally possible, but not semantically evident; Schulze's suggestion (*Q.* 318) to connect Lat. *rūta (caesa)* 'dug out (and felled)' must be dismissed because the latter derives from *ruō* 'to dig' < **HreuH-* (cf. De Vaan 2008 s.v.). According to Deroy *REGr.* 67 (1954): 1ff., it is of Pre-Greek origin and cognate with Lat. *rūdera* (which would be Etruscan; cf. Chamoux *REGr.* 65 (1952): 284).

ῥύτρος [n.] 'plant with pricking extremities, Echinops Viscosus' (Thphr.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 52 derived the word from ῥέω, which is a mere guess.

ῥῶ [n.] name of the letter ρ (Ar., Pl., etc.). ◅LW Sem.▻
•VAR Indeclinable.
•DER ῥωτακίζειν = τῷ ῥ στοιχείῳ συνεχῶς χρῆσθαι (Suid.) after **ἰωτα-κίζειν* in ἰωτακισμός (see on ἰῶτα); ῥωβικός [adj.] 'unable to pronounce the ῥ' (D. L.), after συλλαβικός, τριβικός, etc.
•ETYM Borrowed from Sem. *rōš* (beside *rēš*); see Schwyzer: 140.

ῥωβίδας [m.] name of seven-year-old Spartans (Λέξεις Ἡροδότου). ◅?▻
•ETYM The formation is the same as that of the patronyms in -ίδας (Schwyzer: 509), but the root is unexplained.

ῥώδιγγες [?] · πληγαὶ ὕφαιμοι διακεκομμέναι. οἱ δὲ μώλωπες 'spots bloodshot by hitting; bruises' (H.). ◅PG(S,V)▻
•VAR ῥώτιγγες.
•ETYM Frisk's suggestions that the variant ῥώτιγγες (H.) is secondary for ῥώδιγγες, or that the latter is analogical after σμώδιγγες, can be dismissed. Instead, the variation δ/τ and the suffix -ιγγ- point to Pre-Greek origin.

ῥώθωνες [m.pl.] 'nostrils' (Nic., D. H., Str., etc.), rarely -ων [sg.] (Heracl. *apud* Gal., etc.); ῥώθυνες· μυκτῆρες 'nostrils' (H.). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM The formation is the same as in πώγων, γνάθων, etc., but the root is unknown. Usually, ῥόθος 'roaring' is connected, which presupposes an original meaning 'snorer, rattler' (Pok. 1002); Fraenkel *Glotta* 32 (1953): 31ff. recalls ῥέθος. Alternatively, one could consider a Pre-Greek origin for this word.

ῥώκομαι [v.] · ὀργίζομαι, λυποῦμαι 'to be distressed' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Perhaps related to ►ῥωχω, s.v.

ῥώννυμι [v.] 'to strengthen, invigorate'; med. 'to be(come) strong; insist on sth., be determined' (Pherecyd., Hp.). ◅?▻
•VAR Also pres. -ύω (Ti. Locr., etc.), aor. ῥῶσαι (Hdt., Att.), pass. ῥωσθῆναι, fut. ῥώσω (Att.), very often perf. med. with pres. meaning ἔρρωμαι (Att.).
•COMP Also with ἐπι-, ἀνα-.
•DER ῥώ-μη [f.] 'strength, vigour, power' with -μαλέος 'strong' (IA), -σις (ἐπί-, ἀνά-) [f.] 'strengthening', -στικός 'strengthening, strong' (late), -στήριον· παρορμιητήριον 'stimulation' (Phot.), -σταξ [m.] 'hold, support, bearer' (Tz.), ἄ-ρρωστος 'weak, indisposed', with ἀρρωστ-ία, -έω, -ημα, etc. (IA); ῥωρός· σφοδρός 'vehement' (H.).

•ETYM The regular stem formation with generalized ῥω(σ)- cannot be old; in any case, the present is an innovation (literature in Schwyzer: 697). The form ῥωσκομένως 'with power' (Hp.) indicates a newly built present *ῥώσκομαι. A connection with ►ῥώομαι seems possible. Alternatively, Rikov *Glotta* 66 (1988): 124f. has proposed a connection with Skt. *sāra-*: ῥώμη, ῥώσις would continue *srh_3-, whereas the Skt. could derive from a secondary *aniṭ* root.

ῥώξ 1 'tore'. ⇒ῥήγνυμι.

ῥώξ 2 'grape'. ⇒ῥάξ.

ῥώομαι [v.] 'to move intensively or with effort, brisk about; dance' (Il.). ◁IE *srh_3-*ie/o-* 'move violently' vel sim.▷

•VAR Almost exclusively 3pl.ipf. and aor.: ῥώοντο, ἐρρώοντο, ἐρρώσαντο (Il., epic); further, also epic (late and rare) ῥώετο (Nic.), ῥώονθ' (= -ται, D. P.), ῥώσονται (Call.), ἐπίρρωσαι (*AP*).

•COMP Often with ἐπι- (rare and late ἀνα-, συν-).

•ETYM The words ῥῶσαι, ἔρρωμαι, and ῥώννυμι can perhaps be connected; ῥέω, on the other hand, is rather not related (Schwyzer: 349 and 722); on ῥωσκομένως, see ►ῥώννυμι. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *šarḫi̯e/a-*^{zi} follows a proposal of Cop (1955a: 398) to connect ῥώομαι to the Hittite word, the meaning of which is not completely certain, but must be something like 'to attack'. The Hittite and the Greek suggest a preform *srh_3-i̯e/o-*.

ῥῶπος [m.] 'odds and ends, tinsel, trumpery' (A., D., Arist.). ◁?▷

•COMP As a first member in ῥωπο-πώλης [m.] 'seller of petty wares' (LXX, H.).

•DER ῥωπ-ικός 'belonging to tinsel, false, worthless' (Plb., Plu., *AP*), -εύειν· ῥωποπωλεῖν 'to deal in petty wares' (H.); also -ίζω (Ion Trag.; meaning unclear)?

•ETYM No etymology; perhaps related to ►ῥώψ.

ῥωχμός ⇒ῥήγνυμι.

ῥώχω [v.] 'to hiss, rattle' (Sor.). ◁?▷

•VAR ῥώχειν· βρύχειν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι 'to bite with or grind the teeth' (H.); ῥωχμός [m.] (v.ll. ῥωγ-, ῥοχ-, ῥογ-) 'hissing' (medic.).

•ETYM These are all sound-imitating words; cf. ►ῥάζω.

ῥώψ 1 [f.] · βοτάνη ἁπαλή 'a delicate grass' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Plur. ῥῶπες [f.] 'brushwood, low shrub wood, shrubbery, bush' (Od., Lib.).

•DER ῥωπ-ήϊα [pl.] (Il.), -ίον [n.] (D. C.), -άς [f.] (Opp.), -αξ [m.] (Suid.) 'id.'; -ήεις 'overgrown with bush' (Q. S.).

•ETYM The word ῥώψ may be related to ►ῥαπίζω, χρυσό-ρραπις (with ►ῥάβδος, ►ῥάμνος), and also to ►ῥέπω, ►ῥέμβομαι, but connections outside Greek are not found. The word may be of Pre-Greek origin.

ῥώψ 2 [?] Egyptian word for 'ship'; cf. πλοῖον παπύρινον, ὃ καλεῖται Αἰγυπτιστὶ ῥώψ (*UPZ* 81: II 7 [Ptol.]); also ρωμισις 'id.' (pap.); miswritten in ῥώνιξις· ποταμίας νεὼς εἶδος 'kind of river ship' (H.), see Lidén *Glotta* 42, 149 with literature. ◁LW Eg.▷

•ETYM Borrowed from Eg. *rms* 'ship' (see also Schwyzer: 277).

Σ

σά [interr. pron.] = τίνα, in σά μάν = τί μήν 'how so?' (Megar. in Ar. *Ach.* 757, 784). ◁IE *k^wi- 'who?'▷

•ETYM Like Boeot. τά (Pi. *O.* 1, 82), σά reflects *κι̯-α, ntr.plur. of τίς 'who?'. It is formally identical to OLat. *quia-nam* 'why?', going back to IE *k^wi-h_2. It is also found in Ion. ἄ-σσα, Att. ἄ-ττα (see Schwyzer: 616, 319); cf. on ►τίς.

σαβακός [adj.] 'damaged, rotten', of inner organs (Hp.), 'effeminate, womanish' (*AP*), = ὁ σαθρός. Χῖοι 'unsound (Chios)' (H.); on the meaning Luck *Phil.* 100 (1956): 275f. ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Besides, σαβάξας· δια-σκεδάσας, διασαλεύσας 'scattering through, shaking through' (H.); σαβάκτης [m.] 'the shatterer', a house-goblin (Hom. *Epigr.* 14, 9), fem. σαβακτίδες· ὀστράκινα ζῴδια 'earthen figures' (H.); σαβακῶς· αὐστηρῶς, ξηρῶς, τραχέως 'harshly, dry, roughly' (H.).

•ETYM The formation can be compared with μαλακός, τριβακός, etc., but the etymology is unknown. Fur.: 241 connects ►σαυκόν · ξηρόν. Συρακόσιοι 'dry; lean' (H.), which very strongly suggests Pre-Greek origin for this word.

σάβανον [n.] 'large linen cloth' (pap., Alex. Trall.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•DER Diminutive -ιον [n.].

•ETYM The word σάβανον is a loan from Semitic, cf. Arab. *sabanijjat* 'cloth produced in Saban (near Baghdad)' (see Lewy 1895: 127; cf. Schwyzer: 308). Borrowed as Lat. *sabanum* (see WH s.v.); from Latin, or from Greek, were borrowed Go. and OHG *saban* 'σινδών, pall, linen cloth', Ru. *sávan* 'pall', etc.

σαβαρίχις [f.] 'vagina' (Telecl.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also -ίχη (H., Phot.), σαμαρίχη (Theognost.); also σάραβος (H., Phot.; with metathesis?).

•ETYM A diminutive formation in -ιχ-, characteristic of lower registers. Wrong etymologies by Grošelj Živa Ant. 2 (1952): 215 and Brugmann *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 114ff. If the variation β/μ is old, the word is Pre-Greek; cf. Fur.: 221.

σαββάτωσις [f.] referring to a groin disease in Alexandria (Apion, J.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR Shortened form σαββώ [f.].

•ETYM The word is derived from σάβαττα 'sabbath', as it originally denoted a 'sabbath-disease' (on the meaning, see Scheller *Glotta* 34 (1955): 298ff.). Ultimately of Aramaic origin.

σάβυττος [m.] · εἴδος ξυρήσεως εἰς καλλωπισμόν ... τινὲς δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον 'kind of shaving for ornamentation; female genitals' (H.). ◁PG?(S)▷
•VAR Also -ττης (Phot.), -ττα [f.] (*Com. Adesp.*).
•ETYM Although there is a certain similarity with ►βύττος · γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον 'female genitals' (H.), that connection remains uncertain. Cf. also σαβαρίχις and σάκαν· τὸ τῆς γυναικός (H.); compare further the literature on σαβαρίχις, and see Kretschmer *Glotta* 13 (1924): 271, Sommer 1948: 192, and s.v. ►σαίνω. For σάβυττος, Pre-Greek origin is certainly worth considering.

σάγαρις, -ιος, -εως [f.] 'axe, battle axe', used by Scythians, Persians and other peoples (Hdt., X., etc.); acc. to H. = πελέκιον μονόστομον 'little one-edged axe'; called ἀμφιθηγής by *AP* 6, 94. ◁?▷
•ETYM A foreign word without etymology. Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1945): 142 compared Lat. *sagitta* 'arrow', Berb. *zaġāja* 'javelin', but one would rather of course expect Iranian origin.

σαγή [f.]⇒σάττω.

σαγήνη [f.] 'large fishing net, trawl' (LXX, NT, Babr., Plu., etc.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Cypr. ἀγάνα (H.), see Bechtel 1921, 1: 412.
•COMP As a first member e.g. in σαγηνο-βόλος [m.] 'who casts a net' (*AP*).
•DER σαγηναῖος [adj.] 'belonging to the net' (*AP*); σαγην-εύω [v.] 'to catch with the net', mostly metaphorically, e.g. of soldiers that catch everything alive as they form a line and sweep over a country (Hdt., Pl., Str., Luc., etc.), with -εύς [m.] 'net fisher' (D. S., Plu., *AP*, etc.), back-formation (Boßhardt 1942: 76), -ευτής (Plu., *AP*), -ευτήρ (*AP*) 'id.'; -εία [f.] 'catch by net' (Plu., Him.).
•ETYM The ending of σαγήνη recalls ἀπήνη, εἰρήνη, etc. The connection with σάττω (Pok. 1098) is semantically insufficiently founded. Because of the Cypr. by-form and the attractive connection with ►σάγουρον with a different suffix, the etymon is without a doubt Pre-Greek (foreign origin was suggested already by Schwyzer: 490, 322, Lamer *IF* 48 (1930): 231, and Chantraine 1956a: 10). The word was borrowed into Latin as *sagēna*.

σάγος [m.] 'woollen cloak, soldier's cloak', e.g. used by Gauls, Hispanics (Plb., D. S., App., etc.). ◁LW Celt.▷
•ETYM The word σάγος was borrowed from Lat. *sagus*, *-um* 'id.', in turn a loan word from Celtic (see WH s.v.).

σάγουρον [n.] · γυργάθιον 'net' (H.); LSJ gives 'net for suspending substances in fluids', but see also their Supp. ◁?▷
•ETYM Because of the probable etymological connection with ►σαγήνη, σάγουρον is likely to be of Pre-Greek origin.

σαθέριον [n.] a marine quadruped, not further defined (Arist. *HA* 594b). ◁PG▷
•VAR σαθρίον (v.l.).
•ETYM Fur.: 190 supposes that the word denotes a beaver, and compares σατύριον, probably 'sorex moschatus' (Arist. l.c., 32); according to H., ζῷον τετράπουν ἢ

λμιναῖον 'four-footed water-animal'. He further adduces Basque*sateŕo* 'field-mouse' and *sator* 'mole'. It is possible that σάθραξ· φθείρ 'louse; a sea-fish' (H.) is somehow related as well.

σάθη [f.] 'penis' (Ar. *Lys.* 1119, probably also Archil. 67). ◅?▻

•COMP ἀνδρο-σάθων, -σάθης [m.] name of Priapus (*AB*, H., etc.).

•DER σάθων, -ωνος [m.] = πόσθων 'penis; foreskin' (Telecl. etc.).

•ETYM The formation can be compared with πόσθη, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 367). Perhaps related to ▻σαίνω, if from 'tail' (compare MoHG *Schwanz* 'tail; penis').

σαθρός [adj.] 'unsound, broken, broke; unhealthy, weak' (IA). ◅PG(V)▻

•DER σαθρ-ότης [f.] 'unsoundness' (late), -όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to be unsound; make unsound' (LXX, pap. VI^{p}), with -ωσις, -ωμα (pap. VI^{p}, H.).

•ETYM The etymology is unexplained: Chantraine 1933: 224 and 373 thinks of σήθω (rejected by Benveniste 1935: 202); perhaps a contamination of σαπρός with an unknown word? Fur.: 196 connects ψαθυρός 'brittle' and ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα 'with thin hair' (H.), and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

σαίνω [v.] 'to wag with the tail, waggle', metaphorically 'to blandish, flatter' (Od., Hes.). ◅?▻

•VAR Rare aor. ἔσηνα (e.g. ρ 302), ἔσᾶνα (Pi. *O.* 4, 6, *P.* 1, 52).

•COMP Also with περι-, προσ-, etc.; as a first member in σαίνουροι καὶ σαινουρίδες· οἱ τὰς οὐρὰς συνεχῶς κινοῦντες ἵπποι καὶ κύνες 'horses and dogs shaking their tails continuously' (H.).

•DER σάννιον· τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀντὶ τοῦ κέρκιον. τὸ γὰρ αἰδοῖον ἐσθ' ὅτε οὐρὰν ἔλεγον, ὡς Εὔπολις (H.), so originally 'tail' (the -νν- is hypocorrect gemination); also σαν-νίων (Arr.), σάννας (Cratin.), σάννορος (Rhinth.) [m.] 'fool', σαννάδας· τὰς ἀγρίας αἶγας 'wild goats' (H.).

•ETYM The etymology is unexplained. We must reject the suggestion of Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 38 ff., who reconstructs a word for 'penis' and connects Lith. *tvìnstu, tvìnti* 'to swell out (of a river)', etc., which seems to go back to **tunH-*, and connects other words in σα- as well, e.g. ▻σάτυρος.

σαίρω 1 [v.] 'to sweep (out)' (S., E.), metaphorically 'to clear away' (*BCH* 29, 204; Crete). ◅?▻

•VAR Aor. σῆραι, Cret. σᾶραι, fut. σαρῶ (H.).

•COMP As a first member perhaps in σαράπους (Gal.), acc. σαράποδα, σάραπον (Alc.); acc. to D. L. 1, 81: διὰ τὸ πλατύπουν εἶναι καὶ ἐπισύρειν τῷ πόδε (cf. Bechtel 1921, 1: 125, Sommer 1948: 26^{4} and 188); acc. to Gal., however, to σέσηρα (▻*σαίρω 2); the word σαραποδ- is unexplained.

•DER 1. σάρον [n.] 'brushings' (Sophr., Ion Trag., Call.), 'broom' (Epid. IV^{a}, etc.) with σαρ-όομαι, -όω 'to be swept out; sweep out, sweep clean' (Lyc., NT, pap., etc.), -ωσις [f.] 'sweep out' (pap.), -ωμα [n.] 'brushings' (*AB* et al.), -ωται [m.pl.] 'sweeper' (Phanagoria), -ωτρον [n.] 'broom' (Suid.); 2. σάρματα [n.pl.] 'brushings' (Rhinth.), σαρμός· σωρὸς γῆς, καὶ κάλλυσμα … 'heap of earth; sweeping' (H.).

•ETYM The word σαίρω is commonly connected with σύρω 'draw, drag (along)'. The initial was always thought to have been **tu̯r-*, with σαρ- and συρ- (with analogical σ-) as different vocalizations of a PIE zero grade **tur-* (σαίρω < **tur-ie/o-*, like e.g. ►σάρξ 'flesh' < **turḱ-*).
A full grade thematic present **tuer-e/o-* is found in Germanic, e.g. OHG *dweran* 'turn around quickly, stir', OE *þweran* 'id.', and in Indic: Ved. (KS) *tvárate* 'to hurry'. Connection within Greek with ὀτρύνω 'to encourage' (see ►ὀτραλέως) is highly improbable, as the existence of a prefix ὀ- is doubtful.
Perhaps nominal derivations like zero grade Lat. *turma* 'troop, squadron', *turba*, and ►σύρβη, ►τύρβη belong here, as well. The word ►τορύνη is not related.

***σαίρω 2** 'to show one's teeth'. ⇒σέσηρα.

σάκκος [m.] 'bag (made of goat hair); sieve; burlap, a large cloak made of the same', e.g. used as a wedding dress (Hdt., Hippon., Ar., LXX, NT, inscr. and pap.). ◄LW Sem.►
•VAR Also σάκος (Att.?).
•COMP As a first member e.g. σακκο-φόρος [m.] 'bag bearer' (pap., etc.).
•DER 1. Diminutive σακ(κ)-ίον (Hp., Ar., X., Men., etc.), -ίδιον (pap.), -άλιον (gloss.); 2. -ούδια [n.pl.] meaning unclear (pap.), after λινούδιον, see λίνον; 3. -ᾶς [m.] 'sack bearer' (inscr. Corycos, pap.); 4. -ίας οἶνος 'sieved wine' (Poll.); 5. -ινος 'made of burlap' (sch.); 6. Denominative σακ(κ)-έω 'to sieve' (Hdt. 4, 23), -εύω acc. to Ael. Dion. et al., -ίζω 'id.' (Thphr., etc.). Also σακτός 'sieved' (Eup. 439), seemingly a primary ptc.
•ETYM The word σάκκος is a loan from Semitic; cf. Hebr. (Phoen.) *śaq* 'cloth of hair, bag, mourning-dress' (Lewy 1895: 87; Bertoldi *ZRPh.* 68 (1952): 73ff. calls it Mediterranean). Lat. *saccus* (cf. also MoE *sack*), etc. are borrowed from Greek.

σακνός [m.] 'broken, leaky' (πίθοι). ⇒σαχνός.

σάκος [n.] 'shield (made of leather); long shield, tower shield' (Hom., also A., etc.), cf. on ►ἀσπίς. ◄LW Sem.►
•COMP Some compounds: e.g. σακέσ-παλος 'shield-swaying' (E 126, Call., Nonn.), σακέσ-φόρος 'shield-bearing' (B., S., E.), φερε-σσακής 'id.' (Hes. *Sc.*, Nonn.), cf. Trümpy 1950: 20ff., and extensively Ruijgh 1957: 94f.
•ETYM Usually argued to be of Indo-European origin, and connected with Skt. *tvác-* [f.] 'skin, hide' and Hitt. *tuekka-* 'body'. However, it might instead be borrowed from Semitic, since e.g. Akk. *saqqu* and Hebr. *śaq* are formally and semantically very close (E. Masson 1967: 24).

σάκτας ⇒σάττω.

σάκχαρ, -αρος [n.] 'sugar' (Gal.). ◄LW Ind.►
•VAR σάκχαρι [n.] (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, Orib.), after μέλι, etc.; also -ις [f.], -ον [n.] (Dsc.).
•ETYM Borrowed from MInd. (Pāli) *sakkharā-* 'sugar' (itself going back to Skt. *śárkarā-* [f.] 'grit, granulated sugar'; cf. ►κρόκη 2). MoP *šakar* was also borrowed

from Indic and, through Arab. *sukkar*, it also reached e.g. MoE and Du.: *sugar* and *suiker*, respectively. Lat. *saccharum* was borrowed from Greek σάκχαρον.

σαλαγέω, σαλάκων, etc. ⇒σάλος.

σαλαΐζειν [v.] = θρηνεῖν (Anacr. 167), = κόπτεσθαι (H.); σαλαϊσ-<μός>· κωκυτός 'wailing' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Etymology unclear; cf. also ▶σαλάμβη.

σαλαμάνδρα [f.] 'salamander, kind of newt' (Arist., Thphr., etc.). ◁?▷

•DER σαλαμάνδρειος 'in the way of a salamander' (Nic.).

•ETYM Given its non-Indo-European structure, σαλαμάνδρα may be Pre-Greek. Cf. also on σαύρα, which is probably Pre-Greek, as well.

σαλάμβη [f.] 'light opening, vent-hole' (S. *Fr.* 1093, Lyc., H.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR Also σαλάβη (H., Phot.), -βος (H.).

•ETYM Semitic origin has been proposed for this word; cf. Syr. *ṣelpā* 'rima portae', *ṣ²laf* 'split, tear apart' (Lewy 1895: 96). Further, similarity with Σαλαμιβώ· ἡ Ἀφροδίτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίοις (H.), Σαλαμιβάς· ... ὅτι περιέρχεται θρηνοῦσα τὸν Ἄδωνιν (*EM*, referring to ▶σαλαΐζειν [s.v.]), and Σαλαβακχώ (Ar.) has been observed by Lewy l.c. and Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 42. However, the alternation β/μβ would receive a good explanation under the assumption of Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 203, 286).

σαλαμίνθη [f.] 'spider' (Byzant.). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM The suffix -ινθη is clearly Pre-Greek, but further connections are unknown.

σάλος [m.] 'turbulent movement of the sea, flushing of the waves; anchorage, roads (as opposed to a protected harbor)' (S., E., Lys., Hell.), metaphorically of an earthquake (E. *IT* 46), 'turbulent emotion' (LXX, Gal., Max. Tyr.), cf. ἀσαλής, σάλη below. ◁PG(S,V)▷

•COMP Some late compounds, e.g. ἐπί-σαλος 'exposed to the σάλος' (Seqund., *Peripl. M. Rubr.*, etc.); probably also in epic κονί-σαλος 'cloud of dust' (see κόνις). With transfer to the *s*-stems: ἀ-σαλής 'unshaken, unconcerned' (A. *Fr.* 319 = 634 M.) with ἀσάλ-εια [f.] = ἀμεριμνία, ἀλογιστία (Sophr. 113), ἀσαλεῖν· ἀφροντιστῆσαι 'to be heedless' (H.); σάλη, σάλᾱ [f.] = φροντίς (*Et. Gen.*, H.) is probably a back-formation to the latter.

•DER Denomininatives: 1. σαλεύω, originally of the ship, 'to roll (on the waves)', then 'to throw oneself about, oscillate'; trans. 'to make oscillate, shock' (Att. since A., also Hp., Hell.), also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, δια-; thence σάλευσις (δια-) [f.] 'oscillation' (Arist., etc.), σάλευμα [n.] 'id.' (D. Chr.); 2. σαλόομαι 'to go with a rocking motion' (*EM*, explaining σαλάκων).

With a velar suffix: 1. σάλαξ, -ακος [m.] 'large sieve of mineworkers' (Arist. or Thphr. *apud* Poll.), also an Att. name of a potter (Σάλαχς; Krahe *IF* 57 (1940): 113), -αγξ· μεταλλικὸν σκεῦος 'metallic vessel or implement' (H.); σαλάκων, -ωνος [m.] 'boaster, swaggerer, dandy' (Arist.), with σαλακων-ία (-εία) [f.] (Arist., Alciphr.), -ίζω (δια- Ar.), -ίζομαι, -εύομαι (H., Phot., Suid.); denominative σαλάσσω (ἐκ-) [v.] 'to shake' (Nic., *AP*), probably directly from σάλος after τινάσσω, ταράσσω, etc.; 2.

σαλαγέω = σαλάσσω, σαλεύω (Opp., Orac. *apud* Luc.), σαλαγή· βοή 'shout' (H.); cf. παταγέω, πατάσσω.
•ETYM Originally, σάλος was a technical nautical term. Fur.: 256 connects ►θάλασσα / *σάλασσα and ζάλη, ζάλος 'tornado, whirlpool', and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek. Already the velar suffixes, and especially the variation they display, prove Pre-Greek origin for this word: -αγ-, -ακ-, -αγκ-; cf. ►σηλαγγεύς. Lat. *salus*, *salum* were possibly borrowed from Greek.

σαλούσιον [n.] 'pot, measure' (*POxy.* 3060) cf. Mayser-Schmoll 1970 I, 1: 79. ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also -ώσιον, -ώτιον, -ώδιον.
•ETYM In view of the suffix variants, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

σαλός [adj.] 'foolish' (H. s.v. ὑσθλός, sch. Ar. *Nu.* 397). ◄PG►
•VAR Also δαλός (Cyr.) and *ζαλός; the latter is seen in the derivative ζαλαίνω (H., *EM* 406, 43), see Fur.: 255.
•ETYM Cf. Lat. *dalīvus*, from *δάλαιος. The variation in the initial (σ-/ζ-/δ-) proves Pre-Greek origin; the root can be reconstructed as **t'al-*.

σάλπη [f.] sea fish, 'Box salpa' (Epich., Arist., etc.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also -ης [m.] (Archipp.), -ος (Arist. v.l.), σάρπη [f.] (Arist.); also σάλπιγξ (Arist.), folk-etymological transformation.
•ETYM The variation ρ/λ is typical for Pre-Greek (Fur.: 387; see also Neumann 1961: 42). Cf. also Lat. *salpa* (Plin., Ov.), Ital. *salpa*, *sarpa*, Fr., MoE *saupe* (cf. Hubschmid 1963: 13f.; Thompson 1947 s.v.).

σάλπιγξ, -ιγγος [m.] 'trumpet' (Σ 219). ◄PG(S)►
•DER σαλπίζω [v.] 'to blow the trumpet, trumpet' (IA), dialectical innovations -ίσσω, -ίττω, -ίδδω, aor. σαλπ-ίγξαι (Φ 388), -ίσαι (LXX etc.), fut. -ίσω (NT), -ιῶ (LXX), perf. med. σεσάλπι(γ)κται, -ισται (late), rarely with ἐπι- etc.; σαλπιγκτής (Th., X. et al.), -ικτής (Att. etc., inscr.), -ιστής (Hell. and late) [m.] 'trumpet player', -ισμός [m.] -ισμα [n.] (Thd., Poll.) 'trumpet call', -ιστικός 'belonging to the trumpet' (Poll.). Further derivatives: σαλπίγγ-ιον [n.] 'pipe' (Gal.), -ωτός 'trumpet-shaped' (Teos).
•ETYM For the formation, σῦριγξ and φόρμιγξ can be compared (cf. also λύρα, κιθάρα, σαμβύκη, etc.). On the onomatopoeic Lith. *švilpti* 'to pipe' etc., see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. (with references); cf. further Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 364. As a word of Mediterranean culture, σάλπιγξ remains without IE connection; the suffix is Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

σάμαξ, -ᾰκος [m.] 'bulrush, mat of bulrush' (com. V[a]). ◄PG(S)►
•DER -άκιον [n.], a female ornament (*Com. Adesp.*).
•ETYM Formation like οἶσαξ, etc. (see on ►οἶσος), but further unexplained. Belardi *Doxa* 3 (1950): 219 rightly rejects a connection with pre-IE **sam-* 'water, sea, swamp' (?) by Alessio *Studi etruschi* 19 (1946-1947): 152. The suffix is Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

σαμβύκη [f.] 'triangular instrument with four strings' (Arist., etc.), metaph. 'scaling ladder' (Plb., etc.), on the semantic motivation, see Ath. 14, 634a. ◄LW Sem.?►
•VAR Also ζ- (H.).

•DER σαμβυκ-ιστής, fem. -ίστρια 'sambuca-player' (Hell. poet., Plu.), after κιθαριστής, -ίστρια.
•ETYM An Oriental loan word of unknown source; see E. Masson 1967: 91ff. (with extensive treatment and criticism of earlier views, for example on Hebr. *šᵉbākā* 'lattice'). On the secondary nasalization, see Schwyzer: 231f. with litt. Borrowed into Lat. as *sambūca* (WH s.v.).

σάμος [f.] 'hill' (Str. 8, 3, 19; 10, 2, 17); also the island names Σάμος, Σάμη. ◂PG▸
•ETYM Without a doubt Pre-Greek, as argued by Fick 1905: 54 and 112. Likewise, but with a different interpretation (connected to ἀσάμινθος), Alessio *Stud. ital. fil. class.* N. S. 20 (1956): 121ff. The IE etymology by Persson 1912(1): 471 can be rejected.

σαμψήρα [f.] an oriental sword (J. *A.J.* 20, 2, 3). ◂LW Iran.▸
•VAR σαμψῆραι· σπάθαι βαρβαρικαί 'broad blades of the barbarians' (Suid.).
•ETYM An Oriental loanword; cf. MoP *šamšīr*.

σάμψ(ο)υχον [n.] 'marjoram' (Nic., Dsc., Paus. et al.), on the meaning see Andrews *Class. Phil.* 56 (1961): 78. ◂?▸
•DER σαμψ(ο)ύχ-ινος 'made of σ.' (Dsc., Gal. et al.), -ίζω 'to be like σ., season with σ.' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Foreign word of unknown origin (the plant was especially at home in North Africa). Borrowed into Lat. as *sampsūc(h)um*, *-us* (WH s.v. *sambūcus*; see Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 364).

σάν the Doric variant of the Ion. letter σίγμα (Hdt. 1, 139). ◂LW Sem.▸
•COMP σαμι-φόρας, -ου [m.] 'horse in which a σάν was branded' (Ar.), see Fraenkel 1912: 143.
•ETYM Borrowed from Semitic (e.g. Hebr. *šīn*). On the sign σαμπῖ (= 900), from Byz. σάν (= ὡς ἄν 'like') and πῖ, cf. Schwyzer: 149.

σάνδαλον [n.] 'sandal(s)' (*h. Merc.*); name of a flat fish (Matro), see Strömberg 1943: 37. ◂PG▸
•VAR Also σάμβαλον (Eumel., Sapph., *AP*).
•COMP σανδαλοθήκη 'sandal case' (Men., Delos II[a]); σαμβαλ-ούχη, -ουχίς [f.] 'sandal chest' (Herod.), -ίσκα [n.pl.] (Hippon. 18 = 32 Masson; see below).
•DER σανδάλ-ιον (IA), -ίσκον (Ar.); also -ίς, -ίδος [f.], a kind of date (Plin.), -ώδης 'sandal-like' (sch.).
•ETYM For the alternation νδ ~ μβ, compare κορίαμβλον ~ κορίανδρον, which may also be the result of different adaptations of a foreign word (already Schwyzer: 303; see also Kronasser 1962-1987: I 91). Compare further σαγγάριος (H.; s.v. ▸σκυτεύς) and τζαγγάριος (τσ-) [m.] 'manufacturer of Parthian τζάγγαι' (pap. VI[P]). Lat. *sandalium*, MoFr. *sandale*, MoP *ṣandal*, etc. were borrowed from Greek. Fur.: 153, 389 also mentions σέμπαδα· ὑποδήματα (H.), perhaps to be read *σέμπαλα?

σανδαράκη [f.] 'sandarac, red arsenic sulphide, realgar, red orpiment' (Hp., Arist., Thphr. etc.), 'bee-bread' (Arist.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also -άχη.

•COMP σανδαρακ-ούργιον [n.] 'sandarac pit' (Str.).
•DER σανδαράκινος 'sandarac-colored, bright red' (Hdt. etc.), σανδαρακίζω 'to be sandarac-colored' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Long taken to be an Oriental loanword from an unknown source. Uhlenbeck *PBBeitr.* 19 (1894): 327ff. implausibly derived it from OInd. **candra-rāga-* 'moon-colored' (Cuendet adapted this to **candana-rāga-* 'sand-colored', which is likewise hypothetical; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. *candanaḥ*). LSJ mentions Assyr. *šindu arḳu* 'green paint', 'yellow sulphide of arsenic'. The variation κ/χ could also point to Pre-Greek origin. Cf. on σάνδυξ.

σάνδυξ 1, -υκος [f.] designation of a bright red colorant, a bright red mineral color, a red transparent fabric, etc. (Str. 11, 14, 9 [conj.], Dsc., Gal. etc.); also a women's cloth. For an extensive discussion of the meaning, see Flobert *RPh.* 90 (1964): 228ff. ◁PG?(S)▷
•DER σανδύκ-ιον [n.], meaning uncertain, -ινος 'sandyx-colored' (pap.); σανδών, -όνος [m.] designation of a transparent fabric (Lyd. *Mag.*), formed after σιν-δών?
•ETYM The formation can be compared with βόμβυξ etc.; σανδαράκη seems to be related in some fashion (but cf. also Skt. *sindūra-* 'red-lead, cinnabar', Assyr. *sâmtu, sându* 'red stone'?). Borrowed into Lat. as *sandyx* (Prop., Verg., Plin.). As far as the formation is concerned, Pre-Greek origin is certainly a possibility (cf. ▶σάνδυξ 2).

σάνδυξ 2 [?] · κιβωτός 'box, chest' (H.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Also σενδούκη; diminutive σενδούκιον (sch. Ar. *Pl.* 711 and 809).
•ETYM The formation of the word is Pre-Greek.

σανίς, -ίδος [f.] 'board, plank, wooden scaffold, etc.', plur. also 'tablets used for writing, writing boards' (Att.), 'planks of a gate, wing of a door' (epic). ◁?▷
•DER 1. diminutives σανίδ-ιον [n.] (Att., etc.), σαν-ίσκη [f.] 'painting' (Herod.); 2. σανίδ-ωμα [n.] 'planking' (LXX, Thphr., Plb., etc.), see Chantraine 1933: 187; 3. -ώδης 'plank-like' (late); 4. -όω 'to provide with planks', -ωτός (Hell. and late).
•ETYM The formation is like σελίς, δοκίς, and other technical terms (Chantraine 1933: 337), but the etymology is further unexplained. The connection with ▶σαίνω by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 46f. should be rejected for semantic reasons.

σαννάκιον [n.] 'a kind of cup' (Philem. 87). ◁?▷
•VAR Also -ακρον.
•ETYM Unknown.

σαννᾶς [m.] epithet and personal name, 'μωρός, stupid person' (Cratin., cf. Clark *Class. Rev.* 69 (1955): 245f.; Colophon). ◁GR?▷
•VAR σαννίων 'id.' (Arr.), σάννορος = μωρός (Rhinth.), probably for -υρος (Kaibel ad loc.); cf. Σαννυρίων. As a PN also Σάνν-ος (Hippon.), -αῖος, -ιος, -υρίων, fem. -ώ (V-IV^{a}); Σαννίδωρος nickname of Ἀντίδωρος (Epicur.).
•DER Besides σαννίον = αἰδοῖον 'private parts' (Eup.), σαν<ν>ιόπληκτος· αἰδοιόπληκτος 'struck with shame'(?) (H.); σαννάδας· τὰς ἀγρίας αἶγας 'wild goats' (H.) (formally patronymicon of *σάννος vel sim.); probably also ἐσαθνύριζεν· ᾔκαλλεν 'was flattering' (H.) for ἐσαν(ν)-.

•ETYM The names are based, at least in part, on the meaning 'shame'. Frisk and DELG derive it from ►σαίνω; cf. also extensively O. Masson 1962: 165f. Borrowed as Lat. *sanna* 'grimace', *sanniō* 'buffoon' (WH s.v.).

σαντονικόν [n.] 'a variety of wormwood from the Santones in Gaul'. ◄GR►
•ETYM The word is clearly derived from the name of the people.

σάος ⇒σῶς.

σαπέρδης -ου [m.] name of a fish that is identified with the κορακῖνος and the πλατίστακος, which is thought to originate from the Nile and the Black Sea, but also from other waters (Hp., com., etc.). ◄PG(V)►
•DER σαπερδ-ίς (Arist.), -ιον (Apollod. *apud* Ath.).
•ETYM Certainly a borrowing. Thompson 1947 s.v. (with extensive treatment) plausibly points to Arab. *ṣabār*, Copt. *šabouri*, name of a well-known fish of the Nile, *Tilapia nilotica* (there is no indication that the Lyd. PN *Sa-par-da-a-a* has anything to do with this fish, pace Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 43). Fur.: 153 adduces σάβειρος· κόραξ 'tub-fish' as a variant. Lat. *saperda*, a fish, is probably borrowed from the Greek.

σαπρός ⇒σήπομαι.

σαπύλλειν [v.] · σαίνειν. 'Ρίνθων (*Fr.* 24) 'to fawn (Rhinthon)' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Of unclear etymology (connection with ►σαίνω can be discarded).

σάπφειρος [f.] 'lazurite; sapphire' (Thphr., LXX, etc.). ◄LW Sem.?►
•DER σαπφείρ-ιον (-ππ-) [n.] 'coloring made of σ.' (pap.), -ινος 'made of σ.' (pap., Philostr., etc.).
•ETYM Certainly somehow related to a similar Semitic word; cf. Hebr. *sappīr*. Since the Semitic word is probably borrowed itself (E. Masson 1967: 66²), we might also consider Pre-Greek origin, in view of the elements -πφ- and -ειρ-ος. Through Lat. *sapphirus* the word reached the European languages, e.g. as MoE *sapphire*, MoDu. *saffier*, etc.

σάπων, -ωνος [m.] 'soap'. ◄LW Celt.?►
•DER With -ώνιον [n.] 'id.', -ωναρικός 'soap-like, belonging to soap' (late medic. etc.).
•ETYM The word σάπων is usually seen as a borrowing from Lat. *sāpō* 'id.' (since Plin.), ultimately from Gm. (OHG *seifa*, OE *sāpe*, etc.; see WH s.v.). Also worth considering is the alternative proposal by André *Ét. celt.* 7 (1955-1956): 348ff., who argues that it was borrowed from Asia Minor Celtic instead.

σαραβᾶρα [n.pl.] 'a pantalon worn by the Scythians' (Antiph. 201). ◄LW Iran.►
•ETYM Certainly borrowed from Iranian; cf. MP *šalwār* 'trousers' (Knauer *Glotta* 33 (1954):100-118).

σάραβος ⇒σάρων.

σαράπους, -ποδος [m., f.] 'splayfooted'. ◄PG?►

•ETYM If the first element σαρα- is not in some way formed from ▸σαίρω 1, we might also consider Pre-Greek origin (final -πους could have been adapted secondarily).

σαργάνη [f.] 'plaited basket' (since IV^{a}). ◂PG(V)▸
•DER σαργαν-ίς [f.] (conj. in Cratin.), -ιον, -ίδιον [n.] (pap.) 'id.'. Besides, ταργάναι· πλοκαί, συνδέσεις, πέδαι 'twinings, bindings, shackles' (H.) with τεταργανωμένη = συμπεπλεγμένη, συνειλημμένη 'plaited, gathered together' (H. *EM*).
•ETYM Instrument term without etymology (cf. Chantraine 1928: 23f.), the formation of which can be compared with πλεκτάνη, όρκάνη, etc. (the traditional connection with ▸σορός leaves the -γ- unexplained; cf. also on ▸τάρπη). The variation σ-/τ- is Pre-Greek (see Fur.: 124; the suggestion of a hyperatticism by Schwyzer: 319 can be discarded) and points to a pre-form **t^{y}arg-an-*.

σαργός [m.] name of a fish, 'Sargus Rondeletii' (com., Arist. etc.). ◂PG?▸
•DER -ίον [n.] 'id.' (*Gp.*), -ῖνος [m.] name of a sea fish that appears in schools, perhaps 'garfish' (Epich., Dorio, Arist.); cf. κεστρῖνος, σαρδῖνος, etc.
•ETYM Word of unknown, perhaps Pre-Greek origin (on the realia, cf. Thompson 1947 s.v.).

σάρδα [f.] 'salted and corned fish' (Diphil. Siph. *apud* Ath. 3, 120f., Xenocr., Gal.). ◂PG▸
•DER σαρδῖνος, -ίνη 'pilchard, sardelle' (Arist. *Fr.* 329, Epainet., Gal.), Lat. *sarda, sardīna.*
•ETYM Probably originally 'the Sardian fish', derived from *Sardus* 'Sardian, Sardinian', Σαρδώ = *Sardinia*, named after the place of origin (Strömberg 1943: 86; on the realia, Thompson 1947 s.v.).

σαρδάνιον [n.] of μειδιᾶν, γελᾶν 'to laugh', σαρδάνιος γέλως 'sneering laughter' (υ 292, Pl., Plh., etc.); as a v.l. and late also -όνιον, -όνιος (also -ώ-) after Σαρδόνιος 'Sardinian'; σαρδάζων· μετὰ πικρίας γελῶν 'laughing with bitterness' (Phot., Suid.). ◂?▸
•ETYM The origin of this etymon is debated. In antiquity, it was sometimes connected with σέσηρα, sometimes with a plant from Sardinia (σάρδιον, -άνη, -όνιον) that caused spasmodic laughing. The alternative suggestion by Kretschmer *Glotta* 34 (1955): 1ff. to connect the name of the *Šardana* people (neighbours of Egypt), referring to σαρδανάφαλλος· γελωτοποίος (H.), remains unclear in its details.

σάρδιον [n.] name of a gem, 'carnelian, sardine' (Pl., Thphr., etc.), also = 'seal' (inscr.). ◂?▸
•VAR σαρδώ, -οῦς [f.]; λίθος σάρδιος, σάρδινος or σαρδόνιον 'id.' (rare and late).
•COMP As a first member in σαρδ-όνυξ, -υχος [m.] 'sardonyx' (Hell. and late).
•ETYM Probably originally 'stone from Sardes', named after the place of origin (the Semitic etymology by Lewy 1895: 57f. is doubtful). In Latin, we find several loanwords: *sarda, -ius, -inus lapis, sardonyx.* See, however, Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 375.

σαρδόνες, -όνων [f.pl.] 'the rope sustaining the upper edge of a standing hunting net' (Poll., H.). ◁?▷

•VAR σαρδόνια [n.pl.] (X. *Cyn.* 6, 9: gen. σαρδονίων wrong for -όνων?).

•ETYM A technical term without etymology.

σάρι ⇒σίσαρον.

σάρῑσα [f.] 'Macedonian lance' (Thphr., Plb.); Lat. *sarīs(s)a*. ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Etymology unknown (the hypothesis by von Blumenthal 1930: 21 is insufficiently founded). Perhaps Pre-Greek (Fur.: 387).

σαρκάζω [v.] a rare verb of controversial meaning: related to dogs that are stubborn and bite ravenously (γλισχρότατα σαρκάζοντες Ar. *Pax* 482), to grazing horses (Hp. *Art.* 8); to biting the lips angrily (Gal. 19, 136), with which seems to agree the meaning given in lexica 'to mock bitterly, grimly' (ἐπι-, Ph.), e.g. H.: σαρκάζει· μειδιᾷ, εἰρωνεύεται, καταγελᾷ, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι 'smiles, feigns ignorance, derides'; σαρκάσας· μετὰ πικρίας ἢ ἠρέμα τὰς τῶν χειλέων σάρκας διανοίξας, γελάσας 'revealing the flesh of the lips gently or with bitterness; laughing'. ◁GR?▷

•DER σαρκασμός [m.] 'grim scorn' (Hdn., Phryn.); unclear is the com. formation σαρκασμο-πιτυοκάμπται [pl.] (Ar. *Ra.* 966).

•ETYM No completely convincing argumentation for the most obvious connection with σάρξ has been given yet. In Ar. *Pax* 482, a meaning 'to remove the flesh, gnaw the flesh from the bones' (cf. σαρκίζω) is quite possible; the word would then have been transferred to grazing horses (Hp.). In its further semantic development, it may have been influenced by ▶σέσηρα (see H. above σαρκάζων ... καὶ σεσηρώς Ph. 2, 597). The form σύρκιζε· σάρκαζε (H.) can either be Aeolic (σύρκες = σάρκες), or it may show influence from ▶σύρω.

σάρμα [n.] 'chasm, abyss' ◁PG?▷

•DER Perhaps σάραβος· τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον 'female private parts' (H.) and σάρων. λάγνος. τινὲς δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον 'lustful; the female pudenda' (H.). See on ▶σῆραγξ.

•ETYM Sometimes connected with the verb ▶σέσηρα 'to show one's teeth, to grin' via a meaning "yawning chasm", but if the connection with σάραβος 'female private parts' is correct, the interchange between β and μ, as well as the extra α in the latter form, could rather point to a Pre-Greek origin (not mentioned in Fur.).

σαρμεύω [v.] 'to raise a heap (of earth, of sand)' (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 136 οὐδὲ γαιῶνας θησεῖ ... οὐδέ σαρμευσεῖ). ◁?▷

•ETYM From σαρμός· σωρὸς γῆς καὶ κάλλυσμα. ἄλλοι ψάμμον, ἄλλοι χόρτον (H., Hippon. 165a); see ▶σαίρω 1 (O. Masson 1962: 180).

σάρξ, σαρκός [f.] 'flesh, piece(s) of meat' (Il.). ◁IE **turḱ-* 'cut'▷

•VAR Often plur., in Hom. almost exclusively (see Schwyzer 1950: 43, Chantraine 1953: 30). Aeol. σύρκες [pl.] (H., *EM*).

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. σαρκο-φάγος 'eating flesh' (Arist.), λίθος σαρκοφάγος, a stone quarried at Assos (Troas), which was used for funeral monuments and said to have eaten the corpse (Poll. 10, 150, Plin., etc.); from there

'coffin' (inscr.), Lat. LW *sarcophagus*, OHG *sarch*, etc.; ἄ-σαρκος 'without flesh, thin' (IA); on -φάγος, see Sommer 1948: 94f.

•DER 1. σαρκ-ίον (Hp., Arist. et al.), -ίδιον (Arist., etc.) [n.] 'piece of flesh', -ίς [f.] 'meat, food' (late pap.); -ῖτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin.); 2. σάρκ-ινος (Att., etc.), -ικός (Hell. and late), -ειος (late) 'fleshy, made of flesh'; -ώδης 'flesh-like' (Hp., X., etc.), -ήρης 'consisting of flesh' (*Trag. Adesp.*); 3. σαρκ-ίζω 'to scrape clean of flesh' (Hdt.), on the privative meaning see Hudson-Williams *Class. Rev.* 26 (1912): 122f.), also περι- (medic.), with -ισμός, and ἐκ- (LXX); 4. -όω (περι-, ἐκ- etc.) 'to make fleshy, change into flesh', with -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτικός (medic. etc.); 5. -άζω s.v.

•ETYM Generally connected with Av. *θβarəs-*, pres. *θβərəsaiti*, properly 'to cut' (*upa-, us-* etc.), as a simplex 'to shape, create, destine, etc.', from IE *turḱ-*. Lubotsky *Sprache* 36 (1994): 94-102 has shown that Skt. *tváṣṭar-* contains a zero grade (with *a* < *r̥*), like Av. *θβōrəštar-* (from **θβərəštar-*); for OIr. *torc* 'boar' of the same origin, he reconstructs **turḱos*. Discussing the rise of -αρ-, -υρ- as well, Lubotsky rejects a reconstruction **tu̯orḱ-*. Different views in Vine 1999b. Alb. *shark* 'flesh of a fruit' (Jokl *IF* 44 (1927): 13 ff.) is borrowed from Greek.

σάρων [adj.] λάγνος· τινὲς δὲ γυναικεῖον 'feminine (parts)' (H.). ◂?▸

•VAR Cf. σάραβος· τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον 'the female pudenda' (H.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

σαρωνίς, -ίδος [f.] 'old hollow oak' (Call. *Jov.* 22 etc., H.), also with -ο-: σορωνίς· ἐλάτη παλαιά 'old silver fir' (H.); cf. δρυμὸς Σόρων (Paus. 8, 23, 8). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Acc. to Strömberg 1944: 29, from σαρῶνες· τὰ τῶν θηρατῶν λίνα 'the net of hunters' (H.), which remains unconvincing in spite of the parallels adduced. Since the variation between α and ο cannot be explained as e.g. vowel harmony, we have to assume Pre-Greek origin for this word.

σατίναι [f.pl.] 'coach, carriage for women, equipage' (*h. Ven.*, Sapph., Anacr., E. [lyr.]); for the plural, cf. e.g. ὄχεα; for the meaning, see Leumann *Herm.* 68 (1933): 359f. ◂PG?▸

•DER σάτιλλα· π[η]λειὰς τὸ ἄστρον (H.), the 'cart'; see Scherer 1953: 145.

•ETYM There is a certain similarity between σάτιλλα and Arm. *sayl* 'car' (also as a constellation, from **satiḷia*). This should perhaps be explained as borrowing through e.g. Phrygian. Schmitt *Glotta* 44 (1966): 148ff. rather argues for a Thracian origin of σάτιλλα, whereas remote resemblance of Arm. *sayl* with Georg. *etli* 'car, constellation' is pointed out by Adontz 1937: 5ff. Whatever the precise origin of the words, σατίναι and σάτιλλα are certainly related, but defy derivation from Proto-Indo-European.

σατράπης, -ου [m.] 'satrap', governor of the Persian king (since X.). ◂LW Iran.▸

•DER σατραπ-ικός 'belonging to the satrap' (Arist., etc.), [f.] -ίς (Philostr.), -εύω [v.] 'to be a satrap, rule as a satrap' (X., etc.) with -εία, Ion. -ηΐη [f.] 'the office or province of a satrap, satrapy' (since Hdt.); -εῖα [n.pl.] 'the palace of a satrap' (Hld.).

•ETYM From OIran. **xšaθra-pā-* 'protecting the empire' (OP *xšaça-pāvan-*), from *xšaθra-* (see ▸κτάομαι) and *pāiti* (see ▸ποιμήν). The frequent variants in

inscriptions ξατρ-, ἐξα(ι)τρ-, ἐξαιθρ- (also σαδρ-) represent the OP initial *xš-* (and partly also the internal dental) in a more exact way, but they are also partly due to folk etymology: ἐξατρ- must have its initial ἐ- from ἐξ- (Schwyzer: 206 and 329); conversely, the explanation of the αι-diphthong by Kretschmer *Sprache* 2 (1950-1952): 70 is hardly convincing. Cf. also Skt. *kṣatrapa-*, etc. (Schmitt *ZDMG* 117 (1967): 131).

σάττω [v.] 'to stuff, compress, pack, load, equip' (IA, Cret.). ◁IE **tuenk-* 'press together'▷

•VAR Ion. σάσσω (Hp.), Cret. (Gortyn) συνεσσάδδῃ, aor. σάξαι, pass. σαχθῆναι, perf. med. σέσαγμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-.

•DER 1. σαγή or σάγη [f.] (acc. after Hdn. 1, 309) 'pack, equipment' (since A.), also 'packsaddle' (pap., Babr. etc.); 2. σάγμα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'coat, cloak' (E., Ar.), 'packsaddle' (LXX, Str., pap., etc.), diminutive -άτιον [n.] (Arr.); -ατᾶς [m.] 'saddler' (pap.); 3. σάκτας [m.] 'bag, pouch' (Ar. *Pl.* 681, Poll.), probably from 'stuffer' (Björck 1950: 68), also = ἰατρός (Boeot., Stratt.), probably as a nickname (Bechtel 1921, 1: 310); 4. σακτήρ = θύλακος 'sack' (H.); 5. σάκτωρ, -ορος [m.] 'crammer' (A. *Pers.* 924 [anap.]), 6. σάκτρα [f.] = φορμός (Phot.); 7. σάξις (ἐπί-) [f.] 'cramming' (Arist., Thphr.); 8. σακτός 'crammed' (Antiph., pap.).

•ETYM The forms σάττω, σάξαι, and σέσαγμαι form a regular morphological system, which includes the nominal derivations. Of the latter, σαγή and σάγμα have analogical -γ- (Bechtel 1921, 2: 745 implausibly argues for the converse, claiming that γ is original as in Cret. σάδδῃ, whereas σάττω would be analogical after σάξαι). The root **tuenk-* is found in Germanic (OHG *dwingan* 'to compress, coerce') and in Lith. *tveñkti*, 1sg. *tvenkiù* 'to dam up, etc.'; see LIV² s.v. The connection with ToAB *twāṅk-*, however, which is maintained by Adams 1999 s.v., is difficult, both because of the difference in the preforms needed (IE **tue-n-k-* for Tocharian, the vocalism being arrived at through an intermediate noun) and because of the uncertain meaning (traditionally 'to force in') of the poorly-attested Tocharian verb. Skt. *tv̐anakti* (lex.) 'to draw together' is unreliable; see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. Cf. also ▶σηκός and ▶σωκός; also ▶συχνός.

σάτυρος [m.] 'Satyr', mostly plur. as a designation of mythical beings, which belong to the company of Dionysus and are often represented as (male) goats (since Hes. *Fr.* 198, 2); metaphorically of apes with a tail (Paus., Ael.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER 1. Diminutive σατυρ-ίσκος [m.] (Theoc. et al.), also as a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), -ίδιον [n.] (Stratt.); 2. -ικός 'satyr-like, belonging to the satyr play' (Pl., X., Arist., etc.), -ιος 'id.' (pap.), -ώδης 'satyr-like' (Luc. et al.); 3. -ιον [n.] name of several plants, which were used for means of sexual arousal (Dsc., Plu., Gal. etc.), see Strömberg 1940: 93 and 100, also name of an aquatic animal (Arist.); 4. -ιστής [m.] 'actor in a satyr play' (D. H.), after κιθαριστής, etc.; 5. -ιάω 'to suffer from satyriasis' (Arist., medic.) with -ίασις, Ion. -ίησις, also -ι(α)σμός [m.] (medic.); also -ιακός 'causing satyriasis' (Ruf.), -ιακή [f.] 'remedy against satyriasis' (medic.).

•ETYM The etymology of σάτυρος is unknown. A number of hypotheses have been proposed, but none of them makes sense: from a word *σῆν 'penis' and a second member 'swell' (see ►σαίνω), by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 36ff.; a strengthening prefix σα- and the same element 'swell' (Brugmann *IF* 39 (1917-1921): 114ff.); from ψῆν with a suffix -τυ-ρο-ς (Grošelj Živa Ant. 2 (1952): 215ff.); borrowed from Illyrian, going back to *seh_1- 'sow' and cognate with Lat. *sator* (Krahe 1955: 37ff.); borrowed from Illyrian, but ultimately from *seh_2- 'satiate', identical with Lat. *satur* (Kerényi *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 9 (1933): 151 ff., Kerényi *Rev. Int. ét. balk.* 2 (1934-1936): 21).
Yet for such a mythical word, Pre-Greek origin seems likely in the first place, and this idea is even corroborated by the suffix -υρ-. Cf. ►Σιληνός and ►τίτυρος.

σαυᾶδαι · σαῦδοι· Ἀμερίας τοὺς σειλεινοὺς οὕτω καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown. See Kalléris 1954: 259f.

σαυκόν [adj.] · ξηρόν. Συρακούσιοι 'dry (Syracusian)' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•ETYM A number of wrong etymologies have been proposed, e.g. borrowing from an originally Italic word related to ►αὖος; other hypotheses can be found in Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 25, Bechtel 1921, 2: 287, and Carnoy *Ant. class.* 24 (1955): 23.
Conversely, Fur.: 110, 134, 229, 241 convincingly compares σαυχμόν· σαχνόν, χαῦνον. σαθρόν, ἀσθενές (H.), ►σαβακός 'weak, moldered, smashed' (H.), and σαβακῶς· αὐστηρῶς, ξηρῶς, τραχέως (H.) with σαβάξας· διασκεδάσας, διασαλεύσας (H.). It follows that the word is Pre-Greek.

σαυκρόν [adj.] · ἁβρόν, ἐλαφρόν, ἄκρον 'delicate, light, highest'; σαυκρόποδες· ἁβρόποδες 'delicate-footed' (H.). On the combination of suffixes -κρ-, see Chantraine 1933: 225, Schwyzer: 496. ◄PG(V)►
•DER In H. also σαυχμόν· σαχνόν, χαῦνον, σαθρόν, ἀσθενές 'tender, porous, unsound, feeble'; with ψ-: ψαυκρός· καλλωπιστής, ταχύς, ἐλαφρός, ἁραιός 'dandy, swift, light, thin'; ψαυκρὸν γόνυ· κοῦφον 'light', ψαυκρόποδα· κουφόποδα 'light-footed' (folk-etymologically connected by H. with ἄκρος and ψαύειν).
•ETYM The combination of σαυκρός with ψαυκρός (and σαυχμός; s.v. ►σαυκόν) shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

σαῦλος [adj.] Poetical adjective of unclear and varying meaning, referring to walking and movement (Treu 1955: 253 and 295): σαῦλα βαίνειν *h. Merc.* 28 (of a tortoise), Anacr. 168 (Bacchantes), Semon. 18 (horse), σαῦλαι Βασσαρίδες (Anacr. 55), explained by H. with κοῦφα, ἥσυχα, τρυφερά 'light, quiet, dainty' and with ἁβρόν, κοῦφον, ἄκρον, τρυφερόν 'delicate, light, highest, dainty'; acc. to sch. Ar. *V.* 1169 = τὸ φαῦλον καὶ διερρυηκός, so 'light, dainty, delicate, prancing' vel sim.? ◄PG►
•COMP As a first member in σαυλο-πρωκτιάω (Ar. *V.* 1173).
•DER σαυλόομαι (E. *Cyc.* 40: κῶμοι … ἁοιδαῖς βαρβίτων σαυλούμενοι), acc. to H. τρυφᾶν, θρύπτεσθαι, ἐναβρύνεσθαι 'delicacy, to be broken small, to be effeminate', δια-σαυλόομαι (Ar. *Fr.* 624), διασαυλούμενον· διακινούμενον καὶ ἐναβρυνόμενον, ἢ διασειόμενον (H.), with σαύλωμα· θρύμμια 'piece' (H.).

•ETYM The word σαῦλος rhymes with φαῦλος; the words have possibly influenced each other (other barytone adjectives in -λος are μάχλος, κτίλος, ἔωλος). Moreover, we find σαυνά (σαῦνα?)· ἁπαλά 'weak' (H.) with a suffix -ν-. It is difficult to offer an etymological explanation (cf. on ►σαύρα), first and foremost because of the unclear meaning. The word σαῦλος presumably belongs to a group of Pre-Greek words (see ►σαυκός).

σαυνίον [n.] designation of a javelin used by foreign peoples (Men., Str., D. S.), 'penis' (Cratin. 443). ◄?►
•VAR Also σαύνιον.
•DER σαυνιάζω 'to throw a σ.' (D. S.), with -αστάς (Dor.) [m.] (*Lyr. Alex. Adesp.*).
•ETYM The etymology of this word is unexplained; cf. on ►σαύρα.

σαύρα [f.] 'lizard' (A. *Fr.* 92 M., Hdt., Arist., Theoc.), also = σαλαμάνδρα (Thphr.), metaphorically as a plant name = κάρδαμον (Nic.), 'penis of a boy' (*AP*), 'plaited case made of palm bark, used in setting dislocated fingers' (medic.). Also σαῦρος [m.] 'id.' (Hdt. [v.l.], Hp., Epich., Arist., Nic.); metaphorically as a fish name = τράχουρος (Alex., Arist., Gal.), after the color (cf. Strömberg 1943: 121). ◄PG►
•VAR Ion. -ρη.
•COMP As a first member in σαυρο-κτόνος [m.] 'killer of lizards' (Plin.); on σαυρο-βριθές, see below.
•DER 1. plant names σαυρ-ίδιον [n.] (Hp., Gal.), -ίγγη [f.] (H.), cf. e.g. φυσίγγη = φῦσιγξ to φῦσα, also -ῖτις [f.] (Ps.-Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1940: 130. 2. fish name -ίς [f.] (Suid.). 3. -ῖται· εἶδός τι ὄφεων 'a kind of serpent' (H.). 4. -ίγγη also = τὸ ζῶον ἡ σαύρα (H.), *saurītis* also a precious stone that was allegedly found inside a lizard (Plin.). 5. -ήτης [m.] 'keeper of crocodiles' (pap.). 6. σαυρωτή· ποικίλη 'dappled', -ωτοῖς δόρασι· τοῖς σαυρωτῆρας ἔχουσι κατὰ τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος (H.). 7. σαυρωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] (K 153, Hdt. 7, 41, Plb.) 'lance shoe, bottom end of a lance that could be stuck into the ground, vel sim.'; cf. instrument names like τροπωτήρ, σφυρωτήρ, to this σαυρωτός and σαύρα = 'case' (see above); in the same meaning also σαῦρος in σαυρο-βριθὲς ἔγχος (*Trag. Adesp.* 264); the lance-shaft was probably compared with the long tail of a lizard (cf. οὐρίαχος). 8. PN Σαυρίας, Σαύρων etc. (IA, etc.).
•ETYM Without etymology, like many other words for 'lizard'. The words σαύρα, σαῦρος, etc. are often connected with a group of other words starting with σαυ-: σαῦλος, σαυνός, and σαυνίον, as well as σαυκρός (see Frisk), but there seems no reason for this. As the animal was not a part of the PIE world, the word must be of local, i.e. of Pre-Greek origin; it is not mentioned by Fur. The word *dinosaur* was coined in 1841 by the English paleontologist R. Owen, with *dino-* from δεινός 'terrible'.

σαύσαξ [acc.pl.] a leguminous plant (*Com. Adesp.*). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR σαύσακας· τυροὺς ἁπαλοὺς εὐτρόφους. καὶ δοκοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐπιφόρους ποιεῖν πρὸς συνουσίαν 'soft, nourishing cheeses' (H.).
•ETYM Older etymologies involve connections with σαυκρόν, σαυχμόν, etc. (see Solmsen 1909: 133, who is hesitant about this), and with σαυσαρόν· ψιθυρόν 'whispering, slanderous' (H.; Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 25[1]), interpreted as 'dry'

and connected with ►σαυκόν. The word σαυσαρόν is clearly onomatopoeic, however, in view of the meaning.
Fur.: 301[32] is without a doubt correct in connecting σώσικες· οἱ ἐφθοί κύαμοι 'cooked beans' (H.), which shows that the word is Pre-Greek (interchange ω/αυ).

σαυσαρόν · ψιθυρόν 'whispering, slanderous' (H.). ◄?►
•DER -ισμός 'paralysis of the tongue' (Arist. *Probl.* 647b).
•ETYM See Pisani *RILomb.* 73 (1939-40): 509.

σάφα [adv.] 'surely, certainly, definitely', especially with οἶδα, but also with other verbs of knowing and saying (Il.). ◄?►
•DER σαφής [adj.] 'sure, definite, apparent, clear, evident' (Pi., A.), on σαφές (*h. Merc.*) see below; adverb σαφέως, σαφῶς 'id.' (*h. Cer.*). An extension is found in σαφ-ηνής, Dor. -ᾱνής (Pi., trag.), adverb -ηνέως (also Hdt.), after ἀπ-, προσ-ηνής etc., with σαφήν-εια [f.] 'clarity, clearness' (Att. since A., Alcmaion), opposed to ἀσάφεια from ά-σαφής, σαφην-ίζω 'to make clear, explain' (IA) with -ισμός, -ιστικός (late). Doubtful is σαφήτωρ· μάντις ἀληθής, μηνυτής, ἑρμηνευτής 'genuine seer, informer, interpreter' (H.), as if from *σαφέω (διασαφέω exists since E.); probably arisen from a v.l. at I 404 (for ἀφήτωρ).
•ETYM Of the above words, the adverb σάφα has the earliest attestations and seems to be oldest (Leumann 1950: 112[77]); σαφέως is derived from there (after τάχα : ταχέως), as is the ntr. σαφές (σαφὲς δ' οὐκ οἶδα *h.Merc.* 208) and σαφέστερον. The form σαφής would be the latest.
The etymology is unexplained. The form σαφής was often analyzed as having a second member related to φάος, φαίνω, the first member being a "strengthening" element σα-, but such an element does not exist. Luther 1935: 61ff. has an extensive treatment of σάφα. Fur.: 344 etc. (see index) suggests several connections (e.g. with σόφος, on the basis of which he concludes that the word is Pre-Greek), but none of them is really evident.

σαχνός [adj.] 'tender, mellow', of κρέα (Gal.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR σαχνόν· ἁσθενές, χαῦνον 'feele, porous' (Il.). Also ►σακνός, MGr. and MoGr. ψαχνός 'thin', σαχρός.
•ETYM Derivation from σώχω, ψώχω 'to rub down' has been assumed, but the details remain unclear. The variations σ-/ψ- and -κ-/-χ- point to Pre-Greek origin; also note σαυχμόν· σαχνόν (H.).

σάω ⇒σήθω.

σβέννυμι [v.] 'to quench, extinguish', pass. 'to be extinguished, become extinct' (IA). ◄IE *(s)g^{w}es- 'extinguish'►
•VAR σβεννύω (Pi., Hp.), aor. σβέσ(σ)αι (Il.), pass. σβεσθῆναι (IA), fut. σβέσω (A., E.); med. σβέννυμαι (Hes.), aor. σβῆναι (Il.), fut. σβήσομαι (Pl.), perf. ἔσβηκα (A.), ἔσβεσμαι (Parm.). Deviating aor. κατα-σβῶσαι (Herod.).
•COMP Also with prefixes, especially ἀπο- and κατα-.
•DER σβέσις (ἀπό-, κατά-) [f.] 'extinction, putting out' (Arist., etc.), σβεσ-τήρ, -τῆρος [m.] 'extinguisher' (Plu.), -τήριος [adj.] 'useful for extinguishing' (Th., etc.), -τικός

[adj.] 'id.' (Arist., etc.); ἄ-σβεστος [adj.] 'unextinguishable' (Hom. et al.), σβεστός (Nonn.), fem. 'unslaked lime' (scil. τίτανος) (Dsc., Plu.), also ἀσβεστήριοι and -ωσις in H. as explanations of κονιαταί and κονίασις 'plastering'.

Glosses in H.: ζείναμεν· σβέννυμεν 'quench', ἐζίνα· ἐπεσβέννυεν (for -είν-?), ἀποζίννυται (written -ξ-, for -ζείν-)· ἀποσβέννυται 'is extinguished'; ζόασον· σβέσον; ζοάσ<εις>· σ[ε]βέσεις.

•ETYM The root of all these forms is σβεσ-, as found in σβέσ-σαι and ἄ-σβεσ-τος. On the basis of the aorist σβέσ(σ)αι, the other forms were created: σβέννυμι < *σβέσ-νυ-μι, σβέσω, σβεσθῆναι, ἔσβεσμαι. Later on, the secondary aorist ἔσβην, σβῆναι was created after ἔστην, ἑκάην, ἐάγην, etc., and then σβήσομαι, ἔσβηκα were formed after this. The form κατα-σβῶσαι falls outside this system. It could be interpreted as an iterative (*σβοῆσαι), for which we could compare ζόασον, ζοάσεις as attested in H. The glosses with ζ- may indicate that σβέσ- < PIE *$sg^{w}es$- developed into σδεσ- dialectally. If correct, this *$sg^{w}es$- may be compared with e.g. Skt. *jásate* 'is extinguished', *jāsayati* 'to exhaust', Lith. *gèsti* 'to be extinguished, go out', caus. *gesýti* 'to extinguish, put out', OCS *u-gasiti*, 1sg. *u-gašǫ* 'to extinguish' < PIE *$g^{w}ōs$-, Go. *qist* 'destruction', ToAB *käs*- 'to extinguish'. However, Hitt. *kišt-^{āri}* 'to be extinguished, perish' is incompatable with the labiovelar in σβέννυμι. If we posit a pure velar *g*, which is possible for all other languages, σβέννυμαι and Go. *qist* must be separated. The initial σ- in Greek is aberrant; cf. e.g. Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 1: 590 and Schmidt *Sprache* 22 (1976): 40-49, who assumes that σβ- is metathesized from *βσ-, the regular outcome of an aorist *$g^{w}sē$-. This seems unneccesarily complicated.

σβέν(ν)ιον [n.] 'fibrous spathe of a male date-palm' (pap.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

σέβις [?] = πυξίς 'box (of box-wood)' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

σέβομαι [v.] 'to shy, feel ashamed' (Δ 242), post-Hom. 'to be in awe, honor, worship', especially with regard to the gods. ◂IE *$tieg^{w}$- 'leave alone, give up'▸

•VAR Also σέβω (Pi., trag.), rarely in prose (cf. Schwyzer 1950: 234). Non-presentic forms are quite rare: aor. pass. σεφθῆναι (S. *Fr.* 164, Pl. *Phdr.* 254b), fut. σεβήσομαι (pap. II^{p}).

•COMP Rarely with προσ-, ἀντι-.

•DER σέβας [n.] 'awe, amazement, worship, object of awe, object of worship' (epic poet. Il.), only nom. and acc.; plur. σέβη at A. *Supp.* 755; as a second member of compounds -σεβής (but possibly derived directly from σέβομαι), e.g. εὐ-σεβής 'god-fearing, pious' (Thgn., Pi.), εὐσέβ-εια, -έω, -ημα (from this form and from ἀσέβημα, also a simplex σέβημα [n.] 'worship' (Orph.) is formed). σέβας served as a basis for the aor. σεβάσσατο (Il.), whence pres. σεβάζομαι, aor. pass. σεβασθῆναι (late) = σέβομαι and derivatives σεβάσεις [pl.] 'deferences' (Epicur.), -σμα [n.] 'object of worship, shrine' (D. H., NT), -σμός [m.] 'worship' (Hell. and late), with -σμιος, -σμιότης, -στός 'venerable, reverend, elevated', = Lat. *Augustus* (D. H., Str.), with -στιος, -στικός, -στεύω, -στεῖον, and a pres. σεβίζομαι, -ίζω = σέβο-μαι (Pi., trag. et al.), which could also be an enlargement of σέβομαι, with -ισμα [n.] (sch.). Verbal

adjective σεπτός 'venerable' (A. *Pr.* 812, late prose), mostly in compounds, ἄ-, περί-, θεό-σεπτος, etc. (trag.); σεπτ-ικός, -εύω (H.). Agent noun θεο-σέπτωρ [m.] 'worshipper of gods' (E. *Hipp.* 1364 [anap.]). σέβερος· εὐσεβής, δίκαιος (H.). See also ►σεμνός and ►σοβέω.

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Skt. *tyajati* 'to desert, leave alone, abandon' < **tieg^{w}-e/o-*. Although this seems semantically remote at first sight, the fact that the causative ►σοβέω < **tiog^{w}-eie-* means 'to scare away, chase away' indicates that σέβομαι originally may have meant 'to run away, flee' vel sim. Formal Greco-Aryan matches like σεπτός ~ *tyaktá-*, θεο-σέπτωρ ~ *tyaktar-*, σέβας ~ *tyajas-* are rather due to parallel development than to common inheritance. The origin of the -α- in the *s*-stem σέβας is unclear, but perhaps analogical after γέρας (cf. Chantraine 1933: 422).

σεῖν [v.] 'to let children urinate' (Ar. *fr.* 850). ◄ONOM►

•ETYM Onomatopoeic.

σειρά [f.] 'cord, rope, snare, lasso' (Il.). ◄IE **tuerH-* 'grasp, seize, fence in'►

•VAR Ion. -ρή (Dor. σηρά gramm.).

•COMP σειρα-φόρος [m.], Ion. -ρη-, of ἵππος 'a horse which draws by the trace only, trace-horse' (Hdt., A., Ar.), παρά-σειρος 'tied or fastened alongside; a horse harnessed alongside the regular pair; (metaph.) companion' (E. [lyr.], X., Poll.).

•DER σειραῖος 'equipped with a rope, walking by the rope' (= σειραφόρος; S., E., D. H.); σειράω [v.] 'to tie or to pull with a rope' (Phot.); ἀνα-σειράζω 'to pull backwards (with a rope)' (E., A. R.); σειρ-ωτός 'girded with a cord' (Sm., Thd.), -όω 'to gird, hem' (Dosith.), -ωσις (Phot.). Diminutive σειρίς [f.] (X.); σερίδες· σειραί 'ropes', σερί<ς>· ζωστήρ 'girdle' (H.), with -ε- for -ει-?; σειράδιον [n.] (Eust.).

•ETYM Usually connected with Lith. *tvérti*, 1sg. *tveriù* 'to grasp, fence in' and reconstructed as **tuer-ieh$_2$-*, lit. 'seizing' (cf. also ►σορός). Note that the acute accentuation in Lithuanian points to the presence of a laryngeal, **tuerH-*, which means that σειρά should reflect **tuerH-ieh$_2$-* (with loss of laryngeal before **i̯* according to Pinault's Law; Pinault 1982). Connection with εἴρω 'to put in order, connect', Lat. *serō* 'to link, connect' would be better semantically, but would leave the Gr. σ- unexplained. Hitt. *tūriie/a-^{zi}* 'to harness' is unrelated (thus e.g. Risch *apud* Mayrhofer *Sprache* 10 (1964): 197 and Mayrhofer *IF* 70 (1965-1966): 253), and rather belongs to Skt. *dhur-* 'yoke, pole of a carriage' and Gr. ►θαιρός (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 900).

Σειρήν -ῆνος [f.] 'Siren(s)', mythical destructive bird-like creatures (woman-birds), who in the Odyssey attract sailors on passing ships with their beautiful chant, and then kill them (Od.); also a designation of various seductive women and creatures (Alcm., E., Aeschin., etc.); a designation of a wild kind of bees (Arist. et al.); see Gil Fernández 1959: 214f. ◄?►

•VAR Σιρ- (Att. vase-inscr.); see Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 61f. Often pl. -ῆνες, gen. du. -ήνοιν (Od.). By-forms Σειρην-ίδες (Dor. Σηρην-) [pl.] (Alcm. et al.), -άων [gen.pl.] (Epich. 123, verse-final).

•COMP Has been assumed as a first member in Myc. *se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re*, *-a-pi* (Mühlestein *Glotta* 36 (1958):152ff.); but well-founded doubts by Risch *SMEA* 1 (1966): 53 ff. SeeAura Jorro 1985-1993: 255.

•DER Σειρήν(ε)ιος 'like a siren' (LXX, Hld.).

•ETYM Formally, it is possible to compare σειρά as "the ensnaring one" or Σείριος, as a personification of the mid-day blaze and mid-day magic; see Solmsen 1909: 126ff. In favor of Pre-Greek / Mediterranean origin is e.g. Chantraine 1933: 167; further hypotheses in Brandenstein 1954a: 56f. Fur.: 172 takes the name of the wild bees as Pre-Greek.

Σείριος [m.] 'Sirius, the dog star' (Hes.), also appositive or attributive Σείριος ἀστήρ (Hes. *Op.* 417), as an epithet of stars (Ibyc. et al.) and of the sun (Archil. et al.), 'glowing, burning, desiccating'; also an epithet of the νᾶες (Tim. *Pers.* 192), probably reinterpreted as 'devastating, destroying' (cf. von Wilamowitz ad loc.). ◂IE? **tuis-ro-* 'sparkling', PG?▸

•DER σειριόεις 'scorching, glowing' (ἥλιος, ἀτμός, Opp., Nonn.); σειρι-άω [v.] 'to glow, scorch' (ὀξέα σειριάει, of Σείριος, Arat. 331), also 'to get a heat stroke (σειρίασις)' (medic.); further σειρ-αίνω [v.] 'to scorch, parch' (Oros *apud EM*), -όω (ἀπο-), also -έω (-εόω) 'to desiccate, drain, filtrate' (medic., pap.; cf. Lagercrantz 1913: ad loc.), whence -ωμα, -ωσις (late); σειρ-άζω 'to strike', of lightning (Ael. Dion.).

Further some designations for a thin, transparent (summer) garment: σειρόν, σείριον, σείρινα, σειρήν (Harp., Phot., Hes.); cf. Solmsen 1909: 128. Artificial back-formation σείρ, σειρός· ὁ ἥλιος καὶ Σείριος (Suid.).

•ETYM Assuming an original meaning 'sparkling, flickering', Σείριος has been connected with ▸σείω, which is compared to a verb 'to be excited, sparkle, gleam' in Skt. *tviṣ-*, whence *tvíṣ-* 'excitement, gleam', *tveṣá-* 'tempestuous, sparkling', and especially Av. *θβisra-* 'glitter'. The basis for the Greek form would then be **tueis-ro-* or, if σει-stands for σῖ- (Götze *KZ* 51 (1923): 151f.) **tuis-ro-* (like the Avestan word). Fur.: 262 compares τίριος· θέρους. Κρῆτες 'summer (Cretan)' (H.); if correct, the word could be Pre-Greek.

σειρόω ⇒Σείριος.

σείω [v.] 'to shake, agitate, sway', med. and pass. also 'to quake, shiver'. ◂IE **tuei(s)-* 'excite, sparkle'▸

•VAR Epic ἐπι-σσείω (see below), aor. σεῖσαι (Il.), them. aor. ptc. acc. σιόντα (Anacr.), pass. σεισθῆναι, fut. σείσω (IA), perf. med. σέσεισμαι (Pi., etc.), act. σέσεικα (Hell. and late).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐν-, ἐπι-. Seldomly found in compounds, e.g. σεισ-άχθεια [f.] i.e. 'the casting off of burdens, i.e. of debts', designation of a law of Solon (Arist., Plu.); on δορυ-σσόος, see ▸δόρυ and Schwyzer: 450[4].

•DER σεῖ-σις (ἀπό-, κατά-, etc.) [f.] 'shaking' (medic.), -σμός (ἀνα-, δια-, etc.) [m.] 'shock, earthquake, extortion' (IA), whence -σμώδης 'like an earthquake' (late), -σμα (παρά-, διά-, etc.) [f.] 'shaking' (LXX), 'extortion' (pap.), whence -σματίας [m.]

'concerning an earthquake' (D. L., Plu.); -στρον [n.] 'rattle' (taken over in Latin as *sistrum*), -στρος [m.] plant name 'Rhinanthus maior' (Arist., Plu.), -σων, -σωνος [m.] a kind of vase, "shaker" (middle com.), formation like in καύσων, cf. καίω; -στης [m.] a kind of earthquake (Lyd.), -στός 'shaken' (Ar.), 'rattling', used of earpendants (Delos III-II[a]).

•ETYM Because of its aberrant vocalization, the zero grade ptc. σιόντα must be interpreted as an aorist. Except for this form and nominal -(σ)σόος, all forms show the stem σει(σ)-. The geminate -σσ- in epic ἐπι-σσείω, ἐ-σσείοντο must go back to an original consonant group, which means that σείω can be connected with Skt. *tvéṣati* 'to excite; (med.) to be excited, inflame, sparkle' (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 686), which points to a reconstruction **tueis-e/o-*. In Avestan, besides *θβaēšå* 'fears' < **tueis-* we also find forms without *-s-*, viz. *θβaiiah-* [n.], *θβiiā* [f.] 'fright, danger' < **tuei-os-*, **tui-eh₂-*. Also possibly related is ►Σείριος.

σελαγέομαι, -έω ⇒σέλας.

σέλας, -αος [n.] 'light, glow, beam' (Il., epic poet., Arist., etc.); on the use in Hom. see Graz 1965: 310ff. ◄?►

•COMP σελασ-φόρος 'bringing light' (A.), with analogical -η-: σελαη-φόρος (Man.), -γενέτης (*AP*).

•DER σελά-ω 'to shine, glow' (Nic. *Th.* 691), whence -σμα, -σμός 'glow' (Man.); -γέομαι (E., Ar.), -γέω (Opp.) 'to glow, radiate', whence -γησις [f.] 'glow' (Zonar.) and by back-formation -γος [n.] 'beam' (*Hymn. Is.*); enlarged -γίζω 'id.' (Nonn. et al.), whence -γισμα [n.] 'lightning, flash' (Man.); -σσομαι 'to shine, glow' (Nic. *Th.* 46), -σκω 'to glow' (Theognost.). See also ►σελήνη, ►σέλαχος.

•ETYM Etymology unclear. Frisk s.v. states that a connection with Av. *xᵛarənah-* 'glory of fame' is semantically attractive, but the interpretation of the latter word is debated (see Lubotsky 1998b for discussion). Moreover, the initial σ- of σέλας is incompatible with Av. *xᵛ-*. A different but unlikely etymological proposal can be found in Pisani *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 6:7 (1931): 75.

σελάτης [?] = κοχλίας 'snail with a spiral shell' (H.); the form has been corrected to *σιαλίτης, see Redard 1949: 86.

σέλαχος [n.] 'cartilaginous fish' (Hp., Arist.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Mostly plur. -άχη.

•DER Diminutive σελάχ-ιον [n.], also a designation for small crustaceans (com.), -ιος 'cartilaginous', of fishes (late), -ώδης 'belonging to the cartilaginous fishes' (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation resembles τέμαχος, τάριχος, στέλεχος. Connected with σέλας 'light, glow, beam' already by Galen, because of the phosphorescent light of certain cartilaginous fishes (Strömberg 1943: 55); yet the suffix -αχ- may also point to Pre-Geek origin (cf. κύμβαχος). The old connection with OHG *selah* 'seal', etc. is untenable; cf. Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 24f.

σελήνη [f.] 'moon' (Il.). ◄GR►

•VAR Dor. -άνα, Aeol. -άννα.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἀ-σέληνος 'moonless' (Th. et al.).

•DER σελην-αίη, Dor. σελαναία [f.] = σελήνη (Il., epic poet.), like Ἀθηναίη (cf. Schwyzer: 469); -ιον [n.] 'phase of the moon, contour of the moon, etc.' (Arist., Thphr.), plant name -ῖτις; -άριον [n.] designation of moon-shaped ornaments, -ίς [f.] 'id.', -ίσκος [m.] 'id.' (late), -ίτης (λίθος) [m.] "moonstone", 'selenite' (Dsc. et al.), also fem. -ῖτις (Redard 1949: 60), 'moon dweller, etc.' (Luc., Ath. et al.), -ιεῖα [n. pl.] 'moon festival' (pap. II^{a}; Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 95), -αῖος 'moonlit, concerning the moon' (Orac. *apud* Hdt., A. R.), -ιακός 'belonging to the moon' (Plu. et al.), after ἡλι-ακός; -ιάζομαι (*Ev. Matt.*, Vett. Val.), also -(ι)άζω, -ιάω (Man.), 'to be moonstruck, i.e. to be epileptic', whence -ιασμός [m.] 'epilepsy' (Vett. Val.).

•ETYM This etymon derives from *σελασ-νᾱ, a derivative in -νᾱ from ►σέλας 'light, glow, beam'. The formation may be compared with the PIE word for 'moon', **l(o)uksneh₂-*, as attested in e.g. Lat. *lūna* 'moon' (compare ►λύχνος).

σέλῑνον [n.] 'celery, Apium graveolens' (Il.), also metaph. 'vagina' (Phot.); on the meaning, cf. Andrews *Class. Phil.* 44 (1949): 91ff. ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR Aeol. -νν- (gramm.).

•DIAL Myc. *se-ri-no*.

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. πετρο-σέλινον [n.] 'rock celery' (Dsc.), taken over in Latin as *petro-selīnum*, MLat. *petrosilium* > MoHG *Petersilie*; see Strömberg 1940: 33.

•DER σελίν-ινος 'of celery' (late, rare), -ίτης οἶνος, -ᾶτον [n.] = Lat. *apiātum*, Σελινοῦς, -οῦντος [m., f.] HN and TN, -ούντιος 'of S.' (Megar., Th., Str.), -ούσιος (Thphr.) 'id.' (on the formation see Schwyzer: 528 and 466), -ουσία· κράμβης εἶδος 'kind of cabbage' (H., Eudem. *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM Probably a foreign word like ►κύμινον, ►ῥητίνη. Strömberg 1940: 37 proposed a connection with σέλμα 'deckplank', σελίς 'crossbeam', after the coarse, hollow stalk. Note that Fur.: 351 suggests a connection with Myc. *sa-ri-nu-wo-te*, which would point to a form *σάλινον, indicating Pre-Greek origin.

σελίς, -ίδος [f.] 'crossbeam of a building or ship, cross-piece, transverse wall, transverse row of benches or seats in a theatre, cross stripe or column in a papyrus roll' (Att. inscr., Hell. and late inscr. and pap., LXX, Plb., *AP*). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR Frequently plur. -ίδες.

•DER Diminutive σελίδ-ιον [n.] 'papyrus column' (Ptol., Vett. Val.), -ωμα [n.] 'broad plank' (sch.); σέλμα, often plur. -ατα [n.] 'deck-plank, rowing plank, rowing bench, deck, scaffolds' (*h. Bacch.*, Archil., trag., Str.), metaph. of the seat of the gods (A. *Ag.* 183 [lyr.]). As a second member (with transfer to the *o*-stems) ἐῦ-(σ)σελμος (εὖ-) 'with beautiful σέλματα' (epic poet. Il.).

Glosses σελμίς· … καὶ τὰ ἴκρια '… and the half-deck' (H.), σελμῶν· σανίδων 'planks, boards' (H.).

•ETYM This word could be denominative as well as deverbal (formation like ►σανίς, ►δοκίς, etc.), whereas σέλμα is a verbal noun in -μα (δέρμα, βῆμα, etc.). Hesychius's gloss σελμίς seems to be a cross of the two, whereas σελμῶν seems to belong under an *o*-stem *σελμός.

Schmidt 1875: 78 compared these words with OHG *swelli* [n.], MoHG *Schwelle* 'till, threshold' < PGm. **swalja-*, and ON *súl*, OHG *sūl*, etc. 'pillar' < PGm. **suljō-*, but phonetically this etymology is unconvincing, since **su̯-* does not yield Gk. σ-. Frisk (s.v.) instead connects σέλμα with OE *selma*, *sealma*, OS *selmo* [m.] 'basis of a bed', but this too is phonetically impossible. If the gloss ἔλματα· ... σανιδώματα 'planking' (H.) is cognate, the alternation between σέλμα and ἔλμα may point to Pre-Greek origin.

σελλίζομαι [v.] = ψελλίζεσθαι· τινὲς δὲ σελλίζει· ἀλαζονεύει 'make false pretentions' (H.). In Phryn. Com. 10 'to imitate Aeschines, son of Sellos', on which see DELG. ◁?▷

•ETYM Unclear.

σέλμα ⇒σελίς.

σέμελος [m.] Lacon. for κοχλίας 'snail with a spiral shell' (Apollas *apud* Ath. 2, 63d). ◁?▷

•DER σεμελοιρίδαι· οἱ ἄνευ κελύφους οὓς ἔνιοι λίψακας 'those without shell, which some call λ.' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown. See ▶σέσῖλος.

σεμίδᾶλις, -ιος [f.] 'finest wheat flour, fine flour' (Hp., com., etc.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR Gen. also -εως, -ιδος.

•DER σεμιδάλ-ιον (also -ιν) [n.] 'id.', -ίτης ἄρτος (Hp., pap., etc.), see Redard 1949: 90f.

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Syr. *s*ᵉ*mīdā* and Assyr. *samīdu* 'fine flour' (Lewy *KZ* 58 (1931): 28f.), whence also Lat. *simila* 'id.', etc. are derived. The Greek word was the source for Georg. *semi(n)dali* 'wheat'.

σεμνός [adj.] 'venerable, honored, holy, noble', also 'haughty, proud' (*h. Cer.*). ◁IE **tiegʷ-no-*▷

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. σεμνό-μαντις [m.] 'venerable seer' (S.), ἄ-σεμνος 'unworthy, ignoble' (Arist., etc.).

•DER σεμν-ότης [f.] 'dignity, nobility, pride' (Att.), -εῖον [n.] 'holy building' (Ph.), after ἀρχεῖον etc.; -ύνομαι, -ύνω [v.] 'to exalt oneself, be proud; to make venerable, exalt, praise' (Hdt., Att.), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπερ-, etc.; formation after θρασύνομαι, -ύνω, αἰσχύνομαι, etc.; back-formations ὑπέρ-, ἐπί-σεμνος (late), cf. Strömberg 1946: 98; -όω = -ύνω (Hdt.), with derivative -ωμα [n.] 'dignity, majesty' (Epicur.).

•ETYM This word reflects *σεβνός < **tiegʷ-no-*, an original verbal adjective from ▶σέβομαι 'to shy, feel ashamed; to be in awe, honor'.

σεργοί = ἔλαφοι 'deer' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown; cf. Hester *Lingua* 13 (1965): 376 and Fur.: 247.

σέρις, -ιδος, -εως [f.] 'endive, chicory' (Epich., Dsc., *AP* et al.). ◁?▷

•COMP ὑό-σερις (Plin.), with pejorative ὑο-, see Strömberg 1940: 31.

•ETYM Unexplained.

σέρῑφος ⇒σέρφος.

σερός [adv.] · χθές. Ἠλεῖοι 'yesterday (Elean)' (H.). ◁IE **dʰǵʰies* 'yesterday'▷
•ETYM Perhaps from *χιεσ-ός, related to Skt. *hyás* 'yesterday' < PIE **dʰǵʰies*, with Elean rhotacism and -ός after νυκτός, etc. Cf. ►χθές.

σέρφος [m.] 'small winged insect, gnat, winged ant' (Ar. et al.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also σύρφος· θηρίδιον μικρόν, ὁποῖον ἐμπίς 'small animal, a kind of gnat' (H.), σέριφος [m.], -ίφη [f.] 'a kind of locust' (Zen., Suid.), -ιφον [n.] = ἀψίνθιον θαλάσσιον 'maritime wormwood' (Dsc., Gal.).
•ETYM For the formation, compare other animal names in -φος, -ιφος (ἔλαφος, ἔριφος, etc.), and cf. Chantraine 1933: 263. According to Fur.: 384, the variation in forms points to a Pre-Greek origin. The forms σέρφος/σέριφος could reflect a form **serʸp-o-* or even **sarʸp-o-*, but the -υ- in σύρφος is then hard to explain. Do we have to assume two separate words?

σέσελι [n.] 'small hartwort, Tordylium officinale' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Dsc. et al.) ◁LW Eg.▷
•VAR -ις [f.], also σίλι [n.] (Plin.); cf. also σιλλικύπριον [n.], an Egyptian tree (Hdt. 2, 94), see Strömberg 1940: 127.
•ETYM A foreign word like πέπερι, κιννάβαρι, etc. According to Ps.-Dsc., an Egyptian name for καυκαλίς. Taken over in Latin as *seselis*, *sil*.

σεσερῖνος [?] a fish. ◁?▷
•ETYM See Thompson 1947 s.v.

σέσηρα [v.] 'to show one's teeth, to grin' (IA), also 'to gape', of a wound (Hp.), an isolated perf. with pres. meaning.
•VAR Ptc. σεσηρώς, Dor. σεσᾱρώς, epic σεσᾰρυῖα [f.] (Hes. *Sc.* 268).
•DER See on ►σῆραγξ.
•ETYM As an old perfect, the verb looks inherited, but no cognates in the other IE languages are known. Sometimes ►σάρμα 'chasm, abyss' is regarded as cognate.

σέσῑλος [m.] 'land slug' (Ath. 2, 63c, Dsc. 2, 9, H. [cod. -σηλ-]). ◁?▷
•VAR Also σεσέλιτα [acc.[(Dsc. l.c.); compare ►σέμελος 'id.' (Ath. 2, 63d [Lacon.], H.).
•ETYM Unexplained.

σεύομαι [v.] 'to charge in, huddle, hurry, hasten, chase', act. 'to chase (away), rush, incite' (Il., epic poet., also Hp., Aret. [as συθῆ, ἐσύθη]). ◁IE **kieu-* 'start to move'▷
•VAR Also (B., Hell. epic) act. σεύω; aor. ἐσσύμην, ἔσσυτο, σύτο; ἐσ(σ)ύθην, σύθην, σύθι; also σεύατο, ἐσσεύαντο, act. ἔσσευα, σεῦα, perf. ἔσσυμαι, ptc. ἐσσύμενος (cf. Chantraine 1942: 190 on the accentuation), 3pl. σεσύανται (H.), verbal adj. ἐπίσσυτος; also σοῦμαι, σοῦνται, ipv. σοῦ, inf. σοῦσθαι (trag.), Dor. σοώμην, σῶμαι, etc. (H.), perf. ptc. ἐσσομένον (H.), act. 3sg. σόει (B.), a deverbative derived from σοϝοῦμαι < *σοϝ-έομαι, cf. Wackernagel *KZ* 25 (1881): 277; with lengthened grade σώοντο, σωομένους (A. R.); σεῦται (S. *Tr.* 645 [lyr.]).
•COMP With prefixes, especially ἐπι-.

•DER As a second member in compounds: αὐτό-σσυτος 'self-sped' (A., S.), often -σ(σ)όος in e.g. λαο-σσόος 'inciting the men' (Hom. et al.); σοῦς (from *σόϝος) [m.] '(fast, upward) movement' (Democr., Lacon. acc. to Pl. *Cra.* 412b, H.); ὑποσευαντήρ [m.] 'expeller (of the plague)', epithet of Apollo (metr. inscr. Callipolis), derived from ὑπο-σεύω in analogy after e.g. λυμαν-τήρ from λυμαίνομαι; σῶτρον in ►ἐπίσσωτρον; ►πανσυδί; ►ἐπασσύτερος. Cf. also ►τευμιάομαι and ►τευτάζω.

•ETYM This verb is directly cognate with Skt. *cyávate* 'to move, stir, undertake', Av. *šiiauuaite* 'to enact, commit' < PIE **kiéu-e-to*, with correspondences -σσυτος ~ Skt. *cyutá-* 'moved', Av. *mainiiu.šūta-* 'driven by mind' < **kiu-tó-* and σοῦμαι < *σοϝέομαι ~ Skt. causative *cyāváyate* < **kiou-éie/o-*. Another cognate is Arm. aor. *č'ogay* (pres. *ert'am*) 'I went', from an *o*-grade **kiou-*. In spite of the clear cognates, the exact prehistory of the Greek forms is unclear. A preform **kiéu-e-to* should have regularly given **σέεται. The preservation of -ευ- in σεύομαι must therefore be analogical. LIV² (s.v. *k*^{w}*ieu̯-*) assumes that it was rebuilt on the *s*-aorist ἔσσευα. Yet this form is difficult to explain as well, since a preform **kiéu-s-ṃ* should regularly have yielded *(-σ)σῆα. Harðarson 1993a: 190 assumes that σεύομαι reflects **kieu-ie/o-*, a recently formed present on the basis of the original *s*-aorist, but this is phonetically unlikely: **kieu-ie/o-* should have given *σείομαι. Perhaps we should assume that an original athematic middle **kiéu-to(i)* (perhaps preserved as such in the rare form σεῦται) was the basis on which the -υ- was preserved and generalized in the other forms. On the aorists ἔσσευα and ἔχευα, see Hettrich *MSS* 35 (1976): 47-61; see also Peters *Sprache* 21 (1975). See ►κινέω, ►κίω.

σεῦτλον ⇒τεῦτλον.

σήθω [v.] 'to sieve, sift' (Hp., Dsc., Hell. and late pap.). ◅IE **kieh₂-* 'sieve'▻

•VAR Aor. σῆσαι, σησθῆναι, perf. σέσησμαι, verbal adj. σηστός.

•COMP Also with δια-, κατα-, etc.

•DER σῆσις (Suid.), σᾶσις (Delph.) [f.] 'sieving', σῆστρα· κόσκινα 'sieve' (H.), whence σηστρίδιον [n.] (pap. II^{p}).

•ETYM This verb seems to be a θ-present (compare πλήθω, and especially the synonym ἡθέω) to a root ση- < σᾱ-, which is attested as such in 3pl. pres. σῶσι (Hdt. 1, 200), aor. σῆσαι, etc., and (with analogical -σ-) σησθῆναι, which all point to a verb *σάω (cf. *EM* σῶ). This is related to Att. δια-ττάω (*EM* τῶ), from **kieh₂-*. See ►διαττάω for further discussion.

σηκός [m.] 'enclosure, fence, pen, stable, enclosed sacred space' (Il.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Dor. (Epid.) σακός.

•COMP σηκο-κόρος [m.] 'stableman' (ρ 224, etc.).

•DER σηκ-ίς (Ar.), -ύλη, -υλλα (Ael. Dion., H., Phot.) [f.] 'house-slave', -ίτης (Dor. σακ-) [m.] (ἀρήν, ἔριφος) 'fed in the stable, weaned' (Theoc., Long.), σῆκα· οὕτως ἐπιφθέγγονται οἱ ποιμένες εἰς τὸ συγκλεῖσαι τὰ ποίμνια 'thus the herdsmen call out in order to enclose the flocks' (H.), -άζω 'to drive into the pen, confine' (Θ 131 etc.), σηκόω (with ἀντι-, ἀνα-) 'to weigh against, balance, equalize, compensate' (Hp., trag., Arist.), whence σήκ-ωμα (Dor. σάκ-) [n.] 'enclosed sacred space' (E., inscr.), usually 'weight, counterweight, calibrated weight or measure' (E., Hyp., Plb., Hell.

and late pap. and inscr.); -ωτήρ [m.] 'balance beam' (H.); ἀντισήκ-ωσις [f.] 'counterweight, equalization' (Hdt., Plot.), with backformation ἀντί-σηκος 'equalizing' (Eust.); σάκωσε· κατέκλεισεν 'enclosed' (H.), ἀποσηκώσας· ὡς ἐν σηκῷ κατακλείσας 'like "having enclosed in a pen"' (H.).

•ETYM Since Bezzenberger *BB* 12 (1887): 240, commonly connected with ►σάττω 'to stuff' through a preform **tu̯āko-*, which in laryngeal terms would be **tueh₂k-os*. Yet σάττω would then reflect **tu̯ak-i̯ō*, which cannot be explained in laryngeal terms (**tuh₂k-* should have yielded *τῡκ-). Perhaps the alternation rather points to Pre-Greek origin.

σηλαγγεύς, -έως [m.] 'gold refiner, gold washer' (Agatharch.). ◄PG►

•ETYM For *σαλαγγεύς (from σάλαγξ; see ►σάλος), with -η- after ►σῆραγξ?

σῆμα [n.] 'sign, symbol, trait, omen, mark, character, feature, gravestone' (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Dor. σᾶμα.

•COMP E.g. σηματ-ουργός [m.] 'mark maker' (A.); often as a second member with regular transition into the *o*-stems, e.g. ἄ-σημος, Dor. ἄ-σᾱμος 'without signs, unimpressed, unintelligible' (IA, Dor.), taken over as MP *asēm* '(uncoined) silver', MoP *sīm* '(silver) thread', cf. Bailey *TPS* 1933: 50), isolated ἀ-σήμων 'id.' (S.), ἐπί-σημος (Dor. -ᾱ-) 'provided with a mark' (IA, Dor.), ntr. -ον 'mark, weapon' (Ion. Hell. and late), also -α (Simon., A.); after σῆμα.

•DER σημα-λέος 'sending signs', epithet of Zeus (Paus.), -τόεις 'full of gravestones' (*AP*); denominative σημαίνω [v.] 'to give a sign, show, order' (Il.), Dor. (Pamphyl.) σᾱμ-, often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ὑπο-, δια-, ἀπο-. Hence σημάν-τωρ, -τορος [m.] 'commander, ruler, guide' (epic Il.), a military official (Hdt. 7, 81), 'annunciator, announcing' (late poet.), -τήρ, -τήριον, -τρον, -τρίς, -τρια, -τικός, -σις, also σημασία [f.] 'announcement, etc.' (Arist., Hell. and late), σηματίζομαι = σημαίνομαι (sch.), diminutive σημάτιον [n.] (Eust.), σημ-εῖον, Ion. -ήϊον, Dor. σᾱμ- [n.] 'sign, mark, standard, signal, signet' (IA, Dor.), formation like μνημ-εῖον beside μνῆμ-α, with -ειώδης 'noteworthy' (Arist., Hell. and late), σημι-ειόομαι, -ειόω 'to note, notice; to provide with a seal' (Hp., Thphr., Hell. and late), also with ἐπι-, etc.; thence -είωσις, -είωμα, -ειωτικός. σημι-εία (-ἐα, -αία) [f.] 'standard, banner' (Hell. and late), formation like βασιλ-εία, etc. PN Σαμιχος [m.] (Boeot. inscr.), etc.

•ETYM Although the word looks inherited, no good etymology exists. Brugmann (e.g. Brugmann 1886-1900 II: 348) equated it with Skt. *dhyāman-* [n.] 'thought', but semantically, this is not compelling. If correct, however, σῆμα would reflect **dʰiéh₂-mn-*.

σήμερον ⇒τήμερον.

σημύδα [f.] 'Judas-tree, Cercis siliquastrum' (Thph.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

σηπία [f.] 'squid' (Hippon., Epich., Ar., Arist.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Ion. -ίη.

•DER Diminutives σηπ-ΐδιον (Hp., com., Arist.), -ιδάριον [n.] (Philyll.), -ιάς [f.] 'squid' (Nic.), -ίον or -ειον [n.] 'Os sepiae, bone of the cuttlefish, pounce' (Arist.).

•ETYM The formation of this word is unclear. Normally, words in -ία are abstracts, which does not match this word's meaning. A connection with σήπομαι 'to rot' is semantically possible (perhaps referring to the ink that smells as if it is rotten), but formally problematic, as σηπία occurs in Epich. (61 and 84) with -ῃ-, whereas σήπομαι has Doric forms with -ᾱ-. If the forms of Epich. are corrupt or Ionicisms, the connection would be possible. However, it may be more likely that σηπία is a Pre-Greek word (not mentioned in Fur.). The word was taken over in Latin as *sēpia*.

σήπομαι [v.] 'to rot, become rotten', act. 'to make rot' (Il.). ◁IE? **Kieh₂p-* (vel sim.) 'rot', PG?▷

•VAR Perf. σέσηπα, aor. σαπῆναι (Il.), fut. σαπήσομαι (Hp., Pl.), also act. σήπω (IA), non-present forms are rare: fut. σήψω (A. *Fr.* 275 = 478 M.), aor. σῆψαι (Ael.).

•COMP Also with prefixes, especially ἀπο-, κατα-, δια-.

•DER σηπεδών, -δόνος [f.] 'decomposition', plur. 'rotting juices' (Hp., Antipho Soph., Pl.), formation like τηκεδών, etc.; also a designation of snakes, since their bites cause putrescence (Nic., Ael.), like τερηδών, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 360f.); thence derivatives -δονώδης, -δονικός (medic.); σῆψις (ἀπό-, σύν-, etc.), Dor. (Ti. Locr.) σᾶψις [f.] 'decomposition, fermentation' (Emp., Hp., Arist.), σήψ, σηπός [f.] 'festering sore' (Hp., Dsc.), [m.] 'snake (also lizard), the bite of which causes intense thirst' (Arist., Nic.), σήπη [f.] 'decomposition' (Aq.), σηπο-ποιός = σηπτικός (Alex. Aphr.), σηπετοῦ· σηπεδόνος 'decay' (H.), σηπ-τός 'rotten' (Arist.), 'causing rot' (Dsc. et al.), earlier and more frequent ἄ-σηπ-τος 'not rotting' (Hp., X., Arist., Thphr.), -τικός 'causing rot' (Hp., Arist.), -τήριος 'id.' (Hp.), σηπ-εύω = σήπω (Man.) (rather enlarged from σήπω than derived from σήπη).

With a different ablaut grade: σαπρός 'rotting, rotten, rancid', 'matured' of wine (IA), also σαπρίας οἶνος (Hermipp.); σαπρ-ότης [f.] 'decomposition' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -ίζομαι (Hp.), -ύνομαι (Nic.), -όομαι (sch.) 'to rot', -ίζω 'to make rot' (LXX).

•ETYM The alternation σηπ-/σαπ- has been taken to point to IE origin (so **tueh₂p-*, **tieh₂p-*, or **kieh₂p-*; the last is chosen in LIV² s.v. **K̑ieh₂p-*), but no cognates are known. However, **Kih₂p-ro-* does not yield σαπρός, so we either have to assume a secondary zero grade (which is unlikely), or we have to accept that the verb is of Pre-Greek origin. Older connections with Skt. *kyāku-* [n.] 'mushroom' and Lith. *šiùpti* 'to putrefy' must be rejected. See on ▶σηπία.

σῆραγξ, -γγος [f., m.] 'cave hollowed out by water, hollow rock' (S., Pl., Arist.), also used of cavities and pores of the body (medic.), metaph. = ἐπιθυμία 'desire' (H.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Also σήραγγος.

•DER σηράγγ-ιον [n.] washing place in Piraeus (Att.), -ώδης 'full of σ.' (medic., Paus.), -όομαι, -όω 'to be hollow, make porous' (late).

•ETYM Formally similar to synonymous φάραγξ; cf. also φάλαγξ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 399f.). Sometimes connected with ▶σέσηρα 'to grin', but this is semantically unlikely. It is rather a Pre-Greek word, in view of the suffix (not mentioned in Fur.).

σήραμβος [?] · εἶδος κανθάρου 'a kind of beetle' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Strömberg 1944: 23 considered this to be Laconian for θήραφος 'spider'. Fur.: 171 compares the word to σίραμφος· τὸ ῥύγχος 'snout', assuming that σήραμβος denotes a 'snout beetle'. This is semantically unlikely, but in view of the connection with θήραφος (the suffix -αμβ- seems to be Pre-Greek; cf. κεράμβυξ 'longicorn beetle'), the word could be of Pre-Greek origin.

σής [m.] 'moth, mite' (Pi.). ◁?▷

•VAR Gen.sg. σεός (gramm.), nom.pl. σέες, acc.pl. σέας (Luc. *Ind.* 1), gen.pl. σέων (Ar. *Lys.* 730, etc.); later σητός, σῆτες, σητῶν (Arist., etc.).

•COMP σητό-βρωτος 'eaten away by moths' (LXX, NT).

•DER σητάω 'to eat away, gnaw', in σητώμενα· βιβρωσκόμενα 'being eaten' (Suid.).

•ETYM The older inflected forms, gen.pl. σέων (after which arose σέας, σέες), follow the type σαφής, -έων. The accentuation of gen.sg. σεός follows the pattern of monosyllables. The younger forms σητός, etc. are rebuilt after θής, θητός, etc.

The etymology is unclear. The comparisons with ψήν 'date wasp', σίνομαι 'to rob, damage', and Lat. *tinea* 'tinea' are semantically and/or formally weak. It is rather a loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *sās* 'moth', Akk. *sāsu*, etc. (Lewy 1895: 16f., Scheftelowitz *BB* 28 (1904): 289), and Arm. *c'ec'* 'mite'.

σήσαμον [n.] 'seed and fruit of the sesame plant', also referring to the plant itself (IA). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR Also -ος [m.], -η [f.] 'id.' (Gp.). Dor. σάσαμον, Lac. σάαμον.

•DIAL Myc. *sa-sa-ma* [pl.].

•COMP As a first element e.g. σησαμο-πώλης [m.] 'sesame merchant' (Att. inscr.).

•DER σησαμ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'dish made of roasted sesame seeds and honey' (Stesich., com.), -ῆ (-έα Hdn.) [f.] 'id.' (com.), -ιον [n.] 'id.' (Hdn.), -ίτης [m.] 'sesame cake' (Poll., Ath.), -ῖτις (γῆ) [f.] 'planted with σ.' (Hell. pap.), see Redard 1949: 91 and 109; -όεις, -οῦς [adj.] 'made of σ.', msc. 'sesame cake' (Hp., Ar.), -ινος 'made of σ.' (X., Hell. pap., Str., etc.), -αῖος 'id.' (Luc.), -ικός 'concerning σ.' (pap.), -ώδης 'sesame-like' (Thphr.), -ούντιος 'made of σ.' (sch.), -εύω 'to sow σ.', whence -εῖα [f.] (Hell. pap.).

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Akk. *šammaššamu* 'sesame', Aram. *šūmš^{e}mā*, etc. (Lewy 1895: 28f.), with a formation like κάρδαμον, βάλσαμον, etc. Taken over in Latin as *sēsamum*, *sēsuma*.

σητάνιος, σῆτες ⇒τῆτες.

σθένος [n.] 'strength, power, ability, might' (almost only epic poet. Il.). ◁?▷

•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. ἀ-σθενής 'without strength, strengthless' (Pi., IA), whence ἀσθέν-εια, -έω, -ημα, -όω, -ωσις, -ικός (Arist.) and the secondary simplex σθενής· ἰσχυρός, καρτερός 'powerful, strong' (H.); also as a first member, e.g. σθενο-βλαβής 'damaging the strength' (Opp.), after φρενο-βλαβής; PN Σθενέ-λαος (after Μενέλαος), Σθένελος (Il.).

•DER σθεν-αρός 'powerful' (epic poet. *I* 505, also Hp.), formed like βριαρός, στιβαρός, etc.; Σθέν-ιος [m.], -ιάς [f.] epithet of Zeus and of Athena in Argolis (Paus.), -εια [n.pl.] name of an Agon in Argos (Plu.), also fem.sg. epithet of Athena

(Lyc. 1164), formed after women's names in -εια; σθέν-ω (with ἐπι- Q. S.) 'to be strong, be able' (back-formation, only pres. and ipf.; trag., also late epic and prose; cf. Schwyzer: 723), -όω 'to strengthen' (1. *Ep. Pet.* 5, 10).

•ETYM No clear etymology. The suffix of σθένος has been analyzed as *-(*e*)*nos*- and compared with ἄφενος, κτῆνος, etc., but the existence of an old IE suffix of this shape is unlikely. The initial σθ- is taken as the root by Bolling *AmJPh.* 21 (1900): 316 and compared with Skt. *saghnóti* 'to be a match for, be equal to (a task)', Av. *a-zg-ata-* 'irresistible (?)', which would point to PIE **sg*^{wh}*-énos*.

σιᾱγών [f.] 'jawbone, jaw, cheek' (Hp., Att., Arist., LXX, NT). ◁PG▷

•VAR Ion. σιη- (σεα-, συα- late pap., etc.), -όν̯ος.

•DER σιᾱγ-όνιον [n.] 'region of the jaw, cheek piece' (Hp., LXX, Ath. Mech.), -ονίτης μῦς 'jaw muscle' (Alex. Trall.); Redard 1949: 101.

•ETYM Synonym for γνάθος (which is the more usual word). Connection with ψίομαι 'to chew' is semantically attractive, but the formation is quite unclear. The latter part, -ων, may be compared to the -ων in λαγών, κενεών, πυγών, άγκών, and other words for body parts, but the former part is obscure. Since IE origin is formally hardly possible, the word could well be of Pre-Greek origin, possibly reflecting *s^y*āg*- (cf. Beekes 2008: 52).

σιαλενδρίς [?] a bird (Call. *fr.* 419, acc. to H.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Origin unclear. Perhaps reflecting Pre-Greek **s^{y}al*-.

σίαλον [n., m.] 'spittle, slobber', metaph. 'joint fluid, synovitis' (Hp., Pherecr., X., Arist., Hell. and late). ◁?▷

•VAR σίελον (-ος).

•DER σιαλίς· βλέννος 'slime' (H.), σιαλώδης 'like saliva' (Hp.), σιαλ-ίζω (σιελ-) [v.] 'to form spittle, slobber, foam' (Hp., Archig.), -ισμός [m.] 'water-brash' (medic.), -ιστήριον [n.] 'bridle-bit' (Gp.), σίαι· πτύσαι· Πάφιοι 'to spit (Paph.)' (H.), cod. πτῆσαι, cf. Schwyzer: 752^4.

•ETYM Probably an onomatopoeic word. A connection with Skt. *kṣ́ivati* 'to spit' is formally difficult. Note that the verb ▸σικχαίνω, -ομαι 'to feel disgust, detest' shows the rare and late forms σιαίνομαι, aor. σιάνθην 'to meet antipathy, disgust' (pap. VI-VII^{p}, H., Suid., gloss.), and σιαίνω 'to cause antipathy' (sch.), which seem to be transformations on the basis of σίαλον.

σίαλος [m.] 'fat pig, porker', also appositive to σῦς 'id.' (Hom., Q. S., Thphr *apud* Porph.); metaph. 'fat, grease' (Hp. *Acut.* [*Sp.*] 37). ◁PG▷

•DIAL Myc. *si-a$_2$-ro*.

•DER σιαλ-ώδης 'porker-like, fat' (Hp.), -οῦται· τρέφεται 'is fattened' (H.).

•ETYM The one attestation that means 'fat, grease' (Hp. *Acut.* [*Sp.*] 37) may have arisen out of 'fat pig' by ellipsis, and cannot be used as an argument in favor of the view that the original meaning of σίαλος is 'grease, fat'. Therefore, the connection with σίαλον 'spittle, slobber', which otherwise would be semantically attractive, becomes doubtful. Other etymological proposals are unconvincing. The connection with OE *þwīnan* 'to become weak, to die away' is semantically weak; the connection

with RuCS *tyti* 'to become fat' (Bechtel 1914 s.v.) is formally difficult, as the latter reflects **teuh₂-* (Skt. *tavⁱ-* 'to be strong', Gr. ►ταῦς 'great, many', ►σῶς 'safe and sound'). The word is probably of Pre-Greek origin.

σιβῦνη [f.] 'hunting spear, javelin' (Alex., D. S., *AP*). ◄LW►

•VAR Also -ης [m.]; συβίνη (pap. III[a]); also ζιβύνη (LXX, Ph. *Bel.*).

•DER Diminutive σιβύνιον [n.] (Plb.), ζι- (H.).

•ETYM Clearly a word of foreign origin; cf. MoP *zōpīn*, Arm. *səvin*, and Syr. *swbyn* 'javelin'. According to Fur.: 247, these words show that the original form was συβίνη, which was possibly metathesized to σιβύνη on the basis of other words for instruments in -ύνη, like κορύνη, τορύνη. Compare also ►σιγῦν(ν)ης 'hunting spear', which however cannot be related. Taken over into Latin as *sibyna* (*sub-*, *syb-*).

σῑγα [adv.] 'silently, in silence', also interj. 'be quiet!' (trag.). ◄?►

•DER σιγάω (Hom. only ipv. σίγα; ind. since *h. Merc.*), fut. σιγήσομαι (S., E., Ar.), -ήσω (*AP*, D. Chr.), perf. σεσίγηκα (Aeschin.), pass. σιγ-άομαι (S.), aor. -θῆναι (Hdt., E.), -ᾱθῆναι (Theoc.), fut. -ηθήσομαι (E.), perf. σεσίγ-ημαι, Dor. -ᾶμαι (Pi., E.) 'to be quiet, keep secret', pass. 'to be kept secret', sometimes with κατα-, etc., whence σιγ-ηλός, Dor. (Pi.) -ᾱλός 'silent' (Hp., S., Arist.), -ηρός 'id.' (Men., LXX), -ητής [m.] 'silent person' (Latium II[p]), -ητικός 'silent' (Hp.), -ημονᾷς· σιγᾷς 'keep silent' (H.), σιγή, Dor. -ά (Pi.) [f.] 'silence, secrecy' (Il.; Hom. only σιγῇ; cf. below); σῖγος [n.] 'id.' (late innovation, *An. Ox.*), whence σιγ-αλέος 'silent' (*AP*, Orph.), -άζω (Pi., X., D.C.), κατα- (Arist. et al.) 'to make silent', κατασιγαίνει, gloss of πραΰνει (H.), σιγ-άρνης [m.] '?' (Call. *Epigr.* 45, 6), cf. Schwyzer *RhM* 75 (1926): 447 and 77, 105.

•ETYM It is probable that the interjective adverb σῖγα formed the basis for all these words. First, the ipv. σίγα and instrumental dat. σιγῇ were formed, on the basis of which the verbal and nominal paradigms were built (Schwyzer: 722, 726, Schwyzer 1950: 257[1], Chantraine 1942: 357). The origin of σῖγα is unclear, however. The Hesychius gloss ῥίγα· σιώπα 'keep silent!' (H.) has been analyzed as ϝίγα and taken to point to a pre-form *σϝῑγ-. Frisk s.v. suggests a connection with OHG *swīgēn* 'to be silent', but this is formally impossible: the latter would reflect **sueigʰ-*, which would regularly yield Gk. **εἰχ-. Therefore, it is probably of onomatopoeic origin. Cf. also ►σιωπάω, -ή.

σῑγαλόεις [adj.] epic epithet of ἠνία, χιτών, εἵματα, θρόνος, etc., 'brilliant, gleaming' vel sim. (Hom.), later of ἀμύγδαλα, μνία (Hermipp., Numen. *apud* Ath.). ◄?►

•DER νεο-σίγαλος 'with a new brilliance', of τρόπος (Pi.), after the pattern παιπαλόεις : πολυ-παίπαλος, etc. (Leumann 1950: 214[8]); σιγαλόω [v.] 'to smoothen, polish' (Apollon. *Lex.* s.v. σιγαλόεντα, sch. Pi.), σιγάλωμα [n.] 'polishing tools of a cobbler' (Apollon. ibd., H. s.v. σιγαλόεν), also 'border, edging of a pelt' (H. τὰ περιαπτόμενα ταῖς ᾠαις), σιάλωμα 'iron mountings of a Roman longshield' (Plb. 6, 23, 4; H.), with loss of the γ, cf. Schwyzer: 209.

•ETYM Formation like αἰθαλόεις, ὁμφαλόεις, etc., which are also epic epithets. The technical noun σιγάλωμα belongs to a different style category and cannot be derived from σιγαλόεις directly, but may be formed on the basis of σιγαλόω (if this verb is not a construct of grammarians), or forms an enlargement of an unattested noun

*σίγαλος (like e.g. ἀέτωμα to ἀετός). Etymology unclear. Older, unconvincing attempts in Frisk s.v.

σιγαλφοί [m.] · οἱ ἄφωνοι καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι τέττιγες 'wild cicadas that do not make any sound' (H.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Cf. σίγιον· εἶδος τέττιγος 'a kind of cicada' (sch. Ar. *Av.* 1095).

•ETYM The reading of this word is not fully certain; some scholars prefer a reading in -αλοί (cf. Frisk s.v.). Because of the muteness of this type of cicada, this word was connected already in classical times (Plin. *HN* 11, 92) with σιγή 'silence' (see ▶σῖγα), which could make sense. Strömberg 1944: 18 rather connects the word with σίζω 'to hiss'. Fur.: 369 compares the words ἀδιγόῤ· τρωξαλλίς. ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν 'grasshopper (Skythian)' (with prothetic vowel?) and ζειγάρη· ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδήταις 'id. (Sidetian)' (H.), which would point to a Pre-Greek origin. This would be supported if the word should indeed be read σιγαλ(λ)οί, as Furnée cites it, since words in -αλλο- are Pre-Greek (Beekes 2008).

σίγιστρον [n.] 'chest' (Eust. 956, 6; 1604, 10). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

σίγλος [m.] weight and coin (in X. = 7.5 Att. obols), 'shekel' (Att. inscr. end IV^{a}, X.), also used as an ear-pendant (e.g. in σιγλο-φόρος *Com. Adesp.* 792); in this meaning also σίγλαι [f.pl.] (*PMasp.* VI^{p}, Poll.). ◁LW Sem.▷

•VAR σίκλος (LXX, J.).

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *šekel*, etc. Taken over in Latin as *siclus*.

σίγμα [n.] indecl. name of the letter (Pl., Arist., etc.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also -ῑ-.

•DER σιγμι(ατ)ο-ειδής 'sigma-shaped' (late), σιγματίζω 'to write with a sigma' (Eust.).

•ETYM The name of this letter is without an evident Semitic precursor (Hebr. *sāmekh* is formally remote). Therefore, it is more probably a verbal noun from the verb σίζω 'to hiss' (Schwyzer *KZ* 58 (1931): 186ff.).

σίγραι · τῶν ἀγρίων συῶν οἱ βραχεῖς καὶ σιμοί 'small and snub-noised wild swine' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Pre-Greek, in view of the gloss σίκα· ὗς. Λάκωνες 'swine (Laconian)' (H.).

σιγῦν(ν)ης [m.] 'hunting spear, javelin' (Hdt. 5, 9, Opp.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR -ος [m.] (A. R., *AP*), -ον [n.] (Arist. *Po.* 1457b 6, *AP*), -υμνον (Lyc.).

•ETYM According to Herodotus and Aristotle (l.c.), the word is Cyprian, whereas a sch. on A. R. 4, 320 states it is Scythian. The word resembles the ethnonym Σιγύνναι, -οι, -ιννοι (Hdt., A. R., Str.), a people on the other side of the middle Danube, which must have been Iranian (Scythian). According to Herodotus, retail dealers (κάπηλοι) were called σιγύνναι by the Ligyes in the neighborhood of Massilia, clearly after the people (cf. Dunăreanu-Vulpe in Bonfante *BSL* 37 (1936): 78 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 27 (1939): 245). Fur.: 247 assumes that σιγῦν- reflects *σιγυϝν-, which is a variant of σιγυμιν-, with the typical Pre-Greek alternation -μι/ϝ-. Cf. ▶σιβύνη, which however cannot be cognate.

σῐ́δη [f.] 'pomegranate (tree)' (Emp., Hp., Thphr.; Nic. also ῑ̆ by metrical lengthening); also the name of a Boeotian water-plant = νυμφαία (Thphr., Nic.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR ξίμβαι· ῥοιαί. Αἰολεῖς 'pomegranates (Aeolian)' (H.). Also -α (Boeot.), Schwyzer: 30; -έαι [pl.] (Halaesa), perhaps after συκέαι; σίβδη (Call., H.), σίλβια· σίδια 'pomegranate peels' (H.).

•DER σῐ́δ-ιον [n.] 'pomegranate peel' (Hp., Ar., Thphr.), σίλβια· σίδια (H.) with -ιο- ειδής 'σίδιον-like' (Hp.), -ιωτόν [n.] 'medicine produced with σ.' (Paul. Aeg.), -όεις (Nic.), -ειος (Hdn. Gr.) 'from the pomegranate peel'; Σῐδ-οῦς, -οῦντος (X.), -όεις, -όεντος (Euph.) [m.] TN near Corinth.

•ETYM Cf. PNs like Σίδη, Σίδυμα, and also Alb. *shegë* 'pomegranate', etc. See also on ►σίδηρος. On the by-forms σίβδη and ξίμβαι, see also Brandenstein 1958: 80ff. with references. Fur. (index) accepts all forms as real, including ξίμβρα (286). Analyzing σίβδη as < *σιϝδ-, he argues that the group is Pre-Greek. The gloss ῥίμβαι· ῥοιαὶ μεγάλαι. ἀμεινον δὲ διὰ τοῦ ξ· ξίμβαι (H.) is unclear.

σῐ́δηρος [m.] 'iron, steel', also 'iron tool, sword, iron weapon, etc.', metaph. '(iron) toughness' (Il.). ◁UNKNOWN▷

•VAR Fem. in Nic. *Th.* 923; Dor. -ᾱρος.

•COMP E.g. σιδηρό-φρων 'iron-minded' (A., E.), σιδηρο-κόντρα [f.] 'hunting spear' (Gortyn, Sagalassos), ὁλο-σίδηρος 'made completely of iron' (Attica, Delos, etc.).

•DER Doric forms are not indicated separately: σιδήρ-ιον [n.] 'iron tool' (IA, Cret.), -ίσκος [m.] a medical instrument (Crete V-IV^{a}), formation like ὀβελίσκος, etc., cf. Chantraine 1933: 408; -εῖα, -εῖον [n.] 'iron mine' (Arist., Delos, etc.), -εύς [m.] 'iron smith' (X. et al.), -ίτης [m.], -ῖτις [f.] 'made of iron, iron' (Pi., Eup. et al.), also name of a stone (Plin., Orph.) and several plants, "vervain" (J., Dsc.), because they are supposed to heal stab wounds, cf. Strömberg 1940: 89; -ε(ι)ος, -οῦς, -ιος [adj.] 'iron' (Il.), -ήεις 'id.' (Nic.), -όεις (*EM*), -εόεις (*Ep. Alex. Adesp.*), -ώδης 'id.' (sch.), -όομαι, -όω 'to be provided with iron' (Th., inscr., etc.), whence -ωσις [f.] 'ironwork' (Att. inscr., etc.), -ώματα [n.pl.] 'iron mountings' (pap. V^{p}), -ωτός 'studded with iron' (*Edict. Diocl.*)), -εύω [v.] 'to work with iron, forge' (Poll.), whence -εία [f.] 'ironwork' (X.); -ίζω [v.] 'to resemble iron, contain iron' (medic.).

•ETYM Origin unclear. The Greeks got to know iron from Asia Minor, the Pontus and Caucasus, and it is likely that they took over the word for it from these areas as well. In that sense, the resemblance with the Caucasian word (Udian) *zido* 'iron' may be relevant (cf. also Fur.: 105). Some scholars assume that σίδηρος originally referred to meteoric iron, and is derived from Lat. *sīdus* 'constellation' (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 64). Others assume that the word refers to the redness of the metal, and assume a connection with σίδη 'pomegranate' (Deroy *Ant. class.* 31 (1962): 98ff., Crepajac *KZ* 80 (1966): 249ff.). Still others assume a connection with words for 'silver', like e.g. Lith. *sidābras* 'silver' (because both metals have a white color); cf. e.g. Mallory & Adams 1997: 313-4.

σίζω [v.] 'to hiss' (ι 394, com., Arist.). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Only the pres. stem is securely attested; aor. σίξα (Theoc. 6, 29) is a conjecture, further only ἐπισίξῃ (Ar. *V.* 704 v.l.) besides -σίζῃ.

•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-, δια-.
•DER σιγμός [m.] (Arist., Phld., Plu.), σισμός [m.] (Suid.), σίξις [f.] (Arist.) 'hissing'; also ▶ σίγμα?
•ETYM Onomatopoeic, just like Lat. *sibilō*, etc. Cf. Schwyzer *KZ* 58 (1931): 186ff.

σίκα · ὗς. Λάκωνες (H.). ⇒σῦς and σίγραι.

σίκερα [n.] a kind of fermented drink (LXX). ◀LW Sem.▶
•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *šekar*.

σίκιν(ν)ις, -ιδος [f.] 'dance of the satyrs' (S. *fr.* 772, E. *Cycl.* 37, D. H.). ⇒κηκίς, κηκίω.

σικύα [f.] 'bottle-gourd, Lagenaria vulgaris' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.), metaph. 'bleeding cup' (Hp., com., Pl., etc.). ◀PG(V)▶
•VAR Ion. -ύη (σεκούα H.).
•COMP σικυ-ήλατον [n.] 'patch of gourds, cucumbers' (Hp.), -ήρατον (pap.).
•DER σίκυος (σικυός) [m.] 'cucumber or melon, Cueumis (sativus)' (Hp., com., Arist., etc.), σίκυς [f.] 'id.' (Alc., Dsc., Gal.). Diminutive σικύ-διον [n.] (Phryn. Com., pap. II-III^{p}), -ώδης 'cucumber-like, etc.' (Hp., Thphr.), -ηδόν 'like a cucumber' (medic.), -ών [m.] 'cucumber patch', -ώνη [f.] = σίκυος ἄγριος 'wild bottle-gourd', also 'bleeding cup' (Hdt.), formation like κροτώνη, etc.; -ωνία [f.] = κολοκύνθη 'round gourd' (Hp., Plu.). Also Σικυών (Σεκυ-), -ῶνος [m., f.] "cucumber city", city not far from Corinth (Il.) with -ώνιος, -ωνικός.
From the second meaning: -υάζω 'to cup' (Arr.), with -ύασις, -υασ-μός (late).
•ETYM For other plant names in –υς, compare e.g. ῥάφυς, κάχρυς; for plant names in -ύα, compare οἰσύα, ὀστρύα, etc. The Hesychius gloss σεκούα· σικύα, as well as the toponym Σικυών/Σεκυών, shows an alternation σικ-/σεκ-, which cannot be explained from an IE point of view. Together with the forms συκύα = σικύα (*Edict. Diocl.*, cf. Fur.: 367), κύκυον· τὸν σικυόν (H.), and κυκύϊζα· γλυκεῖα κολόκυντα 'sweet round gourd' (H.), as well as Lat. *cucumis* 'cucumber' and ORu. *tyky* 'pumpkin', we seem to be dealing with a Wanderwort that might also have Semitic cognates, e.g. Hebr. *qiššu'ā* 'cucumber'. Exact origin and preform unclear.

σικχός [adj.] 'disgusted, picky, especially concerning food' (Arist., Plu., Ath.). ◀?▶
•COMP ἄ-σικχος 'not picky concerning food, not easily causing satiety (of food)' (Plu.), see Frisk 1941: 16.
•DER σίκχ-ος [n.] 'disgust, tedium' (Sm.), formed like e.g. μάκρος [n.] from μακρός, cf. Schwyzer: 512; -ότης [f.] 'id.' (Eust.), -αίνω, -αίνομαι [v.] 'to feel disgust or tedium, to detest' (Call., Plb., Arr.), whence -αντός 'provoking disgust' (M. Ant.), -ασία, -ασμός (gloss.), σικχαζόμενος· σκωπτόμενος 'being mocked' (H.).
•ETYM The cluster -κχ- makes an IE origin unlikely. Further unclear.

σίλβη [f.] · εἶδος πέμματος <ἐκ> κριθῆς, σησάμης καὶ μήκωνος 'a kind of cake made of barley, sesame and poppy' (H.). ◀PG?▶
•ETYM Neumann 1961: 98 compares this word to Hitt. *šiluḫa-* 'a kind of cake', which may have variants in *šiluua-* and *šiliua-*. If cognate, it is clearly a loanword or a Pre-Greek word. Yet the -β- of σίλβη is difficult to reconcile with the Hittite forms.

σιληπορδέω [v.] 'to behave with vulgar arrogance' (Sophr. 164, Posidon. 36 J., H., Phot.). ◁?▷

•VAR Dor. σιλᾱ-, aor. -ῆσαι.

•DER σιληπορδία [f.] (Luc. *Lex.* 21).

•ETYM The element -πορδέω is clearly cognate with ▶πέρδομαι 'to fart'; compare also MoGr. τσιληπουρδῶ 'to spring, leap, kick with the heel (of young horses); to fart' and τσιληπούρδισμα 'farting (of horses)'. The first element, σιλη-, is of unclear origin. On the basis of the toponym Ἱορδοσιλήνη (an island), it has been suggested that σιλη- must belong with ▶Σιληνός.

σίλιγνον [n.] 'winter wheat', Lat. *silīgō* (pap. II-VI^{p}). ◁LW Lat.▷

•VAR Also σελ-, -ιον.

•DER σιλιγν(ι)-άριος [m.] 'baker or seller of σ.', also σιλιγινάριος = Lat. *silīginārius* (ibid.); σίλιγνις (σέλ-) [f.] 'flour made of σ.' (Chrysipp. Tyan., Gal., etc.), -ίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread made of σ.' (Gal., inscr. Ephesus I-II^{p}), -ίας [m.] 'id.' (Eust.).

•ETYM Loanword from Lat. *silīgō*, *-inis* [f.] with transformation to the ο-, ιο-, and ι-stems.

σίλλος [m.] 'satire, satirical poem' (Str., Ael., D. L. et al.). ◁?▷

•COMP σιλλο-γράφος [m.] 'poet of σ.' (Ath., Jul.).

•DER σιλλ-αίνω (rarely with δια-, κατα-, ἐπι-) 'to mock, ridicule' (Hp., Herod., Ael., Luc.), -όω (δια-) 'id.' (*Com. Adesp.*, Gal., D. C.), PNs e.g. Σίλλος, -αξ, -εύς.

•ETYM Unclear origin. According to Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912), it is derived by hypocoristic gemination from a preform *σῖλός (= Lat. *silus* 'pug-nosed'), besides σῑμός 'snub-nosed', through the meaning 'with a turned-up nose > mocker' (Σιλ-ηνός would belong here as well, then). Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 351ff. rather derives σίλλος from Σιληνός, referring to ἀνάσιλλος 'having erect hair, with which Satyrs are often depicted' (compare also σιλλέα· τρίχωμα 'hair growth' H.). Both etymologies are formally unattractive. The interpretation of the hapax σίλλος 'squinting' in Luc. *Lex.* 3 is unclear: the word is preceded by ὄς, and may therefore be a corrupt spelling for ἰλλός 'squinting', but compare also σιλλόω, which according to Phot. (from Archipp. 52) = τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡρέμα παραφέρειν 'to gently turn away the eyes'.

σίλλυβον [n.] an edible thistle (Dsc., Ruf. *apud* Orib., H.). ◁?▷

•DER σίλλυβα [pl.] 'fringes, tassels' (Poll., H.), σίλλυβος 'strip of parchment or paper attached to scrolls' (Cic. *Att.*), σιλλυβιᾶν (cod. σικυλλιᾶν)· τὸ τοὺς κροσσοὺς ἀποσείεσθαι 'to shake the tassels, fringes' (H.).

•ETYM Origin unclear. For the formation, compare plant names like ὄροβος, σκόλυβος, ὄχθοιβος, κόσυμβος, etc., which usually have no etymology (cf. Chantraine 1933: 261 f.). Fur.: 67 compares Lat. *titulus*, originally an appendix to the scroll, and reconstructs **tit(o)l-ob^{h}- > sisl-ub-*.

σίλουρος [m.] a big river fish, probably 'catfish' or 'sturgeon', Lat. *silūrus* (mid. com., Hell. pap., Str., etc.). ◁PG(S)▷

•DER σιλουρισμός [m.] 'serving a σ.' (Diph.).

•ETYM In the older literature, it is derived from οὐρά 'tail' and an unclear first element (compare μελάν-ουρος for the formation), the first element being connected by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 9ff. with *σιλος, as in ▸σίλλος and ▸Σιληνός. However, the word is rather formed with the Pre-Greek suffix -ουρος.

σίλφη [f.] an insect, 'cockroach, carrion beetle' (Arist., Gal., Ael., *AP*). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR τίλφη (Luc.).
•ETYM Etymology unclear. The variant τίλφη in Luc. could be an artificial Atticism (cf. Schwyzer: 319) or show a Pre-Greek alternation τ-/σ-. The form formally and semantically resembles ▸σέρφος, a small winged insect, 'gnat, winged ant'. Fur.: 167, etc. connects Lat. *delpa* (an insect) as well, all of which would point to Pre-Greek origin.

σίλφιον [n.] a plant known especially from Cyrene, 'silphium'. ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR σέλπον· σίλφιον (H.).
•DER σιλφιωτός (Ar.), σεσιλφιωμένος (Philox., not certain) 'prepared with σ.', σιλφιόεις 'made of σ.' (Nic.).
•ETYM The variants σίλφιον, σέλπον, together with Lat. *sirpe* 'id.', point to a loanword of unknown origin. Fur.: 163, etc. also mentions Berb. *aselbu* 'iuncus maritimus'.

σίμβλος [m.] 'beehive' (Hes., Ar., Arist., Theoc., A. R.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR -αι (H.), plur. also -α (Opp.).
•DER σιμβλ-ήϊος, [f.] -ηΐς 'belonging to the beehive' (A. R., *AP*), -ιος 'id.' (Dsc., Ruf. *apud* Orib.; uncertain), -εύω [v.] 'to seek shelter in a beehive' (*AP*), -ωσις [f.] an eye-disease (*Hippiatr.*).
•ETYM Origin unclear. Older proposals (cf. Frisk s.v.) are all uncompelling. Fur.: 286 compares words like σιπύη 'box for keeping flour and bread', σίφνις 'id.', σιβαία 'wallet' and Lat. *simpulum* 'a small ladle', *simpuvium* 'vessel for offering liquids, a sacrificial bowl'. Also uncertain.

σιμίκιον [n.] musical instrument with five strings (Poll. 4, 59). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

σῖμός [adj.] 'having an impressed, pouting nose, snub- or flat-nosed' (opposite of γρυπός), 'bent upward, rising, concave, hollow' (opposite of κυρτός), metaph. 'impudent, mischievous' (IA). ◂PG? ▸
•COMP Also with modifying or further characterising prefixes like ἀνα-, ἐν-, ὑπο-.
•DER σιμ-ότης [f.] 'snub-nosedness, upward bending' (Pl., X.), σιμ-όομαι, -όω 'to become snub-nosed, bend upward, bend off' (Hp., Th., X., Arist., etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-; thence -ωσις [f.] 'snub-nosedness' (Gal.), ἀπο- 'bending off course of a ship' (App.), -ωμα [n.] 'curved upward prow of a ship' (Plu.)), -αίνω [v.] 'to bend the nose upward' (Call. *Iamb.*), σίμιον· αἰγιαλός 'sea-shore, beach' (H.), PN Σῖμ-ος, -ύλος, -ιχος, etc., also -ίας, whence the appellative *σιμίας [m.] probably "flat-nose", 'monkey' (taken over in Latin as *sīmia* 'monkey'), HN Σιμόεις, -εντος (Il., etc.), appurtenance uncertain.

•ETYM Oxytone adjectives in -μός are rare (Chantraine 1933: 151), but note that e.g. θερμός and δοχμός are both of IE origin. The word σιμός may theoretically be Indo-European, and Janda 2005 derives it from **tih₂-mó-* literally "struck" > 'flattened (nose)', from the root **tieh₂-* 'to strike', which he also assumes for σῆμα 'sign, mark' < **tiéh₂-mn* "what is carved", σῶμα 'corpse' < **tióh₂-mn* "the killed one" and σῖτος 'grain, food' < **tih₂-tó-* "threshed", and which is attested as such in Hitt. *zāḫ-ⁱ / zaḫḫ-* 'to hit, beat' < **tioh₂-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 1019). This construction seems highly improbable in view of the wide range of attested meanings, and the fact that a meaning 'strike' is not attested in Greek. Moreover, neuters in **-mn* do not regularly take the *o*-grade, so σῶμα must be left out in any case.
Older connections with Germanic words like OHG *swīnan*, ON *svína* 'to disappear, decrease' or MHG *swīmen* 'to stagger, be suspended', ON *svíma* 'to float, stagger, swoon' (Pok. 1041) are formally impossible (**su̯-* does not yield Gr. σ-) and semantically remote. In conclusion, σῖμός is most likely Pre-Greek, although there are no further indications for this. It was taken over in Latin as *sīmus* 'id.'.

σῖμος [m.] a fish (Opp., Ath.).
•DER Diminutive σιμ-άριον (pap. VI-VII^{p}).
•ETYM Sometimes connected with σῖμός 'snub-nosed, bent upward', with which it is formally identical, apart from the opposite accentuation. Nevertheless, semantically such a connection cannot be proven.

σίνᾶπι [n.] 'mustard, mustard plaster'. ◂PG▸
•VAR σίνηπι, -απυ, -απις, -ηπυς (Hell and late). A variant is ▸ νᾶπυ.
•COMP *σιναπο-πηκτή may be found in Lat. *senpecta* (late).
•DER σινάπιον (*EM*, gloss.), -ίδιον (Alex. Trall.), -ινος 'of mustard' (Dsc., Gal.), -ηρός 'spiced with mustard' (pap.). -ίζω 'to apply a mustard plaster', whence -ισμός (medic.).
•ETYM Σίνᾶπι(ς) / σίνᾶπυ(ς) cannot be separated from νᾶπυ 'mustard'. An alternation σι-/ zero is also found in loans from Egypt (σίλι : σέσελι, σάρι : σίσαρον), on the basis of which Egyptian origin for this word has been suggested (Hehn-Schrader 1911: 211, André *Latomus* 15 (1956): 296ff; rejected by Mayrhofer *Sprache* 7 (1961): 185ff.). Instead, the words can be better explained from a Pre-Greek form **sʲnāpi*. Pre-consonantal palatalized consonants yielded both Cι and C (e.g. κνώψ : κινώπετον < **kʲn-*, λασιτός : λάσται < **lasʲt-*); cf. Beekes 2008. In this case, **sʲnāpV* yielded both σίνᾶπ- and *σνᾶπ-. In initial position, *σν- regularly yielded Gr. ν- (cf. e.g. PIE **sneh₁ur-* > Gr. νεῦρον 'sinew'). Gr. νᾶπυ is taken over in Latin as *nāpus* 'turnip' (Plin.) and σίναπι(ς) as *sinapi(s)* 'mustard', from which Go. *sina(s)*, OHG *senf* 'mustard', etc., have been borrowed.

σινδών, -όνος [f.] 'fine woven cloth, fine linen, garment; blanket, etc. made thereof' (Hdt., Th., trag., Hell. and late). ◂LW Sem. (Anat.?)▸
•COMP σινδονο-φόρος [m.] 'wearer of a σ.' (Delos, Tegea).
•DER σινδόν-ιον [n.] 'garment, etc. made of σ.' (Hell. and late), -ίσκος [m.] diminutive (Samos IV^{a}), -ίτης, Dor. -ίτας [m.] 'wearer of an σ.' (Str.), 'garment made

of σ.' (Hell. and late), also attributive (τελαμών, χιτών (Poll., Phot.), -ιάζω 'to cover in σ.' (pap.).

•ETYM Possibly a loanword from Semitic, e.g. Hebr. *sādīn* 'linen undercloth, kind of shirt' (Lewy 1895: 84f., E. Masson 1967: 25f.), although the formal connection is rather weak. Taken over in Latin as *sindon* 'id.'.

σινίον [n.] · κόσκινον 'sieve' (H.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR = σεννίον (*PRyl.* 139, 9 [I^{p}])? σείνιος τόπος 'sieving, winnowing area' (pap. IV^{p}).

•DER Aor. σινιάσαι 'to sift, sieve' (*Ev. Luc.* 22, 31, H., Phot., *EM*, Suid., gloss.), whence σινί-ασμα [n.] 'recrement, detrimentum', = ῥυπαρία τοῦ σίτου 'waste product of grain' (gloss.), -ατήριον· κόσκινον 'sieve' (H.)?

•ETYM A connection with ▻σήθω, σάω, ▻διαττάω 'to sieve' < PIE **kieh$_2$-* seems phonetically impossible. Instead, the alternation σιν- : σενν- : σειν- rather points to a Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 357).

σίνομαι [v.] 'to rob, pillage, destroy, damage' (Od., epic, Sapph., Ion., X., Hell. and late, also Argos, Crete, Herakleia; Hdt., Hp. also -έομαι; not in Att.). ◅?▻

•VAR Very rarely attested in aorist: ἐσίναντο (Hdt.), ἐπεσίνατο (Nic.), προσίναντες· βλάψαντες 'disabling, hindering' (H.).

•DIAL Rarely with ἐπι-, κατα-, προ-.

•COMP σιν-όδων, -όδους, -οντος [m.] a fish (Arist., Dorio), folk-etymological for συν-όδων (see Strömberg 1943: 45). Unclear however is σινάμωρος 'harmful, baneful, wicked, mischievous, sweet-toothed, lustful' vel sim., with -ία, -έω, -ευμα (Ion., com., Arist. et al.); because of its short ι, it is not derived from the verb, but from the noun σίνος.

•DER σίνος [n.] 'damage, harm, disaster' (Ion., A., Arist.), whence ἀ-σινής 'unharmed, harmless' (λ 110, Sapph., Ion., A., Pl., X., Hell. and late), with opposite ἐπι-σινής (Thphr.), σίντης [m.] 'destroyer, robber', mostly of beasts of prey, 'thief' (Il., Hell. and late epic), σίντωρ [m.] 'id.' (Crete IV^{a}, *AP*), Σίντιες [m.pl.] EN of the old population of Lemnos (Hom. et al.) (appurtenance uncertain, according to Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 117 lit. "the robbers" and to be distinguished from the Thracian Σιντοι), Σίνις, -ιδος [m.] PN of a mythical robber (B., E., X.), also appellative 'robber, destroyer' (A. *Ag.* 217, Call., Lyc.), σιναρός 'damaged' (Hp.), formation like ῥυπαρός, etc.; σινότης [f.] 'damage, flaw' (gloss.), ἐπισίνιος· ἐπίβουλος 'treacherous' (H.), σινόω (προ-) = σίνομαι (Man., Vett. Val.), whence σινωτικός 'harmful' (late), σίνδρων = πονηρός 'toilsome' (Phot.), also 'slave born of a slave' (Seleucus *apud* Ath.), also PN, σινδρῶν· πονηρῶν, βλαπτικῶν 'toilsome, hurtful, mischievous' (H.).

•ETYM Because of its long -ι-, the present σίνομαι is best regarded as a *yod*-formation *σίν-ι̯ομαι (the present σινέομαι must be secondary, for which cf. Schwyzer: 721; on the unclear form σίνονται Sapph. 26, 4, see Hamm 1957: §217a). If it is of IE origin, σίνομαι must contain a presential -ν-, just as κλίνω and κρίνω, which spread not only to the aorist forms (quite possible in view of their rarity), but also to nominal derivatives like σίνος, σίντης, etc. (which is more problematic). Assuming a preform *τϝι-ν-ι̯ε/ο-, the verb has been connected with OE *þwīnan*, etc. 'to become weak,

disappear' (Wood *Mod. Phil.* 5 (1907): 268), but these should rather be derived from the root *$d^{h}g^{wh}ei$-, together with *dwīnan* 'id.', Gr. ►φθίνω 'to decline, decay'. Further etymology unclear.

σίνων, -ωνος [m.] 'stone parsley, Sisum amomum' (Dsc., Plin.), σίνων ἄγριος = πευκέδανον 'sulphurwort' (Ps.-Dsc.). ◄?►
•VAR V.l. σίσων.
•ETYM According to Dsc. 3, 55, this plant is at home in Syria (cf. André 1956 s.v. *sinōn*). Origin unexplained.

σίον [n.] name of several marsh- or meadow-plants, 'Sium' (Speus. *apud* Ath., Theoc., Dsc.), also identified with σισύμβριον and ἄνησσον (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.). ◄?►
•DIAL Myc. TN *si-jo-wo-te* /sijo-wontei/.
•ETYM Unexplained. See *CEG* 3 = *RPh.* 72 (1998): 138.

σιπαλός ⇒σιφλός.

σίππιον ⇒στυππεῖον.

σιπταχόρας [m.] 'lac-tree, Schleichera trijuga' (Ctes.). ◄LW Orient.►
•ETYM Oriental loanword.

σιπύη (-ύα) [f.] 'box for keeping flour and bread' (com., *AP*, Poll.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR συπύη (pap. III^{a}), σιπυΐς [f.] (Hp.), ἰπύα (H.), σίπυδνος (Orac. *apud* Luc. *Alex.*, cf. Fur. 177); note ομοσεπυοι (inscr. Selinous, *RPh.* 69: 128, l. 3).
•ETYM Taken to be a loanword from Semitic by E. Masson 1967: 44f., based on comparison with Hebr. *sap*, etc. This may explain variants like σίφνις 'id.' (Poll., H.) and σιβαία = πήρα 'wallet'. Perhaps Lat. *simpulum*, *simpuvium* belong here as well. The variation may also be explained by Pre-Greek origin.

σίραιον [n.] 'boiled wine' (Antiph., Alex. Nic.); also as adjective: σίραιος οἶνος. ◄?►
•ETYM Perhaps derived from σειρόω (see ►Σείριος). Fur.: 255 considers this word to be Pre-Greek because of the element -αιον.

σιρός [m.] 'pit for keeping corn, silo' (Att. inscr. V^{a}, S. *Fr.*, E. *Fr.*, D., Hell. and late), also (metaph.) 'pitfall' (Longus) and = δεσμωτήριον 'prison' (H.). ◄PG►
•VAR The quantity of -ι- is unstable: usually short, later also σειρός.
•COMP σιρο-μάστης [m.] lit. "seeker of pits", 'probe, gauge' (Ph. *Bel.*, LXX).
•ETYM Technical word without etymology. The variation between σῖρ-, σῑρ-, σειρ- is hard to explain from an IE point of view. Connection with ►σιμός 'stub-nosed, bent upwards' through a meaning 'bending in, falling in' (thus Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 11 et al.) is improbable.

σίσαρον [n.] 'Pastinaca sativa' (Epich., Diocl. *Fr.*, Dsc.). ◄?►
•VAR -ιον [n.] piece of jewelry (com. after Poll. 5, 101, H., Phot.).
•ETYM The word recalls ἄσαρον 'hazelwort', ἡδύσαρον 'axe-weed'. Strömberg 1940: 157f. interprets σίσαρον as a reduplication of σάρον as attested in Call. *Del.* 225, but this is semantically improbable (cf. Frisk s.v.). WH s.v. *siser* compares σάρι [n.] (Thphr.), a kind of rush. Unclear.

σισύμβριον [n.] 'bergamot mint, Mentha aquatica' (com., Arist., Thphr., Dsc.), 'watercress, Nasturtium officinale' (Dsc., Plin.), (metaph.) a piece of jewelry (com. after Poll.). ◁PG?▷

•DER σίσυμβρ-ον [n.] 'id.' (Nic., *AP*, back-formation), -ινος 'made of σ.' (Antiph., Thphr.).

•ETYM Etymology unclear. Strömberg 1940: 158[1] regards the word as a reduplicated formation from ▶θύμβρα, a sweet-scented plant, with dialectal development of θ > σ. Sometimes seen as a variant of ▶σισυρίγχιον [n.] 'barbary nut, Iris sisyrinchium'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

σισύρα [f.] 'thick, villous cloak (made of goat fur), fleece cloak' (Ar.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR σίσυρνα (also -νη, cf. Solmsen 1909: 259), -νος [m.] (H.), also -ος and σίσυς (H.).

•COMP E.g. σισυρνο-φόρος 'wearer of a σ.' (Hdt.), of the Iranian Πάκτυες.

•DER σισυρ-ωτός 'made into a σ.' (Athen IV[a]), -νώδης 'like a σ.' (S. *Fr.* 413).

•ETYM Unclear etymology; according to Fur.: 215, it is of Pre-Greek origin.

σισυρίγχιον [n.] 'barbary nut, Iris sisyrinchium' (Thphr.). ◁PG?▷

•ETYM Etymology unclear. Strömberg 1940: 158[1] regards the word as a reduplicated formation from ▶σῦριγξ 'quill, flute, syrinx' with a χ-suffix. Sometimes connected with ▶σισύμβριον 'bergamot mint, watercress'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

σίσων ⇒σίνων.

σίτλα [f.] 'pail' (Ulp., Alex. Trall.). ◁LW Lat.▷

•ETYM Borrowed from Lat. *situla*.

σῖτος [m.] 'corn (especially wheat), bread, food' (Il.), see Moritz *Class. Quart.* 49 (1955): 135ff. for the semantics. ◁?▷

•VAR Plur. σῖτα [n.].

•DIAL Myc. *si-to*.

•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. σιτ-αγωγός 'conveying corn' (Hdt., Th.), σιτ-ηρέσιον [n.] 'provision of grain, (money for) victualling, pay' (X., D., Hell. and late), σύσ-σιτος [m.] 'table companion, messmate' (Thgn., etc.), whence συσσίτ-ια [pl.], -ία, -ικός, -έω, -ησις.

•DER σιτία [n.pl.], rare -ίον [sg.] 'bread, fare, provision', also 'corn' (IA prose, com.), diminutive σιτ-άριον [n.] 'corn, bread' (Hp., pap.), -ανίας (πυρός) [m.] 'kind of wheat' (Thphr.), formation like κριθανίας; -ώματα [pl.] 'provision' (pap. II[p], cf. Chantraine 1933: 186f.), -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'granary, cornfield' (Plu. et al.), -ώ [f.] epithet of Demeter (Hell. and late), σιτ-ηρός (Hp., Arist., etc.), -ικός (Hell. and late), -ινος (late) 'concerning the corn', -αῖα [n.pl.] 'corn-rents' (Olymos), -ώδης 'cornlike', σιτώδη [n.pl.] 'corn' (Thphr., etc.), σιτ-έομαι [v.] 'to feed' (ω 209 [σιτέσκοντο]), also with κατα-, etc.; thence -ησις [f.] '(public) maintenance' (IA); also -εύω, -εύομαι [v.] 'to feed, supply' (Hdt., Hell. and late), whence -ευτός (X., etc.), -ευσις, -εύσιμος, -ευτής, -εία (Hell. and late); -ίζω, -ίζομαι 'id.', often with ἐπι-, whence ἐπι-σιτ-ισμός 'victualling' (X., D., etc.).

•ETYM Often explained as a loanword from other IE languages, e.g. from Ru. *žíto* 'corn', OPr. *geits* 'bread' (Wiedemann *BB* 27 (1902): 213) or from Go. *hvaiteis* 'wheat', etc. (Meyer 1892: 51[2]), or as a substrate word (taken with e.g. Basque *zitu* 'corn, harvest' or Sum. *zid* 'flour').
Nevertheless, the word looks IE, and Janda 2005 has suggested to reconstruct it as a substantivization of an adjective *σῑτό- 'threshed' derived from *tih_2-*tó*-, literally "struck", a *-*to*-ptc. from a PIE verbal root *$tieh_2$- 'to strike, hit' as attested in Hitt. *zāḫ-^{i} / zaḫḫ-* 'to hit, beat' < *$tioh_2$- (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 1019). This root *$tieh_2$- would also be visible in ►σῆμα 'sign, mark' < *$tiéh_2$-*mn* "what is carved", ►σῶμα 'corpse' < *$tióh_2$-*mn* "the killed one", and ►σῖμός 'snub-nosed' < *tih_2-*mó*- "flattened". As explained under ►σῖμός, this etymology is of doubtful value.

σίττα [interj.] cry of herdsmen (Theoc.). ◄PG►
•VAR Also ψίττα (sch.); similar ψύττα (E. *Cyc.* 49, Luc., *AP*); φιττα (Poll. 9, 122 and 127) cf. Fur.: 329.
•ETYM Elementary interjection; see Schwyzer *KZ* 58 (1931): 170ff. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 172.

σίττη [f.] 'kind of woodpecker or nuthatch' (Arist., Call.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Dial. also ἴττα, ἴπτα (H.).
•ETYM Clearly onomatopoeic; cf. Thompson 1895 s.v. with important details. Fur.: 325 also connects βίττακος, ψίττακος 'parrot'.

σιττύβαι [f.] δερμάτιναι στολαί, τὰ μικρὰ ἱμαντάρια 'leather garments, the small halyards' (H.). Further σίττυβα [n.pl.] · χιτὼν ἐκ δερμάτων 'frock made of hide' (Poll. 7, 70), σίττυβον· τὸ μικρὸν δέρμα 'small hide' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 378) and σίττυβοι· κροσσοί, ἱμάντες, θύσανοι 'tassels, leather straps, fringes' (Phot., Eust.). ◄PG(S)►
•ETYM Cf. Grošelj Živa Ant. 5 (1955): 230.

σίττυβος [m.] a κάκκαβος-like cauldron (Antiph. 182, 7). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR σίττυβον, -α, -αι 'skin, leather, leather strap, leather jacket' (H., Poll., Phot., Hdn. Gr.), σίσυβοι = κροσσοί, ἱμάντες, θύσανοι 'tassels, leather straps, fringes' (Phot., Eust.).
•DER Besides σίττυβον, -α, -αι as expressions for 'skin, leather, leather strap, leather jacket' (H., Poll., Phot., Hdn. Gr.). Also σίσυβοι = κροσσοί, ἱμάντες, θύσανοι (Phot., Eust.); in the same mg. also ►σίλλυβα, probably through contamination.
•ETYM If we assume that the original meaning of this word was 'leather bag', which developed into 'kettle, pan', then the appurtenance of σίττυβον 'skin, leather' and σίσυβοι 'leather straps' makes sense. See Frisk s.v. for improbable attempts at etymologizing. This word is clearly Pre-Greek instead, reflecting *$sit^{y}ub$-.

σίφαρος (σεί-) [m.] 'topsail, topgallant sail' (Arr.), 'curtain in the theatre' (Ephesus). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also σῖπαρος (v.l. Arr. Epict. 3, 2, 18).
•ETYM Technical word without etymology. The variations σιφ- : σειφ- : σῖπ- clearly point to a non-IE origin (cf. Fur.: 163). Perhaps connected with Sem. *šap^{e}rīr*, Assyr. *šuparraru* 'to spread out' (Frisk s.v.). Taken over in Latin as *sīp(h)arum, -rium*.

σιφλός [adj.] describing physical and psychological defects, 'crippled, lame' vel sim. (πόδα σιφλός A. R.), 'blinded, foolish (Γλαῦκος, *Eleg. Alex. Adesp.* 1, 2; of fishes Opp.); also 'porous, hollow' (νάρθηξ, Eust.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR σιπαλός, σιφνός, see below.
•DER σιφλώσειεν [aor.opt.], verb used in a curse (Ξ 142), σίφλος [m.] 'infirmity' (Lyc.), -ωμα [n.] 'porosity, hollowness' (Eust.).
•ETYM For the formation, compare τυφλός, χωλός, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 238). Besides σιφλός and derivatives, we also find σιφνός· κενός 'empty, void, bereft' (H.), σιφνύει· κενοῖ 'empties' (H.), σιφνεύς [m.] 'mole' (Lyc.), although these words with ν-suffix could be derived from ▸σίφων 'tube'. More importantly, we find σιπαλός 'blinded(?), maimed(?)' (Call. *Fr. anon.* 106, H., Eust.). Because of the variants σιφλ- / σιφν- / σιπαλ-, the word is probably of Pre-Greek origin. The late meaning 'hollow' may have been based on the formal similarity with σίφων [m.] 'tube, etc.'.

σιφνεύς [m.] 'mole'. ⇒σιφλός and σίφων.

σίφων, -ωνος [m.] 'tube (especially for draining water), fire-engine, fountain, wine siphon, siphon, etc.' (Hippon., E., Hell. and late); also plant name = αἰγίλωψ 'oat-grass' (Ps.-Dsc.). ◂?▸
•COMP σιφωνο-λογία 'weeding of σ.' (pap.).
•DER σιφών-ιον [n.] = σίφων (H.), -ίζω 'to draw off wine with a siphon' (Ar.), σιφνεύς [m.] 'mole' (appurtenance uncertain, perhaps through "digger of tubes"?), σιφνός· κενός 'empty, void, bereft' (H.) (appurtenance uncertain).
•ETYM Technical term, formation like ἄμβων, δόλων, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 162). Etymology unclear; possibly onomatopoeic?

σιωπάω [v.] 'to be silent, keep secret', also 'to silence' (Hom.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι (Il.), fut. -ήσομαι (Att.), -ήσω (Aeschin., Hell. and late), perf. σεσιώπηκα, pass. σιωπηθῆναι, -ηθήσομαι (Att.); also σωπάω in διασωπάσομαι, σεσωπαμένον (Pi.), εὐσωπία· ἡσυχία 'rest, quiet' (H.).
•COMP Also with κατα-, δια-, παρα-, etc.
•DER σιωπ-ή [f.] 'silence' (Pi., Att.), often attested in dat.sg. -ῇ 'in silence, silently' (also Hom.); -ηλός (E., Arist., Call., etc.), -ηρός (X., *AP*) 'silent', -ησις [f.] (also ἀπο-, παρα-, ὑπο-) 'taciturnity' (Rhet. et al.).
•ETYM Although superficially resembling σιγάω, σιγή, ▸σῖγα, a connection is unlikely. Because of the alternation σιωπ- / σωπ-, an IE origin is improbable (connections with e.g. Go. *sweiban* 'to stop, suspend' (see references in Frisk s.v.) < **su̯iop-* are unconvincing. It is rather of Pre-Greek origin, reflecting **sʲōp-* or **sʲup-* (cf. Beekes 2008).

σκάζω [v.] 'to limp' (Il., epic poet., also Hdt., LXX). ◂IE **sken(ĝ)-* 'limp, be slanting' or IE **skend-* 'jump'▸
•COMP Also with ἐπι-, ὑπο- (only pres. and ipf.).
•DER σκασμός [m.] 'limping' (Aq.).
•ETYM The noun σκασμός is attested very late (II^{p}), and can easily be a back-formation on the basis of σκάζω. The verb itself can go back to earlier *σκάγ-ι̯ω or

*σκἀδ-i̯ω. Usually reconstructed as *skn̥(ĝ)-i̯e/o- and connected with Skt. *khañjati* 'to limp', OHG *hinkan* 'to limp' < *(s)ken(ĝ)-e-, ON *skakkr* 'limping' (thus Frisk s.v., LIV² s.v. *(s)ken(ĝ)-). Alternatively, one could assume a connection with Skt. *skándati* 'to jump', Lat. *scandō* 'to ascend', OIr. *sceinnid* 'to jump' < *skend- 'to jump', which would mean that σκάζω reflects *skn̥d-i̯e/o-.

σκαιός 1 [adj.] 'left, western' (especially epic poet., rarely attested in this meaning since Il.), 'unfavorable, left-handed, inapt' (IA). ◅IE *skeh₂-i-uo-▻
•DER σκαι-ουργέω 'to do wrong' (Ar.), σκαιό-της [f.] 'improper behavior, inapt' (IA), -σύνα [f.] 'id.' (S. [lyr.]).
•ETYM Formally and semantically identical with Lat. *scaevus* 'left, inauspicious', on the basis of which we can reconstruct *skeh₂iuo-. According to Steinbauer 1996 (unpublished presentation, cited in Janda 2000: 118 and Stüber *IJDLLR* 3 (2006): 61-72: 68), this word could be identical to σκαιός 'shady', derived from PIE *sḱ(e)h₂-ieh₂- 'shade' as attested in Gr. ►σκιά [f.] 'shadow', Skt. *chāyā́-* 'shadow, reflection', YAv. *a-saiia-* [adj.] 'that does not cast a shadow', etc. The semantic development may have been 'shaded' > 'western', and when referring to hands, 'shaded hand' > 'improper hand = left hand'. Cf. also the rhyming word ►λαιός 'left'.

σκαιός 2 'shady'. ⇒σκιά.

σκαίρω [v.] 'to hop, jump, dance' (epic Il.), only pres. and ipf. ◅IE? *sker- 'jump'▻
•VAR καρθμοί· κινήσεις 'motion, dance, movement' (H.).
•COMP Also with ἀνα-, δια-, ὑπο-, etc.
•DER σκαρ-θμός [m.] 'jump' (Hell. epic), also in compounds, e.g. ἐύ-, πολύ-σκαρθμος 'with fair, many jumps' (Il.); σκάρος [n.] 'id.' (*EM*), whence ἀ-σκαρές· ἀκίνητον 'unmoved, motionless' (H.), σκαρία· παιδιά 'childish play, amusement, fun' (H.), diminutive -ιον [n.] (pap.). σκαρ-ίζω [v.] 'to hop, tap, flounce' (Gp.), whence -ισμός [m.] (Eust., H.), ἀσκαρίζω (Hp., Cratin.). Perhaps also σκάρος [m.] 'Scarus cretensis, parrot-fish' (Epich., Arist., pap., etc.), if named after its lively movements, cf. Strömberg 1943: 52; σκαρῖτις [f.] a stone (Plin.), if named after its color, cf. Redard 1949: 61. See ►ἀσκαρίς and ►σκιρτάω, and cf. also ►σκαρδαμύσσω.
•ETYM Etymology unclear. LIV² (s.v. 1. *(s)(ḱ)er-) connects W *cerddaf* 'to walk', and reconstructs σκαίρω as *s(ḱ)r-i̯e/o-. Although the latter reconstruction would indeed regularly yield the Greek verb, the interpretation of W *cerddaf* as reflecting *ker-i̯e/o- is not ascertained. Moreover, the semantic connection is quite weak. Other connections, e.g. as mentioned in Frisk s.v., do not make more sense. The alternation σκαρίζω / ἀσκαρίζω is unexplained.

σκαλαθύρω [v.] Cf. σκαλαθύρων· ἀκολασταίνων, ὁ σκαλεύων 'licentious, stirring, poking' (H.). ◅GR▻
•DER σκαλαθυρμάτια [n.pl.] 'petty quibbles' (Ar. *Nu.* 630).
•ETYM The verb is used as a euphemism for 'to copulate' in Ar. *Ec.* 611, and is possibly built on a combination of σκάλλω, σκαλεύω 'to stir, hoe, poke' and ἀθύρω 'to play' (cf. Schwyzer: 645 on the type of compound). See ►σκάλλω.

σκαλαπάζει [v.] ῥέμβεται 'roams, rolls about' (H.), σκαλπάζειν· ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν 'to wander about roamingly' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM The alternation σκαλαπ-/ σκαλπ- is suspicious, and if the noun ▶κάλπη 'trot' is cognate (thus Fur.: 379), we probably are dealing with a Pre-Greek word.

σκαληνός ⇒σκάλλω.

σκαλίας [m.] 'fruit shell of the κάκτος' (Thphr.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Frisk s.v. connects OHG *scala* 'shell, pod', but Fur.: 373 rather adduces ἀσκαλία, ἀσκάληρον 'fruit of the artichoke', which would point to a Pre-Greek origin.

σκαλίδρις [f.] a speckled water-bird, probably 'redshank, Scolopax calidris' (Arist. *HA* 593b). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also καλίδρις (v.l.).

•ETYM The variation σκ-/ κ- may point to a Pre-Greek origin.

σκαλλίον [n.] a small cup (Philet. *apud* Ath., H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM According to Bechtel 1921, 1: 125 possibly connected with ON *skalli* [m.] 'brain-pan, skull'. Quite uncertain, however.

σκάλλω [v.] 'to stir up, hoe' (Hdt., Arist., Thphr., LXX). ◁IE *$skelh_{2/3}$- 'split, tear'▷

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (aor. ipv. περίσκαλον Gp.).

•COMP Rarely with δια-, etc.

•DER σκαλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'hoe' (Att. inscr. IV^{a}, Str., J.), whence -ιδεύω 'to hoe' (gloss.), -σις [f.] 'hoeing' (Thphr.), -μός [m.] 'id.' (pap. III^{p}), -μός [m.] 'thole' (*h. Hom.*, A., E., Arist., Plb.), -μίδιον [n.] 'id.' (*Com. Adesp.*), -μη [f.] 'short sword, knife' (S. *Fr.* 620), = μάχαιρα Θρᾳκία 'Thracian knife' (H.), -ηνός (-ηνής) 'craggy, rough, uneven', (of numbers) 'odd', (of triangles) 'scalene', (of cones) 'slant' (Democr. *apud* Thphr., Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.); thence -ηνία, -ηνόομαι (Plu.); ἄ-σκαλος 'unhoed' (Theoc.), probably metrical for ἀσκάλευτος; verb σκαλ-εύω 'to hoe, scrape, stir up' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), aor. σκαλεῦσαι, also with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ὑπο-, etc. Thence σκαλ-εύς [m.] 'hoe' (X., Poll.), -ευσις [f.] 'scraping' (Aq.), -ευμα [n.] 'scrapings' (sch., H.), -ευθρον [n.] 'poker' (Poll.), -εία [f.] 'hoeing' (Gp. tit.). Also σκαλ-ίζω (ά-) [v.] 'id.' (Phryn.), whence -ισμός [m.] 'hoeing' (pap., Eun.), -ιστή-ριον [n.] 'hoe' (sch.).

•ETYM This verb has generally been connected with Lith. *skeliù*, *skélti* 'to split; strike fire', Arm. *cʿelum* 'to split, tear' and Hitt. *iškalla-^{i}* / *iškall-* 'to slit, split, tear'. The acute intonation of the Lithuanian verb points to the presence of a laryngeal, **skelH-*, and Kloekhorst 2008: 399f. argues that on the basis of Hittite the laryngeal cannot be *h_1, which means that the root must have been *$skelh_{2/3}$-. The geminate -λλ- of σκάλλω seems to go back to either *σκάλ-ι̯ω (with a *yod*-present as in Lith. *skíliù* 'to strike fire') or *σκάλ-νω (with a nasal present like in Lith. *skįlù* 'to split off, separate oneself'). In the first case, we could assume loss of *H before *$i̯$ (Pinault's Law), thus *$sklh_{2/3}$-ie/o- > *skl-$i̯e/o$- > *σκάλ-ι̯ω. In the latter case, we could assume that an original *skl-ne-$h_{2/3}$- first yielded *σκαλνᾱ-/*σκαλνω-, on the basis of which a thematicized *σκάλν-ε/ο- was formed (similarly in ▶βάλλω; note, however, that the latter derives from a root in *-h_1, and that a nasal present from a root *$skelh_1$- would

be easier for σκάλλω). It is unnecessary to assume that σκάλλω reflects a laryngeal-less root **skel-*, pace LIV². The derivatives of σκάλλω all show a stem σκαλ- with single -λ-, but this need not reflect an old situation; compare σφαλ- from σφάλλω and θαλ- from θάλλω, etc. See on ►σκαλαθύρω; appurtenance of ►σκῶλος and ►σκόλοψ is uncertain.

σκάλοψ ⇒σκόλοψ.

σκαμβός [adj.] 'crooked, bandy-legged' (LXX, Hell. pap., Gal.). ◄PG(S)►

•DER σκαμβό-πους 'with crooked feet' (Ps.-Archyt.), σκαμβόομαι 'to curve' (Aq.), σκάμβυκες· σκόλοπες, χάρακες 'pointed object, stake' (H.), σκαμβάλυξ· σκαμβός, στρεβλός 'crooked, twisted' (H.), σκαμβηρίζοντες· ὀλισθαίνοντες 'slipping and falling' (H.).

•ETYM This word cannot be separated from ►σκιμβός 'lame', and the variation σκαμβ-/ σκιμβ- as well as the derivatives with the non-IE suffixes -υκ- and -αλ- point to a Pre-Greek origin of this word (unless OIr. *camm* 'crooked' < **kamb-* points to an European substrate word). Etymological proposals as mentioned in Frisk s.v. are unconvincing.

σκαμμάδες [f.?]˙πόρναι 'prostitutes' (H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM No etymology. Given the meaning, it is probably a Pre-Greek word.

σκαμ(μ)ωνία [f.] kind of scammony, 'Convulvulus scammonia' (Eub., Arist.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also ἀσκαμωνία (Gp.).

•DER -ώνιον (Nic. *Al.* 565) 'juice of the σ.', -νῖτης οἶνος (Dsc., Plin.), also κάμων (Nic. *Al.* 484).

•ETYM On the formation, cf. Chantraine 1933: 208. The variants σκαμ-/ σκαμμ-/ ἀσκαμ- point to a Pre-Greek origin for this word. Not related to ►κύμῖνον.

σκάνδαλον [n.] 'trap', usually (Semitism) 'temptation, scandal' (LXX, NT; *PCair. Zen.* 608, 7; III[a] [-άνων gen. pl.]). ◄PG?, LW IE? ►

•DER σκανδαλ-ίζω 'to tempt, be offensive, annoy', -ίζομαι 'to be tempted to sin, to be offended' (LXX, NT), whence -ιστής [m.] an acrobat, e.g. 'trapeze artist' (*SIG* 847, 5 [II[P]]), -όω 'id.' (Aq.), σκανδάλ-η [f.] 'stick of a trap' (Alciphr. 3, 21, 1: κρεᾴδιον τῆς σκανδάλης ἁπαρτήσας; reading not quite certain), σκάνδαλος· ἐμποδισμός 'hindering' (H.), σκανδάληθρον [n.] (Ar. *Ach.* 687: σκανδάληθρ' ἱστὰς ἐπῶν, according to sch. ad loc. τὸ ἐν ταῖς παγίσι ἐπικαμπὲς ξύλον 'the crooked stick in a trap'; accoding to Poll. 7, 114: τὸ τῇ σπαρτίνῃ προσηρτημένον 'that which is bound with the cord', in Poll. 10, 156 σκανδάληθρον is identified with παττάλιον.

•ETYM Since this noun, on the one hand, means 'trap', but on the other hand also has a derivative σκανδαλιστής 'acrobat', it is likely that σκάνδαλον is originally a technical term, possibly referring to a construction with a piece of wood hanging on ropes, which could be used as a trap as well as as an acrobat bar. Often interpreted as an IE word and connected with Lat. *scandō* 'to ascend', Skt. *skándati* 'to jump, hop, hurry' (cf. Frisk s.v.). Apart from the semantic arbitrariness of this connection, it is formally problematic as well: Gr. -α- would remain unexplained. Therefore, and

since we are dealing with a technical term, it is not unlikely that it is of Pre-Greek origin, or alternatively a loan from another Indo-European language.

σκάνδιξ, -ῑκος [f.] 'wild chervil, Scandix pecten Veneris' (Ar., And., Thphr., Dsc.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Also σκάνδυξ (v.l. Dsc. 2, 138).
•DER σκανδ-ικώδης 'like σ.' (Thphr.), σκανδικο-πώλης [n.] 'chervil-seller', nickname of Euripides (Ar.[?] in H.).
•ETYM The formation of the noun resembles ῥάδιξ, πέρδιξ and other plant names (cf. Chantraine 1933: 382). Clearly of Pre-Greek origin, cf. κασκάνδιξ, a kind of onion, which could well be a variant of it.

σκανθαρίζειν ⇒σκινθαρίζειν.

σκαπέρδα [f.] a game at the Dionysia, during which two young men sitting with their backs to each other try to lift up the other using a cord running through a pole (Poll. 9, 116, H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR σκαπαρδεῦσαι see below, also καπαρδ-, σκαρπαδ-.
•DER σκαπερδεῦσαι (Hippon. 3, 3), acc. to H. = λοιδορῆσαι 'to rebuke', acc. to Tz. *An. Ox.* 3, 351 = συμμαχῆσαι 'to help, assist', καπαρδεῦσαι· μαντεύσασθαι 'to draw divinations' (H.), σκαρπαδεῦσαι· κρῖναι 'to separate, decide' (H.), σκάπαρδος· ὁ ταραχώδης καὶ ἀνάγωγος 'disturbing and ill-bred' (H.), λακκοσκάπερδον· λακκόπρωκτον 'loose-breeched' (H.). Also: καὶ πᾶν τό δυσχερὲς σκαπέρδα λέγεται καὶ ὁ πάσχων σκαπέρδης, 'all that is hard to manage is called σ., and he who suffers it is called σ.'.
•ETYM It is not clear exactly what the term σκαπέρδα refers to (perhaps to the cord; cf σκαπέρδαν ἕλκειν 'to draw the σ.' in Poll.). If the mentioned derivatives are cognate, the terms must be Pre-Greek in view of the variants σκαπερδ-/σκαπαρδ-/καπαρδ- (cf. Fur.: 351, 393).

σκάπετος [m.] 'digging' (Megara). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also κάπετος 'id. (Il., Hp.).
•ETYM Most probably Pre-Greek; see the discussion under ►σκάπτω.

σκάπτω [v.] 'to dig, dig out, work the earth', with κατα- 'to inter, bury', usually 'to demolish, raze to the ground, destroy' (*h. Merc.*, Pi.). ◁EUR▷
•VAR Aor. σκάψαι (IA), fut. σκάψω, perf. ἔσκαφα, med. ἔσκαμμαι (Att.), aor. pass. σκαφ-ῆναι (E., Hell.), fut. -ήσομαι (J. et al.).
•COMP Often with prefixes, especially κατα-.
•DER σκάφη [f.] 'winnow, bowl, trough, dish', also 'ship' (IA), σκάφος [n.] 'hull of a ship', poet. also 'ship' (IA), rarely action noun 'digging' (Hes. *Op.* 572, *Gp.*), diminutive σκαφ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cup' (ι 223, Hp., Ar. et al.), also 'barge' and 'spade' (Hell. and late), -ίον [n.] 'bowl, cup' (com., Hell. and late), also as a designation of a hairdress (Ar.), 'barge' (Str., Hld.), -ίδιον [n.] 'winnow, ship' (Hell. and late), σκαφ-ίτης [m.] 'boatman' vel sim. (Anon. *apud* Demetr., Str.), σκαφή [f.] 'digging' (Hell. pap., etc., Hdn. Gr. 1, 345), also 'grave' (Bithynia), or σκάφη?; κατα-σκαφ-ή [f.] 'tomb, demolition, destruction' (trag., also Att. prose), often plur. -αί; κατα-σκαφ-ής

'buried' (S.), σκαφ-ιά [f.] 'ditch, grave' (Halaesa I[a]), σκαφ-εύς [m.] 'digger' (E., Archipp., Hell. and late), also 'dish, σκαφηφόρος' (*Com. Adesp.*), σκαφ-εύω [v.] 'to empty in a trough' (Ctes., Plu.), whence -ευσις (Eun.); further -ευσις, -εία [f.] 'the digging' (Suid.), -εῖον [n.] 'shovel', also 'bowl, cup' (= -ίον; late Att. Hell.), -είδιον (Hdn. *Epim.*), -ευτής = *fossor* (gloss.), σκαφ-ητός [m.] 'the digging' (Thphr., Hell. and late inscr.), -ητροι [pl.] 'id.' (pap. I[p]); NWGr. (Delphi, Troezen, etc.) σκάπετος [m.] 'grave, tomb', Megara σκάπεδος after δάπεδον, πέδον (Solmsen 1909:196); also κάπετος 'id.' (Il., Hp.), also 'spade' (Gortyn)?, uncertain σκαπέτωσις 'the digging' (Troezen). 8. σκαφαλος· άντλητήρ 'one who draws water' (H.), like πάσσαλος etc.; an λ-suffix also in σκαφλεύς = σκαφεύς (Athens IV[a])? 9. σκαπ-άνη [f.] 'shovel, spade' (Theoc., *AP*), also 'excavation' (Thphr.), with -ανήτης [m.] 'digger' (Zonar.), -ανεύς [m.] 'id.' (Lyc., Phld., Str.), -ανεύω [v.] 'to dig up' (inscr. Magnesia, Phld. *Rh.*). 10. σκάμμα [n.] 'the digging, ditch, place dug up' (Pl. *Lg.*, Hell. and late). 11. περίσκαψις [f.] 'the digging up' (pap. VI[p], Gp.). 12. σκαπτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'digger' (Margites, X. *apud* Poll.), see Fraenkel 1910: 107; 2, 55, Benveniste 1948: 39; fem. -τειρα (*AP*). 13. TN Σκαπτὴ ὕλη (Thrace; Hdt. et al.) with Σκαπτησυλικός (Att. inscr.), -ίτης [m.] (St. Byz.); on the formation see Schwyzer: 452.

•ETYM The basis of the above forms is either σκαπ- (with σκαφ- analogically after θάπτω: τάφος, ταφῆναι) or σκαφ- (with σκαπ- before voiceless consonant, and analogically before vowel). In the case of σκαπ-, the relic Lat. *scapulae*, U *scapla* [acc.sg.] 'shoulder-blade' has been compared, assuming that it originally meant 'shovel' as a primary agent noun (cf. σκάφαλος above). In the case of σκαφ-, σκάπτω could formally correspond to a verb for 'plane, scratch, etc.' in Lat. *scabō*, OHG *scaban*, Lith. *skabiù* (beside *skobiù*, *skõbti*) 'to scoop out with a chisel, vel sim.', to which the Slavic group of Ru. *skóbel'* 'plane-iron', etc. is connected. Semantically, σκάφη, σκάφος, etc. fit better with 'to plane, scoop out' than with 'to dig' (extensive treatment in Solmsen 1909: 196ff.), but such words may of course easily change their meaning.

Frisk's discussion of σκάπτω, referring to Pok. 930ff., is highly dated. We now know, for example, that PIE did not have an ablaut *e* ~ *a*, so the words with *-e-* (e.g. ►κόπτω, ►σκέπαρνος) must be omitted. Connection with ►σκήπτω and ►σκίπων is formally and semantically unfeasible. The same holds for that with Lith. *skõbti*, 1sg. *skobiù*, as Greek has no form with long *ā* (in other words, there is no trace of ablaut). It seems that the forms κάπετος and ►σκάπετος may be Pre-Greek, and well as other forms with σκαπ-, like σκάφαλος and the strange σκαφλεύς. The other forms seem to be based on **skab*[h]-, as in Lat. *scabō* and OHG *scaban*. I suggest that this root is a loan from a European substrate language.

***σκαραβαῖος** ⇒κάραβος.

σκαρδαμύσσω [v.] 'to blink, twinkle' (Hp., E., X., Arist.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Att. -ττω; καρδαμύσσω, -ττω (H., *EM*).

•DER σκαρδαμύκ-της [m.] 'blinker', -τικός 'blinking' (Arist.), -τέω 'to blink' (Luc., Porph.); σκαρδαμυγ-μός [m.] 'blinking' (Antyll. *apud* Orib.), ά-σκαρδάμυκ-τος (also

-τί [adv.]) 'not blinking, without blinking' (Ar., X, Luc.), ἀ-σκαρδαμύκ-της 'one who does not blink' (Hp.), -τέω (sch.).
•ETYM The stem of all these words is (σ)καρδαμυκ-. The formation looks non-IE, and the variation between forms with and without σ- may well point to Pre-Greek origin.

σκαρῑφάομαι [v.] 'to tear up the surface of a body, scratch, make an outline' (H., sch. on Ar. *Ra.* 1497). ◁EUR▷
•DER σκαρῑφ-ησμοί [m.pl.] 'scribblings, quibbles' vel sim. (Ar. *Ra.* 1497), -ήματα [n.pl.] 'id.' (sch. Ar. *Nu.* 630, Phot.), verb -εύω with -εύματα 'id.' (sch., Suid.), σκάρῑφος (-ον) [m., n.] 'outline, sketch, slate pencil' (H., sch., *EM*), acc. to sch. also = κάρφος, φρύγανον 'dry stalk or stick', probably a back-formation to the verb.
•ETYM These words, which show a stem σκαρῑφ- < **skarīb^h-*, cannot be separated from Lat. *scrībō* 'to write' < **skrīb^h-*, Latv. *skrīpât* 'to scratch, scribble, write down' < **skrīp-*, ON *hrífa* 'scratch, tear' < **krīp-*, and MIr. *scrīp(a)id* 'scratches' < **skrīp-*, although these forms cannot be satisfactorily combined under one PIE etymon (the alternation **b^h/p*, the long **ī*, the absence vs. presence of **-a-* are all inexplicable). We are, therefore, rather dealing with an European substrate word.

σκάρος [m.] a fish. ⇒σκαίρω.

σκάφη, σκάφος, etc. ⇒σκάπτω.

σκαφώρη [f.] 'fox' (Ael., H.). ◁?▷
•VAR καφώρη (Suid.) can be haplological for τῆς [σ]καφώρης.
•ETYM The interpretation as "Grubenwächterin" (thus Frisk s.v.) and connection with σκάφη 'grave' is semantically unattractive. Further unclear.

σκεδάννυμι [v.] 'to scatter, spring, drive apart', med. 'to disperse, burst, go apart, spread' (later Att.). ◁IE **(s)kd-n-eh$_2$-* 'split, strew out'▷
•VAR σκίδναμαι, -νημι (Il., epic poet.), σκεδάω? (see below), fut. σκεδάσω (Thgn.), σκεδῶ (Att.), aor. σκεδάσαι, -σθῆναι (Il.), perf. pass. ἐσκέδασμαι (IA); also without σ- κεδάσσαι, -σθῆναι (poet. Il.), see Chantraine 1942: 110; late pres. forms κεδάννυμι (*AP*), κεδόωνται (A. R.), ptc. κεδάων (Nic. *Al.* 283, better than σκεδάων), κεδαίομαι, -αίω (Hell. epic).
•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, δια-, κατα-.
•DER σκέδ-ασις [f.] 'the scattering' (α 116 = υ 225, Hp. et al.), -ασμός [m.] (Hell. and late), (δια-)σκεδ-αστής [m.] 'destroyer' (Ph.), (δια-)σκεδ-αστικός 'scattering' (Dsc., Lyd.), σκεδ-αστός 'dissolvable' (Pl., Plu.).
•ETYM The present σκεδάννυμι is a recent formation from the aorist σκεδάσαι. The closest cognate is Av. *sciṇdaiieiti* 'breaks, destroys' with nasal infix. Without anlauting *s-*, we find the nasal present in ToAB *kät^a-* 'to strew (out)', pres. ToB *katnaṃ*. Lith. *kedìnti*, 1sg. *kedinù* 'to tug, pluck', *kedĕti* 'to burst' are unrelated in view of the failing reflex of Winter's Law (the semantics are also weak). The appurtenance of Alb. *çanj*, *çaj* 'to split, tear up, plough', perhaps < **sked-n̥-ie/o*, is unclear. Several verbal nouns are found in various languages, especially with a suffix *-r-*, and verbs built from these: Arm. *šert* 'chip, piece of wood', if from **sked-ri-*

(anlaut uncertain), Lith. *kedinti* [f.] 'splinter', Latv. *skadrs* 'easy to split', ME *scateren*, MoE *scatter*, MIr. *scaindrim* 'to split in two'. Cf. ►σχίζω, ►κέδματα.

σκεθρός [adj.] 'exact, careful' (Hp., Gal., Lyc.). ◄GR►

•VAR -ῶς (A. *Pr.*, E. *Fr.* 87).

•ETYM According to Frisk s.v., this word is a formation in -θρο- from a stem σχε- as found in σχεῖν 'to hold' (cf. ►ἔχω), showing the reflex of Grassmann's Law. Since the suffix -θρο- is rather rare, the assumption that this word is a -ρο-derivation from the verb σχέθω 'to hold back' might have more merit (contra Chantraine 1933: 225, Schwyzer: 481). We must then assume, however, that in σχέθω the effect of Grassmann's Law was analogically eliminated, while it was retained in σκεθρός. Semantically, we might think of a development 'holding back' > 'reserved, exercising restraint' > 'careful'.

σκελήπερον [n.] νήπιον 'infant, child' (Archil. 582 West). ◄?►

•ETYM Unclear.

σκέλλομαι [v.] 'to dry up, wither, languish, grow tired, harden', act. 'to dry, parch' (Epich., Hp., Choeril., Hell. and late). ◄IE **skelh*$_1$- 'dry up, wither'►

•VAR κατεσκέλλοντο (A. *Pr.* 481), σκελλόμενα· σκελετευόμενα (H.), fut. 3pl. σκελοῦνται· σκελετισθήσονται (H.), perf. ἔσκληκα, aor. κατα-, ἀπο-σκλῆναι, 3sg. ἀπ-έσκλη (Ar., Men., Alciphr.), opt. ἀπο-σκλαίη (Moer., H., Suid.); fut. 2sg. ἀπο-σκλήσῃ (*AP*). Only few active forms: aor. opt. σκήλειε (Ψ 191), subj. ἐνι-σκήλῃ (Nic. *Th.* 694), ind. ἔσκειλα (Zonar).

•COMP Most frequent with κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐν- etc.

•DER 1. σκελετός [m.] 'dried up body, mummy, skeleton' (Phryn. Com., Pl. Com., Phld., Str., etc.), 'dried up' (Nic. *Th.* 696), whence σκελετ-ώδης 'like a mummy' (Luc., Erot.), -εύω (κατα-) [v.] 'to mummify, dry up, parch' (Teles, Dsc. et al.), med. -εύομαι (κατα-) 'to dry up, languish' (Ar. *Fr.* 851, Isoc., Gal.); thence -εία (-ίη) [f.] 'drying up, withering' (Gal., Aret.), -ευμα [n.] 'that which has withered' (sch.); -ίζομαι = -εύομαι (H., Zonar.). 2. σκελιφρός 'dried up, meagre, slender' (Hp., Erot. [v.l. -εφρός]). 3. σκληρός 'hard, brittle, harsh, severe' (Hes., also Dor.), whence σκληρ-ότης, -ύνω, -υσμα, -υσμός, -όομαι, etc. 4. σκληφρός 'slender, weak, small, thin' (Pl., Theopomp. Com., Arist.). 5. -σκελής in περι-σκελής 'very hard, brittle, inflexible' (Hp., S., Hell. and late), whence περισκέλεια (-ία) [f.] 'hardness, inflexibility' (Arist., medic., Porph.); κατασκελής (to κατα-σκέλλομαι) 'meagre' (of style), 'powerless, brittle' (D. H., Prol.), ἀ-σκελής (Hom., Nic.) 'powerless(?), incessantly(?)' (interpretation not fully clear).

•ETYM The aorist forms σκήλειε and ἐνι-σκήλῃ must stand for σκειλ- < *σκελ-σ-, perhaps with old analogy to σφήλειε (Schwyzer: 756). Forms like ἐσκληῶτες (A. R.) are built on the basis of τεθνηῶτες, ἑστηῶτες (cf. Kretschmer *Glotta* 3 (1910-1912): 311f.), ἀπο-σκλαίη on the basis of τεθναίη, σταίη, etc. Because of Dor. σκληρός and of σκελετός, the forms in σκλαι- cannot be old.

The system with perf. ἔσκληκα, aor. σκλῆναι beside a present σκέλλομαι (probably < *σκελ-ι̯ε/ο-, but possibly from a nasal present with analogical root vocalism) resembles e.g. τέτληκα, τλῆναι beside ἀνα-τέλλω. Although the perfect stem

ἔσκληκα is widely attested, the other stems were ousted by forms of the verbs ξηραίνω and αὐαίνω 'id.'. Although the verb looks Indo-European and could be projected back to a pre-form **skelh₁-*, good verbal comparanda are lacking. Nominal cognates may be MoHG *schal* 'faint, vapid', LG 'dry, barren', ME *schalowe* 'faint, tired, shallow' (E *shallow*) < PGm. **skala-* and, without initial **s-*, LG *hal(l)-* 'dry, meager', MoHG *hellig* 'tired, exhausted (by thirst)', and possibly Latv. *kàlss* 'meager', *kàlst*, 1sg. *kàlstu* 'to dry up'. The adjective σκληφρός 'slender, weak, small, thin' (Pl., Theopomp. Com.; also Arist.) has been influenced in form and meaning by ἐλαφρός.

σκέλος [n.] 'thigh, leg' (Π 314). ◂IE **skel-* 'bend, curve'▸

•DIAL Myc. *ke-re-a₂* /skeleha/ [pl.].

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. τετρα-σκελής 'four-legged' (trag. etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutives σκελ-ίσκος [m.] (Ar.), -ύδριον (Herod., Arr.). 2. σκελέαι [f.pl.] 'breeches' (Critias, Antiph.). 3. σκελίζω (Plu., S. E.), usually with ὑπο- (Pl., D., etc.) 'to trip up one's heels, upset, outsmart', with (ὑπο-)σκελ-ισμός [m.] 'tripping up, supplanting', -ισμα [n.] 'accident' (LXX); also σκέλ[λ]ισμα· δρόμημα 'running, course' (H.). 4. σκελλός 'bandy-legged, διεστραμμένος, ῥαιβός' (sch., H., *EM*), cf. στρεβλός etc.; see also κυλλός.

With *o*-grade: σκολιός 'crooked, bent, twisted, unjust' (Π 387), perhaps from **σκόλος* [m.] after σκαιός etc.; cf. σκολοῖς· δρεπάνοις 'pruning-knives' (H.); σκολιότης [f.] 'curve, injustice' (Hp., LXX, Str.), -όομαι 'to be bent, curve' (Hp., Thphr.), with -ωσις, -ωμα (late), -αίνομαι 'to curve' (Hp.), -άζω 'to be bent' (LXX); τὸ σκόλιον 'drinking-song' (Pi.); explanation debated: because the songs were presented in an irregular order? Perhaps ▸σκώληξ contains a lengthened grade. On σκαληνός, see ▸σκάλλω; on σκελίς, see ▸σχελις.

•ETYM Formally comparable to Lat. *scelus* [n.] 'malice, badness, crime' < **skel-o-*, which points to an original meaning **'curvation, deflection', which in Greek is best witnessed by e.g. σκολιός 'crooked, unjust'. Other formations are **skel-ko-*, attested in OHG *scelah*, OE *sceolh* 'oblique, curved, squinting', MoHG *scheel*, ON *skjalgr* 'oblique, squinting', and **skel-no-*, attested in Alb. *çalë* 'lame'. Within Greek, ▸κυλλός and ▸κῶλον are sometimes adduced as *s*-less variants, but this is unlikely.

σκέπανος [m.] a kind of fish, possibly a kind of tunny (Opp.). See Thompson 1947 s.v., Strömberg 1943: 128. ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

σκέπαρνος [m.] 'axe for working wood, chip-axe' (Od., S. *Fr.* 797, Hell. and late), 'surgical bandage (metaph.)' (Hp.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR -ον [n.]

•COMP As a second member in e.g. ἀμφι-σκέπαρνος 'smoothed on both sides' (Milete, Didyma).

•DER σκεπάρν-ιον [n.] 'pillar' (Didyma II[a]), -ηδόν [adv.] 'like a kind of σ.-bandage' (Hp.), -ίζω 'to work with a σ.' (Hero), with (ἀπο-)-ισμός [m.] (medic.).

•ETYM Althoug IE comparanda have been suggested (Ru. *ščepát'* 'to split, crumble, diminish', Latv. *šķēpele* 'split off piece, sherd'), the presence of the suffix -αρνο- is awkward from an IE point of view. Attempts to eliminate this suffix by proposing

metathesis from *σκέρπ-ανος, connected with MoHG *Scherbe, schürfen*, etc. < **sker-p-* (thus Niedermann *IF* 37 (1916/1917): 149f.), are unconvincing as well. Both formally and semantically (instrument names), the word is much more likely to be of Pre-Greek origin.

σκέπας [n.] 'shelter, protection, cover' (Od., E., Lyc, *AP* et al.). ◁?▷

•VAR σκέπᾰ [acc.pl.] (Hes. *Op.* 532), see Sommer 1957: 147; σκέπη [f.] 'cover, screen, protection' (IA).

•COMP As a second member -σκεπής (σκέπος only *EM*), e.g. ἀνεμο-σκεπής 'screening from wind' (Π 224).

•DER σκέπω, only pres. and ipf. (Hp., Plb., mostly late); σκεπάω, only in 3pl. σκεπόωσι (ν 99; σκεπάουσι v.l. Theoc. 16, 81) 'to cover, screen, protect (from)' (IA, Hell. and late), also σκεπ-άζω, aor. -άσαι; all also with κατα-, περι-, ἐπι- etc. Derivatives from σκέπω: 1. σκεπ-ανός 'screening, protecting' (Opp., *AP*), -ανον [n.], -ανος [m.] 'cover, protection' (*AP*); also (from σκέπας, -η?) -εινός (-η-, -ι-) 'id.', also 'protected' (Scymn., LXX, medic. etc.), on the basis of αἰπεινός, etc. See also ▸σκέπανος, a kind of fish. 2. περίσκεπ-τος = περισκεπής 'protected all around': περισκέπτῳ ἑνὶ χώρῳ (Od.) or 'visible all around', perhaps to σκέπτομαι; 3. governing compound σκεπ-ώνιον [n.] 'storehouse' (pap. III^{p}).

Derivatives from σκεπάζω: σκέπ-ασμα [n.] 'cover' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -ασις [f.] (LXX), -ασμός [m.] (*EM*) 'cover'; -αστής [m.] 'screener, protector' (LXX), -αστικός (Arist., etc.), -αστήριος (D. S., D. H., etc.) 'covering, protecting', -αστρον [n.] 'cover, veil' (Sm.), (παρα-)σκεπ-άστρα [f.] 'bandage' (Gal.).

•ETYM Although σκέπω seems primary at first sight, it is attested only late, which may indicate that it should rather be interpreted as a back-formation from the denominative verb σκεπάζω (Schwyzer: 684) or from σκέπη, σκέπας (cf. the semantically close στέγω beside στέγη). Only the epic verbal adj. περίσκεπτος would contradict this hypothesis, but this form is used only in a standing expression in the Odyssey and may be better connected with the verb ▸σκέπτομαι, as are later attestations (Arat., Call. etc.).

Although the stem looks IE and could be projected back to a pre-form **skep-*, no good cognates are known. Only some Balto-Slavic forms like Lith. *kepùre*, Ru. *čepéc* 'cap, hood' may be connected, although these reflect an *s*-less stem **kep-*.

σκέπτομαι [v.] 'to look around, look back, spy, contemplate, consider, survey' (Il.); Att. has σκοπέω, -έομαι instead (see below). ◁IE **spek-* 'see sharply, spy'▷

•VAR Aor. σκέψασθαι (Od.), fut. σκέψομαι, perf. ἔσκεμμαι (IA), aor. pass. σκεφθῆναι (Hp.), σκεπ-ῆναι with fut. -ήσομαι (LXX).

•COMP Often with ἐπι-, κατα-, προ-, δια- etc.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. σκέψις (ἐπί-, κατά-, etc.) 'contemplation, deliberation, examination' (IA). 2. σκέμ-μα (rarely with δια- etc.) 'examination, problem' (Hp., Pl.). 3. σκεπτ-οσύνη [f.] = σκέψις (Timo, Cerc.). 4. -ήριον [n.] 'test' (Man.). 5. -ικός (ἐπι-, δια-) 'cogitating, revising', οἱ σκεπτικοί name of a philosophical sect (Hell. and late). B. With *o*-grade: 1. σκοπός [m., f.] 'spy, guard, scout; goal, purpose' (Il.), hypostasis ἐπί-σκοπος 'hitting the goal' (Hdt., trag., late), adv. -α; ἀπό-σκοπος

'missing the goal' (Emp.); σκόπ-ιμος 'purposive, appropriate' (late); as a second member, e.g. οἰωνο-σκόπος [m.] 'bird-watcher' with -έω, -ία, -ικός, -εῖον (E., Hell. and late). 2. prefix compounds: ἐπί-, κατά-, πρό-σκοπος [m.] 'spy, supervisor, foresighted, etc.' (Hom., Pi., IA). 3. σκοπή (κατα-, ἐπι- etc.) [f.] 'spying, watch-tower' (Att., etc.) with σκοπάω (Ar. *Fr.* 854). 4. σκοπιά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'watch-place (on a mountain, on a fortress), mountain summit, watch-tower' (epic Ion. poet., Il., also Hell. and late prose), with σκοπ-ιήτης [m.] 'summit dweller' = Πάν (Paus.), -ιάζω (ἀπο-) 'to spy, look out' (epic Il.), -ιάομαι 'to perceive' (Il.; only with δια-). 5. σκοπέω, -έομαι iterative-intensive to σκέπτομαι (Pi., IA), non-presentic forms σκοπ-ῆσαι, -ήσασθαι, -ήσω, -ήσομαι, ἐσκόπημαι (late). 6. σκοπεύω (κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-), probably secondary for σκοπέω (X., LXX, pap., etc.), with σκόπ-ευσις, -ευτής (Aq.), -εῖα [n.pl.] (Procl.). See also ►σκόπελος and ►σκώψ.

•ETYM The old *yod*-present σκέπτομαι must derive from *σπέκ-i̯ομαι with metathesis and be identical to Lat. *speciō*, Av. *spasiieiti*, and (apart from initial *s*-) Skt. *páśyati* 'to see'. The aor. σκέψασθαι can in the same way be identified with Lat. *spexī* and Skt. *áspaṣṭa*. The old root noun as found in Skt. *spaś-*, Av. *spas-* 'spy', Lat. *haru-spex*, etc. < **spe̯ḱ-* is not attested as such in Greek, and seems to have been replaced by σκοπός; cf. the cognate formulae Skt. *sū́ryam ... spáśam* and Hom. Ἥλιον ... σκοπόν 'Sun, the spy'. The noun σκοπή << **spo̯ḱ-éh₂* agrees, except for the accent, with ON *spá* [f.] 'prophesy' < PGm. **spahō* < IE **spóḱ-eh₂*.

σκέραφος ⇒σκερβόλλω.

σκερβόλλω [v.] 'to vilify, slander' (Ar. *Eq.* 821, H.; ipv.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR σκερβολεῖ (leg. cum M. -όλλει?)· ἀπατᾷ 'cheat' (H.); σκέρβολος 'vilifying, slandering' (Call. *Fr.* 281, H.); also κερβόλλουσα (cod. -ολυσσα)· λοιδοροῦσα, βλασφημιοῦσα, ἀπατῶσα 'abusing, speaking profanely, deceiving' (H.).

•DER σκέραφος (σχέρ-)· λοιδορία, βλασφημία 'abusing, speaking profanely'; κέραφος· χλευασμός, κακολογία 'mockery, abuse' (H.).

•ETYM Sometimes ►σκίραφος is interpreted as cognate as well. The variants σκερ-, σχερ-, κερ-, and possibly σκιρ- point to Pre-Greek origin.

σκερός [?] αἰδοιολείκτης 'cunnilingus' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

σκεῦος [n.] 'vessel, device', mostly plur. 'house or ship equipment, weapon, armor, luggage' (IA). ◅IE?▻

•COMP Frequent as a first member, e.g. σκευο-φόρος 'carrying luggage, luggage-carrier' (IA), σκευ-ωρός 'luggage-watcher' (Cratin.) with -ωρέομαι, -ωρέω, -ωρία, -ώρημα 'to look after or through the luggage, to instigate (slyly)' (D., Arist., etc.), later also σκαιωρέομαι, etc. (after σκαιός); as a second member in ἀ-σκευής 'without equipment' (Hdt.).

•DER σκευή [f.] 'armor, clothing, wear' (IA); as a second member e.g. ὁμό-σκευος 'with equal armor' (Th.); frequently prefixed παρα-, κατα-, ἐπι-σκευή etc., as back-formations to παρα-σκευάζω, etc. Diminutives: σκευ-άριον [n.] 'small device' (Ar. etc.), 'simple wear' (Pl. *Alc.* 1, 113e), -ύφιον [n.] 'small device' (Lyd.).

Secondary verbal formation σκευ-άζω, -άζομαι expressing different nuances, e.g. 'to equip, arm, dress, prepare, etc.' (IA since *h. Merc.*), with aor. σκευ-άσαι, -άσασθαι, very frequent with prefix, παρα-, κατα-, ἐπι-, etc. Derived from these, mostly with prefixes: σκεύ-ασις, -άσιμος, -ασία, -ασμα, -αστός, -αστής, -αστι-κός; also παρασκευ-ή, etc. Denominative verbs ἐπι-, κατα-σκευ-όω (cf. ἐπι-, κατα-σκευή) = -άζω (Argos, Crete, Delphi etc.), σκευοῦσθαι = ἑτοιμάζεσθαι 'to prepare for oneself' (H.).

•ETYM The preservation of the ευ-diphthong before a vowel is hard to explain in an Ionic-Attic word. No good cognates are known. Connection with Lith. *šáuti*, 1sg. *šáuju* 'to shoot, shove', Ru. *sovát'* 'to shove, sting, push', etc. < **ḱeuH-* is semantically unlikely.

σκηνή [f.] '(roof of a) tent, booth, banquet; stage (building), scene' (IA, Dor.). ◁?▷

•VAR Dor. σκᾱνᾱ́.

•COMP E.g. σκηνο-πηγ-ία [f.] 'tent-building' (Arist.), 'the feast of tabernacles' (LXX, NT etc.), σύ-σκηνος, Dor. σύν-σκανος [m.] 'tent mate, housemate, table mate' (Att., Tenedos, etc.) with -ία (X. etc.); with a suffix -ιο- e.g. παρα-σκήν-ιον, -ια [n.] 'room(s) next to the σκηνή' (D., Delos etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: σκην-ίς, -ίδος [f.] (Plu.), -ίδιον [n.] (Th.), -ύδριον (Plu.). 2. -ίτης [m.] 'tent-dweller, chandler, nomad, etc.' (Isoc., Str., inscr.); also -ευτής [m.] (*EM*, *AB*). 3. -εῖον [n.] 'tent-pole, -rod' (pap. III^{a}). 4. -ικός 'belonging to the stage, actor' (Hell. inscr., Plu. etc.), -ικεύομαι [v.] 'to perform as an actor' (Memn.). Denominative verbs: 5. σκην-άομαι 'to pitch a tent, camp' (Att.), also with κατα- etc.; σκην-άω [v.] 'to feast' (X.). 6. σκην-έω 'to be in a tent, to camp' (Att., especially X.), not easily distinguished from -άω in non-presentic forms; also with δια-, συν-, ἀπο- etc.; thence -ημα (Dor. σκάναμα) [n.] 'tent, camp' (A., X., Epid. III^{a}), also 'body' (Macedonian inscr.; cf. σκῆνος). 7. σκην-όω 'to pitch a tent, to camp' (Pl., X., etc.), often with κατα-, παρα-, συν-, ἐπι-, ἀπο- etc.; thence -ωμα [n.], mostly pl., 'camp, dwelling', also 'body' (E., LXX etc.), with κατα- 'cover, curtain' (A. *Cho.* 985), also -ωσις (κατα-) [f.] (Agatharch., LXX etc.); -ωταί· συσκηνοῦντες 'living in the same tent' (H.).

Also σκῆνος, Dor. (Ti. Locr.) σκᾶνος [n.] 'body' (= tent of the soul), 'corpse' (Hp., Democr., Ion. inscr., Nic., *Ep. Cor.*), see Leumann 1950: 308f.); gender after σῶμα, cf. also ▶κτῆνος, ▶σμῆνος etc. Unclear is σκῆν· ὅ τινες μὲν ψυχήν, τινὲς δὲ φάλαιναν (H.), i.e. 'butterfly, moth' (cf. σκήνωμα· *papilio* gloss.).

•ETYM According to DELG s.v., σκηνή originally denoted any light construction of cloth hung between tree branches in order to provide shadow, under which one could shelter, sleep, celebrate festivities, etc. Formation with a suffix -νή (cf. ποινή, εὐνή, φερνή, etc.; see Chantraine 1933: 191f. and Schwyzer: 489), derived from the root σκη-/σκᾱ- < **skeh$_2$-*, which is found in ▶σκιά 'shade' as well. See there for further etymology. Borrowed as Lat. *scaena* (only in the sense of 'stage').

σκηνίπτω [v.] only ἐσκήνιψε· διέφθειρε, διεσκέδασεν 'destroyed utterly, shattered' and διασκηνῖψαι· διαφορῆσαι, διασπεῖραι 'to disperse, scatter about'. διεσκηνίφθη δὲ διεσωματίσθη (H.); to this γαίῃ … διεσκήνιψε 'shattered to the floor' (Nic. *Th.* 193). ◁?▷

•ETYM Popular expressive contamination of σκήπτω and the words discussed s.v. ►κνίψ, especially κνιπεῖν· σείειν 'to shake' and σκνίπτειν· νύσσειν 'to prick' (H.). DELG objects that the words quoted do not fit the meaning. Cf. ►σκηρίπτομαι.

σκήπτομαι [v.] 'to support oneself, lean, pretend something, use as a pretention', act. 'to throw down, sling', intr. 'to throw oneself down, fall down' (IA), ἐπι-σκήπτω also 'to impose, command', med. (Att. juridical language) 'to object, prosecute, raise a complaint'. ◄EUR?►

•VAR Act. σκήπτω, fut. σκήψω, aor. σκῆψαι, pass. σκηφθῆναι, perf. ἐπ-έσκηφα, pass. ἐπ-έσκημμαι. Fut. σκήψομαι, aor. σκήψασθαι.

•COMP Frequent with prefix (almost only act.): κατα-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-, ἐν-.

•DER σκῆψις [f.] 'excuse, pretention, pretext' (IA), ἐπίσκηψις [f.] 'objection, complaint' (Att.); ἀπόσκημμα· ἀπέρεισμα 'prop' (H.) (A. *Fr.* 18 = 265 M.), ἐπίσκημμα = ἐπίσκηψις (*Lex. Rhet. Cant.*).

Beside this, several expressions for 'stick, etc.': 1. σκᾶπος· κλάδος, καὶ ἄνεμος ποιός 'branch, a certain wind' (H.); for the latter meaning, cf. σκηπτός below. 2. σκηπ-άνη [f.] (*AB*) with -άνιον [n.] 'stick, scepter' (N 59, Σ 247, Call. *Fr. anon.* 48, *AP*), σκαπάνιον· βακτηρία, ἄλλοι σκίπωνα 'staff, crutch' (H.). 3. σκᾶπτον [n.] (Dor.) 'id.' (Pi.), IA σκῆπτον in σκηπτ-οῦχος 'stick-, scepter-bearer' = 'ruler' (Hom. etc.), with the Persians and other Asiatic peoples who have a high office at the court (Semon., X., etc.), with -ία [f.] (A. etc.). 4. σκῆπτρον [n.] 'id.' (Il., epic poet.); like βάκτρον, etc. Semantically more remote: 5. σκηπτός [m.] 'thunderbolt, lightning, suddenly breaking storm' (trag., X., D., Arist. etc.); cf. φρυκτός, στρεπτός.

•ETYM The root of all these words is σκᾱπ-, with the system σκήπτω < **skāp-ie/o-*, σκῆψαι, σκᾶπος comparable to e.g. κόπτω, κόψαι, κόπος and τύπτω, τύψαι, τύπος. The noun σκᾶπος can be equated with Lat. *scāpus* 'shaft, stalk' and Alb. *shkop* 'stick, scepter', pointing to **skeh$_2$p-o-*. Zero-grade forms may be attested in the Germanic words for 'shaft, spear, lance', OHG *skaft* [m.], ON *skapt* [n.], etc. < **skh$_2$p-*. Although formally the words could certainly be of IE origin, the distribution of forms and the semantics rather point to a European substrate origin.

σκηρίπτομαι [v.] 'to support oneself, uphold oneself' (Od., Nic., Ph.), act. (secondary, Wackernagel 1916: 131) σκηρίπτω 'to support, uphold' (A. R.). ◄?►

•VAR Only pres.

•COMP Also with δια- (*AP*), ἐπι- (H. s.v. ἐπισκήπτω).

•ETYM Expressive cross of σκήπτομαι and στηρίξασθαι, ἐστήρικται (pres. στηρίζομαι, -ω first in tragedy). Cf. ►σκηνίπτω.

σκιά [f.] 'shade' (Od.), also 'variegated hem or edging of a dress' (Hell. inscr. and pap., Men.), see Wilhelm *Glotta* 14 (1925): 82f. ◄IE **skeh$_2$-ih$_2$*, gen. *skh$_2$-ieh$_2$-s* 'shadow'►

•VAR Ion. -ιή.

•COMP E.g. σκια-τροφέω, -έομαι (Ion. σκιη-), Att., etc. also -τραφέω, -έομαι (to σκια-τραφής like εὐτραφής etc.; to τραφῆναι) 'to live (raise) in the shadow or indoors, to grow up pampered' (IA), after βου-κολέω etc., see Schwyzer: 726; βαθύ-σκιος 'with deep shadow, deeply shaded' (*h. Merc.* etc.), κατά-, ἐπί-σκιος etc. beside κατα-, ἐπι-

σκιάζω; on δολιχό-σκιος, see δολιχός (acc. to a different interpretation, it means 'with long ash', see Treu 1955: 119f.).
•DER 1. σκιάς, -άδος [f.] 'shade roof, tent-roof, pavilion', also name of a θόλος in Athens, etc. (Eup., Theoc., Att. inscr.). 2. σκιάδ-ιον [n.] 'sunscreen' (com., Thphr.). 3. -ίσκη [f.] 'id.' (Anacr.). 4. σκί-αινα [f.] (Arist.), -αινίς [f.] (Gal.; v.l. σκινίς), -αδεύς [m.] (Hell. and late) fish name (after the dark color, Strömberg 1943: 27, see also σκίαινα, Thompson 1947); to this σκιαθίς 'id.' (Epich.), perhaps from the island name Σκίαθος (Strömberg l.c.). 5. σκι-όεις 'rich in shadows, casting shade, shaded' (Il., epic poet.); -άεις (Hdn.; also Pi. *Pae.* 6, 17?). 6. σκι-ερός, also -αρός 'id.' (especially epic poet. since Λ 480, see Schwyzer: 482, Chantraine 1933: 230). 7. σκι-ώδης 'shadowy, dark' (Hp., E., Arist.). 8. σκι-ακός 'provided with shade' (ὡρολόγιον Pergam. II^{a}; Hdn.). 9. σκι-ωτός 'provided with a hem (σκιά)' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*, pap.).
Denominative verb σκιάω (Od., Hell. and late epic), σκιάζω (IA) 'to shade, overshadow, shroud in darkness', forms: σκιάσαι (Φ 232; after ἐλάσαι etc., see Chantraine 1942: 410), fut. Att. σκιῶ, late σκιάσω, perf. pass. ἐσκίασμαι (Semon., S.), aor. σκιασθῆναι (E., Pl., Arist.), also with ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-, περι-, ἀπο-; thence (ὑπο-, συ-)σκίασις, (ἐπι-, etc.)σκιασμός, (ἐπι-, etc.)σκίασμα, σκιασ-τής, -τικός (almost always late); the bahuvrīhis κατα-, ἐπί-σκιος etc. function as back-formations. On σκιά and derivations in Homer and in Aeolic lyric, see Treu 1955: 115ff., 213ff.
•ETYM Skt. *chāyā́* [f.] 'shadow', also 'image, reflex, resemblance', Av. *a-saiia-* 'who casts no shadow' (cf. Gr ἄ-σκιος) , MoP *sāya* 'shadow', and Latv. *seja* 'face' must reflect **skeHieh$_2$-*. On the other hand, Gr. σκιά, together with ToB *skiyo* and Alb. *hie* 'shadow', must be interpreted as reflecting **skiHeh$_2$-*, from older **skHieh$_2$-* with laryngeal metathesis. On the basis of ►σκηνή, Dor. σκᾱνᾱ́ 'tent' < 'cloth to provide shadow', the root can be identified as **skeh$_2$-*, which means that we are dealing with an original ablauting proterodynamic **ih$_2$*-stem **skéh$_2$-ih$_2$*, **skh$_2$-iéh$_2$-s*. In Indo-Iranian and Baltic, the full-grade stem was generalized, whereas in the other branches the zero-grade stem spread throughout the paradigm. The Slavic forms, OCS *sěnъ* and Ru. *sen'* [f.] 'shadow', reflect **skeh$_2$-i-n-*, with an extra suffix *-n-*. The hapax ►σκαιός 'shadowy' reflects **skeh$_2$-i-uo-*, and perhaps σκοιός (in H.: σκοιά· σκοτεινά, σκοιόν· … σύσκιον) can be regarded as an *o*-grade variant **skoh$_2$-i-uo-*. The relation with ►σκότος 'darkness' is unclear.

σκίγγος [m.] a lizard found in Asia Minor that is used as medicine (Dsc. 2, 66 Welm.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also σκίγκος and κίκερος = κροκόδειλος χερσαῖος 'a land lizard' (H.); Fur.: 277.
•ETYM The variantions point to a Pre-Greek origin.

σκιδαρόν [adj.] · ἀραιόν 'thin' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•ETYM Fur.: 368 connects ά-κιδνός, which has ά- instead of σ-. This looks like a Pre-Greek variation.

σκιδάφη, σκίνδαφος ⇒κίδαφος.

σκίδνημι ⇒σκεδάννυμι.

σκίλλα [f.] 'squill' (Thgn., Hippon., Arist., etc.). ◄PG?►

•DER σκιλλ-ίτης, of οἶνος (Ps.-Afric., Colum.), see Redard 1949: 99; -ιτικός, of ὄξος (Dsc. et al.), -ινος 'made of σ.' (Dsc. et al.), -ώδης 'σ.-like' (Thphr. etc.).
•ETYM Unexplained foreign word, probably Pre-Greek (**skiḷ'a*?). Borrowed as Lat. *scilla*.

σκιμᾱλίζω [v.] 'to jeer, flout' (Ar. *Ach.* 444, *Pax* 549, D. L. 7, 17); acc. to gramm. (Moer., Phryn., H.) = καταδακτυλίζω; acc. to sch. Ar. *Pax* ad loc. 'to hold up the middle finger' (sens. obsc.). ◂PG(S)▸
•DER σκίμαλλος (*PLond.* = *Aegyptus* 6, 194), probably designation of a finger.
•ETYM The verb σκιμᾱλίζω seems to be derived from a noun *σκιμᾱλος, which may be attested as σκίμαλλος (with geminate -λλ-). The formation resembles those of κόβαλος, σκίταλος, and other comedic words (cf. Björck 1950: 46f., 259f.). Since all words in -αλλ-(ος) seem to be of Pre-Greek origin (Beekes 2008), these words are likely to be Pre-Greek, too.

σκιμβός [adj.] = χωλός, σκαμβός 'lame, crooked' (H., sch. Ar. *Nu.* 254). ◂PG(V)▸
•DER σκιμβάζει· χωλεύει 'is or becomes lame' (Ar. *Fr.* 853, H.), to which σκιμβασμός· φιλήματος εἶδος 'kind of kiss' (H.). Semantically unclear is σκιμβάδες· ὕλη εὔθετος εἰς τοίχων ἐπίθεσιν, σκέπης χάριν (H.). Seemingly primary is σκίψαι· ὀκλάσαι. Ἀχαιοί 'to squat (Achaean)' (H.). Without σ-: κιμβάζει· στραγγεύεται (στρατ- cod.) 'to loiter' (H.); ὀκιμ-βάζειν (ὀ- hardly from ὀκλάζειν?)· διατρίβειν καὶ στραγγεύεσθαι (στρατ-cod.) 'to wear away, loiter' (H., Phot.).
•ETYM Although an IE origin has been suggested (connections with e.g. ON *skeifr* 'slanting', Latv. *šķībs* 'id.' in Pok. 922), the alternation between σκιμβ-, σκιβ-, κιμβ-, and ὀκιμβ-, as well as σκαμβ-, in ▸σκαμβός 'crooked, bandy-legged' clearly points to a Pre-Greek origin (cf. Fur.: 154, 286).

σκίμπους, -ποδος [m.] 'low bed(stead)' (Ar., Pl., X., Gal.). ◂?▸
•DER -πόδιον [n.] (middle com., Luc.).
•ETYM Interpreted as *σκιμπέ-πους *'supporting the foot' and connected with ▸σκίμπτομαι. A connection with σκιμβός 'lame, crooked' (thus Schwyzer: 263) is semantically unlikely.

σκίμπτομαι [v.] 'to throw, sling, throw oneself down, fall down, uphold (oneself)' (Call. *POxy.* 2080, 49 [σ]κιμπ[τόμενο]ν H., also act. σκίμπτει); κίμψαντες· ἐρείσαντες, στηρίξαντες 'who leaned, propped' (H.). Details in Solmsen 1909: 206f.; see also Bechtel 1921(3): 331. ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. σκίμψασθαι (Pi.), pass. σκιμφθῆναι (Hp.), perf. pass. ἀπ-εσκίμφθαι (Pi.), mostly with ἐν(ι)- : ἐν(ι)-σκίμψαι (*P* 437, Pi., A. R., Nic.), -σκιμφθῆναι (Π 612 = P 528).
•ETYM Epic and poetic verb, on the one hand reminiscent of σκήπτω (-ομαι), on the other of χρίμπτω (-ομαι; cf. Nic. *Th.* 336 ἐνι-σκίμψῃ with v.ll. -χρίμψῃ and -σκήψῃ), perhaps arisen from a cross of both (cf. Güntert 1914: 29). Usually connected with ▸σκῖπων.

σκίναξ, -ᾰκος [m.] designation or epithet of the hare, λαγωός (Nic.). ◂PG▸

•ETYM Often compared with ▸κίνδαξ, although this is semantically rather gratuitious (the meaning of σκίναξ is unclear). If connected, the variation between σκιν- / κινδ-, as well as the presence of the suffix -ακ-, points to a Pre-Greek origin.

σκίναρ [n.] 'body' (Nic. *Th.* 694). ◂PG?▸

•ETYM Often connected with σκῆνος 'corpse' (see ▸σκηνή) which, if correct, could point to a Pre-Greek origin (variation η/ι, cf. Fur.: 171[174]).

σκινδακίσαι [v.] = τὸ νύκτωρ ἐπαναστῆναί τινι ἀσελγῶς 'sexual arousal at night' (Phot.) and σκίνδαρον· προσκίνημα· καὶ τὸ νύκτωρ ἐπαναστῆναι ἀκολάστως σκινδακίσαι 'movement towards (i.e. a woman); sexual arousal at night'. In H. 1. σκινδαρεύεσθαι· κακοσχολεύεσθαι, δακτυλίζεσθαι, σκιμαλίζεσθαι 'to play mischievous tricks; to be pointed at with the finger; to hold up the middle finger'; 2. σκινδαρίσαι· τὰ αὐτά 'id.'; 3. σκινδάρ(ε)ιος· ὄρχησις οὕτω καλουμένη 'a dance'; 4. σκίνδαροι· τὰ προσκυνήματα (leg. προσκι-, cf. Photius s.v. σκίνδαρον); 5. σκίνδαρος· ἡ ἐπανάστασις νυκτὸς ἀφροδισίων ἕνεκα 'arousal at night for sex'. ◂PG▸

•ETYM The verb is a demominative of *σκίνδαξ, a doublet of κίνδαξ. Cf. Taillardat *REA* 58 (1956): 191ff. See ▸κίνδαξ for an etymology.

σκινδαλμός, σκινδάλαμος [m.] 'splinter, hair-splitting, etc.' (Dsc., Alciphr.), also σκινδάλαμος (Ar., Luc. et al.), also σχινδαλμός, σχιδαλαμός etc. (v.l. Hp. *Mul.* 2, 133). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•DER σκινδύλιον [n.] 'shingle' (Delph. II[a]), ἀνα-σχινδυλεύω [v.] 'to pierce' (Pl.), -σκινδυλεύω, -σκινδαλεύω (H., *EM*, Phryn.), after σκυλεύω, σκαλεύω etc.; σχινδύλησις [f.] 'split' (Hp. *apud* Gal.). 2. See ▸σκιδαρόν · ἀραιόν 'thin' (H.). 3. See ▸σκοῖδος.

•ETYM Frisk groups all these words with σχίζω 'to split', but this is incorrect: σχίζω never shows σκ- nor -νδ-. The root variations, σκινδ-/σκιδ-/σχινδ-/σχιδ-, as well as the presence of the suffixes -αλμι- (cf. ▸ὀφθαλμός; Beekes 1969: 193f., Beekes 2008) and -υλ- rather point to a Pre-Greek origin. The second α in σκινδάλαμος is a secondary prop vowel, which is frequent in Pre-Greek (Fur.: 378-385). See ▸σχίζω.

σκινδάριον [n.] name of an unknown fish (Anaxandr. 27, 4). ◂PG?▸

•ETYM Since the meaning is unknown, etymologizing is useless. Nevertheless, formally the word seems Pre-Greek.

σκίνδαρος [m.] 'an obscene gesture' (H., Phot.). ◂PG(V)▸

•DER σκινθαρίζω 'make obscene gestures' (H.). Σκιτᾶλοι 'demons of lewdness' (Ar., H.).

•ETYM The variation is typical of Pre-Greek. Cf. s.v. ▸σκινδακίσαι.

σκίνδαφος ⇒κίδαφος.

σκινδαψός [m.] name of a four-stringed musical instrument with thorn-like appendices (middle com. etc.), also designation for a senseless word (Artem., S. E. etc.); name of an ivy-like plant (Clitarch.; cf. Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 9f.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Without initial σ-: κινδαψός (Timo, H.).

•DER σκινδαψιζόμενος (σφυγμός) 'vibrating like a σ.' (Gal.).

•ETYM A foreign word like κιθάρα, βάρβιτος, and many other instrument names. It is of Pre-Greek origin, in view of the interchange σ-/zero.

σκινθαρίζω ⇒σκινδαρος.

σκίνθος [m.] 'jumper, swimmer' (Thphr *H. P.* 4, 6, 9); translated as *naufragus* by Pliny. ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

σκίουρος [m.] 'squirrel' (Opp., Plin.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM The interpretation of this word as a bahuvrīhi compound of σκιά and οὐρά, "who generates shade with his tail" (thus e.g. Frisk), looks like a folk etymology rather than a serious explanation. The suffix -ουρος could point to Pre-Greek origin (from *-ar^{w}-o-*?). Borrowed as MLat. **scuriolus*, which is the source of MoFr. *écureuil*, MoE *squirl*, etc.

σκῖπων, -ωνος [m.] 'staff, stick', also 'crutch' (Hdt. 4, 172, Cratin. [lyr.], Ar. [anap.], E. [anap.], Call., *AP*, Hp., Epid. IV^{a}). ◁?▷
•VAR v.ll. σκήπων (after σκῆπτρον?), σκίμπων (after σκίμπτομαι?).
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ἀ-σκίπων 'staffless' (*AP*).
•ETYM Ionic poetic word, built like κύφων, δόλων, and other tool names (Chantraine 1933: 161f.), and almost identical with Lat. *scīpiō*, *-ōnis* [m.] 'staff (as a sign of power and dignity, like σκῆπτρον). The further similarity with σκηπάνιον, σκῆπτρον, and cognates (see ▶σκήπτομαι) has been observed for a long time; however, the forms cannot be combined under one pre-form.
It is unlikely that ▶σκίμπτομαι is a denominative nasal present (like σκήπτομαι from σκᾶπος); for a different explanation, see s.v. Further, connection is considered with the semantically unclear σκοῖπος· ἡ ἐξοχὴ τῶν ξύλων, ἐφ' ὧν εἰσι οἱ κέραμοι (H.), probably of the supporting beams on which the tiles rest. Connection with σκῆπτρον, etc. seems impossible (DELG refers to Benveniste 1935: 167 and to Szemerényi 1980: 133). It is unclear how to assess the similarity of the Latin form.

σκῖραφος [m.] meaning uncertain; in Hippon. 86 = 129a [pl.] explained as 'treachery' by Masson; after Hdn. 1, 225, 13 = ἀκόλαστος καὶ κυβευτής 'undisciplined, gambler' (2, 581, 27 ἀ. κ. κυβιστής), acc. to *EM* 717, 28 = ὄργανον κυβευτικόν 'tool used in gambling' (alternative supposition). ◁?▷
•DER σκιραφ-εῖον (-ιον) [n.] 'gambling-house' (Isoc., Theopomp. Hist.), -ευτής [m.] 'dice-player' (Amphis 25), -ώδης 'treacherous' (*AB*).
•ETYM Because of the unclear meaning, without etymology. According to Hdn. (l.cc.), ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Σκίρῳ (suburb of Athens; see on σκίρον, known as a home of prostitutes and gamblers) διατριβόντων. Or is it a variant of κίραφος = ἀλώπηξ? Cf. ἀλωπεκίζειν· ἀπατᾶν 'to deceive' (H.).

σκίρον [n.] a white parasol or canopy, which was carried at processions from the Acropolis to a place called Σκῖρον (Σκίρον) (later a suburb of Athens) on the holy road to Eleusis in honor of Athena Skiras and other deities (Lysimachid., sch. Ar. *Ec.*

18); plur. Σκίρα name of a women's festival in honor of Demeter, Kore and Athena Polias (Ar., inscr. et al.). ◁?▷

•COMP As a first member in Σκιρο-φόρια [n.pl.] 'id.' (H., Phot., Suid.); hence Σκιροφοριών, -ῶνος [m.] Att. month name, = June-July (Antipho, inscr., etc.).

•ETYM Etymology not fully certain. Comparison with σκιά 'shade' is semantically attractive, but formally somewhat difficult: σκιά reflects *skh_2-ieh_2-, the *-*i*- of which belongs to the suffix and cannot therefore be equated with the -*i*- in σκίρον, which would have to be from *skh_2-*i*-*ro*- (vel sim.).

Often equated with Alb. *hir* 'grace of God' (Jokl 1923: 67, following Bugge) through a semantic development comparable to the one in the Germanic adj. for 'clear, gleaming, bright', e.g. Go. *skeirs*, ON *skírr*, MoHG *schier*, which would have a basic meaning '(subdued) shine, reflex' (Pok. 917f.). Deubner 1932: 40ff. argues that the interpretation of σκίρον as 'parasol' is a late learned construction, and interprets σκίρον as a designation of several ritual items.

σκῖρος [m.] 'induration, callus, hard tumor' (medic.), 'hard, scrubby ground, scrub' (*Tab. Heracl.*). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also -ρρ-, σκῦρ-; σκῖρος [m.], -ον [n.] 'crust, rind, cheese-rind, hardened grease' (com.); also 'hard, white matter, gypsum' (sch. Ar. *V.* 921, Suid.), in this meaning also σκίρρα (Suid.), γῆ σκιρράς (sch. Ar. *V.* 921); γῆ λευκή ὥσπερ γύψος 'white earth, like gypsum' (Su.).

•DER σκιρρίτης [m.] 'gypsum-worker' (Zonar.). Abstract formation σκιρρ-ίη [f.] 'induration' (Aret.), ἀκροσκιρ-ίαι [f.pl.] 'high scrubby lands' (*Tab. Heracl.*); adj. σκιρ(ρ)-ός 'hard' (Plu., Them.), -ώδης 'callous' (Gall., Poll.); verb -όομαι 'to harden, take root' (Sophr., medic.), also with ἐπι- etc., whence -ωμα [n.] 'induration' (Dsc.); -ωσις [f.] 'id.' (Sor., Gal.).

•ETYM Fur.: 387 suggests that the word is Pre-Greek, comparing ▸σκῦρος (cf. op.cit. 366). This seems quite probable.

σκιρτάω [v.] 'to jump, hop' (especially epic poet. Υ 226, 228, also late prose), -έω (Opp.). ◁?▷

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•COMP Also with prefix (mostly late), e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER σκίρτ-ημα [n.] 'jump' (A., E. et al.), -ησις [f.] 'the jumping' (Plu.), -ηθμός [m.] 'id.', -ητής [m.] 'jumper, dancer' (Mosch., Orph. etc.), -ητικός (Plu., Corn.); Σκίρτος [m.] name of a satyr (backfomation; *AP*, Nonn. etc.), -τών, -τῶνος [m.] 'one who is exalted' (Eun.).

•ETYM Iterative-intensive formation in -τάω from ▸σκαίρω < *sḱr̥-i̯e/o-. The -ι- is thought to be a secondary prop vowel, but this makes the etymology formally less certain.

σκληρός, σκληφρός ⇒σκέλλομαι.

σκνιπός, σκνίψ ⇒κνίψ.

σκοῖδος [m.] = οἰκονόμος, ταμίας, etc., designation of a Macedonian official (Hdn. Gr., Poll., H.), epithet of Dionysus (Men.); σκοιδίᾳ [f.dat.] 'educatress, housekeeper' (Naxos I-II^{P}). ◂?▸

•ETYM According to Frisk s.v., related to σχίζω, as if from an IE root **skid-*, which cannot be correct; see on ▸σκινδαλμός. Otherwise unexplained.

σκοίκιον ⇒κόιξ.

σκοῖπος ⇒σκίπων.

σκολιός ⇒σκέλος.

σκόλλυς, -υος [m.] 'fringe of hair, a haircut in which a tuft of hair was left on the head' (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 11, 494f., Dsc., H., Poll. etc.). ◂PG?▸

•ETYM Perhaps connected with ▸σκολύπτειν, although a Pre-Greek origin seems more likely.

σκολόπαξ, -ακος [m.] name of a bird, usually identified with ἀσκαλώπας (-πᾶς?) [m.] (Arist.) and explained as 'woodcock, Scolopax rusticola'; cf. Thompson 1895 s.vv. ◂PG?▸

•ETYM On the basis of the equation with ἀσκαλώπας (-πᾶς?), it is considered to be a Pre-Greek word by Fur.: 344. The resemblance with σκόλοψ 'pole' (referring to the long beak of the snipe?) might be due to folk-etymological adaptation.

σκολόπενδρα [f.] 'millipede, sowbug'; also name of an animal of the sea (Arist., etc.). ◂PG▸

•DER σκολόπενδρ-ον (Thphr.), -ιον (Dsc.) [n.] plant name, after the form of the leaves acc. to Strömberg 1940: 42; -ώδης 'resembling a σ.' (Str.).

•ETYM The etymological proposal by Guasparri *Glotta* 76 (1998): 199-201, who suggests a derivation from σκολοπ- 'biting' and ἔντερον, also 'earth worm', is formally untenable and therefore unconvincing. Rather a Pre-Greek word.

σκόλοψ, -οπος [m.] 'pointed pole, palisade, prickle' (epic ion. poet. Il., Hell. and late prose), for Att. χάραξ, σταυρός, -ωμα. ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also σκόλοφρον· θρανίον 'bench' (H.), perhaps after δίφρος; cf. σκόλυθρον.

•DER Diminutive σκολόπ-ιον [n.] (Antyll. *apud* Orib.), -ηὶς μοῖρα 'the destiny of being impaled' (Man.), after βασιλ-ηΐς etc.; -ίζω 'to provide with a σ.' (*Stad.*) with -ισμός [m.] 'the impaling, the spearing' (Vett. Val.); often ἀνα-σκολοπίζω 'to stick on a pole, impale' (Hdt., etc.) with -ισις [f.] (sch., Eust.), ἀπο- 'to remove the poles' (Aq.).

•ETYM Often derived from ▸σκάλλω 'to stir, hoe', but the formation is peculiar. The interpretation of σκόλοπ- as a disyllabic stem cognate with e.g. Lat. *scalpō* 'to scratch, cut with a sharp instrument, etc.', OHG *scelifa* 'membranous shell', Lith. *skleñpti, skleñbti* 'to plane, etc.' (Pok. 926) is formally even more unlikely. The variant σκόλοφρον with -φρ- rather points to a Pre-Greek origin; cf. Fur.: 107.

σκολύθριον [n.] 'footstool' (Pl. *Euthd.* 278b, Poll.). ◂PG?(V)▸

•VAR κόλυθρον (Telecl.).

•DER σκόλυθρος 'low' (H., Phot., Suid.), σκολύθρων· ταπεινῶν. ἀπὸ σκολύθρων δίφρων (H.).
•ETYM Diminutive of an unattested word *σκόλυθρον, which seems to be a variant of κόλυθρον. This could point to Pre-Greek origin. A connection with σκολύπτειν (thus Frisk s.v.) is formally and semantically unlikely.

σκόλυμος [m.] name of a kind of thistle with an edible flower base, 'Scolymus hispanicus, artichoke, Cynara scolymus' (Hes., Alc., Arist., etc.); on the mg., see Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 6. ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR σκόλυμον (Zonar.). On σκόλυβος, see below.
•DER σκολυμ-ώδης 'like σ.' (Thphr.).
•ETYM A variant of this word can be found in σκόλυβος· ὁ ἐσθιόμενος βολβός 'edible onion' (H.). The variation β/μ is a well-known Pre-Greek phenomenon.

σκολύπτειν [v.] · ἐκτίλλειν, κολούειν 'to pluck out, cut short'; σκολύψαι· κολοῦσαι, κολοβῶσαι 'to cut short, shorten'; ἀνασκολύψας· γυμνώσας 'having stripped' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Beside σκολύβρα· σκυθρωπή 'sad' (H.) we find σκολύφρα· σκυθρωπή, σκληρά, ἐργώδης, δυσχερής 'sad, hard, difficult, intractable'.
•COMP Often with ἀπο- 'to skin, strip off, circumcise' (Archil. 124, S. *Fr.* 423, Ael. Dion. etc.).
•ETYM The variation between σκολυπ- and κολοβ- in ►κολοβός 'curtailed, cut short' points to a Pre-Greek origin. A connection with ►σκάλλω 'to stir, hoe' (thus e.g. Frisk) is therefore unlikely. Also, the variation between -βρ- and -φρ- in σκολύβρα and σκολύφρα (whether or not they are really connected with σκολύπτειν; the semantics are quite far) points to a Pre-Greek origin of these words (Fur.: 171).

σκόμβρος [m.] 'mackerel' (Epich., Ar., Arist. etc.). ◁PG?▷
•DER Diminutive σκομβρίδες· ἰχθύες 'fishes' (H.); also Arist. *HA* 543b 5 (v.l. σκορπίδες). Additionally, the apparently denominative σκομβρίσαι· γογγύσαι. καὶ παιδιᾶς ἀσελγοῦς εἶδος 'to murmur, grumble; kind of wanton sport'; also σκομβρίζειν as an explanation of ῥαθαπυγίζειν 'to slap the buttocks' (H.).
•ETYM Origin unclear. The word may well be of Pre-Greek origin; cf. Fur.: 124. The word was borrowed as Lat. *scomber*.

σκόνυζα ⇒κόνυζα.

σκόπελος [m.] 'cliff, rock, mountain peak' (mostly epic poet. B 396), 'watch-tower' (pap.), -ον [n.] 'earthen wall, hill' (LXX). ◁?▷
•DER σκοπελ-ίζω [v.] 'to set up a watch-tower', with -ισμός [m.] (Ulp. in *Dig.*).
•ETYM Although within Greek the meaning 'watch-tower' seems to be a later development out of original 'cliff, rock, mountain peak', an etymological connection with σκοπή 'watch-tower', σκοπιά 'watch-tower, cliff, etc. (see ►σκέπτομαι) might suggest that a meaning 'watch-tower' was the starting-point of this word after all. Older etymological connections (e.g. in Frisk s.v.) involving an alleged PIE root **skep-* 'to cut' (thought to be attested in ►σκέπαρνος) are outdated, as such a root does not seem to have existed. Borrowed as Lat. *scopulus*.

σκοπέω, σκοπιά, σκοπός ⇒σκέπτομαι.

σκορακίζω ⇒κόραξ.

σκορδῐνάομαι [v.] 'to stretch (drowsily), yawn' (Hp., Ar., Poll.). ◁?▷
•VAR Ion. -έομαι.
•DER σκορδίν-ημα [n.] (κορδ- v.l. Erot.), -ησμός [m.] (Hp., Gal.).
•ETYM Presumably from a non-attested noun *σκόρδινον, -ος. A more primary form is probably represented by σκορδάζειν· σπᾶσθαι (H.). Hardly related to ▶κόρδαξ, ▶κραδάω; no further etymology.

σκορδύλη ⇒κορδύλη.

σκορόβυλος [m.] κάνθαρος 'dung-beetle' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•ETYM Clearly connected with ▶κάραβος. The word therefore seems to continue *σκαρ(α)β-υλ-, with o from α before υ in the next syllable.

σκόροδον [n.] 'garlic, Allium sativum' (Milete VI[a], Ion., com., Thphr. et al.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Hell. and late also σκόρδον (see Schwyzer: 259); there is also σκοραδον (inscr. Cyrene), which may be secondary.
•COMP A number of compounds, e.g. σκοροδ-άλμη [f.] 'salty garlic-broth' (com.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 58; όφιο-σκόρ(ο)δον [n.] kind of wild garlic (Gal., Ps.-Dsc.); cf. Strömberg 1940: 33.
•DER σκορόδ-ιον [n.], -ίζω [v.] 'to feed or to spice with garlic' (com.), σκοροδοῦν· συνουσιάζειν 'to have intercourse with' (H.); on the mg., see Specht *KZ* 62 (1935): 215.
•ETYM Related to Alb. *hurdhë* [f.] 'garlic' and Arm. *xstor*, dial. *sxtor* 'id.'. The Albanian form can be reconstructed as **skord-*, the Armenian word as **skodor-*, which was metathesized from **skorod-*, but the details regarding the developments of initial cluster are obscure (Ačaŕyan in Martirosyan 2010). Given the alternation **skord-* ~ **skorod-*, the word must be non-Indo-European, i.e. Pre-Greek or adopted from a local language in the Pontic area. For other names for onion and garlic, cf. ▶κρόμμυον and ▶πράσον; see also ▶βολβός.

σκορπίος [m.] 'scorpion' (A. *Fr.* 169 = 368M.); often metaph. as epithet of a fish (com., Arist. et al.), after the poisonous stings, see Strömberg 1943: 124f., Thompson 1947 s.v.; also σκόρπ-αινα, -ίς, on which see below; of a plant (Thphr.), see Strömberg 1937: 50f.; of a constellation (Cleostrat., Hell.), see Scherer 1953: 170; a war machine for firing arrows (Hero et al.), whence σκορπίζω (see below); of a stone (Orph.), also σκορπῖτις, -ίτης. ◁PG(V)▷
•COMP As a first member e.g. in σκορπί-ουρος (-ον) plant name (Dsc.).
•DER 1. Substantives: σκορπ-ίον [n.] plant name (Dsc.), -ίδιον [n.] 'small slinging-machine' (Plb., LXX), -ίς [f.] (Arist.), -αινα [f.] (Ath.) fish name (see above); -ῖτις [f.], -ίτης [m.] name of a stone (Plin., late pap.), after the color and shape, Redard 1949: 61); -ιών, -ιῶνος [m.] month name in Alexandria (Ptol.). 2. Adjectives: σκορπ-ιώδης 'resembling the σ.' (Arist., Ph. et al.), -ήϊος, -ειος 'belonging to the σ.' (Orph., Man.), -ιόεις 'id.' (Nic.), -ιακός 'id.' (medic.), -ιανός 'born under the sign σ.' (Astr.). 3. Verbs: σκορπ-ίζω 'to scatter' (Hecat.[?], Hell. and late), also with δια- etc., -ιαίνομαι

'to be enraged' (Procop.), σκορπιοῦται· ἀγριαίνεται, ἐρεθίζεται 'gets angry, is provoked' (H.).

•ETYM The scorpion is widely distributed in the southern parts of Europe, but there are isolated populations as far north as the Isle of Sheppy in Great Britain. The Indo-Europeans, whose homeland was probably located to the North of the Black Sea, did not have a word for the scorpion, and the Greeks must therefore have adopted it from a different language when they arrived in the Mediterranean. Acc. to Fur. (see his index), ► κᾰ́ραβος, καράμβιος, ►*σκαραβαῖος, ► κεράμβυξ, κεράμβηλον, κηραφίς, and ► γραψαῖος all continue the same Pre-Greek word, which seems possible. It is to be noted that most forms can easily be reduced to a structure **kara^{m}p-*, except for γραψαῖος and σκορπίος. The word does not derive from PIE **skerp-* 'to scratch', seen in OE *sceorfan* 'to scratch' and Latv. *šķērpêt* 'to cut grass'. The Greek word was borrowed as Lat. *scorpius, -iō*.

σκότος [m.] 'darkness, dark', also of the dark before the eyes = 'swindle' (Il.). ◂IE **sk(e)h$_3$t-* or **skoto-* 'shadow, dark'▸

•VAR Also [n.] (since V^{a}), after e.g. φῶς, see Egli 1954: 64f.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σκοτο-μήν-ιος "having the moon in the dark", 'moonless', epithet of νύξ (ξ 457), univerbation of σκότος and μήν(η); besides the abstract σκοτο-μην-ία [f.] 'moonlessness, moonless night' (Hell.), also σκοτο-μήνη 'id.' (Democr.[?], LXX) and (after the nouns in -αινα) σκοτό-μαινα [f.] 'id.' (*AP* et al.). Further σκοτο-διν-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'swindle' (Hp., Pl.), with -δινιάω [v.] (Ar., Pl.); also -δινος [m.] 'id.' (Hp.), after δῖνος.

•DER A. Adjectives: 1. σκότιος 'dark, secretly, illegitimate', in Crete also = ἄνηβος 'not grown-up' (especially epic poet. since Z 24), cf. Ruijgh 1957: 108 against Leumann 1950: 284; σκοτίας· δραπέτης 'runaway' (H.). 2. σκοτ-αῖος 'in the dark, dark' (IA), after κνεφαῖος etc. (Schwyzer: 467). 3. -εινός 'darkness' (A.), after φαεινός etc., with -εινότης [f.] (Pl.), -εινῶδες (H.), see νυθῶδες. 4. -όεις 'id.' (Hp., Emp., Hell. epic); Σκοτοῦσ(σ)α (-όεσσα) [f.] town in Thessaly (Hell.). 5. -ώδης 'dark, dizzy' (IA) with -ωδία [f.] (late). 6. -ερός 'dark' (Hell. poet.).

B. Substantives: 1. σκοτία [f.] = σκότος (Ar., LXX, NT et al.); cf. Scheller 1951: 38. 2. σκοταρία· ζόφος. Ἀχαιοί 'darkness (Achaean)' (H.). 3. Σκοτίτας [m.] epithet of Zeus (Paus. 3, 10, 6); explanation debated; cf. Redard 1949: 212. 4. Σκοτία (-ιά) [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (H., *EM*), see Scheller 1951: 129.

C. Verbs: 1. σκοτόομαι 'it becomes dark before my eyes, I'm passing out', -όω 'to make pass out, to darken' (Att., etc.), also with ἀπο-, συν-; on the mg., see Chantraine *Sprache* 1 (1949): 147f.; thence σκότ-ωμα, -ωσις (Hell. and late). 2. ἐπι-σκοτ-έω [v.] 'to shroud in darkness, darken' (Hp., Att.), like ἐπι-θυμι-έω, -χειρ-έω etc.), with -ησις [f.] (Plu. et al.), -ος adj. (Pi. *Pae.* 9, 5 v.l.). 3. σκοτάω in 3pl. σκοτόωσι 'their sight becomes darkened' (Nic.). 4. σκοτ-άζω 'to become dark, darken' (Att., etc.; in the older language only impersonal), mostly with συν-, whence -ασμός [m.] (late). 5. -ίζω 'to darken' (Hell. and late), also with ἐπι-, ἀπο-, κατα-, whence -ισμός, -ισις (late). 6. σκοτεύει· δραπετεύει 'runs away' (H.), cf. σκοτίας above sub A. 1.

•ETYM The word σκότος has a close cognate in a Germanic word for 'shadow': Go. *skadus*, OE *sceadu* (also 'darkness'), OHG *scato, -(a)wes*, from PGm. **skaðu-* (after

the opposite **haiðu-*, originally 'appearance in the light' in Go. *haidus* 'art, manner', etc). Beside these, we find Celtic forms with an apparent lengthened grade, e.g. OIr. *scáth* [n.] 'shadow'. We may reconstruct either IE **skoto-, -tu* (Greek and Germanic) beside **skōto-* (Celtic), or an ablauting root noun **sk(e)h₃t-* (Matasović 2008 s.v. **skāto-*). Cf. also on ▸σκιά.

σκριβλίτης [m.] 'cheesecake' (Chrysipp. Tyan. *apud* Ath. 14, 647d). ◂LW Lat.▸
•ETYM From Lat. *scriblīta* [m.] 'id.', which itself seems to have been taken from Greek (*στρεβλίτης : στρεβλός?); see WH s.v. and Redard 1949: 91.

σκύβαλον [n.] 'waste, offal, refuse, muck' (Hell and late). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also *σκύβλον as in σκυβλίζω?
•DER σκυβαλ-ώδης 'muck-like' (late), -ικός 'dirty' (Timocr.?), -ίζω [v.] 'to treat like or regard as waste' (LXX, D. H. et al.), also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-; to this -ισμός [m.] (Plb.), -ισμα [n.] (Ps.-Phoc.), -ισις [f.] (sch.); -εύομαι 'id.' (sch.).
•ETYM Neumann 1961: 90f. and 107 compared Hitt. *išḫuuai-*^{i} 'to throw (away), shake (away)'. Fur.: 148 compares κύπελλα· τὰ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῶν ἄρτων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καταλείμματα 'whatever dough and bread is left over on the table' (Philet. *apud* Ath. 11, 483a); if correct, then the word is Pre-Greek. See DELG *Supp.*

σκυδμαίνω [v.] 'to rage, grumble' (Σ 592). ◂?▸
•VAR Backformation σκύδμαινος· σκυθρωπός 'sad- or angry-looking' (H.).
•COMP With ἀπο- (Σ 65).
•DER σκύζομαι 'id.' (Hom.), also with ἐπι-, aor. opt. ἐπισκύσσαιτο (η 306), ind. ἐπισκύσαι (*EM*) 'id.'; act. σκύζουσιν· ἡσυχῆ ὑποφθέγγονται, ὥσπερ κύνες 'speak quietly in an undertone, like dogs' (H.); σκυζάω 'id.' (Poll.). Perhaps also PN Σκύδρος (Delos IV^{a}); cf. Bechtel 1917b: 501. With a suffix -θρο- or -ρο-: σκυθρός 'grumpy, murky, gloomy' (Men., Arat.), whence σκυθρ-άζω [v.] 'to be grumpy, murky' (E. *El.* 830), -ίων [m.] PN (Tanagra IV^{a}); on σκύθραξ· μεῖραξ, ἔφηβος 'young boy, adolescent' (H.), see σκυρθάλιος. Especially in σκυθρ-ωπός 'with a gloomy look' (Hp., Att.; cf. Sommer 1948: 7 and 9), whence -ωπότης [f.] (Hp.), -ωπάζω [v.] 'to look gloomy, etc.', -ωπασμός [f.] (Plu.).
•ETYM Like in ἐριδμαίνω beside ἐρίζω, σκυδμαίνω beside σκύζομαι has its -μ- from πημαίνω, θερμαίνω, etc. For σκυθρός, there is no reason to assume a pre-form *σκυδ-θρος (whence *σκυσ-θρός and, with dissimilation, σκυθρός).
There is no certain etymology. Lith. *(pra-)skùsti*, 1sg. *-skundù*, pret. *-skudaũ* 'to become nervous, tired, begin to feel pain', Latv. *skundêt* 'to grumble, commiserate, blame, grudge', etc. (Pok. 955) cannot be related, as the accentuation points to **-dʰ-*.

σκύζα [f.] 'lust, heat' (Philet. 27 [?; see Powell ad loc.], *SEG* 4, 47 (Messana II^{P}[?]; personified as a woman). ◂PG?▸
•DER σκυζάω (ἀνα-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to be in heat', of dogs, horses et al. (Cratin., Arist. et al.) with -ησις [f.] (Ar. Byz.).
•ETYM Unexplained. The word could be Pre-Greek (note the meaning), from a pre-form PG **skuᵗʲa.*

σκύζομαι ⇒σκυδμαίνω.

σκυθρός ⇒σκυδμαίνω.

σκύλαξ, -ᾰκος [f., m.] 'doggy, puppy' (Od.), also 'whelp, cub' in general (E. [lyr.], Nic., Luc. et al.); metaph. 'collar, neckband' (Pl. Com., Plb.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP Also as a first member e.g. in σκυλακο-τρόφος 'breeding dogs', with -ία, -ικός (late).

•DER 1. Diminutive σκυλάκ-ιον [n.] (IA). 2. Fem. -αινα (*AP*), -η (Orph.). 3. Substantive -ῖτις [f.] 'protectress of cubs', epithet of Artemis (Orph.), see Redard 1949: 212; -εύς [m.] = σκύλαξ (Opp.), rather metrical enlargement than back-formation from -εύω (cf. Boßhardt 1942: 71 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 11 (1921): 228). 4. Adjective -ειος 'of puppies' (Hp., S. E.); -ώδης (X.), -ευτικός 'belonging to a puppy' (Ph.), analogical enlargement. 5. Verb -εύω act. 'to mate, copulate', of dogs (X., Arr.), pass. 'to be raised' (Str., Max. Tyr.), with -εία [f.] 'dog-breeding' (Plu., Poll.), -ευμα [n.] 'offspring' (Epigr. *apud* Plu., *AP*), -ευτής [m.] 'dog-breeder' (Him.).

•ETYM Words for young animals often end in -αξ (cf. μεῖραξ, δέλφαξ, πόρταξ; see Chantraine 1933: 377ff.). Therefore, σκύλαξ could be related to σκύλιον [n.] name of a shark (Arist.) and to σκύλλα fish name (Nic. *Fr.* 137 Schn.); see Solmsen 1909: 20[1]; forms with a geminate are σκύλ(λ)ος = σκύλαξ, κύων (*EM*, H.), σκυλλίς· κλημαπίς (H., Strömberg 1940: 31), and κύλλα· σκύλαξ (κύλλας· κύλαξ cod.). Ἠλεῖοι (H.). Σκύλλη, Att. Σκύλλα ("the bitch"), name of the well-known sea-monster (Od.), is perhaps related.

There are no certain cognates outside Greek. Arm. *c'ul*, gen. *c'l-u* 'young bull', from IE **skul-* or **skōl-*, was compared by Meillet *BSL* 26 (1925): 20f. Comparison with Lith. *skalikas* 'barking dog' (from *skālyti* 'to bark hunting') and *kalẽ* 'bitch' go back to **(s)kol-*. Schwyzer *KZ* 37 (1904): 150 pointed at σκύζουσιν (H.) and σκυδμαίνω (does this contain a root **sku-*? Cf. ▸σκύμνος). In view of the lack of an etymology, the word could well be Pre-Greek.

σκύλλω [v.] 'to lacerate, tear up, flay', mostly metaph. 'to pester, tire, bother, trouble, vex', med.-pass. 'to strain', aor. act. 'to infest, plunder' (pap., inscr., NT, late prose; rarely poet.: A., Nic., *AP*). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. σκῦλ-αι, pass. -ῆναι (-ηθῆναι Eust.); fut. -ήσομαι, perf. med. ἔσκυλμαι. With metathesis ξύλλεσθαι if 'σκύλλεσθαι' (*SIG* 56, 3; Argos V[a]; cf. Schwyzer: 329).

•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, προ-, συν-.

•DER σκυλ-μός [m.] 'bothering, tribulation' (Hell. and late), 'rending, mangling' (sch.), -μώδης 'troublesome' (Vett. Val.); -μα (twice with κόμης) [n.] 'hair plucked out' (*AP*), cf. ἔσκυλται (κόμη) 'is tousled' (*AP*); σκύλσις· θυμός, σάλος, ταραχή 'spirit, a tossing motion, disorder' (H.), -τικός 'vexatious' (Vett. Val.). Further σκύλος [n.] (pl. σκύλα in Nic. *Th.* 422) 'stripped hide, skin' (Call., Theoc., *AP*; cf. δέρμα to δέρω), 'nutshell' (Nic.); as a first member in σκῦλο-δέψης [m.] 'tanner' (Ar.), -ός 'id.' (D.). Also σκῦλος [n.] (Herod. 3, 68 with ῡ after σκῦτος, if not a misspelling). See ▸κοσκυλμάτια 'cuttings of leather'.

•ETYM Together with its derivations, σκύλλω is especially known from the later colloquial language and in the metaphorical meaning 'to pester, etc.'. Through adaptation to ▸σκῦλα, the aor. σκῦλαι may have obtained the meaning 'harass,

plunder' (but see s.v.). Only pres. σκύλλονται 'they are stripped of their flesh', of warriors drowned by fish (A. *Pers.* 577 [lyr.]), and σκῦλο-δέψης (Ar.) are attested early.

Traditionally connected with the group of ►σκάλλω (see s.v. and Pok. 923f.), where υ in σκύλλω was supposed to be a reduced vowel (Schwyzer: 351). This scenario is impossible, but Vine 1999b: 565ff. regards σκύλλω as an *o*-grade formation **skol-ie/o-*.

σκῦλα [n.pl.] 'war-booty, especially weapons', also -ον 'spoil, booty' (S., E., Th. et al.). ◅PG?▻

•DER *σκυλαῖος in σκυλαίας· τὰ σκῦλα καὶ ἀφύρα. οἱ δὲ τὰς πανοπλίας 'arms and (other) booty from an enemy; a hoplite's full armor' (H.). Denominative verb σκυλεύω 'to rob a slain enemy of his weapons' (Hes. *Sc.* 468, IA); σκυλεύματα [n.pl.] = σκῦλα (E., Th.), -εία [f.] 'plundering' (LXX), -ευσις [f.] (Cilicia), -ευμός [m.] (Eust.) 'spoils', -ευτής [m.] 'one who strips a slain enemy' (Aq.), -ευτικός 'plundering' (Tz.). Also σκυλ-άω, -ῆσαι (*UPZ* 6, 15; 21, *AP* 3, 6[?], Eust.) 'id.', -ήτρια [f.] 'she who strips a slain enemy' (Lyc., Eust.).

•ETYM The root specifically refers to the stripping of a slain enemy of his weapons and armor. Probably a derivative of the root of ►σκύλλω 'to lacerate, tear up, flay', even though the meaning of σκῦλα may have influenced the aorist σκῦλαι 'to plunder'. Other etymologies, such as comparison with σκῦτος 'prepared skin, leather' and ἐπισκύνιον 'skin of the brows' (Pok. 951 ff.), σκύλος, are less attractive. It is noteworthy that σῦλον (see on ►συλάω) has a similar meaning; does this point to a Pre-Greek interchange σ-/σκ-? Fur.: 393 connects ξύλλομαι, but see ►σκύλλω.

σκύμνος [m., f.] 'cub, whelp', especially 'young lion' (epic Ion. poet. Σ 319, also Arist. etc.). ◅PG?(S)▻

•DER Diminutive σκυμν-ίον [n.] (Arist.), -εύω [v.] 'to breed' (Philostr.), -ειος 'of a whelp' (Suid.).

•ETYM The word has been connected with σκύλαξ 'puppy', but the variation of the suffix remains unclear on this account. The suffix -μν- could point to Pre-Greek origin.

σκυρθάλιος [m.] · νεανίσκος 'youth' (H.). Also σκυρθάλια (-ιᾶς cod.)· Θεόφραστος τοὺς ἐφήβους οὕτω φησὶ καλεῖσθαι, Διονύσιος δὲ τοὺς μείρακας 'adolescents are called this way acc. to Theophrastus, and young boys acc. to Dionysius' (H.). ◅PG?(V)▻

•VAR σκυρθάνια· τοὺς ἐφήβους οἱ Λάκωνες 'adolescents (Laconian)' (Phot.). With metathesis σκύθραξ· μεῖραξ, ἔφηβος 'young girl or boy, adolescent' (H.). Without σ- (and Lac. -σ- from -θ-) in κυρσίον· μειράκιον 'boy' (H.), Lac. κυρσάνιος 'id.' (Ar. *Lys.*).

•ETYM Formation like νηφ-άλιος, etc. Has been compared with Skt. *kṛdhŭ-* 'shortened, mutilated', *á-skṛdho-yu-* 'not shortened, not needy', which is further connected with the Lithuanian group of *skurstŭ*, *skurdaũ skuřsti* 'to lack, lag in growth, languish', *nu-skuřdęs* 'impoverished, neglected'. These words derive from a root **sker-d^{h}-*. Since σκυρθ- is semantically remote and cannot reflect a zero grade,

nor an *o*-grade, the etymology is incorrect. There is no better etymology, but Pre-Greek origin is probable (note the variant without σ-).

σκύρον [adj.] = ἄσκυρον 'St. John's wort' (Nic. *Th.* 74). ◁PG▷
•ETYM See ►ἄσκυρον.

σκῦρος [m.] 'stone-chippings, rubble' (Epid. IV^a, H., Poll., sch. Pi.). ◁PG(V)▷
•DER σκυρωτὰ ὁδός 'road paved with σ.' (Pi. *P.* 5, 93), τὰ σκυρω[τά] [n.pl.] (Delos III^a), σκυρωθῶσι· λιθωθῶσιν 'petrify' (H., from Hp.?), σκυρώδης 'consisting of σ.' (Eust.).
•ETYM Perhaps the island name Σκῦρος is related (after the marble quarries?). Fur.: 366 takes the word to be a variant of ►σκῖρος and concludes that it is Pre-Greek.

σκῠτάλη [f.] 'stick, club, spar, drum' (Archil., Pi.), especially a staff used as a cypher to read dispatches, more generally also '(Spartan) dispatch'. Metaph. a snake (Nic. et al.), or a fish (Opp.), see Strömberg 1943: 36. ◁?▷
•VAR σκύταλον [n.] 'stick, club' (Pi., Hdt., Ar., X.).
•DER Diminutive σκυτάλ-ιον [n.] (Ar., Hell. and late), -ίς [f.] 'stick' (Hdt., Hell. and late); further -ίας [m.] a type of long cucumber (Thphr.; Strömberg 1937: 91); -ωτός 'provided with a σ.' (Hero, *EM*); -ισμός [m.] 'club-law' in Argos (D. S., Plu.); -όομαι [v.] 'to be clubbed' (*EM*, H.), hence -ωσις (Troezen).
•ETYM No etymology. Borrowed as Lat. *scutula*.

σκύτη [f.] · κεφαλή 'head'; σκύτα· τὸν τράχηλον. Σικελοί 'neck, throat (Sicilian)' (H.), see further LSJ s.v. about the attestations. ◁PG▷
•ETYM Fur.: 359, 362 compares κοτ(τ)ίς, (προ)-κόττα 'head' and assumes Pre-Greek origin.

σκῦτος [n.] 'prepared skin, leather, leather thong' (ξ 34). ◁IE **(s)keh$_1$u-t-*▷
•COMP σκυτο-τόμος [m.] 'leather-worker, cobbler' (*H* 221); as a second member in δωδεκά-σκυτος 'consisting of twelve leather strips' (Pl.).
•DER Diminutive σκυτ-άριον [n.], -ίς [f.] (Hell. and late); adj. -ινος 'leather' (IA), -ικός 'pertaining to leather(-work) or cobbling' (Pl., Arist. et al.), -ώδης 'leather-like' (Arist.); -εύς [m.] 'cobbler' (Att.), -εῖον, -εύω, -εία, -ευσις (Hp., Att., etc.). Denominative σκυτ-όομαι in ἐσκυτωμένος 'coated with leather' (Att. inscr., Plb. et al.).
•ETYM Probably related to the PIE word for 'skin' **keh$_1$u-ti-*: with a zero grade, OHG *hūt*, Lat. *cŭtis*, and ToA *kāc*; with a full grade, OPr. *keuto* and Lith. *kiáutas* 'case, envelop, shell' (see, e.g., De Vaan 2008 s.v. *cutis*). The initial **s-* of Greek may be shared by MW *eskit*, Co. *eskit*, *esgis* 'shoe' < **ped-skuHt-*. The root **(s)keh$_1$u-* may also have been preserved in ►ἐπισκῠνιον 'skin of the brows' and ►κύτος 'hollow (of a shield), vessel'.

σκύφος [m., n.] 'cup, mug' (ξ 112, rare in Arist., Hell. inscr., etc.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•DER Diminutive σκυφ-ίον [n.], also 'skull' (Paul. Aeg.), -ίδιον (*EM*?), -άριον (gloss.); adj. -(ε)ιος 'σ.-like' (Stesich.); σκύφ-ωμα [n.] = σκύφος (A. *Fr.* 184 = 308 M.; on the

suffix, see Chantraine 1933: 186), -ών, -ῶνος [m.], meaning unclear (Gal.). σκυξιφόν· σκύφον (H.) is doubtful.

•ETYM No etymology. The form σκύφος is similar to σκάφος, -η (see ►σκάπτω), but the vocalism is unexplained. Fur.: 176 compares κύβος· … Πάφιοι δὲ τὸ τρύβλιον 'a drinking vessel' (H.), etc., which could be a Pre-Greek variant.

σκώληξ 1, -ηκος [m.] 'worm, larva' (N 564). ◄?►

•COMP As a first member e.g. in σκωληκό-βρωτος 'eaten away by worms' (Thphr., etc.).

•DER Diminutive σκωλήκ-ιον [n.] (Arist., etc.); -ίτης [m.] (κηρός or στύραξ) 'wax or resin in the shape of a worm' (Dsc.); -ώδης 'worm-like' (Arist.); -όομαι [v.] 'to be eaten away by worms', -ωσις [f.] (Thphr.); -ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from worms' (Orib. et al.), -ίασις [f.] (Sm., Thd.); -ίζω [v.] 'to have an irregular pulse' (Gal.), cf. μυρμηκίζω 'id.', σκωληκίζονται· κινοῦνται ὡς οἱ σκώληκες 'move or stir like worms' (H.).

•ETYM Usually regarded as derived from a lengthened grade formation to the root of ►σκέλος 'thigh, leg' (see there for PIE etymology) and σκολιός 'bent, twisted'. The suffix -ηκ- is also found in ►σφήξ, ►μύρμηξ, etc.; the thematic formation is perhaps found in σκώλοισι· δρεπάνοις, διὰ τὴν σκολιότητα 'scythe, after its curvedness' (H.; if this is not rather related to σκῶλος 'pole'), σκωλύπτομαι 'to curve, wind' (Nic. *Th.* 229), and MoGr. (Pontic) σκοῦλος 'upper shank' < *σκῶλος or *σκόλος. In view of the lengthened grade and the non-IE suffix, this analysis is dubious.

σκώληξ 2. [?] · τὸ κυλιόμενον κῦμα 'wave rolling along' (H., Pl. com., Phryn.). καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἅλω τὸ δινηθὲν καὶ συναχθὲν εἰς λικμητόν 'from the threshing-floor, what is whirled and put together into winnowing' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM A metaphorical use of σκώληξ 'worm', after the way of movement (Phryn.).

σκῶλος [m.] 'pointed pole' (N 564), 'thorn, prickle' (Ar. et al.). ◄IE?►

•VAR Also σκῶλον, pl. -α 'id.' (*EM*, H.), metaph. 'stumbling block', whence -όομαι [v.] 'to be offended' (LXX; Aq., Al.).

•COMP σκωλο-βατίζω [v.] 'to walk on stilts' (Epich.), -βάτης '(kind of) weevil' (H.).

•ETYM The word resembles ►σκόλοψ 'pointed pole' and, outside Greek, Alb. *hell* 'spit, icicle' < **skōl-o-*; without **s-*, Lith. *kuõlas* 'pole' < **kōl-o-* and OCS *kolъ* 'pole' < **kol-o-*. These words probably all derive from PIE **kelH-* 'to hew'; see Pok. 545-547 and s.v. ►κλάω. Another possible cognate is ►σκάλλω 'to split'.

σκώπτω [v.] 'to mock, jest, flout, taunt' (*h.Cer.* 203). ◄?►

•VAR σκῶψαι (IA), fut. σκώψομαι (Ar.), pass. aor. σκωφθῆναι (X.), perf. ἔσκωμμαι (Luc.).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα- etc. As a second member in φιλο-σκώμμων, -ονος [m.] 'fond of mocking' (Hdt., Plu., Luc. et al.), -οσύνη (Poll.).

•DER σκῶμμα (ἐπί-, ἀπό-) [n.] 'mockery, jest' (Att.), -άτιον [n.] (Ar.); σκῶψις (ἐπί-) [f.] 'id.' (Alex., Plu.); σκώπτης [m.] 'mocker' (Archig. et al.), φιλο-σκώπτης 'fond of mocking' (Arist. et al.), -έω (Ath.); fem. σκώπτρια (Procop.); σκωπτικός 'id.' (Plu., Luc., Poll.); σκωπαλέος, meaning unclear (Hdn. Gr.); deverbal σκωπτ-όλης [m.]

'mocker' (Ar. et al.), -ηλός 'mocking' (Zonar.). On σκώπευμα, σκωπίας, names of dances, see ►σκώψ.

•ETYM An unexplained formation that must be recent in the prehistory of Greek. The root may be that of ►σκέπτομαι 'to look about' or ►σκάπτω 'to dig', but neither is immediately obvious. Perhaps the verb is related to ►σκώψ 'little horned owl'.

σκῶρ [n.] 'muck, excrement' (Epich., Ar., Stratt.). ◄IE **sk-ōr* 'excrement'►

•VAR Or σκώρ, cf. Schwyzer: 377 and 384; gen. σκατός (Poll.).

•COMP As a first member e.g. in σκατο-φάγος 'muck-eater', with -έω (com.).

•DER σκωρ-ία [f.] 'metal slags' (Arist. et al.), see further Scheller 1951: 49; diminutive -ίδιον, -ιάζω (late) 'to turn into σκωρία', -αμίς [f.] 'stool' (Ar.), after ἀμίς 'chamber pot'.

•ETYM From the PIE heteroclitic **sok̑-r/n-*, found in Hitt. *šakkar*, gen. *šaknaš* 'excrement', Lat. *mūscerda* 'mouse droppings', and ON *skarn* 'muck' (cf. Schindler *BSL* 70 (1975): 1-10 and Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *šakkar*). The form σκῶρ reflects a collective **sk-ōr*, while σκατός reflects quasi-PIE **sk-n-to-s* . An IE word with similar formation is reflected by ►κόπρος 'excrement'.

σκωρνυφίαν [f.] = τὸ σκάνδαλον <Ἔχαρμος>, ἐν Μησίν· ἐν δὲ Τριακάσιν τὰ ὁσιώδη χρέα 'trap, stumbling-block; bony meat (if to be read as τὰ ὁστώδη κρέα)' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Meaning uncertain; etymology unknown.

σκώψ, σκωπός [m.] 'little horned owl' (ε 66, Epich., Arist., Theoc. et al.); metaph. as a fish name (Nic. *Fr.* 18), probably after the colors (Strömberg 1943: 114); name of a dance (Ael., Poll.), with in the same mg. also σκώπευμα (A. *Fr.* 70 = 20 M.) and σκωπίας (Poll.); as a name of a dance also connected with σκοπεῖν (Ath., H.). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also κώψ.

•COMP As a second member in ἀεί-σκωψ a kind of owl (Arist.), which acc. to Arist. was not a migratory bird.

•ETYM Formation as πτώξ, κλώψ, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 2), but unexplained. Connected with σκώπτω by Ath. and Ael., which is probably folk etymology. The same holds for the modern comparison with σκέπτομαι, after the sharp view and the protruding circle around the eyes. A by-form κώψ is often mentioned (see Thompson 1895 s.v. σκώψ); also, γῶπας· κολοιούς. Μακεδόνες 'jackdaw (Maced.)' (H.). Given these variations, the word is probably Pre-Greek. Other words for 'owl' are ►γλαῦξ, ►στύξ and ὦτος (s.v. ►οὖς).

σμάραγδος [f., m.] 'emerald' (Hdt., Pl., etc.). ◄LW Orient.►

•VAR Also μάραγδος (Men., Hell. inscr.), also ζμάραγδος, -ιον (inscr., pap.).

•COMP σμαραγδο-χαίτης 'with emerald-green hair' (Tim. *Pers.*).

•DER σμαράγδ-ιον [n.] (M. Ant.), -ίτης [m.] (λίθος; Hell., Plin.); -ινος 'of emerald, emerald-green' (pap. et al.), -ειος 'id.' (Hld.), -ώδης (sch.); -ίζω [v.] 'to be emerald-green' (D. S., Dsc.).

•ETYM To be compared with Skt. *marakata-* (also *marakta-*) [n.] and Akk. *barraqtu*, Hebr. *bāræqæt* 'id.', whose original source may be Semitic (cf. *brq* 'gleam, flicker').

For the Greek reflex σμ-, cf. Σμέρδις beside OP *Bardiya*, etc. (Schwyzer: 311); we also have to reckon with influence of σμαραγέω. The form μάραγδος, which is attested only later, may have been borrowed from Indic. From Greek, in turn, were borrowed Lat. *smaragdus* and Pers. and Arab. *zumurrud*, whence Osman. *zümrüd* was taken, which was again borrowed as Ru. *izumrúd*. Cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.

σμαραγέω [v.] 'to drone, roar, thunder', of the sea, thunder, etc. (epic Il., also Hp. *Mul.* 2, 154). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι.

•COMP As a second member (directly referring to the verb) in ἐρι-σμάραγος 'droning loudly', of Ζεύς (Hes.), later also of θάλασσα, etc.; also πολυ-, βαρυ-, ἁλι-σμάραγος etc. (Opp., Nonn.). σμαραγίζω [v.] 'id.' (Hes. *Th.* 693), σμαράσσω (*EM*), μαράσσω (Erot.).

•DER σμαραγ-ή [f.] 'the droning' (Opp.), -ος [m.] name of a chthonic god (Hom. *Epigr.*).

•ETYM The word σμαραγέω is an onomatopoeic formation like λαλαγέω, παταγέω, σφαραγέομαι, ῥαθαγέω, etc., beside which we find λαλαγή, πάταγος, σφάραγος, ῥάθαγος, etc.; σμαράσσω is formed like e.g. πατάσσω and ῥαθάσσω. Fur.: 227 considers σφάραγος to be a variant (with interchange φ/ μ), and takes the two words to be Pre-Greek. In any case, it is unrelated to σφαραγέομαι (pace Güntert 1914: 159).

σμάρδικον [n.] · στρουθίον 'sparrow; lewd person'; σμαρδικοπῶλαι· οἱ τοὺς στρουθοὺς πωλοῦντες 'those who sell sparrows' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM As per Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 228, σμάρδικον is related to ▶σμορδοῦν: συνουσιάζειν 'to keep company, have intercourse with' (H.). Fur.: 226 instead compares σπαράσιον = ὄρνεον ἐμφερὲς στρουθῷ 'bird resembling a sparrow' (H.), which would give us a typically Pre-Greek variation between π and μ. If σμορδοῦν is indeed related, the interchange α/ ο would also point to Pre-Greek origin.

σμαρίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a small fish resembling the μαινίς, 'Sparus smaris' (Epich., Arist., Opp., Marc. Sid. etc.), see Thompson 1947 s.v. ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 226 convincingly compares σπάρος 'a small sea-fish, a kind of bream', which proves Pre-Greek origin for this word in view of the variation μ/ π. A connection with σμηρίζειν 'to plane' (Hero) is implausible (pace Strömberg 1943: 87), because σμαρίς generally has short ᾰ (long ᾱ only Marc. Sid.).

σμάω, σμάομαι [v.] 'to rub (off), wipe off', med. also 'to rub oneself with ointment'. ◁IE? **smeh*$_1$- 'rub'▷

•VAR σμᾷ, σμᾶται (Hdt. and late); σμῇ, σμῆται (Att. com.); σμῆν (Luc.), aor. σμῆσαι, -ήσασθαι (mostly Ion. Hell. and late), Dor. ptc. σμασαμένα (Call.), perf. med. ptc. προ-εζμησμένος (pap. II^{p}),

•COMP Also (especially act.) with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.

•DER σμῆμα, Dor. (Theoc.) σμᾶμα [n.] 'cleanser, soap, ointment' (Ar. *Fr.* 17, Hell. and late). With a velar enlargement (Schwyzer: 702, Chantraine 1942: 330): A. σμήχω, -ομαι 'id.' (since ζ 226), aor. σμῆξαι, -ασθαι (Hp., Hell. and late), pass. σμηχθῆναι (Ar.), perf. med. ptc. ἐσμηγμένος (Dsc.), also with ἀπο-, δια- etc. Hence 1. νεό-σμηκ-

τος 'newly polished' (N 342 et al.). 2. σμῆγμα = σμῆμα, with -ματώδης (Hp., late). 3. σμῆξις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'the rubbing off, cleaning' (Str., Dsc. et al.). 4. σμήκ-της [m.] 'one who rubs off' (gloss.); -τρίς [f.] 'kind of fuller's earth' (Hp., com.), -τικός 'cleaning' (medic.). B. σμώχω 'to bray, grind' (Ar., Nic.), aor. σμῶξαι, perhaps after σώχω, ψώχω.

•ETYM Etymology uncertain. Possibly related to Lat. *macula* [f.] 'stain, blot' (from **smH-tlā*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). In any event, it is unrelated to Go. *bi-, ga-smeitan*, OHG *smīzan*, etc. Although one would first think of reconstructing a root **smeh₂-*, LIV² s.v. **smeh₁-* follows DELG in taking the α-forms as secondary, and deriving the verb from **smeh₁-* instead. The preservation of initial **sm-* in some Greek words is problematic. See also on ▸σμῶδιξ and ▸σμώνη.

σμερδαλέος [adj.] 'terrible, frightening, fearsome', of appearance, cry and shouting (epic Il.). ◂?▸

•VAR σμερδνος 'id.' (Il., *h. Hom.*, A. *Pr.* 355, Nic.).

•ETYM σμερδαλέος can be compared with λευγαλέος, ἀργαλέος etc.; σμερδνός is formed like e.g. δεινός. The pair σμερδαλέος : σμερδνός shows an interchange of suffixes like in ἰσχαλέος : ἰσχνός, etc.; see Benveniste 1935: 45f. A corresponding *s*-stem (like in θαρσαλέος : θάρσος) is found in σμέρδ[ν]ος· λῆμα, ῥώμη, δύναμις, ὅρμημα 'will, vigor, power, impulse' and εὐσμερδής· εὔρωστος 'robust, strong' (H.), for the meaning of which cf. δεινότης, also 'power, force, dexterity'.

The word σμερδαλέος is traditionally connected with OHG *smerzan*, OE *smeortan* 'to hurt' and OE *smeart* 'painful', MoE *smart* 'biting, stinging, sharp, witty, elegant'. However, the Germanic word may rather be related to Lat. *mordeō* 'to bite', and within Greek ἀμέρδω 'to deprive of' (thus LIV² s.v. **h₂merd-*). In this case, σμερδ- has no etymology, unless we assume that PIE **h₂merd-* interchanged with **smerd-* (on the problem, see Beekes 1969: 84). Cf. also ▸σμορδοῦν.

σμέρδος [?] ἰχθύος εἶδος 'kind of fish' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Etymology unknown.

σμῆνος [n.] 'beehive, skep' (Hes. *Th.* 594, *IG* 1², 326: 15, Pl. *Resp.* 552c, Arist.), 'swarm of bees (wasps), swarm in general' (A. *Pers.* 128 [lyr.], S. *Fr.* 897, com., Pl., Arist., etc.), ◂PG?▸

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) σμᾶνος; plur. σμῆνα (Orac. *apud* Plu. 2, 96b), σμῆναι (leg. -η?)· τῶν μελισσῶν οἱ κηροδόχοι, ἤτοι αἱ θῆκαι 'the wax containers of bees, the cells' (H.); improbable conjecture by Feyel *Rev. arch.* (1946): 5ff. to read Σμῆναι for σεμναί in *h. Merc.* 552.

•COMP σμην-ουργός [m.] 'beekeeper' (Ael., Poll.), φιλό-σμηνος (μέλισσα) 'loving swarms, appearing in swarms' (Nonn.).

•DER Diminutive σμην-ίον [n.] 'beehive' (Dsc.), = πρόπολις 'bee-glue' (H.); -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'station (stand) of beehives' (Olymos I[a]; ζμι-), -ιών 'id.' (Apollon. *Mir.*), -ηδόν 'in swarms' (Hdn. *Epim.*).

•ETYM The formation can be compared with ἔθνος, κτῆνος, ἔρνος, τέμενος etc.; the original meaning was probably 'swarm (of bees)' rather than 'beehive'. The etymology of σμῆνος is unknown. Fur.: 376 compares ἰσμῆναι· θῆκαι, ἀκόλουθοι

'cases, followers' (H., see Latte); although this does not yet prove that the word is of Pre-Greek origin, it is nevertheless is a good possibility (pace DELG, which assumes IE origin without argumentation).

σμῆριγξ ⇒μῆριγξ.

σμηρίζω [v.] 'to abrade, smooth, polish' (Hero). ◁?▷
•DER Diminutive -μάτιον [n.] (Hero *Spir.*); σμήρισμα [n.] 'airtight ingrained tube'.
•ETYM Although a connection with σμῆριγξ is formally attractive, the semantics are not clear (originally *"to depilate"?). Alternatively, we might consider the possibility that it is an extended variant of σμάω, perhaps after στηρίζω.

σμήρινθος ⇒μηρύομαι.

σμήω ⇒σμάω.

σμικρός ⇒μικρός.

σμῖλαξ [f., m.] 'Taxus baccata, common yew tree', also the name of an ivy-like weed and a leguminous plant (Att., Hell.), in Arcadia the name of an oak, 'Quercus ilex' (Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR OAtt. μῖλαξ, -ακος; also μῖλος (Cratin., Thphr.), σμῖλος (Call., Nic., Dsc.) [m.] 'taxus'.
•DIAL Myc. *mi-ra*$_2$ has been intepreted as /(s)mīliā/, denoting the material a table is made of.
•DER σμιλάκ-ινος (Poll.), -ειος (Theognost.) 'made of yew'.
•ETYM For the relationship between (σ)μῖλαξ and (σ)μῖλος, one may compare οἶσαξ : οἶσος or ὀρόβαξ : ὄροβος. Because of the OAtt. variants μῖλαξ and μῖλος, σμῖλαξ cannot be related to σμίλη: the variants prove Pre-Greek origin for this word (Fur.: 390).

σμῖλη [f.] 'knife, wood-carving knife, scalpel, chisel', instrument for artisans, physicians, sculptors, etc. (IA). ◁?, PG?▷
•VAR -ᾰ (*AP*), -ή (Hdn. Gr.).
•COMP As a first element in σμιλι-γλύφοι (τέχναι) 'working with chisels, sculptural' (*Epigr.* Galatia), which does not contain a Caland ι, see DELG s.v. against Schwyzer: 448.
•DER 1. Diminutive σμιλ-ίον [n.] with -ιωτός, -άριον [n.] (late medic.); 2. -ινος 'acting as a knife' (late medic.); 3. ἀπο-, δια-σμιλεύω [v.] 'to smooth with a chisel, plane' (late) with σμίλ-ευμα [n.] 'chipping' (Ar.), -ευτός (*AP*), -ευσις, -εία [f.] (Hdn. *Epim.*).
•ETYM Doubtful analysis of σμῖλη as an instrument noun in -λη (like μῆλη, χηλή, τρώγλη, etc.) in Chantraine 1933: 240. On the assumption that the long ī of σμῖλη was introduced secondarily on the model of the nouns in -ῖλη, -ῖλο-, the word has been connected with the Germanic word for 'carpenter, smith', ON *smið*, OE *smiþ* (> MoE *smith*), OHG *smid*, from PGm. **smiþu-*, **smiðu-* < IE **smi-tu*. However, this etymology is shaky; cf. the initial reflex of **sm-*. Alternatively, Pre-Greek origin might be considered. Cf. ▸σμινύη, ▸σμίνθος, and ▸μῑκρός.

σμῖλος ⇒σμῖλαξ.

σμινδυρίδια [n.pl.] a kind of women's shoes (Poll. 7, 89). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Named after Σμινδυρίδης of Sybaris; cf. Hdt. 6, 127.

σμίνθος [m.] 'mouse' (A. *Fr.* 227 = 380 M., Lyc., Str., *AP*); σμίνθα· ἡ κατοικίδιος μῦς 'domestic mouse' (H.). ◁PG(S)▷
•DER Σμινθ-εύς (*A* 39, Str.), -ιος (Ael.) [m.], epithet of Apollo (honored in the Troad and on the islands as a protector against destructive field-mice); Σμίνθιος as a month name on Rhodes; τὰ Σμίνθια name of a festival (Troad, Lindos).
•ETYM A Mysian word, according to sch. A 39, but in any case Pre-Greek or Anatolian (cf. Chantraine 1933: 371 and Schwyzer: 510). It may be somehow connected with Etr. *isminθians*, an epithet of Mars (Kretschmer *Glotta* 20 (1932): 221, Kretschmer *Glotta* 30 (1943): 133). The form σμίς· μῦς (H.) was probably invented on the basis of actually attested σμῦς (a cross with μῦς), to follow the alphabetical order.

σμινύη [f.] 'two-pronged mattock' (Att. inscr., com., Pl.). ◁?, PG?▷
•VAR Gen. (*o*-stem) σμινύοιο (Nic. *Th.* 386); acc.pl. σμινύδας (Ar. *Fr.* 402b; probably for σμινύας).
•DER σμινύδιον (Poll. 7, 148 ex Ar.).
•ETYM An instrument name, comparable in its formation to σιπύη, ὀστρύη, ὀφρύη, etc., σμῖνύη is generally considered to be a verbal abstract in -νυ(ᾱ) from a root **smei-* 'cut', which was thought to be attested in ►σμῖλη. However, the etymology of σμίλη is uncertain, and it is perhaps Pre-Greek. Accordingly, we should be careful in deriving σμῖνύη from such a root, and consider Pre-Greek origin for this word as well.

σμοιός [adj.] meaning doubtful; see below (Hdn. Gr., H., Theognost.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR σμοῖος (LSJ; -ός DELG). Also σμυός, μοιός (H.) = χαλεπός, φοβερός, στυγνός, σκυθρωπός 'difficult, fearful, hated, sad- or angry-looking'.
•DER PN Σμοῖος (Ar. *Ec.* 846)
•ETYM The form σμοιός is probably related to ►ἄμοιος, which adds yet another variant for the initial: σμι-/ ἀμι-/ μι-. This variation points to Pre-Greek origin. The word ►μοῖτος is unrelated.

σμοκορδ- ⇒σμορδοῦν.

σμορδοῦν [v.] · συνουσιάζειν 'to keep company, have intercourse with'; σμόρδωνες (cod. -ονεύς)· ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν μορίων, ὡς πόσθωνες 'hypocoristic for "members", as in "having a large penis"' (H.). ◁?, PG?▷
•ETYM Bechtel *Herm.* 55 (1920): 99f. also adduced σμοκορδοῦν· τὸ σχηματίζεσθαι τὰς γυναῖκας 'to assume the posture of a woman' and σμοκόρδους· τοὺς τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐγκοίλους ἔχοντας 'who have sunken or concave eyebrows' (H.).
Both glosses derive from a noun *σμόρδος of unknown meaning, identified by Specht *KZ* 62 (1935): 215 with Lith. *smárdas*, Ru. *smórod*, etc. 'bad smell, stench', from IE **smordo-*, Lith. *smirdėti* 'to stink' with zero grade. von Blumenthal 1930: 45 compared σμερδαλέος, assuming IE **smerd-* 'rub'.

However, cf. ►σμάρδικον, which could point to a Pre-Greek word if we understand it as 'lewd person'.

σμυγερός [adj.] 'painful, toilsome, miserable' vel sim. (A. R.; perhaps S. *Ph.* 166 for στυγερός). ◄PG?(V)►
•DER ἐπι-σμύγερος, adv. -ῶς 'id.' (Od., Hes. *Sc.* 264, A. R.), perhaps with ἐπι- after ἐπί-πονος.
•ETYM It is meaningless to assume an expressive contamination, e.g. from μογερός and στυγερός. Attempt at a morphological explanation by Strömberg 1946: 90.
Fur.: 363 compares μόγος and σμογερόν· σκληρόν, ἐπίβουλον, μοχθηρόν (H.), as well as σμυγερόν· ἐπίπονον, οἰκτρόν, μοχθηρόν, πονηρόν, ἐπίβουλον, ἀνιαρόν, χαλεπόν (H.). This would show that the word is Pre-Greek.

σμύλη [f.] name of a fish (Alex. Trall., Gp.). ◄?►
•ETYM Can hardly be separated from σμύλλα· σαύρα 'τράχουρος, a fish' (H.); see Strömberg 1943: 121. No etymology.

σμυλίχη [f.] · τοῦ ζυγοῦ τὸ τρῆμα ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἱστοβοεὺς καθήρμοσται 'the hole in the yoke in which the carriage pole is fixed' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

σμύρις, -ιδος, -εως [f.] 'emery-powder for abrading and polishing' (Dsc., late medic.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also σμίρις.
•DER σμιρίτης λίθος [m.] (LXX), σμιριεῖα [n.pl.] (spelled ζμιρριεια) 'emery-powder' (Imbros II[a]).
•ETYM Compared with ►μύρον and with a Germano-Celtic word for 'grease, fat' in OHG *smero*, OIr. *smi(u)r*, etc.; this is semantically not very convincing, as the Greek word denotes a highly specific substance. Moreover, the frequent variant with ι remains hard to understand (it is not due to vowel assimilation). Acc. to von Blumenthal 1930: 45, it belongs to σμάω, σμῆν, and Frisk asks if σμύρις could be due to the influence of μύρον. Fur.: 366 takes the variation υ/ι as proof of Pre-Greek origin, which is the most likely option.

σμύρνη [f.] 'myrrh' (Hdt., Arist.). ◄GR►
•VAR σμύρνᾰ (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.; cf. Solmsen 1909: 254), also ζμύρνα (Hyp., inscr., pap.), gen. σμύρνης (S., E. et al.).
•COMP ζμυρνό-μελαν (-ανον, -άνιον), -ανος [n.] 'mixture of myrrh and ink' (*PMag.*), ἁλυκό-σμυρνα [f.] 'kind of myrrh' (*Hippiatr.*).
•DER σμύρνινος (LXX, pap.), -αῖος (*AP*) 'made of myrrh'; -ίζω [v.] 'to treat or season with myrrh, to resemble myrrh' (*Ev. Marc.*, Dsc.) with -ισις [f.] (Aët.), -ιάζω (?, Alex. Trall.); -ειον (Nic.), -ιον (Dsc., Gal.) [n.] plant name (after the scent of the seeds acc. to Strömberg 1940: 62).
•ETYM Probably a back-formation from Σμυρναία (μύρρα) "the Smyrnaean"; cf. Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 1 (1949): 272f. with criticism of the interpretation that σμύρνα is a by-form of μύρρα.

σμῦρος ⇒μύραινα.

σμύχω [v.] 'to cause to carbonize, be slowly consumed in a fire, smolder away', med. 'to carbonize, smolder'; on the use in Homer, see Graz 1965: 250ff. ◂IE? **smeug$^{(h)}$-* 'smoke'▸

•VAR Aor. σμῦξαι (epic since Il., late prose), pass. σμυχθῆναι (Theoc.), quite uncertain ἀποσμυγέντες (Luc. *D Mort.* 6, 3; see Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 31ff.), perf. κατεσμυγμένη (Hld.).

•COMP Also with κατα-, ὑπο- et al.

•ETYM Formation like τρύχω, ψύχω; the late form ἀποσμυγέντες, if it belongs here at all (see above), is an analogical formation (cf. Schwyzer: 760).

Beside the primary verb σμύχω, we find a noun in Arm. *mux*, gen. *mxoy* 'smoke'. In Celtic, OIr. *múch*, MW *mwg* 'fire' may go back to IE **muk-*. In Germanic, there is a primary verb with a diphthong and a root-final IE voiced stop, e.g. OE *smēocan* 'to smoke, fumigate' < IE **smeug-*, beside the zero grade *smoca* [m.] 'smoke' < IE **smug-on-*, *smocian* 'to smoke'. An Indo-European reconstruction for all these forms is difficult, as a voiceless aspirate **k^h* (PIE **(s)mūk^{h}o-*; Meillet *MSL* 8 (1894): 294, followed by Frisk) is not reconstructed anymore for PIE.

Lith. *smáugti*, 1sg. *smáugiu* 'to strangle, string together, plague' should probably be explained differently (Fraenkel 1955 s.v.), while for Ru. *smúglyj* 'dark, brown' etc., other interpretations are possible (Vasmer 1953 s.v.).

σμῶδιξ [f.] 'bloodshot bruise, bloody weal' (B 267, Ψ 716, Opp. *H.* 2, 428). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Plur. -ιγγες. Also μῶδιξ· φλέψ, φλυκτίς 'blood vessel, boil' (H.).

•DER σμωδικὰ φάρμακα (Gal.).

•ETYM The derivation from a noun *σμωδ(ο)-, and further connection with σμῆν, σμώχω 'to rub', still maintained by Frisk, is formally and semantically unconvincing. It is rather a Pre-Greek word; note the suffix -ιγγ- and initial σ-/ zero (Fur.: 279f.).

σμώνη [f.] 'gust of wind' (Hdn. Gr., H. [cod. σμωσή, alphabetically misplaced], *EM*). ◂?▸

•ETYM Connection with σμώχω (see ▸σμάω) is semanticaly improbable.

σμώχω ⇒σμάω.

σοβέω [v.] 'to scare away, chase away', intr. 'to walk in a pompous way, strut' (Att. Hell. and late), pass. 'to be agitated' (late). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. σοβῆσαι, fut. σοβήσω, perf. σεσόβηκα, pass. σεσόβημαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-.

•DER σόβ-ησις [f.] 'violent movement' (Plu.), -ητρον [n.] 'fly whisk' (Ph. v.l.), ἀποσόβ-ημα, -ησις, -ητής, -ητήριος, -ητικός (sch. et al.). Backformation σόβη [f.] 'horse's or bull's tail' (Hippiatr., sch., Suid.), more usual μυ(ι)ο-σόβη 'fly whisk' (Delos since III^a, Men. et al.).

σοβαρός 'blowing along violently' (of the wind etc.), usually 'haughty, proud' (Att.), probably from σοβέω after the nümerous adj. in -αρός, with fem. σοβάς, -άδος 'insolent, capricious' (Eup., Ph.), 'kind of dance' (Ath.); also Σόβοι = Σάτυροι (Ulp.).

•ETYM An old causative or iterative-intensive from the root of ▸σέβομαι.

σόγκος, σόγχος [m.] 'sow thistle, Sonchus aspera' (Antiph., Thphr., etc.). ◁PG▷
•DER σογκώδης 'like a σ.' (Thphr.), σογχίτης [m.] 'hawkweed, ἱεράκιον τὸ μέγα' (Ps.-Dsc.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Considering the variation, clearly a Pre-Greek word. Fur.: 134f. compares Basque *tšokoŕo* 'silver thistle'.

σοέω ⇒σεύω.

σόκκος [m.] 'lasso' (in Malalas, about the Huns). ◁?▷
•DER σοκκεύω [v.] 'to catch by the lasso'.
•ETYM Unknown.

σόλιον [n.] 'sandal' (pap II^{p}); also 'seat'. ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM From Lat. *solea*, *solium*.

σολοικίζω [v.] 'to speak (write, think) with flaws, unskillfully' (Hdt., D., Arist., etc.), 'to behave in an uneducated, awkward manner' (Zeno, Plu. et al.). ◁GR▷
•DER σολοικ-ισμός [m.] 'flawed manner of expression' (Arist., Phld.), -ιστής [m.] title of a dialog by Luc.; back-formation σόλοικος 'speaking with flaws' (Anacr., Hippon., et al.), 'behaving in an uneducated, awkward manner' (Hp., X., etc.).
•ETYM Formed like ἀττικίζω, etc. after the Cilician town Σόλοι, whose inhabitants spoke a bad form of Greek (Str. 14, 2, 28; D. L. 1, 51). It has also been supposed that Σόλοικος was derived from Σόλοι, as in Μοσσύνοικοι. Borrowed as Lat. *soloecismus*, *soloecus*, *-ista*.

σολοιτύπος μυδροκτύπος [sic] καὶ χαλκός τις ἐν Κύπρῳ 'forging red-hot iron, copper (Cypr.)' (H.). ◁GR▷
•DER σολοιτυπ[ίη] Call. *fr.* 85, 11, cf. Pfeiffer ad loc.
•ETYM The gloss explains that the first element is the loc. of σόλος, or of Soloi in Cyprus, where bronze was worked.

σόλος [m.] 'iron mass, used as a discus' (Ψ 823, 839, 844; Hell. and late epic). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unexplained foreign word (cf. Schwyzer: 62). The word has been compared with Hitt. *šuliia-* 'lead'; see Gusmani 1969: 509.

σομφός [adj.] 'spongy, loose, porous', also metaphorically of sounds (Hp., Alex., Arist., etc.). ◁?▷
•COMP Also ἔν-, ὑπό-, χαυνό-.
•DER σομφ-ώδης 'id.' (Thphr. et al.), -ότης [f.] 'porosity' (Arist.), -όομαι [v.] 'to become spongy' (Aët.).
•ETYM Traditionally connected with the Germanic word for 'fungus' in OHG *swamp*, *-bes*, *swam*, *-mes*, OSw. *svamper*, ON *svǫppr*, Go. *swamm* [acc.], OE *swamm* [m.]. However, the development of initial **sṷ-* to σ- cannot be assumed for Greek, in spite of ▶σέλας. DELG thinks that a 'Wanderwort' is improbable. See ▶σπόγγος.

σορέλλη [f.] σκῶμμά τι ἐπιχωριάζον εἰς τοὺς γέροντας, ἀπὸ τῆς σοροῦ 'customary jest about the elderly, called after the urn' (H. = Ar. *Fr.* 198). ◁GR▷

•ETYM From σορός, like σορο-δαίμων with similar meaning (*Com. Adesp.* 1151), but with an unclear ending -λλ- (a diminutive? Cf. Schwyzer: 485 and Chantraine 1933: 252).

σόρνιξα [?] εὔζωμον 'rocket, Eruca sativa' (H.). ◂PG▸
•ETYM Pre-Greek (Fur.: 360), like ῥόμιξα.

σορόα [f.] παλιούρου εἶδος 'kind of Christ's thorn, Paliurus australis' (H.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM Fur.: 230 reads the second o as ϝ, and compares Lat. *sorbus* 'sorb-apple'. Probably a Pre-Greek word.

σορός [f.] 'burial urn, coffin' (since Ψ 91), also degrading for an old woman (com.). ◂IE **tuerH-* 'fence (in)', **tuorH-o-*▸
•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34[2].
•COMP σορο-πηγός [m.] 'coffin maker' (Ar., *AP*), εὐρύ-σορος 'having a broad coffin' (*AP*).
•DER σόρ-(ε)ιον (-εῖον) [n.] 'id.' (inscr.), -ίδιον [n.] (late), -ώϊον [n.] 'mummifying linen' (pap. III[a]), perhaps after μινώϊον, Eg. name of a container?
•ETYM Probably from **tu̯óro-*, an old agent noun belonging to a verbal root 'to seize, enclose, etc.' in Lith. *tvérti*, 1sg. *tveriù* 'to enclose, fence in, grasp', also 'to form, build'. The word σόρος is formally identical with Ru. *tvor* 'creature, form, shape' (to *tvorítь* 'to create, do, build'); cf. also Lith. *āptvaras* 'fence' (to *ap-tvérti*). See ▸σειρά.

σός [pron.] 'tuus', possessive pronoun 2sg. •VAR Dor. etc. τεός. ⇒σύ.

σοῦσον 1 [n.] 'lily, lotus (ornament)' (Ath. 12, 513f.; uncertain Arist. *Mir.* 838a 23; see Dugas *BCH* 34 (1910): 116ff.). ◂LW Orient.▸
•DER σούσινος 'made of σ., like σ.' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc. et al.).
•ETYM An Oriental loanword; cf. Hebr. *šūšan* 'lily, lotus', from Eg. *sšśn* > *śśn* 'id.'; see Masson 1967: 58f.

σοῦσον 2 [n.] 'cable (of a ship)'. ◂?▸
•VAR As a v.l. beside οὖσον (φ 390 [for ὅπλον] and Antim. *Fr.* 57, 2 W. = *Coll. Alex.* p. 250); οὖσον [n.] 'id.' (Lyc., Alex. Aet., H.).
•ETYM Unexplained. It is assumed that the initial variation σ-/ zero goes back to a scriptio continua in φ 390.

σούχινον [n.] 'amber' (Aet.). ◂LW Lat.▸
•DER σούκινος '(made of) amber' (Artem.).
•ETYM The words go back to Lat. *sucinum*.

σοφός [adj.] 'clever, skillful, able, shrewd, wise' (Hes. *Fr.* 193). ◂PG?▸
•COMP As a first member e.g. in Σοφο-κλῆς; very often as a second member, e.g. φιλό-σοφος 'friend of a σοφόν, who loves τὸ σοφόν, τὴν σοφίαν, eager for knowledge, friend of the sciences, philosopher' (Heracleit., Att.) with φιλοσοφ-ία [f.] '(scientific) study, education, philosophy' (Att.), -έω [v.] 'to be eager for knowledge, study' (IA); ἐπί-σσοφος name of an annually changing official (Thera), on which see ▸ψέφει.

•DER σοφ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'skillfulness, virtuosity, knowledge, cleverness, shrewdness, wisdom' (since O 412). Denominative verbs: 1. σοφίζομαι 'to practice a form of art, think up, concoct' (since Hes. *Op.* 649), also with prefix, especially κατα-; act. -ίζω 'to instruct' (LXX, christ. lit.), whence σόφ-ισμα [n.] 'clever trick, piece of cunning' (Pi., IA), whence -ισμάτιον, -ισματώδης, -ισματικός; -ισις [f.] (sch.); -ιστής [m.] 'artist, learned man, teacher, sophist' (Pi., IA), with -ίστρια, -ιστικός, -ιστήριον, -ιστεύω, -ιστεία. 2. σοφόω = σοφίζω (LXX).
•ETYM Unexplained. If ►Σίσυφος, ►σάφα, and ►ψέφει are related, this would point to a substrate word.

σπάδιξ, σπάδιον, σπάδων, σπαδών, σπάτος, etc. ⇒σπάω.

σπάθη [f.] designation of several flat and oblong oblects, e.g. 'tool of a weaver for striking home the threads of the woof, blade (of a sword), blade of an oar, spatula, flat rib (shoulder blade?), spathe, especially of the palm, stalk of the palm leaf' (Alc., IA). ◅IE? *sph_2-$d^h(h_1)$- 'blade, spade'
≫ •DER 1. σπαθ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'spatula, garment of closely-woven cloth' (com., inscr.). 2. -ίας κτείς 'flat rib' (Opp.). 3. -ίτης [m.] 'palm wine' (Alex. Trall.). 4. -ινα [pl.] 'garments' (Aq.), -ίνης [m.] 'young deer', after the shape of the horns (H., Eust., sch.), cf. ἐλαφίνης etc. 5. -άριος [m.] 'guard (equipped with a σ.)' (Lyd., Cappadoc. inscr.), -αρία [f.] 'fighting contest' (*EM*), -αρικόν [n.] 'thin upper garment' (Sm.). 6. σπαθ-άω 'to strike with a σ., seal up, hatch, dissipate, waste' (Ar., D., Hell. and late), rarely with δια-, ἐν-, κατα-, whence -ημα, -ησις, -ητός. 7. -ίζω 'to stir up with a spatula' (Opp.), also with περι- etc., whence σπαθίσματα· σπαδονίσματα (H.).
•ETYM Related to PGm. *spað-an, -ōn- 'spade': OS *spado* [m.], OE *spade, spadu* [f.], MoHG *Spaten* [m.], and perhaps also Skt. *sphyá-* [m.] 'shoulder-blade', Khot. *phvai* 'spade, shovel'. The IE root must have been *sph_2-, with a suffix *-$d^h(h_1)$- in Greek and Germanic. The root is perhaps also found in ►σπάω. Borrowed as Lat. *spada, spatha, spatula.*

σπαίρω [v.] 'to sprawl, flounder' of living creatures, etc. (rare examples in Arist., A. R., Plb., D. H., *AP*). ◅IE *TsperH- 'kick with the heel'►
•VAR Only present.
•DER σπαρίζω (Eust.).
•ETYM Formal cognates are Lith. *spiriù, spìrti* 'to push with the foot, kick backwards, etc.', Skt. *sphuráti* 'to push with the foot, jump up', with nasal Lat. *spernō* 'to reject, spurn', OHG *spurnan* 'to kick out with the foot or the heel', and probably also Arm. *spaṙnam* 'to threaten', Hitt. *išparra-^{i} / išparr-* 'to trample'; see LIV² s.v. *sp^herH-. Because of the late and rare ocurrence of σπαίρω, Güntert 1914: 146 explains it as a contamination of earlier and commoner ►άσπαίρω with σκαίρω. Cf. ►σφυρόν and ►σπείρω, as well as ►σπυρθίζω. Lubotsky 2006 discusses the irregular correspondences in the anlaut of the IE verbs, and reconstructs *TsperH- 'to kick with the heel'; this may be an original compound of *pd- 'foot' and *per(H)- 'to beat, kick'.

σπάλαθρον [n.] (Poll.) = σκάλευθρον 'oven rake' (Poll.). ◅PG(V)►

•VAR σπάλαυθρον (Phot., also H. [cod. σπαύλαθρον alphabetically misplaced]).
•DIAL Myc. *qa-ra-to-ro* /sk^{w}alat^{h}ron/.
•DER σπαλύσσεται· σπαράσσεται, τινάσσεται 'is torn, is shaken' (H.).
•ETYM Perhaps from ►σπάλαξ; see ►σκάλλω.

σπάλαξ, -ακος [f., m.] 'mole' (Arist. etc.), also as a plant name 'meadow saffron, Colchicum parnassicum' (Thphr.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR σφάλαξ 'id.' (Paus. 7, 24, 11) for ἀσφάλαξ (Babr. etc.), folketymologically after σφάλλω because of the undermining activity of the mole?
•DER σπαλακία· νόσος ἡ περὶ τούς ὀφθαλμιούς, πήρωσις 'disease of the eyes, blindness' (H.); also σπαλακός as a color term (pap.). See ►ἀσπάλαξ.
•ETYM The variation betrays a Pre-Greek word; see Fur.: 159.

σπάνις, -εως [f.] 'rarity, scarcity' (IA). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Ion. dat. -ι.
•DER 1. σπάνιος 'rare, scarce' (IA), but σπανο- in composition, e.g. σπανοσιτία [f.] 'lack of grain or provisions' (X., Arist., inscr. etc.), σπανι- (Delos III^{a}), σπανοπώγων, -ωνος 'with scant beard growth' (Ion. Hist., pap.), shortened σπανός 'id.', also 'eunuch' (Ptol. etc., Byz.); σπανι-άκις 'infrequent' (Luc. etc.), -ότης [f.] = σπάνις (Isoc., Ph.), also σπανία 'id.' (E. *Rh.* 245 [lyr.]; from σπάνιος or enlarged from σπάνις). 2. σπανίζω, -ομαι 'to lack, be sparse, be missing' (Pi., IA), also with ὑπο-; hence σπανιστός 'meager, sparse' (S. etc.), -ιστικός 'id.' (Vett. Val.); σπανίζω also factitive 'to exhaust, spend, dispense' (LXX, pap., Ph. Byz.); back-formation to the verb is σπανόν· τίμιον, πολλοῦ ἄξιόν ἐστιν 'valued, costly' (H.).
•ETYM Etymology disputed. Frisk suggests a derivative in -νι- to σπάω 'to draw'. Fur.: 378, however, may be right in connecting ἤπανᾳ, -νεῖ· ἀπορεῖ, σπανίζει, ἀμηχανεῖ 'is without resource' (H.); he assumes a prothetic σ- and a prothetic α-, which was lengthened to ἡ-. If so, the word is Pre-Greek.

σπανός [adj.] 'grey' (pap.) ◄PG(V)►
•ETYM Fur.: 339 etc. connects σπάνις.

σπαπιρωτας [m.] probably name of a priest (Pamphylia, Schwyzer: 686, 17 and 24, Sillyon); cf. Bechtel 1921, 2: 823. ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

σπαράσιον [n.] ὄρνεον ἐμφερὲς τῷ στρουθῷ 'bird resembling a sparrow' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•ETYM σπαρ-άσιον is a diminutive, like κοράσιον from κόρη. The forms with -γ- (see on ►σποργίλος) have a counterpart in a Germanic and Baltic word for 'sparrow': MHG *sperke*, OPr. *spurglis*, also *spergle-wanag<is>* 'sparrow-hawk' ("sparrow-vulture"?). If from *σπαρϝ-άσιον, σπαράσιον may be compared with a widespread Germanic name of the sparrow, e.g. Go. *sparwa*, OHG *sparo*, ON *spǫrr* < PGm. **sparu̯a(n)*-. Fur.: 226 compares σμάρδικον· στρουθίον (H.).

σπαράσσω [v.] 'to rip, tear, shred, attack' (IA). ◄?►
•VAR Att. -άττω, aor. -άξαι, fut. -άξω, -άξομαι, perf. med. ἐσπάραγμαι.

•COMP Also with δια-, κατα-, etc.

•DER σπάραγμα [n.] 'torn or ripped piece, scrap' (trag., Arist. etc.), -αγμός [m.] 'ripping, tearing, convulsion' (trag. etc.), -αγμώδης 'convulsive' (Hp., Plu.), -αξις [f.] 'convulsion' (medic.), -ακτόν [n.] 'crumbled rock, rubble' (Hero), διασπαρακτός 'torn' (E., Ael.).

•ETYM Expressive formation in -άσσω like ταράσσω, τινάσσω, πατάσσω, and others, without a certain etymology. If -άσσω is only an enlargement, the word could be connected with σπαίρω, etc. Others have regarded the velar as part of the root (-σσω is analogical for –ζω, according to Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 224), connecting σπαράσσω with Lat. *spargō*, ON *spark* [n.] 'kick', and Gr. σπαργάω, σφαραγέομαι, inter alia. Yet this would not explain the second α of σπαράσσω. Persson 1912(1): 418 has compared Arm. *p'ert'* 'torn off piece' (*-rt'* < *-rkt-*), ON *spjǫrr* [f.] 'strip of cloth' < PGm. **sperrō*. Yet another conjecture was put forward by Thierfelder (*apud* Frisk): derivation from σπάω on the model of ταράσσω, ἀράσσω, χαράσσω, etc.

σπαργάω [v.] 'to be bursting, swell (of milk, etc.), be full of desire and lust, desire intensely' (IA). ◂IE? **sperg-* 'strew, spout'▸

•VAR Only pres., -γεῦσα [ptc.f.] (Q. S. 14, 283).

•DER σπάργ-ησις [f.] 'swelling' (Dsc., Sor.), also -ωσις [f.] 'id.' (Dsc.), as if from σπαργόω; cf. MoGr. σπαργώνω. Also (back-formation?) σπαργαί· ὀργαί, ὁρμαί 'impulses', with *-o-* (Aeolic?) σποργαί· ἐρεθισμοὶ εἰς τὸ τεκεῖν 'impulse to breed' (H.); hence Σπαργεύς [m.] name of a centaur (Nonn.).

•ETYM Several IE forms have a similar form and meaning, and could go back to a preform **sp(e/o)rg-*; yet a definite etymology cannot be established. Compare Lat. *spargō* 'to strew (around), sprinkle', Av. *sparəga-* [m.] 'barbed hook', *frasparəga-* [m.] 'sprout, twig', ON *spark* [n.] 'kick', *sparkr* 'vivid, stirring', Lith. *spùrgas* 'knar, tassel, etc.', *sprógti* 'to advise, place'. See ▸σφαραγέομαι, as well as ▸σπαράσσω.

***σπάργω** [v.] 'to swaddle (a child)' (*h. Ap.* 121). ◂?▸

•VAR Only 3pl. aor. σπάρξαν.

•DER σπάργανα [n.pl.], rarely sg. -ον 'nappy' (poet. since *h. Merc.*, Pi.), σπαργανιώτης [m.] 'child in swaddling clothes' (*h. Merc.*), -ιον [n.] plant name 'Sparganium ramosum, branched bur-reed' (Dsc., Plin.), -όω 'to swaddle' (Hp., E., Arist., etc.), also with ἐν-, κατα-, ἀπο-, whence -ωμα, -ωσις (late); also -άω (Pl. *Lg.* 789e), -ίζω (Hes. *Th.* 485: aor.ptc. -ίσασα).

•ETYM Primary verb **spr̥-g-* from the root **sper-* of ▸σπάρτον, ▸σπεῖρα, with an enlargement -γ- of unknown origin; perhaps by contamination with a verb of similar meaning, e.g. ἔἴργω (Frisk)?

σπαρνός [adj.] 'sparsely sown, scarce' (A., Pl. Com., Call.). ◂GR▸

•COMP σπαρνοπόλιος· ὀλιγοπόλιος 'with a sprinkling of grey hairs' (H.) (cf. σπαρτοπόλιος, see ▸σπείρω).

•ETYM Poetic and rare verbal adj. from ▸σπείρω; antonyms πυκνός, συχνός.

σπάρος [m.] 'lesser sea bream, Sargus annularis' (Epich., Matro, Arist.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Origin unknown. Has been connected with Lat. *sparus, -um* 'short spear', OHG *sper* 'spear', and σπαίρω. Not very convincing. Fur.: 226 compares σμαρίς 'a small worthless seafish' (and rejects Lat. *sparus*). Borrowed as Lat. *sparus, -ulus.*

σπάρτον [n.] 'rope, cable, cord, string', also 'plumb line' (B 135); σπάρτος [m., f.] (rare σπάρτη, -τον) also name of a shrub used for snares 'Spartium junceum, kind of broom' (Pl., X., etc.). ◂?▸
•VAR σπάρτη [f.] (Ar. *Av.* 815 [wordplay with the TN Σπάρτη], unclear Cratin. 110), σπάρτος [f.] (Hero).
•COMP σπαρτόδετος 'bound with σ.' (Opp.), λινόσπαρτον [n.] plant name = σπάρτος (Thphr.).
•DER Diminutive σπαρτίον [n.], also as a plant name (Att., Hell.), -ινος 'made of σ.' (Cratin., Poll.), -ίνη [f.] 'rope, cable' (Ael.).
•ETYM Appears to be a verbal noun in -το- with a zero grade root. Although a basic verb derived from **sper- / *spr-* is not attested in Greek, it has been supposed on account of the γ-enlargement in *σπάργω, σπάρξαι 'to envelop', and also of σπεῖρα, σπυρίς. Comparison with Arm. *p'arem, p'arim* 'to enclose, embrace' poses phonetic difficulties (*p'* cannot come from PIE **sp-*). Borrowed as Lat. *spartum* 'Spanish broom'.

σπατάγγης, -ου [m.] 'kind of sea urchin' (Sophr. 102, Ar. *Fr.* 409, Arist.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR πάταγγας [acc.pl.] 'id.' (Poll.). Note also φατάγγης 'pangolin' (Ael.) (Fur.: 111[58], 164, 281; not in LSJ).
•DER σπαταγγίζειν· ταράσσειν 'to agitate' (H.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Hardly related to σπάω 'to suck' (cf. on σπατάλη). The variation shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

σπᾰτάλη [f.] 'lavish, lascivious way of life, debauchery, luxury', also of luxurious objects, 'adornment, bracelet, anklet' (LXX, Hell. inscr., *AP*, etc.). ◂PG(V)▸
•DER Diminutive Lat. *spatalium* [n.] 'bracelet' (Juba *apud* Plin., inscr.). Denominative verb σπαταλάω (κατα-) 'to live lavishly, lasciviously' (Plb., LXX, NT etc.), aor. -ῆσαι; thence -ημα [n.] (*AP*). Backformation σπαταλός (-αλος) 'lavish, lascivious' (*AP* etc.).
•ETYM If originally an abstract, σπατάλη may semantically be compared with κραιπάλη, δαιταλεύς; further connections are uncertain. Perhaps from σπάω 'to draw in, suck', of wine, etc.; e.g. ἔσπασεν ἄμυστιν ἑλκύσας (E. *Cyc.* 417); cf. also σπάσει πίνειν (Arist.). On the -τ-, cf. σπατίζει· … ἕλκει (H.). To be rejected is the explanation by Neumann 1961: 88f., viz. that σπαταλός is a loanword from Hitt. **išpatalla-* 'who gladly and often eats to the full'. Fur.: 154, 179 convincingly connects βάταλος 'lascivious man', so the word is Pre-Greek.

σπατῖλη [f.] 1. 'thin excrement' (Hp., Ar. *Pax* 48, D.C.); σπατίλουροι· οἱ τὴν οὐρὰν εἰς τὴν σπατίλην ἐκτιθέντες 'secreting urine into ordure' (H.); unclear σπατιλοκολυμφευ (Sophr.) (*PSI* 11, 1214 d 4). 2. 'leather waste' (sch. Ar. l.c.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Also πατίλη (*An. Ox.*).

•DER Also παστίλη = ἡ τελευταία ἡμέρα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ 'the last day of the year' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 322, 19).

•ETYM In the second meaning, it belongs to ►σπάτος. The meaning 'thin excrement' may also be combined with 'leather waste' as a euphemistic metaphor (to which the phonetic similarity with τῖλος, τιλάω may have contributed). However, since Meillet *MSL* 13 (1905-1906): 291f., the word has usually been connected with οἰσπώτη.

σπάτος [n.] 'hide, leather' (Hdn Gr. 1, 322). ◅?▻

•ETYM The word is supposed to be Boeotian. No etymology. See ►σπάω.

σπάω, σπάομαι [v.] 'to draw', e.g. a sword, 'to pull out, tear, drag, suck in, slurp down' (S., Ar. etc.) ◅IE **(s)peh₂-* 'draw'▻

•VAR Aor. σπάσαι, σπάσ(σ)ασθαι, pass. σπασθῆναι (Il.), fut. σπάσω, -ομαι, perf. med. ἔσπασμαι (IA), act. ἔσπακα (Ar., Arist. etc.).

•COMP Very often with prefix in different shades of meaning, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER A. From the unenlarged root: 1. σπάσις, mostly to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάσπασις (to ἀνα-σπάσαι, -σπᾶν) 'pulling in', etc. (Hp., Arist., etc.). 2. σπασμός (ἐπισπασμός, etc.) [m.] 'wincing, spasm, violent movement' (IA), whence σπασμώδης, κατασπασμικός. 3. σπάσμα (ἀπόσπασμα, etc.) [n.] 'spasm, sprain, shred, scrap' (IA); 4. -σπαστος in ἐπίσπαστος 'brought upon oneself, incurred' (Od. etc.); σπαστικός (κατα-, περι-) 'pulling in, slurping in' (Arist.). 5. -σπαστήρ, -ῆρος [m.] in ἐπισπαστήρ (Hdt., *AP*; -σπατήρ inscr.), ποτισπαστήρ (Epid. IV-III[a]) "attractor", 'thong which draws the door, bird string, net'; ἐπίσπαστρον [n.] 'id.' (LXX, D. S. etc.).

B. With δ-enlargement: 1. παρασπάς, -άδος [f.] 'shoot torn off and planted' (Thphr.), ἀπο- 'twig torn off' (*AP*, Nonn.). 2. σπάδῑξ, -ῑκος [m.] '(torn off) twig, especially a palm twig' (Nic., Plu., etc.). 2. σπάδιον [n.] 'race-track' (Argos, H; "the lenghty one"; cf. στάδιον). 3. σπαδών, -όνος [f.] 'spasm, convulsion' (Hp., Nic.), whence -ονίζω, -ονισμός. 4. σπάδων, -ωνος [m.] 'eunuch' (LXX, Plb. etc.), also σπάδος (Eust.).

C. With τ-enlargement: σπάτος [n.] '(removed) skin' (H., sch. Ar. *Pax* 48 [Boeot.]), σπάτειος in σπατείων· δερματίνων 'leathern' (H.), as a first member in Σ<πα>τοληασταί [m.pl.] guild of fullers in Argos (Roman era).

D. Derived verbs: σπάζει· σκυζᾷ. Ἀχαιοί (H.); σπαδίξας aor.ptc. of σπαδίζω 'to remove' (Hdt. 5, 25); σπατίζει· τῶν <σ>πατέων ἕλκει, τῶν δερμάτων, τῶν τιτθῶν (H.).

•ETYM Klingenschmitt 1982: 132 has connected Greek σπάω with Arm. *hanem* 'to pull out', if from a pres. **pā-n-*, built secondarily from the aorist. García-Ramón fthc. now suggests that it is cognate with Ved. *pā-*, *ud-pipīte* 'rises against' and Hitt. *pippa-[i] / pipp-*, and reconstructs **(s)peh₂-* 'to draw, set in motion (violently)'. The Greek verb may have been derived from the aor. σπασ(σ)α- or from **sph₂-eie/o-*. Thence, the whole tense system developed within Greek. Adams 1999: 368 still considers plausible the suggestion by van Windekens that ToB *pāss-* 'to rip off (the skin)' continues **peh₂-s-*. See ►σπάθη.

σπεῖρα [f.] 'twist, coil', for instance of a snake; 'network, spiral'; designation of several round or circular objects, e.g. 'rope, belt, bead, round base of a pillar' (Ion. poet., also Hell. and late prose; v.l. ζ 269); also as a military term = Lat. *manipulus* (Hell.), see Debrunner *IF* 48 (1930): 244; later = *cohors* (inscr. and pap., *Act. Ap.* et al.). ◂IE? **sper-* 'turn, wind'▸

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σπειρο-κέφαλον [n.] 'base and capital of a column', ὑπό-σπειρον [n.] "what lies under the round base", 'square slab, πλίνθος' (inscr.).

•DER σπειρ-ίον [n.] 'little column base' (Hero); -ικός 'belonging to a σ.' (Hero); -ίτης (scil. λίθος) 'stone for a column base' (inscr. Didyma), other interpretation in Redard 1949: 64[26]; -αία [f.] 'privet' (Thphr.); -ηδόν 'in convolutions, in a circle' (Opp., *AP*).

Denominative verb σπειρ-άομαι 'to convolve' (Hell. and late), also with περι-, etc.; older συ-σπειράομαι 'to wind, pull together' (Pl., X., Arist., etc.), also act. συ-, περι-σπειράω 'to wind, pull together' (Hell. pap., D. S. et al.); hence σπείρ-ᾶμα, Ion. -ημα [n.] 'twist, coil, for instance of a snake, band, etc.' (A., Arist., Nic., etc.), see further Chantraine 1933: 184). Also (συ-)σπειρόομαι 'to wind (together)' (Hp., Thphr.), act. aor. σπειρῶσαι 'to swathe' (Call.), from σπεῖρον?

•ETYM From quasi-IE **sper-ieh₂*. It is uncertain whether the root was originally verbal or nominal (cf. Schwyzer: 474 and Chantraine 1933: 98f.). Related formations are found in ▸σπάρτον, ▸σπεῖρον, and perhaps in ▸σπάργανον.

σπεῖρον [n.] 'cloth, burial shroud, sailcloth, shroud' (Od., Euph.). ◂IE? **sper-* 'turn, wind'▸

•DER σπειρο-φόρος [m.] 'bearer of a σ.' (Ephesus); heteroclitic plur. σπείρ-εα (Nic. *Th.* 882), after ῥήγεα, etc.; a metaphor for the onion skin, cf. -ώδης 'rich in layers' (Nic.). Uncertain is the appurtenance of σπειρία [n.pl.] 'garments' (X. *HG* 4, 5, 4; rather σείρια with Dindorf). Denominative aor. σπειρῶσαι = σπαργανῶσαι 'to swathe' (Call.), if not from ▸σπεῖρα.

•ETYM From **sper-io-*, from the same verbal or nominal basis as σπεῖρα, originally 'winding'. A similar formation is found in Alb. *fier*, *thier* 'fern', acc. to Bonnet *RPh.* 2000: 283.

σπείρω [v.] 'to sow, seed', also (especially with prefix) 'to spread, scatter, distribute' (IA). ◂IE **sper-* 'strew'▸

•VAR Aor. σπεῖραι, fut. σπερῶ, aor. pass. σπαρ-ῆναι, fut. -ήσομαι, perf. med. ἔσπαρμαι (IA), act. ἔσπαρκα (late.).

•DIAL Myc. *pe-mo*, *pe-ma*.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. δια-, κατα-.

•DER The following derivatives have a full grade of the root: σπέρμα [n.] 'seed, sowing, stem, sprout' (ε 490); as an *o*-stem in e.g. σπερμιο-λόγος 'rook' < *'picking corn' (Ar., Arist.), 'chatterbox' (D., etc.).

Hence the diminutive σπερ-μάτιον [n.] (Thphr., etc.), -ματίας (σικυός) [m.] 'seed bearer' (Cratin.), -ματίτης, -ματῖτις 'bearing, bringing forth seed' (late), -ματικός 'seminal' (Arist., etc.), -ματώδης 'seed-like' (late); σπερμαίνω [v.] 'to sow, bring forth' (Hes., Call., Plu. et al.), σπερ-ματίζω [v.] 'to sow, bear seed', -ματίζομαι [v.] 'to

be sown, pregnant' with -ματισμός [m.] 'production of seed' (LXX, Thphr.), -ματόομαι 'to come to seed' (Thphr.), with -μάτωσις 'seeding' (Phan. Hist.).
σπέραδος [n.] = σπέρμα (Nic.), like χέραδος.
With an *o*-grade of the root we find the following derivatives: σπόρος [m.] 'seed, sowing' (Att.), -ιμος 'fit for sowing', τὰ -α 'sowing fields' (X., Thphr., LXX et al.). σπορά [f.] 'sowing, seed, procreation, descent' (trag., Pl., Thphr. et al.), -αῖος 'sown' (Babr.); often with prefix, e.g. διασπορά [f.] 'dispersal, exile' (LXX, Ph., Plu. et al.). From σπόρος or σπορά: ὁμό-σπορος 'of the same seed, kindred' (poet. *h. Cer.*); σπορ-εύς (κατα-, δια-) [m.] 'sower, begetter' (X., pap. et al.). σπορητός [m.] 'sowing, seed' (A., X., Thphr.), after ἁλοητός, ἄμητος, etc.; σποράς, -άδος 'dispersed' (IA), αἱ Σποράδες group of islands, with -άδην 'dispersed' (Att., etc.), -αδικός 'id.' (Arist.), -άσαι [aor.] 'to disperse' (inscr.). ἐπισπορ-ίη [f.] 'second sowing' (Hes.), ἐπίσπορος (A.); περισπόρ-ια [n.pl.] 'suburbs' (LXX).
The zero grade of the root is found in the following derivatives: σπαρ-τός 'sown' (A. et al.); οἱ Σπαρτοί [m.pl.] lit. 'the sown ones', of the dragon seed of Cadmos (Pi. et al.); see also ▸σπαρνός.
•ETYM Cognate with Hitt. *išpār-ⁱ* 'to spread out, strew' < **spor-ei*. On the details of the Hittite reconstruction, see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. No further cognates are known; Arm. *sp'iṙ* 'strews', *sp'ṙem* 'spread out', *p'arat* 'spread out, separated', is unrelated, as it cannot be connected on formal grounds. See further LIV² s.v. 3. **sper-*, and cf. also the litt. on ▸σπαίρω.

σπέλεθος [m.] 'dung' (Ar. *Ec.* 595). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR πέλεθος (*Ach.* 1170, S. *Ichn.* 414).
•COMP ὑ-σπέλεθος 'pig's dung' (D.C. 46, 5, Poll. 5, 91), πελεθο-βάψ [m., f.] 'who washes away ordure' (Hdn. Gr. 1, 246, 12; H.).
•DER σπέλληξι· σπελέθοις, πελλία· σπέλεθοι (H.).
•ETYM For the final syllable, cf. σπύραθος, ὄνθος; on the anlaut, see Schwyzer: 334. Connection with PIE **spelH-* 'to split' (cf. LIV² s.v.) in σπολάς, (ά)σπάλαξ, etc. is semantically possible; cf. e.g. MoHG *scheißen* < *'to separate', related to σχίζω 'split'. The second -ε- would then reflect **h*₁. Alternatively, the geminate -λλ- in the variants may point to Pre-Greek origin, in which case the root could reflect **(s)palʲ-*.

σπένδω [v.] 'to offer a libation, pour, bestow' (Il.); 'to agree on a ceasefire (while performing a libation)'; also 'to reassure, promise; to secure sth.' (Gortyn), see Willetts *Glotta* 43 (1965): 251ff. ◂IE **spend-* 'libate'▸
•VAR Aor. σπεῖσαι (Il.), fut. σπείσω (Hdt., etc.), perf. ἔσπεικα (Plu.); med. σπένδομαι, σπείσασθαι, σπείσομαι, ἔσπεισμαι (IA).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐπι-.
•DER σπονδή [f.] 'libation, offering of wine' (B 341 = Δ 159), plur. usually 'ceasefire agreement, truce, peace treaty, pax dei' (IA, etc.). σπονδο-φόρος [m.] 'herald of the truce, the pax dei' (Pi.); ὑπό-σπονδος 'under a ceasefire agreement, under safe-conduct' (IA).
σπονδ-εῖος 'belonging to the offering', also metrically 'spondeus' (D. H. et al.), -εῖον [n.] 'libation vessel' (Hell.); also -ειακός, -ειάζω, -ειασμός (late); -ικός 'belonging to

the offering' (pap.); -ήσιμια [n.pl.] 'id.' (Philem.), after όνή-σιμος, etc.; cf. also παρασπόνδησις (Plb.) from παρασπονδ-έω to παρά-σπονδος; σπονδ-ῖτις (σταγών) 'id.' (*AP*); σπόνδικες· οἱ τὰς σπονδὰς χέοντες 'those who libate' (H.). See especially Citron 1965.

•ETYM Cognates: Hitt. *išpānt-^{i} / išpant-*, 3sg. *šipanti, išpanti* 'to libate' (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); Lat. *spondeō* 'to pledge, promise', ToB *spänt-* 'to trust', all reflecting a PIE root **spend-*.

σπέος [n.] 'cavern, cave' (epic Il., also Cypr. inscr.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Also σπεῖος; gen. σπείους, dat. σπῆϊ, plur. σπέσσι, σπήεσσι, etc. (details in Chantraine 1942: 7, 11, 101, Schwyzer: 102, Ruijgh 1957: 126f.).

•ETYM Cf. ▸*σπήλαιον*. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (Fur.: 123).

σπέργουλος ⇒σποργίλος.

σπέρχομαι [v.] 'to come rushing in, huddle, be upset, be impassioned'; act. σπέρχω with ἐπι-, κατα- 'to press, incite, spur', also trans. (mostly epic poet., Il.). ◂IE **sperǵʰ-* 'hurry'▸

•VAR Only in present stem, except aor. pass. ptc. σπερχθείς (Pi., Hdt.) and fut. σπέρξομαι· ὀργισθήσομαι 'will be provoked', aor. ἐσπερξάμην· ἠπείλησα, ὠργίσθην 'promised or threatened, was provoked' (H.).

•COMP Mostly with ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-.

•DER In περι-, ἐπι-σπερχής 'hurried' (S., X. et al.) to περι-, ἐπι-σπέρχω; but ἀ-σπερχές 'vigorous, intense' (Hom.) from *σπέρχος [n.], beside which σπερχ-νός 'swift, hasty, violent' (Hes. *Sc.*, Hp., A. et al.) like in e.g. ἔρεβος 'darkness' to ἐρεμνός 'dark'. σπέργδην· ἐρρωμένως 'vigorously' and κατασπερχάδην 'urgently' (cod. -άτην) (H.) (see Latte ad loc.); σπερχυλλάδην κέκραγας 'shouting vehemently' (*Com. Adesp.* 30). Also in PNs like Σπερχ-ύλος, -ων, -ις and the HN Σπερχ-ειός (like Ἀλφειός, Πηνειός).

•ETYM The form σπέρχομαι reflects a full grade **sperǵʰ-*, while the zero grade of this root is attested in Av. *a-spərəzatā* [ipf.] 'he was diligently exerting himself', Skt. *spṛhayati* 'to be zealous, zealously desire'. OHG *springan* 'jump', OCS *-pręže* 'tighten' < PIE **spr-en-gʰ-* probably does not reflect a nasal present of this root, in view of the non-palatal velar of Slavic and the remote semantics; see further LIV^{2} s.vv. **sperǵʰ-* and **(s)prengʰ-*.

σπεύδω [v.] 'to hurry, hasten, strive, exert oneself', trans. 'to drive, quicken, ply, aspire after'. ◂IE **speud-* 'press, drive, hurry'▸

•VAR Aor. σπεῦσαι, fut. σπεύσομαι (Il.), σπεύσω (E. et al.), σπευσίω (Cret.), perf. ἔσπευκα (Hell.), rare med. σπεύ-δομαι (A.), pass. ἔσπευσμαι (late).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, συ-. Further in κενό-σπουδ-ος 'seriously prosecuting frivolities', also -έω, -ία (Hell.). κατάσπευ-σις (το κατα-σπεύδω) [f.] 'hurry' (Thd.; σπεῦσις *gloss.*), σπευσ-τός (Phryn.), -τικός (ἐπι-) 'hurried' (Arist., Eust.).

•DER σπουδ-ή [f.] 'haste, zeal, labor, seriousness, good will' (Il.), hence -αῖος 'zealous, striving, serious, good' (IA), -αιότης [f.] (Pl. *Def.*, LXX et al.), σπούδ-ᾱξ· ἀλετρίβανος

'pestle' (H.) (cf. below); σπουδ-άζω [v.] 'to be quick, carry on seriously, etc.' (IA), also with ἐπι-, κατα-, συ-, etc.; thence -ασμα, -ασμάτιον, -ασμός, -αστής, -αστός, -αστικός.

•ETYM The only certain cognate is Lith. *spáusti* < **spauə̂d-ti* 'to press, squeeze', also 'to push, drive on', intr. 'to hurry' (see LIV² s.v. **speud-*). A trace of the meaning 'push' has also been sugested for σπούδαξ = ἀλετρίβανος 'pestle of a mortar'. The word σπουδή has a formal cognate in Lith. *spaudà* [f.] 'pressure, literature'. There is also, with zero grade and a long vowel as a result of Winter's Law, *spūdà* [f.] 'throng, urgency, pressure' and *spūdėti* 'to be oppressed, thrust down, pain oneself, meddle'. Perhaps Alb. *punë* 'work, business' is also related, if from **spud-nā*.

σπήλαιον [n.] 'cave, cavern' (Pl., LXX, NT et al.). ◂PG(V)▸

•DER σπηλαιώδης 'cave-like', -αἴτης [m.] 'god of caves' (Paus.), -άδιον [n.] (Theopomp. Com.), after the diminutives in -άδιον; not -ᾰ́διον; cf. Hdn. Gr. 2, 488, 12. Also σπῆλυγξ, -υγγος [f.] 'id.' (Arist., Theoc., A. R. et al.) with σπηλυγγ-ώδης (*EM*), -οειδής (sch.).

•ETYM Both σπήλαιον and σπῆλυγξ are enlargements of a root σπηλ-: for σπῆλυγξ, cf. the semantically close σῆραγξ 'hollow rock', φάραγξ 'cleft', and also φάρυγξ 'throat', λάρυγξ 'larynx'; σπήλαιον may be formed after ὑπό-γαιον 'underground chamber'. Borrowed as Lat. *spēlaeum* and *spēlunca* (see WH s.v.), and as Alb. *shpellë* 'rock, cave'. Fur.: 123 reconstructs a Gr. form **σπῆλυξ, -ῡκος*, from Lat. **spēlūca*. He further adduces πῆλυξ = ῥαγάς 'fissure' (H., Phot.) and refers to Etr. *śpel(a)* 'cave, tomb'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (note the prenasalization and the suffix -υγγ-).

σπῆλυγξ, -υγγος ⇒σπήλαιον.

σπίδιος [adj.] 'extensive, wide' (σπίδιον μῆκος ὁδοῦ 'length of a road' A. *Fr.* 378 = 733 M.), σπιδόθεν = μακρόθεν 'from afar' (Antim. 77); σπιδνόν· πυκνόν, συνεχές, πεπηγός 'close or compact, holding together, fixed'; σπιδόεν· μέλαν, πλατύ, σκοτεινόν, πυκνόν, μέγα 'black, wide or broad, dark, close or compact, great' (H.). ◂?▸

•DER Cf. further σπιδέος [gen.sg.] (Λ 753) beside v.l. ἀσπιδέος; if correct, probably from **σπιδύς*; see also ▸ἐλεσπίδας and ▸ἀσπίς 1. Verbal derivative σπίζω = ἐκτείνω 'stretch out' (sch. Ar. *V.* 18, Eust.).

•ETYM An obsolete group of words, which seems to have lived on only in the learned and poetic language. The authors were obviously no longer certain about the meaning (cf. H.'s explanation of σπιδόεν). The root σπιδ- can be compared to Lat. *spissus* 'laborious, slow, dense' (< **spid-tos* or **spit-tos*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v.). Lith. *spìsti*, 1sg.pres. *spintù* 'to begin to swarm (of bees), to gather' < **spit-* is probably not related, in view of the different dental. The word ▸σπάω is not related.

σπίζω [v.] 'to squeak, chirp', of birds (Arat., Thphr.). ◂EUR▸

•VAR Also σπίνος [m.] 'finch' (com., Thphr., Arat.) with σπιν-ίον, -ίδιον (com.); byforms: σπίνα· ὁ σπίνος 'siskin', σπινθία· εἶδος ὀρνιθαρίων 'kind of bird', σπίνοι

'siskins'; σπίγγον· σπίνον 'id.'; also πίγγαν· νεόσσιον. Ἀμερίας 'young bird', σπύγγας· ὄρνις 'bird' (H.).

•DER σπίζα [f.] 'common chaffinch' (S. *Fr.* 431, Arist., Timo), σπιζία· τὰ ὄρνεα ἅπαντα 'all birds' (H.); σπιζ-ίας [m.] 'sparrow hawk' (Arist.), = εἶδος ἱέρακος 'kind of hawk or falcon' (H.), -ίτης [m.] (Arist.), = εἶδος αἰγιθάλου ὀρνέου 'kind of titmouse' (H.); ὀρό-σπιζος [m.] 'brambling' (Arist.).

•ETYM Cf. similar ►τρίζω 'to buzz, gnash, squeak'. The other forms, including σπίζω, σπίζα, but with the exception of πίγγαν, can be derived from *σπιγγ- and connected to OHG *fincho*, OE *finc* 'finch' < PGm. **fink(i̯)an-*, **finki-*, which lacks the initial **s-*. Within Greek, this etymon resembles σπιγνόν· μικρόν, βραχύ, and σπίκανον· σπάνιον. The connection with Germanic may point to a European 'Wanderwort'.

σπιθαμή [f.] 'span, the range between the stretched thumbs and the little finger' (IA). ◅PG?▻

•COMP τρι-σπίθαμος 'measuring three spans' (Hes. *Op.* 426 et al.), cf. den Boer *Mnem.* 4:9 (1956): 3.

•DER σπιθαμ-ιαῖος 'one span wide' (Hp., Arist. et al.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ►παλάμη 'palm of the hand', ►δόχμη 'a hand's breadth', ►πυγμή 'distance from the elbow to the knuckles'; for the suffix -θ-, cf. also σπιθίαι· σανίδες νεώς 'planks of a ship' (H.). No known cognates; probably Pre-Greek.

σπιλάς [f.] 'storm, squall' (Plu., Hld. 5, 31, *AP* 7, 382). ◅PG(V)▻

•DER κατα-σπιλάζω [v.] 'to storm'.

•ETYM Fur.: 373 connects ἄσπιλος· χείμαρρος ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων 'torrent (Maced.)' (H.); the word is Pre-Greek in view of the variation.

σπίλος 1 [f.] 'rock, reef' (Ion. Trag., Arist., Lyc., *Peripl. M. Rubr.* et al.). ◅PG?▻

•VAR Additionally (favored by the meter in the oblique cases) σπιλάς, -άδος [f.], mostly plur. -άδες 'id.' (Od.); also of πέτρα (A. R.); -αδώδης 'rocky' (Str.). PN Σπιλαδίας (Eretria III[a]; see under σπιλάς, Bechtel 1914).

•COMP διά-σπιλος (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*).

•DER σπιλώδης (Arist., Plb.) 'rocky'.

•ETYM No cognates outside Greek; probably Pre-Greek.

σπίλος 2 [m.] 'spot, stain, blemish'. ◅?▻

•VAR -ῑ- (Hdn. Gr.). Also σπιλάς, -άδος [f.] 'id.' (*Ep. Jud.*[?], Orph.).

•COMP ἄ-σπιλος 'spotless, without blemish' (Hell.).

•DER σπιλόομαι, -όω 'to become stained, make stains, stain, besmirch' (Hell.), κατα-σπιλάζω 'to stain, conceal' (H., *EM*).

•ETYM No etymology.

σπινθήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'spark' (Δ 77, Ar., Arist., Plb., etc.). ◅PG?▻

•DER σπινθ-ηρίζω 'to sparkle, cause sparks' (Thphr., Plu.), άπο- 'id.' (Arist.), -ισμοί (H. and Suid.). Also σπινθαρίδες [pl.] (*h. Ap.*), -άρυγες [pl.] (A. R.), σπίνθραξ, -ᾶκος [m.] (Sext. *Ca.*) 'id.'.

On the bird names σπινθαρίς = Lat. *spin-turnix* see Thompson 1895 and WH s.v.

•ETYM For σπινθήρ, cf. ἀστήρ 'star', αἰθήρ 'ether'; σπίνθραξ, like ἄνθραξ 'charcoal'; σπινθαρ-ίδες, like ἐσχάρ-α 'fireplace'; σπινθάρυγ-ες, like μαρμαρυγ-αί 'sparklings'. Reminiscent of Lith. *spindžiù, spindėti*, Latv. *spîdêt, spīdêt* 'to gleam, beam' < **spn̥d-*, Latv. *spuôdrs* 'white, gleaming' < **spond-ro-*, but formally impossible to connect. The Baltic words reflect a root **spend-*, without **-i-* and with root-final **-d-* because of the acute accentuation. On the attempt by Niedermann *IF* 26 (1909): 58f. to connect Lat. *scintilla* with σπινθήρ from a Mediterranean form **stint^{h}-*, see further Pariente *Emerita* 20 (1952): 394ff.

σπινός [adj.] 'meager' (Procl.). ◂?▸

•DER σπινώδης (Ptol.).

•ETYM Formation as in ἰσχνός 'withered'. Though the attestation is late, probably an old word, and connected with ▸σπίδιος. Hardly related to OIr. *séim* 'meager' < quasi-IE **speimi-*; see Matasović 2008 s.v. **sfēmi-*.

σπίνος 'finch'. ⇒σπίζω.

σπλάγχνα ⇒σπλήν.

σπλεκόω [v.] 'to copulate'. ◂?▸

•VAR σπλεκοῦν (Ar. *Lys.* 152 Dindorf ex H. et Poll.; codd. πλεκοῦν), διεσπλε-κωμένη (Ar. *Pl.* 1082), κατασπλεκῶσαι (cod. -άσαι)· κατελάσαι 'to drive or push down' (H.).

•COMP Also with δια- and κατα-.

•DER σπλέκωμα [n.] (sch. Ar. *Pl.* 1082).

•ETYM The well-attested form πλεκοῦν may have lost its σ- secondarily (cf. Schwyzer: 334); no further etymology.

σπληδός [f.]? 'ash' (Lyc. 483, Nic. *Th.* 763). ◂?▸

•VAR σπληδώ· σποδὸς λεπτή, κόνις 'fine ashes, dust' (H.).

•ETYM Perhaps a contamination of σποδός and another, semantically close word (χλῆδος?). No cognates outside Greek.

σπλήν, σπληνός [m.] 'spleen' (IA), metaphorically 'compress' (Hp.), cf. -ίον; αἰγὸς σπλήν a plant name 'mallow, cheeseweed' (Ps.-Dsc.). ◂IE **spl(ē)g^{h}-n-* 'spleen'▸

•COMP ἄ-σπλην-ον [n.], -ος [m.] 'miltwaste' (Dsc. et al.), supposed to cure the spleen. See Strömberg 1940: 86, where ἀ- is wrongly interpreted as prothetic; cf. Vitr. I 4, 10.

•DER σπλην-ίον [n.], -ίσκον [n.], -ίσκος [m.], -άριον [n.] 'compress' (Hp., Dsc., Samos IV^{a}); -ίον also as a name of several plants (Dsc.; cf. ἄσπληνον). σπλην-ίτης, fem. -ῖτις 'belonging to the spleen, disease of the spleen' (medic.); σπλην-ικός 'belonging to the spleen, splenetic' (Hp., Hell. com., etc.), -ώδης 'id.' (Hp.). σπληνιάω 'to be splenetic' (Arist. et al.). Furthermore σπλάγχνα [n.pl.] 'interior organs (heart, liver, lungs, kidneys), intestines' (Il.), sing. rarely also secondarily as designations of individual organs (A., Pl., Arist.), metaphorically (plur. and sing.) 'heart' = 'mental state' (trag.), 'compassion, commiseration, charity' (LXX, NT).

In compounds, e.g. σπλαγχνο-φάγος 'eating intestines' (LXX), εὖ-σπλαγχνος 'having healthy intestines' (Hp.), 'compassionate' (LXX, NT), σπλαγχν-ίδια [n.pl.]

diminutive (Diph.), -ίδης (*UPZ* 89, 3 and 13; form and mg. doubtful, cf. Wilcken ad loc.), -ικός 'belonging to σ.' (Dsc., pap.); -ίζομαι 'to commiserate' (LXX, NT); -ίζω, -εύω 'to consume intestines' (Cos IV^{a}, LXX, Ar. et al.), -ισμός [m.] (LXX); -εύω, -εύομαι 'to predict from intestines' (Str.).

•ETYM An *n*-stem is found in other names of body parts, like φρήν, άδήν, αὐχήν, etc., but these all inflect with root ablaut. Several IE subfamilies show similar words for 'spleen', but the differences between them are too substantial to be able to reconstruct a single IE word for 'spleen'. We find Lat. *liēn* 'spleen' (< **lihēn* < **(sp)lihēn*) < **(s)liǵʰ-ēn-*; CS *slězena* 'spleen' < **s(p)lēǵʰ-n-* or **s(p)leh₁ǵʰ-n-*; MBret. *felch* 'spleen' < **spelǵʰ-*; Skt. *plīhán-*, Av. *spərəzan-* < **(s)plh₁ǵʰ-n-*. It is probable that Arm. *p'aycaln* is somehow related, as well.

The exact reconstruction of the Greek forms is unclear. We should start from *σπληχ-, *σπλαχ- (= Av. *spərəz-an-*), an *n*-stem like Lat. *liēn*, etc. Anticipation of the nasal gives σπλαγχν-. The form σπλήν may have arisen haplologically for *σπληχ-ήν (after monosyllabic φρήν), or is it from **splēngʰ*? On σπλήν and σπλάγχνα, see further Egli 1954: 44ff. and Schwyzer: 489[1]. Borrowed as Lat. *splēn* (>> MoE *spleen*, etc.).

σπόγγος [m.] 'sponge (for wiping off)', metaphorically also of sponge-like objects, e.g. 'gland' (Il.). ◂EUR?▸

•VAR Also σφόγγος (certain in Hell. and late inscr.), see Hiersche 1964: 207f.

•COMP σπογγο-θήρας [m.] 'sponge hunter or gatherer' (Plu.).

•DER Diminutive σπογγ-ίον [n.] (Ar., Dsc.), -άριον [n.] (M. Ant. et al.); -ιά [f.] = σπόγγος (Ar., Aeschin., Arist., Aret. et al.), on the accent see Scheller 1951: 73; -ίας [m.] 'id.' (Ar. *Fr.* 856); -εύς [m.] (-ιεύς) 'sponge gatherer' (Arist., Thphr.); -ώδης 'spongy, porous' (Hp., Arist., Dsc.); -ῖτις 'id.' (Plin., Aët.); -ίζω 'to wipe off' (Hp., Att., etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.; -ιστική (τέχνη) 'wiping' (Pl.).

•ETYM An old Wanderwort, identical to Arm. *sunk*, *sung* 'mushroom, cork-tree' and Lat. *fungus* 'mushroom, sea-, tree-mushroom, mushroom-like ulcer'. Borrowed as Lat. *spongia* (from σπογγιά), with *spongiōsus*, etc.

σποδός [f.] 'ash, ember, metal ashes, dust' (Ion. ι 375, trag., etc.). ◂PG(V)▸

•COMP σποδο-ειδής 'ash-colored' (Hp., Arist. et al.), ἔν-σποδος 'id.' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1946: 128 and 130.

•DER σποδ-ιά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'heap of ashes, ash' (ε 488, Hp., E. *Cyc.* 615 [lyr.], Pl. Com., LXX, *AP* et al.), see Scheller 1951: 67; thence -ιώδης 'ash-colored' (Erot.), -ιαῖος 'id., gilvus' (gloss.), -ιάς [f.] 'wild plum, Prunus insititia (?)' (Thphr.).

Further -ιον [n.] 'metal ash' (Poseidon., Dsc.), with -ιακός 'made of σ.' (late medic.); -(ε)ιος 'of ash(es)' (Semon. et al.); -ώδης 'ashlike', of color and taste (App., Gal.); -ίτης ἄρτος 'bread baked in ashes' (Hp., Diph.); also σποδεύς 'id.' (see s.v. on ▸σπολάς).

Denominative verbs: σποδ-όομαι 'to be burnt to ashes' (Hp., Lyc., *AP*), συνεσποδωμένον· συγκεκομμιένον ·concise' (H.); -ώσασθαι 'to bestrew with ashes' (LXX); -ίζω 'to roast in the ashes' (Pl., Ar.), intr. 'to be ash-colored' (Dsc.), also with ὑπο-; σποδέω 'to crunch, smash, grind', also sensu obsc.; of food 'to consume,

swallow' (often in Ar., com., A., E.), also with κατα-, άπο-, δια-; cf. κατα-σποδέω 'to stretch down in the dust' (A., Ar.); here also σποδ-όρχης [m.] 'eunuch' (Eust.), see Maaß *RhM* N. F. 74 (1925): 432ff.

•ETYM Fur.: 154 convincingly connects ἄσβολος 'soot, dust of coals' and *σπολός in σπολεύς (according to Frisk s.v. σπολάς, wrong for *σποδεύς). The word would then be Pre-Greek.

σπολάς, -άδος [f.] 'leather harness, jerkin' (S. *Fr.* 11, Ar., X.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM A formation in -άς from a verbal noun *σπόλος or *σπολή. Related to ►ἀσπάλαξ? Perhaps from a verb for 'split, tear off' (IE *spel-), in which case it may be related to σπόλια· τὰ παρατιλλόμενα ἐρίδια ἀπὸ τῶν σκελῶν τῶν προβάτων 'wool plucked off the legs of sheep', ἄσπαλον· σκῦτος 'skin, hide' (H.), but hardly to Thess. σπόλος 'pole' (*IG* 9(2), p. XI [II^a]), if = 'split wood'. The word σπολεύς 'kind of bread' (Philet. *apud* Ath. 3, 114e) may belong here, or be mistaken for σποδεύς (see ►σποδός).

From other languages: Lat. *spolium* 'skin, hide; arms, spoils' (= σπόλια), Lith. *spālis* 'beard (= part of the stalk of flax)', pl. *spāliai* 'parts of the stalk', OCS *polъ* 'sex, half', MoHG *spalten* 'to cleave', Go. *spilda* 'writing tablet', all reflecting a root *spel(H)- 'what is split, stripped off' (see also LIV^2 s.v., but Skt. *phalati* 'to burst' is probably unrelated). Cf. further ►στέλλω and ►ψαλίς. If Lat. *spolium* can be a loan from Greek, the Greek forms may also reflect the Pre-Greek root that is also seen in ἄσπαλον 'mole'.

σπονδύλη, σπόνδυλος ⇒σφονδύλη, σφόνδυλος.

σποργίλος [m.] a bird, probably 'sparrow' (Ar. *Av.* 300 with allusion to a PN). ◂?▸

•DER σπέργουλος (also π-)· ὀρνιθάριον ἄγριον 'small wild bird' and σπαράσιον· ὄρνεον ἐμφερὲς στρουθῷ 'bird resembling a sparrow' (H.). Also στρουθὸς πυργίτης 'house-sparrow' (Gal.).

•ETYM The word σποργ-ίλος is formed like ὀρχίλος, τροχίλος, and other bird names; σπέργουλος is dialectal for *σπεργ-ύλος, like κηρύλος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 249 and 251). The forms with -γ- have a counterpart in Germanic and Baltic: MHG *sperke*, OPr. *spurglis*, *spergle-* 'sparrow-', which may point to a European substrate word or a Wanderwort. See also Thompson 1895 s.v. Cf. also ►ψάρ and ►σπαράσιον.

σπόρθυγγες ⇒σπύραθοι.

σπύραθοι [pl.] 'droppings of goats and sheep' (Hp., Dsc.). ◂PG? < EUR▸

•VAR πύραθοι (Nic.).

•DER Diminutive σπυράθια [pl.] (Dsc.); collective σφυραθία [f.] (Poll.; cf. κοπρία 'dunghill'); adj. σπυραθώδης 'like sheep's droppings' (Hp.). Further σπυράδες [f.pl.] 'pills' (Hp.), σφυράδες [f.pl.] = σπύραθοι (Ar., Arist.). Also σπόρθυγγες· αἱ συνεστραμμέναι μετὰ ῥύπου τρίχες 'hair matted with filth' and σπορθύγγια· τρίβολα 'water-chestnut'. τὰ διαχωρή<μα>τα τῶν αἰγῶν, ἅ τινες σπυράδας καλοῦσιν 'excrement of goats' (H.). Note also σπύρδαρα 'dung' (Poll. 5, 91).

•ETYM For the formation of σπύραθοι, cf. (σ)πέλεθος 'dung', ὄνθος 'id.', ψάμαθοι 'grains of sand'; σπυράδες is like λιθάδες 'stones', ἰσχάδες 'dried figs', etc.

Similar words are found in Lith. *spìros* [f.pl.] 'droppings of goats, hares, and other small animals' < **sprH-*, MoIc. *sparð* [n.] 'droppings', *sperðill* [m.] 'kind of sausage' < **sporH-to-*, but they can only be related if Greek σπυρ-/ σφυρ- reflects earlier **sporh₂-*. The Greek alternations in (σ)π/φυρ-αθ/δ- could very well point to Pre-Greek origin.

σπυρθίζω [v.] 'to kick, lash out (of a donkey)' (Ar. *F r.* 857). ◅?▻

•VAR σπυρθίζειν· σπᾶσθαι καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν. πυδαρίζειν καὶ σφύζειν 'to be drawn, be irritated; to dance, throb or beat violently' (H.).

•ETYM If σπυρ- reflects **spor-*, it derives from the same root as ▻σπαίρω. Cognates with the same suffix **-dʰ-* may be seen in Skt. *spárdhate* 'to compete, dispute', *spṛdh-* [f.] 'competition, dispute', Go. *spaurds* [f.], OE *spyrd* [m.] 'running-match, course'.

σπυρίς [f.] 'basket' (IA, etc.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR σφυρίς (Hp. v.l., Hell. and late), -ίδος.

•COMP σπυριδο-φόρος 'basket-carrying' (pap. II^{a}).

•DER Diminutives σπυρ-ίδιον (com. et al.; σφ- Hell. pap.), -ίχνιον (Poll.; like κυλίχνη et al.); also -ιδώδης 'basket-like', -ιδόν [adv.] 'shaped like a basket' (sch.).

•ETYM The word σπυρ-ίς is formed like σκαφίς 'bowl', etc., either from a noun (*σπυρός vel sim.) or directly from a verb. It is hardly related to σπάρτον 'rope, cable' via a meaning *'twine', as the variation σπ-/σφ- shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Fur.: 241 further compares σύριχος (Alex.), σύρισσος (Poll.), σύρισκος (H.), ὑριχός (Ar.), ὕρισχος (Phryn.), ὑρίσκος (H.), ὑρίσσος (H.), all 'twined basket', if from *σϝύριχος.

σταγών ⇒στάζω.

στάδην ⇒στάδιος.

στάδιον [n.] 'racecourse, stadium', secondarily also a measure of varying length, in Hdt. 2, 149 = 100 ὀργυιαί or 6 πλέθρα (Thgn., Pi., IA). ◅?▻

•VAR Plur. -ια and -ιοι (scil. δρόμοι).

•COMP σταδιο-δρόμος [m.] 'racer' (Simon., Att.), later σταδια- 'id.' (Hell. and late inscr.), a hypercorrect formation after the plur. στάδια; often as a second member, especially after numerals, e.g. ὀκτα-στάδιος (also ὀκτω-) 'measuring eight σ.' (Plb., Str.).

•DER σταδι-εύς [m.] 'racer' (Plb. et al.), -εύω 'to run for the wager' (Arist. et al.), -αῖος 'measuring one σ.' (Plb., D. H. et al.), -ασμός [m.] 'measuring by stadia' (Str. et al.).

•ETYM Perhaps an original folk-etymological transformation of σπάδιον (Argiv.; see ▻σπάω), after στάδιος? Bechtel 1921, 2: 473 assumes that στάδιον is original and that σπάδιον arose through dissimilation. Borrowed as Lat. *stadium* 'race-course'.

στάδιος [adj.] 'upright, standing still, firm, immobile, lying on the balance = weighed, etc.' (Il., Pi., Hell. and late epic, D. C.), in the Il. only dat. σταδίῃ as an attribute of ὑσμίνῃ 'fight' or, on its own, 'in close combat'; ἐν αὐτο-σταδίῃ (*N* 325) 'id.'; cf. Trümpy 1950: 112f. and Krarup *Class. et Med.* 10 (1949): 7. ◅GR▻

•VAR σταδία· λυχνία 'lamp' (H.).
•COMP ὀρθο-στάδιον [n.] 'chiton running straight downwards' (Ar. et al.), also στάδιος, στατὸς χιτών.
•DER σταδαῖος 'id.' (A., Ti. Locr. et al.), also Th. 4, 38 v.l. of σταδία.
•ETYM Adjectival derivative from the adverb στά-δην 'in standing posture' with the suffixes -ιο- and -αιο-, like ἐκτάδ-ιος from ἐκτά-δην (from ἐκ-τείνω); see Chantraine 1933: 39 and Schwyzer: 467 and 626. See ►ἵστημι.

στάζω [v.] 'to let drip (in), shed', intr. 'to drip' (post-Hom.). ◄?►
•VAR Aor. στάξαι (Il.), fut. στάξω (Pi., etc.), aor. pass. σταχθῆναι (Hp.), σταγῆναι (Dsc.), perf. pass. ἔστακται (Od.).
•COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, ἐν-, ἐπι.-, etc.
•DER σταγ-ών, -όνος [f.] 'drop' (trag., Hp., middle com., Hell. and late), hence -ονίας, -ονῖτις, -ονιαῖος (late); also στάγ-ες [pl.] (A. R. 4, 626), which is probably a back-formation, cf. below.
σταγ-ετός [m.] 'id.' (Aq.), like ὑετός, etc.; σταγ-μα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'the dripping, drop, aromatic oil' (A., Gal., pap. et al.), ἐπι-, κατα-σταγμός [m.] 'dripping of the nose, sniffing' (late medic.). στάξις (ἀπό-κατά-) [f.] 'the dripping', especially of blood from the nose (Hp., Gal.). στακτός 'dripping' (IA), -τή [f.] 'myrrh oil' (Antiph., Plb. et al.), -τά [n.pl.] 'resins' (medic.); ἔνστακτον [n.] 'the dripping in' (Gal.); στα<κ>τικόν· πεμμάτιον πλακουντοειδές. ἄλλοι δὲ ἀγγεῖα διυλίζοντα Νειλῶον ὕδωρ 'small cake; vessels filtering water from the Nile' (H.). ἐπι-στάκτης [m.] 'woolen thread for oil-dripping' (late medic.); στακτερία (for -τηρία) [f.] 'bottle for myrrh oil' (pap. VI-VII^{p}). στάγ-δην 'drop by drop' (Hp., Aret.). Στάζουσα [f.] source in Sicyon (Krahe *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 2 (1950-1951): 230).
•ETYM The present στάζω reflects *σταγ-ιω and forms the basis of the other forms. The form στάγες is probably a backformation from σταγόνες (Schwyzer: 424). Often connected to Lat. *stāgnum* 'standing water, pool' and OBret. *staer* 'river, brook' < **stag-rā*. The semantics of this etymology are not obvious, but the connection remains possible.

σταθερός ⇒στάθμη.

σταθεύω [v.] 'to scorch, roast, fry' (Ar., Arist., Thphr.). ◄PG(V)►
•DER -ευτός 'scorched' (A. *Pr.* 22), -ευσις (v.l. στατ-) [f.] 'scorching' (Arist.).
•ETYM Perhaps the word contains the synonymous εὔω, but the rest is unclear. Fur.: 191, on the other hand, compares στάτευσις (Arist., Alex. Aphr. *in Mete.* 186) = στάθευσις, which would indicate Pre-Greek origin.

στάθμη [f.] 'directive, carpenter's line, finish line, plumb line, rule, norm' (since *O* 410). ◄GR►
•COMP ὑποστάθμη (to ὑπο- στῆναι) [f.] 'sediment, lees, foundation' (Pl., Hp. et al.). σταθμι-οῦχος [m.] 'owner of goods, etc.' (A. *Fr.* 226 = 376 M., Antiph., pap. et al.), ἐπί-σταθμιος [m.] 'quartermaster' (Isoc.), 'military quartered on another' (pap.; Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 175); ναύ-σταθμον [n.] (Th.), secondary -ος [m.] (Plb., D. S.,

Plu.) 'anchorage, fleet station, fleet'; originally a substantivized adjective like βούσταθμιον.

•DER σταθμι-άομαι (Ion. -έομαι) 'to measure (by the directive), estimate, gauge, weigh' (Pi., IA), also with δια-, ἐπι-, ἀντι-; thence -ημα, -ησις, -ητικός (late). σταθμ-ίζω 'id.' (Aq., Sm.), also with δια-. σταθμός [m.] 'location, stable, farmstead, night lodgings, travel stage, day's march; pillar, post, jamb; balance, weight, heaviness' (Il.); plur. also -μά [n.] (after τάλαντα, ζυγά), to which sing. -όν 'weight, balance' (IA), poet. also 'homestead, farmstead; jamb, etc.' (trag. et al.). σταθμ-ίον [n.] 'balance, weight' (Hell. and late); -ικός 'of weighing' (Gal.); -ώδης 'rich in sediment' (Hp.), cf. ὑποστάθμη; σταθμι-ίζω 'to weigh', also with δια-, συν-, etc.; hence -ισις [f.] 'the weighing', -ιστής [m.] 'weigher', -ιστί [adv.] 'by weight', -ιστικός 'for weighing' (late); σταθμι-εύω 'to take up or have quarters, etc.', also with κατα-, ἐπι-; also -εία [f.] (late).

•ETYM Formation like βαθμός, θεθμός, ῥυθμός, etc. A derivative of the root of ►ἵστημι, PIE *$steh_2$-, with the suffixes -θ- and -μο-. The suffix -θ- also appears in εὐσταθής 'standing firm, quiet' (Ion. Hell. and late since Il.), which was probably built on the aor. ἐστάθην (Risch 1937: 82). The synonymous and later attested form σταθερός (A. *Fr.* 276 = 479 M., etc.) may have been built from φανερός (or a similar example) under the influence of ἀ-φανής.

σταῖς, σταιτός [n.] 'wheat flour turned to dough with water' (Ion., Eup., Arist., Thphr., etc.). ◅IE▻

•VAR σταίς.

•COMP σταιτ-ουργός (written στετ-) [m.] 'mixer of σ.' (Ostr.).

•DER Diminutive σταιτ-ίον [n.] (*PMag. Par.*); -ινος 'made of σ.' (Hdt.), -ίτας [m.] 'bread of σ.' (Epich., Sophr.), -ώδης 'σ.-like' (Poll.), -ήϊα· πέμματος εἶδος 'kind of small cake', στα<ι>τίας· ἄρτου εἶδος 'kind of bread' (H.).

•ETYM The connection with the IE word for 'dough' in SCr. *tȉjesto* 'dough', OIr. *táis* 'id.' < *th_2eis-to-*, OHG *theismo* 'leaven' is semantically appealing. If related, the anlaut must have been influenced by στέαρ 'fat' (Pedersen 1909: 56). See also ►τήκω.

σταλάσσω [v.] 'to drip, shed drops, drop' (Sapph., E. et al.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also -άω (Hell. and late epic, *AP*, Luc.), -άζω (Aq., Plu., Luc.), -άττω (Porph.), aor. -άξαι (Ar., Lyc., LXX).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐν-, etc.

•DER σταλαγ-μός [m.] 'dripping, drop' (trag., Ar., Hp.), hence -μιαῖος 'calculated by the drop (of the water-clock)' (Vett. Val., etc.), -μίτης plant name (*Hippiatr.*); also -μα [n.] 'drop' (A., S., Scymn.). Lat. LW *stalagmia* [n.pl.] 'ear-drops', *stalagmiās* [m.] 'kind of copper-vitriol' (Plin. *HN*).

•ETYM Formation like παλάσσω, ῥαθάσσω, αἱμάσσω; the form σταλάω is metrically conditioned (after χαλάω, etc.), to which belongs σταλεηδόνες· σταλαγμοί (H.), perhaps metrical for σταλεδ- or στα-ληδ-?

The form σταλάσσω is an enlargement of στάζω. Usually derived from a root *(*s*)*tel*(h_2)- 'to drip' (see LIV² s.v. **stelh*$_2$*ḱ*-), whence also ►τέλμα 'puddle' and MoE *stale* 'urine' are derived. This seems possible, but is not very convincing in view of

the limited distribution, the vague semantics, and the *s*-mobile. See further on ►ἀνασταλύζω.

στάλιξ, -ῑκος [f.] 'plug or post for fastening a hunting-net' (Theoc., Plu., Opp., Poll.). ◄?►

•DER στάλιδας (-ίδας?)· τοὺς κάμακας ἢ χάρακας 'vine-props or -poles, pointed stakes' (H.), σταλίδων (X. *Cyn.* 2, 8 codd.; σχαλίδων Steph.).

•ETYM The suffix alternation recalls κλᾱϊκ-, from κληῑδ- 'bolt, key' (cf. s.v. ►κλείς); see Schwyzer: 496. Further analysis uncertain; the root could be that of either ►στέλλω or ►ἵστημι (with a suffix -λ-).

σταμῖνες [m.pl.] 'vertical side-beams of a ship*(Poll. 1, 92, H., *EM*). ◄PG?►

•VAR Acc. -ῖνας (Moschio *apud* Ath.), dat. -ῖνεσσι (ε 252, Nonn. *D.* 40, 446).

•ETYM Perhaps from ►ἵστημι, with a formation like ἐρμῖν-, ῥηγμῖν-, ὑσμῖν-, and like these words a derivation in -ῑν- from a stem in -μ- or -μ(ε)ν-. Cf. also ►στάμνος. The short ῐ in σταμῐ́νεσσι may be due to the meter; see Debrunner *REIE* 1 (1938): 1ff.

στάμνος [m., f.] 'big jar, especially a wine-jar' (IA). ◄IE **sth₂-mn-o-* 'standing'►

•DER Several diminutives: σταμν-ίον, -άριον [n.], -ίσκος [m.] (com., Hell. and late). PN Σταμνίας [m.] (Ar.). Denominative verb: σταμν-ίζω, only with κατα- and συν-, 'to pour into a jar, transfuse' (Thphr., Nic. et al.).

•ETYM Formation like ἐρυμνός (from ἔρυμα), λίμνη (from λιμήν), etc. (see Schwyzer: 524 and Chantraine 1933: 215). Probably from a noun *στᾶμα, *σταμήν or the like, 'stand, standing place'; the jar would thus be a large, standing one. Probably related to στάτος [m.] (substantivized from στατός) 'big jug' (Hell. inscr., H.), OHG *stanta* 'jug to be put somewhere', Lith. *statinė* 'barrel, cask'. A zero grade μ-derivation is also supposed in ►σταμῖνες; comparable formations in other languages are ToB *stām*, A *ṣtām* 'tree' (cf. *stäm-* 'to stand'), OHG *stam*, gen. *stammes* 'stem', which may reflect PGm. **stamna-* (IE **sth₂-mn-o-*). Cf. also ►στήμων. Borrowed as Alb. *shtâmbë, shtëmbë* [f.] 'bottle' (Mann *Lang.* 17 (1941): 23). Fur.: 227, 245 compares στάφος 'trough' with variation μ/φ; uncertain.

στασάνη [f.] ἐγγύη, ὑποθήκη 'surety, mortgage' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM No etymology.

στάσις [f.] 'standing, standing still, stand, location, position, political opinion, party, division' also 'placement, weighing, defrayal' (Alc., Thgn., Pi., IA), on the mg. see Bolling *AmJPh.* 82 (1961): 162f. ◄IE **steh₂-* 'stand', **sth₂-ti-*►

•COMP στασί-αρχος [m.] 'party leader' (A. et al.), ξενό-στασις 'inn for strangers' (S.). Often with prefix as a derivation of prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάστα-σις (to ἀν-ίσταμαι, -ίστημι) 'standing up, removal, making to stand up, expulsion' (IA).

•DER στάσ-ιμος 'standing (firm or still), quiet, weighable' (IA), 'stilling, blocking' (Hp.). Also -ιώδης 'partial, rebellious' (X., Arist. et al.), -ιώτης [m.] 'party member' (IA), hence -ιωτικός, -ιωτεία (after πατριώτης, στρατιώτης, etc.); στασ-ιάζω 'to form parties, divide, quarrel' (IA), also with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, δια-; στασ-ίζω 'id.' (Crete III[a]).

•ETYM Old verbal noun *sth_2-ti- of ►ἵστημι 'to stand', identical with Skt. *sthíti-* [f.] 'stand, standstill', Lat. *statiō* 'standing place', frozen accus. *statim* 'fixed, on the spot', Go. *staþs* [m.] 'position, place', OHG *stat* [f.] 'id.'. From the full grade *$steh_2$-ti-: Av. *stāiti-* 'standing, stand, position', Latv. *stātis* [pl.] 'turning point (of the sun)', and Ru. *stat'* 'build of the body'.

στατήρ, -ῆρος [m.] designation of a weight and of a coin, '*stater*' (IA). ◄IE *$steh_2$- 'stand'►

•VAR στατῆρες is also the opposite of ἀποδοτῆρες 'returners' (Epich. 116), acc. to *Et. Gen.* = χρεῶσται 'debtors', cf. ὀβολο-στατήρ (Hdn. Gr.) = ὀβολο-στάτης 'obol weigher, usurer' (Ar. et al.).

•COMP Thematicized in bahuvrīhi compounds: δεκα-στάτηρ-ος 'concerning ten σ.' (Arr.), -ον [n.] 'sum or weight of ten σ.' (Att. and Cret. inscr.).

•DER στατηρ-ίσκος (-ισμός?) type of tax (pap.), -ιαῖος 'worth or weighing one σ.' (Theopomp. Com., Hell. and late).

•ETYM Derived from ἵστημι in the sense 'to put on the balance, weigh off'. See also Benveniste 1948: 50. Similar, but independent, formations are found in Lat. *Stator, -ōris* epithet of Jupiter, Skt. *sthātar-* [m.] 'driver of a car' < *$steh_2$-ter-. Borrowed as Lat. *statēr*. See ►ἵστημι.

στατιών [f., m.] 'station'. ◄LW Lat.►

•DER -άριος (inscr.).

•ETYM From Lat. *statiō*; see Drew-Bear *Glotta* 50 (1972): 93.

στατός [adj.] 'standing (still)', of a horse (*Z* 506 = *O* 263), of water (S. *Ph.* 716 [lyr.]); Hell. of jars 'made or fit for standing' (Delos, pap.); subst. στάτος [m.] 'vessel' (Delos, Oropos, H.), with στάτιον [n.] 'id.' (Delos II[a]). ◄IE *$steh_2$- 'stand'►

•DER στατ-ικός 'belonging to weighing' (Pl.), on the mg. cf. ►στάσις; 'standing still' (Arist.), 'stilling' (Hell. and late); στατ-ίζω, -ίζομαι 'to stand, set, establish' (S., E. et al.).

•ETYM Old verbal adjective of ►ἵστημι 'to stand'.

σταυρός [m.] 'pole' (Ω 453), 'cross' (D. S., NT et al.). ◄IE *$steh_2$-u- 'pole'►

•DER σταυρ-ίον [n.] (Theognost.), -ικός 'belonging to the cross' (Tz.); σταυρ-όω 'to provide with poles' (Hdt., Th., etc.), 'to crucify' (Plb., NT et al.), also with ἀνα-, etc.; thence -ωμα [n.] 'fraise, palisade' (Th., X. et al.), -ωσις [f.] 'impalement, crucifixion' (Th. et al.), -ώσιμος 'belonging to the crucifixion' (Christ. lit.).

•ETYM Identical to ON *staurr* [m.] 'pole' < *$steh_2u$-ro-*, which is probably also the basis of Lat. *instaurāre* 'to renew, restore' (whence *restaurāre* 'id.'). See further on ►στοά, ►στῦλος, ►στύραξ, and ►στύω.

σταφίς ⇒ἀσταφίς.

σταφυλή [f.] 'grape' (Il.), metaphorically 'swollen uvula, uvula inflammation' (Hp., Arist., etc.), also σταφύλη (accent after κοτύλη, κανθύλη?) 'lead in the balance, plummet of a level' (B 765). ◄PG(V)►

•COMP E.g. σταφυλο-τομέω 'to cut off grapes; to perform surgery on the uvula' (late), έρι-στάφυλος 'with big grapes' (Od., epic).
•DER Diminutive σταφυλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] (Theoc., Hp.), -ιον [n.] (M. Ant., pap.); -ῖνος [m.] 'carrot' (Hp., Dsc.), metaphorically as the name of an insect (Arist.), see Strömberg 1937: 52; -ίτης [m.] epithet of Dionysus (Ael.); -ωμα [n.] name of an eye-disease (medic.), after γλαύκωμα, etc. From σταφύλη: σταφυλίζειν· τὸ συνι<σ>άζειν τὰς ὥας τοῦ ἱματίου 'to ?? the fringes of the mantle' (H.). PN Στάφυλος [m.].
•ETYM Probably the zero grade form of ►στέμφυλα. The similarity with ►ἀσταφίς 'dried grapes' is probably not accidental, but the exact relation of the words is unknown. The group of words is Pre-Greek (cf. Chantraine 1933: 251, Schwyzer: 485, and Fur.: 342, 373). It has been argued that σταφυλῖνος 'carrot' is not related to σταφυλή (Greppin *Glotta* 64 (1986): 248-252, Hansen *KZ* 102 (1989): 211). The latter argues that the meaning 'carrot' comes from Sanskrit *sta(m)bh-* with *stambha-* 'post, pillar, column', so that it was 'the pillar plant', or 'the plant with the pillar root'.

σταχάνη [f.] only in the expression δικαιότερος σταχάνης (Zen., Lib. et al.), where it is understood as 'balance'. ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Formation like τρυτάνη and other instument nouns. Perhaps as a technical expression from ►στάχυς 'ear', due to some specification of the meaning, but more likely a Pre-Greek substrate word.

στάχυς, -υος [m.] 'ear (of corn)' (Ψ 598), metaphorically 'offshoot' (poet.), as a plant name (Dsc. et al.), 'surgical bandage' (medic.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR -ῦς (E. *HF* 5), -ὔν (Call., A. R.).
•COMP σταχυο-βολέω 'to put forth ears' (Thphr.), πολύ-σταχυς 'rich in ears' (Theoc., Str.).
•DER σταχυ-ηρός 'bearing ears' (Thphr.), -ώδης 'ear-like, full of ears' (Thphr., Nonn.), -ίνος 'of ears' (Olympia), -ῖτις [f.] (also -ίτης [m.]) plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), -όομαι 'to develop into an ear' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Traditionally connected with ON *stinga*, OE *stingan* 'to sting', nominal OHG *stanga* [f.] 'stick, pole, bar', MHG *stunge* 'prickle', Lith. *stangùs* 'stiff, fixed', *stangà* [f.] 'effort', *sténgti* 'to be able', *stingti* 'to harden', Latv. *stiñgt* 'id.'. The Germanic words reflect **steng^{h}-u-*, of which στάχυς would be a zero grade **stng^{h}-u-*. The appurtenance of the Baltic forms is doubtful, since their accentuation seems to require a reconstruction **steng-*, in which case they cannot be related. However, the variant ►ἄσταχυς (see s.v. and Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 89) rather suggests that the Greek word is of substrate origin (see also Fur.: 373). Cf. ►στόνυξ and ►στόχος.

στέαρ, στέατος [n.] '(standing) fat, tallow' (the opposite of ►πιμελή), also 'dough' = σταῖς (Od., Hp., X., Arist., etc.). ◅IE **steh$_2$-ur*▻
•VAR στέᾰρ (com., see LSJ Supp.), στῆρ, στῆτος (Hell. pap. et al.).
•DER Diminutive στεάτ-ιον [n.] (Alex., Paul. Aeg.), -ώδης 'tallowy' (Hp., Arist. et al.), -ινος 'of tallow, of dough' (Aesop.), -ωμα [n.] 'tallow formation, fat tumor', hence -ωμάτιον [n.] (medic.), -ῖται πλακοῦντες 'flat cakes' (H.) as a gloss to πίονες; στεατ-όομαι [v.] 'to be tallowed' (LXX), 'to suffer from a fat tumor' (Hippiatr.); also στε-άζω 'to tallow' (Al.).

•ETYM The word στέᾱρ < *στῆ-ϝαρ < PGr. **stā-u̯r̥*. A heteroclitic noun like πῖαρ, οὖθαρ, etc. (Schwyzer: 518, Benveniste 1935: 19, 27 and 169), from **steh₂-* 'to stand'; see ►ἵστημι. No exact correspondences outside Greek. The words ►σταῖς 'dough' and ἀγχιστῖνος (s.v. ►ἄγχι) are unrelated.

στέγω [v.] 'to cover, defend, avert, keep closed, bear, sustain' (post-Hom.). ◄IE **(s)teg-* 'cover, roof'►

•VAR Also aor. στέξαι (Plb. et al.), στεχθῆναι (VI^p).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, etc. Further in στέγ-αρχος [m.] 'housemaster' (Hdt. et al.); often as a second element, e.g. in ὑπό-στεγος 'under a roof, covered' (Emp., Pl., S. et al.).

•DER στεγ-νός 'covered, waterproof, clogged' (Ion., E., X., etc.), hence -νότης [f.] 'thickness, stoppage' (Hp.), -νόω (ἀπο-, etc.) 'to thicken, stop', -νωσις [f.], -νωτικός (Hell. and lat). Substantivized στέγνη, Dor. Aeol. -α [f.] 'roof, cope, covered place, house, room' (Alc., Gortyn, IA). Also στεγ-ανός 'covering, watertight' (Att.), -ανότης [f.] (Eust.), -ανόω 'to cover' (Hell. and late), -ανώματα· τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις, οἱ λεγόμενοι σύνδεσμοι 'things in the walls of a house, the so-called bonds' (H.); -άνη [f.] 'cover' (*AP*); -ανίσαι (cod. -ῆ-)· στέγῃ ὑποδεχθῆναι 'be received in a room' (H.). Furthermore στεκτικός 'for keeping the water out' (Pl., etc.), στέγωσις [f.] (to an unattested *στεγόω) 'the roofing' (pap. III^p), cf. στέγ-νωσις, -ασ(σ)ις.

στέγος [n.] 'roof, house' (trag., also Hell. and late prose); in compounds adapted to στέγω (cf. Schwyzer 513): οὐρανο-στεγής 'bearing the sky' (A. *Fr.* 312 = 619 M.). Derivations from στέγη (στέγος): στεγ-ύλλιον [n.] 'hut' = 'workshop' (Herod.); -ῖτις [f.] = πόρνη (Poll., H.); στεγ-άζω, -άσαι 'to cover, roof' (IA), also with ἀπο-, κατα-, etc.; thence -ασ(σ)ις, -αξις (ἀπο-) [f.] 'covering' (Epid., Delos IV-II^a, etc.), see Schwyzer: 271, Chantraine 1933: 281), -ασμα (ἀπο-, κατα-, προ-) [n.] 'cover, cope' (Pl., X., etc.), -αστήρ [m.] 'coverer, tile' (Poll., H. as a gloss on σωλήν), -αστρίς [f.] 'covering, cope' (Hdt. et al.), -αστρον [n.] 'covering, cope, container' (A., Antiph., etc.).

Also τέγος [n.] = στέγος (Od.; not in trag.), hence τέγ-εοι (θάλαμοι *Z* 248, δόμοι Emp. 142) mg. not quite clear: 'under a roof' (= 'upstairs'), 'roofed'; cf. S. Schmid 1950: 39; τεγ-ίδιον [n.] designation of a garment for women (Tanagra and pap. III^a); also τέγη [f.] = τέγος (Vett. Val., H.).

•ETYM The form στέγω is a primary thematic present; non-present forms are late and rare. It derives from PIE **(s)teg-* with *s*-mobile (see LIV² s.v.), attested in the Latin thematic present *tegō* 'to cover', perf. *tēxī*, and in OIr. *teg*, gen.sg. *tige* 'house' < **tegos-* [n.], OHG *dah*, ON *þak* [n.] 'roof' < **togo-*, OPr. *stogis*, Lith. *stógas* [m.] < **stogo-* with Winter's Law. Skt. *sthagati* (Dhatup.), *sthagayati* 'to cover, conceal' are unrelated (Kuiper 1954: 249). Borrowed as Lat. *stega* 'cover' (from στέγη), *segestre, -rum*, *tegestrum* 'cover made of skin' (from στέγαστρον).

στείβω [v.] 'to tread (on something), densify by treading, trod, trample' (Λ 534, Υ 499, epic poet.). ◄IE **steib-* 'get stiff, fix'►

•VAR Only pres. except aor. κατ-έστειψας (S. *OC* 467; not quite certain), verbal adj. στιπτός (v.l. -ει-) 'trodden solid, solid, hard' (S., Ar.), ἄ-στιπτος 'untrodden' (S.; also *OGI* 606?).

•COMP Rarely with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-.

•DER στοιβή [f.] 'stuffing, cushion, bulge, etc.'; often as a plant name 'Poterium spinosum', the leaves of which were used for stuffing (Hp., Ar., Arist., Epid. [IV^a], etc.), στοιβ-ίον 'id.' (Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 10), -άς = στιβάς, -ηδόν 'crammed' (comm. Arist.), στοιβ-άζω 'to fill, stuff' (Hdt., LXX et al.), rarely with δια-, whence -αστός, -αστής, -ασις, -άσιμος, -ασία (Hell. and late).

Zero grade of the root in: στίβος [m.] '(trodden) road, path, footstep, trail' (epic Ion. poet. since *h. Merc.*), 'fuller's workshop' (pap. III^a), whence στιβάς, -άδος [f.] 'bed of straw, reed or leaves, mattress, bed, grave' (IA), -άδιον [n.] 'id'. (Hell. and late), -αδεύω 'to use like straw' (Dsc.). Further στιβεύς [m.] 'hound' (Opp.), 'fuller' (pap.), = ὁδευτής (H.), -εύω 'to track' (D. S., Plu., H.), = πορεύεσθαι (H.) with -εία [f.] 'tracking, etc.' (D. S. et al.), -εῖον [n.] 'fuller's workshop' (pap.), -ευτής [m.] 'hound' (Sostrat. *apud* Stob.); also -ίη = -εία (Opp.; metrically conditioned). στιβική [f.] 'fuller's tax' (pap. III^a); στιβάζω 'to enter, track, etc.', -ασις [f.] (late); ἐστίβηται [perf.pass.] 'has been tracked' (S. *Aj.* 874; to στιβέω or -άω); ἄ-στιβ-ος 'unentered' (*AP*), often -ής 'id.' (A., S., also X. et al.), -ητος 'id.' (Lyc. et al.; cf. ἐστίβηται); Στίβων name of a dog (X. *Cyn.*).

στιβαρός 'solid, compact, massive, strong' (Il., epic poet., also Hell. and late prose); like βριαρός, etc.; -αρηδόν [adv.] 'compact' (late).

With a long vowel we find στῑβη [f.] 'ripe' (Od., Call.), -ήεις (Call.); on the mg., cf. πάγος, πάχνη to ►πήγνυμι.

•ETYM Related to Arm. *stēp*, gen. *-oy* 'frequent, incessant, permanent' (adj. and adv.), with *stip-em* 'to press, urge', *-aw*, *-ov* 'quick, diligent(ly)' < PIE **stoibo-* or **steibo-*. Perhaps also related to Lith. *stíebas* 'mast(tree), pillar, stalk', *stáibis* 'lower shank, supporting post', if the accent, which points to root-final **-b-*, is old. Similar words with root-final **-p-* in other Indo-European languages resemble the Greek root: Lat. *stīpāre* 'to compress, surround' (sometimes connected to the Corinth. PN Στίπων, *IG* 4, 319); Lith. *stìpti*, 1sg. *stimpù* 'to stiffen, grow rigid', *stiprùs* 'strong', *stiẽpti* 'to stretch'; OE *stīf*, MHG *stīf* 'stiff, erect' < **steifa-*, MLG *stīvele* 'support', ON *stífla* 'to dam'. With **-b^h-*, we find CS *stъblo* 'stem, stalk', Latv. *stiba* 'staff, rod' and, within Greek, στῖφος, with a mg. that resembles that of στείβω. The exact relation between the roots **steib-*/**steib^h-*/**steip-* is uncertain.

στειλειή ⇒στελεά.

στεῖρα 1 [adj.] 'infertile', of cows, goats, women, also metaph. (Od., Hp., Hell. and late), 'virginal' (Lyc., Luc.). ◅IE **ster-ih$_2$* 'infertile'▻

•VAR Secondary στεῖρος (E. *Andr.* 711 as v.l. to στερρός), εὐνούχους στείρους (Man.), κατάστειρος (Vett. Val.), cf. κάτ-ισχνος, etc.

•DER στειρ-ώδης '(looking) infertile' (Hp.), στειρ-όομαι, [v.] 'to become infertile' (LXX, Phld., Ph. et al.), with -ωσις, -ωτικός; -εύω [v.] 'to be infertile' (Gal.).

•ETYM Formation like πίειρα, χίμαιρα, μοῖρα, etc. (Schwyzer: 494, Chantraine 1933: 98). An old term for an infertile animal, also used for infertile women. Similar formations are reflected in Arm. *sterǰ* 'infertile' < **ster-i̯-* (cf. *anurǰ* beside ὄνειρος) and Skt. *starī-* 'infertile cow'< **ster-ih₂*. Further cognates are Lat. *sterilis* 'infertile', with *-ilis* from *gracilis, fertilis*, etc. (Leumann *Glotta* 42 (1964): 118), Go. *stairo* [f.] 'infertile woman', Alb. *shtjerrë* 'young cow, lamb'. See ▸στερεός, ▸στέριφος.

στεῖρα 2 [f.] 'foremost part of the keel, stem' (A 482 = β 428), = τὸ ἐξέχον τῆς πρῴρας ξύλον κατὰ τὴν τρόπιν 'wood of the prow projecting towards the keel' (H.). ◂GR▸

•VAR Enlarged στείρωμα = τρόπις 'keel' (H.).

•DER ἀνά-στειρος 'with the prow pointing up, with a high stem' (Plb.).

•ETYM An old feminine formation (cf. especially semantically close πρῷρα), beside ▸στερεός 'stiff, hard'; thus perhaps originally denoting the "hard, solid part" vel sim.? The word may be identical to ▸στεῖρα 1 'infertile'.

στείχω [v.] 'to march (in), rise, draw, go' (Il., epic Ion. poet., also Aeol. prose). ◂IE **steigʰ-* 'stride'▸

•VAR στίχω (Hdt. 3, 14; conjecture in S. *Ant.* 1129 ex H.), them. aor. στιχεῖν (sigm. aor. περί-στειξας δ 277).

•COMP With prefix, e.g., ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, προσ-. As a second element e.g. in μονό-στιχος 'consisting of one verse' (Plu.), as -στοιχος in e.g. τρί-στοιχος 'consisting of three rows' (μ 91), -εί [adv.] 'in three rows' (K 473), μετα-στοιχεί mg. unclear (Ψ 358 and 757); σύ-στοιχος 'belonging to the same row, coordinated, corresponding' (Arist., etc.).

•DER From this, probably deverbative, comes στιχάομαι 'id.' in 3pl.ipf. ἐστιχόωντο (Il., Theoc., Nonn.), also with περι-, συν-; pres. στιχόωνται (Orph.), act. στιχόωσι, ptc. ntr.pl. -όωντα (Hell. and late epic); ὁμοστιχάει [3sg.pres.] 'escorted' (O 635), from *ὁμό-στιχος or for ὁμοῦ στ.?

Nominal derivations: A. στίχες [f.pl.], στιχός [gen.sg.] 'rank(s), file(s)', especially of soldiers, 'battle array, line of battle' (epic poet. since Il.).

B. στίχος [m.] 'file, rank', of soldiers, trees, etc., often of words, 'line' in verse and prose (Att., etc.). στιχ-άς [f.] 'id.' only in dat.pl. στιχάδεσσι (*Epigr.*). Diminutive -ίδιον (Plu.); -άριον 'coat, tightly fitting garment' (pap.). Adjectives in -ινος, -ικός, -ήρης and -ηρός, adv. -ηδόν (late). Hence στιχ-ίζω [v.] 'to arrange in rows' (LXX; v.l. στοιχ-), -ιστής, -ισμός (Tz.); περιστιχίζω 'to surround' (A.), also περιστοιχίζω 'to fence in all around with nets (net-poles), to ensnare' (D., Plb., etc.).

C. στοῖχος [m.] 'file or column of soldiers, choir members, ships, etc., layer of building stones, row of trees, poles, etc.' (IA), hence στοιχ-άς [f.] 'arranged in rows', of ἐλᾶαι (Sol. *apud* Poll. et al.), -άδες (νῆσοι) name of a group of islands near Massilia (A. R., etc.); here also the plant name στοιχάς (Orph., Dsc.) and -αδίτης οἶνος 'wine spiced with σ.' (Dsc.). Cult names of Zeus and Athena: -αῖος (Thera), -αδεύς (Sikyon), -εία (Epid.), referring to the arrangement in phylai. Further adjectives in -ιαῖος 'measuring one row' (Att. inscr.), -ικός (late); adverb -ηδόν (Arist., etc.), -ηδίς (Theognost.) 'line by line'. Verbal derivations: στοιχ-έω 'to form a row, to stand in file and rank, to match, agree, be content, follow' (X., Att. inscr.,

Arist. Hell. and late), also with περι-, συν- etc., hardly deverbative in view of the mg.; -στοιχούντως 'matching, consequent' (Galatia, Aug. time). στοιχ-ίζω 'to arrange in a line, order' (A. *Pr.* 484 and 232, X. et al.), often with περι-, also δια- and κατα-; thence -ισμός (Poll.).

D. στοιχεῖον, often plur. -εῖα [n.] 'letters in free-standing, alphabetical form' (of γράμματα: 'character, script'), also 'principles; component, element' (Pl., Arist., etc.), 'heavenly bodies, elementary spirits, natural demons, magic means' (late and Byz.); also 'shadow-line' as a measure of time (Att. com.), cf. σκιὰ ἀντίστοιχος (E. *Andr.* 745); the original meaning is 'object in a row' vel sim. (on the formation cf. σημεῖον, μνημεῖον, ἐλεγεῖον, etc.); on the development of the mg., which is in many ways unclear, see Burkert *Phil.* 103 (1959): 167ff. with references. στοιχει-ώδης 'belonging to the στοιχεῖα, elementary' (Arist., etc.), of barley 'in several rows' as opposed to ἄ-στοιχος πυρός (Thphr.), so either the same as στοιχ-ώδης or a misspelling of it. στοιχει-όω [v.] 'to introduce to the principles' (Chrysipp. et al.), 'to equip with magical powers, charm' (Byz.), also -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής, -ωτικός (Epicur., Phld. et al.), -ωματικός (Ps.-Ptol.), see Mugler 1958-1959: 380f.

•ETYM The full grade thematic present στείχω agrees exactly with Go. *steigan* 'to go up', OIr. *tiagu* 'to stride, go' < IE **stéigʰ-*. A nasal present is reflected in Lith. *stìgti* 'to lack, be absent', 3pres. *stiñga* < **stigʰ-*, OCS 1sg. *po-stignǫ* 'to get in, reach, hit' < **steigʰ-*, and a yod-present in Lith. *steīgti*, 3pres. *steīgia* 'to organize, (dial.) want, hurry'. Further, OHG *steg* [m.] 'small bridge', ON *stig* [n.] 'step' < PGm. **stigaz* < PIE **stigʰ-o-* (= στίχος), OE *stige* [m. i] 'going up, down', ON *stigr* [m.] 'path'. Also, Alb. *shteg* 'footpath', Go. *staiga*, OHG *steiga* [f.] 'mountain-path, road', Latv. *staiga* [f.] 'course' < **stoigʰ-o-*.

στελεά [f.] 'shaft of an axe, hack, hammer, etc.' (Hom.), 'cavity for the shaft' in -ειή (φ 422) and -εά (Aen. Tact.), acc. to Bérard *REGr.* 68 (1955): 8f. and Pocock *AmJPh.* 82 (1961): 346ff. with Eust., H. and *EM.* ◂IE **stel-* 'stalk, shaft'▸

•VAR -εή (A. R.), στειλειή (φ 422; v.l. Nic. *Th.* 387); -εόν (Aen. Tact., Babr.), στειλειόν (ε 236) [n.]; -εός and -ειός [m.] (Att. inscr.); -εός or -εόν (Hell. and late); στειλεός (Hp. with v.ll.), στειλειός (Aesop.), gen. -ειοῦ (Nic. *Th.* 387 as a v.l.).

•DER στειλει-άριον (Eust.) and the denominative ptc. ἐστελεωμένος 'provided with a shaft' (*AP*).

Further στέλεχος [n., m.] 'the end of the stem at the root of a tree, stump, log, stem, branch' (Pi., IA); on the mg. see Strömberg 1937: 95ff. Also in πολυ-στελέχ-ης (Thphr.), -ος (*AP*) 'with many stems' (cf. Strömberg 1940: 103f.). From this στελέχια· πρέμ<ν>ια 'stumps' (H.), -ώδης 'stem-like' (Thphr., Dsc.), -ιαῖος 'serving as a stem' (Gal.), -ηδόν 'according to the kind of stem' (A. R. 1, 1004 as a v.l. for στοιχηδόν).

στόλος [m.] 'rostrum' (Pi., trag.), 'outgrowth, stump, appendage' (Arist.), if not related to στόλος 'equipment', see s.v. ▸στέλλω.

•ETYM For the formation of στελεά, cf. δωρεά, γενεά, and for -εός, -εόν, cf. κολ-εός, -εόν; στειλ-ειή is like ἀρ-ειή, νευρ-ειή (στειλ- may be due to metrical lengthening; see Schwyzer: 469[3], Risch 1937: 131, and Chantraine 1933: 51 and 91). For στέλεχος, which may also be a metrical variant, cf. τέμαχος, etc. (Schwyzer: 496, Chantraine 1933: 403).

Both στελεά, -εός, -εόν, and στέλεχος are based on an unknown, probably nominal basis, perhaps an *s*-stem *στέλος (Schulze 1892: 175), which may be related to Arm. *steł*n, pl. *steł*un-*k*' 'stem, shaft, stalk, twig' and to OE *stela* [m.] 'stalk of a plant', ON *stjǫl* 'stalk' < **stel*-; see further s.v. ►στέλλω and ►στήλη.

στέλλω, -ομαι [v.] 'to put in order, make ready; to equip or dress with weapons, clothes, etc.; to prepare (for a journey), dispatch'; also 'to furl, take in the sails, tie up, constrain'; med. especially 'to summon, fetch, prepare (for a journey), set off' (also act. intr.), also 'to put on (clothes)' (Il.). ◅IE **stel*- 'put in order'; also **spel*- 'split'?▻

•VAR Aor. στεῖλαι, -ασθαι (Il.), Aeol. ἀπο-, ἐπι-στέλλαι, fut. στελ-έω (β 287 et al.), -ῶ, -οῦμαι (Att.); aor. pass. σταλ-ῆναι (Pi., IA), -θῆναι (Hell.), perf. pass. ἔσταλμαι (IA), act. ἔσταλκα (Att.), ἔστολα (gramm.).

•COMP With the prefixes ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο-. As a second member e.g. in ἰδιό-στολος 'having one's own equipment, equipped at one's own expense, making one's own journey' (Plu. et al.), πυγο-στόλος epithet of γυνή (Hes. *Op.* 373); on the mg. see Martinazzoli *Par. del pass.* 15 (1960): 203ff.; ναυ-στολ-έω [v.] 'to send on a ship; to navigate, steer (a ship)' (Pi., S., E., late prose), ναὐ-στολος only A. *Th.* 858 (lyr.); cf. ναυ-μαχέω, οἰνο-χοέω etc. in Schwyzer: 726); ἀκρο-στόλ-ιον [n.] 'decorated end of the rostrum' (Callix., Str., D. S., etc.); ἀπόστολ-ος (το ἀπο-στέλλω) [m.] 'envoys, fleet expedition' (IA), 'apostle' (LXX, NT). As a second member e.g. in μελανό-στολος 'with a black garment' (Plu.).

•DER στόλος [m.] 'equipment (of a campaign), campaign by water and by land, fleet, army, troop, legion, march' (Pi., IA). στολή [f.] 'armor', usually 'dress, garment' (IA), 'obstruction, pressure, constraint' (Epicur., medic.), on Aeol. σπόλα cf. below; also ἀπο-, δια- ἐπι-στολή etc. (το ἀπο-στέλλω) 'sending, extension, mission, letter' (IA, etc.), with ἀποστολ-εύς [m.] 'official for equipping and dispatching the fleet' (Att.), etc., see Boßhardt 1942: 53f.

From στολή derive the diminutive στόλ-ιον [n.] (Delos II^{a}, *AP* et al.), στολ-άς [f.] 'jacket' (Ael.); στολ-ίς [f.] 'dress', plur. 'folds' (E., Arist., etc.), further -ίδιον, -ιδώδης, -ιδόομαι, -ίδωμα, -ιδωτός.

From στολή and στόλος: στολ-ίζω [v.] 'to put in order, equip, dress' (Hes. *Op.* 628, E., Hell. and late), also with κατα-, συν-, ὑπο-; thence -ισις, -ισμα, ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστήριον, -ιστεία; στολ-άζομαι [v.] 'to dress' in ἐστολάδαντο (metrical inscr. Marathon II^{P}; cf. Schwyzer: 672). στολμός [m.] 'equipment, clothing' (A., E.). στέλμα· στέφος, στέμμα 'crown, wreath, garland' (H.); στελμονίαι· ζώματα 'loincloths' (H.) (= X. *Cyr.* 6, 1); cf. ἁρμονία, etc. ἐπί-, διά-, ἀπό-σταλμα [n.] 'public mission, etc.' (Thphr., pap.). διασταλ-μός [m.] 'assessment' (pap. VI^{P}). στάλ-σις [f.] 'obstruction' (Gal.), διά-στάλ-σις 'destination, treaty' (LXX). ἀνα-, δια-, περι-, etc. -σταλτικός (late).

•ETYM A few attestations, at least some of which appear to be Aeolic, show initial σπ-: σπελλάμεναι· στειλάμεναι; σπολεῖσα· σταλεῖσα; εὔσπολον· εὐείμονα, εὐσταλέα; κασπέλλει (cod. -έλη)· στορνύει (all H.); σπόλα = στολή (Sapph.); κασπολέω (-σπελ-?)· ὑποστορέσω (Sapph., H.). This has been taken to indicate that IA στελ-, Aeol. σπελ- reflects PIE *sk^{w}el-*. Bechtel 1921, 1: 125f. (cf. Hamm 1957: 15^{3}) proposes that the PIE roots **stel*- 'send' and **sk^{w}el*- 'equip' merged in IA, but the evidence for a root

**sk^{w}el-* is very meager. The forms σπόλα and εὔσπολος may instead reflect PIE **spel-* 'split' (see ►σπολάς).

A PIE root **stel-* is attested in Arm. *stełc-anem*, aor. *stełc-i* [v.] 'to prepare, create' (with unexplained *c*), Alb. *shtiell* [v.] 'to wind up, reel up, collect' < PIE **stel-n-*, OCS *po-stьlati*, 1sg. *po-steljǫ* 'to spread', OPr. *stallīt* 'to stand'; see LIV^{2} s.v. **stel-* and Derksen 2008 s.v. **stьlati*. Perhaps PGm. *staljan-* 'to put, etc.' (in G *stellen* and cognates) is related as well, but it may also be a denominative from PGm. **stalla-* 'place, etc.', which could derive from **sth$_{2}$-d^{h}lo-* instead.

στελύπην [f.] ἀσφοδελόν 'asphodel' (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown. The gloss is doubted by ĖDELG. The suffix -υπ- may indicate Pre-Greek origin (cf. *Pre-Greek*, suffixes).

στέμβω [v.] = κινῶ συνεχῶς (*EM*), 'to shake ceaselessly' (A. *Fr.* 440 = 635 M., also *EM* et al. as an explanation of ἀστεμφής), 'to abuse, vilify' (Eust.). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR Enlarged στεμβάζειν· λοιδορεῖν, χλευάζειν 'to revile, jeer at' (H.), -άξαι· ὑβρίσαι 'run riot' (*EM*), -άσεις· λοιδιρίαι 'railers' (H.); ἀστέμβακτον (κλέος, Euph.) = ἀκίνητον ἢ βέβαιον ἢ τετιμημένον 'motionless or immovable, firm, honored' (*Et. Gud.*); unclear ἀστέμβακτα τιμωρουμένη (Lyc. 1117); also ἀστεμβής· ἀθαμβής, ἀτάραχος 'fearless, calm' (H.).

•DER στόβος· λοιδορία, ὄνειδος 'jeering, reproach' (Lyc., H.), στοβάζειν· κακολογεῖν 'to slander', -ασμάτων· λοιδοριῶν 'jeering' (H.), (έπι-)στοβέω 'to mock, taunt' (A. R., Epic. anon., *EM*).

With aspirate: ἀστεμφής = ἀμετακίνητος (H.), 'unshakable, firm' (epic Il.). On ►στέμφῠλα [n.pl.] 'squeezed olives or grapes, mass of olives or grapes' (IA), see s.v. στόμφος [m.] 'bombastic, high-flown speech' (Longin.), -ᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'bombastic speaker, loud-mouth' (Ar. *Nu.* 1367; from Aesch.), -άζω [v.] 'to speak bombastically, talk big' (Ar. et al.), also -ασμός, -αστικός (Eust.); στομφ-όω 'id.' (Phld.), -ώδης, -ός (sch.). στόμβος = βαρύηχος, βαρύφθογγος 'deep-voiced' (Hp. *apud* Gal.).

•ETYM The word στέμβω preserves the meaning 'to push violently, shake ceaselessly'. This yielded 'to maltreat, revile, ridicule' in στέμβω, -άζω, στόβος, and -έω. Hence the meaning of στόμφος, -αξ, etc.

Possibly related to the Germanic deverbatives OHG *stampfōn*, MLD *stampen*, OSw. *stampa*, etc. 'to smash' < PGm. **stamp-* < PIE **stomb-*. The Greek forms without a nasal may point to a nasal present. For the forms with an aspirate, influence of ►στέφω 'to honor' has been assumed. More plausibly, the variants with and without a nasal and the variants with an aspirate could be interpreted as evidence for Pre-Greek origin. See ►ἀστεμφής.

στέμφυλον [n.] mass of olives from which the oil has been pressed (Ar.). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR στέμφῠλα [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'squeezed olives or grapes, mass of olives or grapes' (IA), with στεμφυλ-ίτιδες τρύγες 'mass of grapes for wine' (Hp.), -ίς 'id.' (Ath.), -ίας οἶνος (pap. III^{a}).

•ETYM A full grade variant of ►σταφυλή 'grape'. No further etymology; perhaps Pre-Greek, if the -μ- is interpreted as prenasalization.

στενός [adj.] 'narrow, close, small, tight, slim' (IA). ◂?▸

•VAR Ion. στεινός, Aeol. (gramm.) στέννος.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. στενωπός, see ▸ὀπή.

•DER στενό-της (Ion. -ει-) [f.] 'narrowness, tightness' (IA); back-formation στεῖνος (epic Il.) for στένος (A. *Eu.* 521 [lyr.]) [n.] 'narrowness, narrow room, throng, distress'.

Denominative verbs: στείνομαι 'to be narrowed, crowd, be crowded' (epic Il.), rarely with ἐν-, ἀμφι, περι-, a back-formation with only present and ipf. forms. Act. στείνω 'to narrow, crowd' (Nonn., Orph.) is rare and late. στενόομαι (-ει-), 'to become narrow' (Hell. and late), also -όω 'to make narrow', often with ἀπο-; thence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτικός (late.). στενυγρός 'narrow' (Ion.) with στενυγρῶσαι [aor.] 'to contract' (Hp. *apud* Gal.); TN Στενύ-κληρος 'narrow piece of land' (Hdt. 9, 64). Probably also στάνει· <σ>τείνεται, συμβέβυσται 'to become narrow, cram' (H.), with unclear root vocalism.

•ETYM The alternation στενός : στεινός : στέννος (and also Att. στεν(ϝ)ό-τερος, -τατος instead of -ώ-) points to PGr. *στενϝός, a thematic enlargement of the *u*-stem στενυ- continued in στενυ-γρός and Στενύ-κληρος (Chantraine 1933: 122).

No cognates outside Greek are known. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 226, Fur.: 226 ("nicht sicher erklärt"), and DELG ("L'étymologie de ce groupe de mots reste obscure."). The form στενυγρός may have a Pre-Greek suffix (see *Pre-Greek*, Suffixes under γρ: ταναγρίς, βάλαγρος, γήλιγρος).

στένω [v.] 'to moan, drone, groan, lament', also trans. 'to mourn, bewail' (Il., epic poet., also late prose). ◂IE *(*s*)*ten-* 'groan'▸

•VAR Rarely med. -ομαι, only pres. and ipf.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, μετα-, ὑπο-. Compounds e.g. ἀγά-στονος 'moaning loudly, roaring' (Od. et al.).

•DER A number of root enlargements is found, part of which is metrically conditioned (Schwyzer: 105, 736; Chantraine 1942: 112): στεν-άζω, aor. -άξαι, fut. -άξω, also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, etc. (poet., also Hdt., D., LXX, Plu.); στεν-άχω, -άχομαι, -αχέω, -αχῆσαι, -αχίζω, -αχίζομαι, also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, περι-, etc. (mostly epic Il.), all meaning 'to sigh, groan'; on these formations see Schwyzer: 702, Chantraine 1942: 330.

The following words derive from στένω: Στέν-τωρ [m.] PN (E 785; Benveniste 1948: 54). στόνος [m.] 'moaning, etc.' (Il., epic poet.); στονό-εις (στονόϝεσαν [f.sg.] Corc. VI[a]) 'full of moaning, causing moaning, woeful' (Il., epic poet.).

From στενάζω: στεναγ-μός [m.] 'the moaning, sighing (Pi., trag., Pl.), -μώδης (Paul. Aeg.); -μα [n.] 'id.' (S., E., Ar.), -ματώδης (Gal.).

From στενάχω: στοναχή [f.] 'id.' (epic poet. Il.), verb στοναχέω, -αχῆσαι, -αχίζω, also with ἐπι-, παρα-, etc. (epic poet. Il.), further, often as a v.l., στεναχέω, -αχίζω.

•ETYM The full-grade thematic στένω agrees exactly with Skt. *stanati* 'to drone, thunder', Lith. 1sg. *stenù*, OE *stenan* 'to moan, groan' < PIE **sten-*. A yod-present is reflected in OCS *stenjǫ*, and with zero grade in OE *stunian*, ON *stynja* 'id.'. Further, Skt. *stan* reflects an athem. ipf. < PIE **sten-t*.

Perhaps related *s*-less forms are attested in Aeol. τέννει· στένει, βρύχεται 'groans, roars' (H.), possibly < **ten(h₂)-ie/o-* (as per Pinault 1982: 267), Skt. *tanyati* 'to sound loudly, thunder' < **t(e)n-ie/o-*, OE *þunian* 'to sound, resound' < **tn-ie/o-*, OE *þunor* 'thunder', Lat. *tonere* 'to thunder'.

στεργάνος [m.] · κόπρων 'place for dung' (H.), at an alphabetically incorrect position. ◁?▷

•ETYM No etymology; not related to Lat. *stercus* [n.] 'excrements', W *trwnk* 'urine', etc. On the accent, see Schwyzer: 520.

στέργω [v.] 'to show affection, cherish sympathy, love tenderly', of family members, of subordinates towards superiors and vice versa, etc. (rarely of physical love); 'to be content, content oneself' (Thgn. IA). ◁IE **sterg-* 'love, tend'▷

•VAR Aor. στέρξαι, fut. στέρξω (IA), perf. ἔστοργα (Hdt.), pass. ἔστεργμαι (Emp., *AP*), aor. στερχθῆναι (Lyc., Plu. et al.).

•COMP ἀπο-στέργω 'to cease to love, abhor' (Terp., A., Theoc., LXX et al.). As a second member, e.g. in φιλό-στοργος 'cherishing sympathy, loving tenderly', with -έω, -ία (Att., Hell. and late).

•DER στέργ-ηθρον [n.] 'love potion, love herb' as a plant name (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 92 and 147, 'love' (A., E.); -ημα [n.] 'love charm' (S.); στοργή [f.] 'affection, love' (Emp., Antipho, rarely Hell. and late).

•ETYM Possibly related to OCS *stręšti*, *strěgǫ* 'to guard, tend', but the **-t-* of the Slavic forms may be secondary in view of Lith. *sérgėti* 'to watch over, guard', in which case the Greek form cannot be related. Sometimes also connected to OIr. *serc*, MW *serch* 'love', MBret. *serch* 'concubine' < PIE **sterk-eh₂*, but the different velar poses a problem.

στερεός [adj.] 'stiff, hard, firm, tenacious, steady, solid, normal', also of money and measures (Il.), 'cubic' (see Mugler 1958-1959: 378f.), rarely 'infertile' (E., Arist.). ◁IE? **ster-* 'stiff, fixed'▷

•VAR Att. also στερρός.

•COMP As a first member in στερεο-μετρ-ία [f.] 'the measuring of cubic bodies, stereometry' (Pl. *Epin.*, Arist. et al.).

•DER στερε-ότης (-ρρ-) [f.] 'hardness, firmness', also 'infertility' (Pl., Arist., etc.); στερε-όομαι (-ρρ-), -όω [v.] 'to become, make firm, hard, to harden' (Hp., X., Arist.), also with ἀπο-, κατα-; thence στερέ-ωμα [n.] 'firmness, solid component, firmament' (Hp., Arist., etc.), -ωσις [f.] 'to harden' (LXX, Str. et al.), -ωματίζω, -ωτικός, -ωτής. Enlarged στερέ-ϊνος 'hard' (pap. I^{P}), after πέτρινος, ξύλινος, etc.; στέριφος 'hard, firm, infertile' (Att., Arist., etc.), hence στεριφ-ότης (sch.), -όομαι [v.] 'to solidify' (Ph.), -ώματα [n.pl.] 'solid foundation', -ευομένη· παρθενευομένη 'brought up as a maiden' (H.), στερέμνιος 'hard, firm, solid' (Pl. *Epin.*, Epicur., Phld. et al.), -ιώδης (Porph.), -ιόομαι (Zeno).

•ETYM The word στερεός, whence Att. στερρός (Scheller 1951: 114; differently Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 269f.), probably reflects *στερεϝός, a formation which agrees with ἐτε(ϝ)ός, κενε(ϝ)ός, etc. Leumann *Glotta* 42 (1964): 118 derives στεριφος 'unfertile'

from the root of στεῖρα, enlarged with the suffix -φο- that designates animal names (cf. ἔριφος, ἔλαφος, etc.), with a semantic change from 'infertile' to 'hard'.
The formations above are based on the IE root **ster-*, attested in e.g. OHG *stara-blint* 'blind', OHG *starēn* 'to stare', MoHG *starr* 'rigid'; ToB *śćire* 'harsh' < **ster-* and ToA *ṣtare* 'effort' < **storo-*. The words ►στεῖρα 1 'infertile' and ►στεῖρα 2 'stem' also belong here. Numerous further words may belong to the same family, with various formations and different enlargements: ►στέρφος, ►στρηνής, ►στόρθυγξ, ►στηρίζω, ►στριφνός.

στέρνον [n.] 'breast, chest', in Hom. always of the chest, also as a seat of emotions, 'heart' (Il., poet., also medic.). ◄IE **sterh₃-* 'spread out', **ster(h₃)-no-*►
•VAR Often plur. -α.
•COMP εὐρύ-στερνος 'with a wide chest' (Hes. et al.), στερνο-τυπής 'beating the chest' (E. [lyr.]), πρό-στερνος 'in front of the chest' (A.), to which προστερν-ίδιον [n.] 'harness (of horses)' (X. et al.), also στερνίδιον 'id.' (late).
•DER Verbal derivations from hypostases or univerbations, e.g., ὑποστερν-ίζομαι 'to fix under the chest' (Plu.); ὑπόστερνον· ὑπογάστριον 'paunch' (H.). Further derivations are rare: στερνίτιδες· πλευραί 'sides (of a person, animal)' (Poll.), στέρνιξ· ἐντεριώνη 'inmost part' (H.), like μόλιξ, ῥῆνιξ, etc.; unclear is στέρνιον 'meat that is difficult to digest', cf. LSJ s.v.
•ETYM Related to OHG *stirna* [f.] 'forehead' < **ster(h₃)-n-ieh₂* and Ru. *storoná* 'region, side' < PIE **stor(h₃)-n-eh₂*. The root is probably that of ►στόρνυμι, i.e. **sterh₃-*. One might, however, also consider a reconstruction **ster-no-* from the root **ster-* 'lay down' without a laryngeal, reflected in Skt. *stṛṇóti* 'lay down, destroy'; see Narten *MSS* 22 (1967): 57-66, LIV² s.v. **ster-* and s.v. ►στρατός. The latter reconstruction has the advantage that it would account for the absence of a reflex of a laryngeal in στέρνον. However, the semantics seem to favor the former reconstruction, even if the exact semantic development remains uncertain. The loss of the laryngeal would be regular in this position, acc. to Van Beek 2009.

στέρομαι [v.] 'to be robbed, lack, lose' (Hes., IA). ◄IE? **ster-* 'steal, rob'►
•VAR Ipv. σταρέστω (Delph. IV[a])? Full grade with η-enlargement in ptc. στερείς (E.), στερ-ηθῆναι (Pi, IA), fut. -ήσομαι, -ηθήσομαι (Att.; στερεῦμαι And.), perf. ἐστέρημαι (IA); act. 'to rob, snatch from': aor. στερ-ῆσαι (στερέσαι ν 262, pap. et al.), fut. -ήσω (στερῶ A. *Pr.* 862, -έσω pap.), perf. ἐστέρηκα (Att.); pass. στερέω, simplex only ipv. στερείτω (Pl.), otherwise with ἀπο-, hence med. στερέομαι (Hell. and late); also στερίσκω, -ομαι (Hdt., Att.), ἀπο- (S.), aor. στερίσαι (metrical inscription Eretria IV-III[a], *AP*; cf. ἀποστερίζω Hp.).
•DER (ἀπο-)στέρησις [f.] 'robbery, confiscation' (Hp., Att., etc.), also -εσις (pap.), after αἵρεσις, εὕρεσις etc., with στερ-ήσιμος, -έσιμος 'which can be confiscated' (pap. inscr. II-III[p]), -ημα [n.] 'id.' (Ps.-Callisth.), (ἀπο-)στερητικός 'robbing, removing, negative, privative' (Ar, Arist., Hell. and late), στερητής [m.] who snatches or withholds sth. from sbd., deceiver' (Pl., Arist., et al.), fem. -ητρίς (Ar. *Nu.* 730; parody).

•ETYM The above forms probably all go back to the them. present στέρομαι. The isolated ipv. Delph. σταρέστω, which Bechtel 1921, 2: 231 regards as a zero grade root aorist, is better explained as regular from στερέσθω (with ε > α before ρ in this dialect). First, the then-intransitive aorist στερ-ῆναι, -ήσομαι was formed from στέρομαι (if it were old, we would expect zero grade σταρ-), and then -ηθῆναι, -ηθήσομαι; later also the active στερ-ῆσαι (στερέσαι after ὀλέσαι, etc.), -ήσω, etc., and finally στερ-έω, -ίσκω (cf. e.g. εὑρ-ήσω, εὑρ-ίσκω). There are no certain cognates. A possible connection is with MIr. *serb* 'theft', which can reflect **ster-u̯ā*.

στεροπή [f.] 'lightning, gleam, shine' (epic Il.).

•VAR Στερόπης [m.] name of a Cyclops (Hes., Call.); στέροψ 'glittering, lighting' (S. [lyr.]) is a back-formation after αἰθοψ.

•COMP στεροπ-ηγερέτα, epithet of Zeus (*H* 298, Q. S., Nonn.), after νεφεληγερέτα (cf. Risch 1954: 394).

•ETYM See ▸ ἀστεροπή.

στέρφος [n.] 'skin, fur, hull' (A. R., Lyc., *AP*). ◂IE **sterbʰ-* 'become solid, get fixed; skin'▸

•VAR Also τέρφος (Nic.); also στρέφος· στρέμμα, δέρμα, βύρσα. Δωριεῖς 'band, skin, hide (Doric)' (H.) and ▸ ἔρφος.

•COMP στερφό-πεπλος 'with a πέπλος made of skin' (Lyc.); uncertain μελά<ν>-στερφος 'with a black skin' (A. *Fr.* 370 = 721 M.).

•DER στερφίνα· δερματίνη. οἱ δὲ δέρματα ὄνεια … 'leathern; the skin of an ass' (H.); cf. στέρφνιον· σκληρόν, στερεόν 'hard, firm' (H.). Denominative verb: στερφ-όω 'to dress with skins' (sch.), hence -ωτῆρα [acc.] 'dressed in skins' (Ibyc.); also στρέφωσις (for στέρφ-?)· κάλυψις ἀγγείων δέρματι γινομένη 'covering of vessels made of skin' (H.).

•ETYM For the alternation between anlauting στ- and τ-, cf. on (σ)τέγος, etc.; for the formation, cf. εἶρος, δέρος, πέκος, etc. Usually connected with the group of ▸ στερεός 'hard, firm'; cf. βοέης … στερεῇσι (Il.), στερεά δέρματα (Pl.). Cognates outside Greek are Ru. *stérbnut'* [v.] 'to become solid or hard; to die' < **stṛbʰ-*, OCS *(u)strabiti* 'to get better, recover' < **storbʰ-*, ON *stjarfi* [m.] 'lockjaw, tetanus', *stirfinn* 'stubborn', OHG *sterban* 'to die' (< **'to become stiff') < **sterbʰ-*, MIr. *ussarb* 'death' < **ud-sterbʰ-eh₂*, *srebann* [m.] 'skin'.

στεῦται [3sg.pres.] usually translated 'to announce formally, declare oneself ready, promise, threaten, affirm', but cf. Meier-Brügger in DELG *Supp.* s.v., who pleads for a translation 'to be manifest'; see below. ◂IE **steu-* 'be manifest'▸

•VAR Ipf. στεῦτο (Hom., A. R., A. *Pers.* 49 [anap.]), 3pl. στεῦνται (Maiist.), 1sg. στεῦμαι (conj. Orph.).

•DER Myc. *te-u-to* [m.] PN = **Στευτωρ (Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 70 (1992): 1)?

•ETYM An archaic epic word, corresponding to Skt. *stáuti* 'to praise, declare', stative *stáve* 'is praised', sigm. aor. *astoṣṭa*. Greek replaced the old stative ending **-o(i)* with middle **-to(i)* in στεῦται. The original meaning is found in Hitt. *ištuu̯āri* [3sg.pres.] 'to be manifest; be announced' < **stu-ó-ri* (Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). On the formation, see Narten 1968: 9-19.

στέφω, -ομαι [v.] 'to surround closely, enclose tightly, encase, wreathe, honor (with libations)', in prose often στεφανόω. ◁IE **steg^{wh}-* 'crown'▷

•VAR Aor. στέψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), pass. στεφθῆναι, fut. στέψω, -ομαι, perf. ἔστεμμαι (IA), ἐστεθμένος (Milete VI^{a}); cf. στέθματα below.

•COMP Also with περι-, ἐπι-, κατα-, etc. As a second member in χρυσο-στεφής 'consisting of a golden garland' (S.), but mostly verbal, e.g. καταστεφ-ής 'wreathed' (to κατα-στέφω, S., A. R.).

•DER στέφος [n.] 'wreath, garland' (Emp., trag., late prose), metaph. 'honoring libation' (A. *Ch.* 95); στέμμα, mostly plur. -ατα [n.] 'band, wreath' (Il.), also as an ornament of Roman statues of ancestors, 'family tree' (Plu., Sen., Plin.), 'guild' (late inscr.), with -ματίας epithet of Apollo (Paus.), -ματιαῖον mg. uncertain (H., *AB*), -ματόω 'to wreathe' (E.); on the byform στέθματα· τά στέμματα 'wreathes' (H.), see Schwyzer: 317. στέψις [f.] 'wreathing' (pap. III^{p}); στεπτικόν [n.] 'wreath-money, -toll' (pap. III^{p}). στεπτήρια· στέμματα, ἃ οἱ οἰκέται ἐκ τῶν κλάδων ἐξῆπτον 'wreaths which the slaves fastened from the branches' (H.); Στεπτήριον [n.] name of a Delphic festival (Plu.). στεφών [m.] 'summit' (Ephesus III^{a}), = ὑψηλός, ἀπόκριμνος 'high, sheer' (H.); after κολοφών, etc.; στεφάνη [f.] 'fillet, edge of a helmet' also 'helmet' (Trümpy 1950: 43 and Hainsworth *JHS* 78 (1958): 52), 'edge of a rock, pinnacle of a wall' (Il., epic poet., also Hell. and late prose). στέφανος [m.] 'wreath, frame, wreath of victory or honor, honor' (since N 736) with several derivations: -ιον, -ίσκος, -ίς, -ικός, -ιαῖος, -ίτης, -ιτικός, -ίζω, -ίξαι; especially στέφαν-όομαι, -όω 'to form a wreath, wreathe, crown, decorate, honor' (Il.), also with περι-, etc.; thence -ωμα, -ωματικός, -ωσις, -ωτής, -ωτίς and -ωτρίς, -ωτικός.

•ETYM Not related to Skt. *stabhnā́ti* 'to prop up', as is traditionally thought, since the Sanskrit word reflects **stm̥b^{h}-*, it is neither related to OHG *stabēn* 'to be fixed or stiff', ON *stafr* 'staff', and cognates, since the mg. is hardly compatible. Lidén 1924: 224ff. connected MoP *tāj* 'corona, diadema regium', Arm. *t'ag* 'id.' < PIE **(s)tog^{wh}-o-*, which is followed by LIV^{2} s.v.

στῆθος [n.] 'breast, chest', also as the seat of emotions, 'heart' (Il.), metaph. 'ball of the hand, foot' (medic.), 'sandbank' (Plb., etc.). ◁?▷

•VAR Frequently plur. -εα, -η.

•COMP στηθό-δεσμος, -ίς, -ία, -η 'breast-band' (Poll., LXX, Hell. pap.), μεγαλό-, μικρό-στηθος 'with wide or narrow chest' (Mnesith. *apud* Orib.).

•DER Diminutive στηθ-ίον (Alex., Arist., etc.), -ίδιον (Phryn.), -ύνιον (middle com., LXX); cf. χελύνιον 'lip, jawbone, etc.'. στηθ-αῖον 'breastwork' (sch.); perhaps στηθίας· ὄρνις ποιός 'some bird' (H.); στηθ-ικός (Arist.), -ιαῖος (inscr. IV^{p}, sch.) 'belonging to the breast'; -ιστήρ [m.] 'breast-plate of a horse's harness' (gloss.), cf. βραχιονιστήρ 'armlet', etc.

•ETYM As στῆθος is also Dor. and Aeol. (Sicyonic στᾶθος may have ᾱ < η; see Thumb-Kieckers 1932: 129), the connection with ▶ἵστημι (Chantraine 1933: 421, Benveniste 1935: 200) must be given up. The similarity to στήνιον· στῆθος (H.), Arm. *stin*, Skt. *stána-* [m.] 'female breast', etc. is hardly coincidental. If cognate, the relation between στήνιον and στῆθος would be like that of Lat. *plēnus* 'full' to πλῆθος 'multitude'.

στήλη [f.] 'column', e.g. for fixing a peace treaty, hence 'law, treaty'; also 'buttress' (IA since Il.). ◁IE *sth_2-sleh$_2$-▷
•VAR Dor. στάλα, Aeol. στάλλα.
•COMP στηλο-γραφέω 'to write on a column' (Hell. and late).
•DER Diminutives στηλ-ίον, -ίδιον, -ίς, -ῖδος, -ύδριον (Hell. and late). στηλ-ίτης, fem. -ῖτις 'whose name is written on a column as a denouncement, publicly dishonored' (Att.), 'column-shaped, belonging to columns' (Luc., *AP*), also -ιτεύω, -ίτευμα (late). στηλ-όω, -όομαι 'to erect (a column), designate by columns, demarcate, write on a column', also with ἀνα-, κατα-, ἐν-, περι-; thence -ωσις, -ωμα (Hell. and late).
•ETYM Traditionally reconstructed as PGr. *στάλ-νᾱ < PIE *$stl̥$-*n*- (on the treatment of the group -λν-, see Schwyzer: 283f.), from ▶στέλλω with a zero grade like in ἐπί-σταλ-μα (see also ▶στάλιξ). The same formation is found in OHG *stollo* [m. n] 'scafold, upport, post'. Risch 1937: 110 gives an alternative and more plausible reconstruction *στα-σλᾱ from the root of ▶ἵστημι, with the same suffix as e.g. Lat. *scālae* < **skand-slai*. Borrowed into Lyc. as *sttala* (Kretschmer *Glotta* 28 (1940): 103).

στῆμα ⇒στήμων.

στήμων, -ονος [m.] 'the warp in the upright loom, thread', also of a single thread (Hes.). ◁IE *$steh_2$- 'stand', *$steh_2$-*mon*-▷
•VAR Dor. -ά- (*AP*).
•COMP στημονο-νητικὴ τέχνη 'the art of spinning' (Pl.), χρυσο-στήμων 'with golden threads, gold-stitched' (Lyd.); an *o*-stem is found in στημο-ρραγέω 'to be unraveled into threads' (A.) and μανό-στημος 'with thin warp' (A.).
•DER στῆμα [n.] shaft or bearing in which the axle of a slip-hook works (Hero), 'the exterior part of the membrum virile' (Ruf., Poll.). Diminutives στημόν-ιον (Arist.), -ίας κίκιννος 'thread-like curl' (Cratin.), -ικός 'belonging to the warp' (pap. III^{P}), -ώδης 'warp-like' (Plu.), -ίζομαι 'to lay down the spokes of a web' (Arist.). Besides στημιν-ίον 'yarn, (weaving-)thread' (Delos III^{a}, Hell. pap.), cf. λιμέν-ιον to λίμνη (Schwyzer: 524); with loss of the ν: στημι-ίον (late pap.).
•ETYM From PIE *$steh_2$-*mn*-, related to Lat. *stāmen* [n.] 'thread, loom, warp', Skt. *sthāman*- [n.] 'standing-place', Go. *stomin* [dat.] = Gr. ὑπόστασις, OSw. *stomme* [m.] 'scaffolding, frame' < *stām-, and Lith. *stomuõ* 'body shape, stature'. Cf. the *o*-grade in στώμιξ· δοκὶς ξυλίνη 'wooden plank' (H.); with a zero grade, ▶στάμνος and ▶σταμῖνες. See ▶ἵστημι.

στήνια [n.pl.] 'festival in Athens before the Thesmophoria, where women uttered curses and insults' (Ar., H. , Phot.). ◁?▷
•DER στηνιῶσαι· βλασφημῆσαι, λοιδορῆσαι 'to slander' (H.).
•ETYM No etymology; the relation to ▶στήνιον is unclear.

στήνιον [n.] · στῆθος 'breast' (H.). ◁IE *$psten$-*o*- 'breast'▷
•ETYM The word has been connected to Arm. *stin* < *$pste/ēn$- and Skt. *stána*- 'breast', Av. *fštāna*-; probably related to ▶στῆθος.

στηρίζω, -ομαι [v.] 'to support, establish, attach; to found, stand up, lean on' (Democr., E. et al.) ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. -ίξαι, -ίξασθαι (Il.), also -ίσαι, -ίσασθαι (Hell. and late), pass. -ιχθῆναι (Tyrt., etc.), fut. -ίξω, -ίξομαι, -ίσω, -ιῶ, pass. -ιχθήσομαι, perf. med. ἐστήριγμαι, plpf. ἐστήρικτο (Il.), inf. ἐστηρίσθαι (LXX), act. ἐστήριχα (pap.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐπι-.

•DER στῆριγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'support' (Lys., X., D. S. et al.), a back-formation like σάλπιγξ (:-ίζω), στρόφιγξ, πλάστιγξ, etc. (ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-)στήριγμα [n.] 'support' (Hp., E., etc.), -ιγμός (ἀντι-) [m.] 'support; standing firm, still' (Arist., D. H., D. S. et al.). -ιξις (ἀπο-) 'establishment, support' (Hp.). -ικτής [m.] 'support' (sch.). -ικτικός 'standing firm, still' (Procl.).

•ETYM As στῆριγξ is clearly a back-formation, the original formation may be preserved in στῆρα· τὰ λίθινα πρόθυρα 'stone doorways' (H.), but the mg. of the gloss is rather specific. Cf. also the PN Στῆρις (Milete, Bechtel *KZ* 46 (1914): 375). Probably related to στερεός and cognates, but the details remain unclear. Cf. also ▸ σκηρίπτομαι, which has a similar formation.

στήτα [f.] = γυνή 'woman' (Theoc. *Syrinx* 14, Dosiad. *Ara* 1). ◂GR▸

•ETYM Jocular formation, created by scholars from A 6 διαστήτην (Leumann 1950: 112, Ruijgh 1957: 100f.).

στία [f.] 'small stone, pebble' (A. R. 2, 1172). ◂?▸

•VAR στῖον [n.] (Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 140).

•COMP πολύ-στῖος 'rich in pebbles' (Call., Nic.).

•DER στιώδης 'like a pebble, stone-hard' (Gal.), στιὰζει· λίθοις βάλλει 'throws with stones' (H.).

•ETYM This item formally agrees with Skt. *stíyāḥ* [pl.] 'standing waters', but the semantics are quite different. An intermediate meaning could be sought in Skt. *styāna-* 'curdled, stiff'. Other possible cognates are Go. *stains* [m.] 'stone' < PGm. **staina-* < **steh₂i-no-*, OCS *stěna*, Ru. *stená* [f.] 'wall' < **steh₂i-neh₂*.

στιβαρός, στίβη, στίβος, etc. ⇒στείβω.

στῖβι ⇒στῖμι.

στίζω [v.] 'to stitch, tattoo, brand' (IA). ◂IE **(s)teig-* 'sting'▸

•VAR Aor. στίξαι, pass. στιχθῆναι, fut. στίξω, perf. pass. ἔστιγμαι.

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, περι-, δια-. Also in περιστιγής 'variegated' (Nic.).

•DER στίγ-μα [n.] 'stitch, mark, brand' (Hes. *Sc.* 166, IA), also = δίγαμμα (Ϝ) as sign for the number 6 (attempt at an explanation by Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 53) with -ματίας [m.] 'branded one' (IA). (ἐπι-, δια-)στιγ-μή [f.] 'mar, spot, point, tittle' (IA) with -μιαῖος 'including just one point, without extension' (Hell. and late); -μός [m.] 'stitch, brand' (A. [lyr.]). στίξις (διά-) [f.] 'stitching' (late). στιγ-εύς [m.] 'stitcher, brander' (Hdt.), 'brandiron' (Suid.), probably directly from the verb; likewise -ων, -ωνος [m.] 'branded one' (Ar. *Fr.* 97). στίγος [m.], -ον [n.] 'point' (Archim.). στίκ-της [m.] 'stitcher, brander' (Herod.); -τός (κατά-) 'spotted, variegated' (trag., Arist., etc.).

•ETYM From PIE **(s)teig-* 'to prick, sting' (see LIV² s.v.): Go. *stiks*, OHG *stih* < PGm. **stiki-* [m.] 'stitch', MoHG *stechen* 'to sting', *Distel* 'thistle' (< PGm. **þīhstila-*);

denominative Lat. *īnstīgāre* 'to incite, provoke' < **steig-*, *stinguō* 'to extinguish' < **steng-* + *-u-*; Skt. *áti stig-* 'to penetrate', *stegá-* [m.] 'which stings', YAv. *stija* [ins.sg.] 'with the tip (of the tusk)', Skt. *tejate* 'to sharpen' < **teig-e-to-*, *tīkṣṇá-* [adj.] 'sharp, keen-eyed', *téjas-* [n.] 'sharp edge (of knife), sharpness', YAv. *bi-taēya-* 'having two sharp edges', *tiyra-* 'cutting, pointed, sharp'.

στίλβω [v.] 'to shine, gleam, shimmer' (Il., epic poet., late prose). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Rare and late aor. στίλψαι.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, etc.

•DER στίλβ-η [f.] 'lamp' (com.), Ἀττικοὶ δὲ ἔσοπτρον 'mirror (Att.)' (H.); -ηδών, -όνος [f.] 'brilliance, shimmer' (Thphr., Phld. et al.), cf. λαμπηδών; στίλψις [f.] 'sparkling' (Tz.); στιλβ-άς (γῆ) 'shimmering' (late), -αῖος = *coloratus* (gloss.), -ηδόν [adv.] 'gleaming, sparkling' (Suid.). στίλβ-ων, -οντος, -ωνος [m.] name of the planet Mercury (Arist. et al.), see Scherer 1953: 89f.

Further στιλβός 'gleaming' (Gal.), hence -ότης [f.] (v.l. for στιλπνότης Plu.); -όω 'to make shine' (LXX, Dsc.), hence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωθρον, -ωτής (LXX, Dsc. et al.). With -π- also στιλπνός 'shining, sparkling' (Ξ 351, Arist. et al.), hence -ότης (Gal., Plu. et al.), -όω 'to polish' (Arr., Gal.), -ωτής (Lyd.); for the suffix cf. θαλπνός 'warming', τερπνός 'delightful', etc.; PN Στίλπων.

•ETYM A connection to PCl. **stil-n-* (MIr. *sellaid*, *-sella* 'looks', OIr. *sell* 'eye, iris'; W *syllu* 'stare, gaze') seems far-fetched; no further cognates are known. If the root variant στιλπ- is not secondary from στίλψ-, the variation between -π- and -β- may point to Pre-Greek origin.

στῐ́λη [f.] 'drop' (Ar. *V.* 213), metaphorically 'small thing, moment'. ◂?▸

•ETYM Hardly related to Lat. *stīlla* 'drop' (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.); no other etymology.

στιλπνός ⇒στίλβω.

στῖμι [n.] 'powdered antimony, kohl, black make-up' (Ion trag., Antiph., LXX, Dsc., pap. et al.). ◂LW Eg.▸

•VAR Also -μμι-, -ις [f.], also στῖβι [n.].

•DER στιμι(μ)-ίζω, -ίζομαι, στιβίζομαι 'to make oneself up with kohl' (LXX, Str. et al.), -ισμα [n.].

•ETYM Borrowed from Eg. *ṣtim*, Copt. σθημ, στημ (Lewy 1895: 217). Borrowed from Greek as Lat. *stimi*, *stibi(um)*.

στῖφος [n.] 'crowd packed closely together, troop of warriors, ships, etc.' (Hdt., A., Ar., Th., X. et al.). ◂PG▸

•DER στιφρός 'packed closely together, tight, compact' (Ar., X., Arist., Hell. and late) with -ότης [f.] 'compactness' (middle com.), -άω 'to harden' (Ath., Eust.).

•ETYM For the alternation στῖφος : στιφρός, compare e.g. αἶσχος : αἰσχρός, κῦδος : κυδρός. The long root vowel may be secondary, like in στῖβη 'hoarfrost'. Sometimes compared to **stib^{h}-* in CS *stъblo* 'stem, stalk', Latv. *stiba* 'staff, rod', and perhaps also Skt. *stibhi-* [m.] 'bunch of flowers, bundle'. The semantics are, however, hardly compelling. Semantically close to ▸στείβω, but the different root-final poses a

problem and is perhaps best understood in terms of substrate origin; see further the discussion s.v. ►στείβω. Cf. also ►στριφνός.

στίχος ⇒στείχω.

στλεγγίς, -ίδος [f.] 'scraper for scraping off oil and dust, curry-comb' (Hp., Att.), often metaphorically of a splendid head ornament, a kind of tiara (X., Plb., Hell. inscr. et al.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Also στεγγίς, στελγ(γ)ίς, στελεγγίς, στλιγγίς, στρεγγίς, στεργίς; cf. Kretschmer *KZ* 33 (1895): 472f., Brugmann *IF* 30 (1912): 375. Also στλαγγίς (Nic. *apud* sch. Pl. *Chrm.* 161e).

•DER στλεγγ-ίδιον (Hell.), -ίον (sch.), -ίζομαι 'to scrape off' (Suid.), hence -ισμα [n.] 'scraped-off dirt' (Arist., Lyc.), -ιστρον [n.] = στλεγγίς (*EM*).

•ETYM A loanword from an unknown source, Neumann 1961: 94f. points to Hitt. *ištalk-*^{zi} 'to level, smoothen'. The variant with α may also point to substrate origin.

στλεγγύς [?] 'kind of corn' (Thphr. *H.P.* 8, 4, 3).

•ETYM No etymology. The lemma is often deleted, see e.g. Amigues *RPh.* 75 (2001): 156 and DELG *Supp.* s.v. στλεγγίς.

στοά [f.] 'colonnade, portico, storage room', also as a name of the Stoic school, στοὰ ποικίλη (Att.). ◄IE **steh$_2$-u-* 'stand',► **stoh$_2$-u-ih$_2$*►

•VAR Also στοιά (Ar. [anap.], inscr.), στοιή (Erythrai, Hdt.), στωϊά (Cnossos, Mytilene).

•COMP προ-στῷον 'portico located in front (of the rooms), porch' (Att.), hypostasis.

•DER Diminutive στωΐδιον, στοΐδιον [n.] (Delos, Str. et al.), adjective στω-ϊκός 'belonging to the Stoic school, Stoic' (Hell. and late), hence -ικεύομαι 'to act like a Stoic' (late); disparagingly Στόαξ (Στώαξ?) 'miserable Stoic' (Herm. Iamb. 1; Björck 1950: 48 and 263).

•ETYM From *στωϝ-ιά, a collective formation in -ιά (with shortening of the ω in στοιά, and subsequent loss of the ι in στοά; see Schwyzer: 244, 349, 469; on the phonetic development, see also Adrados *Emerita* 18 (1950): 408ff.). The Indo-European proto-form would be **stoh$_2$-u-ih$_2$*. An *e*-grade is found in ►σταυρός, and a zero grade in ►στῦλος. Further related to Lith. *stovėti* 'stand', *stovà* [f.] 'stand, position', OCS *staviti* 'to place, put', OE *stōwian* 'to keep from' (see Kortlandt *Baltistica* 25:2 (1989): 104-112). The root is **steh$_2$-* 'to stand'. See ►ἵστημι.

στόβος ⇒στέμβω.

στοιβή ⇒στείβω.

στοιχεῖον, στοῖχος ⇒στείχω.

στολή, στόλος ⇒στέλλω.

στόλοκρος [adj.] 'with horns not yet fully grown' (H. s.v. κόλον); 'with shortened hair' (H.); τὸ στόλοκρον = κορδύλη 'club, cudgel' (Phot.). ◄GR?►

•ETYM Recalls ►φαλακρός 'bald-headed'. The first part may be στόλος (see ►στέλλω), although the semantics are difficult. The second part -κρ-ος may be from κέρας; cf. ►δίκρος, and see also Nussbaum 1986: 73.

στόμα [n.] 'mouth, muzzle, front, peak, edge' (Il.). ◄IE **steh$_3$-mn-* 'mouth'►

•VAR Aeol. στύμα (Theoc.), -ατος.

•DIAL Myc. *To-ma-ko*, *Tu-ma-ko* /στόμαργος/ (Mühlestein *SMEA* 2 (1967): 43ff.; Killen *Minos* 27-8, 1992-1993 [95]: 101-7).

•COMP στόμ-αργος 'chattering' (trag.), to ἀργός (Willis *AmJPh.* 63 (1942): 87ff.: 'shining' > 'bright' > 'loud'?), if not after γλώσσ-αργος, which could stand for γλώσσ-αλγος (see ►γλῶσσα with references); Blanc *RPh.* 65 (1991): 59-66 analyses the word as στόμα + μάργος 'furious', see also Blanc *BAGB* 1 (1996): 8-9; cf. also Πόδ-αργος (s.v. ►πούς); εὖ-στομος 'with a beautiful mouth, speaking nicely', also 'silent' (Hdt., X., etc.); further rare στοματ-ουργός 'word-making, grandiloquent' (Ar.). κακο-στόματος (*AP*) for κακό-στομος (E. et al.).

•DER στόμ-ιον [n.] 'mouth, opening, denture, bit, bridle' (IA), rarely 'mouth' (Nic.), with -ίς [f.] 'halter' (Poll.); ἐπι-στομ-ίζω [v.] 'bridle, curb' (Att.), also 'to shut up one's mouth' (late). στόμ-ις [m.] 'hard-mouthed horse' (A. *Fr.* 442 = 649 M.; cf. Schwyzer: 462^3), also -ίας 'id.' (Afric., Suid.), στομ-ώδης 'speaking nicely' (S.), 'savory' (Sor.); στόμ-ίζομαι 'to take into the mouth' (Aq.), with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-στομίζω 'to remove the edge' (Philostr.). στομ-όω (ἀνα-, etc.) 'to stop the mouth, provide with an opening, edge, to harden' (IA), -ωμα [n.] 'mouth' (A.), 'hardening, which is hardened, steel' (Cratin., Arist., Hell. and late), -ωμάτιον (gloss.), -ωσις [f.] 'hardening' (S., Hell. and late), -ωτής = *indurator* (gloss). Further στομάτ-ιον [n.] diminutive (Sor.), -ικός 'belonging to the mouth' (medic., etc.), ἀπο-στοματ-ίζω 'to repeat, interrogate' (Pl., Arist., etc.). See also ►στόμαχος, ►στωμύλος.

•ETYM The PIE *men*-stem **steh$_3$-mn-* was either originally neuter or later reinterpreted as a verbal noun in -μα (Schwyzer: 524^5); cf. the abundant occurrence of the short stem form στομ- in compounds and derivatives (cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 163). Cognates are found in Av. *staman-* [m.] 'mouth (of a dog)' (on the short *a*, see Lubotsky *Kratylos* 42 (1997): 56f.), W *safn* 'jaw-bone', and Hitt. $^{(UZU)}$*ištāman- / ištamin-* 'ear' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. for details). Greek generalized the zero grade **sth$_3$-mn-*, like in ὄνομα < **h$_3$nh$_3$-mn-*. Go. *stibna*, OHG *stimna*, *stimma* 'voice' are unrelated.

στόμαχος [m.] 'throat' (Il.), 'gullet' (Hp., Arist. et al.), 'mouth (of the bladder, uterus)' (Hp.), '(upper orifice of the) stomach' (late), 'anger' (Vett. Val., pap. II-III^p). ◄GR►

•COMP Compounds εὐ-, κακο-στόμαχος 'beneficial, harmful', of food (medic.).

•DER στομαχ-ικός 'of the stomach', -ικεύομαι 'disorder in the stomach' (late medic.); -έω = *stomachor* (Dosith.).

•ETYM From στόμα, with the same suffix as in οὐραχός, οὐρίαχος (see ►οὐρά), κύμβαχος, etc. (Schwyzer: 498, Chantraine 1933: 403). There is a Lat. LW *stomachus* 'gullet, stomach' with *stomachor*, *-āri* 'to be indignant', whence by semantic back-formation *stomachus* 'annoyance'; στόμαχος 'annoyance' is probably a loan from Latin.

στόμφος ⇒στέμβω.

στοναχή ⇒στένω.

στόνυξ, -υχος [m.] 'peak of a rock, of a fang, of a claw, etc.' (E. *Cycl.* 401, codd. γ'ὄνυξ, A. R., Opp., *AP*), στόνυχας· τὰ εἰς ὀξὺ λήγοντα καὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀνύχων 'which ends in a sharp point, and the tips of claws', στόνυξι· κέρασι 'horns' (H.). ◂PG(S)▸
•ETYM Assumed to be a cross of ►ὄνυξ and ►στόχος, ►στάχυς or ►στόρθυγξ (see Güntert 1914: 139); uncertain. Rather Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix.

στορέννυμι, στορεύς ⇒στόρνυμι.

στόρθυγξ, -υγγος [m., f.] 'cusp, tine (of an antler), fang, cape, etc.' (S., *Com. Adesp.*, Lyc., *AP* et al.). ◂PG(S)▸
•VAR στόρθη· τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ δόρατος, καὶ ἐπιδορατίς 'the sharp [point] of a spear, tip of a lance or spear' (H.).
•ETYM Like its synonym στόνυξ, στόρθυγξ is built like φάρυγξ, σπῆλυγξ, σπόρθυγγες, etc. These words have been connected with ►στερεός 'stiff, hard' and, outside Greek, with ON *stirðr* 'stiff, unbending', *storð* [f.] 'grass, green stalk' and ON *stertr* [m.] 'bird's tail', OHG *sterz*. None of the Germanic formations exactly corresponds to the Greek one, and the semantics of the etymology are vague, so the connection is at best a possibility. We should better accept that the word is non-Indo-European (thus Pre-Greek) on account of its suffix.

στόρνυμι [v.] 'to stretch out, spread out, make one's bed; to level, pave, strew, sprinkle' (ρ 32 and later). ◂IE **sterh$_3$-* 'spread out'▸
•VAR στρώννυμι (A. *Ag.* 909 [στορνύναι Elmsley], Hell. and late), στορέννυμι (late), all root variants also with -ύω, aor. στορέσαι (Il.), στρῶσαι (IA), pass. στορεσθῆναι (Hp. et al.), στρωθῆναι (D. S., etc.), perf.pass. ἔστρωμαι (K 155, etc.), ἐστόροται or -ηται (Aeol. gramm.), ἐστόρεσμαι (late), act. ἔστρωκα (Hell. and late), fut. στορῶ (Ar.), στρώσω (E., etc.), Dor. στορεσεῖν (Theoc.), στρωννύσω (Ps.-Luc.), pass. στρωθήσομαι (LXX), verbal adj. στρωτός (Hes.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ὑπο-, κατα-, ἐπι-.
•DER στρῶμα (κατά-, ὑπό-, etc.) [n.] 'which is spread out, carpet, bedding, layer' (IA), -άτιον [n.] (Hell. and late), -ατεύς [m.] 'bed-sack' (Thphr. et al.), 'variegated patchwork' (Gell.), name of a fish (Philo *apud* Ath.), after its golden stripes, see Boßhardt 1942: 62, Strömberg 1943: 28), -ατίτης ἔρανος 'picnic with one's own equipment' (Cratin.), -ατίζω [v.] 'to provide with carpet, plaster' (Hell. inscr., Poll., H.).
στρωμνή, Dor. -ά, Aeol. -ᾱ [f.] 'carpet, mattress, bed' (Sapph., Pi., Att., etc.), with -άομαι in ἐστρωμνιμένος (Phot.); cf. λίμνη, ποίμνη.
στρῶσις (ὑπό-, etc.) [f.] 'the spreading, plastering' (Hell. and late). στρωτήρ [m.] 'cross-beam, roof lath' (Ar. *Fr.* 72, Hell. and late), with -ήριον, -ηρίδιον 'id.' (*EM*, H., Suid.); στρώτης [m.] 'one that prepares the beds and dinner couches' (middle com., Plu.). Furthermore, the isolated στορεύς [m.] 'the lower, flat part of a device for making fire' (H., sch.). = γαληνοποιός (H.), which is probably derived from *στόρος or -ά? With *o*-grade also στόρνη [f.] = ζώνη (Call., Lyc.). The appurtenance of Myc.

a-pi to-ni-jo (of uncertain mg.) is unclear (see Taillardat *REGr.* 73 (1960): 5ff.). Also here στορνυτέα· καταστρωτέα, περιοικοδομητέα (H.).

•ETYM The three root forms in στόρ-νυμι : στορέ-σαι : στρω-τός, ἔ-στρω-μαι are partially leveled: στρώννυμι and στρῶσαι after στρωτός, ἔστρωμαι; στορέννυμι after στορέσαι. We find the same metathesis of the expected full grade στερο- < **sterh$_3$-* to στορε-, like in ►κορέννυμι, θόρνυμαι (s.v. ►θρώσκω), etc. Cognates with a nasal present outside Greek are Skt. *stṛṇā́ti* 'to spread out, extend, strew', Lat. *sternō* 'to spread out', OIr. *sernim* 'id.', Alb. *shtrin* 'id.'. The zero grade στρωτός corresponds to Lat. *strātus*, Lith. *stìrta* [f.] 'haystack'; cf. also Skt.*stīrṇá-* 'spread out' < **strh$_3$-no-*. Gr. στρῶμα corresponds to Lat. *strāmentum* 'straw', while στόρνη corresponds to Ru. *storoná* 'region, side', but both formations are probably independent innovations. Cf. further ►στέρνον and ►στρατός.

στορύνη [f.] designation of a surgical instrument, 'lancet, κατιάδιον' (Aret.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unexplained; for the formation, cf. ►τορύνη.

στορχάζειν [v.] · εἰς <ση>κοὺς κατακλείειν τὰ βοσκήματα 'to shut the cattle into the pen', στορχάσω· συγκλείσω 'shut', ἐστόρχαζον· ἔκλειον 'was/were shutting' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Denominative derivative from an unattested form *στόρχος, -ή without etymology. Cf. ►ταρχύω.

στόχος [m.] 'erected pillar, post, mark, fixed target' (E., X., Poll., Att. inscr.), also 'suspicion' (A., after στοχάζομαι)? A very rare word; part of the attestations is blurred. ◅IE? **steg^h-* 'sting, bar'▻

•COMP ἄ-στοχος 'missing the target', εὔ-στοχος 'aiming well, hitting well' (Att., Hell. and late), hence ἀ-, εὐ-στοχ-ία, -έω.

•DER στοχ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'raising for the poles of fixing-nets' (Poll.); also adjective, mg. unclear (E. *Hel.* 1480 [lyr.], probably wrong v.l. for στολάδες); -ανδόν [adv.] 'by conjecture' (Theognost.). Denominative στοχάζομαι 'to target, shoot, seek to achieve, guess, conjecture, explore' (Hp., Att., Hell. and late), also with κατα-, etc.; (κατα-) στοχασμός, -ασις, -αστής, -αστικός; also στόχασμα [n.] 'javelin' (E. *Ba.* 1205; cf. Chantraine 1933: 145).

•ETYM No certain cognates outside Greek. Since the original meaning seems to have been 'erected pillar, post', we can compare Ru. *stog* [m.] 'heap, heap of hay' < **stog^h-*, Bulg. *stéžer* 'post to bind horses to', Lith. *stāgaras* 'long, thin stalk of a plant', Latv. *stę̄ga* 'long bar'. Not related (pace Frisk) is OE *staca* 'stake', which belongs to MoHG *stechen* < **stig-*; cf. s.v. ►στίζω. The following forms from Germanic do belong here, however: ODan. *stag* 'point, germ'; OHG *stanga*, ON *stǫng* [f.] 'stick, pole', ON *stinga*, OE *stingan* 'to sting', etc. (on the relation with ►στάχυς, see s.v.).

στραβός ⇒στρεβλός.

στράγξ, -γγός [f.] 'squeezed out drop' (Arist., Thphr., Men., *AP* et al.). ◅PG▻

•COMP στραγγ-ουρ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] = ἡ κατὰ στράγγα οὔρησις 'urination in trickles' (Gal.), 'strangury' (Hp., Att., Hell. and late), -ικός, -ιώδης, -ιάω, -έω; στραγγ-ίζω [v.] 'to squeeze out drop by drop' (LXX, Dsc. et al.), also with κατα-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-; στραγγ-

εύομαι (also -γ-) 'to hesitate, linger, dawdle' (Ar., Pl. Hell. and late), with -εία [f.] 'hesitation' (M. Ant.).

•DER στραγγ-ός (also -γ-) 'flowing drop by drop', also 'tied together, entangled, by shocks, irregular' (medic., etc.), -εῖον [n.] 'drop-bottle' (medic.). στραγγ-ίας (πυρός) 'kind of wheat' (Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 91.

With a suffix -λ-: στραγγάλη [f.] 'cord, rope, noose' (J., Plu., S. E.), -αλίς [f.] 'entangled knot, induration' (com. V^{a}, Arist. et al.), -αλιά [f.] 'id.' (LXX, etc.), see Scheller 1951: 88, -αλιώδης 'knotty, entangled' (LXX, *Com. Adesp.*), -αλάω [v.] 'to choke, strangle' (Men., LXX), -αλίζω 'id.' (D. S., Str. et al.), also with άπο-; -αλισμός (gloss.), -αλόομαι 'to become entangled, ensnared' (Ph. *Bel.* et al.).

•ETYM For the formation of στράγξ, cf. στρίγξ, λύγξ, κλαγγ-ί, etc.; for that of στραγγ-άλη, cf. σκυτ-άλη, etc. Cognates are often assumed in Lat. *stringō* 'to string, tie together', if from **strengō* with analogical *i* (see s.v. in De Vaan 2008); Latv. *stingt* < **strng^{h}-* 'to become stiff, wither'; MIr. *srengim* 'to draw, drag'; ON *strangr* 'hard, rigid', OHG *strengi* 'stretched, stiff', MoE *string*. The PIE root **streng^{h}-* probably meant 'to twist, string', which would have developed into 'to wrench'. If related, στραγγ- must be a contamination of *στραγ- < **strŋg^{h}-* and *στρεγγ- < **streng^{h}-*, with **g* for **g^{h}* from the nom.sg. στράγξ. In view of the fact that an Indo-European derivation requires several analogies and is not evident semantically, it is not improbable that the word is Pre-Greek. Note the variant forms without nasal, which may point to prenasalization.

στραπή, στράπτω ⇒ἀστραπή.

στρατός [m.] 'troop, department of the people' (Pi., trag., Crete), 'troop of warriors, army, navy' (Il.), also '(military) camp' (Il.); στάρτοι· αἱ τάξεις τοῦ πλήθους '(battle) arrays of a multitude (of men)' (H.). ◂IE **ster-* 'camp, spread out'▸

•VAR Aeol. στρότος (Sapph.), Cret. σταρτος (inscr.).

•COMP στρατ-ηγός (IA), -ᾱγός (Dor. Arc.) [m.] 'army commander' (cf. Chantraine 1956a: 90), στρατό-πεδον [n.] 'army camp, army, fleet' (IA), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 15; also as a second member, e.g. in δεξί-στρατος 'receiving a host' (B.); in addition, numerous PNs.

•DER Collective formation στρατ-ιά, -ιή [f.] 'troop, host, army', also 'campaign' = στρατεία (Pi., IA), see Scheller 1951: 84f., with -ιώτης [m.] 'warrior, soldier' (IA), -ιωτικός (Att.), -ιωτάριον [n.] mg. uncertain, perhaps 'soldier's sack' (pap. III^{p}). στράτ-ιος, fem. -ία 'warlike', also as an epithet of Zeus, Ares, and Athena (Alc., Hdt. et al.); also -ειος, -εία 'id.' (Mylasa II^{a}). στρατύλλαξ [m.] disparaging diminutive of στρατηγός (Cic. *Att.*; cf. Delph. Στρατυλλις). Denominative στρατ-άομαι (-όομαι?) 'to troop together', only in epic ipf. ἐστρατόωντο (Il., A. R., Nonn.), also with ἀμφι-, ἐπι-, συν-; cf. Leumann 1950: 185, Chantraine 1942: 80, 359, 364; στρατ-όομαι in the ptc. στρατωθέν (στόμιον) 'consisting of an army' (A. *Ag.* 133 [lyr.]; Wackernagel 1916: 125). Further στρατ-εύω, -εύομαι 'to wage war, serve in the army' (IA), also with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν-, etc.; -εία, Ion. -ηῖη [f.] (ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν-) 'campaign, war-service' (IA), -ευμα [n.] 'campaign, army' (IA), -ευσις (ἐπι-) [f.] 'campaign' (Hdt., D. H. et al.), -εύσιμος, -ευτικός.

•ETYM Probably originally 'camping army', reflecting **str-to-*, the *to*-ptc. of the root **ster-* 'to spread (out)' reflected in Skt. *stṛṇóti* 'to lay down, destroy' (see Narten *MSS* 22 (1967): 57-66, LIV² s.v. **ster-*); cf. further s.v. ►στέρνον 'breast, chest'. Corresponds exactly to Skt. *stṛta-* 'thrown down, sprinkled', *á-stṛta-* 'unconquered, unconquerable', Av. *stərəta-* 'spread out', OIr. *sreth* 'strewn'. The relation between the two roots **ster-* and **sterh₃-* is yet to be clarified.

στρεβλός [adj.] 'turned, twisted, crooked, cunning' (IA). ◄PG(V)►

•DER στρεβλ-ότης [f.] 'crook, perversity' (Plu. et al.); στρεβλ-όω 'to twist, dislocate, torture, torment' (IA), also with δια-, κατα-; hence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτήριος; also -ευμα [n.] 'perversion' (Sm.). στρέβλη [f.] 'winch, roll, screw', also as an instrument of torture (A., Arist., Plb., etc.); formation like σμίλη, among others.

With *o*-grade we find: στρόβος [m.] 'whirl' (A. *Ag.* 657, H.); hence στρόβ-ῑλος [m.] 'top, whirlwind, whirlpool, fir-cone' (Att., Hell. and late), -ίλιον, -ιλίτης, -ιλέα, -ιλᾶς, -ιλεών, -ίλινος, -ιλώδης, -ιλίζω, -ιλόω (all late). στροβ-ίλη [f.] 'cone made of lint' (Hp.). στροβ-εύς [m.] a fuller's instrument (sch.). στροβ-εία [f.] 'fullery(?)' (Delos III[a]). στροβελός· σοβαρός, τρυφερός 'rushing, delicate'; -ελόν· σκολιόν, καμπύλον 'curved, bent' (H.). στροβανίσκος· τρίπους 'three-footed' (H.). στροβάζων· συνεχῶς στρεφόμενος 'turning around continuously' (H.). Denominative στροβέω [v.] 'to turn around in circles, move violently, distract' (A., Ar., Hell. and late), also with δια-, etc. With nasal infix στρόμβος [m.] 'top' (Ξ 413), 'whirlwind' (A. *Pr.* 1084), 'snail-shell, snail, etc.' (Arist., Hell. poet.) with στρομβο-ειδής, -ώδης (Arist. et al.), -εῖον, -ιλος, -ηδόν, -έω, -όω (late).

With zero grade: στραβός 'squinting' (medic.), with -ων 'id.' (*Com. Adesp.*), also as a PN; στράβ-αξ PN, -ότης [f.] 'squint' (Orib. et al.), -ίζω 'to squint' (H., *EM*) with -ισμός (Gal. et al.). The original mg. is still present in στραβο-πόδης 'with twisted feet' (Hdn.). Further στράβηλος [m., f.] 'wild olive-tree' (Pherecr. [lyr.]), name of a snail (S. *Fr.* 324, Arist. et al.); στραβαλός· ὁ στρογγυλίας καὶ τετράγωνος ἄνθρωπος. Ἀχαιοί 'the well-rounded and square (i.e., perfect) man (Achaean)' (H.); στραβεύς· κωπεύς 'oar-spar' (H.) (Chantraine 1928: 17). Further, a number of forms with a root στροιβ- appear to be related: στροῖβος· δῖνος 'whirl, rotation' (H.) (cod. στροιβός· δεινός); Att. PN Στροῖβος; στροιβᾶν· ἀντιστρέφειν 'to turn to the opposite side', στροίβηλος· ἔπαρμα πληγῆς ἐν κεφαλῇ 'a swelling in the head caused by a blow' (H.); πολύ-στροιβος 'whirly' (Nic.), after πολύ-φλοισβος; hence the simplex στροῖβος, etc.? Perhaps also with -ει- in Thess. Στρειβουνείοι (see Bechtel 1921, 1: 210)? Borrowed as Lat. *strabus*, *strabō*, *strambus*.

•ETYM Reminiscent of ►στρέφω 'to twist, turn', in spite of the different labial. The variant with prenasalization and the frequent occurence wih the non-Indo-European suffix -ιλ- point to Pre-Greek origin. The root variant with -οι-, if not secondary (see above), is unexplained. Often taken together with ►ἀστραβής, which is doubtful.

στρεύγομαι [v.] 'to be exhausted, troubled' (epic O 512, μ 351). ◄?►

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DER στρευγεδών [f.] 'exhaustion, trouble' (Nic.), like τηκε-, σηπε-δών, etc.

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ON *strjúka* 'to smoothen', OE *stroccian* 'id.', OCS *strъgati*, Ru. *strogát'* 'to plane', *strug* 'plane'. However, this etymology is semantically unlikely and formally impossible: both the Germanic (an original geminate *-*kk*- < *-*g*^{h}*n*-; see Kroonen 2009) and the Slavic forms (with no trace of Winter's Law) point to **streug*^{h}-. van Windekens *Orbis* 11 (1962): 343 compares ToB *sruk*- 'to die' (ToA *sruk*- 'to kill'), but the initial cluster is incompatible. No further etymology.

στρέφω, -ομαι [v.] 'to twist, turn', intr. and med. also 'to run' (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Dor. στράφω? (Nisyros III^{a}; quite doubtful), Aeol. στρόφω (*EM*), aor. στρέψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), Dor. ἀπο-στράψαι (Delph.), pass. στρεφθῆναι (Hom. [intr.], rarely Att.), Dor. στραφθῆναι (Sophr., Theoc.), στραφῆναι (Hdt., Sol., Att.), ἀν-εστρέφησαν (late Lac., etc., Thumb-Scherer 1959: 42), fut. στρέψω (E., etc.), perf. med. ἔστραμμαι (*h. Merc.*), Hell. also ἐστρεμμένος (Mayser 1906-1938, I: 2: 196), act. ἔστροφα (Hell.), also ἔστραφα (Plb.).

•COMP Very frequent with prefixes: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι, κατα-, μετα-, ὑπο-. The derivative στρόφος 'band, cord, cable' (see also below) occurs in ἐΰ-στροφος = ἐϋ-στρεφής 'well-twisted, easy to twist or bend' (N599 = 711, E., Pl., etc.), -φία [f.] 'flexibility' (Hell. and late); ἀντίστροφ-ος 'turned face to face, according' (Att., etc.), to ἀντι-στρέφω. Furthermore, in οἰακοστροφ-έω 'to turn the rudder' (A.) from οἰακο-στρόφος (Pi., A.). στροφο-δινοῦνται 'to wheel around eddying' (A. *Ag.* 51 [anap.]), replacing στρεφε-δίνηθεν [3pl.aor.pass.] 'they turned around, swindled' (*H* 792; act. in Q. S. 13, 7), probably a combination of στρέφομαι and δινέομαι (Schwyzer: 645); στρεψο-δικέω 'to pervert the right' (Ar.), στρεψί-μαλλος 'with frizzly wool' (Ar.); cf. Schwyzer: 442.

•DER With *e*-grade of the root: στρεπ-τός [adj.] 'twisted, flexible' (Il.), [m.] 'necklace, curl, etc.' (IA), -άριον (Paul Aeg.). -τικός (ἐπι-, μετα-, etc.) 'serving to twist' (Pl. et al.). στρεπ-τήρ [m.] 'door hinge' (*AP*). στρέμμα (περι-, διά-, etc.) [n.] 'twist, strain' (D., medic., etc.), σύ-στρεμμα 'ball, swelling, round drop, heap, congregation' (Hp., Arist., Hell. and late). στρέψ-ις (ἐπι-) [f.] 'turning, turn' (Hp., Arist.), -αῖος, PN -ιάδης; στρεπτ-ίνδα [adv.] kind of play (Poll.). ἐπιστρεφ-ής 'turning to (something), attentive' (IA) with -εια [f.] (pap. III^{p}).

With *o*-grade: στρόφος [m.] 'band, cord, cable' (Od.), 'gripes' (Ar., medic.); hence στρόφ-ιον [n.] 'breast-band, headband' (com., inscr. et al.), -ίς (περι-, etc.) [f.] 'id.' (E. et al.), -ίολος [m.] 'edge, border' (Hero), -ώδης 'causing gripes' (Hp. et al.), -ωτός 'provided with pivots' (LXX), -ωμα [n.] 'pivot, door hinge' with -ωμάτιον (Hell.), -ωτήρ [m.] 'oar' (gloss.), -όομαι 'to have gripes' (medic. et al.), ἐκστροφῶσαι (H. s.v. ἐξαγκυρῶσαι τὴν θύραν), -έω 'to cause gripes' (Ar.); στροφή (ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'twisting, turning around, etc.' (IA), -αῖος epithet of Hermes (Ar. *Pl.* 1153). From στροφή or στρόφος: στρόφ-ις [m.] 'clever person' (Ar., Poll.), -εῖον [m.] 'winch, cable, etc.' (Hell. and late), -άς [f.] 'turning' (S. [lyr.], Arat. et al.), -ά̓δες νῆσοι (Str. et al.), -στροφάδην (only with ἐπι-, περι-, etc.) 'turning around' (epic Ion.). Further στροφ-εύς [m.] 'door hinge, cervical vertebra' (Ar., Thphr. et al.), -ιγξ [m., f.] 'pivot, door hinge' (E., com., etc.).

With λ-enlargement: στρόφ-αλος [m.] 'top' (V-VI^{P}); -άλιγξ [f.] 'vertebra, curve, etc.' (Il., epic), -αλίζω [v.] 'to turn, spin' (o 315, *AP*).
With lengthened grade: iter.-intens. στρωφ-άω, -άομαι (ἐπι-, μετα-, etc.) 'to turn to and fro, linger' (Il., epic Ion. poet.), -έομαι 'to turn' (Aret.).
With zero grade: ἐπιστραφ-ής = ἐπιστρεφ-ής (see above; late). PN Στραψι-μένης (Dor.).
•ETYM The root has no Indo-European cognates. Still, LIV^{2} s.v. **streb^{h}-* lists the root as Indo-European. However, as Van Beek suggests (p.c.), a comparison with ►στρεβλός and cognates strongly favors the conclusion that we are dealing with a Pre-Greek root (with variation β/φ).

στρηνές [adv.] 'loudly, shrilly', especially of sounds (A. R., *AP*). ◄IE?►
•VAR Also adj. στρηνός 'loud, shrill' (Nicostr. Com.).
•COMP στρηνό-φωνος (Call. Com.).
•DER στρην-ύζω [v.] 'to trumpet', of an elephant (Juba 37; cod. στρυν-), after ὀλολ-ύζω, etc. Also nominal στρῆνος [n.] 'recklessness' (LXX, *Apoc.*, *AP*), [m.] 'strong desire' (Lyc.), hence στριν-ιάω [v.] 'to revel, live unrestrained' (med. com., *Apoc.*, pap. III^{P}, etc.; Schwyzer: 732). From H.: στρηνύεται· στρηνιᾷ; ἀστρηνές· δύσθετον, σκαιόν, ὀξύ 'in bad case, mischievous, sharp'.
•ETYM The exact semantic relation between στρηνές and στρῆνος is unclear. Traditionally compared to Lat. *strēnuus* 'active, vigorous'. This connection may be correct, although it is not evident semantically (see De Vaan 2008 for an alternative etymology of the Latin word). The Greek words may also reflect a lengthened grade derivation of the root of ►στερεός, but this remains speculative.

στριβιλικίγξ [?] 'little drop' (Ar. *Ach.* 1035). ◄ONOM►
•ETYM Sound-imitating formation; for the suffix, cf. φῦσιγξ, κύστιγξ, etc., as well as λίκιγξ = ἡ ἐλαχίστη βοὴ τῶν ὀρνέων and στρίβος· λεπτὴ καὶ ὀξεῖα φωνή (see sch. ad loc.). See also ►στρί(γ)ξ 1.

στρί(γ)ξ 1 [f.] 'owl' (*Carm. Pop.*, Theognost.); cf. στρίγλος· … οἱ δὲ νυκτοκόρακα 'night-raven (vel sim.)' (H.). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Also στλίξ, acc. στρίγγα.
•ETYM Formation like γλαῦξ, σκώψ, λύγξ, etc., and reminiscent of Lat. *strix*, *-gis* 'screech-owl', which lacks the nasal. Either may be a loan of the other; the Greek word is often assumed to be influenced by or derived from ►τρίζω 'to buzz, squeak', but its facultative nasal may point to substrate origin.

-στριξ 2
•ETYM In ►ξέστριξ ?

στριφνός [adj.] 'dense, solid, hard' (Ion. Hell. and late). ◄?►
•DER -ότης [f.] 'density' (D. H.); also στρίφνος [m.] 'food that is difficult to chew' (στρίφνος ἁμάσητος ἀκατάποτος LXX).
•ETYM Reminiscent of στιφρός (see ►στῖφος), στέριφος, and στρυφνός, possibly a contamination. Cf. also στρίφος = λίσπος (Suid.). Possibly related to MLG and MoLG *strif*, *stref* 'stiff, severe, solid', MHG and MoHG *streben* 'to strive'.

στρόβος ⇒στρεβλός.

στροβύλος some bird, cf. André 1956 s.v. *strophilus*.
•ETYM No etymology.

στρογγύλος [adj.] 'round, spherical, compact' (IA). ◂PG(S)▸
•COMP E.g. στρογγυλο-πρόσωπος 'round-faced' (Arist., pap.), ὑπο-στρόγγυλος 'somewhat rounded' (Thphr. et al.).
•DER στρογγυλ-ότης [f.] 'roundness' (Pl., Arist.). στρογγύλ-ιον [n.] 'round bottle' (pap. VI^{p}). στρογγύλλω [v.] 'to round (off)', with -μα [n.] (late). 4. στρογγυλ-ίζω 'id.' (D. H.) with -ισμα [n.] 'terse expression' (Anon. *Fig.*). 5. στρογγυλ-όομαι [v.] 'to be(come) circular' (Plu. et al.), -ωσις [f.] (Hp., LXX et al.), -ωμα [n.] (Al.). στρογγυλ-αίνω [v.] 'to make round' (Hippiatr.), -εύματα (H. s.v. γογγυλεύματα).
•ETYM Formation like γογγ-ύλος, καμπ-ύλος, ἀγκ-ύλος, etc. Connected to ▸στράγξ by Frisk, but the meanings of the two words are not obviously connected. If the etymology is correct, στρογγύλος was either derived from a form with *o*-grade in the root, or it was influenced by γογγ-ύλος (Güntert 1914: 146f.). However, the whole complex (with or without στράγξ) may instead be Pre-Greek, in view of the suffix -υλ-.

στροῖβος, στρόμβος ⇒στρεβλός.

στροῦθος, στρουθός [m., f.] 'sparrow, (generally) small bird' (B 311, etc.), also 'ostrich' (= σ. κατάγαιος, σ. ἡ μεγάλη, etc.; IA); name of a flatfish (Ael.), see Strömberg 1943: 117; στροῦς· ὁ στρουθὸς καὶ ὄσπριον 'sparrow, pulse' (H.). ◂PG?(V)▸
•COMP στρουθο-κάμηλος [m.] 'ostrich' (D. S., Str. et al.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 57 and 268.
•DER Diminutive στρουθ-ίον, -ίς, -άριον (Arist., Hell. and late). Further στρουθ-ίας [m.] 'lecher' (*Com. Adesp.*), -ίων [m.] = -ός (late, see Chantraine 1933: 165). στροῦθ-ειος 'belonging to the ostrich' (pap.), -(ε)ιον (μῆλον) 'kind of quince' (Thphr., Nic. et al.), also name of a plant 'Saponaria, soapwort' (Hp., Thphr., etc.), which is also called στρουθός, στρουθο-κάμηλος; -ινος 'made of soapwort' (Ath.), -ώδης 'ostrich-like' (sch.). στρουθ-ωτός 'painted, decorated with σ.' (Sophr.). στρουθ-ίζω [v.] 'to twitter' (com., etc.), also 'to clean with soapwort', -ισμός [m.] (pap.); -ιασμός [m.] 'scab' (gloss.). Here also Τροῦθος PN (Bechtel 1923: 151f.)?
•ETYM Fur.: 182 deduces a variant form *τρουθος from the PN cited above, and from ὀειὸν τρούθ<ιον> for ᾠὸν στρούθ(ε)ιον (*Sammelb.* 7243, 21 [IV^{p}]), as well as a form *δρουθος from the PN Δρουθου [gen.] (Telos II^{a}). The variations would point to a Pre-Greek word, but since the evidence is built mainly on names, this conclusion remains highly uncertain.

στροφάλιγξ, στρόφιγξ ⇒στρέφω.

στρύμαξ [?] ξύλον μεμιηχανημένον ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν σταφυλῶν ἔκθλιψιν 'wood built into a winevat for the pressing of grapes' (H.). ◂PG?▸
•ETYM No etymology, but the semantic field and suffix -ακ- suggest substrate origin.

στρυφνός [adj.] 'bitter (of taste), sour, astringent, severe' (Pl., Ar., Arist., etc.). ◂GR?▸

•DER -ότης [f.] 'bitterness, severity' (Arist., Plu. et al.), -όω 'to astringe' (Plu. v.l., Eust.).

•ETYM No convincing etymology. Clearly reminiscent of ►στύφω 'to astringe'. Perhaps it derives from the same root, with secondary στρ- (from ►στριφνός or ►στρηνής)? The comparison with the Germanic group of OS *strūf* 'upright, stiff, raw', OHG *strūbēn* 'to be stiff', and with Balto-Slavic words like Lith. *strùbas* 'cut short, curtailed' or OCS *strъpьtъ* 'rawness, harshness', Ru. *strúp* 'scab, crust of a wound' etc., is not semantically compelling and formally awkward (root-final *-*p*/-*b*^{h}), and therefore uncertain.

στρύχνον [n.] name of several plants, e.g. 'nightshade, Withania somnifera' (Thphr., Dsc. et al.). ◅PG(V)►

•VAR Also -ος [m.], also τρύχνον [n.] (Nic. *Th.* v.l.), -ος [f.] (Theoc., *Com. Adesp.*, Phot., *EM*).

•ETYM This word gave rise to the name *strichnine*. MHG *strūch*, MoHG *Strauch* (pace Petersson 1923: 18ff.) are unrelated, as they reflect a PGm. long **ū*. Fur.: 135 compares ►δορύκνιον (Dsc., Plu.), a plant which may be similar to the στρύχνον. See s.v. for further comments.

στρώννυμι ⇒στόρνυμι.

στρωφάω ⇒στρέφω.

στυγέω [v.] 'to hate, detest, abhor, hold back' (Il., epic poet., Hdt. and late prose). ◅IE? **steug-*►

•VAR Aor. στυγεῖν (Hom., Call., Nic. et al.), στύξαι (λ 502 (causative), A. R., Opp., *AP*), στυγ-ῆσαι, pass. -ηθῆναι, fut. -ήσομαι (trag.), perf. ἐστύγ-ηκα (Hdt. et al.), -ημαι (Lyc.), -μαι (H.).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, κατα-, further στυγ-άνωρ 'hating men' (A. *Pr.*), ψευσί-στυξ 'hating lies' (*AP*).

•DER στυγ-ητός 'hated, detestable' (A. *Pr.*, late prose), -ημα [n.] 'object of hate or repugnance' (E. et al.), ἀπο-στύγ-ησις [f.] 'abhorrence' (sch.). Furthermore, the adjectives στυγ-ερός 'hated, full of hate, detestable' (Il., epic poet.), -νός 'id.', also 'gruesome, sad, etc.' (Archil., Hp., trag., etc.), hence -νότης [f.] (Hell. and late), -νία [f.] (sch.), στυγ-νόομαι 'to be somber' (*AP*, H.), also with κατα-; στύγνωσον· χώρισον (H.), στυγ-νάζω [v.] 'to be, become overcast' (NT et al.), also with δια-, κατα-, συν-; thence -νασις [f.] (late). στύγιος 'hated, detestable' (E., Plu.); στύγος [n.] 'hate, object of hate' (A. et al.). Στύξ, -γός [f.] river in the Underworld (Hom., etc.), adj. Στύγιος (trag., etc.), name of an Arcadian mountain brook with ice-cold water (Hdt., Str., Paus.); also as a noun, 'hate, detestation' (Alciphr.), plur. 'ice-cold' (Thphr.); also = ►σκώψ (Ant. Lib. et al.).

•ETYM The name Στύξ is an archaic formation; it cannot be decided whether the pres. στυγέω or the aor. ἔστυγον is old, since the latter can be metrically conditioned; cf. e.g. ἔκτυπον s.v. ►κτύπος (see also Schwyzer: 721 and Chantraine 1942: 347).

There is no ascertained etymology. The root στυγ- has been compared to Ru. *stýgnut'* 'to cool down, get cold, freeze', but the latter is a variant of older **stydnǫti* with **-dn-* > **-gn-*; cf. Cz. *stydnouti* 'to cool down', SCr. *stûd* [f.] 'cold' < **stud-/*stoud-*. Hardly more convincing is the comparison with ToB *ścono, ścóniye* 'enmity' (van Windekens *Orbis* 13 (1964): 224 f.), which rather belongs with the Slavic words above, if from **steud-n-* (see Adams 1999 s.v.). LIV² s.v. **(s)teug-* follows a connection with Skt. *toj-* 'to drive, push', but this may also be related to **h₂teug-* in Gr. ἀτύζομαι 'to be terrified'.

στῦλος [m.] 'column, pillar, support' (Dor. Ion., trag., Hell. and late), also = Lat. *stilus* 'pointed piece of metal' (late), cf. Sempoux *Rev. belge de phil.* 39 (1961): 736ff. ◁IE **sth₂-u-lo-* 'post'▷

•COMP στυλο-βάτης, Dor. -τᾱς [m.] 'foot of a doric column' < στῦλος + βᾱ-ναι, with suffix -τᾱ- (Dor. inscr., Pl. Com. et al.), see Fraenkel 1910: 34 and 200f.; τετρά-στυλος 'consisting of four columns', -ον [n.] 'colonnade of four columns' (inscr. and pap. imperial period, etc.).

•DER Diminutives: στυλ-ίς [f.] (Att. inscr., etc.), -ίσκος [m.] (Hp., Hell. and late), -ίδιον [n.] (Str.), -άριον [n.] (pap. III^{p}). στυλ-ίτης [m.] 'standing on one column, stylite' (Suid.), fem. -ίτισσα (inscr. Amasia), like Φοίνισσα, βασίλισσα, etc. Denominative verbs: στυλ-όω [v.] 'to support with columns' (Hell. and late), also ὑπο-, δια-, ἀπο-; thence (ὑπο-)στύλ-ωμα, -ωσις (Hell. and late); στυλ-ίζω mg. uncertain (Ostr.), with ὑποστυλ-ισμός 'support' (pap. II^{p}).

•ETYM These words are comparable to Av. *stūna-, stuna-* [m.], *stunā* [f.], Skt. *sthū-ṇā-* [f.] (with secondary *-ṇ-*) 'pillar' < **sth₂-u-no-*, with a different secondary suffix (on the interchange of *-l-* and *-n-*, see Benveniste 1935: 43). The root **sth₂u-* is an enlargement of **steh₂-* 'to stand'; see ▶ἵστημι. It is also found in ▶στύω, ▶σταυρός, and ▶στοά. Not related to ▶στύπος.

στύπος [n.] 'stick, shaft, stalk' (A. R., Nic., Plb.); cf. H.: στύπος· στέλεχος, κορμός 'stump, trunk'. καὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ κύτος (cod. κῆτος) 'the whole of the eye, vessel or jar'. καὶ ὁ ψόφος τῆς βροντῆς 'the sound of thunder'. ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP Note στυπογλύφος· ξυλογλύφος. στύπος γὰρ ὁ στέλεχος ἤγουν τὸ πρέμνον 'stump or trunk'.

•DER στυπάζει· βροντᾷ, ψοφεῖ, ὠθεῖ 'thunders, sounds, thrusts' (H.), ἀποστυπάζω 'to drive away with a stick' (Archil.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with ON *stúfr* [m.] 'tree-stump', MLG *stūve* [m.] 'id.', Latv. *stups* 'old broom', Ru. *stópka* 'wooden nail in the wall' < **stъp-ъka*, also *spíca* 'needle' (see Vasmer 1953 s.vv.), but this seems unlikely in view of the semantics. Perhaps somehow connected with the root of ▶τύπτω. The by-form στύμος· στέλεχος, κορμός (H.) shows variation π/μ, which could indicate Pre-Greek origin; see Fur.: 222-227. Not related to ▶στύω 'to be erect', ▶στῦλος 'pillar', etc.

στυππεῖον [n.] 'oakum, tow, coarse fiber of flax or hemp' (Hdt., X., D., Hell. and late). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also -ίον, στιππυον.

•COMP στυππειο-πώλης [m.] 'oakum-dealer' (Ar., Critias, inscr.).

•DER στυππ-έϊνος (-ινος, στιπ(π)ύϊνος) 'made of oakum' (*Com. Adesp.*, Hell. and late). Rare στύππ-η [f.] 'oakum, coarse flax' (J. *apud* Suid. s.v.), στύπταξ [m.] jocular short variant for στυππειο-πώλης (Ar. *Fr.* 696); also στύπος = στύππη (κάλοι ἀπὸ στύπου [Gal.]).

•ETYM No known cognates, Fur.: 259f. compares τοπεῖον 'cord, rope' without further comment. The word is most likely to be of substrate origin. Borrowed as Latin *stuppa*, *stūpa* from στύππη, from a Doric dialect in Southern Italy.

στυπτηρία ⇒στύφω.

στύραξ 1, -ᾰκος [m., f.] 'resin, gummy', also the shrub or tree producing it, 'Styrax officinalis' (Hdt., Arist., Thphr., Str. et al.). ◁EW Sem.▷

•DER στυράκ-ιον [n.] diminutive (pap.), -ινος 'made of the storax-tree or of storax' (LXX, Str., Dsc. et al.), -ίζω [v.] 'to smell or taste like storax' (Dsc.).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ὄμιφαξ, δόναξ, ἄνθραξ, etc. According to Hdt. 3, 107, it was introduced in Greece by the Phoenicians, which points to Semitic origin. Lagarde and Lewy 1895: 41f. compare Hebr. *ṣŏrī* 'the resin of the Mastix tree and the terebinth'; doubts in Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 501. Perhaps related to ▶στύραξ 2; cf. στυράκινα ἀκοντίσματα 'javelins made of σ.' in Str. 12, 7, 3. Borrowed as Lat. *styrax*, *storax*.

στύραξ 2, -ᾰκος [m.] '(lower end of a) spear-shaft' (X., Pl. et al.). ◁PG?▷

•DER Diminutive στυράκ-ιον [n.] (Th., Aen. Tact.); -ίζειν· κεντρίζειν 'to goad, spur on' (H., *EM*).

•ETYM Formation like χάραξ, κάμαξ, etc., hardly related to ▶σταυρός. It is either identical to the tree name ▶στύραξ 1, or Pre-Greek.

στυριόω [v.] mg. uncertain, 'to guarantee' (pap.)? ◁?▷

•DER στυρίωσις (pap.).

•ETYM Unknown.

στυφᾶν [v.] βροντᾶν 'to thunder' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM A by-form of στυπάζω; see ▶στύπος.

στυφελίζω [v.] 'to strike hard, dash, beat, drive away, maltreat' (Il., epic and lyr.). ◁GR?▷

•VAR Aor. -λίξαι.

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἀνα-, μετα-, περι-.

•DER στυφελιγμοί (v.l. -σμοί) [m.pl.] 'maltreatment' (A. *Eq.* 537 [anap.]). Furthermore, στυφελός 'hard, raw, stony, severe' (A. [lyr.], A. R., Opp., *AP*; also Arcad. Cyren. acc. to sch. A. R. 2, 1005; cf. Leumann 1950: 269f.), secondarily 'astringent, bitter' (*AP*; after στύφω); κατα-στυφελός 'raw, stony' (*h. Merc.*, Hes.), ἀ-στυφελός 'not hard, friendly, smooth' (Thgn., *AP*); enlarged στυφελώδης 'hard' (Q. S.); also στύφλος 'raw, stony' (trag., Lyc.); κατά- (H.), -άριος (Boeotia III^{P}; PN?).

•ETYM At first sight, epic στυφελίζω seems to be a derivation of the later attested στυφελός, but it is rather the other way around in view of the chronology and the semantics. The barytone accent of στύφλος is remarkable. It is perhaps a derivative

of ►στύφω 'to astringe' (through 'contract > 'become solid'?). On στυφελίζω, cf. further Ruijgh 1957: 84ff.

στύφω [v.] 'to astringe, have an astringent effect', especially of taste; 'to thicken, obstruct, treat with a corrosive' (Hp., Arist., Hell. and late). ◄?►
•VAR Aor. στῦψαι (ἀναστῦψαι S. *Fr.* 421), pass. στυφθῆναι, perf. med. ἔστυμμαι.
•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, συν-, ὑπο-, etc.
•DER στῦψις (ἐπί-, ὑπό-) [f.] 'astringence, thickening, corrosion' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.). στῦμμα (στύμμα?) [n.] 'astringent' (medic.). στυπτηρία, Ion. -ίη [f.] designation of contracting minerals, 'alum, vitriol' (Hdt., Hp., Arist., etc.), also 'alum monopoly' (pap.), -ήριος 'treated with alum' (*PHolm.*), -ηριώδης 'containing alum' (Hp., Arist. et al.), -ηριακὸν δέρμα 'piece of soft leather' (gloss), -ηρίζουσα 'water in which alum is washed' (gloss); also -ηρά 'id.' (*PHolm.*), probably after the adjectives in -ηρός, e.g. ταριχηρός (see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 96). στυπτικός 'astringent' (Diocl. *Fr.*, Hp., Thphr. et al.). στυφός 'id.' (Vett. Val., Gp.), -ότης [f.] 'density' (Plu.), -ώδης 'astringent, bitter' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). Possibly also στύφλος (see ►στυφελίζω) and στυμινός (to στύμμα; cf. ἐρυμινός) epithet of στυπτηρία (*PHolm.*) = σκληρός, αὐστηρός 'hard, harsh' (Hdn. Gr., H.).
•ETYM Formally similar to ►στύω, which may be related (cf. θύω beside τύφω). Cf. also ►στρυφνός. An ingenious (but unlikely) hypothesis is advanced by Ruijgh 1967a §92, who argues that Myc. *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja* (scil. γῆ) stands for στρυπτηρία, the older form of στυπτηρία, which underwent dissimilation; he concludes that στύφω may have replaced older *στρύφω.

στύω, -ομαι [v.] 'to have an erection' (Ar., Diog. *Ep.*, Luc., *AP*). ◄?►
•VAR Aor. στῦσαι, pass. στυθῆναι, perf. ἔστῡκα.
•DER στῦμα [n.] 'erection' (Pl. Com.), στυτικός 'causing an erection' (Phylarch.; v.l. στυπτ-). On στύμος, see on ►στύπος.
•ETYM Originally 'to be stiff, erect' < *sth_2-*u*-. From the same stem derive ►στῦλος, ►σταυρός, and ►στοά. Possibly related to ►στύφω and ►στύραξ 2.

στωμύλος [adj.] 'talkative, conversational, chatty' (Ar., Demetr., Theoc., Luc. et al.). ◄?►
•COMP στωμυλιο-συλλεκτάδης [m.] 'talk-collector' (Ar. *Ra.* 841), see Fraenkel 1912: 20.
•DER στωμυλ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'talkativeness' (Stesimbr., Ar., Plb., *AP* et al.), -ήθρα [f.] 'id.' also personified as an epithet of δαιταλεῖς 'banqueters' (*Com. Adesp.*, Numen. *apud* Eus., Phryn.); after nouns in -ήθρα like ῥωπο-περ-περ-ήθρα 'empty braggard's talk'; adjective -ηθρος (Aristaenet.).
Denominative verbs: στωμύλλομαι 'to be talkative, chat, babble' (Ar.), rarely -ύλλω, also with κατα-; hence -ύλματα [n.pl.] 'chatter' (Ar.); -υλεύομαι 'id.' (Alciphr. Phot.).
•ETYM Traditionally compared with ►στόμα, with full grade of the root (*$steh_3$-*m*-) and a suffix *-*ul*-.

σύ [pron.] 'you (sg.)' (Il.). ◄IE *tuH 'you'►

•VAR Dor. (also Aeol. in gramm.) τύ, Hom. also τύνη, Lac. τούνη. Obl. cases: acc. σέ, Dor. (also Aeol. in gramm.) τέ, Dor. also τύ, Cret. τϝέ (only in H. τρέ· σέ, interpreted as τϝέ. DELG thinks this is suspect, as **tw-* always gives σ- in all dialects). Dat. σοί, encl. τοι (Il., Att. = 'indeed'), Dor. τοί, also τίν, Hom. τεῖν. Gen. Hom. σεῖο, Hom. Ion. σέο, σεῦ, Att. σοῦ, Dor. τέο, τέος, τεῦς, etc. Enclitic σε, σοι, σου.

•DER Hence the poss. pron. σός 'your' (Il.), Dor. Aeol. (also Hom.) τεός, Boeot. τιός.

•ETYM From PIE **tuH*: Lat. *tū*, MoHG *du*, Lith. *tù*, etc., Dor. τύ. Initial σ- in IA, etc. was introduced after σέ < **tue*. τύνη is like ἐγώνη, with an added particle (see s.v. ►ἐγώ). Dor. gen. τέο is like ἐμέο (see s.v. ►ἐμέ): PIE had **teu̯e*; cf. Skt. *táva*; on Dor. τέος, Hom. σέθεν, etc., see s.v. ►ἐμέ. The poss. pron. τεός < *τεϝός and σός < *τϝός derive from PIE **t(e)uo-*; cf. Lat. *tuus* < **teuos̊*.

συαγρίς [f.] 'a fish with teeth(?)' (Epich. 69, Arist., H.). ◄PG►

•VAR Also συναγρίς (Arist.), -ίδος.

•DER Cf. συνοδοντίς as a fish name (Strömberg 1943: 45) and κρεαγρίς, παναγρίς, governing compound with ἀγρεύω, ἄγρα.

•ETYM Fur.: 123f. starts from σύαξ, -κος, συάκιον [n.] (Su.); συάκιν (gloss.) 'kind of flatfish'. He takes συναγρίς (Arist.) to be folk-etymological for the form without a nasal. No further etymology.

σύαξ, -ακος ⇒συαγρίς.

σύβακα · συώδη 'swinish'; σύβας· λάγνος 'lecherous', also name of a satyr (vase-inscr.); συβάλλας· ὁ καταφερὴς πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια 'prone to sexual pleasures'; also ὑβάλλης· καταφερής, λάγνος 'inclined, lecherous' (H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Connection with Lat. *subāre* 'to be in heat', of female animals, has no plausibility; Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 25f. supposes a Mediterranean origin. The gloss συώδη appears to be based on folk etymology. Several glosses can be compared to σύβακα, e.g. σύ[μ]βρος· κάπρος 'swine' (H.), but also συβριακόν· τὸ πολυτελές, συβριάζειν· σοβαρεύεται, τρυφᾷ and συβριασμός· ὁ ἐν εὐωχίᾳ θόρυβος (H.); cf. also σύβρα and συβροί, with unclear glosses. All are assumed by Frisk to be connected with Σύβαρις, or influenced by it (or by ὕβρις). For συβάλλας, ὑβάλλης, cf. also ►βαλλίον. The alternation between initial σ- and aspiration, the -β-, and the suffix -ακ- make Indo-European origin unlikely, thus it is probably Pre-Greek.

συβήνη [f.] 'quiver' (Att. inscr., Ar. *Th.* 1197, 1215, H.), 'flute case' (Poll., *EM*, H.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM Formation like ►σαγήνη (s.v. with literature). No etymology.

συγχίς ⇒συκχίς.

συκάμῖνον [n.] 'fruit of the mulberry tree, mulberry' (Amphis, Arist.). ◄LW Sem.►

•DER συκάμῖνος [f., m.] 'mulberry fig-tree' (Arist., Thphr., middle com., etc.), -ῖνινος 'of the mulberry fig-tree' (Sotad. Com., Hell. pap.), on the formation cf. Schulze *KZ* 43 (1910): 189; -ινώδης 'mulberry-like' (Thphr.). Also -ῖνέα [f.] = -ῖνος (after συκέα 'fig-tree', etc.; Aesop., Dsc. et al.). -ινεων = *moretum* (gloss.).

•ETYM A Semitic loanword; cf. Aramaic *šiqᵉmīn* [pl.] 'mulberry trees', Hebr. *šiqmā* [sg.] 'id.' (Lewy 1895: 23, Strömberg 1940: 36, Ross *KZ* 77 (1961): 273).

σῦκον [n.] 'fig', also metaphorically 'wart, swelling, vagina' (η 121). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Boeot. (Stratt.) τῦκον.
•DIAL Myc. *su-za* = συκία [f.] 'fig tree'.
•COMP συκό-μορον [n.] 'fruit of the mulberry tree' (Str., Dsc. et al.), -ος [f.] 'mulberry tree, sycamore' (Cels.), -έα [f.] 'id.' (*Ev. Luc.* et al.); cf. ►συκάμῑνον and ►μόρον.
•DER Dimininutives: συκ-ίδιον, -άριον [n.] (com.).
Further nominal derivatives: συκ-ίς, -άς [f.] 'cutting from a fig-tree' (Ar., Poll.). συκ-έα 'fig-tree' (Od.), Dor. Aeol. also -ία, IA -έη, -ῆ; συκ-ίον [n.] 'fig-juice' (Hp.). συκ-(ε)ών, -(ε)ῶνος [m.] 'fig plantation' (LXX, pap.). συκ-ίτης [m.] (οἶνος) 'of a fig-tree, fig wine' (Dsc.), Spartan epithet of Dionysus (Sosib.); -ῖτις [f.] name of a precious stone, probably after the color (Plin.). συκ-αλ(λ)ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'fig throstle' (Epich., Arist. et al.), see Niedermann *Glotta* 19 (1931): 9f. Adjectival derivations: σύκ-ινος 'of a fig-tree', metaphorically 'useless' (IA), συκ-ώδης 'fig-like, full of warts' (Arist., medic.), -άσιος epithet of Zeus = καθάρσιος, since figs were used for purification (Eust., H.).
Verbal derivations: συκ-άζω 'to gather figs' (Att.), also 'to investigate' (Aristaenet., H.), also with άπο-; hence -αστής, -άστρια = συκο-φάντης, -φάντρια (*EM*, H.). συκ-ίζομαι 'to be foddered with figs' (*AP*), -όομαι 'id.' (*AP*), whence -ωτός 'foddered with figs' (Aët.), ἦπαρ συκωτός 'liver fatted with figs' (Gal., Orib.), -ωσις [f.], -ωμα [n.] 'formation of warts', -ωτικός 'related to warts' (medic.).
•ETYM Like Lat. *ficus* and Arm. *tʻuz* 'fig', a loanword from a Mediterranean or Anatolian source. This source may well have been Pre-Greek: the variation in initial consonantism (Boeot. τῦκον) probably reflects an original **tʲuk-*, with a palatalized /tʸ/.

συκοφάντης [m.] 'false accuser, denunciator', later also 'trickster, cadger' (Ar.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Also συκοφάσεις [pl.] = συκοφαντίαι (*AP*), after ἀποφάσεις, etc.
•DER συκοφαντ-έω 'to act as a denunciator, accuse falsely, blackmail', -ία [f.] 'false accusation', -ίας [m.] (ἄνεμος) "wind of accusations" (Ar.), -ημα [n.] = 'false accusation'. συκοφαντ-ικός, -ώδης 'slanderous' (Att., etc.). Fem. συκοφάντρια (Ar.), Fraenkel 1912: 25.
•ETYM Expression of popular language, originally probably "fig-indicator", which already in antiquity was explained differently. Acc. to Cook *Class. Rev.*21 (1907): 133ff., the expression refers to an apotropaeic gesture, like Ital. *far le fiche*, MoFr. *faire la figue à qn.*

συκχίς, ίδος [f.] 'kind of shoe' (*AP*, Suid.). ◂LW? Caucasus▸
•VAR Also -γχ-; συκχ-άς, -άδος (Poll., H.); σύκχοι· ὑποδήματα Φρύγια 'Phrygian sandles' (H.).
•ETYM Knobloch *Sprache* 4 (1958): 198ff. supposes a loan from the Caucasus, which may also be found in Av. *haxa-* [n.] 'sole of the foot' (see also Fur.: 361). Borrowed as Lat. *soccus*.

συλάω [v.] 'to strip off (the armor), take away, rob, plunder, seize' (Hom., IA). ◂?▸
•VAR El. opt. συλαίη; aor. συλῆσαι (Il.), epic pres. also -εύω (cf. Chantraine 1942: 368; not from συλεύς), -έω (Delph., Theoc. et al.; also Pi.? See Forssman 1966: 157f.).
•DIAL On the debated forms Myc. *su-ra-se*, *su-ra-te*, see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.vv.
•COMP Also with ἀπο-, etc. Compounds θεο-σύλης [m.] = θεῶν συλήτωρ (Alc. et al.), see Peek *Phil.* 100 (1956): 23, ἱερό-συλος [m.] 'temple-robber', with -έω, -ία (Att.). Further συλ-αγωγέω 'to carry away as booty' (*Ep. Col.*, etc.), ἄ-συλος 'one who cannot be distrained, invulnerable, safe', τὸ ἄσυλον 'fenced territory, refuge', with ἀσυλ-ία [f.] 'safety from distraint, invulnerability' (Parm., A., E., Pl., inscr., etc.).
•DER συλ-ήτωρ [m.] 'plunderer' (A., Nonn.), fem. -ήτειρα (E. [lyr.]; Fraenkel 1912: 22f.), -ησις [f.] 'plunder' (S., Pl. et al.), -ητικός 'related to plunder' (Hell. inscr.), -ητής (gloss).
Further σῦλα [n.], σῦλαι [pl.], rarely -ον [n.], -η [f.] 'captured shipload, booty' (Samos VI[a], Locr. V[a], Str.), in Att. 'right of seizure of a ship or its cargo, right of distraint' (D., Arist.). From σῦλα or συλάω (-έω, -εύω): συλεύς [m.] 'plunderer' (*SGDI* 2516, Delph. III[a]), also as a mythical PN (Boßhardt 1942: 123). On Συλο- and -συλος in PNs, see also O. Masson *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 16 (1981): 166ff.
•ETYM It is formally attractive to assume that συλάω is derived from σῦλα, etc., but notice that the nominal forms are rare and have been attested later than the verb. In any case, the Att. mg. 'right of seizure' must be secondary and cannot be separated from ἄσυλος. The form ἄσυλος itself may derive from συλάω as 'who may not be taken away or be robbed'. There is no certain etymology. The forms are similar to ▸σκῦλα 'booty', but their relation is unclear (see Schwyzer: 329 and Sánchez Ruipérez *Emerita* 15 (1947): 67f.); do they point to a Pre-Greek interchange σ-/σκ-? Pisani *Sprache* 5 (1959): 143ff. explains σκῦλον as secondary after ▸σκῦτος, which seems doubtful. He thinks that σῦλα comes from Lydian, together with Lat. *spolia* 'booty'. The gloss ἐσσύλλα· ἁφῆρει κτλ. (H.) is in the wrong place alphabetically, so it cannot be trusted. The word ὑλᾶται· ἐστερήθη, ἀπέθανεν 'was robbed, died' (H.) is unrelated (Pisani l.c.).

σύν ⇒ξύν.

συναγρίς ⇒σύαγρις.

συνεοχμός [m.] 'juncture, joint', only in ἐν συνεοχμῷ (Ξ 465, verse-final). ◂GR▸
•ETYM For *συνοχμός for metrical reasons, after word-pairs like ἔοικα : οἶκα, ἑορτή : ὁρτή (Frisk *Eranos* 38 (1940): 41f.).

συνέσται [m.pl.] designation of the members of an association, probably participants of a dinner society (*IG* 9²(1), 434 [Acarnania II[a]]). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Without a doubt derived from συν-εσθίω 'to dine together' (cf. σύσ-σιτοι, παρά-σιτοι); see Chantraine *RPh.* 86 (1960): 177ff.

συνοκωχότε [perf.ptc.nom.du.] 'grown together, bent together' (B 218). ◂GR▸
•VAR The reading συνοχωκότε is predominant in the paradosis. Also συνοχωκότος [gen.sg.] 'collapsed' (Q. S. 7, 502).

•ETYM From ►συνέχω, but further unexplained. Probably an artificial formation (on the mg., see Hartmann 1956: 250). Several attempts at an explanation have been undertaken: 1. Brugmann *IF* 13 (1902-1903): 280: reduplicated formation like συνοκωχή, ►ἀνοκωχή, etc. 2. Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1902: 738f. assumes a denominative *συνοχόω (from σύνοχος), since the reading συνοχωκότε seems to be the more reliable one. This was recently defended by Hackstein 2002: 164ff. 3. Schwyzer: 766[6] considers συνοχωκότε to be an enlargement of *συνοχότε (from *hεhοχα). Cf. further Chantraine 1942: 424[3].

συνωχαδόν [adv.] 'continuously' (Hes. *Th.* 390, Q. S.). ◄GR►

•ETYM From ►ἔχω, with a suffix -αδόν and compositional lengthening to -ω-.

σύρβη ⇒τύρβη.

σύργαστρος [adj.] mg. unclear (Alciphr.; v.l. dat. sg. -ορι), epithet of snakes (*AP* 15, 26 = Dosiad. *Ara*), understood as τὴν γαστέρα σύρων 'sweeping with its belly'. Explained by *EM*, Phot. and H. (who has συργάστωρ) as 'swineherd', *EM* and Phot. = ἐργάτης 'farmer'; described by H. as ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν 'word of foreign origin'. ◄?►

•ETYM Radermacher *Festschr. Kretschmer*: 160ff. refers to Ζεὺς Συργάστης in Bithynia and assumes an originally foreign slave name.

συρία [f.] kind of garment (pap.), called αὐτόποκον ἱμάτιον 'woolen cloak or mantle' by Poll. 7, 61. ◄GR►

•COMP συρόποιος 'made in Syria'.

•ETYM H. states: ὅτι ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ γίνεται, οὗτοι δὲ Σύροι 'because it originates from Cappadocia, the people of which are called Σύροι'.

σῦριγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'quill, flute, syrinx' (Il.); also of pipe-like objects, e.g. 'windpipe, blood-vessel, fistula' (medic., etc.), 'spear case' (T 387), 'hole in the nave of a wheel' (trag., etc.), 'subterranean passage' (Plb., etc.). ◄PG(S)►

•COMP πεντε-σύριγγος 'with five pipes' (Ar. et al.).

•DER Diminutive συρίγγ-ιον [n.] (Hp., Plu. et al.), -ίδιον [n.] (Hero). Other nominal derivations: συριγγ-ίς [f.] 'kind of ►κασία' (medic.). συριγγ-ίας [m.] designation of a tube (Thphr., Dsc.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 91. συριγγ-ίτης [m.], -ῖτις [f.] name of a precious stone (Ps.-Dsc., Plin.). συριγγ-ώδης 'hollow, fistular' (Hp.). συριγγ-ιακός 'meant for fistulae' (medic.; after καρδιακός, etc.).

Denominative verbs: συρίζω (Ion. poet. *h. Merc.*), Att. -ίττω (Pl., D., Arist. et al.), Dor. -ίσδω (Theoc.), aor. -ίξαι (Ar.), -ίσαι (Babr., Luc.), fut. -ίξομαι (Luc.), -ίσω (Hero et al.), -ιῶ (LXX) 'to blow the syrinx, whistle, hiss', also with ὑπο-, ἐκ, ἀπο-, etc. Hence σύρ-ιγμα [n.] 'tone of a pipe' (-ισμα H.) with -ιγματώδης 'pipe-like, hissing' (medic.), -ιγμός (X., Arist., etc.), -ισμός (LXX, etc.) [m.] 'the whistling, whirr', -ιγξις [f.] 'flute-playing' (sch.), -ικτής, -ιστής (Arist., Corn.), -ικτὰς (Theoc., *AP*), -ιστήρ (*AP*) with -ιστηρίδιον mg. unclear (pap. I[a]), -ιγκτής (Phot.) [m.] 'flutist', also 'whistling'; συριστική (τέχνη) 'the art of flute-playing' (sch.). συριγγ-όομαι [v.] 'to become hollow, get a fistula', -όω 'to make into a pipe, etc.' (Hp. et al.), also with

ἐκ-, προ-, ἀπο-; thence -ωσις [f.] 'formation of a fistula' (medic.), -ωμα [n.] 'fistula' (Vett. Val.). συριγγ-ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from a fistula' (*Hippiatr.*).

•ETYM A substrate word; cf. especially the non-Indo-European suffix -ιγγ-. The explanation by Solmsen 1909: 129ff. is to be rejected: a derivative in -ιγγ- from a noun *σῦρος vel sim., related to Skt. *tūṇa-* [m.] 'quiver', *tū́ṇava-* [m.] 'flute'. Neither can we follow Greppin *KZ* 103 (1990): 35-37, who assumes PIE origin.

Arm. *sring* 'flute, pipe' was probably taken from the same source. Borrowed as Skt. *suruṅgā* [f.] 'subterranean passage' (on the etymology and history of the meaning, see Stein *ZII* 3 (1925): 280ff.).

συρίτης [m.] 'stone found in a wolf's bladder' (Plin. 11, 208). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

σύριχος [m.] 'basket' (Alex.). Also συρίσκος· ἀγγεῖόν τι πλεκτόν, εἰς ὃ σῦκα ἐμβάλλουσι 'a woven basket into which figs were thrown'. τινὲς δὲ ὑρίσκον (H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Here also ὕριχος (corr. Porson for cod. -ισός in Ar. *Fr.* 569, 5), ὕρισχος and βρίσχος (Phryn. *PS*), σύρισσος (Poll.), ὑρίσσος (H.), -ός (Theognost.); also ὑρρίς· σπυρίς 'basket' (Zonar.); cf. ὑρίσιδα (for ὑρίς, -ίδα?)· σπυρίδιον, σπυρίς 'id.' (H.); ὑρράδα (cod. ὕρρ-)· σπυρίδιον 'id.' (Theognost.), ὕρραχα· πρίσχη (H.) (cf. βρίσχος in Phryn.). With other anlaut: ▸ἄρριχος and ἀρίσκος· κόφινος 'big basket' (H.).

•ETYM There are many alternating forms, and no clear Indo-European etymology, so Pre-Greek origin is very likely (Fur.: 135, 241, 392, 300).

σύρω [v.] 'to draw, trail, drag, pull, ravish, sweep' (IA). ◂IE **tuer-* 'stir, etc.'▸

•VAR Aor. σῦραι , pass. σύρῆναι (late), fut. συρῶ (LXX), perf. σέσυρμαι, -κα (Hell. and late).

•COMP δια- 'to hackle, mock', ἐπι- 'to be neglectful, treat neglectfully', κατα-, παρα-.

•DER With suffixes with -μ-: σύρμα (ἀπό-, ἐπί-, παρά-, περί-) [n.] 'train-dress, sweepings, dragging movement' (Ion., X., Hell. and late), hence συρματῖτις κόπρος 'swept-together heap of manure' (Thphr.), συρματικὴ φωνή 'drawn-out accent' (VII^{p}), συρματὶς στρατιά· ἡ τὰ συμψήγματα καὶ φρύγανα σύρουσα καὶ συλλέγουσα 'woman sweeping and collecting what has been raked together and firewood' (H.), συρμός (ἐπι-, περι-, ὑπο-) [m.] 'grinding, dragging, pulling movement' (Arist.), 'vomiting' (Nic.); δια- 'pulling apart, mocking' (Hell. and late); from this συρ-μάδες [f.pl.] 'snow-drifts' (late), -μαία, Ion. -μαίη [f.] 'vomitive, radish' (Ion., Ar., etc.), also name of a Laconian priest rank (inscr., H.), -μαΐζω 'to take a vomitive', -μαϊσμός [m.] (Hdt., medic.), -μίον· λάχανόν τι σελίνῳ ἐοικός 'greens like celery' (H.), -μιστήρ· ξυλοπώλης 'wood seller' (H.), συρμή [f.] 'trailing tail of a snake' (sch.).

Further σύρ-της [m.] 'towing-rope' (Man., H.), -τῶν [gen.pl.] (nom.sg. -της or -τός) name of a dance (Akraiphia I^{p}), διασύρ-της [m.] 'slanderer' (Ptol.), δια-, ἐκ-συρτικός (Hell. and late). ἀνασυρτ-όλις [f.] 'lewd woman' (Hippon.), from ἀνα-σύρτης 'who draws up (the clothes)', cf. οἰφόλις 'who copulates' and Chantraine 1933: 237f. Probably also related Σύρτις [f.] name of a gulf on the north coast of Africa with sandy shores and dangerous breakers (Hdt., etc.), known as "the pulling one" (cf. v. Wilamowitz on Tim. *Pers.* 99); metaphorically 'destruction' (Tim. *Pers.* 99, H.).

σύρσις [f.] (also διά-) 'the drawing of a plough' (late). With enlargement -φ- (from κάρφη 'hay'?): σύρφη· φρύγανα 'firewood' (H.), συρφ-ετός [m.] 'sweepings, filth' (Hes., Call., Plu. et al.), 'rabble' (Pl. et al.), also -ετώδης 'vulgar' (Plb., Luc. et al.), see Chantraine 1933: 300, Schwyzer: 501; -ᾱξ [m.] 'rabble' (Ar. *V.* 673 [anap.], Luc.). On σύρφος 'some insect' see s.v. ►σέρφος. Possibly also here: ►ἀσυρής 'lewd'.

•ETYM Probably related to ►σαίρω 'sweep', if both reflect a root **tuer-* 'to sweep'. In this case, σύρω reflects **tur-e/o-*, with analogical *σ- (rather than **tuor-e/o-* with Cowgill's Law, as per Vine 1999b: 569ff., with morphologically awkward *o*-grade). The form σαίρω would reflect **tur-ie/o-*, with regular vocalization of the **r* (cf. e.g. ►σάρξ 'flesh' < **turḱ-*). For possible connections outside Greek, see s.v. ►σαίρω. Since σύρφ-η, -ετός, -αξ probably derive from σύρω within Greek, a connection with OHG *swerban* 'to drive quickly to and fro, whirl, wipe off' and W *chwerfu* 'to whirl, turn around' (Pok. 1050f.) is improbable. See ►σύργαστρος.

σῦς, συός [m., f.] 'swine, sow, boar' (Hom., Pi., rarely Hdt., Att. et al.). ◄IE **suH-s* 'swine'►

•VAR Also ὗς.

•DIAL Myc. *su-qo-ta* /sug^{w}otās/ or /-ō-/; see further s.v. ►βόσκω.

•COMP σῦ-βώ-της [m.] 'swineherd' (Od., Hdt., Pl.), fem. -τρια (Pl. Com.), adj. -τικός (Pl. Com., Plu.), also -βό-της 'id.' (Arist.) with -βόσια [n.pl.] 'herds of swine' (Λ 679 = ξ 101, Plb., Lib.); σύ-αγρος back-formation = σῦς ἄγριος (Antiph., Dionys. Trag. et al.), see Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 286f. Also (mostly Hell. and late) συο-, e.g. -φορβός [m.] 'swineherd' (Plb. et al.), -φόρβιον (Arist.; σῦ-φορβός Hom. et al.), metrically conditioned συη-βόλος (Opp.) = συο-κτόνος (Call., Nonn.).

•DER σύ-αινα [f.] (Opp.), -αξ, -άκιον (gloss., Suid.) a fish-name (Strömberg 1943: 101); -άδες· αἱ ὗες, ἐσχηματισμένως 'wild swine' (H.). Further σύ-ειος (X. et al.), -ινος (v.l. in X.) 'of a swine', -ώδης 'swinish, gluttonous, beastly' (Plu., Philostr. et al.). συ-όομαι 'to become a swine' (VI^{p}). Unclear συῆλαι· τόποι βορβορώδεις 'miry places' (H.); on ►σῦφεός 'pig-sty' s.v.

•ETYM The inherited form is ὗς (= Lat. *sūs*) < PIE **suHs*. The initial σ- of σῦς is somehow secondary, perhaps after ►σίαλος 'fatting pig'; alternatively, it is a LW from another IE language, or derives from an otherwise unattested cognate of Lith. *kiaūlė* 'swine' (it is senseless to adduce σωλούς· ὗς [H.], as von Blumenthal 1930: 45f. does). Not an onomatopoeia, as per West *Glotta* 76 (1998): 232f.

συστάδες 'vines planted densely' (Arist., inscr. IV^{a}); also a 'water container'. ◄GR►

•VAR Also ξυ-, see s.v.

•ETYM From συνίσταμαι; cf. παστάς from παρίσταμαι.

σύφακα γλεῦκος 'new wine' (H.). ◄?►

•DER συφακίζειν· ὀπωρίζειν 'gather fruit' (H.).

•ETYM Unknown.

σῦφαρ [n. indecl.] 'wrinkled skin' (Sophr., Call., Luc. et al.), also personified 'wrinkled, decrepit person' (Lyc.), 'skin of a snake' (Luc.), 'skin on milk' (sch. Nic. *Al.* 91, H.) ◄PG?►

•ETYM Traditionally compared with Lat. *sūber* 'cork-oak, cork', in spite of the semantic difficulties. If correct, we are dealing with borrowings from a common source. Acc. to Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 27, it is related to ὕφεαρ 'mistletoe', but semantically this is hardly probable.

σῦφεός [m.] 'pigsty' (Od., Parth., Gp.). ◂?▸
•VAR Also -ειοῦ κ 389 with metrical lengthening at verse end; cf. Chantraine 1942: 104. Also συφός (Lyc., Poll.), -εών [m.] 'id.' (Agath., Gp.), after ἀνδρ(ε)ών, etc.
•ETYM For the ending, cf. φωλεός 'lair', etc. Probably derived from σῦς, but the details are unclear. See ▸σῦς.

συχνός [adj.] 'numerous, many, much, wide, long' (IA). ◂?▸
•DER συχν-άκις [adv.] 'frequently, often' (Luc.), -εών, -εῶνος [m.] 'thicket' (Aq.), -άζω = θαμίζω (*EM*) with -ασμα [n.] (Poll.).
•ETYM No etymology.

σφάγνος [m.] name of a bush, = ἐλελίσφακον, ἀσπάλαθος (Diocl. *Fr.*, Dsc.). ◂PG(V)▸
•ETYM Fur.: 124 compares σφάκος 'sage-apple, salvia; tree-moss' and φάγνος 'salvia' (gloss.) and φάσκον 'kind of moss (Thphr., φάσκος H.). Given these variants, the word is Pre-Greek.

σφαδάζω [v.] 'to flounce, rear (of horses), be uneasy, twitch' (Hp., trag., X., Plb., Plu. et al.); ἀνασφαδάζειν· ἀναπηδᾶν, ἀνάλλομαι, λακτίζειν 'to leap or spring up, kick with the heel' (H.). ◂?▸
•VAR Only pres. and ipf.
•DER σφαδ-ασμός [m.] 'flouncing, twisting' (Pl.), -αστικῶς 'flouncing' (Eust.).
•ETYM Hdn. Gr. 2, 929 recommends a form σφαδάιζω (-ᾴζω), like ματᾴζω, which may be hypercorrect. An expressive word without a convincing explanation. For comparison, ▸σφοδρός, ▸σφεδανός, ▸σφενδόνη, and ▸σφόνδυλος have been adduced, but σπάω, σπαδών may also be considered; cf. σφαδασμός· σπασμός, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (H.). In the latter case, the variation points to substrate origin.

σφάζω [v.] 'to slaughter (by cutting the throat), kill, sacrifice' (Il.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR -άττω (Boeot.; late Att. also -άδδω, see Schwyzer: 715), aor. σφάξαι (Il.), pass. σφαγῆναι (IA, etc.), -χθῆναι (Pi., Hdt., E. [lyr.] etc.), fut. σφάξω (E. et al.), pass. -γήσομαι (Att.), perf. med. ἔσφαγμαι (Od.), act. ἔσφακα (late).
•COMP Often with prefix, especially ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-.
•DER σφαγ-ή (δια-, κατα-) [f.] 'slaughter, killing; throat' (trag., Att. prose, etc.), -ῖτις 'of the throat' (medic., Arist.), -εύς [m.] 'slaughterer; sacrificial knife' (S., E., And., D. etc.).
σφάγ-ιος 'belonging to the slaughter, killing' (Hp., S. [lyr.] etc.); σφάγ-ιον (προ-), mostly pl. -ια [n.] 'victim, oblation, especially before a battle' (IA) with -ιάζομαι, -ιάζω 'to slaughter, sacrifice' (IA), -ιασμός [m.] (E. [lyr.], Plu. et al.).
σφαγ-ίς [f.] 'slaughter knife, sacrificial knife' (E. et al.), also referring to σφαγή; -ίδιον (Suid.); but ἐπι-σφαγ-ίς 'nape of the neck, where the axe strikes' and παρα-σφαγ-ίς 'part next to the throat' (Poll.). σφαγ-εῖον [n.] 'sacrificial bowl' (A., E., Ar., inscr.), derived form σφαγ-ή or -εύς, also σφαγ-ιστήριον (sch.). σφάγμα [n.] 'the

killing' (sch.), also with prefix in e.g. πρόσφαγ-μια (A., E. et al.). Late σφάκ-της [m.] 'murderer', in compounds, e.g. with καλαμιο- 'one who kills with a pin' (Ph.), with -τικὴ μάχαιρα (Zonar.); σφακ-τήρ [m.] 'murderer', only with δια- and χιμαρο- (*AP*); -τρια [f.] 'sacrificial priestess' (Ael.). σφάκ-τρον [n.] 'sacrificial tax' (Palmyra II^{p}, Poll.).

As a second element -σφάξ, e.g. in δια-σφάξ, -άγος [f.] 'rip, split, chasm' (Hdt. et al.), also -σφαγ-ία [f.], e.g. βοο- 'the killing of oxen' (*APl.*).

•ETYM The attested formations are productive, so they can all be derived from either the verb σφάζω, σφάξαι or from a nominal root σφαγ-. No cognates outside Greek; Fur.: 300 connects ►φάσγανον as φασγ-/σφαγ-, which remains uncertain.

σφαῖρα [f.] 'sphere, ball, balls in a boxing-glove, globe' (Od.). ◄?►

•COMP E.g. σφαιρο-ειδής 'spherical' (IA), ἐπί-σφαιρα [n. pl.] 'leather coating (mostly of boxing balls), boxing-gloves' (Plb., Plu.).

•DER σφαιρ-ηδόν 'like a ball, sphere' (N 204 et al.). Diminutive -ίον (Pl. *Ep.*, Hell. and late). σφαιρ-εύς [m.] the young men of Sparta, named after their boxing-gloves (Paus., inscr.). σφαιρ-ικός (Archyt., Arist., etc.), -ειος (comm. Arist.) [adj.] 'spherical'; -ῖτις 'cypress' (< *'conical'?) (Gal.). σφαιρ-ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'round fishing-net' (Opp.), -ίζω (ἀντι-, δια-, συν-) 'to play ball' (Att.); φαιρίδδειν· σφαιρίζειν 'id.' (H.), hence -ισις (Arist.), -ισμός (Artem.), -ισμα (Eust.) 'ball-game', -ιστής 'ball-player', -ιστικός 'belonging to a ball-game', -ιστήριον 'ball court, ball house', -ίστρα 'id.' (Hell. and late). σφαιρ-όομαι, -όω 'to be round, round off, to provide with a round edge' (X., Arist., Hell. and late), also with ἀπο-, δια-, ἐν-; hence -ωμα 'rounded body' (Arist. et al.), -ωσις 'a spherical shape' (late), -ωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'knob, bulb vel sim.' (*Tab. Heracl.*, Hell. pap.); see Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 492ff. Lat. *spaerīta* [m.] kind of cake (Cato; Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 206) probably derives from an unattested *σφαιρ-ίτης.

•ETYM The formation is like that of ►πεῖρα, ►σπεῖρα, ►μοῖρα, etc. No cognates outside Greek. Sometimes connected to σπαίρω 'to flaunce', but the semantics are hardly convincing, and the initial cluster remains unexplained. The word σφαῖρα was borrowed into Syr. *êspērō*, Ethiop. *ṣpīr* (Schwyzer: 159 and 161), and Arm. *sp'eř* (>> Georg. *spero*; Bailey *TPS* 1945: 28).

σφάκελος 1 [m.] 'caries, gangrene, necrosis' (Hp., Gal.), also 'twitching pain, cramp' (A. *Pr.* 878, 1045, E. *Hipp.* 1352). ◄?►

•DER σφακελ-ώδης 'gangrenous' (medic.), σφακελίζω (ἐπι-, ἀπο-) 'to suffer from caries or gangrene' (Hdt. Hp., etc.), rarely 'to suffer from a twitching pain, cramp' (Cratin., Pherecr., Plu.), with -ισμός [m.] 'caries, gangrene' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), cf. Strömberg 1937: 191, 'heavy pain' (*Stoic.*), 'epilepsy' (*Hippiatr.*); ἐπι-, ἀπο-σφακέλισις [f.] 'gangrene' (Hp.).

•ETYM Formation like σκόπελος, πύελος, etc. from an unknown root. The word was originally a medical expression, acc. to Chantraine 1933: 244. Starting from a meaning 'convulsions (of pain)', Persson seeks to connect MHG *spachen* 'to split', LG *spaken* 'burst, putrefy', etc., which can hardly be correct. Cf. ►σφάκος, ►σφήξ, and ►φάκελος.

σπάκελος 2 [m.] 'middle finger' (sch. Pl. *Ti.* 84 β, Phot.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also σφακηλος or φ-.
•ETYM Pre-Greek in view of the variation.

σφάκος [m.] 'sage' (com., Thphr.). ◁PG(V)▷
•DIAL Myc. *pa-ko-we*, on which see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v.
•COMP σφακώδης 'rich in sage' (H.). On ▸ἐλελίσφακος, see s.v.
•ETYM Of unclear origin. Solmsen 1909 connects σφάκελος, which is possible. Cf. further ▸φάσκος. According to Fur.: 124, it is related to σφάγνος, φαγνος, etc., which would point to Pre-Greek origin.

σφάλλω, -ομαι [v.] 'to bring down, ruin, mislead', med. 'to go down, be ruined, be mistaken' (IA). ◁IE **(s)g^{wh}h$_2$el-*▷
•VAR Aor. σφῆλαι (Il.), Dor. σφᾶλαι (Pi.), pass. σφᾰλ-ῆναι (-θῆναι Gal.), intr. -αι (LXX; Schwyzer: 756), fut. -ῶ, pass. -ήσομαι, perf. med. ἔσφαλ-μαι (IA), act. -κα (Plb.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, παρα-.
•DER σφαλ-ερός 'slippery, treacherous, staggering' (IA), -μα [n.] 'fall, accident, misstep, mistake' (IA), -μός [m.] 'id.' (Aq.), hence -μῆσαι (ἀπο-) 'to stumble' (Plb.) and σφαλ-μᾷ· σκιρτᾷ, σφάλλεται 'springs, is tripped up' (H.). σφάλ-σις (ἀνά-, περί-, ἀμφί-) [f.] 'fall, accident' (Hp., Vett. Val.), σφάλ-της [m.] epithet of Dionysus "he who ruins" (Lyc.). ἀ-σφαλ-ής (also ἐπι-, περι-, ἀρι-σφαλής etc.), ntr. -ές, adv. -(ἐ)ως 'not falling, not staggering, firm, safe, reliable' (Il.), -εια [f.] (Att.), -ίζομαι, -ίζω (Hell. and late), all deverbal. The hapax σφάλος [n.] (trag. *POxy.* 676, 16) is uncertain. See also on ▸ἄσφαλτος, which may have been folk-etymologically adapted.
•ETYM The derivational patterns are the same as those of e.g. ▸πάλλω and ▸σκάλλω. Traditionally connected to Skt. *skhálate, -ti* 'sumble, stagger, err', Arm. *sxalem, -im* 'id.'. Rix 1976: 31 (also LIV^2 s.v. **(s)g^{wh}h$_2$el-*) reconstructs **sg^{wh}h$_2$el-* with Siebs' Law, which seems a good possibility. Attempts to connect the root to that of ▸σπολάς and ▸ἀσπάλαξ are unfruitful, because the initial clusters do not match.

σφαλός [m.] 'foot block' (Epich., Poll., H.), 'disc' (Poll., H.). ◁PG?▷
•DER σφαλίζω 'to fetter' in ἐσφάλιζεν (Phot.), -ιξεν (H.).
•ETYM A technical expression; hardly identical with Latv. *spals* 'grip, handle' and PGm. **spal-* 'cross-beam, rundle (of a ladder etc.)' (ON *spǫlr* [m.], MHG, ME *spale*), which reflect **spol-*. Fur.: 351 connects σφέλας, and considers the words to be Pre-Greek, which is possible.

σφαραγέομαι [v.] 'to crackle, sizzle' (ι 390), 'to teem, be full to bursting' (ι 440). ◁IE **sb^{h}rh$_2$(e)ǵ-* 'burst, crackle'▷
•VAR Only ipf. σφαραγεῦντο; also σφαραγίζω in ἐσφαράγιζον 'excited (with noise)' (Hes. *Th.* 706), -ίζει· βροντᾷ, ταράττει, ψοφεῖ 'thunders, disturbs, sounds' (H.).
•DER σφάραγος = ψόφος 'sound' (H.); furthermore only as a second member, e.g. ἐρι-σφάραγος 'with loud noise' (*h. Merc.* et al.), βαρυ-σφάραγος 'with dull noise' (Pi.).

•ETYM Perhaps of Indo-European origin (for the formation, cf. σμαραγέω), with cognates in Skt. *sphū́rjati, -áyati* 'to crackle, drone', OE *sprecan*, OHG *sprehhan* 'to speak', etc.; Skt. *sphū́rjati* 'break up', Lith. *sprógti* 'to burst, explode' are probably also related (see s.v. ►σπαργάω). These have been taken to reflect **sprh₂ǵ-*, but the aspirate in Greek and Sanskrit rather points to **sbʰrh₂ǵ-*. Cf. ►σφραγίς.

σφάραγ[γ]ος [m.] · βρόγχος, τράχηλος, λοιμός, ψόφος 'throat, neck, plague, sound' (H.), = φάρυγξ 'throat' (Apion *apud* Phot.).
•ETYM See s.v. ►ἀσφάραγος 1.

σφεδανός [adj.] 'violent, vehement' (Il. [-όν adv.], Xenoph., Hell. epic, *AP*). ◄?►
•DER Next to σφοδρός, adv. -ρα, -ρῶς 'id.' (μ 124) with σφοδρ-ότης [f.] 'violence, vehemence' (Pl., X. et al.), -ύνομαι, -ύνω 'to become, make violent, vehement' (A. *Pr.* 1011, Ph., Plu. et al.), also with ἐπι-, after the opposite πραΰνομαι, see Fraenkel 1906: 37; σφοδρ-όομαι 'id.' (Ph. v.l., Gal.).
•ETYM The formation of σφεδανός is similar to that of ἐδανός, στεγανός, σκεπανός, ἰδανός, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 196f., Schwyzer: 489f.). Together with σφοδρός, σφεδανός may reflect a heteroclitic *r/n*-stem (Benveniste 1935: 20), but this is uncertain. Possible Greek cognates are ►σφαδάζω and ►σφενδόνη.

σφεῖς [pron.] 'they, them(selves)' ◄IE **se-* 'oneself'►
•VAR anaphoric and reflexive 3 pl. Forms: ntr. σφέα, acc. Att. σφᾶς, Ion. Hom. σφέας, Aeol. Hom. Dor. σφε, Cret. Syrac. ψε, gen. σφῶν, Ion. Hom. σφέων, Hom. also σφείων, dat. σφίσι(ν), Aeol. Ion. Hom. Dor. σφι(ν), Cret. Syrac. ψιν, Lac., etc. φιν, (σφι(ν), σφε also 3sg.); epic 3du. σφωε, -ῖν, 2du. σφῶϊ, -ῖν, Att. σφώ, σφῷν.
•DER Hence the possessive pron. σφέτερος, σφωΐτερος (Il.), epic also σφός 'their' (rarely reflexive), with σφετερίζομαι, -ίζω 'to make one's own' (Att. Hell. and late), -ισμός, -ιστής (Arist.).
•ETYM The oldest forms were probably *σ-φει and σ-φι(ν), with σ- a zero grade of IE **se-* (Lat. *si-bī*, Osc. *sí-fei*, OCS *se-bě*). The forms σφε, σφεῖς, σφᾶς, σφῶν, etc. were created in analogy to ἄμμι(ν), ἄμμε, ἡμεῖς, etc.; φιν and ψιν developed irregularly from σφιν with loss of σ- and metathesis, respectively. See further Schwyzer: 600ff. and Chantraine 1942: 266ff., 273.

σφεκλαρᾶς glass-maker of special glass (L. Robert 1969: 93-932).◄LW Lat.►
•ETYM Derived from σπέκλον 'speculum', which itself is a borrowing from Lat. *speculum*.

σφέλας [n.] 'footstool' (ρ 231, σ 394, A. R. 1159), 'socle' (Delos VI[a]), 'log?' (Nic. *Th.* 644). ◄PG?►
•DER Diminutive σφελίσκον [n.] 'stool'(?) (Samos IV[a]). Hypostasis ἐπι-σφελ-ίτης· ὁ θρανίτης 'the top-rower (i.e., in a trireme)' (H.).
•ETYM Fur.: 351 concludes from the possible connection with ►σφαλός that the word is Pre-Greek.

σφένδαμνος [f.] 'maple, Acer monspessulanum' (Thphr., Dicaiarch.). ◄PG►
•VAR Note σπένδαμνον· ξύλον 'wood' (H.).

•DER -ινος 'of maple' (Cratin., Ar.).

•ETYM Formation like δίκταμνον, ῥάδαμνος, etc. Often connected to σφενδόνη 'sling etc.', either through a meaning 'trembling' or after the form of the seeds (Carnoy *Ant. class.* 27 (1958): 318 and Carnoy *REGr.* 71 (1958): 99). Fur.: 164 compares σπένδαμνον· ξύλον (beside ἄκαστος· σφένδαμνος and κάστον· ξύλον [H.]). The word is probably Pre-Greek (Schwyzer: 524, Alessio *Studi etruschi* 15 (1941): 177). See also Amigues *RPh.* 73 (1999): 102f.

σφενδόνη [f.] 'sling', from wool, hair, animal sinews, etc., often metaph. of sling-like objects, e.g. 'bandage, headband, case on a ring, white of the eye' (Il.); also 'throw, missile' (Ar., X.), referring to σφενδονάω. ◂PG▸

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. βελο-σφενδόνη 'arrow-sling, fire-missile' (Plu.).

•DER σφενδον-ήτης, Boeot. -άτας [m.] 'slinger' (Hdt., Th. et al.), -ητική (τέχνη) 'the art of slinging' (Pl.), -ηδόν 'like a sling' (sch., *EM*); -αίαν· σφενδόνην, ἢ τὴν σφραγῖδα 'sling, signet' (H.). Denominative verb σφενδον-άω 'to sling' (IA), also with ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-; thence -ησις [f.] (Hp., Pl. et al.). Similarly σφενδον-ίζω 'id.' (Ps.-Callisth.), -ιστής [m.] (Them.).

•ETYM Formation like ἀγχόνη, περόνη, βελόνη. No convincing etymology; most often connected within Greek to σφεδανός, σφοδρός, σφαδάζω, and to Skt. *spandate* 'to pull, beat out' (Pok. 989). Further often compared with Lat. *funda* 'leather strap, sling', which would point to a common loan from a Mediterranean or Anatolian source (E-M s.v. *funda*). This source is likely to have been Pre-Greek.

σφήν, σφηνός [m.] 'wedge' (A. *Pr.* 64, Ar., Arist., Hell. pap.). ◂?▸

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σφηνό-πους, -ποδος 'with wedge-shaped feet', of κλίνη (Ceos V^{a}), ἐπί-σφηνος 'wedge-shaped' (Lebadeia), see Strömberg 1946: 100; ἀντι-σφήν 'counter-wedge' (Ph. *Bel.*).

•DER Diminutives σφην-ίσκος [m.] (Hp. et al.), -άριον [n.] (late medic.), uncertain -ίς, -ίδιον (Hero). Further σφανίον· κλινίδιον 'small couch' and ἐν σφανίῳ· ἐν κλιναρίῳ 'in bedsteads' (H.); but παρα-σφήν-ιον [n.] 'side-block for wedging' (Hell. inscr. and pap.). σφην-όομαι, -όω 'to be wedged, to wedge (in)' (Arist., medic., Hell. and late), often with, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, παρα-; σφῆνωσις (ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-) [f.] 'wedging in' (medic. et al.), ἀποσφήν-ωμα [n.] 'wedge-shaped block' (pap. II^{p}).

•ETYM The form σφήν reflects *σφᾶν, *σφανσ-, or *σφα-ην (cf. σφανίον and Cean σφηνόπους < *σφᾶν-). The traditional identification with a PGm. **spēn-u-* 'chip' (OHG *spān*, OE *spōn*, ON *spánn*, *spónn*) must be given up because the labials do not match. The same goes for the connection with Skt. *sphyá-* [m.] 'shoulder-blade', Khot. *phvai* 'spade, shovel', which are rather related to ▸σπάθη (see s.v.). The word σφήν therefore remains without an etymology.

σφήξ, -ηκός [m.] 'wasp' (Il.). ◂PG?(V)▸

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) -ᾱκός [m.].

•DER σφηκ-ιά [f.] 'wasp-nest' (S., E., Ar., LXX et al.), see Scheller 1951: 68, -ίον [n.] 'comb in a wasp-nest' (Arist., Thphr. et al.), cf. also ἐπι-σφήκ-ιον [n.] of unknown meaning (Delos III^{a}). σφηκ-ίσκος [m.] 'pointed wood, rafter, etc.' (Ar., Arist., inscr.

et al.), -ίας [m.] 'id.' (Pherecr.), also name of a verse (Ps.-Plu.), cf. σφηκικός, σφηκώδης. σφήκ-ειον [n.] 'wasp-like insect' (Nic.), -εια [f.] old name of the island Cyprus (Lyc., H.).

Further in the adjectives σφηκ-ικός 'wasp-like', name of a verse (Eust.) and -ώδης 'id.' (Ar. et al.), also name of a verse (sch.). We further find a denominative verb σφηκ-όομαι 'to be contracted, bound in the middle', -όω 'to contract, bind' (*P* 52, Ar., Hell. and late epic, late prose), often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐπι-; thence -ωμα [n.] 'point of a helmet' (S., Ar.), 'cord, cable' (pap. III[a], etc.). Rarer derivatives are σφηκισμός· εἶδος αὐλήσεως, εἰρημένον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμφερείας τῶν βομι<β>ῶν 'an imitation of the buzzing of a wasp on the flute' (H.), -ίωσις· κηρία σφηκῶν 'honeycombs of wasps' (H.), the unclear σφηκός = σφηκώδης (S. *Fr.* 29), σφηκός λόφου· τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ λόφου κτλ. 'the summit of a hill, etc.' (H.) and σφήκη [n.pl.] of unknown meaning (pap. III[a]).

•ETYM For the formation, cf. ►μύρμηξ and ►σκώληξ. A comparison with σφήν 'wedge' seems attractive, but is morphologically impossible. Persson 1912(1): 396 hesitantly compares σφάκελος, referring to the constricted body of the wasp; one may also think of the sting of a bee, but again the formal side of the derivation remains unclear. The word has also been connected to ψήν 'gall-insect' (see Fur.: 393). This comparison points to Pre-Greek origin (ψ-/σφ-), which seems most attractive. Connection with ψῆν 'to rub' cannot be proven.

σφίγγω [v.] 'to bind, embrace, jam in' (since Emp., A. *Pr.* 58). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Aor. σφίγξαι, σφιγχθῆναι, fut. σφίγξω, perf. med. ἔσφιγμαι; non-pres. forms almost only Hell. and late.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. περι-, συν-, ἐπι-.

•DER Verbal adjective σφιγκτός 'bound' (*AP*, Opp. et al.). σφιγκ-τήρ [m.] 'that which binds' (*AP*, Nonn.), 'contractile muscle closing an aperture' (medic. et al.), also = χιτών. Ταραντῖνοι 'tunic (Tarantinian)' (H.); -τωρ of reins (*AP*); -της = κίναιδος (Cratin., H.).

σφίγξις (ἀπό-, διά-, περί-), also ἀπό-σφιξις [f.] 'the binding' (medic. et al.). σφίγμια (ὑπό-) [n.] 'obstruction' (Hero, medic.).

•ETYM The pres. σφίγγω has been taken to be the oldest form, and the nasal-less forms ἔσφιγμαι, σφίγμα and ἀπόσφιξις to be secondary. It is possible, however, that the variation is due to Pre-Greek prenasalization. Borrowed as Lat. *spinter* 'bracelet', *spintria* 'male prostitute' (because of the contractile muscle of the anus).

Σφίγξ, -ιγγός [f.] 'sphinx' (Hdt., A., E., etc.), also name of a monkey (Agatharch. et al.). ◄PG(S, V)►

•VAR Further acc. Φῖκα [f.] (Hes. *Th.* 326, v.ll. Σφῖκα, Φίγγα, Σφίγγα), Σφίξ, -ικός (Choerob.; also Thess. inscr. VII[a]?); Βῖκας· Σφίγγας (H.).

•COMP ἀνδρό-σφιγξ [m.] 'male sphinx' (Hdt.), σφιγγό-πους 'with sphinx-feet' (Hell.).

•DER σφιγγ-ίον [n.] 'kind of monkey' (Plin., inscr. Praeneste), meaning unclear (Luc. *Apol.* 1); -ίδιον [n.] 'little sphinx' (inscr.).

•ETYM The by-forms Φῖκα, Σφῖκα as well as φιγγα = σφίγγα (Pl. *Cra.* 414d) point to substrate origin. Cf. also the TN Φίκιον ὄρος north of Thebes (von Wilamowitz 1931: 269). The word may have been connected with σφίγγω 'to bind' by popular etymology. On the possibility of an Egyptian loan, see Mac Creedy *Glotta* 46 (1968): 250.

σφίδες [?] χορδαὶ μαγειρικαί 'tripe fit for cookery' (H.). ◂PG▸
•ETYM Reminiscent of Lat. *fidēs* 'cords of a lyre'; cf. E-M s.v. They were probably borrowed from the same Mediterranean language.

σφόγγος ⇒σπόγγος.

σφόδρα, -ός ⇒σφεδανός.

σφονδῦλη [f.] 'kind of beetle which lives on the roots of plants and emits a strong smell when attacked' (Ar., Arist. [v.l. σπονδ-], Thphr.). ◂PG(S)▸
•VAR σπονδύλη· ἡ γαλῆ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς 'weasel (Attic)' (H.).
•ETYM For the formation, cf. κορδύλη, σχενδύλη etc. Formally close to σφόνδῠλος 'vertebra', but no semantic connection can be established. Borrowed as Lat. *sphondyle, -lum, -lium*. The word contains the Pre-Greek suffix -υλ-.

σφόνδῠλος [m.] '(cervical) vertebra', metaph. 'a tambour in a column, spindle-whorl' (Ar., Pl., Arist., inscr., etc.). ◂PG(S, V)▸
•VAR Also (non-Att.) σπόνδυλος, often as a v.l. beside σφ- (Pherecr., Hp., Arist. et al.; details in Hiersche 1964: 204).
•COMP σφονδυλο-δίνητος 'spun with the spindle-whorl' (*AP*), πολυ-σφόνδυλος 'with many whorls' (Luc.).
•DER σφονδύλ-ιον [n.] 'cervical vertebra' (Y 483, Antim.), plant name 'common medicinal herb, Heracleum sphondylium' (Dsc. et al.). σφονδυλ-ίς [f.] 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc.), -όεις 'consisting of whorls' (Man.), -ώδης 'whorl-like' (sch.). ἐκ-σφονδυλίζω 'to break a vertebra' (LXX, *EM*).
•ETYM Formation like κόνδυλος, δάκτυλος, probably first from a noun *σφόνδος. Sometimes connected with words like ▸σφενδόνη, ▸σφεδανός, and ▸σφαδάζω, supposedly containing a verbal root 'to jerk vel sim.', but this is mere speculation. The variation σπ/σφ- points to Pre-Greek origin.

σφρᾱγίς, σφρηγίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'seal, seal of a state, impression of a seal, signet, seal-ring, cut stone' (IA), 'sealed field-plot' (pap.). For extensive discussion on the mg. of σφραγίς, see Diehl 1938 (with lit.); also Kenna *JHS* 81 (1961): 99ff., Kranz *RhM* 104 (1961): 3ff., 97f. ◂PG(S)▸
•DER Diminutive σφραγίδιον [n.] (Ar., Thphr., inscr.). Denominative verbs σφραγ-ίζω, -ίζομαι 'to provide with a seal, seal, signet, stamp, confirm' (IA), often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-; thence -ισμα (ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-) [n.] 'impression of a seal, sealed document' (E., X., Hell., late); -ισμός (ἐπι-, παρα-, περι-) [m.] 'sealing, confirmation' (Hell. and late); ἐν-, ἐπι-σφράγ-ισις [m.] 'sealing' (late); -ιστήριον [n.] 'seal, stamp' (pap.); -ιστής (ἐπι-, ἀπο-) [m.] 'sealer, witness' (Plu., Luc., pap. et al.).

Σφραγίδιον, the name of a cave (ἄντρον) of prophesying nymphs on the Cithairon (Paus. 9, 3, 5), where the νύμφαι Σφραγίτιδες live (Plu. *Arist.* 11).
•ETYM Formation like κληΐς, κνημίς, etc., which points to a secondary derivative. The Σφραγίτιδες νύμφαι were connected to ▶σφαραγέομαι by Lobeck 1837: 51[59]. Prellwitz 1892 s.v. suggested connection with Lith. *spróga* 'crevice', *sprógti* 'to explode, burst'. Though formally possible, these etymologies are rightly called "semantically enigmatic" by DELG. Fur.: 324[7] takes the word to be Pre-Greek because of the suffix -ῑδ-. This is possible; DELG remarks that the use of the saw in the Aegean is pre-Hellenic.

σφρῑγάω [v.] 'to be full to bursting' especially of women's breasts, metaph. 'to be swollen with passion or pride', more generally 'to brim with vitality' (Hp., A. *Pr.* 382, E., Pl.). ◀PG?▶
•VAR Only pres. stem, especially ptc.
•DER Backformation σφρίγος [n.] 'power, strength' (Hermipp.), -ώδης 'teeming' (Orib.), -ανός 'teeming, swelling' (Theoc. 11, 21 v. l., Hp. *apud* Tim. *Lex.*, Poll., sch.).
•ETYM Intensive formation in -άω (Schwyzer: 719). Hardly related to MoNw. dial. *sprikja*, MoSw. dial. *sprika* 'to unyoke, spread out, split apart, etc.'. The word σφριαί· ἀπειλαί, ὀργαί 'boasts, anger' (H.) must also belong here, with irregular loss of -γ-. Fur.: 175 compares Celtic **brīgos* 'power, courage, liveliness'; beside σφριαί, he adduces (168) βρι, βριάω, (247) βριμάω, (375) ὄβριμος, and βρῖμός, which would suggest substrate origin.

***σφυδόω** [v.] only in ἐσφυδωμένος (Timocl. 29) 'stuffed with food'. ◀?▶
•DER σφυδῶν· ἰσχυρός, εὔρωστος, σκληρός 'strong, stout, hard' and δια-σφυδῶσαι· αὐξῆσαι 'to increase' (H.).
•ETYM A rare word of which the meaning is only roughly known; no etymology.

σφύζω [v.] 'to beat violently', of the pulse, 'to twitch, rush to something' (Hp., Pl., Arist., Thphr. et al.). ◀?▶
•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) σφύσδω, only pres. and ipf.
•DER σφυγ-μός [m.] 'pulse, heartbeat, twitch' (Hp., Arist., Plu. et al.), with -μώδης and -ματώδης (as if from *σφύγμα) 'twitching like a pulse' (Arist., medic. et al.). σφυγ-μικός 'of the pulse' (medic.); σφύξις [f.] 'id.' (Arist., Gal.). ἄ-σφυκ-τος 'without pulse-beat, easy', hence ἀ-σφυκ-τέω 'to have no pulse', ἀσφυξ-ία 'stopping of the pulse'; also ἀ-σφυγμ-ία [f.] 'id.' (medic.). Newly-formed present σφύττω 'to strive eagerly' (D. Chr.).
•ETYM In form and meaning, σφύζω resembles σφαδάζω and σπεύδω. No etymology.

σφῦρα [f.] 'hammer, beetle' (γ 434, Hes. *Op.* 425, Hdt., A., com., Arist.), metaph. 'ridge between two furrows' (Poll. 7, 145), as a measure (Daulis II[P]), = τῆς σπορίμου γῆς τὸ μέτρον, ὁμό-σφυρος = ὁμόχωρος 'neighboring' (H.); name of a fish (H.), cf. σφύραινα below. ◀?▶
•COMP E.g. σφυρ-ήλατος 'wrought with the hammer, thorough' (Hdt., Pi., A., Pl., etc.), with -έω (Ph.).

•DER Diminutive σφυρ-ίον [n.] (Hell.), σφύρ-αινα [f.] name of a fish, bicuda (Stratt., Arist., etc.), after its shape (Strömberg 1943: 35); -ηδόν 'hammer-like' (Philostr.); -ωσις [f.] 'the hammering, forging' (Didyma II^{a}), = διάροσις (H.), -ήματα· τὰ σιδήρια, ὅτι οὐ χεῖται 'grappling-iron, because it does not melt' (H.).
•ETYM Frisk s.v. connects this etymon to ▶σφαῖρα 'ball etc.', in which case the latter would reflect QIE *$sg^{wh}u̯r$-$i̯h_2$ vs. σφῦρα < *$sg^{wh}ur$-V-. This seems far-fetched, especially since the semantic connection is not evident. The etymology of σφῦρα thus remains unclear.

σφρυραθία, etc. ⇒σπύραθοι.

σφυρίς ⇒σπυρίς.

σφυρόν [n.] 'ankle, foot-joint' (Il.), metaph. 'the lower part of a mountain' (Pi., Theoc. et al.). ◁?▷
•COMP τανύ-σφυρος 'with slender ankles' (*h. Cer.*, Hes.), ἐπι-σφύρ-ια [n.pl.] 'ankle-buckles' (Il.).
•DER σφυρόομαι [v.] 'to tie one's ankle-buckles, put on one's laced boots' (Carm. Pop. 7), -ωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'shoe-strap' (LXX), see Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 492ff.
•ETYM The traditional etymology connecting this word with Skt. *sphuráti* 'to push away with the foot', etc. cannot be maintained, because the labials are incompatible. The variant σφυδρά [pl.] (*Act. Ap.* 3, 7, pap. III^{p}, H., gloss.) is unexplained (hardly after σφοδρός 'violent, vehement', pace Frisk s.v.).

σφώ, σφῶϊ ⇒σφεῖς.

σχαδών, -όνος [f.] 'hatch or honey-cell', plur. 'honeycomb' (com., Arist., Theoc., pap. III^{a}), 'larva (of bees or wasps)' (Arist.), = κυβευτικὸς βόλος 'throw of a dice' (H.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also accented σχάδων, gen. also -ωνος, -οντος (Arist.).
•ETYM Perhaps from σχάζω 'to make an incision, let flow', as is traditionally assumed, but the semantics of this etymology are vague.

σχάζω [v.] 'to make an incision, tear open, open a vein, let (the blood) flow, let something take its course, release, drop, abandon' (Hp., X., Arist., etc.). ◁IE? *$skeh_2$- 'split'?▷
•VAR Also σχάω (Hp., com., Arist. et al.), mostly aor. σχάσαι (Pi., B., Hp., E., com., X., Arist., Hell. and late) with pass. σχασθ-ῆναι, fut. pass. -ήσομαι, act. σχάσω, perf. mid. ἔσχασμαι (in ἐσχασμένη as a plant name; see Strömberg 1940: 43).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, κατα-.
•DER 1. σχάσις (ἀπό-, κατά-) [f.] 'the tearing, bloodletting, release' (medic., Ph. *Bel.*). 2. σχάσμα (κατά-) [n.] 'incision, release' (Hp., Dsc., Ph. *Bel.*). 3. κατα-σχασμός [m.] 'draft' (medic.). 4. σχαστήρ = Lat. *tendicula* (gloss.); καταϙ[χ]αστήρ mg. unknown (*IG* 11(2), 165: 11 [Delos III^{a}]). 5. σχαστηρ-ία [f.] 'trigger, release in mechanisms, etc.' (Arist., Ph. *Bel.*, Hero, Plb., etc.); -ιον [n.] 'lancet' (*Hippiatr.*).
•ETYM Usually an original meaning 'make an incision, tear open' is assumed, whence 'open, let loose, etc.'; the word would be characteristic for the language of physicians.

A basic meaning 'let loose' vel sim. seems possible as well, in which case the common professional expression φλέβα σχάσαι would have a direct correspondence in MLG (also MoDu.) *āderlāten* 'let blood', lit. 'let the vein'. As the whole formal system is clearly built on the aor. σχάσαι, from which σχάζω, σχάω and all other verbal and nominal forms are derived, this form should be the starting point for the etymology. Certain correspondences outside Greek have not yet been found. The word σχάω is generally compared with Skt. *chyati* (*anu-*, *ava-*, *vi-*, etc.), ptc. *chā-ta-*, *chi-tá-*, caus. *chāy-áyati* (IE **skeh₂-*, **skh₂-i-*) 'to split, hurt', especially of the skin (on the meaning, see Hoffmann *MSS* 19 (1964): 61ff.; on the phonetics, Hiersche 1964: 103f., 214f.). Although the connection is semantically unobjectionable, it should be remarked that of the Skt. verb forms, the non-presentic finite forms (e.g. the full grade *s*-aorist *a-chā-s-it*) occur only in grammarians. Further combinations, e.g. that with Lat. *sciō*, remain hypothetical. The form σχάσαι is a Greek innovation (perhaps a cross of σχίσαι and ἐᾶσαι, χαλάσαι vel sim.)? Note that σχ- cannot be directly explained from the assumed IE form.

σχαλίς [f.] 'fork used as a support for erected hunting-nets' (X., Poll.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Gen. -ίδος.
•DER σχαλίδ-ωμα 'id.' (Poll.).
•ETYM Technical word in -ίς like ▶σανίς (further references s.v.), δοκίς, etc.; base form unknown. One might connect σκαλίς 'mattock' (see ▶σκάλλω); cf. the gloss σχαλίδες· δι' ὧν σχάζουσι τὰ δίκτυα ὀρθὰ ἑστῶτα 'by which fishing nets standing upright are torn open' (H.). Alternatively, was it influenced by σχεῖν 'to hold'? Cf. the synonym ▶στάλιξ. The explanations do not convince; the technical word may instead be of Pre-Greek origin.

σχαλίσαι [v.] θηλάσαι, καὶ ἀνίσχαλον τὸ ἄτοκον καὶ ἀθήλαστον 'to suckle; a childless or barren [animal] is also called ἀνίσχαλον, i.e. without milk' (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

σχεδάριον •VAR σχέδιον. ⇒σχίζω.

σχέδην [adv.] 'slowly, easily' (X., Plu.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Taken with σχεῖν as "holding back"; opposite ἀνέδην. Cf. ▶σχεδόν.

σχεδία [f.] 1. 'raft' (Od., Att., Hell. pap.), 'pontoon bridge' (Hdt., A. [lyr.]), 'frame' (Ath. Mech.). 2. 'clamp, clip' (Ph. Byz.). ◁?▷
•VAR Ion. -ίη.
•COMP As a first member in σχεδι-ουργός [m.] 'raft-builder' (Them.).
•ETYM Acc. to Bq s.v., a substantivization of an adjective σχεδία (ναῦς, γέφυρα), the feminine of σχέδιος (see ▶σχεδόν). Alternatively, a collective abstract formation in -ία from οχεδόν (cf. κλισία, οἰκία, ἑστία) with original mg. "unprepared formation, improvization". However, the semantics are unconvincing. Not from σχέδη, which is a loan from Lat. *scheda* (if authentic at all; see ▶σχίζω). The semantic development to 'clamp, clasp' in Ph. Byz. can be understood if one assumes influence of σχεῖν 'hold'.

σχεδόν [adv.] 'near', of place and time (epic lyr. Il.), 'nearly, almost, about' (post-Hom. IA). ◂IE *seg^h- 'hold'▸
•VAR Also -όθεν 'from nearby' (Hom., A. R.).
•COMP Compound αὐτο-σχεδόν (-δά *P* 319) 'really close' (Hom., Arat.), 'at once' (A. R.) with αὐτοσχεδ-ίη, which only occurs in the oblique cases: dat. -ίῃ (μάχῃ, ὑσμίνῃ; cf. Trümpy 1950: 113), acc. -ίην 'in close combat, man to man' (Hom.), ἐς ~ 'in close combat' (Tyrt.), ἐξ -ίης 'inconsiderate, offhand' (*h. Merc.*); adj. -ιος 'unprepared, improvised' (Arist., Hell. and late).
•DER σχέδ-ιος 'nearby, belonging to close combat' (A. [lyr.]), 'adjacent, concerning the immediate present, instantly, unprepared, improvised' (Hell. and late); adv. -ίην 'in close combat' (E 830), 'soon' (Nic.). Hence the verbs: 1. σχεδι-άζω (also with ἀπο-, etc.) 'to improvise, do or make offhand, act thoughtlessly' (Hell. and late), with -ασμα, -ασμός, -αστικῶς (Hell. and late; on the mg. Koller *Glotta* 40 (1961-1962): 183ff.). 2. αὐτοσχεδι-άζω 'id.' (Att.) with -αστής (X.), -ασμα, -ασμός, -αστός, -αστικός (Pl. Com., Arist.).
•ETYM From σχεῖν, σχέσθαι (see ▸ἔχω) with a suffix -δον (Schwyzer: 626); properly 'holding to, connecting'. Borrowed as Lat. *schedius*, *-ium*. See ▸σχέδην.

σχέδῠνος [adj.] 'tenacious'. ◂IE *seg^h- 'hold'▸
•VAR Only in σχεδύνη φιλότης (Emp. 19).
•ETYM Formation from σχεῖν like πίσυνος, θάρσυνος, with δ after σχεδόν.

σχελίς [f.] mg. instable, 'rib of beef, thigh-bone, side of bacon' vel sim. Acc. to H. = τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ῥάχεως ἕως τοῦ ὑπογαστρίου 'the part from the spine down to the lower belly', also = κρέα ἐπιμήκη τετμημένα 'longish or oblong cut of meat'. ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Mostly plur. -ίδες (A. *Fr.* 443 = 724 M. (?), com., Luc., Poll.); also σκελίς, plur. -ίδες (pap. III^a, D. Chr., Poll.).
•ETYM Generally taken as from ▸σκέλος 'thigh, leg', which is not impossible semantically, but certainly incorrect given the variant form, which points to Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.).

σχενδῦλη [f.] name of an instrument of the χαλκεῖς, probably 'pair of tongs' (Eleusis IV^a, H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR <σ>κένδῡλᾰ (*AP*; preceded by -οῖς; on the secondary -ᾰ, see Solmsen 1909: 260 and 262).
•DER σκενδύλια [n.pl.] '(small) pincers, nippers' (Hero), also κενύδυλα (*trad. AP* 11. 203). In H. also σχενδυλό-ληπτοι 'caught between tongs' and the perf.ptc. ἐσχενδυλῆσθαι, from *σχενδυλάω 'to pinch with tongs'.
•ETYM Suffix like in κανθύλη, κορδύλη. The variation shows that word is Pre-Greek.

σχερός [?] · ἀκτή, αἰγιαλός 'cape, shore' (H., Theognost. *Can.*). ◂?▸
•ETYM Hiersche *Zeitschr. f. Phon.* 17 (1964): 515ff. assumed a pre-form *σκερός, related to OE *score*, MLG *schore* '(rocky) coast, shore' (IE *$sker$-; see ▸κείρω), whence ▸ξερός would have arisen by metathesis. This is improbable. Acc. to Hennig *RhM* 75 (1926): 266ff., Σχερία is from Phoen. *Schchr* = *Sxr* 'trading post'.
See further ▸ἐπισχερώ and Janko *Glotta* 57 (1979): 20-23.

σχέτλιος [adj.] expressing strong emotion, usually used in a denigrating sense 'audacious, heinous, cruel, miserable' (Il.), seldom in positive sense 'obstinate, tireless' (Hom.). Details on the mg. in Brunius-Nilsson 1955: 46ff., 75ff. ◁?▷

•DER σχετλι-άζω, quite rarely with κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, 'to experience something as cruel, to rise against, to complain' (Att.) with -ασμός (Th., Arist. et al.), -αστικός (late).

•ETYM Frisk assumes dissimilation from *σχέ-θλιος, a by-form of *σχε-θλό-ς (comparing μείλιχ-ος : -ιος, ἥσυχ-ος : -ιος and the antonym ἐσ-θλό-ς). The original meaning would be 'persevering'. This proposal is not supported by any evidence, however.

σχῆμα ⇒ἔχω.

σχίζω [v.] 'to split, cut, separate' (Pi., Hdt., Att.). ◁IE *_skid-_ 'cut, split, separate'▷

•VAR Aor. σχίσ(σ)αι (Od.), pass. σχισθ-ῆναι (_P_ 316), fut. -ήσομαι, act. σχίσω, perf. med. ἔσχισμαι (Hell.).

•COMP Frequently with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἀνα-, περι-.

•DER A. With unchanged root auslaut: 1. σχίδα· σχίδος σινδόνος, ῥῆγμα 'cutting of fine cloth; breakage' (cod. π-) (H.) like κλάδ-α [acc.sg.], if not a Doric or Hell. nom. (Kretschmer _Glotta_ 10 (1920): 170); as a second member in ἀπο-, δια-, παρα-σχίδες [f.pl.] (rarely sing. -σχίς) 'secessions, branchings, etc.' (medic.). 2. σχίδ-αξ, -ᾰκος [m.] 'split wood, piece of wood, splinter' (LXX, D. S.), with -ακηδόν (ὑπο-), -ακώδης (medic.); cf. χάραξ, κάμαξ, etc. 3. σχίδος· τὴν ἀπόσχισιν 'division' (H.), also -σχιδής e.g. with ἀ-, ἀκρο-, νεο- (Hell.), directly from the verb. 4. σχίδ-ια· ὠμόλινα '[pl.] raw flaw; items of raw flax' (H.), whence Lat. _schidia_ [f.sg.] 'chip of wood' (Vitr.). 5. σχιδανός (like πιθανός), in σχιδανό-πους (Arist.) = σχιζό-πους 'with split feet or toes' (Arist.).

B. With altered root auslaut: 1. σχίζα [f.] 'split wood, piece of wood, etc.' (Hom., Ar., pap.), 'shaft, javelin' (LXX,_AP_); diminutive -ίον [n.] (Poll., Alciphr.); -ίας [m.] 'lath, like a lath' (Cratin., Dicaearch., Hell. pap.). 2. σχιστός (also ᾰ-) 'split' (Hp., Att.). 3. σχίσις (ἀπό-, διά-, etc.) [f.] 'split, carving' (Pl., Arist.). 4. σχισ-μός (δια-, περι-, ὑπο-, ἐν-) [m.] 'id.' (A. _Ag._ 1149, Delph. inscr., pap.); -μα (also with ἀπό-, διά-, etc.) [n.] 'split, tear' (Arist., Thphr.); -μή [f.] 'id.' (LXX, H.).

•ETYM A number of identical formations are found in other IE languages, which may be archaic: 1. ἀπο-σχίδ-ες = Skt. _apa-chíd-_ [f.] 'section, clipping', 2. σχιστός = Lat. _scissus_ < *_skid-to-_, Av. _a-sista-_ (but note Skt. _chinná-_ < *_chid-ná-_), 3. the aor. σχίσαι, -ασθαι to Skt. aor.med. _chit-s-i_, 4. traces of an old nasal present in Lat. _sci-n-dō_, Skt. _chi-ná-d-mi_, 3pl. _chi-n-d-ánti_ 'to cut off, split' (not in ►σκινδάλαμος, etc. [s.v.]). The yod-present σχίζω is a Greek innovation (Wackernagel 1916: 133 pleaded against identification of σχίζεται and the Skt. pass. _chid-yá-te_). A full grade appears in Lith. _skiedžiu_ 'separate, divide'. Skt. _ví-chitti-_ 'interruption' is independent of σχίσις (which was innovated; cf. πίστις).

Further cognates, e.g. Arm. _c'tim_ (from *_c'it-im_) 'tear, scratch', can be found in LIV². The reconstruction of the root as PIE *_sk^heid-_ given there is not endorsed here. There is no explanation for the aspirate -χ-.

Lat. *scheda* [f.] 'stroke of papyrus' is a loan from *σχίδη (or σχίδα; see A. 1 above), also 'concept', via influence of *schedium* [n.] 'unprepared speech, draft, sketch' (= late and MoGr. σχέδιον 'id.'; on the meaning, see σχέδιος, from σχεδόν), σχεδάριον; on the history of these words, including Ital. *schizzo*, MoFr. *esquisse*, MoHG *Skizze*, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 10 (1920): 168 ff.

Other words mentioned by Frisk s.v. are not cognate with σχίζω: ►σκινδαλμός, σκινδύλιον, ►σκιδαρόν, σκοιδ-.

σχινδαλμός ⇒σκινδαλμός.

σχῖνος [m.] 'mastich tree, Pistacia Lentiscus' (Hdt., Thphr., Theoc., LXX), 'squill, σκίλλα' (Epich., Hp., com.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. σχινο-κέφαλος 'with a squill-like head' (Cratin.).

•DER σχιν-ίς [f.] 'mastich-berry' (Thphr.), -ινος 'of mastich' (medic.), -ειος 'id.' (Theognost.), -ίζω, -ίζομαι 'to clean one's teeth with mastich' (Jamb., *EM*, Phot.), also a name of certain dance movements (Ath.).

•ETYM Without a doubt, this word, denoting a tree and a marine organism, is Pre-Greek.

σχοῖνος [m., f.] 'rush, reed, rope plaited of rush' (ε 463), also as an (Egyptian) land measure (Hdt. 2, 6, Hero, pap.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Myc. *ko-(i-)no* (?).

•COMP σχοινο-τενής 'in a straight line' (Hdt.), 'stretched, plaited from rushes' (late).

•DER 1. σχοιν-ίον [n.] 'rope, cord' (Hdt., com.), 'measuring cord, linear measure' (Arist., Hell.). 2. σχοιν-ίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'rope, cord' (Theoc., Hell. inscr.), also -ίς, ῖος [adj.] 'plaited from rushes' (Nic.). 3. -ιά [f.] 'bunch of rushes, cluster, enclosure' (Thphr., Str.), -ιαία [f.] 'enclosure' (Olbia, Odessus III^{a}). 4. -ίλος (v.l. -ίκλος) [m.] name of a bird, perhaps 'wagtail' (Arist., see Thompson s.v.), -ίων [m.] 'id.' (Arist.), also 'effeminate flute melody' (Plu., Poll.). 5. -εύς [m.] name of a bird (Ant. Lib.), also PN, eponym of the town Σχοῖνος in Boeotia (Paus., St. Byz.; cf. Σχοινοῦς below); -ής, -ῆδος (-ηῖς, -ηΐδος) [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (Lyc. 832; acc. to sch. ad loc. because of the sexual effect of the rush). 6. -άτας [m.] epithet of Asclepius ἐν τῷ Ἔλει (Sparta III^{p}). 7. -ᾶς [m.] 'rope-maker' (pap. IV^{p}). 8. -ῖτις (καλύβη) 'made of rushes' (*AP*). 9. -ινος [adj.] (com., E.), -ικός (Hell. pap., Gp.), -ιος (pap. III^{a}) '(plaited) from rushes'; -ώδης 'full of rushes, rushy' (Nic., Dsc.); -οῦς, -οῦντος 'rich in rushes' (Str.), Σχοινοῦς HN and TN (Boeotia, Arcadia; Str., Paus.; cf. -εύς above). 10. Verbs: ἀπο-, παρα-, περι-σχοινίζω 'to rope off, enclose' (D., D. H., Plu.), with (περι-)σχοινισμός (Delph., pap.), (παρα-, περι-)σχοίνισμα (LXX, Plu.).

•ETYM Fur.: 391 compares κοίνα· χόρτος 'fence' (H.); because of the variations κ/χ and σ/zero, the word is Pre-Greek.

σχολή [f.] 'rest, leisure' (Pi., IA), '(learned) conversation, lecture' (Pl., Arist.), 'place of lecture, auditorium, school' (Arist.). ◁GR▷

•COMP As a second member in ἄ-σχολος 'without leisure, busy', with ἀσχολ-ία [f.] 'business' (Pi., IA), -έω, -έομαι (Arist.), -ημα (Str.), -ημιατικός (Vett. Val.).

•DER 1. σχολ-αῖος 'leisurely, slow' (IA), with -αιότης [f.] (Th.). 2. -ικός 'reserved for a lecture, belonging to school' (D. H., D. Chr.). 3. -ερός 'leisurely' (late). 4. -ιον [n.] 'explanation, comment, scholion' (Hell.), with -ύδριον, -ιάζω, -ιαστής (Tz., Eust.). 5. -εῖον [n.] 'school' (Arr.), also 'place of rest' = 'grave'? (Anatol. inscr.). 6. -άζω (also with ἀπο-, συν-, etc.) 'to have leisure' (Att.), 'to be busy with something' (X., D., etc.), 'to give a lecture' (Hell.), with -αστής [m.] 'living leisurely' (*Com. Adesp.*, LXX, Plu.), with συ- 'fellow-student' (Hell.), -αστικός 'leisurely' (Arist.), 'dedicated to study, scholar', especially 'armchair scholar' (Hell.), 'public adviser' (late pap.).

•ETYM Properly "holding back", derived from the aor. stem σχ- (see ►ἔχω) with a suffix -λ-, with a thematic vowel -o- after verbal nouns like βολή, στολή, γονή, etc. Cf. perhaps ►ἀσχαλάω.

σῶκος [adj.] epithet of Hermes (*Y* 72). ◄?►

•VAR Σῶκος [m.] PN (*A* 427ff.).

•DER Further σωκέω 'to be strong, have power' (A. *Eu.* 36, S. *El.* 119 [anap.]); so σῶκος would mean 'strong, powerful'.

•ETYM Unexplained. Bechtel 1914 s.v. assumed *Σάοκος as a short form of *Σαο-κράτης (> Σω-κράτης; cf. Cypr. Σαϝο-κλεϝης), in which case the appellative would have derived from the PN. Various hypotheses have been put forward for the etymology, e.g. relation to σηκός (Pok. 1098), or kinship with σῴζω from IE **tu̯oH-ko-* (Fraenkel *Lexis* 3:1 (1952): 66ff.), who compares the suffix *-k-* in Lith. *tùkti* 'become fat', *taukaĩ* [pl.] 'fat, grease, marrow'.

σωλήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'pipe, channel' (Ion., Archil., Hell.), 'grooved tile' (Hell. inscr.); name of a crustacean, 'razor-fish' (Dor. and Att. com., Arist.); see Thompson 1947 s.v. ◄PG?(S)►

•COMP As a first member in σωληνο-ειδής 'pipe-shaped' (Aen. Tact.); on σωληνο-θήρας, -κέντης, see Fraenkel 1912: 93 and 108f.

•DER Diminutive σωλήν-ιον, -ίδιον, -άριον, -ίσκος (Hell.); also -ωτός 'pipe-shaped' (Lyd.) and the verbs -ίζω 'to hollow out' with -ισμός (Ruf. *apud* Orib.), -όομαι 'to serve as a pipe' (v.l. Paul. Aeg.). -εύομαι = συμπεριφέρομαι (*EM*, H.); to this -ιστής [m.] 'one who fishes for the σωλήν' (Phaenias *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM Formation like κωλήν, πυρήν, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 166f.), so probably first derived from a noun *σωλος (-ον). Etymology unclear; Solmsen 1909: 129ff. (who deals extensively with meaning and attestations) proposes a reconstruction IE **tu̯ō-l-* for ►σῦριγξ and σαυρωτήρ (see s.v. ►σαύρα), but these are Pre-Greek. Fur.: 172[118] suggests that the word is Pre-Greek (giving other such words in -ην).

σῶμα [n.] 'living or dead body' (Il.; in Hom. it is necessary or possible to translate it as 'corpse'), 'person' (Att.), 'slave' (Hell.); metaph. 'totality' (A., Pl., Arist.), 'text of a document' (pap.). On the development and spread of the mg., see Kretschmer *Glotta* 18 (1929): 80f.). ◄?►

•COMP E.g. σωματο-φύλαξ 'bodyguard' (Hell.); univerbation σωμι-ασκ-ία [f.] 'bodily exercise' (Pl., X.) from σῶμα ἀσκέω; in addition to this, as a back-formation, σωμασκ-έω 'to do bodily exercise' (X., Plb., etc.); τρι-σώματος 'with three bodies' (A., E.), late τρί-σωμος 'id.' (*An. Ox.*).

•DER 1. Diminutive σωμάτ-ιον [n.] (Pl. Com., Arist.; mostly depreciatory). 2. -ίδιον [n.] 'text of a document' (pap.). 3. -εῖον [n.] 'corporate body, college' (*Cod. Just.*). 4. -ικός 'bodily' (Arist.), -ινος 'id.' (gloss.), -ώδης 'bodily' (Arist.). 5. -όομαι, -όω (ἐν-, ὑπο-) 'to be embodied, embody' (Arist., Thphr.), with -ωσις [f.] (Thphr.). 6. -ίζω (δια-, ἐν-) [v.] 'to edit a text', with -ισμός [m.] (pap.).

•ETYM Among several IE expressions for 'body', only **krp-* (Lat. *corpus*, Skt. *kṛp-*, and other cognates) has a large distribution. For the Greek word for 'body', σῶμα, there is no convincing etymology. Formally, it could be compared with σω-ρός 'heap', assuming a pre-form **tu̯oH-mn̥* for σῶμα, with a basic meaning 'compactness, swelling' (?). Other proposals are doubtful or uncertain (see Frisk); relatively most promising seems an analysis as **(s)tu̯oH-mn̥* "what has stiffened", related to Skt. *styā-* 'to flow, get stiff' (mentioned by LIV² s.v. **stu̯eH-*). See ▸σωρός.

σώομαι [v.] •VAR σώοντο, σωομένους (A. R.). ⇒σεύομαι.

σωπάω ⇒σιωπάω.

σῶρι [n.] name of an ore, perhaps 'ferrous sulfate, melanterite' (Dsc.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Gen. -εως (Dsc., Hippiatr.), Lat. *-eos* (Cels., Plin.), σῶρυ (Gal., Orib.).

•ETYM A foreign word of unknown origin. The formation recalls στῖμι, σάρι, or μίσυ, μῶλυ, et al., respectively. The variation ι/ υ (Fur.: 367) points to a Pre-Greek word.

σωρός [m.] 'heap (of corn)' (Hes., Hdt., X., Ar., Arist.). ◂?▸

•COMP A few late compounds, e.g. πολύ-σωρος 'of many corn-heaps', epithet of Demeter (*AP*; cf. σωρῖτις below).

•DER 1. σώρ-ακος [m.] 'box, basket' (Ar. *Fr.* 248, inscr. and pap., after θύλακος?), with -ακίς [f.], designation of an instrument to clean horses (pap. III^{a}, Poll.). 2. -ίτης [m.] (scil. λόγος, συλλογισμός) "conclusion of heaping" (name of a sophism, Chrysipp., Cic., S. E.), with -ιτικός (S. E.); -ῖτις [f.] epithet of Demeter (Orph.). 3. -εός = σωρός (*EM*, sch.). 4. -ηδόν 'by heaps' (Plb., LXX, *AP*). 5. -εύω (also with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν- et al.) [v.] 'to heap up, pile up' (E., Arist., Hell.), with -ευσις (ἐπι-, προσ-, ὑπο-) [f.] 'heaping up, piling up' (Arist.), -ευμα (ἐπι-) [n.] 'that which is heaped up, heap' (X., Eub.), -εία (ἐπι-) [f.] 'heaping', also as a mathematical term 'summation, series' (Nicom., Plu.), -ευτής [m.] 'heaper' (Phld.), with -ευτικός (sch.). Unclear is σωρότερος, which is explained as 'big cup' in a Greek-Coptic glossary; see *Aegyptus* 6, 215.

•ETYM There are no known cognates outside Greek. Within Greek, some connect σῶμα (comparing γνῶ-μα : γνώ-ρ-ιμος and κλῆ-μα : κλῆ-ρος, etc.). Starting from **tu̯ō-ro-* (so IE **tu̯oh₂-ro-*), Solmsen *IF* 26 (1909): 213ff. seeks connection with ▸σῶς, σάος and cognates, also pleading against connection with σορός. For the root, see LIV² s.v. **teuh₂-* 'schwellen, stark werden'.

σῶς [adj.] 'safe, healthy, intact' (Att.; also Hom., Hdt.). ◂IE? **teuh₂-* 'be strong'▸

•VAR σάος (epic poet., Il. [σαώτερος], also Cypr., Arc., Lac., etc.), σῶος (Hdt., Hp., X., Hell.), σόος (epic, also Hdt.); compar. σαώτερος (*A* 32, X., Theoc., *AP*).

•COMP As a first member in Σαϝο-κλέϝης (Cypr.), σαό-φρων (epic poet.), σώ-φρων (Att.), Σαυ-κράτης (Boeot.), Σά-δαμος (Arc.) et al.; as a second member in νηο-, τεκνο-σσόος (poet.), but cf. on ►σεύομαι.

•DER Epic aor. σαῶ-σαι, pass. σαωθῆναι, to which fut. σαώσω, pres. σαόω; contracted IA σῶσαι, σωθῆναι, σώσω (inscr. σωῶ), σῴζω (ε 490, Hes. *Op.* 376; from *σω-ϊ̑ζω); to this perf. med. σέσωσμαι (trag.), σέσωμαι (Pl.), act. σέσωκα (Hell.) 'to keep alive, save', med.-pass. intr. 'to stay alive, save oneself'. All these forms often occur prefixed, e.g. with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-. As a first member in σωσί-πολις 'saving the city' (Ar., Str.) et al. Deverbative formations: 1. σωτήρ, -ῆρος [m.] 'saviour' (*h. Hom.*, Pi., IA), with σωτηρ-ία, -ίη [f.] 'rescue', -ιος 'bringing rescue, saving' (IA), -ιώδης 'wholesome' (Gal.), -ιασταί [m.pl.] 'worshippers' (of the θεοὶ σωτῆρες, or of Ἄρτεμις Σώτειρα; Rhod., Att.). Archaizing byforms: σαωτήρ (Call.), σαώτωρ (Maiist. III[a]), Σαώτης epithet of Dionysus (*AP*, Paus.); hypocoristic enlargement Σωτήριχος PN (Plu., Luc.); 2. σώτειρα [f.] 'id.' (Pi., IA); 3. σῶστρα [n.pl.] (-σ- like in σέσωσμαι, etc.) 'reward for saving, thankful offering for saving lives' (Hdt., X.), with 3sg. σαοστρεῖ (probably for σαω-, Cephallenia). 4. σωστικός (δια-) 'saving, preserving' (Arist.); 5. δια-σώστης [m.] 'policeman' (Just.); 6. άνα-σωσμός (Aq.), -σωσμα (Tz.) 'rescue'. On the frequent PNs in Σω(ι-), Σωσ(ι)-, Σωτ(ο)-, etc. see Bechtel 1917b: 413ff.

•ETYM The above forms may all go back to PGr. σάϝος (cf. Cypr. Σαϝο-κλέϝης). It is unnecessary to posit alternative basic forms like *σῶϝος. The form σῶς arose from σά(ϝ)ος by contracted, and σῶος in turn by thematization (perhaps the ntr.sg. σῶον via plur. σῶα); epic σόος may stand for σάος after σῶς, or arose by metrical lengthening. PGr. σάϝος is probably a thematization of *σαυς < *$t_{\underline{u}}eh_2$-*u*-*s*. Connection with σωρός, σῶμα (as *$t_{\underline{u}}oH$-*ro*-, *$t_{\underline{u}}oH$-*mn̥*) is quite uncertain: the original meaning would be something like 'to be strong', which fits poorly for a corpse; moreover, a reconstruction *$t_{\underline{u}}oh_2$-*mn̥* (with *o*-grade) is improbable. See ►σωρός and ►ταῦς.

σώσικες ⇒σαῦσαξ.

σώχω ⇒ψώχω.

T

τάβελλα [f.] 'tablet' (I^p to VI^p). ◁LW Lat.▷
•DER -άριος (from Lat. *tabellarius*), -ίων (from *tabellio*).
•ETYM From Lat. *tabella*.

τάβλα [f.] 'dice-table' (I^p). ◁LW Lat.▷
•VAR Also -η.
•DER ταβλ-ίζω [v.] 'to play dice', -ιόπη 'game of dice', formed after Καλλιόπη (*AP* 11, 373), ταβλάριος from Lat. *tabellarius* (pap., inscr.).
•ETYM From Lat. *tabula*.

ταγγῆ [f.] 'rancid smell' (Alex. Aphr.), 'kind of tumour' (Hp.). ◁PG?▷
•DER ταγγ-ίζω [v.] 'to emit a rancid smell' (medic., Gp.), -ίασις [f.] 'kind of swelling' (gloss.), -ός 'rancid' (Gp.; perhaps back-formed).
•ETYM An isolated word. The comparison with WGm. words like MoHG *stinken*, OHG *stanc* 'stench' on the one hand, and with ON *stækr* 'stinking' on the other (PGm. **stēkja-*), meets with serious phonological problems (like the *a*-vocalism in Greek). The word could be Pre-Greek.

τάγηνον [n.] 'frying pan' (com., Luc.). ◁PG?(V)▷
•VAR τήγανον (com., LXX; both forms Gal.), -άνη [f.] (gloss.); also ἤγανον (Ath. ex Anacr.), with ἠγάνεα· πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου 'what has been fried in the τ.' (H.), perhaps from τ' ἤγανον (see Schwyzer: 413).
•COMP ταγηνο-στρόφιον [n.] 'frying-spit' (Poll.), ταγηνο-κνισο-θήρας [m.] 'frying pan-sniffer' (Eup.), τηγανό-στροφον (H. s.v. λίστρον); ξηρο-τήγανον (Hegesand.; Syracus.), χαλκο-ξηρο-τήγανον = *scutra* (gloss.).
•DER ταγην-ίας [m.] 'pancake' (com.), -ίτης 'id.' (Gal., Ath.), -ίζω (also with ἀπο-) [v.] 'to fry in a pan' (com., Ph., Gal.), with -ισις [f.] (Gal., Alex. Aphr.), -ιστός (Alex., Gal.), -ισταί [m.pl.] title of a comedy by Ar. From τήγανον: τηγαν-ίτης (Hippon., gloss.), -ίζω (com., Hell., also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-), with -ισμός [m.], -ιστός (Hell.); -ητόν = *frictum*, *frixum* (gloss.).
•ETYM Of the two different forms, τάγηνον is probably original; τήγανον (Hell.-Asiat., acc. to Gal. 6, 490) then underwent metathesis after the frequent instrument names in -ανον.
A technical word without etymology. Bezzenberger & Fick *BB* 6 (1881): 237f. compared OE *þeccan* 'to burn', OHG *dahhazzen* '*lodern*', which are further isolated.

Fur.: 391 thinks that the form in ἠγαν- proves Pre-Greek origin, which is quite possible.

τᾱγός [m.] 'chief, commander' (trag.), especially a title of Thessalian officials and of the chief of the Thessalian league (Thess. inscr., X.), 'president of a phratry' (Delph. inscr.); on the mg. see Bowra *JHS* 54 (1934): 56. ◅?, IE? **teh₂g-* 'order, fit'▻
•DER ἀ-ταγ-ία [f.] 'lack of a ταγός' (Thess.), ταγ-εύω (also with συν-) 'to be ταγός' (Thess., Delph., X.), med. 'to summon to the chief' (A. *Th.* 58), -ἔω 'to be commander' (A. *Pers.* 764). Uncertain τᾰγά [f.] 'leadership' (A. *Ag.* 110 [lyr.]); cf. ταγή s.v. ►τάσσω. On apparent τᾰγοί (Ψ 160) see Wackernagel 1916: 222.
•ETYM A Thessalian title, which was used to create a foreign 'couleur locale' by the tragedians; cf. Björck 1950: 153. Traditionally connected with ►τάσσω, in which case the long vowel in ταγός must be very old. ToB *tāś* 'commander' is probably related, for which Adams 1999 s.v. reconstructs a pre-form **tāgyu-*. Lith. *pa-togùs* 'convenient, pliable, pleasant', *su-tógti* 'to rely on, be wedded, commit oneself' has been further compared, which would presuppose a root **teh₂g-*.

τάγῠρι [n.] 'small thing' (Eup. 3, Theognost. *Can.*). ◅PG(V)▻
•DER ταγύρια (leg. -ι?)· τὰ ἐλάχιστα, τὰ τυχόντα (H.).
•ETYM Fur. 261 compares σαγύριον· ἄρτου κλάσμα 'piece of bread' (H.), and thinks the word is Pre-Greek.

τάγχουρος [m.] 'gold' (sch. Theoc.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also ἄγχουρος (Besant.), τάγχαρας (Cosmas ad *OGI*, 199).
•ETYM Fur.: 391 concludes from the variation that the word is Pre-Greek.

ταθρίσιον [n.] a fish. ◅?▻
•VAR Also -ιος (*PLond. ined.* 2143).
•ETYM Unknown.

ταινία [f.] 'band, binding, headband, spit of land, sandbank' (IA, Emp., Epid.), 'tapeworm' (Gal.); name of a band-like fish (Epich., Arist.; Strömberg 1943: 37f.), also name of a region near the Sea Mareotis (Ath.). ◅?▻
•COMP Compounds ταινιό-πωλις [f.] 'band-seller' (Eup., D.), ὑπο-ταίνιος 'forming a spit or sandbank' (Ph.).
•DER Diminutive ταιν-ίον (Priene, *EM*), -ίδιον (medic., Delos); adjective -ιώδης 'band-shaped' (Thphr.), -ιωτικός (οἶνος) 'wine from Tainia' (Ath.), ~ *papyrus* (Plin.); verb -ιόω 'to adorn with bands' (Att., etc.).
•ETYM Formation comparable to ►κειρία 'band, tapeworm, etc.'; cf. also κοιλία, ἀντλία, and other secondary formations in -ία. Probably ultimately related to τείνω, but the details are rather unclear. The missing link may be a noun like *ταῖνα or *ταινά; cf. σφαῖρα.

τακερός •VAR τάκωνες. ⇒τήκομαι.

ταλα- 'bearing, enduring, etc.' ◅IE **telh₂-* 'bear, endure'▻
•COMP As a first member in verbal governing compounds (epic poet.): ταλα-(ϝ)εργός 'enduring labor' (Hom., Hes., Theoc.), ταλα-πενθής 'enduring harm' (ε 222,

B.), ταλα-πείρ-ιος 'who has overcome many tests' (Od., etc.). Besides, with the second member as a subject, ταλά-φρων 'of enduring mind' (N 300, Opp.; also ταλασι-, ταλαι-). After this ταλα-κάρδιος 'with tolerant heart, suffering' (Hes. *Sc.*, S. [lyr.]).

•ETYM From ►ταλάσσαι. Further also ταλαι-; see ►ταλαίπωρος. Cf. also ταλαύρινος (to ►ῥινός) and ►άταλός; ►ταλαός, ►τάλας, ►τάλαντα, ►τάλαρος.

ταλαίπωρος [adj.] 'enduring hardship or distress, pestered, unhappy' (A. *Pr.*, S., Ar., Pl., D.). ◅?▻

•VAR Substantivized: τὸ ταλαίπωρον 'endurance, effort' (Hp., Ar., D. H., App.).

•COMP Bahuvrīhi ἀ-ταλαίπωρος 'without endurance' (Hp., Th., Ar.).

•DER ταλαιπωρ-ικός 'persistent, hardened' (Gal.); -ία (Ion. -ίη, often plur.) [f.] 'effort, labor, ἐνέργεια' (Hp.), 'effort, hardship, suffering' (Hdt., Att.); -έω, -έομαι [v.] 'to make effort, toil, suffer' (IA), the active sometimes also trans. 'to pester, agonize' (Isoc., D. C.), with -ησις, -ημα (late); also -ίζω = -έω (Phld., Sm.), with -ισμός (Phld.).

•ETYM The first member ταλαι- equals ►ταλα- (s.v.). For the second member, some words that are almost only transmitted by lexicographers (H., Suid.) have been compared, and connected with πῆμα, πηρός by WP 2, 8: πωρεῖν· κηδεύειν, πενθεῖν 'to mourn, suffer' (Elean, acc. to Suid.), πωρῆσαι· λυπῆσαι 'to be grieved', πωρητύς· ταλαιπωρία, πένθος 'suffering' (also Antim.), also πῶρος· ὁ ταλαίπωρος; however, πωρός· τυφλός, πώρωσις· τύφλωσις (Suid.) derive from πῶρος 'stone', πωρόω 'to harden, strike with blindness'. Others compare the Gm. word for 'danger', **fēr-* (older litt. in Frisk).

τάλαντα [n.pl.] 'scales, balance' (epic poet. Il.), also a designation of a unit of weight and currency, 'talent' (since Il.). ◅IE **telh₂-* 'bear, endure'▻

•VAR Secondary sing. τάλαντον 'balance' (Thgn., B., A., Ar.), 'talent' (since θ 393).

•COMP As a second member in ἡμι-τάλαντον [n.] 'half a talent' (since Ψ 751 and 796), properly a substantivized adjective, 'consisting of half a talent' (Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 51); ἀ-τάλαντος 'having the same weight, equal' (Il., Hell. epic).

•DER ταλαντ-ιαῖος 'worth one talent' (Att.), -ιεῖος 'id.' (pap. III^{a}); -εύω (also with ἀμφι-, ἀντι-) [v.] 'to weigh, balance, sway to and fro', pass. 'to swing' (Arist., D. S.), with -εία [f.] (conj. Pl. *Cra.* 395e); -όομαι (δια-) [v.] 'to swing to and fro' (Pl., Ach. Tat.), with ἐκ- 'to be robbed of one's talents' (Sopat. Com.); ταλάντ-ωσις [f.] 'weighing, swinging to and fro' (Antipho Soph., Arist.); -άω = -εύω (*EM*).

•ETYM Properly "bearing", a participial formation **tlh₂-ent-* fromo the root **telh₂-* in ►ταλάσσαι, etc. (see Beekes 1975: 51). Borrowed as Lat. *talentum, -a*. On ►Ἀταλάντη, see s.v. See ►τάλᾶς.

ταλαός [adj.] 'enduring, tolerant, unhappy' (Ar. *Av.* 687 [anap.], Q. S.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Formation like ταναός, but perhaps just a shortening of ταλα-κάρδιος vel sim.

τάλαρος [m.] 'basket' (Hom., Hes. *Sc.*, Ar., Mosch., Paus.). ◅IE **telh₂-* 'bear'▻

•DER Diminutives ταλαρ-ίσκος [m.] (Arist., Theoc., *AP*), -ιον [n.] (pap. III^{p}, Poll.).

•ETYM Properly "bearer", a substantivization from an adjective *ταλα-ρός, built from the root *$telh_2$-, with regular shift of accent. For the formation, cf. λαγα-ρός, χαλα-ρός, etc. See ►ταλάσσαι.

τάλᾱς [adj.] 'wretched, unhappy', expression of compassion (epic poet. Od.). ◄IE *$telh_2$- 'bear, endure'►

•VAR τάλαινα [f.], τάλᾰν [n.], gen. τάλανος, -αίνης, -ανος, dat. also -αντι (Hippon.), voc. τάλαν.

•ETYM Originally, a formation in -ντ- from ►ταλάσσαι (like τάλαντα), which turned into an *n*-stem after the example of μέλας, -ανος because of the frequent vocative (Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 499ff.). See ►τᾶν.

ταλασία [f.] 'wool-labor, wool-spinning' (Pl. *Lg.*, X., Ph., Plu.). ◄GR►

•DIAL Myc. *ta-ra-si-ja* 'quantity of bronze or wool weighed for working'.

•COMP As a first member in ταλασι-ουργ-ός [f.] 'wool-spinner' (Pl. *Ion*, Trypho *apud* Ath.), with -ικός (Pl. *Plt.*, X.), -ία [f.] (Pl. *Plt.*), -έω [v.] (X., D. S., Luc.) after δημιουργ-ός, -ικός, -ία, -έω.

•DER ταλάσ-ιος (in -α ἔργα) 'concerning wool-spinning' (X.), -ήϊα ἔργα (A. R., Nonn.; after πολε-μήϊα ἔργα); ταλάσια· τά ἔρια 'wool' (H.).

•ETYM The word ἐργασία probably served as an example for the formation of ταλασία (cf. Pl. *Ion* 540c: ἀλλ' οἷα γυναικὶ πρέποντά ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ταλασιουργῷ περὶ ἐρίων ἐργασίας, 'but as far as it befits a wool-working woman to say things about wool-working'). The form ταλασία was created from ταλάσ(σ)αι after the examples of ἐργάσασθαι : ἐργασία, γυμνάσασθαι : γυμνασία, δοκιμάσαι : δοκιμασία, etc. (Schwyzer: 469).

It is best to assume 'to weigh' (like in τάλαντα) as another meaning of ταλάσ(σ)αι 'to endure' (although further unattested). Thus, ταλασία would properly mean *'weighing (for sbd.)', like Lat. *pēnsum* '(weighed off) wool, wool-labor, day-work for a woman'. Differently, Solmsen *IF* 31 (1912/13): 503ff., who assumed an intermediate form *ταλάτης, properly meaning 'who has to endure laborious work', comparing Ru. *stradát'* 'to suffer', dial. 'to harvest', with *stradá* 'heavy labor, harvest work'.

ταλάσσαι [v.aor.] 'to endure, tolerate' (Il.). ◄IE *$telh_2$- 'bear, endure'►

•VAR Med. -ασθαι (Opp.), fut. ταλάσσω (Lyc.); τελάσσαι· τολμῆσαι 'to dare', τλῆναι (H.). Further τλῆναι (Dor. τλᾶναι), also with ἀνα-, etc., fut. τλήσομαι (Dor. Aeol. τλάσ-), perf. τέτληκα, plur. τέτλᾰμεν, ptc. τετληώς.

•COMP As a first member in τλή-θυμος (Dor. τλᾱ́-) 'of patient mind, patient' (Pi., *AP*), Τλη-πόλεμος PN (Il.), also τλησι-κάρδιος (A. [lyr.]); besides ταλα-(ϝ)εργός, ►ταλαίπωρος, ταλασί-φρων. As a second member in πολύ-τλᾱς 'much-enduring, persisting', of Odysseus (Hom.), probably from a stem *-$tleh_2$-*t*-, so Aeolic. Not here ►Ἄτλας.

•DER 1. ►ταλαός. 2. τλητός, Dor. τλᾱτός 'able to tolerate, bearable' (Ω 49, trag.), more usual ἄ-τλητος, ἄ-τλᾱτος 'unbearable' (epic poet. Il.), πολύ-τλητος 'much-enduring, much-tested' (λ 38). 3. τλήμων, Dor. τλᾱ́μων 'persevering, steadfast, tolerant, troublesome, unhappy', also 'enterprising, bold, brutal' (epic poet. Il.), with τλημοσύνη [f.] 'steadfastness, patience, patient acceptance' (Archil., *h. Ap.*).

•ETYM The aorist ταλάσσαι has a secondary disyllabic zero grade (cf. δαμάσ(σ)αι, χαλάσαι), but we also find τελάσσαι (H.), which probably represents the old full grade **telh₂-*, like in ἐλάσαι, κεράσ(σ)αι, κρεμάσαι, etc. In the other tenses (except for the present), τλη- was generalized. The short vowel in τέτλᾰμεν is secondary after ἔσταμεν. The form τλῆναι may be a replacement of τελάσσαι after στῆναι et al. The present ►τέλλω in ἀνατέλλω 'go up, rise, lift up', etc. is isolated formally and semantically.

For cognate verbal forms, see LIV² s.v. **telh₂-*, and for the history of the Greek formations, Harðarson 1993b. Latin has a perfect *te-tul-ī* continuing **te-tolh₂-h₂ei* (ToA *ca-cäl* 'he raised' [caus.pret.] is a regular formation). The *to*-ptc. in τλη-τός, τλᾱ-τός neatly corresponds to Italo-Celtic forms: Lat. *lātus* from **tlā-tos* < **tlh₂-to-*, MW *tlawdd* 'poor' (with the same meaning as in τάλας). A zero grade of the root is found in Skt. *tulā́* [f.] 'balance' < IE **tlh₂-eh₂-* and in Germanic, e.g. Go. *þulan*, OHG *dolēn* 'tolerate' from a stative **tlh₂-eh₁-*.

In Greek, the meaning has been narrowed to 'tolerate, endure' in the verbal forms, while ἀείρω is used in the sense of 'support'.

See ►τέλλω 2, ►τελαμών, ►τόλμη, ►Τάνταλος, ►τάλαντα, etc.

ταλαύρινος 'shield-bearing'. ⇒ ῥῑνός.

ταλάωρ, -ωρος [m.] 'bow' (Euph. 9, 12; of the bow of Artemis, Choerob. *in Theod.*). ◅?▻

•DER ταλαώρεα· τοξεύματα 'bows' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

τᾱλις, -ιδος [f.] 'young, nubile girl, bride' (S. *Ant.* 629 [anap.], Call. *Ait.* 3, 1, 3). ◅?▻

•ETYM Perhaps an Aeolic form of ►τῆλις (s.v.).

ταμία [f.] 'housekeeper, conductress' (Hom., Alcm., X., Hell. inscr.). ◅GR▻

•VAR Ion. -ίη. More usual ταμίας (Ion. -ίης) [m.] 'housekeeper, conductor, manager, treasurer' (Il.), also used for Lat. *quaestor* (Hell.).

•DIAL Myc. PN *Ta-mi-je-u*.

•COMP As a second member in Ἑλληνο-ταμίαι [pl.m.], designation of Athenian officials that administered the funds of the league at Delos (Att.).

•DER ταμι-εύω [v.] (sometimes with δια-, etc.) 'to manage, economize', med. 'to manage, save up, take in' (IA), with -εῖον [n.] 'storehouse, treasury, *fiscus*' (IA), diminutive -είδιον (Suid., perhaps Men. *Sam.* 402 [=233] Jacques), -εία [f.] 'management, administration' (Pl. *Lg.*, X., Hp., Arist.), -ευσις [f.] 'id.' (Ael.), -εύματα [pl.n.] 'economy measures' (X.), 'provisions' (D. S.), -ευτής [m.] 'administrator' (Poll. v.l.), -ευτικός 'economic' (pap., Poll.), τὸ ταμιευτικόν 'economy' (M. Ant.), -εύτωρ [m.] 'id.' (Man.), -εύς [m.] (St. Byz.; back-formation), -ευτήριον = ταμιεῖον (sch.). Further ταμι-ικός, -ιακός 'of the ταμίας or ταμι(ι)εῖον' (Hell. and late inscr. and pap.).

•ETYM Connected with ταμεῖν 'to cut (up), divide', but the details of the formation are not quite clear. Since examples of primary derivatives in -ίας do not exist, an intermediate nominal form is needed. Generally, ταμίας is considered to be a

masculine innovation of the feminine ταμία '(female) housekeeper', which is more common in Homer, but much rarer elsewhere. However, this is contradicted by the fact that comparable primary formations in -ία (πενία, μανία, θαλία) are abstracts. Schwyzer: 470 and 473[3] assumes that ταμία is based on τάμι-ιᾰ (Pi., doubtful), from which ταμίας was then secondarily created. Conversely, one might think that *ταμία [f.] 'cutting up, division' led to ταμίας [m.], from which ταμία 'housekeeper' was formed based on ἀγγελίη from ἀγγελίης 'messenger' (cf. on ►ἄγγελος).

τάμισος [f.] 'rennet' (Hp., Theoc., Nic.). ◄PG(S)►

•DER ταμισ-ίνης τυρός 'cheese made with rennet' (Diocl. *Fr.*; like ὀξίνης, etc.), -ιον [n.] '*coagulum*' (gloss.).

•ETYM Has been compared with ταμεῖν, with the suffix found in μάδισος, κύτισος (cf. Chantraine 1933: 435). DELG and Frisk justify the development of meaning by pointing to σχίζειν τὸ γάλα 'to curdle milk' (Dsc.) and to γαλατμόν = λάχανον ἄγριον 'wild herb' H., if this contains the root **temH-* 'to cut'. However, this etymology for γαλατμόν may well be wrong. Rather, τάμισος is Pre-Greek because of the suffix -ισ-.

τᾶν only in ὦ τᾶν (ὦ τάν), a popular form of address (Att.). ◄GR►

•VAR Also τάν.

•ETYM Acc. to Kretschmer *Glotta* 1 (1909): 58, it may have developed from τάλᾶν. Doubts by Björck 1950: 275ff., who deals extensively with meaning and attestations.

ταναός [adj.] 'thin, narrow, outstretched, expanding widely, long, high' (epic poet. since P 589). ◄IE **tnh₂-eu-* 'thin'►

•VAR Myc. *ta-na-wa* (of wheels).

•COMP As a first member in ταναό-δειρος 'with a narrow or outstretched neck', of οἰωνοί (Ar.), often with elision of the -ο-, e.g. τανα-ήκης 'with a long point, edge', of weapons (Hom.), 'lofty', of rushes, mountains (Opp., Orph.; cf. on ἠκή), also ταναύ-ποδα epithet of μῆλα 'thin-legged, with stretched feet' (ι 464, *h. Ap.*, *h. Merc.*). With -αι- (after ταλαι-, παλαι-, etc.): ταναί-μῡκος 'far-bellowing', of βοῦς (*AP*).

•ETYM Christophe *KZ* 114 (2001): 90-116 recently argued that the root **ten-* had no laryngeal. However, the laryngeal is necessary for almost all branches: Celtic forms like OIr. *tanae* 'thin' < PCl. **tanaṷio-* << **tnh₂-eu-o-*, Lith. *tę́vas* 'thin, slender, high (of voices)', Latv. *tiẽvs* 'thin, slender' < **tenh₂-u-ó-*, OCS *тънъкъ*, Ru. *tónkij*, Sln. *tänak* 'delicate, fine' < **tnHu-k-*, and probably also Lat. *tenuis* < **ten(a)u̯i-* < PIt. **tn̥(a)ui-* < IE **tnh₂-eu-*. The Germanic evidence is ambiguous regarding the laryngeal, e.g. OHG *dunni* < PGm. **þunw-*. The Greek form presupposes **tnh₂-eu-o-*; cf. Beekes *MSS* 34 (1976): 9-12. Within Greek, comparanda are ►τανυ- and ►τάνυται. Christophe's assumption that **tnu-* gave τανυ- in Greek is unnecessary, and his assumption of another prop vowel in *t°n°-wo-*, giving ταναός, is improbable.

τανεῖαι [f.pl.] 'beam' (Thphr. *HP* 4, 1, 2). ◄IE **tenh₂-u-* 'thin'►

•ETYM Formally, this seems to be the feminine of an adjective **τανύς (see ►τανυ-); semantically, this is quite possible.

τανηλεγής [adj.] 'reckless, heedless, inconsiderate', only in τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο (Hom., Tyrt.). ◂IE *h_2leg- 'care for'▸

•VAR Also -έως (metr. inscr. Phrygia).

•DER Similarly δυσ-ηλεγής (also of θάνατος χ 325), also of πόλεμος, etc. (epic), άπ-ηλεγέως (epic since Il.), άν-ηλεγής (πόλεμος), -έως (Q. S.), νηλεγής, -έως (H.).

•ETYM The second member belongs to ►άλέγω 'to care for'; νηλεγής < *$n̥$-h_2leg- contains the negative prefix. In view of the meaning, Leumann 1950: 45 (following Blass and Bechtel 1914 s.v.) reads τ' άνηλεγής, which would fit the semantics excellently. Szemerényi 1964: 154, 159 defends the connection with τανυ-.

τανθαρύζω [v.] 'to quiver'. ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Only in ἐκτανθαρύ<ζ>ω· τρέμω H.; also τανθαλύζει· τρέμει. Δωριεῖς. οἱ δὲ σπαίρει 'trembles (Dor.), others: quivers' (H., cod. ταντ-, but at an alphabetically wrong position); influenced by τανταλίζει (see ►Τάνταλος). With o-vocalism τοιθορύσσειν· σείειν 'to shake', τοιθορύκτρια· ἡ τοὺς σεισμιοὺς ποιοῦσα 'who causes shaking' (H.). Also ἐτανθόριζον· ἔτρεμον (H., leg. ἐτανθάρυζον?). Further details in Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 266.

•DER Also τανθαρυστοί [pl.] "the quivering ones", epithet of ὅρμοι 'necklaces' (Theopomp. Com. 95).

•ETYM Popular words with intensive reduplication; as to be expected, without clear genealogy. Frisk cites an old proposal to connect some Balto-Slavic words for 'to tremble, etc.', e.g. Ru. *drógnut'* 'tremble', *dróž'* [f.] 'shiver', Lith. *drugỹs* [m.] '(cold) fever, butterfly'. Discussion in Tichy 1983: 212f. The word ►τονθορύζω may be identical, with α > ο before υ. If so, the variation points to Pre-Greek origin.

Τάνταλος [m.] father of Pelops, grandfather of Atreus, mythical king of Sipylos in Asia Minor, famous for his riches and punished in the underworld for his faults (Od.). ◂?▸

•DER Τανταλ-ίδαι [m.pl.] 'offspring of T.' (A. [lyr.]), -ίς [f.] 'daughter of T.', i.e. Niobe (*APl.*), -ειος 'belonging to T.' (E., etc.), also -εος (*AP*) and -ικός (Man.); -ῖτις [f.] name of a plant = Γοργόνειον, λιθόσπερμον (Ps.-Dsc.) referring to the rock that threatened to crush T. (Redard 1949: 77, Strömberg 1940: 101).

Verbs: 1. τανταλ-ίζω 'to hover' (Anacr.), med. 'to weigh?' (proverb in Zen.), τανταλίζεται· σαλεύεται 'is rocked', ἐταντάλιζεν· ἔτρεμεν 'trembled', ἐτανταλίχθη· ἐσείσθη 'was shaken' (H.). 2. -όομαι in τανταλωθείς (S. *Ant.* 134 [lyr.]), acc. to sch. ad loc. = διατιναχθεὶς ἄνωθεν κάτω, διασεισθείς 'shaken from top to bottom, shaken all over'.

•ETYM Connection with the root ταλα- is impossible, as this contained a laryngeal. It is unclear how the verbs τανταλ-ίζω, -όομαι relate to Τάνταλος. They were probably influenced semantically by τάλαντα; cf. Pl. *Cra.* 396d, where Τάνταλος is interpreted as ταλάντατος "who has to bear much" (from ►τάλας). On τανθαλύζει (cod. ταντ-), see s.v. ►τανθαρύζω. An IE interpretation is most improbable.

τανυ- 'thin, narrow, slim'. ◂IE *$tenh_2$-u- 'thin'▸

•COMP As a first member in several compounds, and originally adjectival, e.g. τανύ-φλοιος 'with thin bark' (*P* 767, etc.), -φυλλος 'with narrow leaves' (Od.), τανύ-

σφυρος (beside τανί-σφυρος, after καλλί-σφυρος or dissimilated from υ ... υ?) 'with slim ankles' (Hes., *h. Cer.*, Ibyc., B.), τανυ-ήκης 'with a thin point' (Il.; also ταναήκης, see ►ταναός). τανυ- disappeared as an independent adjective at an early date. In some cases, it may have been semantically influenced by ►τάνυται, τανύω, which seems clear in τανύ-πτερος (Hes., *h. Cer.* et al.), τανυ-πτέρυξ (Il.), also τανυσί-πτερος (Od.) 'with spread wings' or 'speading the wings' (less clear are cases like τανύ-πεπλος, -γλωσσος, -θριξ. Sommer 1948: 127f., tries to show that τανυ- was originally a verbal member (to be rejected).

•ETYM An adjective *τανύς, which apparently disappeared in Greek, has exact correspondences in several languages: Skt. *tanú-* 'thin, sweet, unimportant', Lat. *tenuis* 'thin, etc.' (regularly reflected as an *i*-stem), ON *þunnr* < **þunwa-* (*i*-stem in OHG *dunni* 'thin'), OCS *тънъкъ*, Ru. *tónkij* 'thin, fine, slender' (for the suffix, cf. Skt. *tánuka-*), all ultimately reflecting IE **tn̥h₂ú-*. An old feminine form of *τανύς seems to have been preserved in ►τανεῖαι.

τάνυται [v.3sg.pres.med.] 'to stretch, tense, extend, expand' (*P* 393, epic lyr., Ion. prose). ◄IE **tenh₂-* 'stretch'►

•VAR τανύ-ω, -ουσι, -οντο, etc. (Hom., Hdt.), aor. τανύσ(σ)αι, -ασθαι, -θῆναι, perf. med. τετάνυσμαι (Il.), fut. τανύ-ω (Od.), pass. -σσομαι (Archil.), -σ(σ)ω (*AP*, Orph.).

•COMP Also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, etc.

•DER Very few derivatives: 1. τανυστύς [f.] 'stretching', of a bow (φ 112) (for the formation cf. ἀκοντιστύς et al.); 2. τάνυσις = τάσις 'tension, extension', of an organ (Hp., Aret.); 3. ἐντανυσμιός as an explanation of τανυστύς, sch. to φ 112.

•ETYM A formation parallel to τάνυται is found in Skt. *tanuté* 'stretches, expands'. The thematic present τανύω, etc. is an innovation, probably starting from the 3pl. τανύουσι, -οντο. All other forms, like τανύσ(σ)αι, etc., developed from the present, probably after ἐρύω, ἐρύσ(σ)αι. A new present ►τείνω was created at a later date. See ►τανυ-.

ταπεινός [adj.] 'low-lying, inferior in rank, vile, insignificant, meek' (Pi., IA). ◄PG?►

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ταπεινό-φρων 'of humble mind, meek', with -φρονέω, -φροσύνη (LXX, NT, Plu.).

•DER ταπειν-ότης [f.] 'humility, pettiness, lowliness' (IA); -όομαι, -όω [v.] (also with ἐκ-, συν-) 'to humble oneself', act. 'to humiliate, disparage, etc.' (IA), with -ωσις [f.] 'humiliation' (Pl. *Lg.*, Hell.), -ωμα [n.] 'dejection of a planet' (Plu., S. E.).

•ETYM Formation like αἰπεινός, ὀρεινός, but further analysis is unclear. Frisk and Pok. mention the old comparison with ON *þefja* [v.] 'to stamp', *þōf* [n.] 'crowd', assuming a root **tap-*, but this does not convince. Fur.: 158 considers substrate origin.

τάπης, -ητος [f.] 'carpet, rug' (Hom., Herod., Ar., inscr. Cos IV-III[a]). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also τάπις, -ιδος (X., Delos IV-III[a]), ►δάπις 'id.', τάβης (*Edict. Diocl.* 7, 62).

•COMP Few compounds: ταπιδ-υφάντης [m.] 'carpet-weaver' (Hell. pap.), ἀμφι-τάπης [m.] (middle com.), ἀμφί-ταπις [f.] (late), ἀμφί-ταπος [m.] (Hell. pap., LXX) 'rug that is woolly on both sides' (also -δάφος *POxy.*, Fur. 178).

•DER Diminutive ταπήτ-ιον (late), ταπίδ-ιον (Hell. and late pap.); ταπητ-άριος, ταπιτ-άριος, -ᾶς [m.] 'manufacturer of carpets' (late pap.).

•ETYM Formation like λέβης, κάλπις and technical words of debated origin (Chantraine 1933: 267 and 335f.). Traditionally taken to be an Oriental loan: Iranian, from MoP *tāb-aδ*, inf. *tāftan*, *tābīδan* 'turn, spin' (Schrader *KZ* 30 (1890): 484). The form ἀμφί-ταπος shows a form without suffix. There are several variant forms (Fur. *passim*), which proves Pre-Greek origin. Borrowed as Lat. *tapēt-e*, *-um*, whence Ital. *tappeto*, OHG *teppīd*, *teppīh*, MoHG *Tapete*, etc.

ταρ [pcl.]◂GR▸

•ETYM Seems to be attested in the Venetus A of the Iliad. See ▸τε.

τάρανδος [m.] designation of a horned animal in northern regions, probably 'reindeer' (Schrader-Nehring 1917(1): 503), acc. to H. ζῷον ἐλάφου παραπλήσιον, οὗ τὰς δορὰς εἰς χιτῶνας χρῶνται Σκύθαι 'animal reminiscent of the deer, the hides of which are used for coats by the Scythians'. ◂LW? Orient., PG?(V)▸

•VAR Also -δρος.

•ETYM Fur.: 389 cites Lat. *parandrum* (Sol.) as a variant with *p-*, which might point to a Pre-Greek word. Isebaert *Glotta* 60 (1982): 62-65, reconstructs Old Ossetic **θarantara-* from **ḱ(e)ren-tero-*, properly "the horned animal par excellence".

ταράσσω [v.] 'to stir, agitate, confuse, arouse, startle' (Pi., IA). ◂IE **dʰreh₂gʰ-* 'confuse'▸

•VAR Att. -άττω; aor. ταρ-άξαι (Il.), pass. -αχθῆναι, fut. -άξω, pass. -άξομαι, perf.pass. τετάραγμαι (IA), act. -αχα (late).

•COMP Often with prefix, especially συν-.

•DER ταρ-αγμός [m.] 'confusion' (trag.), -αγμα [n.] 'confused state' (E., D. H.); on the difference in mg. between -μός and -μα Chantraine 1933: 146; -αξις (also with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν-) 'confusion, etc.'; -άκτωρ [m.] 'trouble-maker' (A.), -άκτης [m.] 'id.' (Lyc.), -ακτικός 'fit for confusion, disturbing' (late), -ακτρον [n.] "spatula" as a term of abuse, 'trouble-maker' (Ar.), -ακτήριον [n.] 'id.' (sch.).

ταραχ-ή [f.] 'confusion, trouble, uproar' (Pi., IA), with -ώδης (IA); as a second member in ἀ-τάραχος 'without trouble, calm' (Arist., Hell.), also ἀ-τάρακτος, with ἀταραξ-ία, -ίη (Hp., Hell.); rare τάραχος [m.] = ταραχή (X., Hell.).

•ETYM Greek formed two presents from the root **dʰreh₂gʰ-*: θρᾰ́σσω (with aor. θρᾰ̃ξαι) and ταράσσω (with aor. ταράξαι, perf. intr. τέτρηχα, etc.); the latter could also be a denominative from ταραχή. For further connections, see ▸θρᾰ́σσω. Since a formation **dʰr̥h₂-egʰ-* is rather doubtful, ταραχή seems to require a special development of the zero grade **dʰr̥h₂gʰ-*, perhaps conditioned by the accent (as defended by Rix).

ταρβέω [v.] 'to be startled, shy, shun' (epic poet. since Il.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Aor. ταρβῆσαι, perf. τετάρβηκα (E.).

•DIAL Boeot. τάρβειμι (Hdn. Gr.).

•COMP Rarely with προ-, ὑπο-, ἐκ-.

•DER τάρβος [n.] 'fright, shyness' (Ω 152 = 181, trag.; ταρβο-σύνη [f.] (σ 342), with -συνος 'frightening' (A. *Th.* 240 [lyr.]), after γηθο-σύνη, -συνος; ά-ταρβ-ής [adj.] 'fearless' (N 299, Pi.), from ταρβέω or τάρβος; verbal adjective ά-τάρβ-ητος 'id.' (Γ 63), also ►ἀτάρβακτος. Further ταρβαλέος [adj.] 'terrible, fearsome' (epic poet., *h. Merc.*; after σμερδαλέος, θαρσαλέος), ταρβήεις 'fearsome' (Nonn.), like κοτήεις; ταρβάλυξ, -υγος = ὁ ταρακτικός (Hdn. Gr. 2, 743). Further details, especially on the use in Hom., in Ruijgh 1957: 163.

•ETYM The date of the attestations and their frequency suggest that τάρβος was secondarily created from ταρβέω, so denominative origin is improbable for the verb. The word τάρβος is often compared with Skt. *tarjati* (epic, class.) 'threaten, revile', Lat. *torvus* 'grim, fierce', MW *tarfu* 'disturb, trouble, scare', Hitt. *tarkuu̯ant-* 'looking angrily', for the reconstruction of a root **terg*^{w}-. However, there are problems in the reconstruction of the Welsh word (see Matasović 2009 s.v. **targ*^{w}*-o-*), and the semantic development of 'angry, fierce' to 'shy' in Greek is not clear.

Fur.: 219 compares ταρμύσσω. Moreover, it is difficult to explain the element ταρβ- from the proposed IE forms, as a zero grade would give *τραβ-. On the Skt. forms, see Kuiper 1956: 215[18]. ToA *trak* 'blind', ToB *tärrek* 'id.' are certainly unrelated, since they are compounds with *ek* 'eye' (A *ak*) as a second member.

τάργανον [n.] 'sick wine, vinegar' (Phoen. [III^{a}]). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Acc. to *EM* 753, 54, the Attic form is ►σαργάνη (see s.v.).

•DER Further οἶνος τεταργανωμένος 'sour wine' (Pl. Com.), ταργαίνειν· ταράσσειν 'agitate' (H.).

•ETYM Not well explained. Traditionally compared with ►στεργάνος and ►τρύξ. The difference in final velar makes comparison with the group of **terk-*, *trek-* 'turn' (Lat. *torqueō* 'to turn, wind', Skt. *tarkú-* 'spindle', etc.; see Pok. 1077) impossible. Expressions for 'turn' are often applied to drinks that have "turned" sour, bitter, or the like, viz. ὁ οἶνος τρέπεται, with τροπίας 'spoiled wine, τάργανον', Ital. *il vino dà la volta* 'id.', MoFr. *le lait tourne* 'the milk becomes sour', and many more examples. Semantically, one may compare MoDu. *wrang* 'herb, bitter, sour' to Go. *wruggo* 'snare'. The variation τ-/σ- shows that the word is Pre-Greek. However, the appurtenance of the following glosses, adduced by Frisk, is uncertain: ταργάναι· πλοκαί, συνδέσεις, πέδαι 'twinings, links, shackles' and τεταργανωμένη· συμπεπλεγμένη, συνειλημμένη 'plaited together, taken together' (H.); they barely attest a meaning 'turning, winding', etc.

τάρῑχος [m.] and [n.] 'fish or meat conserved by salting, smoking or drying' (IA, etc.), also 'mummy' (Hdt. 9, 120, S. *Fr.* 646) ◄PG►

•VAR Also -ον [n.] (Hell.); back-formed as an adjective 'pickled' (Ael.); rare.

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ταριχο-πώλης [m.] 'dealer in τ.', with -πώλιον and -πωλέω [v.] (Pl., Hell.); ὠμο-τάριχος [m.] = σὰρξ θύννου τεταριχευμένου 'dried tunny meat' (middle com., Dsc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ταρίχ-ιον [n.] (Ar.), 2. -ηρός [adj.] 'ptng. to pickling, pickled', also msc. 'pickler, embalmer of bodies' (Arist., pap.), like ἐλαι-, ὀξ-ηρός; 3. -ᾶς [m.] 'dealer in τ.' (pap. II^{p}); 4. -εύω (also with προ-, ἐν-) [v.] 'to pickle, smoke, dry', also

'to embalm', med. also 'to wither' (IA, pap.), with -εία (Ion. -ηίη) [f.] 'pickling, embalming' (Hdt., Arist.), -ευσις [f.] 'id.' (Hdt.), -εῖον [n.] 'pickle factory' (pap. III^{p}), -ευτής [m.] 'embalmer, pickler' (Hdt., Hell. pap.), -ευτήρ [m.] 'id.' (Man.), -ευτικός = -ηρός (Dsc.). Of uncertain mg. ταριχώτης, perhaps = ταριχευτής (Tab. Defix.); cf. τριχῶσαι· θάψαι 'bury' (H.).

•ETYM The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the meaning of -α-. The formation is isolated (on the long ī, cf. Schwyzer: 644; ►ἄρριχος 'basket' has ĭ); the gender may have been adapted to ἰχθῦς 'fish' or κρέας 'meat' (cf. Egli 1954: 73ff.). From Greek came Arm. *tařex* 'herring', Syr. *ṭārīxā* 'salted fish'. See ►ταρχύω.

ταρμύσσω [v.] 'to startle' (Lyc. 1177). ◄PG?►

•VAR Aor. ταρμύξασθαι· φοβηθῆναι 'get scared' (H.); ἀτάρμυκτος 'undaunted' (Euph., Nic., H., *EM*).

•ETYM Formation like αἰθύσσω, κινύσσομαι, σκαρδαμύσσω, which may be either denominative or deverbative. Connection with τρέμω seems attractive, but the zero grade ταρμ- as opposed to τραμ- (in τέ-τραμ-ος, τε-τραμ-αίνω) raises some doubts. Debrunner *IF* 21 (1907): 243 posited *ταρμός 'distress', from ►τείρω. Fur.: 219 compares ταρβέω, which is possible but remains uncertain; if correct, the word would be Pre-Greek.

τάρπη [f.] 'big basket' (Att. inscr. IV^{a}, Poll., *EM*, H.). ◄PG►

•VAR Also ταρπός [f.] 'id.' (Poll.).

•DER Further τερπόνη [f.] 'id.' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.* 65), τερπος of uncertain mg. (pap. III^{a}).

•ETYM Frisk compares ταργάναι· πλοκαί ... (see on ►τάργανον), σάρπους· κιβωτούς. Βιθυνοὶ δέ ξυλίνους οἰκίας (H.), ►σαργάνη, and even ►ταρσός. Of these, the comparison with σ/ταργάν- is useless; it is unclear whether σάρπους is cognate or not. Fur.: 183, etc. compares δάρπη· σαργάνη, κόφινος (H.), which would point to a Pre-Greek word.

ταρσός [m.] 1. '(plaited) device for dehydrating and drying cheese, etc.' (ι 219, Theoc.), 'plaited tube, mat of rushes, kind of flat basket' (Hdt., Th., Ar.), 'entangled roots forming a network' (Thphr.). 2. designation of all kinds of flat objects, like 'sole of the foot' (*L* 377, 388, Hdt., Hp.), also 'palm of the hand' (late medic.), 'blade, rudder, row of oars' (Hdt., Th., E., Plb.), 'flat of the outstretched wing, etc.' (Mosch., D. H., *AP*, Ael.). ◄IE? **ters-* 'dry'►

•VAR Att. ταρρός.

•COMP Rarely as a second member, e.g. σύνταρρος 'with a network of roots' (Thphr.), of δένδρον, back-formation from συν-ταρρόομαι.

•DER 1. τρασιά (Eup., Ar., S.), ταρσιή (Semon.), τερσιά (Jul.; -ε- after τέρσομαι) [f.] 'hurdle for drying figs, etc., dried figs, place for drying cereals, etc.'. 2. ταρσώδης (-ρρ-) 'like a hurdle or mat, plaited' (Thphr.). 3. ταρσῆται· ἀγγεῖα, ἐν οἷς οἱ τυροὶ ψύχονται 'vessel for keeping cheese cool' (H.); 4. ταρσ-όομαι [v.] (rarely with συν-, ἐκ-) 'to form a network', of veins and roots (Hp., Thphr.), -όω 'to equip with rudders or wings' (Polyaen., Lyd.), with -ωμα [n.] 'row of oars' (Poll.).

•ETYM Words in Armenian and Germanic have been compared: Arm. *t'aṙ* 'bar for drying grapes, etc.' < IE **tṛs-*, OHG *darra* [f.] 'apparatus for drying fruits, etc.', MoSw. and MoNw. *tarre* [m.] 'frame for drying malts, etc.', from PGm. **þarzṓ* [f.], secondary **þarzán-* [m.], IE **torsā́* (would be Gr. *τορσή). Both Frisk and DELG assume that the remarkable shift of meaning to 'blade of the foot, etc.' started from the flat form of the relevant objects. There are also phonological problems with this explanation: it is improbable that **tṛs-* would give ταρσ- in Greek, and the co-ocurrence of ρα and αρ is also problematic in itself. (The maintained intervocalic -σ- may be explained by the chronology of sound changes, however: cf. Manolessou and Pantelidis 2008.) Chantraine 1933: 82 points to the *a*-vocalism. Was it a loan from an intermediate language? See ►τέρσομαι.

τάρφεα [n.pl.] 'thicket, shrubbery' (A. R. 4, 1238). ◄?►

•VAR Dat. -εσι (E 555, O 606).

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *ta-pa-e-o-te*, see Aura Jorro s.v.

•DER ταρφύς 'dense' (epic poet. Il.), -έες [m.pl.], -ειαί [f.pl.] (perhaps after πυκιναί, θαμειαί; cf. Chantraine 1942: 191), ntr.pl. -έα as an adverb 'frequently, often' (cf. Leumann 1950: 166).

•ETYM Derived by Frisk from ►τρέφω 'to feed' as a zero grade (τάρφεα would be analogical after ταρφύς, acc. to Porzig 1942: 246). However, the development to ταρφ- from a zero grade is irregular, and the semantics are not compelling.

ταρχύω [v.] 'to inter' (A. R. 3, 208). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Fut. -ύσω (*H* 456 = 674), aor. -ῦσαι (*H* 85, Q. S.), med. -ύσασθαι (A. R., Nonn.), pass. -υθῆναι (Lyc., *AP*), perf. pass. τετάρχυμαι (late verse-inscr.).

•COMP ά-τάρχυτος 'uninterred' (Ps.-Phocyl., Lyc.).

•DER Several glosses in H.: ταρχάνιον· ἐντάφιον 'ptng. to burial'; ἐπίταρχον· ἐπιτάφιον, ἐντάφιον; τέρχανον· πένθος, κῆδος 'grief, sorrow'; τέρχνεα· … ἐντάφια; στέρχανα· περίδειπνον.'Ηλεῖοι 'funeral feast (Elean)'. Also τάρχεα and ταρχώματα = τὰ νομισμένα τοῖς νεκροῖς 'what is to be done with corpses' (sch. A and B to H 85).

•ETYM Has been compared with τάρῑχος, -εύω 'to pickle, embalm', but this obviously leads to formal and semantic problems. Fur.: 351 takes the forms with (σ)τερχ- as variants, and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek.

τάσσω [v.] 'to post, align in ranks, establish; to put in order, arrange' (post-Hom.). ◄?►

•VAR Att. -ττω; aor. τάξαι, pass. ταχθῆναι, later ταγῆναι, fut. τάξω, perf. pass. τέταγμαι, 3pl. τετάχαται (Th., X.), act. (young Att.) τέταχα.

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προ-, συν-.

•DER 1. ταγή (δια-, ἐπι-, συν-, ὑπο-, etc.) [f.] 'array, order, supply, etc.' (Ar. *Lys.* 105 [Dor.], Hell.); 2. τάγμα (διά-, ἐπί-, σύν-, πρόσ-, etc.) [n.] 'array, order, line-up, etc.' (IA); 3. τάξις (διά-, παρά-, σύν-, ὑπό-, etc.) [f.] 'array, line-up, etc.' (IA); συντάξ-ιμιον [n.] mg. unclear, perhaps name of a tax, 'census-list' (?) (pap. I^{P}); 4. τακτός (ἐπί-, ὑπό-, ἀπό-, etc.) 'established, measured out, ordered' (IA); 5. τακτικός 'concerning the line-up of an army, tactical' (X. et al.), frequently with ἐπι-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπο- to prefixed ἐπι-τάττω, etc. (Pl., Arist., Hell.); 6. άνα-, δια-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-τάκτης (from άνα-

τάσσω, etc.) [m.] names of various officials (Hell.); λιποτάκτης [m.] 'deserter' (D. H.), to λιποταξίου (γραφή, Att.), compounded from τάξιν λιπεῖν; 7. ἐπι-τακτήρ [m.] 'commander' (X.), ἀπο-τακτήρ 'hermit' (pap. V^{p}: ἀποτάσσομαι 'to take leave'), συν-τακτήρ 'arranger', with -ήριος (*EM*); 8. ἐν-τάγ-ιον [n.] 'order', diminutive ἐπιταγ-ίδιον [n.] (late pap.); ἐν-ταγ-ής 'ordered' (late pap.), also with nominal first member, e.g. ὁμο-ταγ-ής 'equal in status, etc.' (Euc., Hero, etc.); 9. ἐπιτάξ [adv.] 'in a row, etc.' (Hell.). See ►τᾱγός.

•ETYM The -γ- in ταγή and ►τᾱγός (as to whether the latter is connected, see s.v.) shows that τάσσω, -ττω is analogical for *τάζω. In other languages, it has been compared with the Parthian title *tgmdr*, which Bailey 1985: 98 takes to be *tagma-dāra-* 'giver of order', OP *ham-ataxšata* 'they have put in order', ToB *tāś* 'commander', and (less certain) Lith. *patogùs* 'convenient', *sutógti* 'to be wedded; to commit oneself, etc.'. If the OP form lost its laryngeal as a result of Lubotsky's Law (loss of laryngeal before two or more consonants, of which the first one is glottalized), we may reconstruct a root **teh$_2$g-* (instead of the awkward **tag-* suggested by LIV^{2}).

ταταῖ [voc.] 'daddy' (*AP* 11, 67). ◄IE **tata* 'father' ONOM►

•DER τᾶτί [voc.] 'mummy' (Herod. 5, 69); τᾱταλίζω [v.] 'to address with τᾶτα, flatter' (Herod.); for the enlargement in -λ- cf. πυκταλίζω (to πύκτης).

•ETYM Familiar address like Lat. *tata*, Ru. *táta*, Skt. *tatá-*, Luw. *tati(ia)-* 'father', etc. Also τέττα voc. 'id.' (Δ 412) with *e*-vocalism, like Lith. *tẽtis*, *-te* 'id.', *tetà* 'aunt', Cz. *teta* 'id.'. See ►ἄττα and ►πάππα.

τατύρος ⇒τέταρος.

ταῦ [n.indecl.] name of a letter (Hp., Pl., Att. inscr. IV^{a}). ◄LW Sem.►

•ETYM From Hebr. *tāw*. Cf. Schwyzer: 140.

ταῦρος [m.] 'bull' (Il.). ◄IE? **teh$_2$u-ro-* 'bull' (cf. **steuro-*).►

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ταυρο-κτόνος 'bull-slaying' (S. [lyr.]); also as a second member, e.g. θεό-ταυρος 'god-bull', of Zeus (Mosch.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ταυρ-ίδιον [n.] (Suid.). 2. -ειος [adj.] 'of bull, of beef', also epithet of Poseidon (Il. [only fem.], trag., Ar., pap.), -εία, -έα [f.] 'hide of a bull or ox, a whip made of it' (Artem.), with -ίζω = τείνω 'stretch' (*An. Ox.*). 3. -εος [adj.] 'id.' (Hes. *Sc.* 140, Att. inscr. IV^{a}, *Lyr. Adesp. Alex.*, pap.). 4. -ικὸν ζεῦγος 'span of oxen' (Hell. pap.), τὸ τ. 'id.' (late pap.). 5. -ώδης 'like a bull' (Nic.). 6. -ε(ι)ών, -ε(ι)ῶνος [m.] name of a month in Asia Minor (inscr., Herod.), -ών [m.] 'id.' in Alexandria (Ptol.). 7. -ίνη [f.] from Lat. *taurīna* [f.] 'shoe made of bovine leather' (*Edict. Diocl.*). 8. -εασταί [m.pl.] 'worshipper of Apollo Taureios in Ephesus' (inscr. I^{a}). 9. -ηδόν [adv.] 'bullishly' (Ar., Pl.). 10. ταυρίνδα· φαλλικὴ παιδιὰ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις (H.). 11. -όομαι (also with ἀπο-) [v.] 'to behave like a bull' (A., E.); ταύρωσον· ταῦρον ποίησον 'make a bull' (H.); cf. ταυ-ρίνδα; ταῦρος also = αἰδοῖον, κοχώνη (Poll., Gal., Phot., Suid.). 12. -(ι)άω 'to long for a bull', of cows (Arist.).

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *taurus*, Osc. ταυρομ (acc. sg.), U **turuf**, *toru* [acc.pl.], Lith. *taũras* 'aurochs', OPr. *tauris* 'bison', OCS *turъ*, Ru. *tur* 'buffalo'. Metathesis occurred

in Celtic words like OIr. *tarb* 'bull', MW *tarw* 'id.'. The fact that Lat. *taurus* did not undergo metathesis like *parvus* and *nervus* suggests that it is a LW (De Vaan 2008 s.v.). –Gm. words with initial *st-* are probably not cognate, e.g. Go. *stiur*, OHG *stior* 'bull', because these point to older **eu* (without initial *s-*, ON *þjórr*). Av. *staora-* [m.] 'big cattle' deviates slightly in meaning. Comparable forms are found in Semitic: Akk. *šūru*, Aram. *tōr*, Hebr. *šōr*. If the similarity is not accidental, there must have been a loan, either from IE into Semitic or vice versa, or from a third common source. If the word is IE, ταῦρος is traditionally connected with the group of ►ταῦς.

ταῦς [adj.] · μέγας, πολύς (H.). ◅ IE?▻

•DER ταῦσας· μεγαλύνας, πλεονάσας 'having furthered, having enlarged' (H.) (presupposes *ταῦζω).

•ETYM Formation like παχύς, ταχύς, etc. Indo-Iranian has an *s*-stem in Av. *tauuah-* [n.] 'might, power', Skt. *tavás-* 'strong, powerful, active', and a primary verb Skt. *tavīti* 'to be strong, have power' (from **teuh₂-*). Greek cognates of this root are ►σῶς and (possibly) ►σωρός. Perhaps ►ταῦρος was derived from this root as well, with a suffix **-ro-*, but see s.v. According to Lubotsky 1988: 123, ταῦς and σῶς (< σάϝος) point to an alternating paradigm of a *u*-stem adjective: nom.sg. **tueh₂-u-s* (ablaut like in Lat. *brevis*, *gravis*) > Gr. *σαυς (with subsequent thematicization), gen.sg. **tuh₂-u-os*, etc., from where initial τ- was introduced into ταῦς (the disyllabic pronunciation of which is far from certain anyhow).

ταυτότης ⇒αὐτός.

ταφή [f.] 'interment'. •VAR τάφος [m.], τάφρος [f.] 'grave'. ⇒θάπτω.

τάφος [n.] 'astonishment'. ⇒θάμβος.

ταχύς [adj.] 'swift, fast' (Il.). ◅ ?, IE? **dʰngʰ-u-* (?) 'swift'▻

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. ταχύ-πωλος 'with swift steeds' (Il., Theoc.). Adverb τάχ-α 'fast, easily', grammaticalized 'perhaps' (Il.), also -έως 'fast' (Ψ 365, Hes. *Th.* et al.), with -εωστί 'id.' (Pherecr.) like νεωστί. Compar. θᾶσσων (Att. -ττ-), adverbial θᾶσσον, superl. τάχιστος, adv. -α (all Il.). Also ταχύ-τερος (Ion., Arist.), -τατος, -τατα (Pi. et al.), -ίων, -ιον (Hp. *Mul.*, Hell. and late prose).

•DER 1. τάχος [n.] 'swiftness, speed' (for *τῆχος?), often adverbial (Il.). 2. ταχυτής (Dor. -τάς) [f.] 'id.' (Ψ 740); attempt at a semantic differentiation between τάχος and ταχυτής by Chantraine 1933: 418. 3. ταχινός = ταχύς (Hell. and late), after ῥαδινός, θαμινός, etc., with ταχίνης (Dor. -νας) [m.] 'hare' (Lacon. acc. to Ael.), acc. to H. also 'ἔλαφος'. 4. ταχύνω (also with ἐπι-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to accelerate, hurry' (IA). 5. καταταχέω [v.] 'to hurry, arrive first, prevent' (Plb., pap.), hypostasis of κατὰ τάχος.

•ETYM All the above forms are based on ταχύς, except for the comparative θᾶσσων with long vowel, the judgement of which remains difficult as long as the etymology is unknown. Acc. to Bechtel 1917b: 426 and Bechtel 1921(3): 126, the PN Τήχιππος (Eretria) would contain an old noun *τῆχος = τάχος. Seiler 1950: 40 explains θάσσων, θᾶσσον as an adaptation of *θήσσων to the timber of ταχύς, τάχιστος. More likely is secondary lengthening of an older short vowel in θάσσον, as argued by Wackernagel *Gött. Nachr.* 1914: 124f. For extensive discussion on the comparison, see

Seiler 1950: 37ff. The etymology remains unclear. Against the old connection with Lith. *déngti* 'run, hurry', etc., see Fraenkel 1955 s.v. *deñgti*. The word ταχύς ousted the old PIE word ὠκύς, which remained alive only in poetry.

ταώς [m.] 'peacock' (Att. com., Antiph., Arist., Hell.); also a fish name (Philostr.), because of its color, acc. to Strömberg 119. ◂LW Orient.▸
•VAR Att. ταῶς (acc. to Trypho *apud* Ath. 9, 397e; on the inner aspiration see Schwyzer: 219), also ταών, gen. ταώ (ταῶ), ταῶνος, etc.
•DER ταών-(ε)ιος 'of a peacock' (Luc.), -ικός 'peacock-colored' (Alex. Aphr.), ταΐτης [m.] name of a stone = πάγρους (Cyran.).
•ETYM Borrowed from an unknown Oriental source (Frisk compares Tamil *toghai*). On the history of the peacock, see Schrader-Nehring 1917(2): 163f.; on the name, WH s.v. The Lat. word was borrowed as OHG *pfāwo*, also found in other European languages. On Oriental continuants of ταώς, see Spies *IF* 62 (1955/56): 202 with litt.

τε [pcl.] 'and' (Hom.), enclitic. ◂IE *-k^we 'and'▸
•VAR Myc. *qe*.
•ETYM Identical with Lat. *-que*, NPhr. -κε, Skt. *-ca*, Go. *-h* in *ni-h* 'neque', etc., from IE *k^we. Also in adverbs: -τε (IA, Arc. Cypr.), -τα (Lesb.), -κα (Dor.), e.g. τότε, πότε, ὅτε; τότα, πότα, ὅτα; τόκα, πόκα, ὅκα, etc. See also on ►ὅτε.

τέγγυρος [?] · ὄρνεον ποιόν 'kind of bird' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

τέγγω [v.] 'to wet, moisten, pour out, soften' (Pi., B., IA; mostly poetic). ◂IE *teng- 'wet, moisten'▸
•VAR Aor. τέγξαι, pass. τεγχθῆναι, fut. τέγξω.
•COMP Rarely with ἐπι-.
•DER τέγξις (ἐπί-) [f.] 'moistening' (medic.), τεγκτός (ἐπί-) 'softenable by moistening' (Arist., medic.).
•ETYM A primary verb identical with Lat. *tingō* [v.] 'to wet, immerse, dip, paint' (from *tengō; *tinguō* after *unguō*). A secondary zero grade formation in OHG *thunkōn*, *dunkōn* [v.] 'to immerse' (MoHG *Tunke* [f.] 'sauce'), full grade in Swiss *tink* 'moist'.

τέγος ⇒στέγω.

τέθηπα ⇒θάμβος.

τεθμός ⇒θεσμός.

τείνω [v.] 'to stretch, pull tight, expand', intr. 'to extend, range'. ◂IE *ten(h_2)- 'draw, stretch'▸
•VAR Aor. τεῖναι, pass. ταθῆναι, perf. med. τέταμαι (Il.), fut. τενῶ (Att.), perf. act. τέτακα (Pl., D. H.). Reduplicated τιταίνω (rarely with ἀνα-, etc., Il. and epic, also medic.), with the aorist forms τιτήνας (N 534), τιτηνάμενος (Orph.).
•COMP Very often with prefix: ἀνα- (συν-ανα-), δια- (ἐπι-δια-), ἐκ- (δι-εκ-), ἐν- (ἐπ-εν-), παρα- (ἀντι-παρα-), ὑπερ-, etc., etc.

•DER 1. τόνος [m.] 'tension, cord, string, sinew', in the sense of 'tension of the voice' also 'tone, accent, sound; effort, strength' (IA), as a second member in παλίν-τονος 'with backward tension, rushing backwards, elastic' (Hom., S. [lyr.], also Hdt., Ph. *Bel.*, Hero *Bel.*), πρότονοι [m.pl.] 'front ropes' (Hom., etc.), with -ίζω [v.] 'to pull up by π.'; from the prefixed verbs e.g. διάτον-ος 'stretched, strained' (Thphr.), with -ικός "diatonic" (of music), -αιον [n.] 'crossbar, etc.' (pap.). From τόνος: τον-ικός 'stretchable; related to tone' (Arist., Hell.), -αῖος 'stretched' (Alex.), -ιαῖος 'consisting of a tone, measuring one tone' (Arist.), -ώδης 'tension-like' (medic.), -ίζω [v.] 'to provide with a tone' (gramm.), med. 'to be provided with a tone' (Eust.); χειρο-τον-έω [v.] 'to stretch out one's hand, vote, elect', with -ία (Att.), as if from χειρο-τόνος (A. [lyr.]), originally a compound of χεῖρα τεῖνειν; τον-όω (ἐπι-, συν-) [v.] 'to stretch, strengthen, provide with a tone' (Ti. Locr., Hell.), with -ωσις, -ωτικός (medic.). 2. τονή [f.] 'duration of a tone' (music). 3. τάσις [f.] 'tension, stretch, etc.', mostly from the prefixed verbs, e.g. ἔντασις : ἐν-τείνω (IA), τατός (Arist.), ἐντατός (Pl.), etc. 'stretchable', τατ-ικός 'giving a tension' (Orib.), almost only with prefix, e.g. διατατ-ικός (Hell.). 4. τένων, -οντος [m.] 'sinew, neck-muscle, tendon of Achilles' (Il., epic Ion. poet., Arist.). 5. With reduplication τετανός 'stretched, tense, tight, lank' (Hp., Thphr.), 'tight, lank-haired' (Hell. pap.) = τετανό-θριξ (Pl.). τέτανος [m.] 'catalepsy, tetanus' (Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.), with τεταν-ικός 'suffering from catalepsy', -ώδης 'cataleptic' (medic.), -όω [v.] 'to stretch out, make lank, smoothen' (Dsc.), -ωθρον [n.] 'skin-smoothening agent' (Dsc.), -ωμα [n.] 'id.' (medic.). 6. τεινεσμός [m.] 'constipation' (medic., Nic.), with -ώδης (medic.), after πιεσμός (the variant with την- (Bechtel 1921(3): 333f.) remains to be explained. 7. *τένος [n.] in ►ἀτενής; from the verb e.g. διατεν-ής 'stretching out' (Thphr.), often with nominal first member, e.g. ἁλι-τενής 'stretching out unto the sea', also 'shallow' (Hell.); on ►εἰλιτενής s.v.

•ETYM The system of Greek τείνω derives from the root *ten- 'to stretch', found in most branches of IE (forms in LIV²). Skt. preserved an old athematic aorist *á-tan* 'stretched', from IE **He-ten-t.* In Greek, the full grade of the verbal root is preserved in the primary derivative τέν-ων, -οντος (see Strunk 1967: 107), and in the *s*-stem adjective ά-τενής, where *τένος is formally identical with Lat. *tenus*, *-oris* [n.] 'string with a noose' and Skt. *tánas-* [n.] 'posterity' (only RV 5, 70, 4) from IE **ten-s-*.

Beside this root-aorist, Skt. had an *s*-aorist *atāṃsīt*, med. *atasi* (zero grade), which corresponds to Greek ἔ-τειν-α from IE **Hé-tens-m̥*. Instead of the old νυ-present in ►τάνυται, τανύω, Greek innovated a yod-present τείνω, which agrees with Alb. *nden* 'to stretch', if from **en-ten-i̯ō*. Among the nominal formations, we find Greek τόνος beside Lith. *tānas* [m.] 'ulcer', Skt. *tāna-* [m.] 'thread, tone' (with remarkable identity of meaning), *tána-* [n.] 'posterity'.

τείρεα •VAR Τειρεσίας. ⇒τέρας.

τείρω [v.] 'to exhaust, wear out, distress, trouble' (Il., epic poet.). ◄IE **ter(H)-* 'rub'►

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (Aeol. inf. perf. τέτορθαι Hdn. Gr.).

•ETYM Full grade yod-present of the root **terh₁/₃-* which is also found in ►τέριην, ►τέρυς, ►τετραίνω, ►τιτρώσκω, ►τρύω, ►τρίβω.

τεῖχος [n.] 'wall, city wall, fortification' (Il.). ◄IE **dʰeiǵʰ-* 'knead, form, fashion'►

•VAR Also τοῖχος [m.] 'wall' (Il.).
•DIAL Myc. *to-ko-do-mo* /toikʰo-domos/.
•COMP To τοῖχος: τοιχ-ωρύχ-ος [m.] 'butlar, house-breaker', with -ία [f.], -έω [v.] (Att.); ἀργυρό-τοιχος 'with silver walls' (A. [lyr.]), ἐν-τοίχ-ιος 'on the wall' (D. H., Ruf. *apud* Orib.; uncertain X. *An.* 7, 8, 1). Compounds, e.g. τειχεσι-πλῆτα (s. πέλας); with transition to the *o*-stems e.g. τειχο-μαχ-έω 'to fight at the walls', -ία f. (IA), -ᾱς m. (Ar. [lyr.]), -ος m. (App.); εὐ-τειχής 'with fair walls, well walled in' (Pi., E.), also εὐ-τείχ-εος (Il.; metr. condit., Sommer 1948: 19), -ητος (*h. Ven.* 112: τειχέω).
•DER To τοῖχος: τοιχ-ίδιον [n.] (late), -ιος 'belonging to a wall' (Lebadeia), -ίζω 'to list, heel over', of a ship (Ach. Tat., Eust.). To τεῖχος: 1. Diminutive τειχ-ύδριον [n.] (X.), -άριον [n.] (pap. I^{p}; belittling), -ίδιον [n.] (Zonar.). 2. -ίον [n.] 'wall (of a house)' (Od., Ar., Th., X.). 3. -ωμα = φραγμός (*AB*; enlargement), -ωτός = Lat. *vallaris* (Rom. time). 4. -ιόεις 'walled in' (B 559 = 646), -ιοῦσσα [f.] island near Milete (Th.); also -ιόεσσα (Archestr.). 5. τειχ-ικός = Lat. *vallaris* (στέφανος ~ = *corōna vall.*; Rom. time). 6. τειχ-ίζω [v.] 'to build a wall, fortify with a wall' (IA since H 449, also Dor.), often with prefix, e.g. περι-, άπο-, ἐπι-, with -ισις, -ισμα, -ισμός (also with περι-, etc.) 'wall-building, fortification' (Att.); -ιστής [m.] 'mason, builder' (LXX, Lib.). 7. -έω = -ίζω (Hdt.), with -ητός 'fortified' (Att. IV^{a}).
•ETYM Greek τοῖχος corresponds exactly to Skt. *deha-* [m.] (also [n.]) 'body', with *dehī́* [f.] 'wall, damm, hill', Av. *pairi-daēza-* [m.] 'surrounding wall' (see ▶παράδεισος), and Gm. words like Go. *daigs* [m.] 'dough', all from IE **dʰoiǵʰo-* [m.]. ToB *-tsaika* 'shaper', from *tsik-* 'to form, build', and Arm. *dēz* 'heap' are both probably innovations (cf. Arm. *dizanem*, aor. *dizi* 'to heap up'). The formation of τεῖχος < IE **dʰéiǵʰ-s-* [n.] is isolated, but the *e*-vocalism is also found in Osc. *feíhúss* [acc.pl.] 'walls', *o*-stem. The basic verb is preserved in Skt. *deh-* 'to spread, lute' as an athematic formation *déhmi*; Latin has a nasal present in *fingō* 'to spread out on, knead, build'. Greek ▶θιγγάνω is unrelated.

τέκμαρ [n.] 'sign, emblem', rarely 'goal, end' (Hes., Pi., A., E., A. R.), also 'symptom' (Hp., Aret.). ◀IE **kʷeḱ-* 'see, appear'▶
•VAR Indeclinable. Also τέκμωρ [n.] 'goal, end', sometimes 'sign, proof' (Hom.).
•DER τεκμαίρομαι (also with συν-, δια-, etc.) [v.] 'to determine, appoint' (Hom.), 'to detect, conclude, deduce from signs' (post-Hom.), aor. τεκμήρασθαι (Il.), fut. τεκμαροῦμαι (X.), aor. pass. ptc. ἐκτεκμαρθείς (Orac. *apud* Euseb.); act. τεκμαίρω, τεκμῆραι 'to indicate, testify' (Pi., A. *Pr.* [lyr.], Nic., Arat.). τέκμαρ-σις [f.] 'conclusion from signs, deduction' (Hp., Th., etc.), -τός 'deducible' (Cratin.), -τικός 'fit to conclude' (Poll.).
From τέκμωρ: τεκμορ-εύω [v.] 'to testify one's loyalty to the emperor', with -εῖοι ξένοι (inscr.). From τεκμήρασθαι: τεκμήριον [n.] 'sign, feature, emblem, proof, evidence, symptom' (IA) with -ιώδης 'evidential, giving evidence' (Arist.), -ιόω [v.] 'to provide a testimony, proof' (Th.), -ιόομαι [v.] 'to detect, conclude from signs' (Hell.), with -ίωσις [f.] 'testimony, proof' (Arr.).
•ETYM Etymologically, τέκμαρ is connected with the Indo-Iranian group of Skt. *cáṣṭe, cákṣate* 'to see' < **kʷe-kʷḱ-toi, -e-toi*, also *cákṣus-* [n.] 'eye', Av. *cašman-* [n.] 'id.', where the latter also displays a suffix starting with *-m-*.

τέκνον [n.] 'child, young animal, shoot' (Il.). ◁IE **teḱ-* 'beget, bear'▷

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. τεκνο-ποιός 'begetting children', with -έω, -ία (IA), εὖ-τεκνος 'with good or many children', also (Arist.) 'good to the young', with -ία, -έω (trag., Arist.).

•DER 1. Diminutive τεκν-ίον (late), -ίδιον (Ar.); 2. -οῦσσα 'rich in children' (S. *Tr.* 308; cf. Kamerbeek ad loc.); 3. -όω (rarely with ἐπι-, συν-, etc.) [v.] 'to beget children', usually of the man, -όομαι [v.] 'to bear children', usually of the woman (Hes. *Fr.* 138, Pi., trag., Arist.), with -ωσις [f.] 'production of children' (Th., Arist.), 'adoption' (D. S.), -ωμα [n.] 'production, child' (A. *Fr.* 315 = 625 M.).

•ETYM Usually connected with a Germanic word for '(free) follower, servant, warrior, hero', also 'boy, youngling': ON *þegn*, OE *þeg(e)n*, OS *thegan*, OHG *degan* [m.], from PGm. **þegna-*. This identification is not without problems, however, as IE **teḱ-nó-* would have yielded PGm. **þekka-*. Skt. *ták-man-* [n.] 'descendant' is only attested in lexicographers and is better left aside. The word has several cognates in Greek; see ▶τίκτω.

τέκτων, -ονος [m., f.] 'carpenter, craftsman, artist, initiator' (Il.). ◁IE **te-tḱ-n-* 'carpenter'▷

•DIAL Myc. *te-ka-ta-si* /tektasi/ shows the regular reflex of the zero grade of the suffix, see Guilleux *BSL* 92 (1997): 207-9.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. τεκτόν-αρχος epithet of μοῦσα (S. *Fr.* 159); very often as a second member, e.g. ἀρχι-τέκτων [m.] 'builder, contractor, architect' (IA).

•DER 1. τέκταινα [f.] 'craftswoman, initiator' (Hes. *Th. apud* Chrysipp. *Stoic.*, Call. *Fr. anon.*). 2. τεκτο-σύνη [f.] 'art of building' (ε 250, E. [lyr.], *AP*), also with ἀρχι- 'id.' (Pisidia). 3. Τεκτον-ίδης [m.] patronymic (θ 114). 4. τεκτον-ικός 'belonging to a carpenter, skilled in building', also with ἀρχι- 'belonging to the architect or to the art of building' (Pl., Arist.). 5. -εῖον [n.] 'carpenter's workshop' (Aeschin., Delos). 6. τεκτον-εύω [v.] 'to carpenter' (Hero), also with ἀρχι- 'to plan, construct', with -ευμα [n.] 'construction' (Bito). 7. τεκτον-έω [v.] 'to carpenter, be a carpenter' (Ph.), with -ία [f.] (Thphr. [?], *AP*); also with ἀρχι- 'to be a builder, construct' (Ar., Hell.), with -ία, -ημα [n.] (Hell.).

Older denominative τεκταίνομαι [v.] 'to carpenter, manufacture, invent, machinate' (Il.), aor. τεκτ-ήνασθαι, fut. -ανοῦμαι, Hell. and late also -αίνω (also with prefix, e.g. παρα-, συν-, ἐπι-); ἐπιτεκταντῆρες (-τεκν- cod.)· οἱ παρασκευασταί 'providers' (H.). See ▶τέχνη.

•ETYM Old expression of carpenting and building, identical with Skt. *tákṣan-* [m.] 'carpenter' and Av. *tašan-* [m.] 'builder, creator', going back to an *n*-stem built on the reduplicated root **tetḱ-*. On the feminine type τέκταινα versus Skt. *takṣṇī-*, see Peters 1980a: 158f. Several languages preserve the basic reduplicated verbal formation **te-tḱ-*: Skt. *tákṣati* 3pl., OAv. *tāšt* 'to timber, create', Latv. *tešu, test* 'hew', iterative Lith. *tašau, -ýti*, OCS *tešǫ, tesati* 'id.'. Hitt. *takš-zi* 'to devise, produce, etc.' is probably an *s*-present, while Lat. *texō* 'weave, twine', also 'build, timber', is ambiguous between **teḱs-* and **tetḱ-*; see De Vaan 2008 s.v. Greek replaced the verb with the denominative τεκταίνομαι.

τελαμών, -ῶνος [m.] 'carrying-strap, belt, strap, binding, bandage' (Il., epic Ion.), as an expression of architecture 'column' (Hell., late Pontic inscr.), also 'base of a column' (Argos V[a])? Plur. *telamones* 'male figures used as supporting pillars, ἄτλαντες' (Vitr.). Also as a mythical PN (perhaps originally the bearer of the vault of heaven). ◁IE *$telh_2$- 'bear, endure'▷

•DER τελαμων-ίδιον [n.] 'small bandage' (late medic.), -ίζομαι [v.] 'to be bound' (Hell.). Patronymic Τελαμώνιος (Αἴας; Il., etc.).

•ETYM The original meaning is "bearer" and, like τλήμιων, τελαμών is an agent noun to the verb for 'bear' seen in τλῆναι, ►ταλάσσαι, with a full grade root like in τελάσσαι· τολμῆσαι, τλῆναι (H.). It has been compared with a Celtic word for 'sling, trap', e.g. OIr. *teilm* (*tailm* DIL), MW *telm*, for which a reconstruction PCl. **telmi-* is possible.

τελέθω

•VAR τελετή. ⇒τέλομαι.

τελευτή [f.] 'end, end of life, fulfillment, closure, termination' (Il.). ◁?▷

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ἀ-τέλευτος 'endless' (A. [lyr.]); also προ-τελευτή [f.] 'early death' (Vett. Val.), back-formation from προ-τελευτάω.

•DER τελευτ-αῖος 'located at the end, outmost, last' (IA, also completed in Pi.); -άω [v.] (also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, etc.) 'to end (life), fulfill, conclude', with ἀποτελεύτ-ησις [f.] 'conclusion, result' (Pl.).

•ETYM An isolated verbal noun, which seems to presuppose a verb *τελεύω (like κελεύω); the pair τελευτή: τέλος recalls ►κρατευταί: κράτος. A remarkable similarity is found in ToB *klutk-* 'turn', etc., which can be derived from a Pre-Tocharian root **k^{w}louT-* vel sim., to which a suffix *-sk-* was added. However, genetic relation to Greek τελευτή is highly unlikely. See ►τέλομαι, ►τέλος.

τέλθος [n.] 'payment, tribute, debt' (Call.). ◁GR?▷

•VAR Also τέλθος· χρέος 'obligation, debt' (H.).

•ETYM A transformation of ►τέλος 2 after ἄχθος, βρῖθος, πλῆθος.

τελλίνη [f.] name of a testacean, 'ξιφύδριον' (Hp., Dsc.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Also τέλλιν [acc.] (Epich. 43; uncertain 114).

•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek formation, with palatal *ḱ* and the suffix -ιν-.

τέλλομαι 1 [v.] with περι- 'to turn around in circles' (Il.). ◁IE *$k^{w}el$- 'turn'▷

•VAR In absolute participial constructions, e.g. περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν 'in the cycle of years', -ένου ἔτεος, -έναις ὥραις (epic poet.); the finite forms are said of constellations, with adaptation to ►τέλλω 2, -ομαι in ἀνα-τέλλω, etc. (Alc., Arat.). Also act. περιτέλλῃ (Arat.), of the sun.

•DER As a simplex in τελλομένου ἔτεος (A. R.). Also finite forms in the sense of 'to change, originate, become', like ἐς χάριν τέλλεται (Pi.); perhaps this is the same word as (ἀνα-)τέλλω, -ομαι 'to rise, spring up': γένος ... φυτευθὲν ... τέλλετο (Pi.); see ►τέλλω 2.

•ETYM The corresponding expression περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν [ptc.aor.] (Hom., Hes.) shows that τέλλομαι is a Ionic yod-present beside the Aeolic root present in ►πέλομαι, from IE *$k^{w}el$-. See ►τέλομαι and ►τέλλω 3.

τέλλω 2 [v.] 'to make rise or spring, produce', intr. 'to rise, spring, originate', of constellations, plants, waters, etc. (Il., epic Ion. poet.), rarely med. 'to shoot up high' (Pi.). ◄IE *$telh_{2}$- 'bear, endure'►

•VAR Aor. τεῖλαι, -ασθαι, perf. med. τέταλμαι, act. τέταλκα (Arist.).

•COMP Almost only with prefix: A. ἀνα-τέλλω (also ἐξ-, ἐπ-, προ-, συν-ανατέλλω, etc.), ὑπερ-τέλλω, -ομαι 'to rise up' (Hdt., E.), ὑπο-τέλλομαι 'to rise, originate' (Arat., A. R.); B. ἐπι-τέλλω, -ομαι 'to assign, impose, order' (epic poet. Il., late prose), intr. 'to rise' of constellations, etc. (epic Ion., Arist., Plb.); ἐν-τέλλομαι (also with προσ-εν-), rarely -τέλλω 'to assign, order' (IA). Rarely as a simplex: ἡλίου τέλλοντος (S.), ἶρις τέλλει 'springs, emerges' (Nic. *Fr.* 74, 32; cf. ►τέλλομαι 1), also med. ἠοῦς τελλομένης (A. R.), τέλλεται of rising stars (Arat.).

•DER 1. ἀνα-τολ-ή (also with ἐπ-, συν-) [f.] '(sun)rise, east' (μ 4 [ἀντολαί plur.]); ἐπιτολ-ή [f.] 'rise of a constellation' (Hp., Th., E., Arist., etc.); ἐντολ-ή [f.] 'assignment, order' (Pi., Hdt., Decr. *apud* D.), with -ίδιον, -ιος, -ικός, -ικάριος, -ιμαῖος, -εύς (late). 2. ἔνταλ-μα [n.] = ἐντολή (LXX, NT). 3. See ►τέλος.

•ETYM The forms τεῖλαι, τέταλμαι, τέταλκα were innovated from the present τέλλω after the pattern of στέλλω and other verbs. As a yod-present, *τέλ-ι̯ω 'to raise, rise' and 'to assign' belongs to ►ταλάσσαι, etc., thus originally *$telh_{2}$-$i̯e/o$- (with loss of the laryngeal in accordance with Pinault's Law)? Or is it rather the same verb as ►τέλλομαι 1?

τέλλω 3 [v.] 'to achieve, perform', = τελέω. ◄IE *$k^{w}el$- 'turn'►

•VAR Inf. τελλεν (Gortyn), aor. ἔτειλαν (ὁδόν) 'they completed (the road, journey) back' (Pi.).

•COMP συν-τέλλω = συν-τελέω in [συν]τελλοντα (Argos V^{a}; not quite certain).

•ETYM Factitive of ►τέλλομαι 1, with the same development of meaning as found in ►τέλος 1 *'turning', 'end, completion'.

τέλμα [n.] 'puddle, swamp, marsh, mire, mortar, dung' (IA). ◄?►

•DER τελματ-ώδης 'swampy' (Arist., D. S.), -ιαῖος 'forming a swamp, living in a swamp' (Arist.), -όομαι [v.] 'to become swampy' (Str.); also τελμίς, -ῖνος [m.] 'mire, dung' (*EM*, H.); cf. ῥηγμίς (to ῥῆγμα), also ►θίς.

•ETYM Unexplained; cf. on ►σταλάσσω. Arm. *telm*, *tiłm* 'mire, dung' is a loan from Greek (Pedersen *KZ* 39 (1906): 374).

τέλομαι [v.] = ἔσομαι, ἔσται (Crete). ◄IE *$k^{w}el$- 'turn'►

•VAR 3sg. τέλεται, also with συν-. τένται 'id.' (Cyrene), from *τέλ-ται.

•DER Extension in -θ-: τελέθω [v.] 'to come up, appear, become, be' (Il., epic poet., also Ion. and Dor. prose); on the terminative meaning see Chantraine 1942: 327. Old primary formations ►τέλος 1 and τελετή [f.] 'ceremonial rite, consecration' (Pi., IA), with τελετ-άρχης [m.] 'head of the τελεταί' (late), τελετής = τελεστής 'who performs a consecration' (Hell.; cf. on Euphron. 1 [*Coll. Alex.* 177]); cf. Lat. *cultus* to *colō*, Skt.

cáraṇa- [n.] also '(liturgical) action, religious ceremony' (to *cárati*, *-te* = *colit*, τέλεται); see also ►τέλλω 3 and τελέω (to ►τέλος 1).

•ETYM Identical with Aeol. ►πέλομαι, so originally 'I become' with future meaning. The form *τέλ-ται is an old athematic formation acc. to Meillet *BSL* 32 (1932): 198 (comparing ἔσται), but this is improbable. It was rather formed from τέλομαι after the synonymous pair ἔσομαι: ἔσται (Fraenkel *Glotta* 20 (1932): 89ff.). Syncope from τέλεται, as assumed by Szemerényi 1964: 165ff., is also improbable. The pair τέλος : τελετή recalls γένος : γενετή (where the latter may have a reflex of the laryngeal from **genh₁-*).

τέλος [n.] 1. 'end, limit, goal, fulfillment, accomplishment, determination; executive function, office; initiation, etc.' (Il.). 2. 'duty, tax, toll, expense, cost' (IA). 3. 'division of an army, troops, military unit, squadron of ships' (Il., IA). ◁IE **telh₂-* 'lift, carry'▷

•DIAL Myc. *te-re-ta* (Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v.).

•COMP As a first member in τελεσ-φόρος 'bringing τέλος', epithet of ἐνιαυτός (Hom.), of Ζεὺς (*h. Hom.*), of ἀραί, εὐχαί, etc. (trag.), of χῶραι (Thphr.), etc., with -φορ-ία, -έω, -ησις (Hell.); τελ-ώνης [m.] 'tax-collector' (Att., Herod., Hell.), with -ών-ιον, -ία, -ικός, -εῖον, -έω, -ησις (most Hell. and late). Very frequent as a second member, partly in back-formations of τελεῖν, e.g. ἀ-τελής 1. 'endless, unfulfilled, incomplete' (since ρ 546), opposite ἐν-τελής 'entire, complete' (Att., A.); 2. 'without duty, tax-free' (IA), with ἀτέλ-εια, -είη [f.] 'incomplete state' (Arist.), 'exemption from taxes' (IA); πολυ-τελής 'of many expenses, thriftless, costly' (IA); εὐ-τελής (referring to τελεῖν) 'easy to pay, cheap, small, economical' (IA); ἐκτελής 'complete, ripe' (Hes., A., E.) from ἐκ-τελέω (Il.). With a suffix -το-: ἀ-τέλεσ-τος (may also belong to τελεῖν) 'endless, incomplete' (Hom.), 'without initiation, uninitiated' (E., Pl.).

•DER 1. τέλειος (Il.), -εος (post-Hom.), -ηος (Crete), -εως (Cos) 'concerning the end or goal, etc., fulfilled, full-grown, etc.'; the formation could be **τελεσ-ι̯ος*, **τελεσ-ϝος*, or τελε-ι̯ος, and is much-discussed; hence τελε(ι)-ότης [f.] 'completeness' (Democr., Arist.), τελε(ι)-όω [v.] 'to complete, finish', med. and pass. 'to be fulfilled, reach maturity' (IA), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.; thence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής. 2. τελήεις, epithet of ἑκατομβαί (Hom.), also of οἰωνοί (*h. Merc.*), of ἔπεα (Tyrt.), of Ὠκεανός (Hes. *Th*). 3. τελικός 'belonging to the end' (Hell.), συν- 'forming a community (συντέλεια)' (Plb.), 'payed jointly' (late); ὑπερ-συν-τελικός (χρόνος) 'pluperfect' (gramm.). 4. τελεστα [m.] 'official' (Elis VI[a]); to ►τελεστής s.v.

5. Denominative verb τελέω 'to finish, complete, initiate; to discharge, pay, spend' (Il.), epic also -είω, aor. τελέσ(σ)αι, pass. τελεσθῆναι, fut. τελέσ(σ)ω, epic also -έω, Att. -ῶ, perf.pass. τετέλεσμαι (Il.), to which act. τετέλεκα (Att.), also -ηκα (Hell. pap.), -ημαι (Cret.); very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, συν-. From τελέω: τέλε-σις (ἀπο-, συν-, etc.) [f.] 'completion, conclusion' (Arist., Hell.); τέλεσμα [n.] 'payment, tax' (D. S., pap., inscr.), also to prefixed verbs (e.g. with ἀπο-) 'completion, goal, result' (Arist.); τελεσ-τής [m.] 'initiating priest' (late), Ὀρφεο-τελεστής (Thphr.); with συν- (to συν-τελέω) 'member of a union of tax-payers' (*Cod. Just.*, etc.); -τικός 'concerning the initiating priest or the initiation' (Pl.), 'fit to perform' (Arist.), also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, συν-; τελεσ-τήρ [m.] 'initiating priest'

(Troezen II[a]), -τωρ epithet of Apollo (*AP*), also as a PN; -τήρια [n.pl.] 'sacrifice for succeeded undertakings' (X., Ael.), -τήριον 'place of initiation' (Plu.); -τρα [n.pl.] 'costs of initiation' (Hell. inscr.); -τρια [f.] 'priestess of initiation' (Suid.). Lengthened present τελίσκω (συν-) = τελέω (Hell.). In compounds, τελέω occurs as a first member, e.g. τελεσι-ουργός 'completing the work', with -ία, -έω, -ημα (Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM Two etymologically different words seem to have merged in τέλος: in the sense of 'end, goal', τέλος can be derived from ►τέλομαι, ►πέλομαι as *'turning point (of the race-course, the field)'; beside it stands πόλος 'hinge, etc.', like γένος : γόνος. Given the broad root meaning of *$k^{w}el$- (cf. Lat. *colō*, Skt. *cárati* which also occur as 'to commit, complete, etc.'), a different original meaning may also be envisaged. In the sense of 'delivery, tax', τέλος fits excellently with ►τέλλω 2, ►τελαμών, ►ταλάσσαι, τλῆναι 'to lift, carry, yield', like φόρος 'tax' with φέρω. For τέλος as 'division of an army', connection with Skt. *kúla*- [n.] 'generation, family, crowd', Ru. *čéljad* 'crew' has been suggested, but this is neither formally nor semantically convincing. Frisk compares the German military expression *Aushebung* 'levy, conscription', in order to argue for derivation from the group of ταλάσσαι. In view of the striking similarity of the expressions τείνειν τέλος and τιταίνειν τάλαντα (Υ 101 εἰ δὲ θεός περ ἴσον τείνειεν πολέμου τέλος, Hes. *Th.* 638 ἴσον δὲ τέλος τέτατο πτολέμοιο, and Χ 209 καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίταινε τάλαντα), Holwerda *Mnem.* 4:16 (1963): 337ff. connects both τέλος and τάλαντα with the balance and explains them as 'tongue of a balance', *librae iugum*. This seems very convincing. However, in the meaning 'tongue of a balance', τέλος must not be taken with τέλομαι, πέλομαι as "quod verti potest" (with H.), but with τάλαντα as 'levy'.

τέλσον [n.] 'end of the field', where the plough is turned (ἀρούρης Ν 707, Σ 544, νειοῖο Σ 547). ◄IE *$k^{w}els$- 'carve, draw'►

•DER τέλσας· στροφάς, τέλη, πέρατα 'turnings, ends' (H.).

•ETYM Probably corresponds to Hitt. *gulš-^{zi}* 'to carve, engrave, inscribe', Skt. *karṣ*- 'to pull, drag, plow', and Av. *karš*- 'id.'; the retention of -λσ- is regular if the accent was on the preceding syllable. Forbes *Glotta* 36 (1958): 260f. does not accept this phonological rule, and therefore reconstructs *τελ-τ̥-ο- from the root of τέλος, which is highly unsatisfactory and unnecessary.

Τέλφουσα [f.] name of a source in several places in Greece. ◄IE *$d^{h}elb^{h}$- 'dig'►

•ETYM Neumann explains the form as a ptc. of the root *$d^{h}elb^{h}$- 'to dig', as in OHG *bi-telpan*, MoE *delve*, MoDu. *delven* 'id.'.

τέμαχος ⇒τέμνω.

τέμενος [n.] 'separated piece of land, precinct, holy area' (Il., epic Ion.). ◄IE *$temh_{2}$- 'cut, separate'►

•VAR Myc. *te-me-no*.

•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. τεμεν-ουρός [m.] 'guard of a τ.' (Cnidos).

•DER 1. τεμέν-ιος 'belonging to the τ.' (S., Chios IV[a]), -ία [f.] epithet of Ἑστία (Erythrae III[a]); ἐντεμέν-ιοι θεοί (Milete, Priene). 2. -ικός 'id.' (Anaxandr.[?], St. Byz., *EM*). 3. -ίτης [m.] epithets of various gods, e.g. Ἀπόλλων, Ζεύς (Th., inscr.), fem.

-ῖτις name of a height near Syracuse (Th.). 4. -ίζω (also with ἐν-, Poll.) [v.] 'to establish or initiate a τ.' (Pl., D. H.), with -ισμα [n.] (D. C.); προ-τεμένισμα 'outer court of a temple' (Th. 1, 134, Hld.).

•ETYM Traditionally connected with τέμνω (e.g. *Z* 194 τέμενος τἀμον, and cf. πᾶς ὁ μεμερισμένος τόπος τινὶ εἰς τιμήν κτλ. H.), which seems both formally and semantically satisfactory: a suffix -νος (like in κτῆ-νος, ἔρ-νος, etc.) was added to the disyllabic root **temh₁-*. Manessy-Guitton *IF* 71 (1955): 14ff. (with extensive treatment and bibliography) does not accept a suffix *-nos-*, and considers Oriental origin: Akk. *temennu* 'foundation charter', Sum. *temen* 'id.'. The old connection with τέμνω would then be folk-etymological. This is not very probable.

τέμνοντα [ptc.acc.sg.m.] · ἀμέλγοντα 'sucking up' (H.). ◂IE **k^{w}em-* 'gulp'▸

•VAR Also ἔτεμεν· ἤμελγεν (H.), τέμει (N 707).

•ETYM Connected to an IE word for 'gulp, swallow' in Skt. *ā-cāmati* 'to gulp', etc., MoIc. *hvóma* 'id.' (most recently by Strunk *Glotta* 68 (1990): 49-61).

τέμνω [v.] 'to cut, cut up, split, destroy' (Hom.). ◂IE **temh₁-* 'cut'▸

•VAR Epic Ion., Dor. τάμνω (on τέμει N 707 see on ▸τέμνοντα), aor. τεμεῖν, epic Ion., Dor. ταμεῖν, fut. τεμῶ, Ion. τεμέω; τμη- (Archim. τμᾶ-) in the aor. pass. τμηθῆναι, perf.pass. τέτμη-μαι (Od., Pi.) and act. -κα (Att.), verbal adj. τμητός (Att., A., S. [lyr.]), ἐῦ-τμητος (Hom.).

•COMP Very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἑκ-, ἐν-, κατα-, περι-, συν-.

•DER A. With *o*-grade 1. τομή (Dor. -ά) [f.] 'cutting, cut, cut off part, stump' (Il.), also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἑκ-, περι-, etc. (from ἀνα-τέμνω, etc.). 2. τόμος [m.] 'section, piece, part of a literary work, scroll of papyrus, volume' (com., inscr., pap.); often to the prefixed verbs with adjectival function, e.g. ἀπότομ-ος 'cut off, steep, craggy' (IA), with fem. -ὰς (D. S., J.), -ία [f.] 'craggines' (Hell.). Adjective τομός 'incisive, sharp' (S., Pl.), often as a second member in univerbations, e.g. δρυ-τόμος 'cutting wood' (Il.). 3. τομ-εύς (ἑκ-, περι-, ὑπο-, ἀπο-) [m.] 'cutter, blade, knife', mathematical 'sector' (*Trag. Adesp.*, Pl. *Alc.*, X., Arist., Hell.); on τομεύς, τομή, τόμος and τμῆμα as mathematical (geometrical) terms see Mugler 1958-1959: s.vv. 4. τομ-ίας (usually with ἑκ-) [m.] 'who has been cut' (IA), with -ιαῖος (*PMag. Par.*, gloss.). 5. τομ-ὰς [f.] 'excavation, clearance' (Arc. IV^{a}). 6. -ίς [f.] 'knife' (LXX). 7. τόμ-ιον, plur. τὰ τόμ-ια 'cut victim, cut out parts of a victim, cut' (Att., etc.), τόμ-ιος = -ίας (pap.). 8. τομ-αῖος 'provided with a cut, cut off' (A., E.). 9. -ικός, only with ἀνα- (το ἀνατομ-ή) 'belonging to the anatomy' (Gal.); also with nominal first member, e.g. λατομ-ικός (το λατομ-ία, λατόμ-ος) 'belonging to a quarry, quarry-worker' (D. S.). 10. -ἀριον [n.] 'small volume' (Stob., Eust., *EM*). 11. Denominative verbs: -ἀω (only ptc. τομῶντι [dat.], of πήματι) 'needing cutting' (S. *Aj.* 582); ἑκ-, συν-τομίζω = ἑκ-, συν-τέμνω (*PMag. Par.*, Suid.); ἐκτομ-άζω 'to castrate' (gloss.).

B. With zero grade < **tmh₁-*: 1. τμῆ-μα (also with ἀπο-, περι-, etc.) [n.] 'section, part' (Hp., Pl., Att. inscr., etc.), -μάτιον (Eust.), -ματώδης (Hp. *Loc. Hom.*). 2. -σις (also with ἀπο-, ὑπο-, etc.) [f.] 'cutting, destroying' (Pl., Arist.). 3. -τήρ [m.] 'cutter' (Nonn.); -τής as an explanation of ἐκτομεύς (H.); -τικός (ἀνα-) 'cutting, stabbing' (Pl., Arist.). 4. -δην 'incising' (*H* 262).

C. With full grade: τέμαχος [n.] 'piece, especially of salted fish', diminutive -ιον [n.] (IA), with formation like σέλαχος, στέλεχος, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 403 and 421). Hence τεμαχ-ίτης (ἰχθῦς) [m.] 'sliced and salted fish' (com., pap.), -ίζω (ἀπο-) [v.] 'to slice for salting, pickle', with -ισμός, -ιστός (late).

D. From the aorist ταμεῖν: ταμεσί-χρως 'cutting the skin' (Il.).

Cf. also ▶τέμενος, ▶ταμία, ▶ταμίας, ▶τάμισος.

•ETYM The nasal present τάμνω << PGr. **tamnēmi* < PIE **tm-neh₁-mi* is original, as is a root aorist 3sg. **etemet* < **h₁e-temh₁-t*, which was replaced by a thematic aorist ἔτεμον (Harðarson 1993b: 157-8, 160-1, 166). This situation was levelled in various ways in the dialects: Att. innovated with the present τέμνω, while epic Ion. and Dor. secondarily created the aorist ἔταμον. Extensive treatment by Forssman *Glotta* 44 (1966): 5ff. The monosyllabic τέ-τμη-ται, τμη-θῆναι, etc. agree with βέβλη-ται, βλη-θῆναι et al. A pre-form τμᾱ- seems to be confirmed by the forms in Archim. and by τμᾶξαι (see ▶τμήγω); on the other hand, τέτμηνται is unambiguous in Pi. *I.* 6, 22, and is also to be found in the lyrical parts of the tragedians (Forssman 1966: 158ff.). This means that the root was **temh₁-* (thus also LIV² s.v.).

Celtic has the original athematic nasal present in OIr. *tamnaid* 'to cut off' < **tm-n-(e)h₁-;* in Latin, this was also thematicized to *(con-)temnō* 'despise', perhaps via 'cut up, mutilate'. A nasal present is also found in Balto-Slavic, e.g. ORu. *tjati*, 1sg. *tьnu* 'to beat', Lith. *tìnti*, 1sg. *tinù* 'to sharpen'. See also ▶τένδω and ▶τμήγω.

τέναγος [n.] 'shallow water, shallow spot, shoal' (Pi., Hdt., Th., Arist.). ◀IE **tenh₂g-* 'shallow water'▶

•DER τεναγ-ώδης 'full of shoals, shallow' (Hell.), -ῖτις [f.] 'id.' (*AP*), -ίζω (Str., Plu.), -όομαι (Xenocr. *apud* Orib.) [v.] 'to form a τ., be shallow'.

•ETYM Formation like the opposite πέλαγος, and perhaps influenced by it. Bezzenberger *BB* 18 (1892): 267 compared Latv. *tîgas* < **tn̥h₂g-* 'deep spot between two shallow places', but in view of the root structure, this seems highly unlikely.

τένδω [v.] 'to gnaw at' (Hes. *Op.* 524; v.l. τένθω [see τένθης]; conj. *AP* 9, 438, 1). ◀IE **tend-* 'split, cut off'▶

•ETYM An old primary thematic present; Latin has an iterative *tondeō* 'shave'. Celtic has several cognates, e.g. MIr. *ro-s-teind* 'he split it (the nut)', pres. *teinnid*, *tennaid* 'splits, breaks', *tonn* (< **tond-ā*) 'skin'. Traditionally connected with τέμνω as IE **tem-d-* (where one could assume that root-final **d* became **h₁*), but this leaves the *-m-* unexplained. Fur. connects τένθης and thinks the verb is rather Pre-Greek.

τένθης [m.] 'glutton, gourmand' (com.). ◀PG▶

•COMP As a second member in λιχνο-τένθης 'lickerish glutton' (Poll.).

•DER Primary verb τένθει [3sg.pres.] (v.l. Hes. *Op.* 524 acc. to sch. Ar. *Pax* 1009, Suid. s.v. τένθαις); τενθ-εύω [v.] 'to be a glutton' (Poll.), -εία [f.] 'gluttony' (Ar., Alciphr.); προτένθ-αι [m.pl.] 'participant of the celebration of Δορπία' (at the first day of the Apaturiae), also 'forestaller' (com.), sing. 'greedy' [adj.] (Ael.), with -εύω [v.] 'to forestall, anticipate' (Ar.), -εύομαι 'id.' (Eust.).

•ETYM Acc. to Bechtel 1921, 1: 310, τόνθων· παρὰ Κορίννῃ, ἐπὶ νωτιαίου (cod. νοτιβίου) κρέως τὸ ὄνομα 'spinal meat' (H.) also belongs here, which Frisk analyzes

as belonging to *τόνθος, like γρόνθων : γρόνθος. Instead, we should envisage to connect τένθης with ►τένδω, in which case the variation δ/ θ points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 196, 88). The words have nothing to do with the IE root *$tem(h_1)$-.

τενθίνοι [n.] · λίθοι πλατεῖς 'flat stones' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Doubtful hypothesis by Mayrhofer *Wien. Stud.* 67 (1954): 162: it would originally mean *'hewed' > 'smooth', and belong to Skt. *gandhá-* [m.] 'smell' (originally *'to stab, blow, cut'). No etymology.

τενθρηδών, -όνος [f.] 'wasp, forest-bee' (Arist., Dsc.). ◅PG(V)▻

•DER Also τενθρήνη [f.] 'id.' (Nic.), -ήνιον [n.] 'nest of a τ.' (Arist.), -ην(ι)ώδης 'like a honeycomb, perforated' (Hp., Plu., Democr. *apud* Ael.).

•ETYM See ►ἀνθρηδών, ἀνθρήνη, as well as ►πεμφρηδών, and perhaps also ►θρῆνος. The variant forms clearly show the Pre-Greek character of the word. Fur.: 196 suggests to connect ►τένθης.

τένων ⇒τείνω.

τέραμνα [n.pl.] 'house, residence' (E., almost only lyr., also Artem.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also τέρεμνα; sing. -ἀμνῳ [dat.] (Maiist. 12). Here also τέραμνοι· στεγανοί, σκιαί, σκηνώματα 'covered, shadowy place, tents' and τέραμνος· κυψέλη 'vessel, chest, box' (H.).

•ETYM Previously connected with an IE word for 'beam, building, habitation' found in several European languages, e.g. U *tremnu* 'tabernaculo', Lat. *trabs* 'beam' (with *taberna* 'shed, habitation' from older **trab-*), OW *treb* 'living', Lith. *trobà* 'house, building', to which probably also belong Gm. words like OS *thorp*, OHG *dorf* 'village'. However, these words cannot be related to τέραμνα, which would presuppose a pre-form *$terh_2b$-*no-*, while the other languages point to a root **treb-* (thus De Vaan 2008 and Matasović 2009). The form τέρεμνα, often explained by progressive vowel assimilation, rather points to substrate origin. We should definitely compare θεράπνη, which occurs both in the meaning 'servant, maid' and as 'house, residence' (see ►θεράπων). Because of the alternations α/ε and θ/τ, β/π, the word is Pre-Greek (likewise Fur.: 351).

τεράμων, -ονος [adj.] 'soft by boiling', of pulse, etc. (Thphr., Phot.). ◅?▻

•DER τεραμό-της [f.] 'softness' (Thphr.).

•ETYM For τεραμότης, cf. μειότης to μείων. The word is probably secondary to ἀτεράμων 'hard, tough', like πήμων to ἀπήμων (see ►πῆμα), or like τέραμνον· ἀπαλόν, ἑψανόν 'weak, boiled' (Phot., Suid.) to ἀτέραμνος. See ►ἀτέραμνος and ►τέρην.

τέρας [n.] 'sign, emblem; wonder, monster' (Il., epic poet., IA prose). ◅IE? *$k^{w}er$- 'magical sign, omen'▻

•VAR Gen. -αος and -εος (Hdt.), plur. -αα (-ᾱ, -α), -εα (metrically lengthened τείρεα), Hell. -ατος, -ατα, etc.

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. τερατο-λόγος 'telling wonders, wonderful' (Pl., Philostr.), with -ία (Isoc., etc.), also -έω [v.] (Arist.), -ημα (late); τερα[σ]-σκόπος (τερατο-) [m.] 'interpreter of signs' (Pi., trag.).
•DER 1. τερατ-ώδες 'miraculous, meaningful' (Att.), 2. -ίας [m.] 'performer of miracles' (D. S.), 3. -ικῶς 'wonderful' (Epicur.). 4. τεράσ-τιος 'bringing omens, of bad omens, remarkable' (Hell.; like Σεβάστιος to σεβασ-τός, also Γεράστιος). 5. τέρασμα [n.] 'miracle' (Plu.), cf. φάντασμα, etc. 6. Denominative verbs: a. τερατ-εύομαι (also with ἐπι-, ἀπο-, etc.) 'to talk marvels' (Att. Hell.), with -εία [f.] (Att. Hell.), -ευμα [n.] (Ar., D. H.); b) -όομαι [v.] 'to stare at as a wonder' (Timo); c) τεράζω (-άζω Hdn. Gr.) [v.] 'to interpret signs' (A. *Ag.* 125 [lyr.]); 7. τερατ-ισμοί [m.pl.] 'wonders' (Lyd.). 8. Τειρεσίας [m.] P̆N, taken to stand for *Τερετ-ίας with metrical lengthening.
•ETYM Archaic word in -ας (cf. κτέρας, βρέτας, σέλας, etc.). Connected with ►πέλωρ (and τέλωρ) 'monster' (if this is from **k^{w}er-ōr* by dissimilation; s.v.). Perhaps these words can be connected in turn with Lith. *kẽras* 'magic, sorcery', Ru. *čáry* 'magic', Skt. *kṛ-* 'to make, perform', etc. (see LIV^{2} s.v. **k^{w}er-* '(ab)schneiden, schnitzen'); note that this presupposes that -ας was secondarily added within Greek, since the root is *aniṭ*.

τερέβινθος ⇒τέρμινθος.

τερείτης [m.] a musical instrument in Egypt (*BGU* 1125, 4). ◂LW Eg.?▸
•ETYM May be a loan from Egyptian.

τερετίζω [v.] 'to twitter, chirp, hum' (Phryn. Com., Arist., Thphr.). ◂ONOM▸
•COMP Rarely with συν-, ὑπο-.
•DER τερέτ-ισμα [n.] (Arist., Hell.), -ισμός [m.] (late) 'twittering, etc.'.
•ETYM It is generally assumed that this word is onomatopoeic.

τέρετρον [n.] 'auger, borer' (Od., Att. inscr., LXX, Plu.). ◂IE **terh$_{1}$-* 'bore'▸
•DER Diminutive -τριον (Thphr.). With a suffix -ηδον-: τερηδών, -δόνος [f.] 'borer, caries' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), with -δονίζομαι [v.] 'be consumed by caries', -δονισμός [m.] (Dsc.); cf. τενθρηδών, ἀλγηδών, and see Gil Fernández 1959: 115.
•ETYM A primary instrument noun formed with the suffix -τρο- from the disyllabic root **terh$_{1}$-* seen in τέρεσσεν· ἔτρωσεν, ἑτόρνωσε 'pierced' (H.), τερέσω (Eust.), zero grade τρῆσαι. In the same meaning, we find OIr. *tarathar* < **-tro-*, Lat. *tere-bra* < **-sr-*. See ►τετραίνω and ►τείρω.

τέρην [adj.] 'tender' (Il., epic poet.). ◂IE **ter-n-* 'tender, soft'▸
•VAR Fem. -εινα, ntr. -εν.
•COMP As a first member in τερενό-χρως 'with tender skin' (Anaxandr., Opp.). Comparative τερέν-τερος (Antun.), τερενώ-τερος (*Lyr. Adesp.*), fem. τερεινο-τέρη (*AP*).
•ETYM An adjectival *n*-stem like ἔρσην, ἄρσην, identical with Sabin. *terenum* 'soft' (ascribed to Favorinus by Macrobius [late 4th c. AD]) save for the thematic vowel. Lat. *tener*, *-era*, *-erum* 'tender' also belongs here, if transformed from **terenos* after *tenuis* (see De Vaan 2008). See ►τέρυς and ►τεράμων.

τερθρεύομαι [v.] 'to speak subtly' (D., Arist., Plu.). ◂?▸

•DER τερθρ-εία [f.] 'sophistic reasoning, hairsplitting' (Isoc., Phld., D. H.), also as military expression = ἡ στρατεία ἡ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν καλουμένη (Phot., Suid.; similarly *EM* 753, 5), -εύμασι· φλυαρίαις 'nonsense' (H.), -εύς [m.] as a PN (Hermipp.).

•ETYM Can hardly be separated from τέρθρον 'topmost end, point', though a convincing argumentation for the semantic development is lacking. Prellwitz points to μετεωρολόγος; one could also compare MoHG *spitzfindig* , MoFr. *pointiller* 'to cavil'. One may also think of ▸τονθορύζω 'mumble, speak inarticulately'.

τέρθρον [n.] 'top end (e.g. of the sail-yard), summit, highest point' (*h. Merc.* 322, Emp., Hp., E. *Fr.* 371, Poll.). ◂?▸

•DER τέρθριοι (κάλοι) [m.pl.] 'ropes at the end of the sail-yard' (Ar. *Eq.* 440, Erot., Gal.), τερθρία πνοή (S. *Fr.* 333) = ὀπισθία πνοή. Glosses τερθρωτήρ· ὅπου ὁ πρῳρεὺς προορᾷ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ 'place whence the prow officer keeps watch of what happens at sea' (H.) and τεθριηδών· πρῳρεύς 'prow officer' (H.).

•ETYM A suffix -θρο- with the root τερ- 'reach the other side' has been assumed, but this root ended in *-h_2, thus the connection is impossible (see ▸τέρμα).

τέρμα [n.] 'finish (of a race-course), end, highest point, supreme power' (Il., mostly epic poet.). ◂IE *$terh_2$- 'cross'▸

•COMP As a first member in τερμο-δρομέω 'to run to the finish' (Man.), τερματ-οῦχος H. as an explanation of βαλβιδοῦχος. Often as a second member, e.g. ἀ-τέρμων 'without an end, boundless' (A., E., Arist.), derived from τέρμων.

•DER 1. τέρμ-ιος 'at the end, final' (S.); cf. στόμιος from στόμα; 2. -ιεύς [m.] epithet of Zeus (Lyc.), after Πολι-εύς; 3. -ιόεις epithet of ἀσπίς (*H* 804), of χιτών (τ 242, Hes. *Op.* 537), mg. unclear (ποδηνεκής 'stretching to the feet', acc. to the ancients); formation like τειχιόεις; hence τέρμις· πούς 'foot' H.; on Myc. *te-mi-dwe-te*, *-ta* see Auro Jorro s.v.; 4. -άζω [v.] 'to limit' (*Tab. Heracl.*, Thermon III[a]), with -αστῆρες [m.pl.] 'boundary officials' (Epid. III[a]); 5. -ατίζω (seldom prefixed with ἀπο-, ἐπι-) 'id.' (Str., S. E., Vett. Val.).

Besides τέρμων, -ονος [m.] 'end, boundary, edge' (A., E., Hell. and late prose); cf. μνῆμα to μνήμων, etc., with τερμ-όνιος 'at the end' (A. *Pr.* 117 [lyr.]), -ονίζω [v.] 'to delimit', -ονισμός 'delimitation' (Epid. III[a]); τερμο-σύνᾱ [f.] (*Trag. Adesp.* 509 [lyr.]), nonce formation.

•ETYM The *n*-stem in τέρμα and τέρμων corresponds to that of Lat. *termen*, *-inis* [n.], also *ter-mō*, *-ōnis* [m.] 'frontier stone, marking stone, frontier' (see De Vaan 2008 for further forms), as well as that of Skt. (RV) *su-tárman-* 'carrying over, saving' (of a ship); Lat. *terminus* and U *termnom-e* 'ad terminum' show thematic enlargements. The basic verb is preserved in Skt. *tárati*, *tiráti* (*$terh_2$-) 'to carry across, transfer'. See on ▸τέρθρον, which is probably unconnected. On Hitt. *tarma-* 'nail, peg', see ▸τόρμος.

τέρμινθος [f.] 'turpentine tree, Pistacia Terebinthus' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., LXX). ◂PG(S,V)▸

•VAR Secondarily τερέβινθος, metathesized τρέμιθος (Nic. *Th.* 844).

•DER τερμίνθ-ινος (τερεβ-) 'belonging to the turpentine tree' (X., Diocl. *Fr.*, Thphr.) fem. -ίς, haplological for -ινίς (Nic. *Al.* 300); τερεβινθ-ώδης 'rich in turpentine trees' (*AP*), -ίζω [v.] 'to be like turpentine' (Dsc.). Τερμινθεύς (Lyc.), Τερβ- (Milete II^{a}) epithet of Apollo as a god of medicine, Τρεμιθοῦς TN (Cyrus; Ptol., St. Byz.).

•ETYM The younger form τερέβινθος was perhaps influenced by ἐρέβινθος (Güntert 1914: 138), rather than dissimilated from μ ... ν. Fur.: 219 assumes variation β/ μ. The word is Pre-Greek; this is confirmed by the suffix -ινθος.

τερμιόεις •VAR τέρμων. ⇒τέρμα.

τέρνακα [?] · τῆς κάκτου τοῦ φυτοῦ καυλόν 'stalk of the cactus plant' (H.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Formation like δόναξ, etc., explained by Frisk from earlier *τέρνον, -ος, which would have an *e*-grade compared to the zero grade in Skt. *tṛṇa-* [n.] '(blade) of grass, straw, herb', Go. *þaurnus* 'thorn', MoHG *Dorn* [m.], OCS *trъnъ* 'ἄκανθα' (from IE **tṛn-o-, -u-*). A problem with the etymology of these words is that the root **terh$_{1/3}$-* 'to pierce' is *seṭ*. Etymologies between Greek and Sanskrit plant names are often wrong, and the word could be Pre-Greek.

τέρπομαι [v.] 'to satiate, refresh, delight' (Il.). ◅IE **terp-* 'satiate'▻

•VAR Aor. ταρπῆναι, ταρφθῆναι, τερφθῆναι, epic also ταρπώμεθα [1pl.subj.], reduplicated τετάρπετο, τέρψασθαι, fut. τέρψομαι. Also active τέρπω, τέρψαι, τέρψω.

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, κατα- et al. Compounds: ἀ-τερπ-ής 'unpleasing' (Il.), opposite ἐπιτερπ-ής (*h.Ap.*); uncertain ἀτέρπου ὀιζύος (*Z* 285); ἄ-τερπνος 'ἄγρυπνος' (Stesich., Ibyc.). As a first member probably in τερπι-κέραυνος epithet of Zeus, 'who delights in thunder and lightning' (Hom., Hes.); τερψί-μβροτος 'rejoicing people' (Od., *h.Ap.*, etc.).

•DER 1. τερπ-νός 'delightful, joyful' (θ 45 [v. l.]), with -νότης [f.] (LXX); recent superlative τέρπ-νιστος (Call.). 2. τέρψις [f.] 'delight, enjoyment' (Hes., mostly poet.). 3. τερπ-ωλή [f.] 'id.' (σ 37, Archil., Thgn., late prose). 4. τέρπεα or -η (dat. -εσι) [n.pl.] 'id.' (epigr. Itanos I^{a}-I^{p}). Proper names, e.g. Τέρπ-ανδρος, with short forms Τέρπης (*AP*), Τέρπων, name of satyrs (vase inscr.). Πολύ-τερπος (Corinth VI^{a}; Threatte *Glotta* 45 (1967): 186ff.), patronymic Τερπ-ιάδης (χ 330); Εὐ-τέρπη, Τερψι-χόρη (Hes.).

•ETYM Skt. present *tarpati* 'to be satisfied' is an innovation (ep.) for earlier *tṛ́pyati*, *tṛpṇóti*, *tṛmpati* (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* 1: 634f.); the Greek root present τέρπομαι may also be an innovation for an earlier yod-present. The intransitive aorist ταρπ-ῆναι probably replaces earlier *τραπ-ῆναι (which fell together with the same formation from ▸τρέπω 'to turn'). LIV^{2} s.v. 1. **terp-* 'sättigen' compares the thematic root aor. Skt. *á-tṛp-at* with Hom. ταρπώμεθα. Other cognates are Lith. *tařpti*, 1sg. *tarpstù* 'to prosper', and probably also the Gm. group of Go. *þaurban*, OHG *durfan* 'to need', which is semantically more problematic, but possible acc. to Seebold and Kümmel apud LIV^{2}.

τέρσομαι [v.] 'to dry', both trans. and intr. (Hom., Hp.). ◅IE **ters-* 'dry'▻

•VAR Aor. τερσῆναι (*P* 519), -ήμεναι (ζ 98), act. τέρσαι (Theoc., Nic.), τέρσαιο (Nic.) [2sg.opt.med.], pres. τερσαίνω, -ομαι (Hell. epic), with 3sg.aor. τέρσηνε (*P* 529).

•ETYM Traditionally, τέρσομαι is identified with Go. **ga-þairsan*, but only *gaþaúrsana* [pret.ptc. acc.sg.f.] (of *handu* = ἐξηραμμένην χεῖρα) is attested, which may also belong to *ga-þaúrsnan* 'ξηραίνεσθαι'. On the retention of -ρσ- < intervocalic **-ɣs-*, see Manolessou and Pantelidis 2008. A zero grade yod-present is found in Skt. *tṛ́ṣyati*, Go. *þaursjan* 'to thirst', and a causative **tors-eie-* in Skt. *tarṣáyati*, Lat. *torreō*, OHG *derran* 'to scorch'. Greek has several nominal formations, e.g. ►ταρσός with τρασιά. In Greek, τέρσομαι was replaced by the denominatives αὐαίνομαι, -ω (from αὖος), ξηραίνομαι, -ω.

τέρυς [adj.] 'soft, weak' only in τέρυ· ἀσθενές, λεπτόν 'weak, small' (H.), τέρυας ἵππους· οὕτω λέγονται ὅσοι ἀδδηφάγοι εἰσί. ἔνιοι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς 'τ. horse are called those which are greedy; some: the weak ones' (H.). ◅IE **ter-u-* 'tender, weak'▻

•DER Besides τερύνης· τετριμμένος ὄνος, καὶ γέρων ἢ δυσανάληπτος γέρων 'beaten off donkey, also an old man, who is in a bad shape for recovery'; τερύσκεται· νοσεῖ, φθίνει 'is ill, declines'; τερύσκετο· ἐτείρετο 'was tired off' (H.).

•ETYM The gloss τερύνης may be compared with Skt. *táruṇa-*, Av. *tauruna-* 'young, tender', from IE **teru-no-*. Beside disyllabic τερυ-, we find τρυ- in ►τρύω; cf. also ►τιτρώσκω. An *s*-stem is seen in κυκλο-τερῆς 'rounded' (cf. ►κύκλος), for the meaning of which cf. Hdt. 4, 36: τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου 'the earth being round, as if from a τ.'.

τέρφος ⇒στέρφος.

τέρχνος [n.] 'sprout, twig' (Max., *AP*, H.); ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also τρέχνος. Cypr. *te-re-ki-ni-ja* 'fruit', if this stands for τέρχνια.

•ETYM Formation like ἔρνος, κτῆνος, etc. Niedermann *IF* 26 (1909): 46f. pleaded for connection with τρέχω 'to run'. In τέρχνεα = ἐντάφια 'ptng. to burial' (H.), we may be dealing with a specialization of the meaning 'fruits'; cf. καρποί, κάρπωμα, -ωσις, which also denote fruits as offerings, κάρπωσις· θυσία Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι 'sacrifice for Aphrodite in Amathous' (H.). Fur.: 351 compares ταρχάνιον· ἐντάφιον, and therefore suggests a Pre-Greek word.

τέσσαρες, -α [num.] 'four' (Hom.). ◅IE **kʷetuer-* 'four'▻

•VAR Att. τέτταρες, Ion. Arc. Hell. τέσσερες, Dor. NWGr. τέτορες, Aeol. (Hom.) πίσυρες, Lesb. πέσ(σ)υρες, Boeot. πέτταρες.

•DIAL Myc. *qe-to-ro-we* /kʷetr-ōwes/ 'with four ears'.

•COMP As a first member in Hom. τεσσαρά-κοντα, Att. τετταρά-κοντα, Ion. Hell. τεσσερά-κοντα, Dor. τετρώ-κοντα 'forty'; also in τεσσαρά-βοιος 'worth four oxen' (Ψ 705), etc. Very frequent τετρα-, e.g. τετρά-κυκλος 'four-wheeled' (Hom., etc.), τετρα-κόσιοι, Dor. -κάτιοι 'four hundred'.

•DER Hence the ordinal τέταρτος, epic also τέτρατος, Boeot. πέτρατος 'fourth' with τεταρτ-αῖος (Theoc. τετόρτ-αιος) 'arriving at the fourth day' (IA), as a kind of fever (msc., scil. πυρετός) 'Quartana'. Collectives: τετράς (Boeot. πετράς) [f.] 'period of four days, quaternary', usually 'fourth day of the month' (*h. Merc.*, Hes.); τετρακτύς, -ύος [f.] 'quaternary' (Pythag.). Numeral adverb τετράκις (ε 306; Boeot. π-), post-

Hom. also -κι 'four times'. Further adverbs: τέτρα-χα, -χῆ, -χόθι, -χῶς, etc. (IA); also -χθά (Hom.); adjective τετραξός (Arist.), -ασσός (late pap.), like διξός, δισσός, etc.
•ETYM The inflection of the IE numeral for 'four' can be reconstructed on the basis of the forms found in the separate languages. Among the Greek forms, the following are important for the reconstruction: nom.pl. *k^{w}*etuor-es* in τέτορες (with τ instead of σσ/ττ after τέτρασι); identical with this are Arm. *č'ork'*, ToA *śtwar*, ToB *śtwer*, Skt. *catvā́rah* (with *ā* < *o* by Brugmann's Law); Lat. *quattuor* has a secondary *a* in the initial syllable. Then, the acc.pl. *k^{w}*etur-ns* in πέσυρας, corresponding to Skt. *catúraḥ*, Lith. *keturì*, Go. *fidur-* in *fidur-dogs* 'τεταρταῖος, of four days'; from this stem form, a new nom. πέσυρες was created (it has been assumed that πίσυρες is a variant of this form with reduced vowel). The loc.pl. *k^{w}*etur-su* (Skt. *catúrṣu*) is continued in the dat. τετράσι. The ordinal *k^{w}*etu̯r-to-* in τέτρατος, τέταρτος corresponds to Lith. *ketvir̃tas*, ToA *śtärt*, ToB *śtarte* beside Skt. *caturtháḥ*. The *e*-grade of τέσσερες may be compared with that in the Balto-Slavic collective, Lith. *ketverì*, OCS *četverъ*, < IE *k^{w}*etueres*; its origin is unknown (τέσσερες did not arise from τέσσαρες by vowel assimilation). For τετρώκοντα, Kortlandt *MSS* 42 (1983): 100 assumes that the laryngeal feature that arose from the initial **d-* of the second member was colored to *h_3*, because of the preceding **u* in *k^{w}*eturdkomt*. Lillo *MSS* 49 (1988): 71-73 assumes that in Doric, the τ of the accus. was extended to the nom., giving τέτορες. See ►τράπεζα and ►τρυφάλεια.

τεταγών [v.] 'seizing, grasping' (A 591, O 23). ◄IE *teh_2g*- 'touch'►
•ETYM A reduplicated aor. ptc., like ἀμ-πεπαλών (see ►πάλλω). Cognate with Lat. *tangō* 'touch', perf. *tetigī*, OLat. subj. *tagam*. For further combinations, see LIV² s.v.

τετανός •VAR τέτανος. ⇒τείνω.

τέταρος [m.] 'pheasant' (Ptol. Euerg. 2 J). ◄LW Orient.►
•VAR ταρύας· ὁ φασιανὸς ὄρνις 'id.' (H.; also in Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 9, 387a).
•ETYM LSJ remarks that the word is a loan from the Orient, referring to MP *tedzrev* 'pheasant'. They further compare Lith. *tetervà* 'black grouse'; cf. on ►τέτραξ. Ath. 14, 654c states that τέταρος was imported from Media.

τετίημαι [v.] 'to be sad' (Il.). ◄?►
•VAR Perfect denoting the result of an event, in 2du. τετίησθον (Θ 447), further only the ptc. τετιημένος (Hom., Hes. *Th.* 163), also act. τετιηώς, dat. -ότι plur. -ότες (Il.).
•ETYM Isolated within Greek, but possibly related to the root *k^{w}*ei-* 'to perceive, care'. LIV² s.v. assumes that the Greek perfect, with original meaning *'am aware', was built on the basis of an unattested aorist **ἐ-τίην* 'noticed'. For the meaning, cf. from the same root Lat. *cūra* 'anxiety, care' < *k^{w}*ois-h₂-*. Within Greek, cf. ►τηρέω.

τετμεῖν [v.] 'to find, reach, obtain' (Il., epic). ◄?►
•VAR Ind. τέτμεν, ἔτετμεν, τέτμον, subj. τέτμῃ, etc.
•DER Here perhaps the unclear form τέμει (N 707), cf. Chantraine 1942: 309.
•ETYM A reduplicated aorist like πε-φν-εῖν, among others. Without a convincing etymology. There is no convincing semantic argumentation for the formally obvious connection with τέμνω 'cut'. ToAB *täm-* 'to be born', caus. 'to generate', which was

first compared by Van Windekens *Phil. Stud.* 11: 175f., deviates strongly in meaning as well. For argumentation in favor of this connection, see LIV² s.v. *tem-* 'erreichen'.

τετραίνω [v.] 'to pierce, perforate' (A. [lyr.], Hdt.). ◂IE **terh₁-* 'rub'▸

•VAR Aor. τετρῆναι (Hom.), τετρᾶναι (Att. inscr.), med. τετρήνασθαι (Ar., Gal.), pass. τετρανθῆναι (Lyc., *AP*), fut. τετρανέω (Hdt.), -νῶ (IV[a]); further aor. τρῆσαι (Hp., Pl., Hell. and late), med. -σασθαι (Gal.), pass. -θῆναι (Trypho *apud* Ath., *Gp.*), fut. τρήσω (Lyc.), perf. med. τέτρημαι (IA), with secondary pres. τιτράω, τίτρημι, τιτραίνω (Hell. and late), to which aor. τιτρᾶναι (Thphr.).

•COMP Mostly with prefix, especially δια-, συν-.

•DER 1. τρη-τός 'pierced' (Il.), ἄ-τρη-τος (Pl., Arist.), from the prefixed compounds e.g. παράτρητος (medic.). 2. τρῆμα (διά-, παρά-, ἔκ-) [n.] 'hole, opening, eye of a needle, dot on a die' (IA), with -άτιον (Hero), -ατώδης 'perforated', -ατόεις 'id.' (*AP*), -ατίζω [v.] 'to dice', -ατίκτας (Dor.), -ατῖται [pl.] 'dice-player' (Sophr., Poll., H.). 3. τρῆσις (διά-, σύν-, etc.) [f.] 'perforation, opening, hole' (IA).

•ETYM The verbal forms τέτρημαι, τρητός, τρῆμα correspond with βέβλημαι, βλητός, βλῆμα; τέτμημαι, τμητός, τμῆμα, etc. The disyllabic root is preserved in τέρε-τρον, like in βέλε-μνα. The root present of this root is preserved in Lat. *terō* 'rub'. The presents τετραίνω, τετρανέω, as well as the aorist τετρᾶναι, must be innovations, apparently after the verbs in -αίνω. The comparison with Lith. *trinù* 'rub' is not reliable, given the strong productiviy of nasal presents in Lithuanian. Also remarkable in τετραίνω, etc. is the ε-vocalism of the reduplication syllable, which seems to have been taken from the perfect and fits better for an aorist than for a present; cf. the incidental aorists τέτορεν, τετορήσας (see ▸τορεῖν). Cf. ▸τείρω.

τέτραμος •VAR τετραμαίνω. ⇒τρέμω.

τέτραξ [m.] name of 'a bird', after Thompson 1895 s.v. 'black-cock' or 'guinea-fowl', after Benton *JHS* 81 (1961): 48 ff. (w. extensive treatment) 'large bustard' (Epich., Ar., Hell. a. late). ◂IE? **tetr-* 'hen-like bird'▸

•VAR Also -ακος, -αγος.

•DER τετράζω [v.] 'to cackle' (Alex. Mynd.). Also τέτριξ, -ιγος [f.] (Arist.), identification uncertain (Thompson s.v.). Further glosses: τετράων· ὄρνις ποιός 'kind of bird' (Lat. *tetrāō* Plin.), τετράδων· ὄρνεόν τι. Ἀλκαῖος 'id. (Alc.)', τεταῖον· ὀρνιθάριόν τι. Λάκωνες 'small bird [Lac.]'; τατύρας· ὁ φασιανὸς ὄρνις 'pheasant', etc. (see ▸τέταρος).

•ETYM For the suffix of τέτραξ, -ιξ, cf. the bird names ▸κόραξ, ▸πέρδιξ, et al. Similar birdnames are Lith. *tetervà* 'blackcock, gray hen', *tētervinas* 'blackcock, bustard', Ru. *téterev* 'blackcock', ON *þiðurr* 'capercailzie', Skt. *tittirá-* 'partridge'. Originally onomatopoeic.

τετρακίνη [f.] 'θρίδαξ' (Hippon. *fr.* 168 M). ◂LW Phr.?▸

•ETYM Cleitarchus identified the word as Phrygian. Complicated explanation by Haas *Ling. Balkan.* 2 (1960): 57f.

τέττα ⇒τατᾶ.

τέττιξ, -ῑγος [m.] 'tree-cricket, cicada' (Il.); metaph. a hair-pin with the shape of a cicada (Att.). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR Gen. also -ῑκος (Hdn. Gr.).

•COMP As a first member in τεττιγο-μήτρα [f.] 'subterranean larva of the cicada' (Arist.).

•DER τεττίγιον (H. s.v. κερκώπη), also name of a coin (Delos III[a]); τεττιγ-όνιον [n.] designation of a small mute cicala (Arist., Plin.), with suffix after ἀηδ-, χελιδ-όνιον; -ότης [f.] 'state of a cicada' (comm. Arist.), -ώδης 'like a cicada' (Luc.).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic; cf. τιτίζω s.v. ►τιτιγόνιον and Gil Fernández 1959: 130f., 190.

τευθίς [f.] 'kind of cuttlefish' (Semon., Ar., Thphr.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•VAR Gen. -ίδος, -ῖδος. Variant θεῦτιν [acc.] (Hippon. ex H.). Also τεῦθος [m.] a bigger kind of cuttlefish (Arist.); τευθιάς [f.] (Philox.).

•DER τευθίδ-ιον [n.] (com.), -ώδης 'like a τ.' (Ath.); details in Thompson 1947 s.v. The TN Τευθίς (Arcadia, -έα Achaia) has also been compared.

•ETYM Several attempts have been made to explain the word in IE terms, but none of them convinces: Pok. 264f. posited IE **d[h]eu-d[h]-*, comparing Skt. *dódhat-* 'shatter, turbulent, raging', etc., and assumed a meaning "making the water muddy, entangling" for Greek, which hardly makes sense. Schindler *KZ* 81 (1967): 71, with some reservations, gives the same reconstruction and assumes an original color term, like in the plant name τεύθριον = πόλιον, ἐρυθρόδανον. Semitic etymologies have been proposed by Lewy 1895: 18, Lewy *RhM* 80 (1931): 108, and Grimme *Glotta* 14 (1925): 17.

The word could be Pre-Greek, in view of the variant and the meaning. Tovar *MSS* 10 (1957): 71-83 convincingly argued that Myc. *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* should be interpreted as τευθρ-αγόρος 'collector of orchils', a plant from which colors were produced, Roccella tinctoria. See ►τεῦτλον.

τεύθριον [n.] plant name, 'tree-germander' (Dsc.). ◁?▷

•ETYM See ►τευθίς.

τευμάομαι [v.] 'to erect, build' (Antim.; on Call. *Fr.*567 cf. Pfeiffer). ◁IE **kieu-* 'set in movement'▷

•VAR Only τευμήσατο; τευμᾶται· τεχνάζει 'builds' (H.).

•DER Further τευτάζω (also med.), perf. τετεύτακα [v.] 'to be regularly occupied with sth.' (com., Pl.), also -άσσω (Orac. in *Ath. Mitt.* 25, 399); thence τευτασμός· στραγγεία 'hesitation, loitering' (H.).

•ETYM From *τεύμα (or *τεῦμα?), which might be identical with Av. *šiiao-man-* [n.] 'deed, work', IE **kieu-mn-*. The primary verb is seen in ►σεύομαι. The form τευτάζω was probably extended from a verb in -τω, -τάω, which ultimately belongs to ►σεύομαι as well.

τεῦτλον [n.] 'beet, Beta maritima' (Hp., com., Thphr., pap.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Ion. Hell. σεῦτλον.

•COMP As a first member in τευτλο-φακῆ [f.] 'mix of beet and lentils' (medic.).

•DER τευτλ-ίον (Ar., Diocl. *Fr.*, Thphr., pap.; also with initial σ-); -ίς (Thphr., Diph.); Τευτλοῦσσα [f.] "beet-island", island on the coast of Caria (Th.).
•ETYM The proposal by Tovar *MSS* 10 (1957): 77ff. to derive it from IE *d^heu- 'walk, run' and assume an original meaning 'juicy' (cf. s.v. ►τευθίς) should be rejected. Acc. to Frisk, the interchange τ-/σ- may represent an artificial Atticism or Ionicism. However, it may instead be a Pre-Greek variation, representing a palatalized dental *t^y.

τεύχω [v.] 'to manufacture, accomplish, produce', of manual labor, building and cutting; 'to prepare', often of food and drinks; 'to arrange, cause' (Il., epic poet.). ◄IE *d^heug^h- 'hit the mark, meet'►
•VAR Aor. τεῦξαι, -ασθαι, reduplicated τετυκεῖν, -έσθαι (with analogical -κ-), aor. pass. τυχθῆναι, fut. τεύξω, -ομαι, pass. τετεύξομαι, perf.ptc. τετευχώς (μ 423, with passive mg.), ind. τέτευχα (late), τετεύχαται (N 22), τέτυκται, plpf. (ἐ)τετεύχατο, (ἐ)τετύμην.
•DIAL Myc. perf.ptc. *te-tu-ko-wo-a* /t^{h}et^{h}uk-wo^{h}a/.
•COMP Also prefixed with ἀμφι-, ἐπι-, κατα-, etc. Compounds, e.g. τευχεσ-φόρος 'wearing armor' (A., E.), τευχο-πλάστις [f.] 'manufacturing vessels' (Lyc.); ἀ-τευχής 'without armor' (E., *AP*); referring to the verb: νεο-τευχής = νεό-τευκτος (Ε 194).
•DER 1. Verbal adjective τυκτός 'wrought, accomplished' (Hom., Theoc.), εὖ-τυκτος 'well-formed' (Hom., B.); τευκτός 'id.' (Antiph., H., Suid.). νεό-τευκτος 'newly wrought' (Φ 592). 2. τεῦχος [n.] (mostly plur. -εα, -η) 'device, weapon, equipment' (epic), sing. 'tool, vessel' (trag., X., Arist.), 'papyrus case' (pap.), also of the human body (Hp., Arist.). Thence τευχ-ηστής (ἀνήρ) 'armed warrior' (A., Call., A. R.), -ηστήρ 'id.' (A.), -ήεις 'armed' (Opp.), -ήρης 'id.' (Orph.), -ῖτις [f.] plantname, σχοῖνος Ἀραβική (Dsc.), *-ītēs* (Plin.). 3. τεύχημα [n.] (A. *Fr.* 375 = 6 M.), either from τεῦχος or from τευχέω, which is found in τετευχῆσθαι 'to be armed' (χ 104) for expected *τετευχέσ-(σ)θαι, like τευχησ-τής, -τήρ (which replace τευχεσ- after ὠμησ-τής, ὀρχηστής, etc.); ἀ-τεύχ-ητος 'without armor' = ἀτευχής (*AP*, Hell. epic). 4. τεύκ-τωρ, -ορος [m.] 'manufacturer, creator' (Man.), -τήρ [m.] 'id.' (H., Phot., Suid.). 5. τεῦγμα [n.] 'work' (Dosiad. *Ara*), τεῦξις· κατασκευή, ποίησις 'manufacture, production' (H.), also τύξιες [pl.] 'arts' (Athens II^p), τύξιν· τεῦξιν, παρασκευήν 'equipment' (H.). 6. Τυχίος [m.] PN, who fashioned the shield of Aias (Η 220: Τυχίος κάμε τεύχων).
•ETYM Beside the thematic root present τεύχω (aor. τεῦξαι) 'manufacture', Greek has the nasal present τυγχάνω (with them. aor. τυχεῖν) in the more original meaning 'hit the mark, meet'. Both verbs are derived from the root *d^heug^h- 'hit', to which belong the Skt. stative *duhé* 'gives milk', Go. *daug* 'is fit' (see LIV^2 s.v. for further cognates). See ►τυγχάνω.

τέφρα [f.] 'ash' (Il.). ◄IE *d^heg^{wh}- 'burn', *d^heg^{wh}-*r*-h_2►
•VAR Epic Ion. -ρη.
•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ἔν-τεφρος 'ash-color' (Dsc., Ath.).
•DER Many adjectives, mostly indicating colors: τέφρ-ινος (Hp.), -αῖος (Ael.), -ακός (beside σποδιακός), τά τεφρακά 'ash-colored ointments' (Aet.), -ός (Arist., Herod.),

τὸ τεφρόν 'ash-colored ointment' (late medic.), -άς [f.] 'kind of cicada' (Ael.; after the color, Gil Fernández 1959: 100), -ήεις (Nonn.), -ώδης 'ash-like' (Thphr., Str.). Verbs: τεφρ-όομαι, -όω (also with κατα-, άπο-, ἐκ-) 'to be incinerated; incinerate' (Hell.), with -ωσις [f.] (Dsc., sch.); -ίζω [v.] 'to be ash-colored' (Dsc., Aret.), ἐτέφρισεν· ἐνέπρησεν 'incinerated' (H.).

•ETYM Formation like πέτρα, ἕδρα, χώρα, λαύρα, etc., derived from a root for 'burn' seen in Skt. *dáhati*, Lith. *degù*, ToAB *tsäk-*, etc., IE *d^heg^{wh}-. This is confirmed by the gloss ►θέπτανος· άπτόμενος 'kindled' (H.). Like τέφρα, Lat. *febris* 'fever' presupposes an *r*-stem.

τέχνη [f.] 'craftsmanship, handicraft, business, art; artifice, trick' (Il.). ◄IE *tek- 'produce', *te-$tḱ$- 'build, timber'►

•COMP As a first member e.g. τεχνο-γράφος [m.] 'performer of rhetoric' (Arist., D. H.); often as a second member, e.g. ἄ-τεχνος 'artless, inapt' (IA), also -τέχνης, e.g. πολυ-τέχνης 'skilled in many arts' (Sol.).

•DER 1. Diminutives: τεχν-ίον [n.] (Pl., middle com.), -ύδριον [n.] 'id.' (Pl. *Resp.* 475e), -ύφιον [n.] 'workshop' (Suet. *Aug.* 72). 2. -ίτης [m.] 'craftsman, artist' (IA), with fem. -ῖτις, -ιτι-κός, -ιτεύω, -ιτεία, -ίτευμα. 3. Adjectives: -ικός 'experienced in art, practical, artistic, technical' (Epich., Pl.), -ήεις 'cunningly wrought, artificial' (Od., Q. S.), -ήμων 'id.' (Opp., *AP*), -ητός 'artificial' (Hp., Plu.; from τεχνάομαι?), -ητικός 'id.' (Plb.). 4. -οσύνη [f.] = τέχνη (*AP*). 5. Verbs: a. -άομαι (often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, ἐκ-, προ-) 'to manufacture by art, contrive or execute cunningly' (Il.), with -ημα, -ησις, -ήτωρ, (-ητός?); b) -άζω (often med., also with ἐπι-, etc.) 'id.' (IA), with -ασμα, -ασμός; c) -όω (προ-) [v.] 'to initiate into an art' (Gal.), with -ωσις.

•ETYM Derived from *tek-*sneh$_2$*- (for the suffix, see ►πάχνη, ►λάχνη, ►λύχνος). Sometimes, a basic form *τεκτ-σνᾶ is suggested (Skt. *tákṣati*, etc.), from the reduplicated IE root *te-$tḱ$- 'to build', whence ►τεκτων is derived.

τέως [conj.] 'this long' (Il.). ◄IE *to- demonstrative pronoun; *teh_2-u-o-►

•VAR Epic τῆος (written τείως, τέως, τεῖος).

•DER τάως· τέως. Κρῆτες (H.), for *τᾶς from earlier *τᾶος, after τέως; cf. ἄς = ἕως.

•ETYM From PGr. *τᾶϝος, identical with the Skt. demonstrative *tā́vat* (stem *tā-vant-*) 'that far', except for the unclear final consonant (see ►ἕως).

τῆ [interj.] always with the ipv.: 'there! here! take this!' (Hom.). ◄IE *to- demonstrative pronoun►

•ETYM The old instrumental of the demonstrative pronoun *to- (see ►το-), identical with Lith. *tè* 'id.' < IE *teh_1. The plur. τῆτε (Sophr.) was made after reanalysis of τῆ as an imperative. See ►τῆνος.

τήβεννα, -ος [f.] designation of a garment of a distinguished person, Lat. *toga* (Hell. and late). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also τημενίς.

•COMP τηβεννο-φορέω [v.] 'to wear a τ.' (Larissa II^a).

•DER τηβενν-ίς (Poll., cod. τημενίς), -ικός 'consisting of a τ.' (Str.), -ειος 'belonging to a τ.' (Suid.).

•ETYM In antiquity, the word was derived from the Arcadian PN Τήμενος, Τήβεννος. Fur.: 220, 387 showed that the word is Pre-Greek (variation β/μ and ν/νν).

τήγανον ⇒τάγηνον.

τήθεα [n.pl.] designation of a sea-animal, probably a 'sea-squirt, ascidia' (P 747). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also -η (Nic., Poll.), sing. -ος (Arist. *Fr.* 309), also τήθυον (v.l. -εον; Arist.).
•DER Diminutive τηθυνάκια [pl.] (Epich. 42). Frisk comments that the form is doubted by the editors, but that the form, if correct, can be derived from *τηθύνη (cf. χελύνη) after ὀστράκια et al. With some reserve, one may connect the sea-goddess Τηθύς.
•ETYM Extensive treatment by Kalén 1918: 2off., 98ff.: starting from the form τήθυον, he assumes earlier *θή-θυον and connects the word with θῆσθαι 'to suck' and *θύον 'bag' (whence ►θύλακος). This explanation is nonsensical and typical of older Greek etymologies. Probably a Pre-Greek word, with variation υ/ε. On the facts, see Thompson 1947 s.v. ►τήθυον.

τήθη [f.] 'grandmother' (Att.). ◁IE *$d^hēd^hē$ 'grandmother'▷
•VAR Also -ή.
•DER τηθίς, -ίδος [f.] 'father's or mother's sister, aunt' (Is., D., Hell.), τηθία 'old woman' (Eust.); προ-τήθη [f.] 'great-grandmother' (D. C., Poll.), ἐπι-τήθη [f.] 'id.' (Theopomp. Com., Poll.).
•ETYM One may compare Illyr. *deda* 'nurse' (Krahe *IF* 55 (1937): 121f.), Slavic words like OCS *dědъ* [m.] 'πρόγονος', Ru. *ded* 'grandfather', Lith. *dẽdė*, *dėdẽ*, *dẽdis* 'uncle'.

τήκω [v.] 'to melt, dissolve, consume' (Il.). ◁IE *teh_2- 'melt, decay'▷
•VAR Dor. τάκω; aor. τῆξαι, -ασθαι, fut. τήξω; often intr. τήκομαι 'to melt down, dissolve, decay', whence aor. τακῆναι, also τηχθῆναι, fut. τακήσομαι, also τήξομαι, perf. τέτηκα (Dor. τέτᾶκα), late τέτηγμαι
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. συν-, κατα-, ἐν-, ἐκ-.
•DER 1. τῆξις (σύν-, ἀπό-, ἔκ-, etc.) 'melting' (Hp., Arist., Hell.). 2. σύν-, περί-τηγμα [n.] 'that which is melted together, fading away' (Arist.), 'dross' (Chrysipp.). 3. τηκεδών, -όνος [f.] 'emaciation, decay, melting' (λ 201, Hp., Pl.). 4. τηκ-τός 'meltable, liquid' (Pl., E., Arist.), -τικός (συν-) 'dissolving' (Arist., Dsc.).
With zero grade: 5. τακ-ερός 'melting, liquid, soft, tender' (Hp., com.; cf. φανερός, σφαλερός, etc.), with -έρωσις [f.] (medic.); also -ηρός 'id.' (Dsc.). 6. Uncertain τάκων (-ᾰ̆-), -ωνος [m.] name of spiced food, 'sausage, lump of meat'? (Poll. 6, 53 from Crates Com.).
•ETYM The forms τέτηκα (τέτᾶκα) and τᾰκῆναι point to a root *teh_2k- (cf. LIV² s.v.). Leaving aside the root-final -κ- of Greek, we may compare verbs in other languages: OCS *tajǫ*, *tajati* 'to melt', with *talъ* 'melting, fluid, τακερός'; further, Arm. *t'a-nam*, aor. *t'a-c'i* 'to moisten', *-c'ay* 'to get wet'; OIr. *tám* 'death, pest'. Latin has a root enlargement in *-b^h-: *tābēs* [f.] 'corruption, putrefaction', *tābēsco* 'to melt, decay', etc.

τῆλε [adv., prep.] 'in the distance, far away' (Il., epic). ◁IE *k^wel- 'far'▷

•COMP Very often as a first member, e.g. τηλε-κλειτός 'far-famed' (epic Il.), PN Τηλέ-μαχος, originally "fighting from afar" (opposite ἀγχέ-μαχος; also Arc. Τηλί-μαχος after ἀγχί-μαχος).
•DER Adverbs τηλ-οῦ, -όθι 'id.', -όθε(ν) 'from, in the distance', -όσε 'in the distance, far away'; also τηλε-δαπός 'from a far country, far off, distant' after ποδ-απός, ἀλλοδαπός, etc. (all Il., epic); unclear is τήλεμος (Theognost. *Can.*), perhaps after τῆμος, ἦμος? Comparative forms τηλο-τάτω (Od.), -τέρω (Hp., Arat.), -τερος (*AP*), τήλιστα (Orph.; nonce formation after ἄγχιστα). Further Aeol. πήλυι (-οι) [loc.] = τῆλε, τηλοῦ, with Boeot. Πειλε-στροτίδας PN.
•ETYM Harðarson *KZ* 108 (1995): 205f. proposed that it is a locative *$k^{w}\bar{e}lh_{1}$- from the root of ►πέλομαι. It is doubtful, however, that the word contained a laryngeal. For the semantics, cf. τέλος 'end, goal, etc.' from the same root.

τηλεθάω ⇒θάλλω.

τηλία [f.] 'table or board with an elevated edge', of the table of a baker, the stage on which game-cocks fight, a gaming table (com., Aeschin., Arist., pap.), also of a sieve (Ar. *Pl.* 1037, sch. σηλία); unclear Ar. V. 147 (of a flue?). Uncertain σαλ[ία] 'sieve' (*Suppl. Epigr.* 1, 414, Crete V-IV^{a}). On the mg. Chantre *RPh.* 68 (1994): 77-86. ◅PG(V)▻
•ETYM A technical expression in -ία, like σχεδία, κλισία, ἑστία, etc. In the sense of 'hoop of a sieve', τηλία and σηλία are often connected with σήθω, δια-ττάω 'sieve', but the derivation is unclear. In the meaning 'table, board', the connection with words for 'plane, surface, etc.' (Skt. *tala-* [n.] 'plane', Lat. *tellūs* 'ground') is still given by Pok. 1061, but this cannot be upheld as Greek would have a lengthened grade formation. Also, as Scheller 1951: 62ff. remarks, the special character of the table is not sufficiently accounted for in this way. Therefore, Scheller considers the meaning 'hoop of a sieve' or 'sieve' as original, and assumes a development to 'table (for gaming, baking, etc.)'. For such a technical word, substrate origin is likely, and since the variation τ/σ is typical for Pre-Greek words, we must assume such an origin.

τηλίκος [adj.] 'of such an age, this old, this young, this large' (Il., epic). ◅IE **to*-demonstrative pronoun▻
•VAR Dor. τα-.
•DER τηλικόσδε, τηλικοῦτος (after ὅδε via τηλικόν-δε, etc., οὗτος) 'id.' (Att.).
•ETYM Derived, via a suffix -κ-, from IE **teh₂li-* in Lat. *tālis* (beside OCS *tolь* 'so much', pointing to **toli-*), which is the demonstrative **tā* 'thus' (see ►το-) with a suffix *-li-*. The form seems to correspond with MInd. *tārisa-* 'such a one, of that kind', but this is derived from Skt. *tādṛ́śa-* (Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *tādṛ́ś-*). Cf. ►πηλίκος and ►ἡλίκος.

τῆλις, -εως, -ιος [f.] 'fenugreek, Trigonella' (Hp., Thphr., pap.). ◅?▻
•DER τήλ-ινος 'of fenugreek', -ον (μύρον) [n.] (Hell.); -ίνη = κύτισος (Ps.-Dsc.; Strömberg 1940: 43f.), -ίτης οἶνος (*Gp.*); on ►ἐπι-τηλίς s.v.; cf. also on ►τᾶλις.
•ETYM This plant name has no certain explanation. The older dictionaries compare Skt. *tāla-* [m.] 'wine-palm', Lat. *tālea* 'stave, cutting', OLith. *talokas* 'adult daughter,

younger girl', but such wild guesses have been abandoned in more recent days (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* and De Vaan 2008).

τηλύγετος [adj.] epithet of children of unknown mg. and origin (Il., epic). ◂GR▸
•ETYM The ancients connected both τέλος 'end' ('latecomer', sch. T on I 482) and τῆλε ('born far away', E. *IT* 829 [lyr.], Simm., H. in τηλυγέτων ἀποικιῶν· τῶν μακρὰν ἀπεχουσῶν; but τηλύγετος· ὁ τηλοῦ τῆς ἡλικίας τοῖς γονεῦσι γεγονώς, ἐπὶ γήρᾳ παῖς μονογενής). For the formation, cf. ►ἀτρύγετος and ►Ταΰγετος. Janda *Glotta* 66 (1988): 20-25 connects the second member with ►λύζω 'hiccup, swallow' as 'in der Ferne schluchzend'; not very convincing. Vine 1998: 64-66 connects λυγρός 'painful' and analyzes the word as *τηλε-λύγετος 'having mysery/pain at a distance'.

τημελέω [v.] 'to take care, watch, look after' (E., Pl. *Lg.* 953a, D. H., Plu.). ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. -ῆσαι
•DER τημέλεια [f.] 'care, attendance' (Hp. *Ep.*), -ία [f.] (sch.), τημελητής· ἐπιμελητής 'manager' (H.). With privative prefix ἀ-τημέλητος, -τως 'careless, uncared for, neglected' (A. *Ag.* 891, X.), ἀ-τημελής, -έως, -ῶς 'id.' (E. *Fr.* 184, A. R., Plu.), with ἀτημέλ-εια (Plu.), -ίη (A. R.). Backformation τημελής, -ές (H., Phot., Suid.), -έως, -ῶς (Aglaias, Max. Tyr.).
•ETYM Without a certain explanation. The semantic and formal similarity with μέλομαι gave rise to several unsuccessful attempts to connect τημελέω etymologically. Not related to Lith. *tẽmyti(s)* 'note, imprint in the memory' (a Slav. LW), Ru. *tjámit'* 'understand'. Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 564ff. suggested that τημέλεια (whence τημελέω) arose from *τηλε-μέλεια by syllabic dissimilation, orig. "to care from afar", which is semantically unconvincing.

τήμερον [adv.] 'today' (Il., Att). ◂IE **ḱi-* this'▸
•VAR Epic Ion., Hell. σήμερον; Dor. σᾱμερον.
•DER σημερινός 'present' (Call.).
•ETYM From *κι-ᾱμερον (cf. ►αὔριον), a univerbation of pronominal κ́ῐ- 'here, this' (see ►ἐκεῖ) and ἡμέρα, ἀμέρα 'day', perhaps via an adjective *κι-ᾱμερος 'belonging to this day'.

τῆμος [adv.] 'there, then, at that time' (Il., epic poet.), secondarily 'today' (A. R.), after ἦμαρ, ἡμέρα. ◂IE **teh₂-mo-* 'at the time, then'▸
•VAR Dor. τᾶμος.
•DER Nominalized τὸ τᾶμον (scil. ψᾱφισμα) 'the present decree' (Thess.); extended τημοῦτος (Hes., Call., Nic.), τημόσδε (Theoc., Call.) 'id.'.
•ETYM Like τέως < PGr. *τᾱ-ϝος, from the pronoun το-, τᾱ-, with a suffix -μ- also found in OCS *tamo* 'there', and which may be somehow related to Skt. and Hitt. *-mant-* (-μος to Skt. *-mat*, like *τᾱ-ϝος to Skt. *tā́-vat*). Beside τῆμος, τᾶμος stands the relative ἦμος, ἄμος 'as, while' (Il., epic poet., rare in Hp. and Hdt.).

τήνελλα a ritual exclamation, taken from the cult of Demeter in Paros by Archilochos, acc. to sch. Ar. *Av.* 1764, and used in a poem (τήνελλα καλλίνικε χαῖρ' ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες [*Fr.* 119]). ◂?▸

•DER Thence τήνελλα καλλίνικος 'hurray! hail!' to a victor (Ar.), and τήνελλος 'to whom one says τήνελλα' (Ar. *Eq.* 276).
•ETYM Origin unknown.

τηνίκα [adv.] 'then, at that time' (S., A. R., Theoc.). ◂IE **to-* 'there'▸
•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) τανίκα.
•DER τηνικ-αῦτα (IA), -άδε (Pl., Plb., Ph.) 'id.' (after ἐνθ-αῦτα, -άδε).
•ETYM From the demonstrative pronoun ▸το-, with the same unclear formation as ▸ἡνίκα.

τῆνος [pron.demonstr.] Doric for ἐκεῖνος (Epich., Sophr., Theoc., inscr.). ◂IE **to-* 'that'▸
•DER την-εῖ = ἐκεῖ (Epich., Theoc., Delph., etc.). -όθι 'then' (Theoc.), -ῶ (Theoc.) and -ῶθε(ν) (A. R., Theoc., *AP*) = ἐκεῖθεν; to την-εῖ (old loc.), -ῶ (abl.) Schwyzer: 549f.
•ETYM Formation like ▸ἐκεῖνος, so from *τέ-ενος or τή-ενος, from the demonstrative ▸το- (cf. τῆ).

τηρέω [v.] 'to observe, guard, watch, keep an eye on, provide' (*h. Cer.*, Thgn., Alcm., Pi., Att.). ◂?, IE? **k^{w}eh$_{1}$(-i)-* 'observe'▸
•VAR Boeot. δια-ταρέω [II^{a}] is hypercorrect; see Thumb-Scherer 17.
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. παρα-, ἐπι-, δια-, συν-.
•DER 1. τήρη-σις (παρα-, ἐπι-, δια-, συν-) [f.] 'observing, guarding, custody' (Att., Hell.), with παρατηρή-σιμος (H. on ἀποφράδας). 2. -μα (παρα-) [n.] 'observation' (D. H., A. D.). 3. -τής (παρα-, ἐπι-, τοπο-, κνισο-) [m.] 'guardian, watcher' (Hell.), -σία (only καιρο-, τοπο-) [f.] 'the observation of the right time or place' (Aristeas, late). 4. -τήριον = Lat. *servatorium* (gloss.). 5. -τρα [n.pl.] 'custodial costs' (pap. III^{p}). 6. -τικός (παρα-, ἐπι-, δια-, συν-) 'observing, keeping' (late). Also 7. ἐπιτηρ-ία [f.] 'attention, care' (Pamphyl.; from ἐπιτηρ-έω). 8. τηρός [m.] 'guardian' (A. *Supp.* 248; probably back-formation).
•ETYM Since the *hapax* τηρός is most probably a back-formation, the prehistory of τηρέω remains obscure. Relationship with Skt. *cā́yati* [v.] 'to observe, feel shame or anxiety' and OCS *čajǫ*, *-ati* 'ἐλπίζω, προσδέχομαι, προσδοκῶ' < IE **k^{w}ēi-* has been assumed, but this is unsatisfactory, as Greek shows no trace of the root-final **-i-*. On Skt. *cā́ra-* 'messenger, watcher', which was earlier wrongly identified with τηρός, see Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v. (it belongs to *car-* 'be around' = πέλομαι).

τητάομαι [v.] 'to lack, be in want, be robbed' (Hes. *Op.* 408, S., E., Pl., Arist.). ◂IE **teh$_{2}$(i)-* 'steal, rob'▸
•VAR Dor. τατ- (Pi.). Only present, especially τητώμενος [ptc.].
•DIAL Myc. *ta-ti-qo-we-u*, see Plath 1999: 511-519.
•DER Beside τήτη· ἀπορία, ἔνδεια, στέρησις 'difficulty, lack, loss'; τήτει· σπάνει 'lack' (H.) (like χήτει).
•ETYM From the root **teh$_{2}$-* 'to steal'. As τήτη (which is only attested lexically) may be a back-formation, τητάομαι is probably a verb in -τάω. However, either way we have to reckon with a nominal dental stem, as seen in OCS *tatь* [m.] 'thieve', etc. (IE **teh$_{2}$-t-i-*); see ▸τηῦσιος.

τῆτες [adv.] 'this year' (Att. com.). ◂IE **ḱi-* + **uet-es-* 'year'▸
•VAR Ion. σῆτες (*EM*), Dor. Hell. σᾶτες (Gela *PCair. Zen.* III[a]; cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 126), also τᾶτες, τῆδες, τῆτα (sch., Eust., Suid.).
•DIAL Myc. *za-we-te* /zawetes/.
•DER τητ-ινός (Luc. *Lex.*, Hdn. Gr., Phryn., Poll.), σατ-ινός (*PCair. Zen.*, *EM*) 'of this year, this year's'; also σητ-άν(ε)ιος (Ion., Hell.), σατ- (sch.), τητ- (Poll. v.l.) 'id.' (of produce of the fields; for the suffix cf. ἐπητ-ανός, κριθ-, σιτ-ανίας); to this σητ-αν-ώδης 'id.' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), σητείους· νέους 'young, recent' (H.).
•ETYM The petrified ntr. accus. of an adjective (cf. τρί-ετες), built on ϝέτος and the demonstrative **ḱi-* (see ▸ἐκεῖ). The expected form *κι-(ϝ)ετες seems to have been replaced at an early (pre-Mycenaean) date by **kiāwetes*, after the precursor of semantically related σήμερον, τήμ-, σάμ-, giving Myc. *za-we-te*, Class. σῆτες, τῆτες, τᾶτες.

τηΰσιος [adj.] 'idle, vain' (γ 316 = ο 13, *h. Ap.*, Alcm., B., A. R., Theoc.). ◂IE **teh₂-(iu-)* 'thief'▸
•VAR Dor. ταῦσιος; also ταύσιμον· μάταιον 'idle' (H.) (for -σιον?).
•ETYM An isolated poetic adjective. If it originally meant 'deceptive', it belongs to a word for 'thief' in Skt. *tāyú-*, Av. *tāiiu-*, which are derived from a primary verb preserved in Hitt. *tāi̯e/a-zi* 'to steal', OCS *tajiti*, 1sg. *tajǫ* 'to hide, conceal'. Neumann 1961: 65 connected the gloss τεγοῦν· Λυδοὶ τὸν ληστήν (H.) with this root, but it is now supposed that **i̯* would give Lyd. *d*, not γ, in this position. The suffix -σιος may have been added directly to a noun *τᾱΰς after the pattern of δημόσιος from δῆμος (cf. also synonymous ἐτώ-σιος), so an intermediate form *ταῦ-τᾱ(ς) seems unnecessary. See ▸τητάομαι.

τιάρα [f.] designation of a Persian headdress, 'tiara, turban' (Hdt., A., X.). ◂LW Orient.▸
•VAR Also τιᾶρας, Ion. τιήρης [m.], τιάρις (H.).
•COMP τιαρο-ειδής 'like a tiara' (X.), περι-τιάρα, -ριον 'round headgear' (Tz. with sch.), etc.
•ETYM Oriental foreign word of unknown origin. Rejected explanations from IE are given by Bq. Lat. LW *tiāra*, *tiārās*.

τιβήν, -ῆνος [m.] 'tripod' (Lyc., *EM*), τίβηνος· λεβης, τρίπους 'id.' (H.). ◂PG? (S, V)▸
•ETYM Fur.: 189 connects θῖβις, θίβωνος 'basket', which he derives from a Hebrew or Egyptian word. He remarks that the suffix -ην points to Anatolian origin, which may perhaps indicate that the word is Pre-Greek.

τιγγάβαρι ⇒κιννάβαρι.

τίγρις, -ιος, -ιδος [f.] 'tiger' (Arist., Thphr., middle com.). ◂LW Orient.▸
•COMP ἱππό-τιγρις 'kind of large tiger' (D. C.), τιγρο-ειδής 'tiger-colored' (D. C.).
•DER Also the HN Τίγρης, -ητος [m.] (Hdt., X., Arr., etc.), also Τίγρις, -ιος, -εως, -ιδος (Arist., Plb., Str., Plu.).
•ETYM Oriental LW, first from Iranian. Acc. to Varro (*L. L.* 5, 100), the word is Armenian, while acc. to D. P., Eust., and others, it is Median, with the original mg.

'arrow'. This means that it can be equated with Av. *tigri-* [m.] 'arrow', as well as *tiyra-*, OP *tigra-* 'pointed' (cf. Skt. *tigmá-* 'id.'), etc. (from the root of Greek ▸στίζω). On the hydronym, which is OP *tigrā*, we may compare Varro ("vehementissimum flumen") and D. P. ("ποταμὸς ὤκιστος ἁπάντων" 'the fastest river of all'). We have to reckon with folk-etymological adaptation of a foreign word to Iranian (cf. MP, Akk. *Diqlat* 'Tigris'). From Greek came Lat. *tigris*, etc.

τιθαιβώσσω [v.] epic word of agriculture, originally popular: of bees (ν 106 'to collect honey'?), of hens (Nic. *Th.* 199 'to brood, feed, tend'?), watering the field (Lyc. 622 'to make fertile, nourish'?), of a quiver (Antim. in *PMilan.* 17, 37 'to stuff, store up'?). ◂?▸

•ETYM Formation in -ώσσω, perhaps reduplicated. Fur.: 209 compares Lyc. *tideimi-* 'son, child', CLuw. *titaimma/i-* 'id.', and assumes a Pre-Greek word. This conclusion is mistaken, as the Anatolian words have a secure IE etymology: the root is **$d^{h}eh_{1}$-* 'to suck'.

τιθασός [adj.] 'tamed, domestic, cultivated, mild' (A. *Eu.* 356 [lyr.], S. *Fr.* 866, Pl., Arist.). ◂PG(S)▸

•DER τιθασ-εύω (also with ἐκ-, προ-) [v.] 'to tame, cultivate' (Pl., D., X., Arist.), with -εία [f.] 'taming' (Pl.), -ευσις [f.] 'id.' (Plu.), -εύματα [n.pl.] 'arrangements for taming' (Porph.), -ευτής [m.] (Ar.), -εύτωρ [m.] (Opp.) 'tamer, domesticator', -ευτικός [adj.] 'fit for taming, easy to tame' (Arist.); ἀ-τιθάσευτος 'untamed, wild' (Hell.), also ἀ-τίθασος 'id.' (Ph.). Backformation τιθαὶ ὄρνιθες (Arat. 960), τιθὰς ὄρνις (*AP* 9, 95).

•ETYM The word τιθασός differs from other words in -ασος in its oxytone accent and in its adjectival function (these are probably interconnected). The traditional connection of τιθασός with θῆσθαι 'suck', τιθήνη 'nurse', etc. must be rejected, not only because of the weak semantics, but also because words in -ασος generally have Pre-Greek origin.

τίθημι [v.] 'to put (away), lay (down), fix, make; to place, set up, establish, create' (Hom.). ◂IE **$d^{h}eh_{1}$-* 'put, lay down, create'▸

•VAR Aor. ἔθηκα, Boeot. ἀν-έθε̄ (doubted by Forssman *MSS* 23 (1968): 7ff. but now found in two Phocian dedications, see Jacquemin, *BCH Supp.* IX (1984) 764 [p. 150] and 769 [p. 152]); plur. ἔθεμεν, fut. θήσω (all Il.), aor. pass. ἐτέθην (Att.), perf. τέθηκα, -εικα, med. -ειμαι (IA, Hell.).

•COMP Frequently with one or two prefixes in different mgs., e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-, προ-, προσ-, ὑπο-.

•DER Many derivatives are treated under separate entries: ▸θέσις, ▸θεσμός, ▸θέμις, ▸θέμεθλα, ▸θεμέρη, ▸θήκη, ▸θωή, ▸θωμός. Further derivatives are: 1. θῆμα [n.], almost only from prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάθη-μα [n.] 'sth. positioned, votive offering' (Od.), with -ματικός (Plb.). 2. θέμα (with zero grade) [n.] 'proposition, input, theme, etc.' (Arist., Hell.), with θεμι-άτιον, -ατικός, -ατίτης, -ατίζω, -ατισμός; ἀνά-, ἐπί-θεμα, etc. from ἀνα-, ἐπι-τίθημι, etc. 3. θημιών, -ῶνος [m.] 'pile' (ε 368, Arist., Opp.), θημιων-ιά [f.] 'id.' (LXX et al.). 4. θέ-της [m.], as a simplex only in Is. 10, 24 'who pawns' and Pl. *Cra.* 389d (nonce formation), especially frequent in univerbations,

e.g. ἀγωνο-θέ-της (: ἀγῶνα θεῖναι) 'arbiter at a contest' (IA), with -θέτις, -θετικός, -θετέω, -θεσία. 5. θετήρ· τολμητής, πράκτης 'who wages' (H.), διαθε-τήρ 'arranger' (Pl. *Lg.*, Them.); διαθέ-της Hdt. et al., ἀγωνο-θε-τήρ = -της (verse-inscr. Catana). 6. θετός 'adopted' (Pi., IA); often of the prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπίθε-τος 'added, artificial' (Att.); θητόν· βωμόν 'step, base, altar' (H.). 7. θετικός (to θέσις) 'belonging to a θέσις, i.e. concerning adoption, disputation, etc.' (Arist., Hell.); συνθε-τικός (to σύνθεσις), etc. 8. -θε-σίαι, -ία in συν-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-θεσία(ι) 'agreement, assignment, etc.' (Il.).

•ETYM This important inherited verb was inherited from the PIE root *d^heh_1-, which assumes a wide range of meanings: 'put, lay down, make, create, etc.'. The following survey is limited to forms and words that are directly relevant for Greek. The active root aorist in Boeot. ἀν-έθε̄ corresponds to Skt. *ádhāt*, OP *adā*, Arm. *ed*, IE *h_1e-d^heh_1-t*. The κ-aorist θῆκε (Hom.) is also found in OLat. *fēced*, perhaps already Myc. *te-ke* (meaning uncertain), from IE *d^heh_1-k-et*. The middle root aorist ἔθετο is matched by Skt. *adhita*, from IE *h_1e-d^hh_1-to*. The reduplicated athematic present τίθημι is found in Skt. *dádhāmi*, Av. *daδąmi* < IE *$d^hí$-d^heh_1-mi*, etc., where the Greek reduplication vocalism is probably older (IIr. may have taken its *dá-* from the 3pl.). The verbal adj. θετός is formally identical with Skt. *hitá-* (for **dhitá-*) 'put, designated, fit, etc.', as well as with Lat. *fēced* from IE *(-)d^hh_1-tó-*; the gloss θητόν [acc.sg.] is formally identical with Av. OP *dāta-* [n.] 'law', Lith. *dẽtas* 'put'. Greek θῆμα formally corresponds to Skt. *dhā́man-* [n.] 'seat, place, statute, law, etc.', Av. *dāman-* [n.] 'place, creation', IE *d^heh_1-mn̥*; θετήρ, to Skt. *dhātár-*, Av. *dātar-* [m.] 'contriver, creator', Lat. *con-ditor* 'contriver, founder'. The perfect τέθη-κ-α is a Greek innovation (like ἕστηκα), in opposition to Av. *daδa*, Skt. *dadháu*. The forms τέθεικα, τέθειμαι were created analogically after εἶκα, εἶμαι. Details on the Greek morphology and inflection are found in Schwyzer: 686ff., 741, 761f., 774f., and 782. Cf. further forms with comments in LIV² s.v. *d^heh_1- 'stellen, legen, setzen; herstellen, machen'.

τιθήνη [f.] 'wet nurse' (Il., Pi., S. [lyr.], also Pl., Arist.). ◂IE *d^heh_1- 'suck'▸

•VAR Dor. (Pi.) -ᾱ.

•DER τιθην-έομαι (sometimes with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, συν-εκ-, rarely -έω) [v.med.] 'to be wet nurse, suckle; to raise, foster' (*h. Cer.*, Thgn., S. [lyr.], also Hp., X., LXX), also -εύομαι (H.), with -ησις, -ημα, -ητήρ, -ητήριος (Pl., E., Thphr., *AP*), -ίαι, -εῖαι [f.pl.] (LXX, Opp.), -ευτῆρες (conj. orac. Sibyll.). Innovated aorist ἐτιθήνατο (Luc. *Trag.* 94), as if from *τιθαίνομαι. τιθηνός [m.] 'foster father' (LXX, Nic., Plu.), also adj. 'fostering, feeding' (E., Lyc.). Short forms with expressive gemination: τίττθη [f.] 'wet nurse' (Ar., Pl., Thphr.), also 'mother's breast' (Arist.), with τιτθεύω (ἐκ-) [v.] 'to suckle, give the breast' (D., Arist.), -εία [f.] (D., Sor.); τιτθός [m.] 'mother's breast', also of the breast of the man (Hp., Att.), with -ίον, -ίδιον (com.), -ίζομαι (Aq.).

•ETYM Reduplicated formation of children's language, derived from the middle aorist θῆσθαι 'to suck'. For the suffix -ν-, cf. γαλαθηνός (see ▸γάλα).

τιθύμαλλος [m.] 'milkweed, Euphorbia Peplus' (com., Thphr., Dsc.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Plur. also -α (*AP*).

•DER -ίς [f.] designation of several plants (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.); see Strömberg 1940: 19.

•ETYM Probably a reduplicated fomation; cf. θυμελαία. As all words in -αλλος are Pre-Greek (see Beekes 2008: 49ff.), the same holds for this one.

Τιθωνός [m.] Son of Laomedon, abducted by Eos (Il., Hes., et al.). ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Fur.: 191 compares τιτώ = ἡμέρα (sch. Lyc. 941), also = ἠώς, ἢ αὔριον (H.); because of the variation τ/ θ, the word is Pre-Greek.

τίκτω [v.] 'to beget; to produce, generate, cause' (Hom.). ◂IE *teḱ- 'produce'▸

•VAR Aor. τεκεῖν, τεκέσθαι, fut. τέξω, often (and more original) -ομαι [med.] (all Hom.), inf. τεκεῖσθαι (*h. Ven.* 127, verse-final), perf. τέτοκα (Hes.), intr. ἐντετοκυῖα (Ar.), pass. aor. τεχθῆναι (Hp., LXX), perf. τέτεγμαι (late).

•COMP Also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, etc.

•DER 1. τέκος [n.] 'child, cub' (Il., epic poet.). 2. τόκος [m.] 'bearing, birth, offspring' (Il.), 'interest' (Pi., Sophr., Att.), with several derivatives: 3. τοκάς [f.] 'female giving birth', mostly of animals (since ξ 16). 4. τοκίς [f.] 'id.' (Hell. pap.). 5. τοκαδεία [f.] 'poultry farming', to *τοκαδεύω (pap.). 6. τοκαρίδιον· *usurula* (gloss.). 7. Lat. *tocullio* 'usurer' from Hell. *τοκυλλίων or *τὰ τοκύλλια (Leumann *Sprache* 1 (1949): 207). 8. τοκήεσσα [f.] 'woman giving birth, fertile' (Hp.). 9. τοκεῖον [n.] 'hatchery' (Hell. pap.). 10. τοκ-εῖς (epic -ῆες) [m.pl.] 'parents' (Il.), sing. -εύς 'begetter, father' (Hes., A.). 11. τοκεῶνες [pl.] 'id.' (Heraclit. 74), cf. West *Class. Rev.* 81 (1967): 127f.). 12. τοκετός [m.] = τόκος (Hp., Arist.), cf. παγετός to πάγος et al. 13. τοκίζω (also with ἐκ-, etc.) [v.] 'to lend with interest, practise usury' (Att., Hell.), with -ισμός, -ιστής, -ίστρια. 14. τοκάω [v.] 'to be close to delivery' (Cratin.). 15. From the present stem τικτικόν (φάρμακον) [n.] 'drug for women giving birth' (Ar. *Fr.* 872). 16. ▸ἐπίτεξ [f.] 'before delivery, near delivery'; after it καλλί-τεξ = καλλί-τεκνος (Hp. *Epin.*). --17. As a second member in several univerbations, e.g. μονο-τόκος 'giving birth to one cub' beside εὔ-τοκος 'having an easy birth, giving birth easily' (Arist.) wiht μονο-, εὐ-τοκέω, -ία, etc. On ▸τέκνον, see s.v.

•ETYM Belongs to the old root *teḱ- 'to produce', which appears in reduplicated form in *te-tḱ- (Skt. 3sg. *tāṣṭi* 'fashions', 3pl. *takṣati*, etc.). Apparently, Greek is the only language that kept the root in its simple form.

τίλλω [v.] 'to pluck, tear, pick' (Il.; rare in Att. prose). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. τῖλαι, -ασθαι, fut. τιλῶ, -οῦμαι (com., etc.), aor. pass. τιλθῆναι (Ar.), τιλῆναι (LXX, pap.), perf. med. τέτιλμαι, especially the ptc. τετιλμένος (Ar., LXX), act. τέτιλκα (Hell.).

•COMP Also with παρα-, ἀπο-, περι-, etc. As a second member in νάκο-τιλτος 'whose fleece has been plucked, from whom the wool has been plucked off', also -τίλτης, -τιλτέω (com.); to this, as back-formations, the verbs θρυο-τίλλω 'to pluck bulrush', ὁλο-τίλλω 'to pluck entirely' (only ptc. pres., account *PLond.* I^{p}).

•DER 1. τιλμός (ἀπο-, παρα-) [m.] 'plucking' (A. [lyr.], Hp., Men., pap.). 2. τίλμα (ἀπό-, διά-) [n.] 'something plucked, something torn, sprains' (medic., Herod., Theoc.), with -μάτιον (medic.). 3. τίλσις [f.] 'plucking' (Arist., pap.). 4. τίλτρον [n.] 'plucking fee' (late pap.). 5. παρατίλ-τρια [f.] 'plucker', designation of a female slave (Cratin., Philostr.). Backformations τίλοι [m.pl.] 'the fine hairs of the eyebrows' (Poll.), τιλλά· πτερά 'wings' (H.) (leg. πτίλα?).

•ETYM A verb τίλλω (from *τιλ-ιω) cannot be an old primary formation. If not a loan, it must be a denominative from *τίλος, *τίλον, vel sim. There are no cognates outside Greek. Frisk suggests a pre-form *πτίλλω, which would belong to πτίλον, via dissimilation in the compounded forms παρα-, περι-, ἀπο-(π)τίλλω.

τῖλος [m.] 'thin stool, diarrhoea' (Sophr., Poll.). ◁?▷
•COMP ἱππό-τιλος 'horse diarrhoea' (*Hippiatr.*).
•DER τιλάω (often with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐν-, προσ-, ἀπο-) [v.] 'to have a thin stool, to have diarrhoea' (Ar., Hippon., *Hippiatr.*), with τίλημα [n.] (*EM*). Here probably also τίλων, -ωνος [m.] name of a fish in the Thracian Sea Prasias (Hdt., Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 61f.; cf. also ὀπισθυ-τίλη, Boeot. ὀπιτθο-τίλα [f.] 'squid' (Stratt., H.), perhaps after ▶σπατίλη.
•ETYM No etymology. The comparisons with Arm. *t'rik'* 'mist, dung', if from **tiHr-*, OE *þīnan* 'be(come) wet, moist', OCS *tina*, Ru. *tína* 'mud, dirt' < **tiHn-*, etc. remain speculative, since there is no evidence for a root **tiH-* or **tH-i-* in this meaning. The same holds for the connection within Greek with ▶τῖφος. The word ▶τήκω is not related, either.

τίλφη ⇒σίλφη.

τῖμή [f.] 'estimate, price, value, honor, honorary office' (Il.) 'compensation, penalty, retribution' (Hom.). ◁IE **k*^{w}*ei-*▷
•VAR Dor. -ά.
•COMP Many compounds, e.g. ▶τιμωρός, ἄ-τιμος 'honorless, rightless, despised' (Il.), seldom 'without compensation' (π 431), 'unpunished, unavenged' (A., Pl.), with ἀτιμ-ία, -ίη [f.] 'dishonor, defilement' (since ν 142), -άω [v.] 'to dishonor, disdain' (Il., epic poet., also epic prose), -άζω (Il.), -ωθῆναι, -ῶσαι, -όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to dishonor, ostracize' (IA), to which ἀτίμ-ητος, ἀτιμ-αστήρ, -ωσις, etc.
•DER 1. τίμ-ιος [adj.] 'appreciated, honored, valuable, precious' (since κ 38), with -ιότης, -ιόομαι; as a first member in τιμι-ώρα [f.] 'expensive time, high prices' (Hell. and late inscr. and pap.). 2. -ήεις (epic -ῆς, Dor. -άεις, Pamph. -ᾱϝεσα [f.]) [adj.] 'appreciated, honored' (Hom., Pi.). 3. -αῖος 'highly appreciated' (Diocl. Com.), PN Τίμαιος. 4. -ίλος 'honorable' (Cypr.). 5. -ίδαι [m.pl.] 'judges of the games' (Arc.-Cypr.). 6. Denominative verb τιμάω (often with ἐπι-, προ-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, ἐκ-, etc.) [v.] 'to estimate, appreciate, honor, appraise' (Il.), with τίμ-ημα, -ησις, Dor. -ασις, Arc. -ασία (Chantraine 1933: 84), -ητής, Boeot. -ατάς, -ητήρ, -ητήριος, -ητικός, -ητεύω, -ητεία; from the prefixed verbs e.g. ἐπιτίμ-ησις [f.] 'blame, reproach', -ημα -ητής, etc. From τιμάω (and from τίμιος?) the back-formation τῖμος [m.] 'value, price' (Archil., Herod., A., *Com. Adesp.*, late prose), with τιμοῦς (< -όεις) in τιμοῦντας· τιμίους ὄντας 'ones who are valued' (H.), τιμούστερος (Olbia III^{a}); τετίμωνται (Elis) from τιμόω, which may be explained as a denominative from τῖμος, but also as analogous to ἀτιμόω. Further many PNs, e.g. Τιμα-, Τιμη-, Τιμο-, Τιμησι-κράτης, Ἐργό-τιμος, Τίμαιος, Τίμων, etc.
•ETYM See ▶τίω.

τιμωρός [adj.] 'protecting, protector, avenging, avenger' (Hdt., Att.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Dor. τιμάορος (Pi., trag.), Hell. epic τιμήορος (A. R.).
•DER τιμωρ-ία, -ίη, -έω, -έομαι, -ησις, -ημα, -ητής, -ητήρ, -ητικός, -ίζομαι.
•ETYM Originally "preserving or guarding τιμή", from *τιμα-ϝορ-ος, a univerbation of ►τιμή and ►ὁράω.

τινάσσω [v.] 'to sway, shake, quake' (Il., epic Ion. and Aeol. poet.). ◄?►
•VAR Aor. τιν-άξαι, -αχθῆναι, fut. -άξω, perf. med. τετί-ναγμαι.
•COMP Also with ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀπο-, δια-, etc.
•DER τιναγ-μός (ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀνα-) [m.] 'shaking, quaking' (LXX, Hell. and late pap.), also -μα (ἀπο-, ἐν-) [n.] 'shake' (LXX, *AP*), τινάκ-τωρ [m.] 'shaker', of Poseidon (S. [lyr.], Nonn.), -τειρα [f.] of the trident of Poseidon (A. *Pr.* 924); ἐκτιναγμός also '(suddenly) departing, sale of a product' (pap.); cf. ἐκτινάξαι· ἀποκινῆσαι 'drive away' (H.) and ἀποκινεῖν· τὸ ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ ἀποτρέχειν 'run away' Suid. Also -ακτρον [n.] 'winnowing fan' (pap. III^{p}), -αξις [f.] 'pushing away' (Heph. Astr., *EM*).
•ETYM Without a certain explanation. Acc. to an old hypothesis by Fick, τινάξαι, -ξω may have been dissimilated from *κινάξαι, -ξω (from ►κῑνέω, κίνυμαι), from which τινάσσω (after πατάσσω, ἀράσσω, etc.) was later created.

τινθαλέος [adj.] 'boiling hot' (Nic., Nonn.). ◄PG?(V)►
•COMP δια-τινθαλέος 'id.' (Ar. *V.* 329; cf. διά-θερμος).
•ETYM Formation from ►τινθός after αὐαλέος, etc. The meaning of ►τινθός is unclear: perhaps 'hot steam', of a kettle (Lyc. 36)? It has been compared with τιντόν· ἑφθόν 'boiled' (H., but alphabetically incorrect). The variation τ/θ in the gloss (if it is reliable) points to a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 191).

τινθυρίζω [v.] 'to twitter' (Call.). ◄PG?(S)►
•ETYM Onomatopoeic; cf. τιτίζω (s.v. ►τιτιγόνιον) and ►ψιθυρίζω. The prenasalized consonant and perhaps the suffix -υρ- may point to a Pre-Greek word.

τίνω [v.] act. 'to pay, settle, atone', med. 'to make (oneself) pay or atone, punish, avenge'. ◄IE *$k^{w}ei$- 'punish, avenge'►
•VAR Ion. ῑ, Att. ῐ; also τείνυμαι (Hom., Hes., Hdt.), Cret. ipv. ἀπο-τεινύτω (V^{a}), Hell. and late (ἀπο-)τείνυμι, -τίννυμι, -τιννύω, Arc. ἀπυ-τειέτω; aor. τεῖσαι (Aeol. πεῖσαι), -ασθαι, fut. τείσω (Cypr. πείσει), -ομαι (Hom.), aor. pass. τεισθῆναι, perf. τέτεισμαι (Att.), act. τέτεικα (Hell.).
•DIAL Myc. ptc. med. *qe-ja-me-no* /$k^{w}ei^{h}$ameno-/ (interpreted as a sigmatic aorist by LIV^{2}, as opposed to Lejeune 1958-1963: 305-6, 300^{55} and DELG s.v.).
•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο- and ἐκ- (also προσ-απο-, προσ-εκ-, etc.).
•DER τίσις [f.] 'payment, compensation, penitence, punishment, revenge' (Il., epic Ion. poet.); from ἐκτίνω: ἔκτισις (also -ει- after τεῖσαι, τείσω), Arc. ἔστεισις [f.] 'payment, atonement' (Att. Hell. and late), ἔκτεισμα [n.] 'id.' (Pl., Hell.); from ἀποτίνω: ἀπότισις [f.] 'repayment' (Ath.), ἀπότεισμα [n.] 'id.' (Amorgos). Also τιτυς in τιτυϝος [gen.] 'amends' (Gortyn); τίτας [m.] 'avenger, avenging' (A. *Ch.* 67 [lyr.]), Dor. for *τί-τής; also designation of an official (Gortyn), τίται· εὔποροι, ἢ κατήγοροι τῶν ἀρχόντων 'resourceful; accusers/prosecutors of rulers' (H.); also ἀ-τίτας 'non-payer' (A. *Eu.* 256 [lyr.]).

•ETYM The difference between the Ion. and Att. presents shows that τίνω goes back to a thematicized nasal present *τινϝω. Dialectally and in Homer, Greek preserves the athematic formation τείνυμαι (mostly written τῖν(ν)-; see Wackernagel 1916: 77ff. with important details), which has a secondary full grade replacing *τῖνυμαι (perhaps after aor. τείσασθαι, fut. τείσομαι); Arc. ἄπυ-τειέτω was also built on the latter forms. Later attestations are τεισθῆναι, τέτεισμαι, τέτεικα (all innovations). Regarding cognates of the Greek verb, it is now customary to distinguish three roots *$k^{w}ei$-: 1. 'to observe' (whence probably Gr. ►τίω), 2. 'to gather, pile up' (whence perhaps Gr. ►ποιέω), and 3. 'to punish, avenge' (see LIV²). The original Greek *nu*-present *τίνυται has a formal counterpart in Av. *cinuuaṇt-* [ptc.pres.act.] 'penitent (?)' < *$k^{w}i$-*nu*-*ent*-. Others connect *$k^{w}ei$- 1. and 3., assuming a semantic development 'to observe, *animadvertere*' > 'to avenge, punish'. This allows comparison of Skt. thematic *cáyate* 'avenge, punish' (which would be Gr. *τείεται = IE *$k^{w}ei$-*e*-*toi*; cf. Arc. ἄπυ-τειέτω [act.]), to which the act. Av. *ci-kaiiaṯ* 'should pay/mend, ἀποτεινύτω' (with reduplication; cf. Skt. *cikéti* 'observes') is related. In Anatolian, we may now compare Lyc. A *ttiti*, B *kikiti* 'to fine'. More cognate Avestan forms are given by LIV² s.v. The *ti*-stem in τίσις is compared with Skt. *ápa-citi-* [f.] 'requittal', IE *(-)$k^{w}i$-*ti*-. Within Greek, the *o*-grade h_2-stem ►ποινή 'penalty' is related, corresponding to Lith. *káina* 'price', and found in Av. *kaēnā-* 'punishment', IE *$k^{w}oi$-nh_2-.

τίπτε [adv.] 'why then?' (Hom., A. *Ag.* 975 [lyr.]). ◄GR►

•ETYM Various explanations have been given throughout time. Szemerényi assumed syncope from τί ποτε (Szemerényi 1964: 218f.); Kretschmer compared τίπτε with Lat. *mihī-pte*, *suā-pte*, etc.; others equated *τιτ-πε and Lat. *quippe* (e.g. Schwyzer: 266). Recently, Lillo *Glotta* 70 (1992): 15-19 brilliantly solved the problem by arguing that the word represents *$k^{w}id$-$k^{w}e$ (thus an older variant of τί τε), giving *$k^{w}itk^{w}e$ > *$k^{w}ik^{w}te$ > τίπτε.

τίς [pron.] 'who, which, what?'. ◄IE *$k^{w}i$- interrogative and indefinite pronoun►

•VAR Ntr. τί, gen. τέο (Ion.), τοῦ (Att.), younger τίνος; dat. τέωι, τῶι, τίνι; acc. τίνα, etc.

•DIAL Thess. κις, Arc. and Cypr. σις, El. and later Lac. τιρ. Myc. displays the old labiovelar in *jo-qi* = later ὅτ(τ)ι.

•DER Enclitic τις, τι, etc.: indefinite pronoun 'some(one), whoever, etc.'.

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *quis*, *quid*, Hitt. *kuiš*, *kuit*, etc., from IE *$k^{w}i$-*s*, ntr. *$k^{w}i$-*d*. The gen. τέο corresponds to OCS *česo*, Go. *hvis* 'whose', from IE *$k^{w}e$-*so*. Av. *cahiiā* received the nominal ending *-*si̯o*. In Greek, the dat. τέωι, τῶι was formed after τέο, τοῦ. The accus. τίνα added the ending -α to older *τίν (= Hitt. *kuin*, Av. *cim*, etc.), just like ἕν-α, Ζῆνα, etc. From this point, the forms τίν-ος, τίν-ι, etc. with stem-final -ν- spread (already Hom.). The old ntr.plur. *$k^{w}ih_2$ is found in ἄ-σσα, ἄ-ττα (= ἄ-τινα), and in ἄσσα, ἄττα. It arose by reanalysis of ὁπποῖἄ σσα as ὁποῖ' ἄσσα, etc. As an independent element, it was preserved in Boeot. ►τᾰ́, Megar. σᾰ́ 'why, how?'.

τιταίνω ⇒τείνω.

τίτανος [f.] 'chalk, plaster, crayon, marble-scrapings' (Hes. *Sc.* 141, Arist., Str., medic.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR In H.: τίτανος and τέτανος· κονία, χρίσμα, ἄσβεστος 'dust, plaster, unslaked lime'.

•DER τίτανις [f.] (medic.); τιτανωτὴ χρόα· γυψωτὴ ἢ λευκόχροος 'of pale complexion', τιτανωμένας· γεγυψωμένας 'rubbed with chalk' (H.).

•ETYM Like most expressions for 'chalk', the word must be a loan. A different hypothesis is offered by Reichelt *IF* 40 (1922): 47, who connects Skt. *śvitná-* 'whitish', as well as the TN Τιτάνη, Aeol. Lac. Πιτάνη, and (with different anlaut) κίττανος· ἡ κονιακὴ τίτανος (H.) (assuming a cross with κόνις?). However, given the variation ε/ι, the word is probably Pre-Greek.

τίτθη •VAR τιτθός. ⇒τιθήνη.

τιτιγόνιον [n.] name of an insect, like the τέττιξ (Epil. Com., Paus. Gr., *EM*, Eust.). ◂?▸

•DER Backformation τιτίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a small bird, also 'vagina' (Phot.). Besides the birdnames τίτυρος, τιτύρας (H.).

•ETYM Presupposes *τιτιγών (cf. τρυγών, χελιδών, ἀηδών, which all have by-forms in -όνιον). Zenodotus read τετριγῶτας (B 314) as τῑτίζοντας, assuming an onomatopoeic verb τῑτίζω 'chirp'.

τίτλος [m.] 'title, inscription' (NT, Lyd.), 'tattoo' (sch. Hermog.). ◂LW Lat.▸

•VAR Also [f.].

•ETYM A loan from Lat. *titulus*.

τιτρώσκω [v.] 'to wound, harm, damage' (IA). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also τρώω (φ 293); aor. τρῶσαι, fut. τρώσω (Il.), pass. aor. τρωθῆναι, perf. τέτρωμαι (Pi., IA), act. τέτρωκα (late).

•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. κατα-, ἐκ-, the last in the sense of 'to have a miscarriage', with the athematic root aorist ἐξέτρω· ἐξεβλάβη, ἐξεκόπη ἡ κύησις 'the conception is terminated' (*EM*), subj. ἐκτρῷ.

•DER 1. τρῶ-σις [f.] 'wound' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Plu.). 2. -σμός [m.] 'miscarriage' (Hp., Dsc.). 3. -μα (Ion., Dor. [Theoc. 21, 50]), Att. τραῦμα [n.] 'wound, damage, leak (on ships), setback, defeat', with diminutive -μάτιον, -ματίας, -ίης [m.] 'wounded, injured' (Pi., IA), -ματικός 'belonging to injuries' (Dsc.), -ματιαῖος 'wounded' (pap.), -ματίζω 'to wound' (IA), -ματισμός [m.] (Ruf.). 4. -τός 'vulnerable' (Φ 568). To this, semantically independent, ἔκτρω-μα, -σις, -σμός 'miscarriage' (Hp., Arist.), with -ωτικός (Plu.), -ματικός, -ματιαῖος, -ματισμός (gloss.).

•ETYM Because of the -υ- in Att. τραῦμα, τρω- used to be explained as from a long diphthong τρωυ-, and connected with ▸τέρυς. Alternatively, Att. τραῦμα has been considered an innovation after θραῦμα, θραύω. In this case, τιτρώσκω should be derived from a root *$terh_3$- (cf. LIV² s.v.). It rather seems, however, that influence of θραῦμα is most improbable. Moreover, introduction of vocalism -αυ- in a root τρω- would be incomprehensible. We have to start from a root τρω-/ τραυ-, which cannot be explained in IE terms. In Pre-Greek, however, a variation αυ/ ω is found: see Fur.:

237, 242, 301[32], 387 (κασαύρα, -άς / κασωρίς; σαῦσαξ / σώσικες; τραύξανα / τρώξανον, as well as ►θαῦμα/ θῶμα). This means that the word is Pre-Greek; the connection with Skt. *turá-* 'wound, ill' should then be discarded, and connection with **teru-* (►τέρυς) 'soft, weak' is semantically unconvincing. Peters 1980b: 328ff. tries to revive Martinet's theory of labialized **h*$_3$, but this theory is now generally rejected. The root **terh*$_3$- in LIV[2] should therefore be deleted. For **terh*$_1$- 'to pierce', see ►τείρω, ►τετραίνω, ►τεράμων, ►τέρετρον, etc.

τιτ(τ)υβίζω [v.] 'to twitter', said of swallows and other birds (Ar., Babr.), 'to cluck', said of partridges (Thphr. *Fr.* 181). ◄ONOM►
•COMP Also with ἀμφι-.
•ETYM An onomatopoeic word, like Skt. *tittirá-* 'partridge', *ṭiṭ(ṭ)ibha-* bird name 'Parra jacana', Lith. *titìlvis* 'sanderling', *tilvìkas* 'snipe, sanderling, (German) Brachhuhn'. These words are similar, but independent formations.

τίτυρος [m.] 'he-goat' (sch. Theoc. 3, 2; -ίς Phot.), 'bell-wether' (Dor.; Serv. ad Verg. *E. Prooem.*), = Σάτυρος (Ael.), but Τίτυροι are distinguished from Σάτυροι and Σιληνοι (Str. 10, 3, 15); also designation of a short-tailed ape (Thphr.; cf. ►σάτυρος); name of a shepherd (Theoc., Verg.), father of the poet Ἐπίχαρμος (Suid.), Τιτυρεία γυνά (Larissa III[a]). Also glossed as κάλαμος 'reed, etc.' (H.). ◄PG?(V)►
•VAR Also τῑ- (metrical lengthening?).
•DER τιτύρ-ινος (αὐλός) 'shepherd's whistle' (Ath., H.); -ιστής [m.] 'whistler' (App.), after κιθαριστής, etc. On τίτυρος = ὄρνις 'bird' see ►τιτιγόνιον.
•ETYM Fur.: 184 compares διθύρ-αμβος, which would contain a variant of τιτυρ- with a Pre-Greek suffix -αμβος. Previous proposals include connection with ►σάτυρος, from IE **tū-* 'swell' (LIV[2] s.v. **teuh*$_2$-), by Solmsen *IF* 30 (1912): 32ff. This is rejected by Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 158ff., who considers both words to be loans from Asia Minor. Deroy *Par. del pass.* 17 (1962): 421ff. connects -τυρος with ταῦρος 'bull' (which would also stem from Asia Minor). See ►δῑθύραμβος.

τιτύσκομαι [v.] 1. 'to aim' with weapons, etc.; also mentally 'to aim at, strive for' (Hom., Theoc., *AP*); 2. 'to make ready, prepare, harness' (Il.), in this mg. post-Hom. -ύσκω (B., Arat., Lyc., etc.). ◄IE **d*^{h}*eug*^{h}- 'hit the mark, meet'►
•VAR Only present and imperfect.
•DER Also τετύσκετο· κατεσκευάζετο 'prepared', τετύσκων· ἐμφανίζων 'manifesting' (H.) (cf. also τετυκεῖν, -έσθαι s.v. ►τεύχω).
•ETYM Reduplicated σκ-present from ►τεύχω, ►τυγχάνω, from *τι-τυχ-σκομαι (or τι-τυκ-?). On the use in Hom., see Trümpy 1950: 110f.

τιτώ ⇒Τιτᾶνες.

τίφη [f.] 1. 'close-grained wheat, einkorn, Triticum monococcum' (Arist., Thphr., etc.). 2. name of an insect = σίλφη, τίλφη (Poll., Phryn., Ael.). 3. mg. unclear in Ar. (*Ach.* 920, 925), acc. to sch. Rav. ad loc. and Suid. s.v. θρυαλλίς = σίλφη. ◄1. ? 2. PG? 3. ?►
•DER τίφινος [adj.] 'belonging to the einkorn' (Gal., Orib.).
•ETYM 1. and 3. unknown. On 2., see Fur.: 167, 249, 261: Pre-Greek assibilation, thus from **tʲ*. Further related to Lat. *delpa*.

τῖφος [n.] 'soggy place, marsh, pond' (Theoc., A. R., Lyc.). ◂?▸
•DER τιφώδης 'soggy' (Str.), τίφια ὄρνεα· τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι γινόμενα 'which are born in the marsh-meadows' (H.).
•ETYM Frisk and others analyze it as τῖ-φος (gender like in ἕλος, τέναγος), and connect τῖ-λος, τή-κω with a labial suffix, comparing Lat. *tābēs*. This is phonetically impossible, and the etymology simply remains unknown. See ▸τῖλος.

τίφυον [n.] 'Scilla autumnalis, squill' (Thphr.). ◂PG(V)▸
•ETYM The variation in τίφυον / ▸ἴφυον points to Pre-Greek origin (Fur.: 391).

τίω [v.] 'to honor, estimate, appreciate' (Il., epic poet.). ◂IE *k^weh_1-i- 'observe, hold back, honor'▸
•VAR The epic interchange ῑ̄/ ῐ is metrically conditioned; later only τῑ́ω. Aor. τῖσαι, fut. *τίσω*, perf. ptc. pass. τετιμένος.
•COMP
Rarely with προ-, περι-.
πολύ-τῑ-τος 'highly honored' (Orac. *apud* Hdt. 5, 92), ἀ-τί-ετος 'unhonored' (A. [lyr.]), 'not honoring' (E. [lyr.]), also ἀ-τίει (Thgn. 621), perhaps nonce formation opposed to preceding τίει; after this ἀτίουσι (Orph. *L.* 52). On ▸ἀτίζει, see s.v.
•DER On ▸τῖμή, see s.v.
•ETYM The connection with τίνω 'to punish' depends on the reconstruction of the root of τίω. On the basis of Slavic material cognate with τίω (OCS *čajati* 'to expect, hope for', SCr. *čȁjati* 'to wait'), Derksen 2008 opts for a reconstruction *k^weh_1i-, with internal laryngeal. The same would work well for OCS *kajati sę* 'to repent', in spite of semantic doubts by Derksen 2008 s.v. The Skt. verb 3pl. act. *cā́yanti*, ptc. med. *cā́yamāna-* (RV) 'to observe, honor', *cāyú-* [adj.] 'showing reverence', etc. are also easily explained from a root *k^weh_1i-, whereas a reconstruction without laryngeal would force one to assume a so-called Narten present for PIE, a type for which most evidence has now disappeared. If we look at Greek, the alternation between ῑ and ῐ in Homer could also be explained by an alternation *k^weh_1ie/o- / *k^wh_1ie/o- (note that -τῖτος is long as well, which could be from a metathesized *k^wh_1i-*to*-), where the latter form would give τίε/ο-, while in the former, **tēje/o-* may have been replaced by τῖε/ο-. Moreover, τῖμή is best explained as from a root with laryngeal, instead of assuming a suffix *-*smeh*$_2$-. The root formed an *i*-present *k^weh_1i-, and a vestige of the old root *k^weh_1- may be found in Gr. ▸τηρέω.
For the shift meaning in Greek, Lat. *observāre* 'to observe, honor, etc.' has been compared.

τλήμων •VAR τλῆναι. ⇒ταλάσσαι.

τμήγω [v.] 'to cut, cleave, divide' (Il., epic). ◂GR▸
•VAR Aor. τμῆξαι, -ασθαι; Aeol. τμᾶξαι (Pi., Balb.), fut. τμήξω, them. aor. διέτμᾰγον [1sg.] (η 276), pass. (δι-)τμάγεν [3pl.] (Hom.), Hell. and late τμηγῆναι.
•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, δια-.

•DER ἀπο-τμήξ, -ῆγος [adj.] 'cut off, steep' (σκοπιή, A. R. 2, 581; cf. ἀπορρώξ); also -τμηξις [f.] 'cutting off' (late), τμῆγος· … βούτμημα 'furrow'; also τμήγας· γατόμος, ἀροτήρ 'cleaving the ground, plougher' (H.).

•ETYM Enlargement of τμι- in τμη-τός, -θῆναι, etc. (from ►τέμνω), after several models. The short vowel in τμάγεν (to ἐτμάγην) recalls ἐρράγην, ἐάγην. Perhaps this was the origin of the *hapax* διέτμαγον. Further, τμῆξαι, τμήξω were built on ῥῆξαι, ῥήξω, etc.; see Chantraine 1942: 392 and 400. Güntert 1914: 132 supposes a cross with θήγω (θάγω) 'to whet'; Chantraine 1942: 330 attempts to find a semantic differentiation from ►τέμνω. The Doric forms with τμᾶ must be secondary; see the discussion in DELG s.v.

το- [pron.] 'this, that; the' (Hom., epic poet., Dor.). ◄IE **to-*, **teh₂-* 'the, that'►

•VAR In acc. τόν, fem. τήν (Dor. τάν), ntr. nom.acc. τό, plur. nom. τοί, fem. ταί, ntr. nom.acc. τά, etc.

•ETYM Inherited demonstrative pronoun, used in post-Homeric Greek as the article, and in Homer as a demonstrative and anaphoric pronoun. Ionic-Attic replaced the old nom. τοί, ταί with οἱ, αἱ, after the nom.sg. ὁ, ἁ. The formation is identical with Skt. acc.sg. *tám*, *tā́m*, *tád*, nom.pl.m. *té*, etc., and with Gm. forms like Go. acc. msc. *þan-a*, fem. *þo*, ntr. *þat-a*, plur. *þai*. A new nom.sg. was created in Lith. *tàs*, *tà*, OCS *tъ*, *ta*, *to*, etc. See ►ὁ, ἡ.

τοι [encl.pron.] 'to you', dat.sg. corresponding to IA σοί (epic Ion., Dor. Aeol.), from ►σύ. ◄IE **tu-* 'you'►

•VAR Dor. also accented τοί.

•DER Hence Att. τοι as an enclitic pcl. 'indeed, truly, etc.'. Also at the beginning of a sentence and with orthotonic accent, τοὶ γάρ, τοιγάρ (epic poet.).

•ETYM The atonic particle corresponds to Skt. *te*. For the stressed sentence-initial particle, connection with the demonstrative το- has been proposed; see Schwyzer 1950: 580ff., who also discuss strengthened τοιγάρτοι, τοιγαροῦν, as well as τοίνυν, μέντοι, etc.

τοιθορύσσω ⇒τανθαρύζω.

τοῖος [demonstr. pron.] 'such, such as' (especially poetic, Il.+). ◄GR►

•VAR fem. τοία (Ion. -η), ntr. τοῖον.

•DER τοιοῦτος, τοιόσδε 'id.' (esp. IA prose) built on οὗτος, ὅδε.

•ETYM Greek formation built on the pronominal stem το-. The origin is disputed: **tosio-* (< gen.sg. **tosio*) or **toiso-*? The second option is chosen by W. Petersen *TAPA* 46 (1915): 59ff., who starts from the gen.pl. τοίων = Skt. *téṣām*, ON *þeira*, from PIE **toisom* to **to-*, Gr. ►το-. Thence, the other case forms, e.g. τοῖοι, τοῖος, etc. In the same way, ποῖος, οἷος could have been derived from ποίων, οἵων (= Skt. *kéṣām*, *yéṣām*); after this also arose the other words in -οῖος.

τοῖχος ⇒τεῖχος.

τόκος ⇒τίκτω.

τόλμη [f.] 'boldness, courage, daredevilry, dauntlessness, brashness' ◁IE **telh₂-* 'raise, weigh, bear'▷
•VAR -μη is rare; usually τόλμᾰ (IA), cf. below on τολμήεις, -μάω; Dor. τόλμᾱ (Pi.).
•COMP ἄτολμος 'without daring, daring nothing' (Pi., IA), πάντολμος 'daring everything' (A., E.); ἀπότολμος 'dauntless, courageous' (late) from ἀποτολμάω.
•DER 1. τολμήεις, Dor. -άεις 'courageous, dauntless, enduring' (Hom., Pi.). 2. -ηρός 'id.' (Att.), -ηρία [f.] (Hell. pap.). 3. Denominative -άω [v.] 'to show courage, bring oneself to courage; to act in spite of oneself, endure' (Il.), Hdt. -έω, aor. -ῆσαι, etc., also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-, etc. Thence -ημα [n.] 'venture, risk' (Att.), -ησις [f.] 'reckless deed' (Pl. *Def.*), -ητής [m.] 'daredevil' (Th., Ph.), more popular -ητίας 'id.' (*Com. Adesp.*), -ητικός = -ηρός (late). 4. Hypocoristic τόλμιλλος [m.] 'daredevil' (Theognost. *Can.*).
•ETYM PIE **tolh₂-m(e)h₂-* > PGr. **tolmă-*. The root-final **h₂* of the PIE pre-form was lost before it could vocalize to **a*. Traditionally, this loss is ascribed to the influence of the **o* in the root, a change known as "De Saussure's Law"; cf. Beekes 1969: 238-242. Van Beek 2009 now disconnects the laryngeal loss from the presence or absence of the *o*-grade, and ascribes it to the environment **-VLHNV-*. The usual form τόλμα arose as a back-formation from τολμάω. See ▶ταλάσσαι.

τολύπη [f.] 'a clew of wool or yarn', also metaphorically of onion bulbs, pumpkins, ball-shaped cakes (Ar. *Lys.* 586, Eub., S. *Fr.*1102, LXX, *AP*, etc.). ◁PG▷
•DER τολυπεύω 'to wind wool or yarn into a clew' (Ar. *Lys.* 587 [anap.], ambiguous τ 137), mostly metaph. 'to instigate, accomplish with difficulty, undergo' (epic poet. Il.), also with ἐκ-; hence τολυπευμα [n.] = τολύπη, -ευτικός (Phot., Suid., H.).
•ETYM Maurice *RPh.* 65 (1991) connects τυλυφάντης 'cushion-cover-weaver', which he relates to Myc. *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*, assuming influence of κορύνη or τορύνη to account for the vocalism. Fur.: 340 compares Luw. *taluppi* 'clump of dough' (and MoFr. *talouppe*); the word may have o < α before υ. A recent attempt at an analysis has been made by Melchert *Orpheus* 8 (1998): 47-51: there is a Hitt. verb *tarupp-ᶻⁱ* 'to gather, collect', with the rare variant *talupp-* (2x); cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 850. The o may come from *a* before *u*, like in Pre-Greek. The word must belong to the Pre-Greek substrate, (a language cognate to) which must have spoken in large parts of Anatolia as well. This may explain why a similar word is found in Anatolian.

τόμουροι (-οῦροι) [m.pl.] designation of the priests of Zeus in Dodona by Strabo 7.7.11, who cites it as a v.l. in π 403; voc.sg. τόμουρε· μάντι (Lyc. 223). Acc. to H. = προφῆται, ἱερεῖς, οἰωνοσκόποι, διάκονοι 'interpreters (of the oracle), priests, augurs, officials (of a temple)'. ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unexplained. Strabo (l.c.) interprets the word as *τομάρ-ουροι = τομαρο-φύλακες 'guardians of the mountain Τόμαρος (Τμάρος)' near Dodona. Possibly a Pre-Greek term.

τονθορύζω [v.] 'to murmur, speak inarticulately, gurgle' (A. *Fr.* 298 = 630 M., Ar., Herod., Luc., Opp.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Aor. -ύσαι, fut. -ύξω; pres. also τονθορίζω and τονθρύζω.
•COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, δια-.

•DER τονθ(ο)ρυσμός [m.] 'murmuring' (Phryn.), τονθρυστής = γογγυστής (Aq.); backformation τονθρύς· φωνή 'voice' (H.).
•ETYM Expressive reduplicated formation in -θορ-, with dissimilation to τ- in the initial syllable. It belongs to ►θόρυβος, ►θρυλέω, ►θρέομαι, whereas the suffix is the same as in γογγύζω, γρύζω, ὀλολύζω, etc. Gr. τονθολυγέω 'to gargle, cluck' (Pherecr.) has a similar meaning. On τοιθορύσσειν, see under ►τανθαρύζω. = The formation, with prenasalization, is clearly Pre-Greek (Fur.: 382).

τόνθων [?] · παρὰ Κορίννῃ ἐπὶ νωτιαίου (νοτιβίου codd.) κρέως ὄνομα 'name of the flesh on the spinal vertebrae (Corinna)' (H.) = *fr.* 685 P. ◁?▷
•ETYM Bechtel 1921, 1: 310 supposes that it denotes a special delicacy, connecting τένθω 'to be a glutton' (see ►τένθης).

τόνος ⇒τείνω.

τόξον [n.] 'bow', plur. 'shooting device(s), (bows and) arrows' (Il.). On the plur. see Schwyzer 1950: 43 and 51, Chantraine 1953: 31f. ◁PG▷
•DIAL Myc. *to-ko-so-ta* = τοξότας, *to-ko-so-wo-ko.*
•COMP τοξοφόρος [m., f.] 'bearing the bow, bowbearer', epithet of Apollo, Artemis and others (epic poet. Φ 483, also Hdt.), τοξόκλυτος 'famous for the bow' (Pi., B.), also κλυτότοξος 'having a famous bow', epithet of Apollo (Hom., B.), ἀγκυλότοξος 'having a crooked bow' (Il., Pi.).
•DER 1. τοξ-ότης, Dor. -ότας [m.] 'archer' (Il.), -ότις [f.] (Call. et al.), meaning unclear in Plb. 8, 7, 3 (not with LSJ 'loophole for shooting arrows'); also plant name = ἀρτεμισία (Poet. *de herb.*). 2. -ῖτις [f.] (νευρά) 'bowstring' (Hero, Ph. *Bel.*), epithet of Artemis (Cos); uncertain -ιτησία = ἀρτεμισία (Ps.-Dsc. 3, 113; read -ῖτις?). 3. -ίας in Τοξίου βουνός· τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικυῶνι 'of Apollo in Sicyon' (H.). 4. -ία [f.] name of a goddess (mentioned beside Ἄρτεμις; Gortyn). 5. -οσύνη [f.] 'archery, bowmanship' (N 314, E. [lyr.]). 6. -ιανοί [pl.] 'people born under the sign of τοξότης (Sagittarius)' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 7. -εύς [m.] myth. PN (Hes. *Fr.* 110, 4), hypocoristic like Τόξος (Corinth. vase). 8. Diminutive -άριον [n.] (Luc. et al.). 9. -ικός 'belonging to the bow, the archer', -ική (τέχνη) [f.] (Att.), -ικόν (φάρμακον) [n.] 'arrow poison' (Arist., Str. et al.); also for *τοξοτικός. 10 -ωτός = *arcuatus* (gloss.). 11. Denominative verb τοξ-εύω 'to shoot with bow and arrows' (Il.), also κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc. Thence -ευμα [n.] 'projectile, arrow' (IA), -ευσις [f.] 'shooting with bow and arrows' (Lib.), -εία [f.] 'id.' (Hell. and late); -ευτής [m.] 'archer' (Ψ 850 et al.), also -ευτήρ [m.] (Arat., Nonn.); mostly referring to the constellation (metri causa for -ότης, -ευτής), [f.] -εύτειρα (Opp.), -ευτική [f.] 'archery' (Gal.). 12. τοξ-άζομαι 'to shoot at someone with bow and arrow' (Hom., Opp.), -άζω 'id.' (Heracleit. *All.*), also with ἐπι-; derived from plur. τόξα?
•ETYM Gr. τόξον replaces inherited βιός: in Homer, τόξον is already the more usual word for 'bow'. As the Iranians, and especially the Scythians, were famous archers, one might suspect τόξον to be a loan from an Iranian language; compare MoP *taxš* 'bow, arrow' and Scythian PN Τόξαρις, Τάξακις. However, the Mycenaean attestations disprove this possibility. Thus, τόξον could be of Pre-Greek origin. Latin *taxus* 'yew-tree' could also be related, but it cannot be a borrowing from Greek.

τοπάζιον [n.] 'topaz', probably also of chrysolite and of other stones (LXX, Str., D. S., *Apoc.*). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also -αζος [m.] (*AP*, J., Orph. et al.), -αζον [n.] (Eust.).
•ETYM A loanword which (according to Iuba in Plin. *HN* 37, 108) was taken from the language of the Trogodytes, and named after an island of the same name in the Red Sea (likewise *HN* 6, 169). The form ταβάσιος, -ις (*PHolm.*) presents another variant. Fur.: 155, 344 assumes that the variation ταβάσ- / τοπάζ- points to a Pre-Greek word.

τόπος [m.] 'place, region, space; subject of a speech, etc.' (IA since A.). ◂IE **top-o-*▸
•COMP τοπάρχης [m.] head of a district, esp. in Egypt; thence -έω [v.] -ία [f.] (LXX, pap., etc.); ἄτοπος 'not at its place, out of place, unusual', ἐντόπιος 'situated in the region, indigenous' (Pl., etc.).
•DER 1. τοπικός 'local' (Arist., pap., medic. et al.). 2. -ιον [n.] 'place (of burial)' (*PLond.*, inscr. Asia Minor). 3. -ίτης [m.] 'inhabitant of a place' (St. Byz.). 4. -εῖον (-ήϊον) [n.] 'cord, rope' (com., Call., Hell. inscr.). Denominative verbs: 5. τοπάζω 'to aim at a place or a point, suspect, guess' (Att.), also with ὑπο-; thence τοπαστικός 'inventive, sharp-witted' (Men.), ὑποτοπασμός [m.] 'suspicion' (J.). 6. τοπίζω 'to localize', -ισμός [m.] 'localization' (comm. Arist.), ἐκτοπίζω 'to remove', thence -ισμός, -ιστικός (Arist., Hell. and late). 7. ὑποτοπέομαι, -έω (-εύω) 'to suspect, surmise' (Ion., Th., Ar.).
•ETYM The broad semantic range renders etymologizing difficult. The noun can go back to PIE **top-o-* or **tokʷ-o-*. A connection with PIE **tekʷ-* 'to run, flow' is semantically difficult. The root **tep-* 'to hit, stick, smear' (whence OCS *teti*, 1sg. *tepǫ* 'to beat', Lith. *tèpti* 'to smear, grease') could yield a noun **top-o-* 'stain, spot', which then developed to 'spot, place'; compare the similar semantic change which took place in MoE *spot* or MoHG *Flecken* (a suggestion by M. de Vaan; p.c.). Alternatively, Meier-Brügger *Glotta* 74 (1997/8): 99f. has derived τόπος from **tep-* 'to be hot', supposing an original meaning 'hot place, hearth' > 'any place'.

τοράλλιον [n.] 'bed-cover' (Dura-Europos) ◂LW Lat.▸
•VAR with metathesis τολάριον.
•ETYM Possibly borrowed from Lat. *toral(i)*, according to LSJ.

τόρβηλος [adj.] · μεμψίμοιρος 'criticizing, querulous' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Specht *KZ* 59 (1932): 34[1] explains it by dissimilation from *τόλβηλος, which could belong to the isolated form τέλβεσθαι· μεμψιμοιρεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖν 'to grumble, complain' (H.). These forms could go back to a root **telgʷ-*, but no cognate forms are known.

τόργος [m.] 'vulture' (Call. *Fr.* 204, Lyc.), τόργος ὑγρόφοιτος 'swan' (Lyc.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Word belonging to learned Alexandrian poetry, without a convincing etymology. A connection with Germanic 'stork' (ON *storkr*, MoHG *Storch*) seems gratuitous. Thompson 1895 s.v. compares Coptic *t(o)re*, *θre* 'kite'.

τόρδῦλον [n.] name of an umbelliferous plant, 'hartwort, Tordylium officinale' (Ruf. *apud* Orib., Gal., Plin.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR -ύλιον (Dsc.), -ῖλον (Nic. [-ει-], Dsc.), -ίλιον (Dsc. v.l.).

•ETYM Unknown etymology. Fur.: 367 compares ὄρδειλον (Nic. *Th.* 841), which is perhaps a mistake for τ-. It cannot be explained as an old variant without τ- pointing to Pre-Greek origin, pace Fur.: 391.

τορεῖν [v.aor.] 'to pierce' ◂IE *$terh_{1/3}$- 'rub, bore, pierce'▸

•VAR ἔτορε Λ 236, τορεῖν· τορῆσαι, τρῆσαι, τεμεῖν (H.). Reduplicated in τέτορεν· ἔτρωσεν 'to damage', τετόρῃ· τρώσῃ 'wounding' (H.); thence ptc. τετορήσας (*h. Merc.* 119; verse-final), fut. τετορήσω 'to pierce with tones, proclaim with shrill tones' (Ar. *Pax* 381, parodizing, see Schwyzer: 783), perf. ptc. τετορημένος (Nonn.). Also *s*-aor. τορῆσαι = τορεῦσαι 'to stitch, chase, form' (Arat., *AP*, Sardis), also with ἀντι- 'to pierce, pervade, penetrate' (E 337, K 267), fut.ptc. ἀντιτορήσων (*h. Merc.* 178), pres. ptc. ἀντιτοροῦντα (ibid. 283); aor. pass. διατορηθῆναι (Anon. *apud* Suid.). Verbal adj. τοριτός 'vulnerable' (Lyc.).

•DER τορεύω, -εῦσαι 'to carve, emboss, form' (S. *Fr.* 315, Hell. and late.), also with δια-; ᾠδὴν τορεύειν (Ar. *Th.* 986 [lyr.]) 'to carve a song' (?). Hence τορευ-τός 'chased, engraved', -τής [m.] 'chaser, engraver', -τική (τέχνη) 'the art of engraving', -μα [n.] 'chased or engraved work', -σις = *caelatura* (gloss.), -εία [f.] 'engraving', -εῖον [n.] 'chased work' (all Hell. or late). τορεύς [m.] 'borer' (Philyll. *apud* Phot., *AP*), probably a backformation from τορεύω, not from τόρος 'id.' (Att. inscr. IV^a, H., Eust.). Both τόρος and διάτορος 'piercing, pervading, loud; pierced' (A., S., Plu., Luc.: δια-τετραίνω) could be derived from τορεῖν. Read διατορία in Thphr. *HP* 11, 4.

•ETYM The meaning of the verb fits perfectly with that of the PIE root *$terh_1$- 'to drill', but the *o*-grade in aor. is problematic. It has been proposed that it developed through metathesis of a sequence *-*ero*- > -*ore*- (similarly for ▸πορεῖν, ▸μολεῖν, ▸θορεῖν). This would mean that there was a root aorist *$tero$- < *$terh_3$- (cf. ▸τιτρώσκω), but this remains speculative. Alternatively, we could be dealing with real *o*-grade verbal formations. Epic ἀντι-τορῆσαι, -τορήσων, -τοροῦντα are innovations. DELG adduces Skt. *tará*- 'piercing, which resonates' and perhaps OIr. *tairm* 'sound'. See further ▸τορός, ▸τετραίνω, ▸τείρω, and ▸τέρυς.

τόρμος [m.] 'socket, nave, peg' (Hdt., Ph. *Bel.*, Hero *Bel.*, Hell. inscr.). ◂IE *$torh_{1/3}$-*mo*- 'piercing, boring'▸

•DER τορμι-ίον [n.] 'small peg' (Ph. *Bel.*), -ικά [n.pl.] 'mortises' (Hero *Bel.*); τόρμη [f.] = πλήμνη, καμπή, καμπτήρ, νύσσα, ὄσπληξ, δρόμος (Ael. Dion., H., Suid.); the meaning of the variant τόρμᾰ (Lyc. 262) is unclear: πλήμνη or νύσσα? (sch. = τὸ χάραγμα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τροχοῦ 'trace of a wheel'). Glosses: ἐκ τορμῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ καμπτῆρος ἢ τοῦ σύμπαντος δρόμου 'from the turning point, or the whole course', ἐκτορμεῖν· ἐκτετράφθαι τοῦ δρόμου 'to be turned off the road' (H.).

•ETYM A derivative of the root *$terh_{1/3}$-; cf. ▸τορεῖν. Cognates: Hitt. *tarma*- 'nail, peg', CLuw. *tarma/i*- [c.] 'nail, peg' < *$tor(h_1)$-*mo*-; the appurtenance of ON *þarmr* [m.], MoHG *Darm* < PGm. **þarma*- is less certain. For the non-vocalization of the laryngeal in PIE *$torh_{1/3}$-*mo*-, see on ▸τόλμη.

τόρνος [m.] 'carving knife, lathe, turning-lathe, pair of compasses, circle' (Thgn., IA). ◂IE *$torh_{1/3}$-*no*- 'turner, borer'▸

•COMP ἔντορνος 'processed with a turning-lathe, turned, revolved' (Pl., Arist., inscr.), whence ἐντορνία [f.], -εύω [v.] (Hero).

•DER 1. τορν-ίσκος [m.] 'turning-lathe' (Ph. *Bel.*, Delos). 2. τορν-ία σταφυλή (Poll.) kind of grape. 3. τορν-όομαι, -όω 'to draw a circle, measure precisely' (Ψ 255, ε 249, D. P., Tryph., H.), -ωτός 'revolved, turned' (Hdn. Gr.), ἀποτορνῶσις [f.] 'rounding off' (Heliod. *apud* Orib.). 4. τορν-εύω [v.] 'to spin round, turn' (E. [lyr.], Ar., Pl.), also with ἀπο-, κατα-, περι-, etc. Thence -ευμα [n.] 'turning motion' (E. *HF* 978), plur. 'turner's chips' (Hp., Hell. inscr.), -εία [f.] 'curved timber for shipbuilding' (Thphr.), -ευτός 'turned, fit for turning' (Hell.), -ευτής [m.] 'turner' (Att. inscr.), -ευτήριον [n.] 'turning-lathe' (Thphr.). With a prop vowel -o-: τόρονος (cod. -όνος)· τόρνος. Ταραντῖνοι (H.); τορονευτός = τετορνευμένος (Lacon. in *Edict. Diocl.*).

•ETYM An instrument noun with PIE suffix **-no-* from the root of τείρω, τετραίνω, τορεῖν, etc. For the semantics, compare κυκλο-τερής 'turned around, round as a circle', κύκλου τόρνος (X.), κυκλοτερὲς τορνεύσασθαι (Pl.), and also Lat. *teres*, *-etis* 'rounded off, smooth' to *terō* 'to rub'. For the non-vocalization of the laryngeal in PIE **torh$_{1/3}$-no-*, see on ►τόλμη.

τορός [adj.] 'loud, shrill, perceptible, clear', of the voice; also 'fast, agile' (A., E., Ar., Emp., Pl., X.). ◁IE **torh$_{1/3}$-o-* 'piercing'▷

•ETYM Adjectival *o*-derivative of the root PIE **terh$_{1/3}$-* 'to pierce, bore'. The semantic change of 'piercing' to 'loud, shrill' is also found in the aor. and fut. stem τετορήσ-; see ►τορεῖν. Connection with Lith. *tarýti* 'to say, speak', Hittite *ter-^{zi}* / *tar-* 'to speak, state' < PIE **ter-/tr-* is therefore unwarranted. Cognates: Skt. *tārá-* 'piercing' (Mayrhofer *Sprache* 10 (1964): 193f.).

τορύνη 1 [f.] 'stirring spoon, stirring ladle' (Sophr., Ar., Pl.). ◁PG?(S)▷

•VAR Dor. -α (ῡ Ar., ŭ *AP* 6, 305).

•DER τορυνάω [v.] 'to stir' (medic., Eub.), also συν-; τορύνω (Ar. *Eq.* 1172) is probably a backformation to the noun (different Schwyzer: 491: τορύνη a backformation from τορύνω).

•ETYM The origin of the suffix -ύνη is unclear; compare κορύνη 'club', σιβύνη 'spear', χελύνη 'lip, jaw', etc. Semantically, one could connect the Germanic verb **þuer-* 'to stir', e.g. OE *þweran*, OHG *dweran*, OE *þwiril*, OHG *dwiril* 'stirrer' < PGm. **þwer-ila-*. Yet formally this etymology is implausible, since it would require a zero grade **τυρ-ύνη*, whence τορύνη with dissimilation. Derivation from the root of ►τείρω is semantically difficult. Lat. *trua* 'stirring spoon' has the same meaning, but the form cannot be reconciled with that of τορύνη. Since there is a PG suffix -ῡν-, τορύνη could be Pre-Greek. Its o could continue original **a* before a following **u*.

τορύνη 2 [f.] · σιτῶδές τι 'cereals' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM No etymology. See ►πύρνος.

τόσος [demonstr. pron.] 'as large, as much' (Il., epic poet.). ◁IE **to-ti*▷

•VAR Epic also τόσσος; in prose only subst. τόσον [n.].

•DIAL Myc. *to-so.*

•DER τοσ(σ)οῦτος, τοσ(σ)όσδε 'id.' (Il.), τοσσ-ῆνοςος 'id.' (Theoc.), after τῆνος; -άτιος 'id.' (A. R., *AP*), -άκι (Hom., Simon.), τοσάκις (Polyaen.) 'so many times', -αυτάκις (And., Pl., Arist.).

•ETYM From PIE **toti-o-*, built on the PIE adverb **toti* 'so many' (in Skt. *táti*, Lat. *tot*, *toti-dem* 'so many'). The Greek formation probably first arose as a plural τόσ(σ)οι 'as many', whence the sing. τόσ(σ)ος 'as large'.

τόσσαι [v.inf.] 'to meet, get into, happen to' (Pi., *Fr.* 22). ◂?▸

•DER Aeol. ptc. τόσσαις for *τόσσας (Pi. *P.* 3, 27), ἐπι-τόσσαις; 3sg. ind. ἐπέτοσσε = ἐπέτυχε (Pi. *P.* 10, 33; 4, 25).

•ETYM No certain etymology. Because of the semantic agreement with τυχεῖν, Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 565 regards τόσσαι as a false Ionisation of Boeot. *τόξαι for *τύξαι = τυχεῖν. Cf. Schwyzer: 755[2].

τότε [adv.] 'at that time, then' (IA Arc.). ◂IE **so* / **to-* 'this, that'▸

•VAR Aeol. τότα, Dor. τόκα 'then'; τοτὲ (μέν … τοτὲ δέ) 'sometimes'.

•ETYM Demonstrative (τότε) and indefinite (τοτέ) adverbs, derived from demonstrative ▸το- with different particles. See ▸ὅτε and ▸πότε.

τούρπαινα [f.] the fish 'torpedo' (Al. Trall., Paul. Aegin.). ◂LW Lat.▸

•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *torpēdō* 'torpedo, crampfish, electric ray'.

τοῦτις [?] · ὁ κόσσυφος 'blackbird' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

τόφρα [demonstr. adv.] 'up to, during, so long, meanwhile' (epic poet. Il.+). ◂IE **to-* demonstr. pron.▸

•ETYM From demonstrative το- with an unclear extension; see ▸ὄφρα with references.

τράγος [m.] 'he-goat, buck', also metaphorically 'smell of a he-goat' (epic Ion. poet. ι 239+, Hell. and late prose), often 'puberty', 'lechery' (Luc.); name of a fish = male μαινίς (Arist. etc.); several plant-names, e.g. = ἐρινεός in Messenia (Paus.), 'spelt' (Dsc. and others), name of a constellation of the Dodekaoros (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*), comet's name (Lyd. *Ost.*). ◂GR▸

•COMP τραγοπώγων [m.] plant name 'goatsbeard, salsify'; βούτραγος [m.] 'ox-goat', a fabulous creature (Philostr.), ἐπίτραγοι [m.pl.] 'lush but infertile shoots of the vine' (D. H., Poll., *EM*), ἐπιτραγίας [m.] an unfertile and very fat kind of carp (Arist.; see below on τραγάω for the semantics); Ἐπιτραγία [f.] epithet of Aphrodite (Plu. *Thes.* 18, Att. inscr. from Imperial times).

•DER 1. τραγ-ίσκος [m.] 'small he-goat' (Theoc., *AP*), fish name 'kipper' (Marc. Sid.), also a kind of ornament (Delos II[a]). 2. -αινα [f.] 'hermaphrodite' (Arist.). 3. -ικός 'goat-like' (Plu., Luc.), short for τραγῳδικός 'belonging to the tragedy, tragic' (IA; like κωμικός = κωμῳδικός), thence -ικώδης μῦθος (Palaeph.); -ικεύομαι 'to speak as in a tragedy' (sch.). 4. -ε(ι)ος 'of a he-goat' (late), -είη (Theoc.), -έα (Thphr.), -ῆ (Poll., Eust.) [f.] (sc. δορά) 'goatskin'. 5. -ινος = -ειος (*AP*). 6. Τράγιος [m.] month name in Thessaly (inscr.); -ιον [n.] plant name (Dsc.). 7. -ανός (H.) as an

explanation of χόνδρος. Denominative verbs: 8. τραγίζω (ὑπερ-) 'to break one's voice, speak roughly' (Hp., Arist.), 'to smell like a goat' (Gal., Dsc.). 9. τραγάω 'to break one's voice' (Gal. etc.) 'to grow over-luxuriant, to grow only leaves and shoots without yielding fruit', of vines (Arist., Thphr.).

•ETYM Literally 'gnawer, eater of sweets', agent noun of τραγεῖν; see ►τρώγω. There, it is concluded that the group of τρώγω is of Pre-Greek origin, but the formation of τραγεῖν may be an inner-Greek creation. See ►αἴξ, ►ἀρνειός, ►κάπρος, ►κριός, and ►τραγῳδός.

τραγῳδός [m.] 'singer and dancer in the tragic choir, tragic actor' (Att. Hell. and late), very rarely and mostly uncertain 'poet of tragedies'; οἱ τραγῳδοί also 'rendering of a tragedy'. ◄GR►

•VAR Boeot. τραγαϝυδος (Orchom. I[a], archaizing).

•DER 1. τραγῳδ-έω 'to act as a τραγῳδός, treat in a tragedy, to display or relate with tragic pathos', whence late -ημα, -ητής, -ητός. 2. -ία [f.] 'tragedy', also 'elevated poetry, grand display' (Pl., Hell. and late). 3. -ικός 'like a tragic actor' (Ar.). 4. -άριον [n.] diminutive of -ία (D. H.). 5. -εύς = -ός (sch.).

•ETYM Probably formed after the pattern of ►ῥαψῳδός; further etymology uncertain. Traditionally derived from τράγος 'buck', which would have been given as a prize to the winner in the oldest dramatic Agon; thus also Else *Herm.* 85 (1957): 17ff. with ref.

τράκτα [n.pl.] 'layers of a cake, καπύρια' (Ath.); τράκτον [sg.] 'white, bleached wax' (*EM*) = τρακτὸς κηρός (late med.) ◄LW Lat.►

•DER τράκτ-ωμα [n.] 'plaster of white wax' (*Hippiatr.*), -αΐζω 'to bleach or whiten like wax' (*EM*); τρακτεύω 'to manage', whence -ευτής, -ευτικός (*Cod. Iust.*, Lyd. *Mag.* et al.), τρακταΐζω [v.] 'id.' (Men. Prot.).

•ETYM A loanword from Lat. *tractum* 'piece of dough for making cake', *tractāre* 'to handle'.

τράμις [f.] 'the narrow space between the legs between the anus and the genitals: the perineum' (Archil., Hippon., Ar., Ruf., Luc.), acc. to H. = τὸ τρῆμα τῆς ἕδρας, ὁ ὄρρος. τινὲς ἔντερον, οἱ δὲ ἰσχίον 'the hole of the seat, the rump; the innards, the hip-joint (or the flesh around it)' ◄PG?►

•DER διά τραμις = λισπόπυγος (Stratt.).

•ETYM Frisk explains it as a zero grade verbal noun in *-*mi*-, from the same root as τόρμος 'socket, peg' (from ►τείρω, ►τετραίνω.). This is formally difficult, because that root probably had a final laryngeal. It could well be a Pre-Greek word.

τράμπις, -ιδος, -ιος [f.] according to sch. Lyc. 'βαρβαρικὸν πλοῖον' (Lyc., Nic. [v.l. -βις]). ◄PG►

•VAR v.l. τράμβις.

•ETYM Probably a loanword. Fur.: 165 thinks it is a variant of τράφηξ, τρόφηξ, τράπηξ, τρόπηξ 'bar, beam, board, handle'. In that case, τράμπις could be a Pre-Greek word.

τρᾱνής [adj.] 'clear, distinct, definite, sure' (trag., D. H., Ph., Plu.). ◄IE *$terh_2$- 'pass through, cross'►

•VAR Late also -ός, often adv. -ῶς, -όν.
•COMP περίτρανος 'very clear' (Hell. and late).
•DER τραν-ότης [f.] 'clarity' (Ph., Plu., etc.), -όω [v.] 'to make clear, attract attention', also with δια-, ἐκ-; thence -ώματα (γλώσσης) [pl.] 'perceptions' (Emp. 4, 11), -ωτικός 'serving for brightening' (*Theol. Ar.*).
•ETYM From PIE **trh₂-n-*, from the root **terh₂-* 'to pass, cross' (cf. E *seeing through*). Alternatively, it could have secondary long -ā- for **ē*, in which case it derives from the root **terh₁-* 'to pierce' (cf. E *sharp sight*). The *s*-stem adj. recalls σαφηνής, etc. (see ▸σαφής).

τράπεζα [f.] 'table, plate, meal, dish, money changer's counter, bank' (Il.). ◂IE **kʷetuer-* 'four', **ped-* 'foot', **kʷtur-ped-ih₂-* ▸
•VAR Dor. τράπεσδα (Alcm.), Boeot. τρέπεδδα (Orchom. III[a]).
•DIAL Myc. *to-pe-za* /torpeza/.
•COMP τραπεζοφόρος [m.] 'table-bearer' (Ar.*Fr.* 124), designation of a priestess of Athena (Lycurg. etc.), τὸ τραπεζοφόρον [n.] 'serving table, sideboard' (Cic., Poll., etc.), ὁμοτράπεζος 'eating at the same table' (Hdt., Pl., etc.).
•DER 1. Diminutive τραπέζ-ιον [n.] (Late Attic), geometric 'trapezium' (Arist.+). 2. -εύς in κύνες τραπεζῆες 'table dogs' (Hom.), 'parasites' (Plu.). 3. -ίτης, Dor. -ίτας, Boeot. τρεπεδ(δ)ί-τας [m.] 'money changer, banker' (Late Att., Hell. and late); thence -ιτικός, -ιτεύω, -ιτεία, [f.] -ῖτις (pap. VI[P]), -εῖται κύνες = -ῆες κ. (Hdn. Gr.; -ει- probably itacistic), -ίτην Ἰάριν· τὸν παραβάντα τὴν τράπεζαν 'who stood beside the table' (*Trag. Adesp.* 270), ἐντραπεζίτης = παράσιτος (Suid., Zonar.). 4. -ία [f.] 'carpentry' (Thphr.). 5. -ότης [f.] 'tableness, the idea of a table' (Pl. *apud* D. L.). 6. -ήεις 'belonging to the table' (Nic., Opp.). 7. -ώδης 'trapezoidal' (Str. etc.). 8. -ώ(ν)· ἱέρειά τις Ἀθήνησιν 'a priestess at Athens' (H.) (= τραπεζοφόρος above). 9. -όομαι, -όω 'to be dished up, dish up' (S. *Fr.* 611, Hell. and late inscr.); thence -ώματα [pl.] 'offerings' (Pergamon II[a]), -ωσις [f.] 'serving' (Plu.). 10. Τραπεζοῦς, -οῦντος [f.] town in Arcadia and on the south coast of the Black Sea; χώρα Τραπεζουντία (Paus.+).
•ETYM PIE **kʷtur-ped-ih₂-* 'having four feet' > PGr. **t(w)r̥-ped-ja-*. Compound of a zero grade of PIE 'four' (**kʷtur̥*) with the word for 'foot', plus a derivational suffix **-ih₂-*. Myc. *to-pe-za* /torpeza/ shows the vocalization with *o* instead of *a* that is regular in that dialect. Folk-etymological connection with 'three' yielded τρίπεζαν· τὴν τράπεζαν. Βοιωτοί (H.), whence Boeot. τρέπεδδα. A different reflex **kʷtru-* > τρυ- is found in ▸τρυφάλεια, which agrees with Av. *caθru-*, OW *petru-*, Lat. *quadru-* 'four-'. See ▸τέσσαρες.

τραπέω [v.] 'to press (grapes)' (η 125, Hes. *Sc.* 301, Anan.), τραπῆν· ληνοπατεῖν 'to treat the wine-press', τραπέοντο (also [Aeol.?] τροπέοντο)· ἐπατοῦντο (ἐπάτουν) 'were treading' (H.). ◂IE **trep-* 'tread' ▸
•VAR Only pres. and ipf.
•DIAL Myc. *jo-te-re-pa-to* = ὡς τρέπαντο athem. aor. (Taillardat *REGr.* 97 (1984): 365-373).
•DER τραπητός· ὁ οἶνος 'wine'; οἱ τραπηταί 'wine-pressers' as an explanation of πατηταί (H.). With *o*-grade τροπήϊον [n.] '(wine-)press' (Hippon.), πρότροπος

(οἶνος) 'wine before the pressing' (medic. etc.), Οἰνο-τρόποι [f.pl.], epithet of the three daughters of Anios (Lyc. 580). See on ►ἀτραπός.

•ETYM Literally 'to tread (out)', a zero-grade iterative present **trp-eie/o-* of a PIE root **trep-* 'to tread'; cf. LIV² s.v. With an *e*-grade, we find e.g. Lith. *trepsĕti* 'to scratch (with the feet), trample'; with *o*-grade, Lith. *trapinĕti* 'to push with the feet', Ru. *tropát'* 'to stamp, trample, knock', formally identical with the Gm. group of OS *thraƀōn*, MHG *traben*, etc. Cf. ►τρέπω.

τράπηξ ⇒τράφηξ.

τρασιά ⇒ταρσός.

τραυλός [adj.] 'suffering from a speech disorder, with deficient speech', for instance 'lisping, stammering', metaphorically of swallows 'chirping' (Hdt., Hp., Call. com., Arist., *AP*, etc.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP τραυλόφωνος 'with lisping speech' (H. s.v. Βάττος, beside ἰσχνόφωνος; from Hdt. 4, 155), ὑπότραυλος 'lisping something' (Hp.), ποικιλότραυλα (Theoc., of the μέλη of the κόσσυφοι); PN Τραύλη (Lucr.).

•DER τραυλ-ότης [f.] 'speech disorder' (Arist., Plu.), -ίζω (ὑπο-) 'to speak deficiently, etc.' (Ar., Arist., Luc.), whence -ισμός (Plu.); also -ωσις [f.] (Gal.).

•ETYM The suffix -λος is also found in other expressions for physical and psychical defects, such as τυφλός, χωλός, σιφλός. Unclear etymology. Wackernagel 1897: 16f. connects it as **trs-u-* = Go. *þaursus* 'ξηρός', to which ►ἀτειρής from *ἀ-τερσ-ής could belong as well. Yet the loss of σ in τραυλός and in ἀτειρής is improbable beside τρασιά and τέρσομαι. Alternatively, does it belong to τραῦμα (see on ►τιτρώσκω)? The word might well be Pre-Greek.

τραῦμα ⇒τιτρώσκω.

τραύξανα [n.pl.] 'dry wood, brushwood' (Pherer.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Also τραύσανον· ξηρὸν πᾶν ἢ φρύγανον 'all dry items or firewood' (H.) (on σ for ξ see Schwyzer: 211).

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, it may replace τρώξανα (see ►τρώγω) after θραύω. However, the variation αυ : ω betrays a Pre-Greek word (Fur.: 286). It is improbable that the -αυ- was taken from θραύω; cf. on τραῦμα s.v. τιτρώσκω. The meaning of τραύξανα does not warrant a derivation from τρώγω.

τράφηξ, -ηκος [m.] meaning uncertain. According to H. (similar *EM*, sch. Lyc. etc.), it means χάραξ, σκόλοψ. ἔνιοι τὸ δόρυ, ἄλλοι τὸ τῆς νεὼς χεῖλος; acc. to *EM* also = τὸ ξύλον ἔνθα τιθέασι τὸν ἄρτον. Rare in literary language: Bito ('beam, pole'?), Lycophr. 641 ('beam, plank' ?), 1001 ('spear'?), Att. inscr. IV[a] ('board of a ship'?). ◁PG▷

•VAR In H. also: τράπηκι· δόρατι (from Lyc. 1001?); also with *o*-vocalism: τρόφηξ (cod. -φῆς)· χάραξ, σκόλοψ (cod. σκώληξ), τρόπηκος· μερὶς τῆς κώπης ὁ τρόπηξ, οὗ ἐπιλαμβάνονται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες· ὥστε ἀπὸ μέρους τὴν κώπην.

•ETYM Instrument name in -ηξ (cf. οἴαξ, πήληξ, etc.). In theory, one might connect Lat. *trabs* 'beam', but this cannot be substantiated. It is a loanword, according to

Porzig *ZII* 5 (1927): 269, especially in view of the suffix. The variation α/ο and π/φ is frequent in Pre-Greek words. Fur.: 165 also compares τράμπις, τράμβις 'foreign ship', in which case we have prenasalized variants as well. Thus, it is clearly a Pre-Greek word; the *o* cannot be explained from the noun τροπή, as Frisk surmised.

τράχηλος [m.] 'neck, throat', sometimes including the head, also metaphorically (IA). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Dor. (Epid.) -αλος.

•COMP τραχηλοκοπέω 'to cut the throat' (Plu., Arr., etc.; like δειροτομέω); περιτράχηλος 'running around the neck' (ἄλυσις, pap. II^{p}), whence περιτραχήλ-ιον, -ίδιον [n.] 'necklace' (Hell. and late).

•DER 1. τραχήλ-ια [n.pl.] 'meat scraps, originally of the neck' (Hp., com.). 2. -ιον [n.] "neck piece", 'the lower end of a spear' (*EM*, Harp.). 3. -ίς· *collare* (gloss.). 4. -ιαῖος 'of the neck' (*Hippiatr.*, H., Eust.). 5. -ιμαῖος 'id.' (Str.). 6. -ιώδης 'stubborn' (*EM*), -ώδης 'neck-like' (sch.). 7. -ίζω (ἀπο-, προσ-) 'to bend back, lay bare, turn the neck', metaphorically of a ship 'to turn towards the wind', also 'to lay bare, expose; overpower' (Hell. and late); thence -ισμός, -ιστήρ (late). Further ἐκτραχηλίζω (of a horse) 'to throw the rider over its head', metaphorically 'to precipitate into ruin' (Ar., X., D., etc.), whence -ισμός (gloss.); παλιτραχηλίζω 'to be stubborn' (pap. III^{a}). 8. τραχηλιάω 'to arch the neck proudly, accompany proudly' (LXX+).

•ETYM Probably a Greek innovation, as opposed to inherited αὐχήν and δέρη 'neck'. Formally, one would like to connect τρέχω 'to run', τροχός, but the 'neck' is usually denominated as "turner, turn(ing)"; compare OCS *vratъ* to *vratiti* 'to turn', probably also Lith. *kāklas*, rather than 'runner'. Guilleux *RPh.* 73 (1999): 104 (see also DELG *Supp.*) follows an article by Létoublon-De Lamberterie *RPh.* 54 (1980): 305-326, which point to traces of an older meaning 'turn' for ▶τρέχω. However, the word may also be Pre-Greek, as Fur.: 115^{5} believes (the suffix -ηλο- is frequent in Pre-Greek).

τρᾱχύς [adj.] 'rough, uneven, stony, bumpy', metaphorically 'severe, harsh' (Il.). ◁IE *$d^{h}rh_{2}$-g^{h}-*u*- 'rough'▷

•VAR Epic Ion. τρηχύς.

•DIAL Myc. PN *ta-ra-ke-wi-*[*ja*]? (Lejeune *REGr.* 75 (1962): 342).

•COMP τραχύφωνος (-η-) 'with a coarse voice' (Hp., D. S. et al.), ὑπότραχυς (-η-) 'somewhat rough' (Hp. et al.).

•DER 1. τραχύτης (-η-), Att. τραχυτής [f.] 'coarseness, unevenness, severity' (Democr., Pl., X., Arist., etc.). 2. τραχ-ύνω [v.] 'to make rough, angry', sometimes 'to be rough', pass. 'to be harsh, angry' (A., Pl., Arist., etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc. Thence -υντικός 'making rough' (Arist., Dsc.), -υσμα [n.] 'roughness, hardness', -υσμός [m.] 'making rough' (medic. et al.). 3. τρᾱχος· *duretum* (gloss.). 4. τραχ-ώματα [n.pl.] 'hardenings in the eye, trachoma' (Dsc., Gal., pap. III^{p}; after γλαύκωμα etc.), -ωματικός (Gal.). 5. -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'rough, stony area' (Str., D. H., pap. II^{p}), Τράχων, -ωνος, name of a Syrian province and mountain (J., Str.); thence -ωνῖτις (χώρα *Ev. Luc.*), -ωνῖται [m.pl.] (J., Ptol., etc.). 6. Τραχίς (-ίν), Τρηχίς, -ῖνος [f.], town in Thessaly (B 682+), whence -ίνιος, -ινίς (IA).

•ETYM PIE adj. *$*d^{h}rh_{2}g^{h}$-u-*? See ►θράσσω for reconstruction and cognates. Compare also τάρχη· τάραξις, ἄταρ[α]χον· ἀχείμαστον (H.); cf. Schwyzer: 362.

τρε ⇒σύ.

τρεῖς [numeral] 'three' (IA). ◄IE **trei-es* 'three'►

•VAR Aeol. (gramm.) τρῆς, Dor. τρῆς (Thera), τρέες (Gortyn), ntr. τρία, gen. τριῶν, dat. τρισί, Aeol. τρίσσι, Ion. also τριοῖσι (Hippon.), acc. τρεῖς (IA), Old Attic τρῖς, Dor. τριυς (Gortyn).

•DIAL On Myc. *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, see Morpurgo Davies 1963.

•COMP As a first member τρι-, e.g. τριήρης 'a trireme'; τριᾱκοντα, Ion. τριή- 'thirty'; -κόσιοι, Arc. -κάσιοι, Dor. -κάτιοι 'three hundred', -κάς, -κάδος [f.] 'the number thirty, a gathering of 30 persons, the thirtieth day of the month' (IA).

•DER 1. τρίς [adv.] 'thrice' (Il.), also τριᾰκις (Ar.+). 2. τρίτος [adj.] 'third' (Il.), Aeol. τέρτος, enlarged τρίτατος (epic poet. Il.+), Aeol. τέρτατος (Pi.; codd. τετρ-); τριτ-αῖος 'arriving at the third day, of three days, etc.' (IA), -εύς [m.] 'the third of a μέδιμνος', also -εύω, -ευμα, -ευτής, -εία (Hell. and late inscr.); -εῖα [n.pl.] 'the third prize' (Pl. etc.). 3. Distributive adverbs τρί-χα, -χᾷ, -χόθεν, -χοῦ, -χῶς, -χθά 'triple, in three pieces, at three places, etc.'; τρισσός, τριττός, Ion. also τριξός 'threefold'. 4. τριάς, -άδος [f.] 'triad' (Pl., Arist., etc.), whence -αδικός, -αδίζω (late). 5. τρίτρα [n.pl.] 'threefold payment' (Gortyn).

•ETYM The nominative forms τρεῖς, τρῆς, τρέες go back to PIE **treies*, whence also Skt. *tráyaḥ*, Lat. *trēs*, etc. Acc. **trins* > Go. *þrins*, Gortyn. τριυς (disyllabic after τριῶν, -σί), contracted τρῖς. Ionic-Attic τρεῖς was based on the nominative. Neuter τρία < PIE **trih$_2$*; cf. Skt. *trī(-ṇi)*, Lat. *trī-ginta* (*tria-* innovation). The adverb τρίς agrees with Skt. *tríḥ*, Lat. *ter* (Plaut. *terr* < **ters* < **tris*). The ordinal τρίτος is also inherited; compare ToB *trite*, ToA *trit*. For the first member of compounds τρι- as in τρί-πους, compare Skt. *tri-pád-*, Lat. *tri-pēs* 'three-footed'. Cf. ►τριττύς, ►τρίαινα, and ►τριάζω.

τρελλός [adj.] in MoGr. 'mad' (only in PNs, L. Robert 1963: 261f. ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

τρέμω [v.] 'to tremble (of fear), shiver' (Il.). ◄IE **trem-* 'tremble'►

•VAR Only pres. and ipf. (but Dor. τετρέμηκα *EM*).

•COMP Also with ὑπο-, περι-, ἀμφι-.

•DER τρόμος [m.] 'trembling, shivering, fear, fright (Il.), τρομός [adj.] 'trembling' (E. *Fr.* 876), also -ερός (Sapph., E., A. R. etc.), -ώδης (Hp., Str., Plu.), -αλέος (Eust.), -ικός (gloss., Suid.) 'id.'. Verb τρομέω (Il.) = τρέμω, deverbative or denominative; also with ὑπο-, περι-, ἀμφι-, etc.; originally only pres. and ipf., the aor. τρομῆσαι is late (LXX [v.l. ἐτρόμασαν as if from τρομάζω], lit. pap. III^{p}). PN Τρόμης, -ητος [m.] created for Ἀτρόμητος (Dem.), etc. Further τέτραμος [m.] 'trembling', with reduplication and zero grade of the root; also τέτρομος after τρόμος (Hp.+). Thence τετραμαίνω [v.] 'to tremble', v.l. τετρεμ- after τρέμω (Hp., Ar., Gal., etc.). Adv. ἀτρέμᾰ, -ᾰς 'without trembling, immovable, quiet' (Il.), of uncertain origin, cf.

ἠρέμα(ς), ἦκα; also ἀτρεμ(ε)ί (Ar.). Adj. ἀτρεμ-ής with -ία, -έω, -ίζω (especially Ion. poet. since Hes., Thgn.), -αῖος (Hp., E. [lyr.], Call. etc.).

•ETYM A primary present, identical with Lat. *tremō* 'to tremble', Alb. *trem* 'to frighten', ToA *tärm-* (e.g. 3. pl. *tärmiñc*) 'to be angry, be excited, tremble'; further, ToB *tremi* [pl.] 'trembling' = Gr. τρόμοι. Lith. *trenti*, 1sg. *tremiù* 'to smite down', *trìmstu*, *trìmti* 'to tremble, etc.'. Cf. ►ταρμύσσω, ►τρέω.

τρέπω [v.] 'to turn, revolve, put to flight; to turn oneself, change, take flight, etc.'. ◄IE **trep-* 'turn'►

•VAR Dor. Ion. also τράπω, -ομαι, *s*-aor. τρέψαι, -ασθαι, them. aor. τραπεῖν, -έσθαι, fut. τρέψω (ἐπι-τραψῶ Crete), τρέψομαι, pass. (intr.) aor. τραφθῆναι, perf. τέτραμμαι (all Hom.), also τραπῆναι (A., etc.), τρεφθῆναι (E.), ptc. ἐν-τρεπέντες (pap. II[a]), perf. act. τέτροφα, later τέτραφα (Att.).

•COMP Very often with prefix: ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, μετα-, παρα-, περι-, etc. with different shades of meaning

•DER A. With -ο-: 1. τρόπος [m.] 'turn; way, custom, attitude, character' (Pi., IA), 'beam' (Moschio *apud* Ath. 5, 208c; also MoGr., = δοκὸς τετραμμένος). Compounds, e.g. πολύ-τροπος 'much-wandering' (etc.; see ►πολύς), whence -ια (Hdt., Hp., etc.); often from prefixed compounds, e.g. ἐπίτροπος [m.] 'supervisor, steward, administrator (IA). Thence τροπ-ικός 'belonging to the turn' (Arist., etc.), ἐπιτροπ-ικός, -εύω, -εία, -ευσις, -εύσιμος, -ευτικός. Denominative τροπ-όομαι, -όω, also with κατα- etc., 'to put to flight' (LXX, D. H. et al.). 2. τροπός [m.] "turner", 'straps, by means of which the rudder turned around the κληῖς while rowing' (Od., Opp.), τροπ-όομαι 'to be provided with a τροπός' (A., Ar., Poll.), -ωτήρ [m.] = τροπός (Ar., Th. et al.). 3. τροπή [f.] 'turn (of the sun, of the enemy, etc.), change' (o 404+); compounds, e.g. ἀποτροπ-ή [f.] 'avoidance, etc.' (Att.), whence -αιος, -ιμος, -ία, -ιάζω, -ίασμα, -ιασμός, -ιαστής. Thence τροπ-αῖος 'causing the turning (of the enemy), granting victory'; τὸ τροπαῖον, -αιον 'victory monument' (Att.), scil. σημεῖον vel sim. 4. -τροπία [f.] frequent in derivations, e.g. ἐντροπ-ίη = ἐντροπ-ή 'consideration, attention' (Hp.), -ίαι [pl.] '(cunning) twists, intrigues' (*h. Merc.*), μετατροπ-ίαι [pl.] vicissitudes of fate' (Pi.); παλιντροπ-ίαι [pl.] 'changes of mind' (A. R.), to παλίν-τροπος. 5. -τρόπιον [n.] in derivatives, e.g. ἐκτρόπιον name of an eye-disease, 'everted eyelid' (medic.), ἡλιοτρόπιον plant name 'heliotrope' (Thphr. et al.), 'sun-dial' (Delos III[a] et al.). 6. τροπίας οἶνος (also ἐν-, ἐκ-) 'turned, sour wine' (Ar. et al). 7. τρόπις, -ιος (-ιδος, -εως) [f.] 'ground beams of a ship, ship's keel' (epic Ion. since Od., Arist., etc.), properly "turner"? Thence τροπιδεῖα (also -ια) [pl.] 'id.' (Pl. *Lg.* 803a, Pell., Phot.); ναῦς τετροπισμένη (: τροπίζω) 'provided with a keel' (Hp.); hypostasis ὑποτρόπιος 'located under the keel' (Opp., Orph.). 8. ἀνατροπεύς [m.] 'overturner, destroyer' (to ἀνατροπ-ή, ἀνα-τρέπω; Antipho, Plu., D. Chr.). 9. Adv. -τροπάδην, Dor. -δᾶν, only from prefixed compounds, e.g. προτροπάδην 'directed forward, with headlong speed' (*P* 304, Pi., Pl., etc.); τρόπα παίζειν name of a game (Cratin., Poll.). 10. τροπέω = τρέπω (Σ 224; Myc. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no*?), iterative or denominative; also with παρα-, περι- (Hom.+), and nominal first member, e.g. κακοτροπέω 'to act badly'. 11. -τροπάζομαι only in ὑπετροπάσθην 'turned back, had a relapse' (to ὑπότροπ-ος, ὑπο-τρέπομαι; pap. III[a]); also -τροπιάζω, with ὑπο- 'to

have a relapse', -ιασμός (Hp.); with ἀπο- 'to avert', -ιασμός etc. (LXX, pap. et al.). 12. With λ-enlargement: τροπαλίζει· στρέφει 'turns', whence -ισμός· μεταβολή 'change' (H.); ptc. ἐντροπαλιζόμενος 'turning round, turning back' (Il., Q. S.), ipf. μετατροπαλίζεο 'you turned around' (Υ 190). 13. τροπᾱλίς (v.l. -αλλίς). -ίδος [f.] 'bunch' of onions (Ar. *Ach.* 813), τρόπηλις (Hdn. Gr.), τρι(τ)οπηλίς (H.), formation unclear.

B. With -ε-: 1. ἀπό-τρεψις 'aversion', ἔκ- 'distortion', ἀνά- 'turn' (to ἀπο-τρέπω etc.; Hp., Arist. etc.). 2. τρεπτικός 'causing a change or a turn' (late), mostly from prefixed verbs, e.g. προτρεπ-τικός 'challenging' (Att.).

C. With -α-: 1. τραπ-έμπαλιν [adv.] 'turned backward' (: ἔμπαλιν τραπέσθαι, Pherecr.). 2. -τραπελος only with prefix, e.g. εὐτράπελος (: εὖ τραπέσθαι) 'turning easily, mobile, adroit, witty' (Pi., Att.), whence εὐτραπελ-ία, -ίζομαι, -εύομαι; similarly with δυσ-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, etc.; τραπελιζόμενος· συνεχῶς ἀναστρεφόμενος 'continuously upset' (H.).

D. With lengthened grade: τρωπάω, -άομαι [v.] 'to turn, change', iterative verb, only in pres. and ipf.; also with ἀπο-, παρα-, ἐπι-, μετα-.

•ETYM From PIE **trep-*, **trp-* 'to turn', caus. pres. **trop-éie/o-*. Cognate forms: Lat. *trepit* 'vertit' (found only in Paul. Fest. p. 367, and perhaps a construction of grammarians), Skt. (ep.) *trapate* 'feels ashamed, becomes timid', Hitt. *terepp-zi* 'to plough'; cf. LIV² s.v. **trep-*. Semantically, ἐντρέπομαι 'to care about sth.', also 'to be ashamed for sbd.' may be connected. The connection of Myc. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* (meaning unknown; with *q*) and of Lat. *torqueō* is untenable. The verb τραπέω 'to tread (out), press (grapes)' should probably be separated from τρέπω 'to turn'. See Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *trap.*

τρέφω [v.] 'to make fat, feed, bring up, care for', also 'to cause to curdle', of γάλα 'milk' (ι 246) and of τυρός 'cheese' (Theoc. 25, 106, cf. τροφαλίς below). ◁PG▷

•VAR Dor. τράφω, -ομαι, *s*-aor. θρέψαι, -ασθαι, ἔθραψα (epigr. Crete II-III^{P}), them. aor. τραφεῖν (mostly intr.), pass. (intr.) τραφῆναι (all Il.), θρεφθῆναι (rarely since Hes.), ἐθράφθη (Eretria VI^{a}), fut. θρέψω, -ομαι (*h. Ven.*, etc.), perf. τέτροφα (ψ 237 etc., intr., also trans.), midd. τέθραμμαι (IA), whence τέτραφα (Plb.), also τέτρεφας (pap. III^{a}, after τρέφω).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐκ-, συν-.

•DER A. With *-o-*: 1. τροφή [f.] 'nurture, nourishment, care, race' (Pi., IA), also ἀνα-, ἐκ-, δια-, etc. 2. τροφός [f.], secondarily [m.] 'wet nurse, nourisher, caregiver' (Od.+); replaced by τροφώ [f.] 'id.' (late, Rhodos). 3. -τροφος with prefixed verbs, e.g. σύντροφος 'fed or brought up together, familiar' (IA); with nominal first member, e.g. νεότροφος 'recently fed, newborn' (A. [lyr.], Cratin.), κουροτρόφος 'bringing up boys, nurse of the youth'; often as epithet of different goddesses (ι 27+). From τροφή (and τροφός, partly also directly from τρέφω) are derived: 4. τροφεύς (ἀνα-, οἰνο-) [m.] 'feeder, caregiver' (Att.). 5. τροφίας [m.] 'brought up in the house, stall-fed' (Arist., inscr. etc.; antonym φορβάς). 6. τροφῖτις [f.] (συγγραφή, also γυνή, γῆ) 'concerning nourishment, taking care of feeding' (pap.). 7. τρόφιον [n.] 'food, sustenance, diet' (medic. etc.). Adj.: 8. τρόφ-ις 'plump, fat, large' (Λ 307 [κῦμα], Hdt., Lyc.); thence τροφιοῦται· παχύνεται 'grows fat' (H.). 9. -όεντα κύματα 'id.' (Ο 621, γ

290), metrical enlargement; cf. τροφέοντο below. 10. -ιμος 'feeding, fed, brought up', [m.] 'foster-father, ward, alumnus' (IA), [f.] -ίμη 'housewife' (Poll.), -ιμότης [f.] (Eust.). 11. -ικός 'concerning nourishment' (Gal., Poll.), ἱπποτροφικός (pap. II^{a}). 12. -ώδης 'serving as nourishment, nourishing' (Arist. et al.). -ιώδης 'coagulated, thick' (Hp.; in H.). 13. -ητικός 'belonging to sustenance' (pap. III^{p}). Verbs: 14. -εύω 'to suckle, still' (LXX, pap.), -εία [f.] 'serving as a wet nurse' (pap. I^{a}), -εῖα [n.pl.] 'pay for serving as a wet nurse and bringing up, sustenance' (Att.), 'boarding wages' (pap.). 15. -έω 'id.' (pap., also Gal.?), -ήματα [pl.] (medic.; uncertain); but ἱπποτροφέω (Att.) from ~ -ος. Iterative τροφέοντο 'to swell' acc. to Aristarch. γ 290 for τροφόεντα. 16. -τροφία [f.] abstract to -τροφος, e.g. συντροφία 'joint upbringing' (Hell. and late), ἱπποτροφία 'the keeping of horses, stud farming' (Simon., Pi., Att.). 17. With λ-enlargement τροφαλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'fresh cheese' (com., Arist.), also -άλιον [n.] (com.), τρυφαλίς (LXX, Luc., Hdn. Gr., H.; folk-etymologically after τρυφή), τράφαλλος (see below), -ίς (H.). B. With -ε-: 1. θρέμμα (ἀνά-) [n.] 'one brought up, alumnus, spawn' (IA), -άτιον, -ατικός. 2. θρέψις (ἀνά-, ἔκ-) [f.] 'breeding' (medic., S. E. etc.). 3. θρεπτικός (ἀνα-) 'nourishing (Pl., Arist., etc.). 4. θρέπ-τρα [n.pl.] 'fostering wages' (Il., Q. S.), -τήρια [n.pl.] 'id.' (Hes., *h. Cer.*), 'nourishment, food' (S.), -τήριος 'nourishing' (A.), -τήρ [m.] 'foster-father' (inscr., *AP*), -τειρα [f.] 'nurse' (E., Opp., *AP*), -τρᾶ [f.] 'id.' (inscr.), -τήτωρ = -τήρ (pap. VI^{p}). 5. θρεπ-τάριον = θρεμμιάτιον (late inscr. and pap.). 6. τρέφος [n.] = θρέμμα (S. *Fr.* 154; v.l. βρέφος). 7. -τρεφής, e.g. Διοτρεφής 'fed by Zeus' (Il., Hes.). 8. PN Τρεφέλεως (Paros). C. With -α-: 1. τραφερός epithet of γῆ (Hom., *h. Cer.*), of ἄρουρα, κέλευθος etc. (Hell. and late epic), antonym ὑγρός, so 'dry, solid'; also of fishes 'plump' (Theoc.). 2. -τραφής, e.g. εὐτραφής 'well-fed, fat, plump' (Hp., trag., Arist., etc.). 3. ►τάρφεα, -ύς. See also on ►θρόμβος.

•ETYM Formally closest to τρέφω are two Lithuanian verbs: the full-grade yod-present *drẽbti*, 1sg. *drebiù* (= Latv. *drēbt* 'to rain wet snowdrift') 'to throw a thick fluid', and the zero-grade nasal present *drimbù* (inf. *drìbti*) 'to fall down in flakes, to plump down, etc.'. The semantics are not convincing, to say the least. Further, the Greek words are close to some expressions for 'dregs' in Germanic, Slavic, and Celtic: e.g. MLG *draf*, OHG *trebir* [pl.] 'dregs', MoE *draff* 'dregs', Ru. *drobá* (also *drob*, *drebá*) 'dregs' (loan from German?), MIr. *drab* 'dregs' (all from IE **d^{h}rob^{h}-*). The correspondence of ON *drafli* [m.] 'curdled milk' with τροφαλίς is certainly accidental.

The meaning of τρέφω was given by Benveniste as 'favoriser (par des soins appropriés) le développement de ce qui est soumis à croissance'. This renders the actual use of the Greek verb quite well, but it does not do justice to the original concrete meaning, which can still be seen in τρέφειν γάλα (according to Benveniste, 'favoriser la croissance naturelle du lait, le laisser atteindre l'état où il tend'), τρέφειν τυρόν (also τροφαλίς), as well as in τρέφειν ἁλοιφήν (ν 410), τρέφειν ἄλμην (ψ 237). On the nasalized forms, see ►θρόμβος.

The cheese name τράφαλλος must be Pre-Greek: in FS Kortlandt I demonstrated, following Kuiper, that all words in -αλλ-(ος) are Pre-Greek (cf. ►ὄκταλλος). The root has no IE cognates (see ►θρόμβος). A connection with θρόμβος is quite

possible, if we assume that τρέφω as a whole is Pre-Greek. Prenasalization is well-known in Pre-Greek; the β is not problematic, as Pre-Greek did not distinguish between aspirated, voiced and unvoiced stops. Thus, θρόμβος *proves* that the verb is of Pre-Greek origin.

τρέχω [v.] 'to run, hurry' (Il.). ◁IE *d^hreg^h- 'run'▷

•VAR Dor. (Pi.) τράχω, mostly pres. and ipf.; aor. θρέξαι (N 409 et al.), iter. θρεξασκον (Σ599, 602), fut. (ἀπο-, etc.)-θρέξομαι (Ar.), simplex θρέξω (Lyc. 108), uncertain θραξεῖται· … πορεύσεται 'will be conveyed' (H.) (see Latte ad loc.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο-. As a first member in τρεχέδειπνος 'running to the feast' (Plu., Ath.), as a PN (Alciphr.); as a second member in [εὐθ]υτρεχής 'running straight' (Att. inscr. 307-6[a]), whence ἐντρεχ-ής 'skilled, able' (Pl., late) with -εια (late). See on ▸ὁλοοίτροχος.

•DER 1. τροχός [m.] 'wheel, wheel of torture, circlet, (potter's) wheel, round cake, etc.' (Il.), πρότροχος 'front wheel' (Ath. Mech.), ὑπότροχος "with wheels underneath", i.e. 'provided with wheels' (Hell.), diminutives τρόχ-ιον, -ίσκος, -ίσκιον, -ισκάριον. 2. τρόχος [m.] '(circular) course' (Hp., S., E.); τροχός [adj.] 'running, hurrying' (Pi.), 'circular' (Lyd.; uncertain); often from prefixed verbs, e.g. περίτροχος 'running in a circle, circular' (Ψ 455, A. R., Call. etc.), -ιον [n.] 'rim of a wheel' (Papp. Mathem.). 3. τροχή [f.] 'course' (*Trag. Adesp.*). 4. τρόχις [m.] 'runner, messenger' (A. *Pr.* 941, S. *Inach.*). With -ε-: θρεκτ-ικός 'able to run' (after Moiris Att. for τροχαστικός), -ικώτατος· ὀξύτατος 'most sharp' (H.).

Further derivatives: A. Adjectives: 1. τροχ-αῖος (πούς) [m.] 'trochee' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -αϊκός 'trochaic', -αῖα (πανία 'spool') 'running' (*AP*). 2. -ιαῖος (σφήν) 'belonging to a wheel of torture' (LXX). 3. -ιμος 'hurrying' (S. *Fr.* 219 beside βάσιμος). 4. -ερός (ῥυθμός) 'running' (Arist.). 5. -όεις, -εός, -ιός 'wheel-shaped, circular' (Hell. poet.). 6. -ικός (χαλκός) 'granulated' (pap.). 7. -ώδης 'wheel-like' (Apollon. *Lex.*). 8. -αλός 'running in a circle, circular' (poet. since Hes. *Op.* 518), -αλεῖον [n.] 'globe, sphere' (Arat.), -αλισθεὶς δίσκος 'rolled' (Pherecyd.); εὐτρόχαλος = εὔτροχος 'running well, quickly' (Hes., Hell. epic.).

B. Nouns: 1. τροχ-ιά [f.] 'size of the wheel, track' (Hell. and late). 2. -ίλος [m.] 'stint, wren' (IA); technical 'sheave in a block and tackle' (Pl. *R.* 397a [v.l.], Att. inscr. 329-8[a], Hero), -ιλία (-έα, -εια), -ιλεῖον, -ιλίδιον; architectural 'hollow on the base of a column' (Vitr.). 3. τροχίας· πορ<ε>ίας 'gaits' (H.); also as epithet of χαλκός (Poll.; cf. -ικός; antonym τυπίας). 4. τροχίτης οἶνος (Dsc.; uncertain). 5. τροχάδες· σανδάλια ἀπὸ αἰγείου δέρματος 'sandals of goat hide' (H.), τροχ-άδια (*Edict. Diocl.*), -αδάριος [m.] 'shoemaker' (Attica, Imperial times); διατροχάδες· εἶδος ποιήματος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πραξιφάνης 'kind of poetic work, as Praxiphanes informs' (H.). 6. τροχ-αντήρ [m.] 'round projection of the hip bone' (Gal., H.); -αντῆρες· πρὸς τὰ πηδάλια. καλεῖται τῆς πρύμνης μέρος 'towards the rudders; part of the stern' (H.), as if from *τροχαίνω. 7. τρόχ-μαλος (pl. -οι, -α) 'round stone that has been ground smooth by water' (Thphr., Nic., Lyc.), from *τροχ-μός or a contamination of τροχαλός and ὁμαλός with oppositive accent? 8. -ωσις [f.] 'circular motion' (Lyc.), as if from *τροχόομαι; can also be enlarged from τροχός.

C. Adverbs: τροχ-άδην 'running' (*Epigr.*, A. D.), ἐπι- 'running rapidly, fluent' (Hom. et al.).

D. Verbs: 1. iterative τροχ-άω 'to run', -όωντα (ο 451), also with ἐπι-, περι-, συν-, ὑπο- (Hell. and late poetry). 2. τροχ-άζω 'id.' (Hdt., X, E., Arist., Hell. and late), aor. -άσαι, often with prefix, e.g. δια-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, παρα-, προσ-, συν-, by-form in -άω, whence -αστής, -αστικός, -ασμός, -ασμα. 3. τροχ-ίζω 'to break on the wheel, furnish with wheels' (Antipho, Arist., Bito, D. S., etc.), -ίζομαι 'to run (round)' (Arist.; v.l. -άζομαι), quite rarely with κατα- etc.; περι-τροχισμός 'running round' (Antyll. *apud* Orib.). 4. -ιάζω· *roto, rotor* (gloss.), -ίασμα [n.] 'wheelwork' (Bito). 5. -εύομαι = *rotor* (Dosith.). 6. With lengthened grade: iterative (μετα-, περι-)τρωχάω (χ 163, ζ 318, A. R., Q. S. etc.).

•ETYM Like the synonymous verb θέω, τρέχω was originally limited to the present stem (the aorist being provided by δραμεῖν, as well as by ἀπο-δρᾶναι). The verb τρέχω is isolated within IE, but τροχός 'wheel' agrees completely with OIr. *droch* 'wheel' (IE **dʰrogʰo-*). A form with lengthened grade (like τρωχ-άω) is probably seen in Arm. *durgn*, gen. *drgan* 'potter's wheel' (originally a root noun); on the phonetics, see Clackson 1994: 209[63]. The Germanic verb for 'walk' in Go. *þragjan*, etc., had initial *t-*, just like the Celtic group of MW and Co. *tro* 'change, time', OIr. *traig* 'foot'. See also ▶τέρχνος.

The basic meaning of the verb is 'to run, hurry'. This is confirmed by the aor. δραμεῖν, and by several derivations and compounds: τροχίς 'runner, messenger'; τροχίλος 'birds that run'; τρεχέδειπνος 'who hurries to the feast'. The verb does not mean 'turn', a notion that is difficult to combine with 'run, hurry'. As for the notion 'wheel', DELG notes that one generally thinks that a 'wheel 'runs' (Frisk explains 'Läufer'). (In Dutch, one says "the wheel runs well" ["het wiel loopt goed"], not "the wheel turns well ["het wiel draait goed"].) We must reject Chantraine's suggestion that the verb may have meant 'courir en rond'. Therefore, τράχηλος cannot be derived from τρέχω.

τρέω [v.] 'to flee full of fear, be afraid' (especially epic poet., Il.+), 'to live in exile' = φεύγω (Argos VI-V[a]); ὁ τρέσας 'deserter' (Sparta), to which τρεσᾶς, -ᾶ 'id.' (com.). Verbal adj. ἄτρεστος 'dauntless' (trag.). ◂IE **tres-* 'tremble'▸

•VAR Aor. τρέσ(σ)αι, whence ὁ τρέσας 'deserter' (Sparta), to which τρεσᾶς, -ᾶ 'id.' (com.). Verbal adj. ἄτρεστος 'dauntless' (trag.).

•COMP Also with δια-, παρα-, περι-, ὑπο-.

•DER ἔτερσεν· ἐφόβησεν 'he put to flight' (H.). On the meaning, cf. Trümpy 1950: 222ff.

•ETYM As an inherited verb, τρέω derives from **tres-e/o-*; cf. Skt. *trásati* 'to be afraid, tremble', and PIE **tr̥s-(s)ke/o-* in Av. *fra-tərəsaiti*, OP *tarsatiy* 'to be afraid, fear', causative Skt. *trāsayati* 'to frighten, make tremble', Av. *θrąŋhaiiete* 'to frighten' < **tros-eie-*. A different position of the liquid is found in Italic: U *tursitu* 'terreto, fugato' < **tors-*, an unexplained *e*-vowel in Lat. *terreō* 'to frighten'. Further, ἄτρεστος matches Skt. (*sam-ut-*)*trasta-* 'frightened, trembling' < **tres-to-* << PIE **tr̥sto-* (full grade innovated after τρέω, *trásati*), Av. *taršta-* 'fearful' < **tr̥sto-*. Next to **tres-* in

τρέω, we find **trem-* in τρέμω, and *trep-* in Lat. *trepidus* (cf. ►τραπέω). Cf. ►τρήρων.

τρῆμα, τρῆσις, τρητός ⇒τετραίνω.

τρήρων, -ωνος [f.] epithet of πέλεια, -ειάς 'dove' (Hom., *h. Ap.*, A. R.), also of κέπφος 'a water bird' (Ar. *Pax* 1067); also = περιστερά, metaphorically for 'woman' (Lyc.). ◄IE **tres-* 'tremble'►

•COMP πολυτρήρων 'abundant in pigeons' (B 502, 582), whence εὐτρήρων 'id.' (Nonn.).

•ETYM Individualizing substantivization of τρηρός in τρη[ι]ρόν· ἑλαφρόν, δειλόν, ταχύ, πλοῖον μικρόν 'light, wretched, quick, small ship' (H.). Because of the Doric forms τραρόν· τ[ρ]αχύ (H.), and ταρόν· ταχύ with dissimilation, we must start from *τρασ-ρόν < **trs-ró-* with a zero grade from the root of ►τρέω. In the sense of ἑλαφρόν, ταχύ, τρηρόν is usually (cf. Pok. 1095, 1100) connected with ►ὀτρηρός, ►ὀτραλέος, but this is improbable.

τριάζω [v.] in the language of sports 'to throw down thrice and thereby to win definitively', said of fist-fighters (Poll., *EM*, Zonar., H. et al.), ◄GR►

•VAR -άσσω, -άττω, aor. -άξαι, pass. -αχθῆναι (ἀπο-).

•DER τριακτήρ [m.] 'winner (in fist-fighting)', ἀτρίακτος 'undefeated' (A. *Ag.* 171 resp. *Ch.* 339, both lyr.); πεντετριάζομαι 'to be defeated five times' (*AP*). Aor. τριάσαι in mathematics 'to multiply by three' (Theo Sm., Iamb.), ἀτρίαστος 'not admitting triplicity' (Dam.); τριαγμός, -οί (Harp. et al.), -ασμοί (Suid.) 'triad(s)', name of a philosophical work of Ion of Chios.

•ETYM Denominative of τρεῖς, ►τρία.

τρίαινα [f.] 'trident', weapon of Poseidon (epic poet. Il.+); in medicine, designation of a cautery (Paul. Aeg.). ◄IE? **trei-es* 'three', PG?►

•COMP τριαινοῦχος [m.] 'wielder of the τρίαινα' (comm. Pl.).

•DER Denominative τριαινόω 'to shake (with the trident)' (E., com.), also συν-, etc.; thence probably τριαινατῆρες· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀροτριοῦντος (H.) (probably for *τριαινω-).

•ETYM From τρεῖς, τρία after the instrument names in -αινα, e.g. ἄκαινα, ἀρύταινα. Chantraine 1933: 109 considers a folk-etymological transformation after the numeral. Fur.: 189 compares τρίναξ, and asks whether the word for trident could be a transformation of a Pre-Greek loan for an agricultural tool.

τρίβω, -ομαι [v.] 'to rub, grind, wear down, exhaust, consume, wear off'; med. 'to occupy oneself with'. ◄IE **terh₁-* 'rub'►

•VAR Aor. τρῖψαι, -ασθαι (Il.), fut. τρίψω, -ομαι (Od.), pass. aor. τρῐβῆναι, τριφθῆναι, perf. τέτριμμαι (IA), 3pl. Ion. τετρίφαται, act. τέτρῐφα (Hell. and late).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, κατα-, συν-.

•DER 1. τρῐβή [f.] 'grinding, wear, practice, occupation, pastime, delay' (IA), also δια-, ἀπο-, etc. Thence several derived formations: 2. τρίβων, -ωνος [m., f.]: a. '(outworn) simple cloak' (Att.), diminutives -ώνιον (Att.), -ωνάριον (Hell. and late); -ωνικῶς 'like an outworn cloak' (Ar. *V.* 1132 with allusion to meaning b); b. 'shrewd (person), versed, skillful' (Hdt., E., com. etc.), verb τριβωνεύομαι, meaning unclear (Antipho).

3. τριβάς [f.] 'lecherous woman' (late). 4. τριβεύς [m.] 'rubber, massager, pestle, etc.' (Hell. and late). 5. τριβακός 'rubbed, devious, experienced' (Hell. and late; probably to τρίβων). 6. τρίβαξ [m., f.] 'shrewd person' (late). 7. τριβικός 'based on practice' (late). 8. τριβίδι(ο)ν (H.) as an explanation of δ<ο>ῖδυξ. 9. τριβαία [f.] 'mortar' (Suid., Zonar.). 10. τρίβανον [n.] designation of a measure of content (Gal., pap.), = λήκυθος (H.). Further derivatives: 11. τρίβος [f., m.] 'worn road, path' (Hdt., E., X., etc.), also = τριβή 'practice, wear, etc.' (*h. Merc.*, A. [lyr.]), 'friction, friction surface' (Hp.). 12. τρῖμμα (secondarily -ῐ-) [n.] 'which is rubbed, snippet, scrap' (Hp., inscr., Gal.), 'drink made of ground spices' (com., pap. etc.), 'shrewd person' (Ar.); diminutive -μάτιον (com., medic.); often from prefixed verbs, e.g. περίτριμμα 'cunning person' (Ar., D.), 'ointment' (medic.), ἐπίτριμμα 'plaster, make-up' (Joh. Chrys.); τριμμός [m.] 'worn road' (X. etc.), ἐπι-, συν-τριμμός 'grinding' (LXX). 13. τρῖψις (ἀνά-, ἔν-, σύν-, etc.) [f.] 'rubbing, wear, massage' (IA). As a second member: 14. -τριψ, e.g. ἀμφίτριψ 'crafty, misestimated' (Archil.), οἰκότριψ 'house-slave' (Ar. et al.), rather = ὁ οἶκον τρίβων as ὁ ἐν οἴκῳ τριβόμενος, so transitive like πορνότριψ, σκευότριψ, πεδότριψ etc.; but note αἰγότριβες ἀτραποί 'paths worn out by goats' (D. H.). With transfer to the *s*-stems: 15. -τρῑβής, e.g. ἐντριβής 'skillful, experienced', ἄτριβής 'not rubbed, not traversed, inexperienced, undamaged' (Att.); ἀτρίβαστος of a horse 'not trained' (X. *Eq. Mag.* 8, 3: antonym οἱ τοὺς πόδας ἐκπεπονημένοι), as if from *τριβάζω, if not analogical after the numerous privatives in -αστος. 16. After the ᾱ-stems: -τρίβης, e.g. παιδοτρίβης, -ου [m.] = ὁ παῖδας τρίβων 'gymnastic master' with -ία, -ίη, -έω, -ικός (IA). See ▸ἀλετρίβανος.

•ETYM The whole Greek system of forms is built on the present τρῑ́βω with long vowel, whence analogically with a short vowel aor. τρῐ̈βῆναι (after ῥιφῆναι, τυπῆναι, etc.), τρίβος, -ή (after στίβος, στίχος, etc.), etc. No exact agreement exists outside Greek. Closest are Latin forms like perf. *trīvī* with *trītus*, *dētrīmentum*, etc. ToAB *triw-* 'to mix' (not 'to shatter') is far off in meaning. Does the Greek derive from **trh₁-i-gʷ-*? See also on ▸τείρω, ▸τετραίνω, ▸τιτρώσκω, and ▸τρύω.

τρίγλη [f.] 'trigla, gurnard', a fish (Epich., Sophr., Att. com., Arist., Hell. pap., etc.); ◂GR?, PG?▸

•VAR Dor. -ᾱ, second. -ᾰ́ (-ῑ- and -ῐ́-).

•COMP τριγλοφόρος 'catching gurnards' (*AP*), -βόλος 'id.' (Plu.).

•DER Diminutives τριγλ-ίς [f.] (Antiph., Arist.), -ίον [n.] (Hell. pap., Gp.); thence -ῖτις [f.] 'kind of ἀφύη' (Dorio *apud* Ath.). Also τριγόλας [m.] name of a fish (Sophr.).

•ETYM From ▸τρίζω, referring to the grunting sound from the friction of the gill cover bones when the fish is taken out of the water. Cf. τριγλίζειν κατὰ μίμησιν ἐπὶ τῶν γελώντων (H.). The by-form τριγόλας joined the nouns in -όλας, -όλης, e.g. μαινόλας, -όλης (Bechtel 1921, 2: 245). Extensively on τρίγλη Thompson 1947 s.v.

τρίδακνον [n.] 'large oysters of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean' (Plin. 32, 63). ◂LW Orient.▸

•ETYM Explained by Pliny as 'eaten in three bites', but this is probably a folk-etymological interpretation of a loanword; see Thompson 1947 s.v.

τρίζω [v.] 'to buzz, gnash, squeak' (ω 5, 7, Hp., Arist., etc.). ◁ONOM▷
•VAR More usually perf. (with present meaning) τέτρῑγα (Il.), late fut. τρίσω (Sm.), τριζήσω (Aq.).
•COMP Also with ἀνα-, δια-, ὑπο-, etc.
•DER τριγμός, τρισμός [m.] 'buzzing, gnashing, etc.', of animals (partridge, mouse, fish), also of teeth and saws (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Plu.); see ▶τρίγλη. Compare τριξέλλας = *gryllus* (gloss.), and τριγόνια v.l. for τεττιγόνια (Arist.) in Gil Fernández 1959: 124f.
•ETYM Onomatopoeia like ▶στρί(γ)ξ, Lat. *strīdeō* 'to sizzle, drone, creak', and probably also ToA *trisk-* 'to drone'. Cf. ▶τρύζω.

τριήρης ⇒ἐρέτης.

τριόρχης [m.] kind of hawk, perhaps 'buzzard, Buteo vulgaris' (Semon., Ar., Arist., Thphr., etc.). ◁?▷
•VAR Also -ος.
•ETYM Probably a loanword, adapted to τρι- and ὄρχις; cf. ἔν-ορχος and ἐν-όρχης (see ὄρχις). This would be an allusion to the folk-etymological meaning 'three-testicled' = 'very lascivious' in Timae. 145 (Plb. 12, 15, 2). Details in Thompson 1895 s.v.

τριοττίς ⇒ὅσσε.

τρίπλαξ ⇒δίπλαξ.

τρίς, τρίτος ⇒τρεῖς.

τριττύς [f.] 1. 'third of a phyle' (Att.); τριττύ-αρχος [m.] 'principal of a τ.', whence -αρχέω (Pl., inscr., Poll. et al.), also τρικτυαρχέω (Delos III and II[a]). 2. 'sacrifice of three animals' (Call., sch.). 3. 'triad', of a threefold victory (Philostr.); τριτύς· τριάς 'number three, triad' (H.). ◁PG▷
•VAR τριττύς (Ceos), τρικτύς (Delos, see below), -ύος.
•DER τριττύα [f.] 'sacrifice of three animals' (Ister, Porph.; doubtful Epich. 187, rather to be read -κτύα); also τριττο(ι)α (Athens V[a]), τρικτοι<α> (Sophr. 3; uncertain) 'id.'; unclear: τρικτευαν κηυαν (Delph. IV[a]), see on κηυα. Further τρίκτειρα (-εῖρα cod.) θυσία Ἐνυαλίῳ. θύεται δὲ πάντα τρία καὶ ἔνορχα 'sacrifice to Enyalius, all three are offered uncastrated' (H.); τριττοια (*IG* 1², 76), accent unknown, probably after τριττός; thence -οα (*IG* 1², 5: 5 [Eleusis V[a]]) with loss of the ι.
•ETYM The form τρικ-τύς supposes a velar enlargement, as seen also in τρισσός, τριττός, τριξός (from *τριχ-ι̯ός); an original voiceless -κ- is also conceivable, given Skt. *triká-* 'threefold'. This form would have been replaced by τριττύς on the model of τριττός. The third variant τριπτύς might have been introduced after τρί-πτυχος 'threefold'. The variation more probably points to a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.).

τριφολῖνος [adj.] of οἶνος, from Trifolium in Campania (Ath. 26 e). ◁LW Lat.▷
•VAR Hellenized in τριφύλλινος (Gal. 14, 19).
•ETYM From the toponym.

τριχᾰΐκες (ῑ) [m.pl.] epithet of the Dorians (τ 177, Hes. *Fr.* 191). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Probably 'hair-shaking', from θρίξ, gen. τριχός 'hair', like κορυθ-άϊξ (χ 132) 'helmet-shaking': see for instance Leumann 1950: 65, in antiquity already Apollon. *apud* sch. τ 177, *EM.* Since early times, the word was taken to refer to the three tribes of the Dorians (thus already Hes. l.c.). Differently, Pisani *Arch. glott. ital.* 50 (1965): 1ff.

Τροίη [f.] 'the land of Troy'; in the Iliad already used for the town, Ilios. ◁LW Anat.▷
•ETYM The word is no doubt derived from Τρῶες 'Trojans'. It has often been remarked that Troia was the land, not just the city (e.g. Page 1959: 294). It is explicitly stated by Del Valle Muñoyerro *Glotta* 75 (1999): 68-81 that it did not indicate the town, but this is clearly wrong (cf. the name-epithet formulae εὐτείχεος, εὔπυργος, εὐρυάγυια, ἐξαλαπάξαι) and unnecessary; the meaning gradually shifted to the town (going to Troy always included fighting for Ilios).
The annals of Tudḫaliya IV, from around the end of the 15th c., mention *Wi-lu-ša* (= *Ilios*) and *Ta-ru-(ú-)i-ša* at the end of an expedition to the north. This must be understood as "[the city of] Wilusa and [the land of] Troy." *Ta-ru-(ú-)i-ša* must be read */Trūisa/*. Thus the original form had *Trū-*, which surfaced in Greek as Τρω-.

τροπαλίς, τρόπις, τρόπος, etc. ⇒τρέπω.

τροφαλίς, τροφή, τρόφις, etc. ⇒τρέφω.

τροχός, τρόχος ⇒τρέχω.

τρύβλιον [n.] kind of drinking vessel of unknown shape and varying size (Ar., LXX, *Ev. Matt.*), also a measure of capacity (medic. etc.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM Usually explained as 'bowl, dish' or 'bottle, jug'. No etymology. Fur.: 367 compares τρίβανον and considers the word to be Pre-Greek.

τρῠγάω [v.] 'to gather (especially of grapes), reap' (Il.). ◁?▷
•VAR Aor. τρυγῆσαι, fut. τρυγήσω.
•COMP Rarely with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, προ-, etc.; τρυγηφόρος 'bearing corn or grapes' (*h. Ap.*).
•DER τρύγη [f.] 'vintage, harvest' (*h. Ap.* 55, pap. II^{P}, Ath., *AP* et al.), 'drought, dryness' (Nic. *Th.* 368), probably a backformation to the verb. Further derivatives: 1. τρύγ-ητος [m.] 'vintage, harvest' Th., Thphr., LXX, pap., etc.), -ητικός 'belonging to the vintage' (late pap.). 2. -ησις [f.] 'vintage' (pap. III^{a}, Plu.), -ήσιμος 'ripe for harvest, *vindemialis*' (*EM*, H., gloss.). 3. -ημα [n.] 'harvest' (of honey; Atticista ined.). 4. -ητήρ [m.] (Hes. *Sc.*), -ητής [m.] (LXX, pap. et al.) 'winegrower, harvester', fem. -ήτρια (D., Poll.), -ητήριον [n.] 'wine-press' (gloss.); προτρυγητήρ, -τής name of a star which rises shortly before the vintage (since end V^{a}). 5. τρύγος [n., m.] = τρύγη (*Et. Gud.*, H.). 6. PN Τρυγ-αῖος (Ar.), -ία name of a Bacchante (Nonn.). 7. διατρύγιος, of ὄρχος (ω 342), perhaps 'ripening at different times'; but acc. to Schwyzer 1950: 449 'interspersed with fruit trees or vines'; Προτρύγαιος epithet of Dionysus (Ach. Tat., Ael.), θεοὶ Π. (Poll.); προτρύγαια· ἑορτὴ Διονύσου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος (H.). Also τρύγει, τρυγεῖ, τρύσκει = ξηραίνει, -εται '[trans.] dries up, [intrans.] becomes dry' (Zonar.,

Theognost., H.), ἔτρυγεν· ἐξηράνθη, ἐπὶ λίμνης 'was dried' (about a pool of water) (H.); for the meaning, compare τρύγη and τρυγαβόλια· εἰς ἃ καρποὺς ξηροὺς ἀπετίθεντο 'in which dried fruits are stored' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology, unlesss related to ►τρύξ. The words ὀτρύγη (-χη cod., alphabetically misplaced)· χόρτος, καλάμη 'pen, fodder, stalk or straw' (H., also medic. *apud* Gal.?), and ὀτρυγηφάγος epithet of an ass (Archil. 97; in H. also ἀ-) are unrelated: the traditional explanation from τρυγη-φάγος with prothetic ὀ- must be rejected. It rather means ἀκανθο-φάγος; compare OE *risci bita* 'panicle-, bulrush-biter' = 'horse'.

τρύγοιπος [m.] 'must strainer' (Ar., Phryn., Poll.). ◁?▷

•DER τρυγοιπέω [v.] (Suid.).

•ETYM From ►τρύξ 'must' and a second member from a verb meaning 'to sieve'. Frisk connects -οιπος with Germanic **seip-* 'to trickle', but this is connected by LIV² with εἴβω 'to let flow'. Alternatively, one may derive -οιπος from PIE **seik^{w}-* 'to pour' as reconstructed by LIV², whence, among others, OHG *sīhan* 'to sieve' is derived. Yet see ►ἰκμάς 'moisture', where the root is reconstruced as **seik-*.

τρύζω [v.] 'to coo, murmur' (*I* 311, Hp., Hell. and late epic). ◁ONOM▷

•VAR στρύζω (Erot.); rare aor. τρύξαι.

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, etc.

•DER τρυγών, -όνος [f.] 'turtle-dove' (Ar., Hell. and late epic), also as a fish name, 'stingray' (Epich., Arist.+); the naming motive is unclear: a euphemism? Diminutive τρυγόνιον [n.] (*AP*, Them.), also 'pigeonry' (Ps.-Dsc.), -ιος [adj.] (Opp.); τρυσμός [m.] 'cooing, etc.' (Hp., Gal., H.). Furthermore, τρυλ(λ)ίζω (ἐν-) 'to chuckle, babble' (Ar. *Th.* 341, Hp., Poll.), whence -ισμός (Hp.); for the suffix, cf. θρυλίζω (see ►θρῦλος).

•ETYM Onomatopoeia in -ύζω, like γρύζω, ἰύζω, etc.; cf. ►τρίζω.

τρυήλη(ς), -ίς [f.] 'ladle' (Luc. *Lex.*, H.). ◁LW Lat.▷

•ETYM From Lat. *truella* 'dipper, scoop', after τρύω and the instrument names in -ήλη, e.g. ξυήλη. Was Gr. τρυπήλα· τορύνη (H.) modelled on τρυπάω?

τρύμη [f.] '(grated) hole' (sch.), metaph. 'shrewd, cunning fellow' (Ar. *Nu.* 448). ◁GR▷

•VAR Also τρῦμα (sch.), -άτιον (*EM*); τρύμα (ῠ) = πόνος (Theognost. *Can.*)

•DER τρυμαλ-ιά [f.] 'hole' (LXX, *Ev. Marc.*, etc.), also with obscene meaning (Sotad.), -ῖτις· Ἀφροδίτη (H.).

•ETYM Verbal noun from ►τρύω.

τρύξ, -γός [f.] 'young unfermented wine with yeast, must' (Ion. since Archil., com., Theoc., Thphr., etc.). ◁PG?▷

•COMP See ►τρύγοιπος; also ὑπό-τρυγος 'yeasty' (Hp.).

•DER 1. τρυγ-ία [f.] 'yeast (of wine), young wine' (Ph. *Bel.*, medic., pap. I^{p}), -ίας (οἶνος) 'id.' (LXX, pap. III^{p} e.g.). 2. τρύγιος· τρυγία οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου 'sediment of wine or olive oil' (H.). 3. τρύγ-ινον [n.] 'pigment made of yeast' (auct. *apud* Plin.). 4. -ώδης 'yeast-like, yeasty' (Arist., medic. et al.). 5. -ερός 'id.' (Polyzel. Com. V-IV^{a}).

•ETYM Without certain etymology. The traditional connection with τάργανον 'spoiled wine, wine-vinegar' is neither phonetically nor semantically convincing. The formal identity with τρυγάω is remarkable, especially since both words refer to viniculture and wine production. Possibly, τρυγάω originally referred both to the harvesting and the first pressing of grapes, but was ousted from the second meaning by τραπέω. Porzig *ZII* 5 (1927): 271f. pleads for Pre-Greek origin of both τάργανον and τρύξ, as well as that of related τρύγη.

τρῡπάω [v.] 'to bore (through)' (ι 384+) ◁IE **truH-p-*?▷

•VAR Aor. τρυπῆσαι, etc.

•COMP Also with ἐκ-, δια-, etc.; ἐκ-τρυπάω also intr. 'to slip out through a hole' (ἐκτετρύπηκεν Ar. *Ec.* 337; from τρύπη?).

•DER 1. τρύπ-ημα, -ημάτιον [n.] 'bore-hole, hole' (com., Arist., Hero), with ἐκ- also 'chippings made by boring' (Thphr.). 2. -ησις (ἐκ-, περι-) [f.] 'boring (through)' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.+). 3. -ητής [m.] 'borer' (Pl. *Cra.*), -ητήρ [m.] 'pierced vessel' (Ph. *Bel.*). Further τρύπανον [n.] 'borer, push drill, trepan, strands of wood for making fire' (since ι 385), whence -άνιον, -ανώδης, -ανικός, -ανίζω, -ανισμός (rare and late); also -άνη [f.] 'id.' (Hdn. Gr., H.), -ανία [f.] 'thong of a push drill' (Poll.). A back-formation is τρύπη, τρῦπα [f.] 'hole' (Hdn. *Epim.*, *AP*, H., Eust.). As a first member in τρυπ-αλώπηξ 'a fox which slips in through a hole', designation of a cunning person (*Com. Adesp.*).

•ETYM Probably related to ▶τρύω, whence also τρύχω; further afield are ▶τρίβω, ▶τείρω, and ▶τετραίνω. Because of the late and rare attestation of τρύπη, the verb can hardly be denominative. It is more likely to be an old iterative formation. BSl. **trup-*, **troup-* has been compared, as in ORu. *trupъ* 'trunk, (field of) corpses', Ru. *trupъ* 'corpse', OPr. *trupis* 'log'; however, the circumflex vowel of BSl. (from PIE **treup-*; see LIV²) does not match Greek -ῡ-, which is also found in τρύχω. A better candidate is PSlav. **tryti* 'to rub' < **truH-*; see LIV² s.v. **treuH-*. In that case, τρῡπάω would have a root enlargement **-p-*.

τρῡτάνη [f.] 'tongue of a balance' (IA). ◁GR▷

•DER τρυτανεύω [v.] 'to weigh' (gloss.).

•ETYM Noun in -τάνη from the verb τρύω; it probably refers to the opening in which the tongue moves, "foramen, intra quod linum vel lingua, de quo examinatio est" (sch. on Pers. 1, 7 as an explanation of the borrowing Lat. *trutina*).

τρυφάλεια [f.] name of a helmet (Il., χ 183), literally 'provided with four φάλοι', = κόρυς τετράφαλος. ◁IE **kʷetuer-* 'four'▷

•ETYM Compound of τρυ- 'four' (from the original zero grade of ▶τέσσαρες, **kʷtu̯r-* > **kʷtru-*; see also ▶τράπεζα) and φάλος, with a suffix -εια-; originally an epithet of κόρυς.

τρυφή, τρύφος ⇒θρύπτω.

τρῦχω [v.] 'to wear out, exhaust, afflict', med. 'to wear down, pine' (mostly epic Ion., poet. since Il.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Almost only pres. and ipf. (fut. ptc. τρύξοντα ρ 387).

•COMP Also with κατα-, etc.

•DER τρῦχος [n.] 'rag, scrap, tattered garment' (S., E., Ar., Arist., Thphr.), diminutive τρυχ-ίον [n.] (Hp., Aret.), adj. -ηρός 'ragged, worn' (E.), 'stringing, afflicting' (Vett. Val.), after λυπηρός etc.; -ινος 'ragged' (J., Gal. et al.). Denominative verb τρυχόομαι, -όω (ἐκ-) = τρύχομαι, -ω in τετρυχωμένος (Hp., Th., etc.), τρυχ-ωθῆναι (Hp.), -ῶσαι, -ώσειν (Th.), -οῦται (Mimn.), -όω (Gal., Hdn.); thence -ώσεις [f.pl.] 'afflictions' (Max. Tyr.).

•ETYM Formation like σμήχω, νήχω, ψώχω, etc. (Schwyzer: 702 and 685, Chantraine 1942: 330); see ►τρύω. See Mumm and Richter *IJDLLR* 5 (2008): 33-108 on the enlargement -χ-.

τρύω [v.] 'to wear down, exhaust' (IA). ◄IE **truH-* 'rub'►

•VAR Aor. τρῦσαι, fut. τρύσω, mostly perf. pass. τέτρῡμαι with ptc. τετρυμένος.

•COMP rarely with ἀπο-, κατα-, etc. As a first member in τρυσάνωρ 'wearing down men' (S.), τρυσίβιος 'wearing down life' (Ar.), τρυσίππιον [n.] 'mark, branded on a disused horse' (Eup., Poll., *EM*), back-formation τρύσιππος [m.], name of such horse (Theognost. *Can.*).

•DER τρῦσις· νόσος, πόνος 'illness, labor'; τρυσ[σ]όν· νοσερόν, λεπτόν, ἀσθενές 'of illness, weak, feeble or sickly' (H.); τρύος [n.] = πόνος (Call. *apud Et. Gen.*). Also τρύσκει· τρύχει, ξηραίνει 'wears out, dries' (H.).

•ETYM The same zero grade as in τρῦμα, -μη, τρῡπάω, τρύχω. The Balto-Slavic cognates (OCS *tryjǫ*, *tryti* 'to rub', Lith. *trūnėti*, 1sg. *trūniù* 'to spoil, putrefy, decay') point to a root **treuH-*; cf. LIV. This obviates the need to explain Gr. *-ū-* as taken from the pf.pass. τέτρῡμαι. Cf. ►τείρω, ►τετραίνω with further litt.

τρώγω [v.] 'to gnaw, browse, eat', mostly of raw fruits (IA since ζ 90), later 'to eat' in general. ◄PG►

•VAR Aor. τραγεῖν (mostly with prefix, especially ἐν-), younger κατα-τρῶξαι, fut. τρώξομαι, perf. pass. τέτρωγμαι.

•COMP Often with prefix, especially in aor., e.g. κατα-, ἀπο-, παρα-, ἐν-.

•DER A. With full grade: 1. τρῶγες [m.pl.] = θηρία τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὀσπρίοις (Stratt.); 'weevil' (LSJ s.v.; like θρίψ, πτώξ, etc.); as a second member e.g. in κυαμοτρώξ 'bean eater' (Ar.); cf. τρῶγας (nr. 3. below). 2. τρώκ-της [m.] 'gnawer, nibbler, beguiler, knave' (ξ 289, ο 416, etc.); also name of a fish (Ael.), perhaps borrowed as Lat. *tructa* (WH s.v.); as a second member e.g. in πτερνο-τρώκτης (Batr.); -τίς [f.] (Tz.), -τικός 'greedy' (Ph., Tz.). 3. τρώγ-λη [f.] 'hollow, hole' (Hp., Herod., Arist., LXX, Batr.), diminutive -λύδριον (Hdn. Gr.), -λίτης [m.] name of a bird (Hdn. *Epim.*, Eust.), -λῖτις [f.] epithet of several plants = τρωγ(λ)ο-δύτις, -δυτική (*Edict. Diocl.* etc.; see below). As a first member in τρωγλο-δύτης [m.] "hole-crawler", said of several animals, e.g. foxes, snakes, also wren, whence -δυτέω, -δυτικός (Arist. et al.); -δύνων [m.] mocking epithet of a mouse (Batr.). Further Τρωγο-δύται [m.pl.] name of an Ethiopian people (Hdt. 4, 183 codd. ABC, pap.; in Str. et al. also written Τρωγλο-), whence -δύτις , -δυτικός (D. S., Plu. et al.); cf. τρῶγας· τρώγλας (H.). 4. τρωγ-άλια [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'sweets' (Pi., *Fr.* 124, Ar., Arist., Hell. inscr.). 5. -ανα [n.pl.] 'id.' (Sparta I^{P}). 6. -ματα [pl.] 'id.' (Philox.). 7. τρῶξ-ις (ἀπό-) [f.] 'gnawing' (Hp., Arist.+),

whence -ιμος 'edible, in raw state' (Theoc.), -ιμα [n.pl.] 'edible fruits' (Hp., pap.). 8. -ανα [n.pl.] 'dry wood' (Thphr.) (cf. ►τραύξανα). 9. On ►τρωξαλλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'locust', see s.v.

B. With zero grade (from the aorist τραγεῖν): 1. τραγ-ανός 'edible' (Hdn. Gr., *EM*), like ἐδανός. 2. -αλίζω = τρώγω (Ar. *V.* 674), after πυκταλίζω etc.; -άλια = τρωγάλια (Theognost.). 3.-ήματα [n.pl.] (rarely sg.) 'sweets, dessert' (com., X., Arist., etc.), whence -ημάτια, -ηματώδης, -ηματίζω, -ημα-τισμός. On ►τράγος, see s.v.

•ETYM The vocalic alternation in τρώγ- : τραγ- is explained by LIV² s.v. **treh₃(ǵ)-* as a secondary zero grade τραγ- for original *τρωγ-. LIV² also connects ToAB *trâsk-*, ToB *treṣṣäṃ* 'to chew', from a PTo. root **tərsk-*; see also Adams 1999: 319 s.v. *tresk*. Yet the IE connection is very doubtful, and had better be abandoned (the secondary zero grade is doubtful, and there is no root **treg-*). In view of the vocalic vacillation in τρώξανα, τραύξανα, and τρωξαλλίς, these are Pre-Greek words. As there is no IE etymology for τρώγω, this word could also be Pre-Greek (though τρώξανα, τραύξανα, and τρωξαλλίς are probably not derived from it).

τρωξαλλίς [f.] 'locust' (Alex., Dsc., Plin. et al.) ◅PG(S)▻

•VAR Also τροξαλλίς and τριξελλας.

•ETYM = In Beekes 2008, I demonstrated that all words in -αλλ- are of Pre-Greek origin (with λλ from palatalized *l*, i.e. *lʲ*); thus the word is Pre-Greek. There is no reason to derive the word from τρώγω (note the difference in meaning!).

τρωπάω ⇒ τρέπω.

τρωχάω ⇒ τρέχω.

τρώω ⇒ τιτρώσκω.

τύβαρις [f.] designation of a Dorian salad = "ἐν ὄξει σέλινα", i.e. 'celery pickled in wine vinegar' (Poll. 6, 71). ◅?▻

•VAR Acc. -ιν.

•ETYM Unexplained. Neumann 1961: 86f. argues against a connection with the toponym Σύβαρις (thus Fick *BB* 22 (1897): 50) and instead, hesitantly, proposes to connect τύβαρις with HLuw. *tuwarsa-* 'wine, vine' (whence also θύρσος). Fur.: 262 is sceptical.

τυγχάνω [v.] 'to achieve an aim or goal, to meet, come across, encounter accidentally', intr. 'to meet, get or acquire incidentally'. ◅IE **dʰeugʰ-* 'hit the mark, meet'▻

•VAR Aor. τυχεῖν, epic also τυχῆσαι, redupl. subj. τετύχῃσι, opt. τετύχοιμι (late and artificial), fut. τεύξομαι (all Il.), perf. τετύχηκα (since κ 88), ptc. -ηκώς or -ηώς (P 748), τέτευχα (later Att., etc.), ἐτετεύχεε (Hdt.), τέτυχα (Aristeas etc.), med. aor. τεύξασθαι (LXX), pass. ἐν-ετεύχθην, perf. ἐπι-τέτευγμαι (Plb.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-, συν-. In compounds, as a second member -τυχής, referring to τύχη and τυχεῖν, e.g. εὐτυχής 'lucky', δυστυχής 'unlucky', whence -ία, -έω, -ημα, -ησις (Pi., IA); very often to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπιτυχ-ής (to ἐπιτυχεῖν) 'successful', whence -ία, -ίη 'success, luck' (IA). Also -τυχος

(quite rare), e.g. ὀψίτυχος 'who attains (luck) late' (late). As a first member in PNs, e.g. Τυχ-άρετος, Τύχ-ανδρος.

•DER 1. τύχη [f.] 'coincidence, incident, luck, fate, destiny', also personified like Lat. *Fatum* (since *h. Cer.* 420, Hes. *Th.* 360; appellative since Archil. and Pi.); τυχηρός 'coincidentally, fortunately' (A. [lyr.], Ar., Arist., etc.), -αῖος 'coincidentally' (Plu., J., *AP*), τὸ Τυχαῖον 'templum Fortunae' (D. C., inscr.), ἡ Τυχαία = Τύχη (inscr. Palestine); τὰ Τυχεῖα 'festival in honor of Τύχη' (Lampsakos); -ικός 'coincidentally' (Plb., Phld., etc.), -άδιον [n.] diminutive (Eust.); -άζεσθαι· στοχάζεσθαι 'to aim (at)' (H.) (τυχασάμενον Erot. = στοχασάμενον Hp.); ἐντυχαλός· ἐντευκτική 'affable' (H.). Τύχων, -ωνος [m.] epithet of Hermes (Magnesia III[a], Str., *AP*). 2. τεῦξις [f.] 'attainment' (Plu., Arr., S. E.), earlier and more often to prefixed verbs, e.g. ἐπί- 'attainment, obtainment' (Arist. etc.), ἔν- 'meeting, visit, request' (Pl., Arist., etc.), ἀπο- 'failing, vain request' (Hell. and late), whence ἐπι-, ἐν-, ἀπο-τευκτικός, etc. 3. To ἀπο-τυγχάνω, etc.: ἀπό-τευγμα 'failed enterprise' (Arist., etc.), ἔν-τευγμα 'encounter' (D. S.), ἐπί-τευγμα 'success, luck' (Hell. and late); but τεῦγμα to ►τεύχω.

•ETYM The nasal present τυγχάνω (**d[h]u-n-g[h]-*), them. aor. τυχεῖν (**d[h]ug[h]-e/o-*), and their derivatives preserve the more original meaning 'hit the mark, meet', as opposed to the thematic root present τεύχω 'to manufacture'. They are derived from the root **d[h]eug[h]-* 'to hit', to which belong the Skt. stative *duhé* 'gives milk', Go. *daug* 'is fit' (see LIV[2] s.v. for further cognates).

τυι [adv.] · ὧδε. Κρῆτες 'thus (Cretan)', ἰν τυῖν· ἐν τούτῳ 'by this' (H.). To this Aeol. τυῖδε 'here' (Sapph.). ◂IE **k[w]o-* 'somebody'▸

•ETYM Formation after **πυϊ* seen in Arg. Cret. ὀ-πυι, loc. of πυ- = Skt. *kú* 'where?', *kú-tra* 'where(to)?', Osc. *puf* 'where', etc. These derive from IE **k[w]u-* which stands beside *k[w]o-* as in ►πόθεν, etc. Further, πῦς (Sophr.) and Rhod. ὅπυς arose from a change of υι to υ (Schwyzer: 199), and added -ς.

τύκος [m.] 'tool for processing stones, blacksmith's hammer, pickaxe', also 'battle axe' (Hdt. 7, 89: codd. κ and χ; Poll. 7, 118 and 125). ◂PG▸

•VAR τύχος (Hell. inscr., H.; in E. *HF* 945 τύχαις cod. for τύχοις or τύκοις).

•COMP εὔτυκος (-χ-) 'willing, ready' (B., A., Theoc., Call., etc.), whence εὐτυκ-άζου (cod. -αζον)· εὔτυκ[τ]ον ἔχε, ἕτοιμον 'it stays ready, prepared' (H.) (hence to be restored in A. *Th.* 150 [lyr.]), εὐτυκίζω (*EM*), εὐτυκῶς· ῥᾳδίως καὶ τὰ ὅμοια 'easy or ready vel sim.' (H.).

•DER τυκ-ίζω 'to work stone' (Ar. *Av.* 1138, Poll.), -ίσματα (τυχ-) [n.pl.] 'stone buildings, walls' (E.), also ἀπο-τυχίζω = ἀποπελεκάω (Paus. Gr., H.), also with ἐκ-, προσ- (Att. inscr. IV[a]); τυκ-ίον = τύκος (Eust.), τυκ-άνη [f.] 'thrashing equipment, flail' (Theognost., Eust., gloss.), -άνιον [n.] 'id.' (pap., gloss.). Also τυτάνη· ὄργανόν τι, ᾧ χρῶνται εἰς τὸν ἀλοητὸν τοῦ σίτου 'tool which is used for threshing grain' (H.), τρυγάνη· ἡ τὸν σῖτον ἀλοῶσα 'she who is threshing grain' (gloss.), after τρυγάω?

•ETYM Traditionally, τύκος is derived from a PIE root **teuk-*, as in OCS *tъknǫti*, Ru. *tknut'* 'to thrust' and, with a different ablaut, CS *is-tukati* 'to cut from metal, pour, found', OCS *tykati*, Ru. *týkat'* 'to thrust', Latv. *tūkât* 'knead, press'; cf. LIV[2] s.v. **teuk-*. The aspirated forms τύχος, -ίζω are supposed to be due to the influence of

τεύχω. Yet the consonant variation rather seems to demonstrate that the word is Pre-Greek; influence of τεύχω is improbable, as its meaning is not specific enough.

τύλη [f.] 'bulge, callosity, pad, cushion' (Sapph., com., pap., *AP*, etc.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also -ῡ- (*AP*); τύλος [m.] 'bulge, callosity, hunch, nail, peg' (X., Ar., Nic., Hero, Str., etc.).

•COMP τυλ(ο)-υφάντης [m.] 'cushion weaver' (Hyp., pap. VI-VII^{p}), -ειδής 'bulge-, callosity-like' (medic.), περίτυλος 'surrounded by τύλοι' (Delos), 'callous' (Sor.).

•DER 1. Diminutives τυλ-ίον [n.] 'small nail' (Hero et al.), -άριον [n.] to τύλη or τύλος (pap. and inscr. III-VI^{p}), -αίνιον [n.] 'small callosity' (Aret.), from *τύλαινα after φλύκταινα? 2. -εῖον [n.] 'pad' (S. *Fr.* 468, Hell. pap.). 3. τύλαρος· μάνδαλος, τυλαρώσας· μανδαλώσας (H.). 4. τύλ-ων, -ωνος [m.] 'provided with a callous skin' (gloss.). 5. -όεις 'callous' (Nic.), -ώδης 'id.' (Plu., medic.). 6. τυλόομαι 'to get callosities', -όω 'to make callous' (X., Theoc., medic. etc.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, περι- etc. Thence τυλωτός, τετυλωμένος 'knobbed' (Hdt.); thence (ἐκ-, περι-)τύλωσις (medic. etc.), adj. -ωτικός; -ωμα [n.] (Poll., H.). 7. τυλ-ίσσω, -ίττω 'to make into a bulge, twine into a ball, swathe (up)' (com., Hp., *Ev. Matt.*, Luc., Gal., etc.), almost only prefixed, especially with ἐν-; τύλ-ιγμα (H.) as an explanation of ἕλιξ, τυλιγμός [m.] 'swathing' (sch.). Backformation ἐντύλη [f.] 'swaddling cloth' (pap. II^{a}). Unclear is τύλλος [m.] 'box, chest' vel sim. (D. C. 79, 20).

•ETYM Because of its vacillating meaning and its short form, τύλη, -ος can easily be provided with an etymology. Various cognates have been proposed: the Balto-Slavic group of OPr. *tūlan* [adv.] 'many', Lith. *tū̃las* 'several, rather many', *tulìs* 'nail on a car, plug, nail of an axle, etc.', OCS *tylъ*, Ru. *tyl* 'neck', but these presuppose **tuH-*; Germanic ON *þollr* 'tree, peg', OE *þoll*, MLG *dolle*, MoHG *Dolle* 'thole', MLG (Westfäl.) *dülle* 'booty', all seemingly < PIE **tul-no-*; also, Lat. *tullius* 'gush', W *twl* 'round elevation', Alb. *tul* 'piece of meat without bone, roe', Skt. *tū́lam* [n.] 'plume, fan, bundle, etc.'. Greek σάλος 'unquiet movement of the sea, gulf of waves' (cf. Lat. *tullius*) has also been connected as **tu̯l̥(H)o-*. Yet none of these IE words is a close match for τύλη in form and meaning, so the word may rather be Pre-Greek.

τύμβος 1 [m.] 'mound, burial mound, grave' (Il.). ◁PG▷

•COMP τυμβοχόος 'raising a grave' (A.), τυμβοχο-έω 'to raise a burial mound' (Hdt., v.l. Φ 323), -η [f.] 'raising a burial mound' (v.l. Φ 323), ὀθνιότυμβος 'interred in a foreign country' (Man.).

•DER 1. Adj. τύμβ-(ε)ιος 'belonging to the burial mound' (Lyc., inscr.), -ίδιος 'id.' (Orph.). 2. -ίτης λᾶας 'gravestone' (*AP*). 3. -ίον [n.] diminutive (sch.). 4. τυμβὰς γυνή· τυμβάδας ἔλεγον τὰς φαρμακίδας, ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τοὺς τύμβους διατρίβειν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀκρωτηριάζειν (H.). 5. -οσύνη name of a wall in Constantinople, which was made of tombstones (VI^{p}). 6. τυμβεύω [v.] 'to bury', intr. 'to rest in the grave' (S., E., Ar., etc.), ἐν-τυμβεύομαι 'to rest in the grave' (Ph.), whence -εία [f.] 'burial' (Suid.), -ευμα [n.] 'grave' (S.), 'corpse' (E.). Several hypostases, e.g. ἐπιτύμβ-ιος (A., S., Plu., *AP* etc.), -ίδιος (A. [lyr.] etc.) 'at or on the grave, belonging to the grave'.

•ETYM Beside τύμβος, we find Corcyr. τῦμος (VI^{a}; the length is metrically ensured) with the same meaning. The variation shows that the word is Pre-Greek (not

recognized by Fur.). Lat. *tumulus* 'earth-hill' and Arm. *t'umb* 'landfill, earthen wall' may contain the same Pre-Greek/Mediterranean word. It is possible that Celtic forms such as MIr. *tomm* [m.] 'small hill', MW *tom* [m., f.] 'dung, mound' belong here, as well.

τύμβος 2 [m.] in ὦ τύμβε, referring to an old man (Ar. *Lys.* 372), γέροντα τύμβον (E. *Med.* 1209), γέροντος ... τύμβου (*Heracl.* 167); τυμβογέρων· ἐσχατογήρως καὶ παρηγμένος τῇ διανοίᾳ (H., Ar. *Fr.* 35, *Com. Adesp.* 1172 et al.); παρτετύμβει· παραφρονεῖ, ἡμάρτηκεν (H.); τετυμβωμένος = *decrepitus* (gloss.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Clearly a metaphorical use of τύμβος 1.

τύμπανον [n.] 'kettledrum, hand drum' (IA *h.Hom.* 14, 3), also metaphorically as a technical expression, 'instrument of torture' (Ar. etc.), 'water wheel' (Plb., pap.), 'drum in a machine' (Hero; also -ος [m.]), etc. ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also τύπανον.
•COMP τυμπανοτερπής 'delighting in drums' (Orph.,) φρεατοτύπανον [n.] 'water wheel' (Plb.).
•DER 1. τυμπάν-ιον [n.] 'machine drum' (Hero), designation of a hair style (Str.), etc. 2. -εύς [m.] 'cylinder' (Hero). 3. -άριος [m.] 'drummer' (pap. VI^{p}). 4. -ίας, Ion. -ίης (ὕδρωψ) [m.] 'kind of dropsy (by which the stomach is stretched like a drum)', or 'who is afflicted by dropsy' (medic.). 5. -ίτης [m.] 'kind of dropsy' (medic.). 6. -ικός 'afflicted by dropsy' (Alex. Trall.). 7. -όεις ὕδρωψ (Nic.). 8. -ώδης 'kettledrum-like' (Sor.). 9. τυμπανίζω 'to beat the kettledrum, to drum' (com., LXX, Str. etc.), also = ἀπο- (*Ep. Hebr.*, Luc.); thence τυμπαν-ισμός [m.] 'drumming' (Ar. etc.), -ιστής [m.] 'drummer' (Str., pap.), plur. name of a play by Soph., -ίστρια [f.] (D., Luc.); ἀποτυμπαν-ίζω 'to stretch on the wheel, to torture, beat' (Lys., D., Arist., pap., etc.), -ισμός (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 10. τυμπανόομαι 'to be stretched like a drum' (*Hippiatr.*).
•ETYM Formation like ὄργανον, etc. Traditionally (e.g. *EM* 771) connected with τύπτω (whence the spelling τύπανον), with a nasal of PIE or secondary origin. Others have regarded it as a Semitic loanword (cf. Aram. *tuppa*, Hebr. *top*, etc. 'to beat the drum'), with folk-etymological adaptation to τύπτω and the instrument names in -ανον. Fur.: 287 suggests that the instrument, used in the cult of the Magna Mater and Dionysus, rather comes from Asia Minor. The variant may also point to Pre-Greek origin (prenasalization).

τυννός [adj.] 'small, inferior' (Call., Theoc. et al.). ◂?▸
•DER τυννοῦτος, -ί 'this small' (Ar.), after τηλικ-οῦτος.
•ETYM The geminate -νν- is possibly hypocoristic; cf. ▸τυτθός.

τύντλος [m.] 'faeces, mud' (Men., sch. Ar. *Pax* 1148). ◂?▸
•DER τυντλ-ώδης 'muddy, turbid', of speech (*Com. Adesp.*), -άζω (Ar.) of vines, which is explained in various ways: πηλοπατέω, ἐπιρραίνειν πηλῷ, etc. (see LSJ).
•ETYM Unexplained; a contamination of τύρβη and ἄντλος seems improbable.

τύπτω [v.] 'to poke, stab, beat with a weapon or a stick'. On the suppletive system τύπτω : ἐπάταξα : πέπληγα, see Kölligan 2007: 303ff. ◂IE **steup-* 'push, beat'▸

•VAR Aor. τύψαι, also τυπεῖν (E. [lyr.]), τυπτῆσαι (late), pass. τυπῆναι, also τυφθῆναι and τυπτηθῆναι (late), perf. pass. τέτυμμαι (all Il.), fut. τυπτήσω (Att.), τύψω (late), perf. act. τετύπτηκα (Philostr., Poll.), τέτυφα (Theodos.), ptc. τετύποντες? (Call.).
•COMP Also with προ-, κατα-, etc.
•DER A. τύπος [m.] 'blow, beat; impression, embossed work, relief, outline, form; image, example, type' (post-Hom.). Often as a second member, e.g. ἀντίτυπος 'causing a counter-blow, striking back, echoing, obstinate, harsh; containing or matching an image', as a subst. [n., m.] 'image' (IA); thence ἀντιτυπ-ία, -έω, -ής, -ησις. From τύπος are derived: 1. diminutive τυπ-ίον, -ίδιον [n.] 'small example' (Hell. inscr.), -άριον [n.] 'small figure' (Tz.). 2. -ίς [f.] 'club, hammer' (A. R., Call. etc.), -ὰς [f.] 'id.' (S. *Fr.* 844, H.). 3. -ετός [m.] = κοπετός (D. H.), -ητός 'id.' (epigr.). 4. τύπης· πλήκτης (H. Theognost.; probably for -της). 5. -ίας χαλκός 'hammered copper' (Poll.; antonym τροχίας). 6. -ικός (adv. -ικῶς) 'figurative, exemplary' (Plu., Gal., *Ep. Cor.* etc.), -ώδης 'comprising the main features, in outline' (Arist., Str., etc.). Verbs: 7. τυπ-όομαι, -όω, very often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ὑπο-, 'to receive an impression, be formed; to form, mould, model' (IA), whence -ωσις, -ωμα, -ωτής, -ωτός, -ωτικός (ἀνα-, etc.). 8. τυπ-άζομαι = -όομαι (Opp.); τυπάζειν· κόπτειν, τυπαστήριον· τὸ τῶν ἁλιέων στυμνίον (H.).
B. τυπή [f.] 'blow, thrust' (E 887, A. R., Nic.); τύμμα [n.] 'blow, stab, wound' (Hp., A, Arist., etc.); τύψις [m.] 'striking, wound' (J., Nic.), with ὑπό- technical expression of unclear meaning (Delos II[a]). C. Also ἐντυπὰς κεκαλυμμένος 'emerge in outline', i.e. 'enshrouded tightly, closely' (Ω 163; similarly A. R., Q. S.; = ὥστε τὸν τύπον τοῦ σώματος φαίνεσθαι H.), and ἐντυπαδία· ὅταν τῷ ἱματίῳ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς πρόσωπα κατειλημμένος στήσῃ (H.), but cf. Latte ad loc.; cf. ἔν-τυπος 'embossed, coined' (ἀργύριον Poll.), 'able to be impressed' (Phot.), ἐντυπόομαι 'to be imprinted', -όω 'to imprint' (Arist., Hell. and late), ἐντετύπασται 'he is enshrouded' (Pisidia). With verbal reference προτυπής 'pressing forward' (Plot.; H. R.); ὀροτύπος 'beating the mountain' (ὕδωρ; A. *Th.* 85 [lyr.]), ὄρει- (όρεο-, ὀροι-)τύποι [pl.] 'mountain worker', and -ία, -ίη (Hp., Thphr., Nic. et al.). Blanc *RPh.* 70 (1996): 199-210 thinks that the first element comes from ὀρευς 'mule', which were lashed on to make them advance. On ►τύμπανον, see s.v.
•ETYM Built on PIE **(s)teup-* 'to push, beat', as attested in Lat. *stupeō* 'to be(come) numb, amazed', *stuprum* 'dishonor', Albanian *shtyp* 'to crush', etc.; probably also ►στύπος. See LIV[2] s.v. **(s)teup-*.

τύραννος [m.] 'absolute ruler, monarch, tyrant', rarely fem. 'lady, princess', also adj. 'dictatorial, imperious, ruling' (*h. Mart.*, Pi., IA, etc.). ◄PG►
•COMP μισοτύραννος 'hating tyrants' (IA), τυραννοκτόνος [m., f.] 'killing tyrants' (late).
•DER 1. τυραν-ίς (scil. ἀρχή?) [f.] 'autocracy, despotism, tyranny' (Pi., IA since Archil.). 2. -ία [f.] 'id.' (Xenoph., late pap.). 3. -εῖον, often plur. -εῖα 'residence of an autocrat' (Str., D. S., J., Plu., etc.). 4. -ικός 'of an autocrat, violent, tyrannical' (since A.). Verbs: 5. -εύω (after βασιλεύω), -έω (rarely with συν- etc.) 'to be an autocrat, to rule (absolutively)' (IA). 6. desiderative -ησείω 'to strive after tyranny' (Sol. *apud* D.

L.). 7. -ιάω 'to be greedy for power, pursue tyranny' (J., D. L. et al.). 8. -ίζω 'to take the part of tyrants' (D.).

•ETYM A Pre-Greek word. None of the alternative hypotheses is plausible.

τύρβη [f.] 'confusion, noise, tumult' (Hp., Isoc., X., Plb. etc.); ◂PG▸

•VAR σύρβη (Suid., Eust.)

•DER Adv. τύρβᾰ (σύρβα H.) 'pell-mell' (A. *Fr.* 311, 3 = M. 61 8, 3; acc.sg.?). Hence τυρβάζω (άνα-) 'to stir up, confuse, revel' (Ar. et al.), -ασία [f.] (Poll., H.), -ασμα (uncertain; late). Unclear τύρβησις· ἡλιβατὸν ἀέρα and Τυρβηνός· ἐπίθετον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (H.). Also συρβάβυττα (?) 'higgledy-piggledy' (Ar. *Fr.* 866); συρβηνεύς = αὐλητής (σύρβη γὰρ ἡ αὐλοθήκη) ἢ ταραχώδης (H. = Cratin. 84), συρβηνέων χορός (Ath., Suid.).

•ETYM The variation τύρβη - σύρβη points to a palatal */t/* and therefore to a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.). A connection with Lat. *turba* 'confusion, noise, crowd, troop' and *turma* 'troop, squadron, crowd' is difficult. Latin *turba* might be a loanword from Greek, cf. E-M.

τῡρός [m.] 'cheese' (Il.). ◂IE **teuH-* 'swell'▸

•COMP τυρόκνηστις [f.] 'cheese-grater, cheese-knife' (Ar., Delos III[a] etc.) (see on -κναίω); πολύτυρος 'rich in cheese' (Pherecr.). See also ▸βούτυρον (-ος).

•DER 1. Diminutive τυρ-ίον [n.] (com., pap. etc.), -ίσκος (late), -άσιον [n.] (pap. III[a]; or 'tool for preparing cheese'?). 2. -ακίνᾱς [m.] (Dor.) 'kind of cheese-cake' (Philox. V-IV[a]), presupposes earlier *-άκινος, after ὀμφάκ-ινος, etc. 3. -ίτης (πλακοῦς) 'cheese-cake' = Lat. *scriblīta* (gloss.). 4. -όεις, -οῦς, Dor. -ῶς, fem. -οῦσσα, -ῶσσα (scil. ἄρτος, πλακοῦς) 'cheese-like, made of cheese' (Sophr., Theoc. et al.), -ώδης 'id.' (Hp., Cos IV-III[a], Plu.). Verbs: 5. τυρ-εύω 'to make cheese', metaphorically 'to concoct' (*Com. Adesp.*, D., Arist. etc.), also with ἐν-; -εύματα [n.pl.] 'curdled food, cheese' (E.), 'intrigue' (*Com. Adesp.*), -εία [f.] 'id.', also 'making cheese, cheese-press' (*Tab. Heracl.*, Mycale IV[a], Arist. etc.), -ευσις [f.] 'making cheese' (Arist.), -ευτήρ [m.] 'maker of cheese' (of Ἑρμῆς, *AP*). 6. -έω 'to make cheese' in aor. ἐτύρησας (Alcm.). 7. -όομαι, -όω 'to become cheese', also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-, συν- (Ar., LXX, Dsc., etc.), whence -ωτός, -ωσις (late).

•ETYM Cognate with Av. *tūiri-* [n.] 'cheeselike milk, whey', *tūiriia-* 'curdled, of milk'; perhaps also with MInd. (Apabhr.) *tūra-* 'cheese'. Further connections are disputed. Phonologically, τῡρός can be derived neither from PIE *tu̯er-* 'to stir' (see ▸ὀτρύνω, ▸τορύνη, ▸τύρβη), nor from PIE **tuerH-* 'to hold, fence in' (whence Lith. *tvérti* 'seize, fence in' etc.). Phonologically unproblematic, and semantically possible, is a derivation as **tuH-ró-* to PIE **teuH-* 'to be strong, swell' whence, for instance, RuCS *tyti* 'to become fat'.

τύρσις, -ιος, -ιδος [f.] 'tower, keep, turret; palace, castle, fortified town' (Pi., Hp., X., Hell. poet. etc.); in H. also τύρρις· πύργος, ἔπαλξις, προμαχών and τύρσος· τὸ ἐν ὕψει οἰκοδόμημα. ◂PG▸

•VAR Plur. -εις.

•DER Diminutive τυρρίδιον [n.] (Sicily).

•ETYM A loanword from a Mediterranean language (Kretschmer *Glotta* 22 (1934): 110ff. with many details), borrowed into Latin as *turris*. On the several attempts to derive τύρσις, *turris* as a borrowing from an IE language (e.g. Illyr. TN *-dorgis* like Illyr. Bου-δοργίς etc., Lyd. TN Τύρρα, Τύρσα with Τυρσήνοί and **Turs-ci* > *Tusci* beside *Etrusci*), see Heubeck 1961: 65f.

τυτθός [adj.] 'small, tender, young', e.g. τυτθά κεάσαι 'to chop into small pieces'; adv. τυτθόν, -ά 'a little, a bit, hardly, just barely' (epic poet. since Il.). ◁ONOM▷

•ETYM A nursery word with hypocoristic gemination and aspiration. With a similar form and meaning, compare MoSw. *tutta* 'little girl', with a different meaning OHG *tut(t)a* 'nipple' etc. Cf. ▶τυννός.

τυτώ [f.] · ἡ γλαῦξ 'the little owl' (H.). ◁ONOM▷

•ETYM Onomatopoeic, rendering the cry of the owl; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 653 *noctuam, quae 'tū, tū' usque dicat*, also Lat. *tutubāre* 'to cry, of an owl', Lith. *tūtúoti, tutùtis* 'first flute, pipe', name of a bird, 'crow, hoopoe' vel sim., MoHG *tuten* etc. Similarly in Greek τοῦτις· ὁ κόσσυφος, ταύτασος· ὄρνις ποιός (H.).

τύφη (ῡ?) [f.] name of a plant used for padding cushions and beds, 'Typha angustata' (Thphr., Str., Dsc.), designation of a head-covering (Tz.; cf. Lat. *tūfa*). ◁IE **tuH-b*^{h}- 'hump, bump'?▷

•DER -ήρης [adj.] 'made of τ.' (*AP*).

•ETYM Gr. τύφη is often regarded as cognate with Lat. *tūber, -eris* [n.] 'hump, bump, tumour', and Gm. words such as ON *púfa* [f.] 'hill in grassland', OE *pūf* [m.] 'tuft, bundle of feathers'; they may or may not be derived from PIE **teuH-* 'to be strong, swell'. Yet the meaning of the Greek word is sufficiently different to render its connection with the other words purely hypothetical. Also, the length of the -ύ- is uncertain.

τυφλός [adj.] 'blind, dark, blocked, clogged' (since *Z* 139). ◁IE **d*^{h}*eub*^{h}- 'foggy'▷

•COMP τυφλόστομος 'with blind mouth' (Str.), ὑπότυφλος 'half-blind, weak-sighted' (Plu. etc.).

•DER 1. many animal names, such as snakes: τυφλ-ίας, -ώψ, -ῖνος, -ίνης (MoGr. dial. -ίτης), and fish: -ῖνος, -ήν, -ινίδιον. 2. -ότης [f.] 'blindness, obstruction' (Democr., Pl., Gal., Plu.). 3. -ώδης (H.) as an explanation of βλάνος. 4. τυφλ-όομαι 'to go blind', -όω 'to blind, obstruct' (Pi., IA), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc.; -ωσις (ἀπο-, ἐκ-) [f.] 'loss of sight' (IA). 5. τυφλ-ώττω 'to go blind, be blind' (Hell. and late).

•ETYM τυφλός belongs to the numerous adjectives in -λός that indicate physical or psychical defects, e.g. σιφλός, χωλός, τραυλός, δειλός (Chantraine 1933: 238). No exact correspondence exists outside Greek. The root could be the same as in OIr. *dub* 'black' < **d*^{h}*ub*^{h}*-u-*, and Go. *daufs*, ON *daufr*, OHG *toub* 'deaf' < PIE **d*^{h}*oub*^{h}*-o-*. The original meaning seems to have been 'obstructed, clogged, dark'. Due to the short *u* in Celtic, the adjective cannot be derived from the verbal root PIE **d*^{h}*uh*$_2$- (cf. ▶τύφομαι 'to smoke').

τύφοι [m.] · σφῆνες 'wedges' (H.). ◁IE? **d*^{h}*eub*^{h}- 'peg, wedge'▷

•ETYM In theory, one might connect Germanic words such as MLG *dövel*, MHG *tübel*, MoHG *Döbel*, *Dübel* [m.] (with LG initial), MoE *dowel* 'spool, peg, tap, nail' < PGm. **dub-ila-*; with gemination MoSw. *dubb*, MoNw. *dobb* 'iron bolt', and verbal forms: ON *dubba* 'to equip; to dub someone knight', OE *dubbian* 'to dub someone knight'. Thus, one might reconstruct PIE **d^hub^h-* 'to hit'. Yet the isolated position of the Greek gloss calls for caution: the technical meaning 'wedge' may have arisen in various ways.

τύφομαι, -ω [v.] 'to smoke, smoulder, glow', act. 'to make smoke, fume, singe, burn slowly' (IA). ◂IE **d^huH-* 'smoke, steam'▸

•VAR Aor. τῦφῆναι (Ar. etc.), θῦψαι (Plb., H., Suid.), fut. τυφήσομαι (Men.), perf. τέθυμμαι, τετύφθαι (Pl., Poll.), plpf. ὑπετέθυπτο (Apolloph. Com. V^a),

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER 1. τῦφος [m.] 'kind of fever' (Hp.), 'conceit, stupidity, fallacy, folly' (Hell. and late); as a first member in τυφογέρων 'feeble-minded old man' (Ar.). Thence τυφ-ώδης 'feverish' (Hp.), 'befogged, bloated' (Vett.Val.); -όομαι (mostly perf. τετύφωμαι), -όω 'to be befogged, foolish, bloated', act. 'to befog, delude' (Att., Hell. and late), rarely with ἐκ-, ὑπο-, ἐπι-; -ωσις [f.] 'befoggedness' (Tz.); backformation ὑπότυφος 'bloated' (Ion Chius). 2. τυφεδών, -όνος [f.] 'stupidity' (Call. et al.), -εδανός 'stupid' (Ar. *V.* 1364). 3. ὑπόθυψις [f.] 'spurring on, incitement' (Plb.), θῦψις 'fuming, singing' (Suid.). 4. Τυφ-άων, -άονος (*h. Ap.*, Hes. etc.), -ῶν, -ῶνος (Pi. et al.); -ώς, gen. acc. -ῶ (Pi., A., Ar., Hdt.) [m.] 'whirlwind', personified 'Typhon, Typhos'; also -ωεύς, -ωέος [m.] 'Typhoeus' (B 782f., Hes. *Th.* 821, *h. Hom.*, A. R. etc.); hence adj. -αόνιος, -αονίς, -ώνιος, -ωνικός (late).

•ETYM All verbal forms seem to be based on the present. There are no exact correspondences of τύφ- outside Greek. It is thought to be derived from the PIE root **dṷeh$_2$-* / **duh$_2$-* 'to smoke' (see ►θύω, also ►θυμός and ►θύμιος) by means of an enlargement **-b^h-*. See LIV^2 s.v. **$d^hṷeh_2$-*. ►τυφλός is probably unrelated, but see s.v.

τύχη ⇒ τυγχάνω.

τωθάζω [v.] 'to mock, sneer, jeer' (IA); also θωτάζει· ἐμπαίζει, χλευάζει, ἐπιθωτάζοντες· ἐπιχλευάζοντες (H.). ◂?▸

•VAR Aor. τωθάσαι, fut. -άσομαι.

•COMP Also with ἐπι- etc.

•DER τωθ-ασμός (ἐπι-) [m.] 'sneering, mockery, banter' (Arist., Plb., D. H. etc.), -άσματα [pl.] 'id.' (Suid.), -αστής [m.] 'scorner' (Poll., H.), -αστικός 'mocking, sneering' (D. H., D. L., Poll.).

•ETYM Unexplained.

Υ

ὑ [prep., pref.]◂IE **ud* 'up'▸

•VAR Cypr. in ὐ τῦχα = ἐπι τῦχη (also ί(ν) τύχαι), also ὕ-χηρος [f.] 'handsel', corresponding to Att. τὰ ἐπίχειρα.

•ETYM Traditionally, ὑ is identified with Skt. *ut-*, *ud-* 'upwards, up', Go. *ut* 'out(wards)', MoHG *aus*, etc. < PIE **ud*. The analysis of ὕχηρος seems certain, but for ὐ τύχα, other analyses are possible (Cypr. ὐν = ὀν 'ἀνά', Risch *Kratylos* 10 (1965): 92; or from earlier σὺν τῦχᾳ, Thumb-Scherer 1959: 172).

The same preposition has also been claimed to be present in the expression υϝαις ζαν *u-wa-i-se za-ne* 'διά βίου (?)' (*ICS* 217, 10), but this is rather doubtful; see for instance the analysis of Weiss *MSS* 55 (1994): 151f., positing **h₂iu(u̯)-h₂ei-s-* 'bis in [alle] Ewigkeit' for *u-wa-i-se*. See further ▸ὕσπλη(γ)ξ, ▸ὕστριξ, ▸ὕστερος.

ὕαινα [f.] 'hyena' (Hdt., Arist. et al.), also the name of a sea-fish 'Charax puntazzo' (Numen. *apud* Ath., Ael.); with the same meaning also ὑαινίς [f.] (Epich.); see Thompson 1947 s.v. and Strömberg 1943: 100f. ◂GR?▸

•DER ὑαίν-(ε)ιος 'of the hyena' (Plin., Cyran.), -ίτης [m.] designation of a stone (probably after the color).

•ETYM Derived from ὗς 'swine' on the model of λἐαινα, λύκαινα, etc. DELG thinks that the animal resembled a swine by its airs and its bristly hair. Yet the hyena is a species of its own and looks more like a dog than a sow; could it be that ὕαινα replaces a loanword or a Pre-Greek word?

ὑάκινθος [m., f.] 'hyacinth' (Ξ 348, Sapph., Thphr., Theoc., Paus. et al.); designation of a blue cloth or a blue color (LXX, Ph., J., pap.); also of a precious stone (late). ◂PG▸

•DER ὑακίνθ-ινος 'of the hyacinth, hyacinth-colored' (Od., E., X., Samos IV^{a}, etc.), -ώδης 'hyacinth-like' (Dsc.), -ίζω [v.] 'to resemble a hyacinth' (Plin.). Also the name of a Laconian youth, who according to legend was killed by Apollo with an unfortunate throw of the discus. He probably was a Pre-Greek god who was superseded by Apollo, and sank to be a mere hero; but he also merged with this god to become Ἀπόλλων Ὑάκινθος (-θος). Thence τά Ὑακίνθια (Cret. ϝακ-), name of a Doric festival (Hdt., Th., X.), Ὑακίνθιος (Cret. Βακ-) [m.] Doric month-name (Sparta, Rhodos, Thera, Crete, etc.). On the Ionic sound substitution in Ὑάκινθος for original ϝάκινθος, see Schwyzer: 224.

•ETYM A clear Pre-Greek word, cf. Fur.: 242, 377 (but not with a prothetic *u-*!). It is disputed whether ὑάκινθος is related to Lat. *vaccīnium* 'blueberry, whortleberry'; Deroy *Glotta* 35 (1956): 185ff. and Meillet *MSL* 15 (1908-1909): 162 consider both

words to be independent loans from a Mediterranean language, to be connected with Lat. *bāca* 'berry' and Gr. Βάκχος.

ὕαλος [f., m.] 'transparent stone, e.g. alabaster, crystal, amber' (IA), 'glass' (Pl., Arist. etc.; in Hdt. χυτὴ λίθος). ◁PG▷
•VAR Also ὕελος.
•COMP ὑαλουργ-ός (ὑελ-) [m.] 'glass-maker' (Str., pap.), whence -ικός, -εῖον (late). Also ὑάλη 'id.' (H., Phot., Suid.)
•DER 1. ὑάλ-ινος (ὑέλ-) 'glassy' (Corinn., Hp., Ar., inscr., etc.), -εος, -οῦς 'id., transparent like glass' (Str., pap., *AP* etc.), -ικός 'serving for glass-making' (J.), -ῖτις (ἄμμος, γῆ) 'id.' (Thphr., Str.), -όεις 'glass-color' (*AP*), -ώδης 'glass-like' (medic.). 2. ὑαλ-ᾶς [m.] 'glass-maker' (late inscr.); -ωμα [n.] name of an eye-disease of horses (Hippiatr.; cf. γλαύκωμα); diminutive ὑέλιον [n.] 'mirror' (Suid.); hence (or from ὕελος?) ὑ(ε)λι-άριος [m.] (Asia Minor). 3. ὑαλ-ίζω (ὑελ-) [v.] 'to have glass-color' (Dsc., Ph. Byz. et al.).
•ETYM A Pre-Greek word, cf. Fur.: 351; it may have had palatal *ly*, cf. the variant ὕελλος. This may also explain the coloring of the preceding *a* to *e*. The ancient grammarians, such as Phryn., call ὕαλος Attic, and ὕελος Hellenistic. There is a remarkable similarity with the first member of the North-European name for amber, *suali-ternicum* (called "Scythian" by Plin. *HN* 37,33). A similar identity of the words for 'glass' and 'amber' is found in OGm. *glēsum* [Plin., Tac.] 'amber' and OHG *glas*.

ὑβός [adj.] 'hunchbacked' (Hp., Theoc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR codd. ὕβος (for ὑ-?) [m.] 'hunchback, hump', of a camel, a Cyprian ox (Arist.), ὔβε [voc.] (Theoc. 5,43), perhaps metrically conditioned.
•DER ὑβόομαι 'to become hunchbacked' (Gal.), ὕβ-ωμα [n.] 'hump' (or enlarged from ὕβος?), -ωσις [f.] 'hunchbackedness' (Hp., Gal.).
•ETYM The element -β- in ὑβός is reminiscent of words like στραβός, κλαμβός, and other words for corporeal defects (Chantraine 1933: 261); ὑβός may have been influenced by these. A convincing etymology has not been found. Petersson 1918: 74 compares Lith. *subinẽ* 'hindmost, back, bottom', which would have been derived from **subas* = ὕβος. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

ὕβρις, -ιος, -εος, -εως [f.] 'arrogance, haughtiness, exorbitance, violence, offence, abuse' (Il.). ◁PG?▷
•COMP ὑβρίγελως [m.] 'arrogant laughter' (Man.), μίσυβρις 'having arrogance' (LXX).
•DER ὑβρίζω, Dor. (Theoc.) -ίσδω, aor. ὑβρ-ίσαι, pass. -ισθῆναι, etc. 'to be arrogant or unbounded, to exert violence, offend, abuse' (Il.), often with prefix, e.g. ἀφ-, ἐν-, ἐξ-, ἐφ-, καθ-. Derivatives: 1. ὕβρ-ισμα (ἐν-) [n.] 'arrogant action, etc.', also object of it (Hdt., E., D., Plu. etc.). 2. -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (A. *Fr.* 179 = 485 M.). 3. -ισις (only with ἀνθ-) [f.] 'counter-abuse' (comm. Arist.). 4. -ιστής (ἐφ-) [m.] 'violator, offender' (N 633 [cf. -ιστήρ], Od., etc.), fem. -ιστις (*EM*); -ιστήρ [m.] 'id.' (v.l. N 633, Opp., Nonn., *AP*), fem. -ίστρια (LXX). 5. -ιστος 'arrogant, scoffing' (Pherecr., Pl. Com.), grades of comparison -ιστότερος, -ιστότατος (Hdt. 3, 81 [v.l. -ιστικώτερον], Att.). 6. -ιστικός 'id.' (Att., Arist., etc.). 7. ἐφύβριστος 'contumelious, disgraceful' (LXX, Plu., Man.,

Vett. Val. etc.). Also ὑβρίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a nocturnal bird of prey, perhaps 'eagle-owl, Strix bubo' (Arist., H.).

•ETYM No certain explanation. The -β- and initial ὑ- hardly look IE, so the word could well be Pre-Greek. Frisk is sympathetic to the connection with the prefix / preposition ►ὑ-, but this means nothing. Nikolaev *Glotta* 80 (2002): 211-230 assumes that ὕβρις contains the root of ἥβη and, with many additional assumptions, reconstructs **i̯oHgʷri-*. But as the *Wetter*-rule that he assumes is probably wrong, we would expect **ὠβρι-*, and the construction must be rejected. Note that ἥβη is always a positive notion, whereas ὕβρις certainly is not.

ὕγγεμος ⇒ γέντο.

ὑγιής [adj.] 'healthy, unharmed, beneficial' (since Θ 524). ◁IE **h₂iu-* 'span of time' and **gʷih₃-* 'live'▷

•COMP ὑγιο-ποιέω 'to heal' (D. S.).

•DER 1. Adjectives: ὑγι-ηρός 'healthy, beneficial' (Pi., IA), -ηρέστερος (Hdt.) (after ὑγιέστερος); ὑγί-εις 'id.' (Pi.); ὕγ(ε)ιος 'id.' (pap. II-III^{p}, gloss.); ὑγι-ώτερος (Sophr.). 2. Abstract ὑγιεία, -ειᾰ, Ion. -είη [f.] 'health', also personified (Simon., Pi., IA), -εινός 'benificial to the health, belonging to health, beneficial' (IA), Hell. ὑγεῖα, -ία, PN (Hell. and late) Ὑγ(ε)ῖος = Lat. *Hygīnus*; quite rarely -ότης [f.] 'health' in logic (S. E.). 3. Further nouns: Ὑγιάτης [m.], epithet of Dionysus (Ath., Eust.); ὑγείδιον [n.] name of several unguents (Gal.). 4. Verbs: a. ὑγι-αίνω 'to be healthy, be in good health' (IA), also δι-, ἐξ-, συν-; -ανσις [f.] 'healing' (Arist. etc.). b. -άζω 'to heal', -άζομαι (άφ-, ἐξ-) 'to be cured' (Hp., Arist., Hell. and late), -άσματα [n.pl.] = ἀκέσματα (*AB*), -αστήριον [n.] 'hospital' (pap. II^{p}, gloss.), -αστός 'curable' (Arist.), -αστικός 'serving for healing' (Arist., Str., Gal. etc.); ἀφυγι-ασμός [m.] 'healing' (Iamb.). c. ὑγι-ῶσαι 'to heal' (Hp.), perhaps false for γυιῶσαι?

•ETYM Traditionally explained as a compound of PIE **h₁su-* 'well, good' (see ►ἐύς) and 'to live' (see ►ζώω and ►βίος), with *s*-stem inflexion: IE **h₁su-gʷih₃-es-*. Initial ὑ- instead of εὐ- would be due to laryngeal loss in the compound. A close correspondence seems to be found in Av. *hu-jiiāiti-* [f.] 'a good life'. However, Weiss *MSS* 55 (1994): 151f. much more convincingly assumes that it derives from **h₂iu-gʷih₃-es-* 'having eternal life'; he compares Lat. *iūgis* 'constant' and Av. *yauuaē-jī-* 'living forever'.

ὑγρός [adj.] 'wet, moist, watery, fluid; weak, soft, flexible' (Il.). ◁IE **ugʷ-ro-* 'moist'▷

•COMP ὑγρομελής 'with flexible limbs' (X., Poll.), κάθυγρος 'soaked' (Hp., Thphr. etc.).

•DER 1. Subst. ὑγρότης, Dor. -ότας [f.] 'moisture, weakness, etc.' (IA, Ti. Locr.); -ηδών, -ηδόνος [f.] 'id.' (Hp.); -ίην· τὸ οὖρον. Διονύσιος (H.). 2. Verbs: a. ὑγρ-αίνω 'to wet, water' (IA), very often with καθ-, δι-, ἐξ-, etc.; -ανσις [f.] 'wetting' (Gal. etc.), -αντικός 'wetting' (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath. etc.); καθυγρασμός [f.] 'wetting' (late medic.). b. -άζω 'to be, become wet or moist' (Hp.), -ασία [f.] 'moisture' (Arist., Thphr. etc.), -ασμα [n.] 'id.' (Hp.); may also be connected with -αίνω. c. -ώσσω 'to be wet, moist' (A. *Ag.* 1329).

•ETYM Possible cognates include ON *vǫkr*, acc. *vǫkvan* 'moist, wet' < PGm. **u̯akᵘa-* < PIE **u̯og-u̯o-* or **u̯ogʷ-o-*; and Lat. *ūvidus*, *ūdus* 'id.', which can go back to PIE **ugʷ-*, **u̯e/ogʷ-* or **uhₓ-*, see de Vaan 2008. Thus, all forms may go back to a root **u(e/o)gʷ-*.

ὕδερος [m.] 'dropsy' (Hp., Arist.). ◂IE? **udero-* 'belly'▸

•VAR Also ὅδερος· γαστήρ (H.), with dialectal ó- for ὑ-? Differently Güntert *IF* 27 (1910): 48: rather for ὕδερος, because of the spiritus asper. Also ὕδερος εἰς ἀμίδα 'diabetes' (Gal.).

•DER Adj. ὑδερ-ικός, -ώδης, -ιώδης 'dropsical'; verbs -αίνω, -ιάω (with -ίασις), -άω 'to suffer from dropsy' (all medic.).

•ETYM Cognate with Skt. *udára-* [n.], Av. *udara-* 'abdomen, belly', Lat. *uterus* 'belly, womb' (*tr* < **dr* in oblique cases), OPr. *weders* 'belly, stomach', Lith. *vėdaras* 'sausage, intestines' (with long vowel from Winter's Law). Gr. ὕδερος must separated from ὕδωρ 'water', since a full grade ὕδερ- is further unknown in Greek. The semantic shift from 'belly' to 'dropsy' is unproblematic: Skt. *udára-* is also used in the sense of 'pathologically swollen belly'.

ὑδέω [v.] 'to sing, glorify' (Hell. epic, conj. in E. *Hyps.* 3, 15). ◂IE **h₂ued-* 'speak'▸

•VAR -είω metrically conditioned; also ὕδω, ὕδειν (Suid. etc.).

•DER ὕδη· φήμη, ᾠδή (Theognost. *Can.* 19), ὕδης· συνετός, ἢ ποιητής (H.).

•ETYM Without ascertained etymology. It would be attractive to assume that ὑδ- is cognate with ▸αὐδή 'voice', and with Skt. *vádati* 'to speak', ppp. *uditá*. Yet there is no good explanation for the different reflexes in Gr. */hud-/* vs. */aud-/*.

ὕδνον [n.] name of a mushroom, 'truffle' (Hell. and late). ◂PG▸

•COMP ὑδνόφυλλον· ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕδνοις φυομένη πόη (H.) (Pamphil. *apud* Ath. 2, 62d).

•ETYM The word has hesitantly been connected to ὕδωρ as 'juicy' (Pok. 79), to ὗει 'rains' as 'rain-plant', and to ὗς 'swine' as 'sow-bread'. Under ▸ἴτον, I have argued that we must assume a Pre-Greek word, in view of the variants ὕτνον, οἴδνον, οἴτνον, adduced by Fur.: 110, 184.

ὕδρα [f.] 'water-snake', especially ἡ Λερναία ὕδρα (Hes., Herod., S., E., Pl.); ὕδρος [m.] 'id., Coluber nutrix' (B 723, Hdt., Arist., Call. etc.); ὕδρα / ὕδρος (Hell. and late since Eudox. *apud* Hipparch.) 'the constellation Hydra'. ◂IE **ud-ró-* 'of the water'▸

•VAR Ion. -η.

•ETYM PIE name for a water-animal, especially 'otter': Skt. *udrá-* [m.], Av. *udra-* [m.] 'otter', OHG *ottar* 'id.', Lith. *ūdra* [f.], Ru. *výdra* [f.] 'id.' (with **ū* from Winter's Law); Lat. *lutra* [f.] 'id.' with additional *l-* by folk etymology. Cf. ▸ὕδωρ, ἔνυδρις.

ὕδωρ, -ατος [n.] 'water' (Il.). ◂IE **uod-r*, **ud-n-*, coll. **ud-ōr* 'water'▸

•DIAL Myc. *u-do-ro* /udros/ or /udron/ designation of a bucket-shaped pot.

•COMP ὑδροφόρος [m., f.] 'water-bearer', ἄνυδρος 'without water' (IA); ὑδατοτρεφής 'fed by water' (ρ 208), ἀνύδατος 'without water' (Man.), etc.; rarely ὑδασι-<σ>τεγής 'protecting from water, waterproof' (*AP* 6, 90). Hypostases: ἔνυδρις (-ίς) [f.] 'otter' (Hdt., Ar., Arist.), Μεθύδρ-ιον [n.] town in Arcadia, "between the rivers" (Th.), -ιεύς [m.] 'inhabitant of M.', gen.pl. Μετυδριήων (Orchom.).

•DER A. Stem ὑδρ-: Nouns 1. ὑδρία [f.] 'water-bucket, urn' (Att., Locr. V^{a}), diminutive -ίσκη, -ίον, -ίδιον (Hell. and late). 2. -ινεῖον [m.] 'id.' (pap. II-III^{p}), to *ὕδρῖνος or *ὑδρῖνος). 3. -ότης [f.] 'moisture' (Procl.). 4. -ωμα [n.] = -ευμα (Eg. inscr.), enlarged or from *-όομαι. 5. ὑδρανας [acc.pl.] 'vessel for lustration water' (Andania I^{a}), rather from ὑδράνη than from ὑδράν (cf. H.: ὑδράνη· τὸ ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ καθαρόν; ὑδράν· εἰς θυσίαν ἀκραιφνές. Ῥίνθων; ὑδρανός· ὁ ἁγνιστὴς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων). 6. Ὑδρ-οῦς, -οῦντος [m.] town on the Ionic Sea in Calabria. 7. -ών, -ῶνος [m.] month-name (Ptol.).

Adjectives: 1. ὑδρ-ηλός 'watery, wet' (epic poet. since ι 113, also Hp.). 2. -ηρός 'id.' (Sophr., *Trag. Adesp.*, etc.). 3. -ώδης 'id.' (Thphr.). 4. -αῖος 'belonging to water' (Olymp. in *Phd.*); οὐδραια· ὑδρία, μέτρον τι, Ἀττικοῦ μετρητοῦ ἥμισυ (H.), Lacon. or Boeot.? 5. -ιος 'of water' (Hero). 6. Unclear ὑδραλής· μετάβολος, also ὄφις ὕδατος (H.).

Verbs: 1. ὑδρ-αίνομαι, -αίνω (άφ-) [v.] 'to bathe, water, wet' (Od., E. [almost only lyr.]), -αντικός (pap. III^{a}). 2. -εύομαι, -εύω [v.] 'to scoop, fetch water' (Od.), quite rarely with ἐφ-, προσ-; thence -εῖον (-ήϊον), -εία, -ευμα, -ευσις, -εύς, -ευτής, -ευτικός.

B. Stem ὑδατ- (on the whole younger than ὑδρ-): Nouns 1. ὑδάτιον [n.] 'little water, little rain, rivulet' (Pl., Arist., Thphr., etc.). 2. -ίς [f.] 'blain' (medic.).

Adjectives: 1. -ώδης 'watery, dropsical' (Hp., Arist., Thphr. etc.). 2. -ινος 'belonging to water, watery, water-clear, flexible' (Hell. and late). 3. -ικός 'of water, watery' (Thphr., pap. II^{p}). 4. -όεις 'watery, transparent like water' (*AP*, Nonn.). 5. -εινός 'wet, moist' (Hp.). 6. -ηρός 'containing water' (A. *Fr.* 96 = 44 M.).

Verbs. 1. ὑδατόομαι (ἐξ-) [v.] 'to be / become watery, dropsical', ἐξυδατόω [v.] 'to turn into water, dilute with water' (Hp., Thphr. etc.), -ωσις [f.] (medic.). 2. -ίζω only in δι-ὑδατίζω 'to give to drink' (sch.), ἐξυδατισθέν· ὡς ὕδωρ (H.), ὑδατισμός [m.]'murmur of water' (medic.).

C. Other formations: 1. ὕδος [n.] (Call. *Fr.* 475), dat. -ει (Hes. *Op.* 61) 'water'. 2. ὑδ-αλέος 'dropsical' (Hp.), -αλίς· ὑδρωπιῶν (H.). 3. -αρής 'watery, diluted', especially of wine (IA); τὸ ὑδαρόν (H.) as an explanation of ὑδαρές; ἐξ-υδαρόομαι, -όω [v.] 'to become water, make into water' (Arist., late). See also ▶ὕδρα, ▶ὕδρος and ▶ὕδερος.

•ETYM A PIE *r/n*-stem for 'water'. In Greek, the *n*-stem was enlarged with a *t*, hence *ud-n̥-t- > gen. ὕδατ-ος, etc. The denominative ὑδραίνομαι might continue older *ὑδαινω = Skt. *udanyáti* 'to water'.

Cognates: U *utur* [n.] (< *ud-ōr), abl. *une* (< *ud-n-), Latin *unda* 'wave, sea, river' < *ud-n-; Alb. *ujë* 'water'; Hitt. *u̯ātar / u̯itēn-* [n.] 'id.' (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); Skt. gen. *udnás*, loc. *udán(i)*, adj. *anudrás* 'without water'; Go. *wato*, gen. *watins*, ON *vatn*, OS *watar*, MoHG *Wasser*; OCS *voda*, Lith. *vanduō* 'water'. The rare *s*-stem in ὕδος, dat. ὕδει is also found in the zero grade in Skt. *útsa-* [m.] 'source, spring' < *ud-s-o-.

ὗει, ὑετός ⇒ὕω.

υϝαις ζαν •VAR Cypr., written *u-wa-i-se za-ne* (*ICS* 217, 10). ⇒ὑ.

ὕθλος [m.] 'idle talk, prank' (Pl., D., Porph., Jul.). ◂?▸

•COMP ὑθλορρήμων 'talking idly' (Tz.).

•DER ὑθλέω [v.] 'to prate' (Ar., Ephipp., Phld., Luc.), also with ἐξ-, συν-. Cf. ὑσθλός· σαλός, φλύαρος 'silly talk, nonsense' and ὑλλεῖ· θρυλλεῖ, λέγει, also ὑλάει· θρυλλεῖ, ὑλακτεῖ, λέγει, θρηνεῖ 'babbles, barks, says, laments' (H.).

•ETYM No etymology. The word may contain the suffix -θλο- (as in ἄεθλος etc.), but there is no good explanation for initial ὑ-.

ὑιήν [?] · τὴν ἄμπελον 'vine' (H.). ◂?▸

•ETYM Unknown.

υἱός [m.] 'son' (Il.). ◂IE **suH-i(e)u-* 'son'▸

•VAR Also ὑός (Att.); older υἱύς (Lac., Gort., etc., Old Att. also ὑύς, ὕς); obl. forms: gen. υἱοῦ (Corc. VI[a] [epigr.], χ 238, etc.), υἱέος (Il.), υἱῆος (Hell. and late epic), υἷος (Hom., Thess.), acc. ὑ(ι)όν, υἱύν, υἱέα, υἷα, nom.pl. ὑ(ι)οί, υἱέες, υἱεῖς, υἱῆες, υἷες, etc.

•DIAL Myc. *i-jo* /[h]īos/, perhaps *i-ju* (*i-*65*) /[h]īus/, dat. *i-je-we* /[h]īewei/, *i-we* /[h]īwei/. Most recently *-u-jo* (TH Fq 229: *ra-ke-da-mo-ni-jo-u-jo*) /[h]ūjōi/.

•COMP υἱοθεσία [f.] 'adoption' (Hell. and late); univerbation of υἱὸν θέσθαι.

•DER 1. Derived fem. υιη 'daughter' (*Sammelb.* I[P]), also υα (Mytilene I[P][?]). 2. Diminutive ὑΐδιον [n.] (Ar.), υἱάφιον [n.] (gloss.). 3. Denominative υἱόω, -όομαι [v.] 'to adopt as a son', -ωσις [f.] 'adoption' (late). 4. As 'grandson': a. υἱωνός (Hom., Theoc., Plu., late inscr. and pap.), plur. υἱωνεῖς· υἱῶν υἱέες (H.), after υἱεῖς; fem. υἱωνή 'granddaughter' (J., gramm.). b. ὑ(ι)ιδοῦς (Pl., X., D., Arist. etc.), ὑ(ι)ιδεύς (Isoc., H.); fem. ὑϊδῆ (pap. I[a], Poll., H.).

•ETYM The *o*-stem in υἱός is secondary against the υ-stem in υἱύς; perhaps it arose by dissimilation. The (proterodynamic) inflexion of υἱύς shows the full grade **-eu-* of the suffix in υἱέος, υἱέι and υἱεῖ, υἱέες and υἱεῖς, du. υἱέε, υἱεῖ, and the zero grade **-u-* (which would point to hysterodynamic inflection) in υἷος, υἷι (with Aeolic retraction of accent?), υἷές, υἷε. The generalized zero grade is limited to the epic, with the exception of Thess. gen. ηυιος. The acc. υἱέα, υἱέας as well as υἱύν, υἱύνς (Gort., etc.) must be innovations.

The same preform PIE **suH-iu-* yielded ToB *soy*, ToA *se*, gen. *seyo* 'son'. Most other languages have a different suffix in **suH-nu-*: Skt. *sūnú-* 'son', Av. *hunu-* 'offspring', Lith. *sūnùs*, OCS *synъ*, Go. *sunus*, OHG *sunu* 'son'. These nouns are probably derived from PIE **suH-* 'to bring forth' as in Skt. *sūte* 'to give birth', *sūta-* 'son'; OIr. *suth* 'fruit' < **su(H)-tu-* 'birth, fruit'. Thus, PIE **suH-iu-*, *suH-nu-* must be interpreted as 'produce of the body'.

The absence of the suffix **-ter-* in 'son', as opposed to the words for 'father, mother, daughter, brother', is striking; perhaps PIE **suH-n/iu-* replaced a different word for 'son', e.g. the one continued in Skt. *putrá-*, Av. *puθra-*.

ὕκης [m.] name of an unknown fish (Antim., Philet., Call.), acc. to Zenod. Cyrenaean for ἐρυθρῖνος; acc. to Hermipp. = ἰουλίς (see Ath. 7, 304e, 320d, 327b and c). ◂?▸

•VAR ὕκας ἀγεληΐδας [acc.pl.] (Numen.); also ὕκος (H.).

•ETYM No etymology.

ὑλακόμωροι [adj.] epithet of κύνες (ξ 29, π 4), thence μόθος ὑ., also of dogs (Nonn. *D.* 36, 197). ◂GR▸

•ETYM The initial ὑ- is due to metrical lengthening. Formed in emulation of ►ἐγχεσίμωροι, ►ἰόμωροι, so probably "famous for barking". The first element probably represents a noun ὑλακή, which Porzig 1942: 239 explains as an artificial formation for metrically impossible *ὑλακτο-. See ►ὑλάω.

ὑλάω [v.] 'to bark', of dogs (Od., Theoc.), metaphorically of Cassandra (Tryph.), of a man (S. *Fr.* 61 conj. for ὑλακτῶ). ◅IE **ul-*, ONOM, PG?▻

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.; med. ipf. ὑλάοντο (π 162, verse-final). Usually with enlargement -κτ- in ὑλακτέω 'id.', only pres. and ipf. except aor. ὑλάκτησα (Luc. *Nec.* 10), also with prefix, e.g. ἐξ-, περι-, προσ- (since Σ 586; mostly late).

•DER ὑλακτικός 'prone to barking' (Arist., Luc., Ph.), προσυλάκτησις [f.] 'the reviling' (Simp. *in Ph.*); epic ptc. ὑλακτιόωντες (Q. S.), as if from *ὑλακτ-ιάω (metrically conditioned). Furthermore ὑλάσκω 'id.' (A. *Supp.* 877 [lyr.], uncertain), aor. ὑλάξαι (D. C.), pres. ὑλάσσω (Chariton, Eust.).

Nouns with velar suffix: 1. ὑλακή [f.] 'the barking' (poetic in Pl. *Lg.* 967d, A. R., *AP*, Plu., Luc.), μαψυλάκᾱς [m.] 'who barks or cries in vain' (Sapph., Pi.), ὑλακ-όεις 'barking' (Opp.), -όωντες 'id.' (Opp.), patronymic Ὑλακ-ίδης (ξ 204), as if from *Ὕλαξ (= *Hylax … latrat*, Verg. *Buc.* 8, 106); on ►ὑλακόμωροι, see s.v. 2. ὑλ-αγμός [m.] 'the barking' (Φ 575, X., Arist. etc.), κυν- (Stesich.); ὕλ-αγμα [n.] 'id.' (A., E.), from *ὑλάζω? Also ὕλασμα [n.] (Cyran.). On the hero Ὕλας, see Kretschmer *Glotta* 14 (1925): 33ff.

•ETYM Probably an onomatopoeic word for 'howling, barking', compare Lat. *ululāre* 'to howl', *ulula* 'owl', Skt. *ulúl-* 'crying loudly', *úlūka-* [m.] 'owl', Lith. *ulúoti* 'to howl', etc., and in Greek ►ὀλολύζω. For -άω, one may compare the semantically close verbs βοάω, γοάω, etc. The suffix -(α)κτ- is regarded as expressive by Frisk (see ►πυρακτέω), but it may have been a Pre-Greek suffix; in fact, the word as a whole may have been Pre-Greek.

ὕλη [f.] 'forest, wood, timber, firewood, shrubbery' (Il.), 'stuff, matter' (Arist., Plb., medic., etc.); also = τὸ καθίζον τοῦ οἴνου ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος (Phot.), 'sediment, mud, slime, bodily secretion' (Ar. *Fr.* 879, *UPZ* 70, 9 [II^{a}], Hell. and late medic.); cf. ►ὕλις. ◅IE? **suol-h$_2$-* or **h$_1$eus-l-h$_2$* 'firewood'▻

•COMP ὑλοτόμος [adj.] 'felling wood', [m.] 'woodcutter' (Il.), ὑλᾱτόμος 'id.' (Theoc.), ὑληκοίτης [m.] 'having his camp in the woods' (Hes.), ὑληωρός [m.] 'forester' (A. R., *A.P*), ὑλωρός 'id.' (Arist.), -ωρέω [v.] (Thess.V^{a}); thence ὑληώρεας εὐνάς [acc.pl.] (Nic. *Th.* 55), ὑληρεύς· νομεὺς ἐν ὕλῃ φυλάττων H.; ὑλομήτρα· εἶδος σκώληκος (H.). As a second member in ἔνυλος 'provided with matter, material' (Arist., late).

•DER 1. Adj.: ὑλήεις, Dor. -άεις 'rich of wood, woody' (epic poet. Il.), -ώδης 'id.' (Th., S., X. etc.), 'muddy' (Dsc., Plu. et al.), -ιμος 'belonging to the wood' (E.), -ικός 'bodily, material' (Arist. etc.), -αῖος 'woody, wooded, in the forest, material' (Hell. and late), Ὑλαίη [f.] name of a wooded region on the Borysthenes (Hdt.), -ῷος 'belonging to matter' (Orph. *Fr.* 353); -ειῶτα [voc.] epithet of Πάν (*AP* 6, 106; after Πὰν ὀρειώτας *AP* 9,824). 2. PN Ὑλεύς name of a dog (X.). 3. ὕλημα [n.], mostly pl. 'bushes', -ηματικός [adj.] (Thphr.). 4. Verbs: a. ὑλάζομαι, aor. -άσασθαι 'to fetch wood' (Att. inscr., Poll., H.), -ασία [f.] 'the fetching of wood' (Att. inscr.), -άστρια [f.]

'wood-fetcher' (Phot.). b. ὑλίζω, -ίσαι, ptc.pf. -ισμένος 'to clean, clear, filter' (Cratin. 354, Pl. *Ti.* 69 a, Archyt., LXX, Dsc., pap., etc.), also with prefix, esp. δι-; -ιστήρ (δι-) [m.] 'filtering-cloth, sieve' (medic., pap.), -ιστῆριον (δι-) [n.] (pap., sch., H.), διύλισμα [n.] 'clarified fluid' (Gal.), -ισις [f.] 'clearing filtering' (Suid.), -ισμός [m.] 'clearing, cleaning' (Clem. Al.), ἀφύλισμα γάλακτος as an explanation of ὀρὸς γάλακτος H., -ισμὸς χωμάτων, παρ- ~ τενάγους 'removing the mud, cleaning' (pap.).

•ETYM The meaning 'mud' can easily be explained by a recent development from 'matter' to 'solid matter, dregs, secretion' as against clear wine and pure water, as appears already from the explanation by Phot. as τὸ καθίζον τοῦ οἴνου ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος. The earlier etymologies connecting ὕλη with Lat. *silva* or with ξύλον must be rejected. If the original meaning was 'firewood', one may follow Vine 1999b: 573 in deriving ὕλη with Cowgill's Law (**o* > Gr. υ in certain environments) from PIE **suol-h₂-*, to the root **suel-* 'to smoulder'; see LIV² s.v. **su̯el-*. Alternatively, starting from the same meaning, connection with ON *usli* [m.] 'glowing ashes', from **h₁eus-l-h₂* to the root of εὔω, Lat. *ūrere* 'to burn', etc., may be envisaged (Wackernagel 1916: 185).

ὕλιγγες [?] · λόγχαι 'troops of spearmen, vel sim.' (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown.

ὑλίμη [f.] · μάχη τις (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM Kronasser *Sprache* 6 (1960): 178 compares Hitt. *šulli-* 'fight, quarrel', *šulliazi* 'to fight, quarrel'; if a derivative **šullima-* 'fight' existed in Hittite, this could have been the source of the Greek word.

ὕλις [f.] 'mud' (pap. IV-III^{a}, LXX, *EM*). ◅?▻

•VAR Also ὕλις.

•ETYM Frisk suggests that ὕλις might have arisen from ἰλύς 'mud, slime' by way of contamination with ὑλίζω, ὕλη 'mud' (cf. *IG* 1², 94: 20; 23 beside 2², 2498: 9). This solution does not inspire much confidence.

ὕλλος [m.] 'the Egyptian ichneumon (glossed by LSJ as 'tracker'), Pharao's rat' (Tim. Gaz.); name of a fish (Cyran.). ◅LW Egypt.?▻

•ETYM The meaning suggests a loanword. The hypothetical connection with ὕδωρ 'water' as **ὕδ-λος*, which is found in older literature, must be given up as it finds no support whatever.

ὑμεῖς [pron.pers.] 'you (pl.)' (Il.). ◅IE nom. **iuH*, acc. **usmé*, loc. **usmi* 'you (pl.)'; gen./acc. **uos*, **uōs*▻

•VAR Acc. ὑμᾶς, Ion. ὑμέας; Dor. ὑμές, acc. ὑμέ; Aeol. ὔμμες, acc. ὔμμε.

•DER Possessive adjective ὑμέτερος, Dor. also ὑμός, Aeol. ὕμμος 'your'.

•ETYM The acc. ὑμέ, ὔμμε go back to **usme*, and the nom. ὑμές, ὔμμε arose by analogy with the nominal inflexion; later also ὑμεῖς < **-ές*, and a new acc. ὑμέας, ὑμᾶς were created. Furthermore, the gen. ὑμῶν, ὑμέων, ὑμμέων, and dat. ὑμῖν, ὑμίν, ὔμμι(ν) were formed.

Cognate forms: Skt. nom. *yūyám*, acc. *yuṣmā́n*, *vas*, OCS nom. *vy*, acc. *vasъ*, Hitt. nom. *sumēs*, acc. *sumās*, etc. The PIE basis **us-(s)me* contains the zero grade of the full grade seen in Lat. *vōs*, Skt. *vas* (encl.), etc. < PIE obl. **u̯ŏs*.

ὑμήν 1, -ένος [m.] 'thin or weak skin, film, membrane, sinew' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., A. R., etc.). ◁IE **siuH-mn-* 'thread, sinew'▷

•COMP ὑμενοειδής 'membrane-like' (Hp., Arist., etc.).

•DER Diminutive ὑμέν-ιον [n.] (Arist. etc.), -ώδης 'provided with a film, membrane-like' (Hp., Arist.), -ινος 'consisting of a film' (Clearch.), -όομαι [v.] 'to turn into a film' (Hp., Gal.), -όω 'to cover with a film' (comm. Hp. VII^{p}); ἐξυμεν-ίζω [v.] 'to remove a film', -ιστήρ [m.] 'knife for flaying' (medic.).

•ETYM Except for the quantity of the υ-, the Greek word is formally matched by Skt. *syū́man-* [n.] 'band, throng, bridle'. For the verbal root, compare Lat. *suere*, *sūtum* 'to sew', Go. *siujan*, Lith. *siū́ti* 'id.'< PIE **siuH-C-* from earlier **siH-u-C-*, cf. Skt. *sī́vyatu* 'to sew'. Formerly, Hitt. *šumanza-* 'rope, snare' used to be compared too, but Melchert 2003 has shown that the word means '(bul)rush' and must be posited as *šumanzan-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.); it is therefore unrelated to ὑμήν.

ὑμήν 2, -ένος [m.] 'wedding-cry', secondarily 'god of wedding', 'hymen' (trag., Ar., Theoc., Opp., Ovid., etc.), usually in connection with ὑμέναιος 'id.', also 'wedding' (Σ 493, Hes. *Sc.*, Pi., trag., Ar., Catull. etc.), Aeol. ὑμήνᾰος (Sapph., Cyrene), ὑμήναιος (Call.), e.g. Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναι' ἄναξ (E. *Tr.* 314). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Also ὐ- metrically lengthened; voc. ὑμέν Call. *Fr.* 473 Pf.

•DER ὑμεν-ήϊος epithet of Dionysus (*AP*), -αϊκὸν μέτρον (Serv.); ὑμεν-αιόω [v.] 'to strike up the ὑμέναιος' (A. *Pr.* 557 [lyr.], S. *Fr.* 725, Plu.), 'to marry' (Ar. *Pax* 1076), also with ἀν-, συν-.

•ETYM Frisk insists on the identity of the wedding-cry with ►ὑμήν 1 in the sense of 'membrana virginalis'. A different, non-IE (Pre-Greek) origin of the wedding-cry is assumed by Muth *Wien.Stud.* 67 (1954): 5ff. Similarly Fur.: 383, but without further argumentation.

ὕμνος [m.] 'song, chant, hymn, elegy' (θ 429). ◁PG?▷

•COMP ὑμνῳδ-ός [m.] 'hymn-singer', whence -ία, -έω (A., E., Pl., etc.), πολύυμνος 'with many songs, much sung of' (*h. Hom.* 26, 7, Anacr., E. etc.).

•DER 1. diminutive ὑμν-άριον [n.] (Lyd. *Mens.*), adjective -ώδης 'full of lauds, praising' (Philostr.), -ικός 'consisting of hymns' (Didyma II-III^{p}). 2. ἐφύμνιον [n.] 'refrain' (A. R., Call. etc.), -ιάζω [v.] (Eratosth.). 3. ὑμνέω [v.] 'to sing (a song), praise, glorify in a chant' (Hes., *h. Hom.*, Alc., Sapph., IA, etc.), often with prefix, e.g. ἐφ-, ἀν-, καθ-, ἐξ-; ὑμνητής [m.] 'glorifier' (Pl., Att. inscr.), -τήρ 'id.' (*AP*, Opp.), fem. -τρια (Attica, Pergam.), -στρια (Pergam.), -τρίς (Poll. v.l.), -σις [f.] 'the praising' (LXX, D. S.), -τικός 'praising' (Str.).

•ETYM No certain etymology. It could be derived from ὑμήν < **siuH-mn* 'tie, seam' as **siuH-mn-o-* 'construction of song(s)' (compare formally λιμήν : λίμνη, etc., semantically MoHG *Liedgefüge*). This explanation can be supported by an antique conception (e.g. ὑφάνας ὕμνον in B.), but a derivation of ὕμνος from the root of ὑφ-ή, ὑφ-αίνω is phonetically difficult (only PGr. **bn*, *g^{w}n* > μν, not e.g. PGr. **p^{h}n*).

Alternatively, ὕμνος could be connected with ὑμήν 'wedding-cry', cf. Maas *Phil.* 66 (1907): 590ff. The word was also considered to be a Mediterranean loanword, for instance by Autran 1938: 33, and by Fur.: 383. The latter regards ὕμνος as Pre-Greek without further comment; Pre-Greek origin may be suggested by the sequence -μν-.
Yet, another solution would be to connect ὕμνος with Skt. *sā́man-* 'song of praise' (< **sh₂omen-*) and Hitt. *išḫamai-* 'song, hymn' to PIE **sh₂-* 'to bind'; ὕμνος would then require a preform **sh₂omn-os*, Mallory & Adams 1997: 520a.
Vine 1999b: 576 reconstructs **suon(H)-mo-* with development **su̯on-* > **su̯un-*, analogous to that of **Tu̯oR-*. This seems phonetically preferable to **sh₂omn-o-*, on account of the conditioning of the change of **o* to Gr. υ, on which see Vine op.cit.

ὕνις, -εως, -ιος [f.] 'ploughshare' (Hell. and late pap., Corn., Babr., Plu., *AP*, etc.) ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Rare variants ὕννις (sch. Hes. *Op.* 425, H.), ὕννη (H.), acc.pl. ὕννας (Aesop.); ὑννιμάχος 'fighting with a ploughshare' (Max. Tyr.).
•DER Diminutive ὕνιον (pap. IV^{P}).
•ETYM Already in antiquity (Plu. 2, 670a), ὕνις was connected with ὗς 'swine'. The ploughshare would have been compared to a swine browsing the earth. A parallel case is provided by W *swch* 'swine-snout' and 'plough-share'. Brugmann *IF* 28 (1911): 366ff. unconvincingly explains ὕνις as a compound of ὗς and a word for 'snout' (to MHG *snouwen* 'to snuffle'), with the ending after ὀφνίς, so from IE **su-sn-i-*; then the geminate would have to be old.
Fur.: 387 regards the word as Pre-Greek on account of the incidental gemination.

ὕπαρ [n.] 'vision', as opposed to ὄναρ 'deceiving dream' (τ 547, υ 90), 'true and visible appearance, reality, being awake', often as an adverb 'while being awake, in reality, really' (Pi., IA, Epid., etc.). ◂IE **suep-ōr* 'sleep'▸
•VAR Indeclinable.
•ETYM Originally 'sleep, dream'; the opposition to ὄναρ 'deceiving dream' > 'dream', led to the meaning 'true dream', whence 'reality' (Frisk *Eranos* 48 (1950): 131ff.). Cognate with ►ὕπνος, which points to a PIE *r/n*-stem. The *r*-stem further appears in the denominative Hitt. *šuppariia-* 'to sleep' < **sup-r-i̯e/o-*, and in Lat. *sopor* < **suep-ōs* or **sue/op-r*. Gr. ὕπαρ may regularly go back to **sup-r̥* for an earlier nom.acc. **suep-r*.

ὕπατος [adj.] 'the uppermost, highest' (Il., epic Ion. poet.). Also as a msc. noun = Lat. *consul*. ◂IE **up-* '(from) below, up, above'▸
•VAR With metrical enlargement ὑπατήϊος 'id.' (Nonn.).
•COMP ἀνθύπατος = *proconsul*, etc. (Plb., D. H. etc.).
•DER (ἀνθ-)ὑπατ-ικός, -εύω, -εία (Str., D. S., D. H., etc.), ἀνθυπατ-ιανός = *proconsularis* (Iust.).
•ETYM Superlative to ►ὕπο. Instead of the original suffix *-mo-*, as found e.g. in Skt. *upamá-*, Lat. *summus* < **sup-mo-*, we find -το- after ἔσχατος, δέκατος, μέσσατος, etc. Cf. ►ὕψι, ►ὕψος.

ὑπεμνήμυκε (X 491) ⇒ἠμύω.

ὕπερ [adv., prep.] as an adverb 'over, above measure' (very rare); preposition with acc. and gen. (Arc. also dative [Tegea III^a]): 'over, beyond' (local and temporal), 'above, protecting from or against, because of' (Il.). ◁IE **uper(i)* adv. 'over, above', **upero-* adj. 'upper'▷

•VAR ὑπέρ (metrical lengthening ὑπείρ). Dialectal forms: Lesb. ἴπερ (gramm.), Pamph. ὑπαρ (-αρ for -ερ phonetic, or after πάρ), Arc. ὀπέρ, Boeot. οὐπέρ.

•DER 1. ὕπερον [n.] (-ος [m.]) 'pestle' (Hes. *Op.* 423), ὑπέρα, plur. -αι [f.] 'upper ropes on the sails, steering-ropes' (ε 260 etc.). 2. comparative forms: ὑπέρτερος 'located above, upper, higher', -τατος 'upper, highest' (Il., epic poet., also late prose); -ώτατος 'id.' (Pi.), from the adj. *ὕπερος (cf. below).

•ETYM Cognate forms are Skt. *upári*, Av. *upairi* 'above, over', OP *upariy* 'over, on', Arm. *i ver* 'up, above', Go. *ufar*, OHG *ubir* 'over'; also Lat. *super* 'above, over'. The adjective ὕπερος is matched by Av. *upara-* 'upper', Skt. *úpara-* 'below, under, later', Lat. *superus*, Osc. *supro-* 'upper'. ►ὕπο.

ὑπερδείς [adj.] only in ὑπερδέα δῆμον ἔχοντας (P 330), with hyphaeresis for -δεέα. Meaning uncertain. ◁GR▷

•ETYM Perhaps 'highly inadequate' to δέομαι 'to lack' (Apollon. *Lex.*, H.), inflected after the *s*-stems. Yet, Eust. ad loc. connected it to δέος 'fear'. Cf. Chantraine 1942: 74 and Sommer 1948: 108.

ὑπερήνωρ [adj.] 'arrogant' (Hes., E.). ◁GR▷

•DER ὑπερηνορέη (A. R.).

•ETYM A compound in -ήνωρ, see ►ἀνήρ.

ὑπερήφανος [adj.] 'overbearing, haughty, arrogant', rarely positive 'outstanding' (Hes., Pi., B., A. *Pr.* 405 [lyr.], Att. prose, etc.). ◁?▷

•VAR Dor. (Pi., B.) -άφανος, -ηφάνως [adv.].

•DER ὑπερηφαν-ία, -ίη (καθ-) [f.] 'haughtiness, pride' (Sol., Att. prose, etc.). Enlarged ὑπερηφανέοντες [m.pl.] 'wanton' (Λ 694), after ὑπερηνορέοντες etc. Denominative verb ὑπερηφανέω (also -εύω) 'to be haughty, treat haughtily' (Hell. and late), rarely with καθ-, ἀνθ-.

•ETYM Origin unknown. The compositional vowel -η- may have been taken from ὑπερήνωρ etc.; the ending -ανος can be suffixal. All of the solutions proposed (see Frisk s.v.) involve difficult ad hoc-hypotheses.

ὑπέρινος ⇒ἰνάω.

ὑπερκύδας ⇒κῦδος.

ὑπέροπλος [adj.] 'presumptuous, arrogant, excessive, immense' (Il., epic poet.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Superl. ὑπεροπλήστατος (A. R. 2, 4), as if from an enlarged *ὑπεροπλήεις.

•DER ὑπεροπλ-ία, -ίη [f.] 'presumptuousness, arrogance' (*A* 205, Rhian., Theoc.), -ίζομαι (only in aor. opt. -ίσσαιτο ρ 268) 'to treat presumptuously or arrogantly; to despise' (acc. to Apollon. *Lex.*).

•ETYM Literally *'whose ὅπλα are superior' = 'superior (in battle), presumptuous'.

ὑπερφίαλος [adj.] 'superior, arrogant, excessive' (Il., epic poet.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Adv. -ως.
•ETYM Probably contains a suffix -αλος, but the further analysis is unclear. The old onnection to φιάλη 'dish' is semantically uncompelling. The adjective is usually connected with ὑπερφυής 'extraordinary' and Lat. *superbus*, compounds with a second member in PIE *-$b^h(h_2)u$- 'being, arising'. With a dissimilation of υ - υ to υ - ι, ὑπερφίαλος could stem from *ὑπερφύαλος (Mastrelli *Stud. ital. fil. class.* 32 (1960): 109, De Lamberterie 1994), compare ὑπερφυής 'enormous' and ὑπέρφευ 'excessively'.

ὑπερῴα [f.] 'palate' (X 495, Hp., Arist., Plu.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Ion. -ώη.
•DER Beside it ὑπερῴϊον, -ῷον [n.] 'upper story, upper chamber, attic, garret' (Hom., Ar., inscr., pap., LXX, *Act. Ap.* etc.). Adjective ὑπερῴϊος, -ῷος 'belonging to the ὑπερῷον, situated upstairs, living upstairs' (LXX, Hell. and late inscr., D. H., Plu. etc.).
•ETYM From ▸ὑπέρ; but the formation not explained. It would be easiest to start from an adverb *ὑπέρω (cf. ὑπερώτατος Pi.), formed like ἄνω, κάτω.

ὑπήνη [f.] 'moustache', secondarily 'beard' (A. *Fr.* 27 = 58 M., com., Arist. etc.). ◂PG?(S)▸
•COMP ὑπηνόβιος 'living off his moustache', i.e. 'acting arrogantly' (Pl. Com.), ἀνύπηνος 'without a moustache' (Eust., H.).
•DER ὑπηνήτης [m.] 'the beardy one' (Ω 348 = κ 279, *AP*, late prose).
•ETYM For 'beard', Greek has an innovation formed on the basis of PIE 'chin' in γένειον; further it has ▸μύσταξ. Both πώγων 'beard' and ὑπήνη are without etymology. The older connection with a word *$\bar{a}no/\bar{a}$- 'face' (to Skt. *ānā*- 'face, mouth, nose' to the root *h_2nh_1- 'to breathe') is revived by Adams *Glotta* 64 (1986): 16f., who posits *$upo\text{-}\bar{a}no/eh_2$-. Yet, this etymology is semantically unsatisfactory and formally difficult; see ▸ἀπηνής and ▸πρηνής for the formal problems.
Alternatively, the word has often (and understandably) been considered to be Pre-Greek (with folketymological conection with ὑπό). Pre-Greek indeed has a suffix -ήνη.

ὑπηρέτης [m.] 'servant, helper, mate, aide' (Att., Hdt., etc.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Dor. (since IV^a) -τας.
•COMP ἀρχ(ι)υπηρέτης [m.] 'chief minister' (late inscr. and pap.).
•DER 1. ὑπηρ-έτις [f.] 'servant (fem.)' (E., Pl., et al.). 2. -ετικός 'belonging to the servant, serving, assistant, subordinate'; -όν (scil. πλοῖον), -ὸς κέλης 'little boat, express boat' (Att., etc.). 3. ὑπηρ-εσία, often plur. -εσίαι [f.] 'crew, staff, service' (Att., Hell. and late). 4. ὑπηρ-έσιον [n.] = -ετικὸν πλοῖον (Eratosth. *apud* Str.). 5. ὑπηρ-ετέω [v.] 'to be a ὑπηρέτης, to serve, aid, obey' (IA), also with συν-, ἐξ- etc.; ὑπηρ-έτημα [n.] 'attendance' (Att.), -έτησις (ἐξ-) [f.] 'service' (Arist., pap. etc.). 6. ὑπηρ-ετεύω [v.] 'id.' (Messen., Cos), -ετεία [f.] (*App. Anth.*).
•ETYM A compound of ὑπ- and ▸ἐρέτης 'rower', originally a sailors' expression. The literal meaning cannot have been 'under-rower'; rather, ὑπ- is a hypercharacterising prefix stressing the opposition to the higher κελευστής; cf. ὑπο-δμώς = δμώς. On the meaning and spread of ὑπηρέτης and its cognates, compare Kretschmer *Glotta* 18

(1929): 77f. and Fraenkel 1910: 190 (different on details). Gr. ὑπηρέσιον is an independent formation meaning 'cushion for rowers', metaphorically 'riding cushion' (Att. Hell. and late); it is probably a hypostasis ("lying under the ἐρέτης").

ὑπισχνέομαι [v.] 'to promise' (Att., Hdt.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Older ὑπίσχομαι (epic Ion., Delph. etc.), aor. ὑποσχέσθαι (Il.), fut. ὑποσχήσομαι, perf. ὑπέσχημαι (Att., etc.).

•ETYM In Attic and Hdt., the ν-formation ὑπισχνέομαι replaced ὑπίσχομαι due to the antonym ἀρνέομαι, acc. to Wackernagel 1916: 217f. See ►ἔχω 1.

ὕπνον [n.] 'a kind of lichen' (Aet.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

ὕπνος [m.] 'sleep' (Il.). ◁IE **su(e/o)p-no-* 'sleep'▷

•COMP ὑπνο-δότης, fem. -δότειρα 'giver of sleep' (A. and E. [lyr.]); ἄυπνος 'sleepless' (Il.), whence ἀυπν-ία, -έω, -οσύνη. Hypostasis ἐνύπνιος (to ἐν ὕπνῳ) 'occurring in one's sleep' (A., etc.), -ιον [n.] 'dream' (since B 56 = ξ 495; cf. below).

•DER 1. Adjectives: ὑπν-ικός 'somniferous' (Hp., Aret. etc.); -ώδης 'sleepy, sleeping, somniferous' (E., Pl., Arist., etc.), -ωδία [f.] (Iamb.); -ηρός 'sleepy' (Hp.), -ηλός 'sleepy, somniforous' (Nic., late prose), -αλέος 'id.' (Pi. *Pae.* 8, 34 [?], Nic. etc.). 2. Verbs: a. ὑπν-όω (καθ- etc.) 'to lull to sleep, fall asleep' (Ion. Hell. and late), -ωτικός 'sleepy, lulling' (Hp., Arist., Plu., etc.), καθύπνωσις [f.] 'falling asleep' (Arist.); b. ὑπν-ώσσω, Att. -ώττω (ἀφ-, ἐφ-) [v.] 'to be sleepy' (IA); c. ὑπν-ίζω [v.] 'to fall asleep' (Phryn.); but ἐξυπν-ίζομαι, -ίζω 'to wake up' from ἔξυπνος; 4. ὑπν-έω = -όω (Anon., Fig.). 5. ὑπν-ώω, almost only ptc. -ώοντας, -ώουσα, etc. (Il., epic), ipf. -ώεσκε (Q. S.) 'to sleep'.

•ETYM Gr. ὕπνος goes back to PIE **sup-no-*, as do Alb. *gjumë* and OCS *sъnъ*, Ru. *son* 'sleep'. With a different root ablaut, we find PIE **suop-no-* in Arm. *kʻun*, Celtic (OIr. *súan*, MW *hun*) and Baltic (Lith. *sāpnas*), and **su̯epno-* in Germanic (ON *svefn*) and Tocharian (ToA *ṣpäṃ*, ToB *ṣpane*). Indo-Iranian (Skt. *svápna-*) and Lat. *somnus* could reflect either **suepno-* or **suopno-*. The presence of three different ablaut grades may point to an older athematic *n*-stem. For a complementary *r*-stem, which points to an older PIE *r/n*-stem, see ►ὕπαρ. The nouns were probably formed on the basis of the corresponding verbal root **suep-/ *sup-* 'to fall asleep', cf. LIV² s.v. **su̯ep-*.

ὕπο, ὑπο [adv., prep.] 'under, underneath; (from) under, below, down (to), by, because of' (Il.). ◁IE **upo* 'below, under'▷

•VAR With gen., dat., acc. Epic poet. also ὑπαί, Aeol. etc. ὐπα, Ion. also *h*υπυ (Cumae V[a]), Arc. οπυ.

•DIAL Myc. *u-po*.

•ETYM Cognate forms: Skt. *úpa*, Av. *upa* 'towards, near, to, etc.', Go. *uf* 'on, under', OIr. *fo* 'under', all < PIE **upo*. With additional **s-*, Lat. *sub* (as in *super* : ὑπέρ). Greek ὑπαί after παραί, καταί, and ὐπα after κατά, μετά etc.

ὑπόβρυχα ⇒βρύχιος.

ὑπόγυ(ι)ος ⇒ἐγγύη.

ὑποδεξίη ⇒δέχομαι.

ὑπόδρα (ἰδών) [adv.] 'glancing from below, with a glance from below' (Hom., Hes.). ◁IE **derḱ-* 'see'▷

•VAR ὑποδράξ 'id.' (Call., Nic.), after ὀδάξ, ἀναμίξ, etc.

•ETYM From **ὑπό-δρακ* < **upo-dr̥ḱ-* 'having a glance from below', formally identical to Skt. *upa-dr̥ś-* [f.] 'sight, look'; for the verb, cf. ὑποδέρκομαι. Greek ὑπόδρα represents the original neuter of the compound, used as an adverb.

ὑπολαΐς ⇒λᾶας.

ὑποπετρίδιος [adj.] 'winged'. ◁GR▷

•VAR In ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων 'winged dreams' (Alcm.); variant ὑποπτερίδιος (Dionys. *apud EM* 783, 20f.).

•ETYM Derived from ὑπόπτερος 'winged' (Pi., Ion. Att.), see ▶πτερόν, the IE cognates of which go back to PIE **petr-*. Therefore, the Alcman variant ὑποπετρίδιος could in theory preserve the PIE sequence **petr-*. Yet, since this would require separating ὑποπετρίδιος from all other Greek attestations of πτέρον and its derivatives, the Alcman form may be due to an idiosyncratic development of **ὑποπτερ-*.

ὕπτιος [adj.] 'lying on one's back, bent backwards, reverse, downside up' (Il.), 'flat' (Hdt., etc.), metaph. 'inoperative, supine' (late), 'passive', of verbs (as opposed to ἀνύπτιος) 'not passive' (D. L.), παρύπτιος as a geometrical term beside ὕπτιος (Papp.); τὰ ὕπτια also 'belly', i.e. the upper side when lying ὕπτιος. ◁IE **upo* 'below'▷

•DER ὑπτι-ότης [f.] 'reverse position, flat shape, slackness' (Thphr., Str. etc.). Verbs: 1. ὑπτι-άζω 'to bend (oneself) back, stalk along, be slack' (Att. Hell. and late), also with ἐξ-, etc.; -ασμα [n.] 'bending back, bent back figure' (A.), -ασμός [m.] 'bending back, aversion' (Hp., late prose). 2. ὑπτι-όομαι [v.] 'to turn back, be upset, supine, slow' (A., late prose), -ωσις [f.] 'slowness, aversion' (late medic.). 3. ὑπτι-άω (ptc. -όωσα, subj. 3sg. -άῃσι) 'to bend oneself back' (Arat.).

•ETYM Derived from **upo* 'below' with the suffix PIE **-tio-*, which was productive in Greek as -τιο- (cf. αἴτιος, ἄρτιος, σκότιος, νύκτιος). Compare Lat. *supīnus* 'lying face downwards' < **sup-īno-*, *subtus* 'underneath, below' (on the model of *intus*).

ὕραξ, -ακος [m.] 'shrew-mouse' (Nic. *Al.* 37). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM The word is close in form to Lat. *sōrex, -icis* [m.] 'id.', and is probably related to it. The suffix -αξ is Pre-Greek, like (probably) the word itself; the Latin word may come from the same source. On Lat. *o* beside Gr. υ, cf. Fur.: 361. The older connection with Latin *susurrus* 'humming, whisper, etc.', Gr. ὕρον· σμῆνος. Κρῆτες 'beehive, swarm of bees (Cret.)' (H.), and the PIE root **suer-* 'to resound' is semantically unconvincing, as is the supposed ablaut Gr. **sur-* : Lat. *sūr-*. Still, the IE etymology is defended by Vine 1999b: 572f., arguing for the possibility of an *o*-grade **suor-* in Greek.

ὑράξ [adv.] · μίγδην, ἀναμίξ 'promiscuously' (H.), see also on θιλύρα.

•VAR Also ὑρράξ or ὕρραξ, if the word is Aeolic (Theognost. *Can.* 23).
•ETYM Perhaps a variant of εὐράξ (DELG)? There is no connection with ▸ὕραξ.

ὑριχός ⇒σύριχος.

ὑρτήρ [?] πλυνεύς 'cleaner of clothes' (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

ὕρχη [f.] 'earthen vessel used for salting fish, etc.' (Ar., Hell. pap., Poll., sch.). ◂PG▸
•ETYM A technical word, Aeolic acc. to Poll. and others. Lat. *orca* 'large-bellied vessel, tun', whence *urceus* 'pot, pitcher', may have been borrowed from Greek, as may Lat. *urna* 'water-, ash-pot'. Alternatively, both languages may have independently borrowed them from a Mediterranean language (thus also Fur.: 361, etc.).

ὗς, ὑός [m., f.] 'swine, sow, boar' (Il.); ὗς (θαλάττιος) name of a fish (Epich., Archestr.). ◂IE **suH-* 'swine'▸
•COMP ὑφορβός [m.] 'swineherd' (Od., etc.), ὑφορβέω [v.] (Chios V-IV[a]); also ὑοφορβός, whence -ία, -ιον (Hell. and late); ὑσπέλεθος [m.] 'swine excrement' (D. C., Poll.), ὑσπολεῖν· συβωτεῖν (H.), Ὕσπορος [m.] name of a river (Nonn.), perhaps folk-etymology after Βόσπορος, cf. Maas *KZ* 52 (1924): 305.
•DER 1. Diminutive ὑΐδιον (ὕδ-) [n.] (X. etc.). 2. adj. ὕειος 'of the swine' (IA), ὑικός 'id.' (X., Hell. and late); pejorative ὑηνός 'hoggish, piggish', ὑία [f.] 'piggish, loutish creature', ὑέω [v.] 'to be piggish, dumb', ὑεύς [m.] 'piggish, base person' (Att.); ὑώδης 'swinish' (Plu.), fem. -ωδία (Ath.). 3. ὑών [m.] 'pigsty' (Hell. pap.). 4. ὑΐζω 'to cry like a pig', whence -ισμός (Poll.). 5. Ὑστήρια [n.pl.] name of an Aphrodite festival in Argos (Zenod. *apud* Ath. 3, 96a). See further ▸Ὑάδες, ▸ὗαινα, ▸ὕκης, ▸ὗνις.
•ETYM A PIE word **suH-s* for the swine and wild boar. Cognate forms: Lat. *sūs*, U *si-* < **sū-*, OE *sū*, OHG *sū*, Av. *hū-*. With additional suffixes Skt. *sūkará-* [m.] 'wild boar', OHG *swīn* = MoHG *Schwein*, OCS *svinъ* [adj.] 'pig-', *svinija* 'pig, swine', ToB *suwo*, etc. Cf. ▸σῦς, ▸χοῖρος and ▸χλούνης.

ὕσγη [f.] name of a shrub, probably 'kermes oak, Quercus coccifera' (Suid.; also Paus. 10, 36, 1 [conj.]). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Variant ἰσγένη (*Edict. Dioclet.* 24, 9-12), ἰσγίνη (ibid. 19, 8).
•COMP ὑσγινοβαφής 'colored with ὕσγη' (X., Clearch., et al.); ὑσγινόεις 'ὕσγη-colored' (Nic.), with metrical shortening?
•DER ὕσγινον [n.] name of a red pigment taken from the ὕσγη, also 'red cloak' (Nic., *AP* [both with ῑ due to metrical lengthening], pap., Plin., *Dig.* etc.).
•ETYM Pausanias (l.c., where the codices have ὗς [before γίνεται; probably haplography]) calls the word Galatian (Celtic?), identical to κόκκος 'kermes oak'. Fur.: 367 regards the word as Pre-Greek, because of the variants in ἰσγ-.

ὕσκλος, ὕσχλος [m.] 'a device (ἀγκύλη, βρόχος) on sandals used to fasten the straps' (Phryn. *PS*, Poll., H., Theognost.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR ἐννήυσκλοι· ὑποδήματα Λακωνικῶν ἐφήβων 'sandals of Laconian ephebes' (H.), ἔπτυσχλοι· ἀνδρεῖον ὑπόδημα (H. = Hermipp. 67).
•ETYM In view of the variants, the word is clearly Pre-Greek.

ὑσκυθά [?] · ὑὸς ἀφόδευμα (H.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown.

ὑσμίνη [f.] 'battle, fight' (Il., epic, lyr.). ◂IE? **Hiud^{h}-(s)mo-*, PG?(S)▸
•VAR Dat. also -ῖνι (μάχεσθαι [verse-final] B 863, Θ 56).
•DER ὑσμιναταί [m.pl.] name of a phyle (Epid.).
•ETYM If the word was inherited from PIE, we have to posit a basis *ὑσμός (with analogical -σμο- for *-μο-?) which can be compared with Skt. *yudh-má-* [m.] 'warrior', to IIr. **Hiud^{h}-* 'to battle' from PIE **Hieud^{h}-* 'to move'. Gr. ὑσμίνη can be explained as a derivative in *-*īn-* (cf. ῥηγμῖν-, σταμῖν-), remade into an *ā*-stem. Another derivative of *ὑσμός might be the PN Ὕσμων (Elis). Alternatively, ὑσμίνη could equally well be a loanword from Pre-Greek, given its suffixation.

ὕσπληξ, -ηγος [f., m.] 'triggering device for releasing footracers, for catching birds and animals, etc.' (Att. inscr. [end V^{a}], Pl. *Phdr.* 254e, Hell. and late). It is unknown what the device actually looked like (a snare, small stick, or rope?). ◂PG?(V)▸
•VAR Dor. (Epid.) -ᾱκος; also (rarely) -ηγξ, -ηγγος, Dor. (Theoc.) -ᾱγξ.
•ETYM Traditionally analysed as a compound of ▸πλήσσω and ὑσ- in ▸ὕστερος, but the use of suffixless ὑσ- would be unique, and the semantics are hardly convincing. If this is indeed a compound with ▸πλήσσω, the first part may reflect ὗς 'swine' (as already suggested by Eustathius Episcopus Thessalonicensis in a comm. to Dionysius Periegeta). In that case, the animal trap would reflect the oldest meaning. In view of the variant with prenasalization, however, Pre-Greek origin seems the most likely option (see also Jüthner *Die Antike* 15 (1939): 251).

ὕσσακος [m.] only ὑσσάκους· πασσάλους (*EM* 785, 7, Phot.); gen.pl. -άκων 'cunnus' (Ar. *Lys.* 1001); also ὕσσακος· ὑστακός (H.), = πάσσαλος (Theognost. *Can.* 24), ὕσταξ· πάσσαλος κεράτινος 'penis made of horn' (H.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also -αξ? (cf. s.v. ὕσσαξ).
•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word, given the suffix -ακός or -αξ. In the sense of πάσσαλος, it can hardly be separated from ὑσσός 'javelin'; as a vulgar expression in Ar., ὕσσακος perhaps alludes to ὗς as a substitute for χοῖρος, which is often used for 'cunnus' in comedy.

ὕσσαξ [?] 'sex of the woman' (Ar. *Lys.* 1001, gen.pl. ὑσσάκων).
•ETYM Ernout *BSL* 41 (1940-1941): 121[1] derives it from ὗς, with the suffix -ακ-; but this etymology is obviously wrong, as it would have given *ὕαξ. The word is no doubt a variant of ▸ὕσσακος.

ὑσσός [m.] 'javelin', Lat. *pīlum* (Plb., D. H., Str., Plu.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Technical word of uncertain origin; no IE etymology is available. Bechtel *BB* 30 (1906): 271f. derives it from Carian, comparing PNs like Ὑσσισις, Ὑσσωλος, Μαύσσωλος. Lewy *KZ* 55 (1928): 30f. compares Assyr. *ussu*, Hebr. *ḥēṣ* 'arrow'. The word could well be Pre-Greek.

ὕσσωπος [f.] 'hyssop, Origanum hirtum' (inscr. Ceos V^{a}, Hell. and late). ◂LW Sem.▸
•VAR Also ὑσ-. Also -ον [n.].

•DER ὑσωπίς· ἡ σάμψυχος (H.); ὑσ(σ)ωπίτης (οἶνος) 'wine prepared with hyssop' (Dsc., Plin., Colum., Gp.).
•ETYM A loanword from Semitic, compare Hebr. *êzōb* (Lewy 1895: 38 with references).

ὑστακός, ὕσταξ ⇒ὕσσακος.

ὑστάς · π[λ]αστὰς ἀμπέλων 'row of vines'; ὑστάδα· ἡ δασεῖα ἄμπελος 'dense(ly planted) vine' (H.). Cf. παστάδες· … τῶν ἀμπέλων οἱ συστάδες 'vines standing close together' (H.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Probably a dialectical (Cypr.) form of συστάς, plur. συστάδες [f.] 'vines planted closely together (but not in rows)' (Arist. etc.), metaphorically of water cisterns (Str.), which derives from συνίσταμαι, as παστάς from παρίσταμαι.

ὑστέρα [f.] 'womb, uterus', also 'ovary' (Ion., Pl. *Ti.* 91c, Arist., etc.). ◁IE **ud-tero-*▷
•VAR Ion. -ρη.
•DER ὑστερικός 'concerning the womb, suffering from one's womb, hysteric' (Hp., Arist., Gal. etc.); compare MoGr. ὑστερῖτις 'hysteria'.
•ETYM Feminine (scil. μήτρα 'womb'?) of the comparative ▶ὕστερος 'outer'. The semantics can be explained from a shift *'outer, protruding' > 'belly'. A close cognate is ὕστρος· γαστήρ (H.) < **ud-tro-*. With a suffix PIE **-ero-* instead of **tero-*, we find the same meaning 'belly' in Skt. *udára-* [n.] 'belly', Gr. ▶ὕδερος, Lat. *uterus* < PIE **ud-ero-*.

ὕστερος [adj.] 'ulterior, posterior', superl. ὕστατος 'latest, last' (Il.). ◁IE **ud-tero-* 'higher, outer'▷
•VAR Adv. ὕστερον, -α, ὕστατον, -α (Il.), -έρως, -άτως (late and rare).
•COMP ὑστερόποινος 'bringing later punishment, punishing later' (A. [lyr.]).
•DER 1. ἡ ὑστεραία (ἡμέρα) 'the next day' (IA). 2. ὑστερ-εω [v.] 'to be late, miss the right time, be inferior or in want' (IA), often with καθ-, also ἀφ-, ἐφ-; thence ὑστερ-ημα, -ησις 'lack, want' (LXX, NT), -ησμός 'arrear, debt' (pap.), -ητικός 'happening later', of fever (Gal.). b. ὑστερίζω [v.] 'to be late, lag behind' (also ἐφ-, καθ-).
•ETYM Identical with Skt. *úttara-* 'upper, higher', also 'behind, later', derived from PIE **ud* 'on high, up, out'.

ὑστιακόν [n.] 'drinking cup' (Rhinth. 3 = Ath. 500f.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR ὑστιακκός · ποτήριον ποιόν. Ἰταλιῶται (H.); ὑστίς (ms. ὑετίς)· ὑδρίς. Ταραντῖνοι (H.).
•ETYM In view of the variant in -κκ-, the word may be Pre-Greek (Fur.: 150).

ὕστριξ, -ιχος [m., f.] 'porcupine, hedgehog' (Hdt., Arist., Ael.), plur. metaphorically 'swine-breasts' (Pl. Com.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Gen.pl. ὑστρ-ίγγων (Opp.), as if from ὕστριγξ.
•DER ὑστριχίς, -ίδος [f.] 'cat-o'-nine-tails', for punishing slaves (Ar., etc.).
•ETYM Uncertain etymology. Often analysed as ὕσ-τριξ, from θρίξ, τριχός 'hair' and ὑσ- like in ▶ὕστερος, so 'with rising hairs'. The ancients (e.g. Pl. Com.) connected it

with ὗς 'swine'. To my mind, however, the nasalization proves Pre-Greek origin. ►ὕσπληξ.

ὑύζω [v.] 'to make the sound u-u', of owls (Poll.). ◄ONOM►

•ETYM An onomatopoea. Varia lectio for ἰύζω, according to LSJ.

ὑφαίνω [v.] 'to weave, warp, devise, produce' (Il.). ◄IE *$(h_1)ueb^h$- 'weave'►

•VAR Aor. ὑφῆναι (Od.), ὑφᾶναι (B. [Dor.], Hell. and late after τετρᾶναι etc.), pass. ὑφανθῆναι (IA), fut. ὑφανῶ (Att.), perf. pass. ὕφασμαι (IA), act. συν-, παρ-, ἐξ-ὑφαγκα (D. H. etc.),

•DIAL Myc. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* /ewepsēsomena/ 'which are to be woven', see Beekes 1969: 67.

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐν-, ἐξ-, συν-. As a second member: 1. adjectives in -υφής, e.g. συνυφής 'woven together' (to συνυφή, συνυφαίνω, Arist.), fem.pl. συνύφειαι 'cells of a honeycomb' (Arist.; uncertain reading), παρυφ-ής 'equipped with an edging (παρυφή)' (Ar. *Fr.* 320, 7, Poll., Phot.), fem. -ίς 'garment equipped with an edging' (Men., Poll.); ἡμιυφής 'half-woven' (Att. inscr. IV^a). 2. nominal -υφος, e.g. λίνυφος (λινό-) [m.] 'cloth-weaver' (pap., inscr.).

•DER 1. ὑφαντός (τρι-, άν-, ἐν-, etc.) 'woven' (Od.). 2. ὑφάν-της (συν-, ταπιδ-, etc.) [m.] 'weaver' (Att., Arist., pap., inscr.), -τρια [f.] (late; -τρα [f.]), whence -τικός, ἡ ὑφαντικὴ (τέχνη) 'belonging to the weaver, weaving' (Att., etc.). 3. ὑφαν-τάριος 'id.' (Cyzicus). 4. ὕφασμα [n.] 'weaving, fabric' (γ 274), also ἐξ-, ἐν-, etc.; hence -μάτιον (H.); ὕφαμμα (Att. inscr. IV^a). 5. ὕφανσις (συν-) [f.] 'weaving' (Pl., Gal., Poll.). 6. ὕφαν-τρον [n.] 'weaver's wage' (pap.). 7. ὑφαν-τεῖον [n.] 'weaving mill' (pap. III^a); -τών (?) 'id.' (pap. II^p). Epic byforms: ὑφάω in ὑφόωσι (η 105), ὑφανάω in ὑφανόωντας (Man. 6, 433).

Further nouns, probably back-formations: 1. ὑφή (παρ-, συν-, ἐφ-, γυναικο-) [f.] 'fabric' (trag., Pl., Arist., Hell. and late). 2. ὕφος [n.] 'id.' (Pherecr., Eub., Hell. and late).

•ETYM The Myc. form may prove that the root was *$h_1u̯eb^h$-. The chronology of the attestations suggests that ὑφαίνω is not a denominative from ὑφή, ὕφος, but was transformed from an older primary present, a nasal present (cf. the Skt. forms) or from a nominal form in *ub^h-*n*- (thus LIV). Gr. ὑφή, ὕφος may be explained as PIE derivatives, or as back-formations within Greek. The hapax legomena ὑφόωσι, ὑφανόωντες are incidental formations of the epic language.

Cognate forms: Skt. pres. *ubhnāti*, inj. *sám unap*, pres. *umbháti* 'to bind, fetter', *ūrṇā-vābhi-* 'spider' [m.], YAv. *ubdaēna-* [adj.] 'consisting of woven texture'; Alb. *ven* 'weave' (also from a nasal present?); OHG *weban* 'to weave, twist, spin'; ToA *wäp-*, ToB *wāp-* 'to weave'.

ὕφεαρ, -εαρος [n.] Arcad. name of the mistletoe, 'Viscum album' (Thphr., H. who has ὑφαίαρ). ◄?►

•ETYM Traditionally derived from Cypr. ►ὐ- and *φέϝαρ, which would be a verbal noun to ἔφυν 'grew', following the explanation in H.: τὸ ἐπιφυόμενον ταῖς πεύκαις καὶ ἐλάταις 'what grows on firs'. This is quite doubtful, as a full grade φευ- from this root has further not been demonstrated in Greek with certainty (cf. on ►συφεός).

Perpillou therefore assumed that the word underwent dissimilation from **u-pʰuwar* (doubtful); the note by Nikolaev *Glotta* 80 (2002): 221-230 is hardly acceptable. Connection with ►σῦφαρ 'wrinkled skin' (Pisani *RILomb.* 73:2 (1939-40): 27) is implausible, too.

ὕψι [adv.] 'up, above; aloft, upwards; high' (Hom., Hes.). ◄IE **up-s-* 'above'►

•COMP E.g. in ὑψιβρεμέτης 'high-thundering', of Zeus (Hom., Hes.), ὑψαύχην 'with the neck high, proud' (E., Pl. *Phdr.* 253d, *AP*, late prose), whence ὑψαυχεν-έω, -ίζω 'to bear the neck high, to strut' (Hell. and late).

•DER 1. adverbs ὑψ-οῦ, -όθι, -όσε, -όθε(ν) 'above', 'upwards, from above' (Il., epic poet.). 2. superl. ὕψιστος (Pi., trag., A. R. etc., also late prose), compar. -ίων (Pi. *Fr.* 213), -ίτερος (Theoc. 8, 46); also superl. -οτάτω [adv.] (B. *Fr.* 16, 6). 3. ὕψος [n.] 'height' (Hdt., Emp., Att. since A., Hell. and late), ὑψ-ήεις 'high' (Nic., *AP*), after αἰγλήεις, etc.; ὑψ-όω 'to raise, elevate' (Hell. and late), ptc. ὑψεύμενος (Hp.), also with ἀν-, ἐξ-, etc.; hence -ωμα, -ωματικός, -ωσις, -ωτής, -ωτικός. 4. ὑψηλός 'high' (Il.). 5. short names: Ὑψεύς [m.] (Pi.), Ὑψώ [f.] = Ὑψιπύλη (Ar. *Fr.* 225, *EM*, Suid.).

•ETYM Old locative in **-i*, as in ἦρι, ἄρτι, ἄντι, etc., derived from the adverb **up(-)* as seen in ►ὕπατος, ►ὕπερ, ►ὕπο. The enlarging -σ- has a parallel in Aeol. ὄψι, Hom., etc. ὀψέ 'late', in ἄψ beside ἄπ-ο, etc. In Latin, too, it was productive: *ab(s)-*, *ec/ex-*, *sub(s)-*. An additional **s* to PIE **up-* is also found in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *ós* 'above, over' < **oupso-*, OIr. *úasal* 'high', W *uchel*, Gaul. *Uxello-* 'high' < **oupselo-* 'higher', perhaps with the same *l*-suffix as in Gr. ὑψηλός < **up-s-ēl-*? Also in Slavic, e.g. Ru. *výše* 'higher' < **Húps-* (see Derksen 2008: 535), OCS *vysokъ* 'high'.

ὕω [v.] 'to rain', mostly impersonal 'it is raining', also 'to cause to rain, send rain'; passive ὑόμενος (ζ 131), ὕεται, ὑσθῆναι (Hdt. etc.), ἐφυσμένος (X.) 'to be affected by rain, get rain'. ◄IE **suh₂-ie/o-* 'rain'►

•VAR Only 3sg. pres. ipf. ὕει, ὗε (Il.), 3pl. ὕουσι, of νεφέλαι (Luc.), aor. ὗσαι (Pi., Hdt., etc.), ipv. ὗσον (ὦ Ζεῦ, prayer by M. Ant.), fut. ὕσει (Cratin.), 1pl. ὕσομεν, of the clouds (Ar.).

•DER ὑετός [m.] 'rain' (M 133), ὑέτ-ιος 'rainy, bringing rain' (Ion., Arist., Hell. and late; Hdt. 2, 25 codd. ὑετώτατοι), -ώδης 'id.' (J.), -ία [f.] 'rainy weather' (Hell. and late), ὑετ-ίζω [v.] 'to send rain, rain upon' (LXX, pap.).

•ETYM Present in **-ie/o-* to the PIE root **suh₂-* 'to pour, scatter'. Cognate forms: Hitt. *šuḫḫa-ⁱ* / *šuḫḫ-* 'to scatter', *išḫuu̯ai-ⁱ* / *išḫui-* 'to throw, scatter, pour' (Kloekhorst 2008: 396, 773), ToA 3pl. *swiñc*, ToB 3sg. and pl. *suwaṃ* 'it rains', ToA *swase*, ToB *swese* 'rain'; Alb. *shi* 'rain' < **sū-*, OPr. *suge* (= *suje*) 'id.'. Compare LIV² s.v. **sh₂eu̯-*. For other IE expressions for 'rain', see on ►οὐρανός, ►ἔρση and ►πλέω.

Φ

φαγεῖν [v.aor.] 'to eat, consume, swallow' (Il.), late and MoGr. also metaphorically 'to swallow, endure'. ◁IE *$b^h(e)h_2g$- 'distribute'▷

•VAR Fut. φάγομαι (Hell. and late).

•COMP Also with κατα-, ἐν- etc. In compounds ὠμοφάγος 'eating raw flesh', of animals, also of wild peoples (Il.), ὠμοφαγέω [v.], -ία, -ιον; παματοφαγεῖσται [inf.med.] 'to be affected by confiscation' (Locr.), from *παματο-φάγος. Hence by reanalysis φάγος [m.] 'devourer, glutton' (*Ev. Matt.*, *Ev. Luc.*). Rarely as a first member: φαγανθρώπων· ἀκαθάρτων (H.), reversal of ἀνθρωποφάγων; φαγολοίδορος 'bearing insults' (gloss.), φαγέ-σωρος 'gluttonous', whence -σωρῖτις γαστήρ (*Com. Adesp.*). Hypostasis προσφάγιον [n.] 'side dish, cheese'.

•DER 1. φαγ-ᾶς [m.] 'devourer' (Cratin.), κατα- 'id.' (A. *Fr.* 428 = 709 M.), κατω- (nick)name of a bird (Ar. *Av.* 288). 2. φαγ-έδαινα [f.] 'cancerous ulcer' (Hp., trag., D., etc.), 'gluttony' (Gal.), whence -εδαινικός 'cancerous', -εδαινόομαι, -όω 'to suffer from cancer', -ωμα (medic., Plu., Poll. etc.); to *φαγεδών. 3. Also φάγαινα· ἡ μετὰ τὰς νόσους πολυφαγία (Ammon. Diff.), acc. to H. also = φαγέδαινα. Further φάγων, -ωνος [m.] 'glutton' (Varro, Vopisc.); also φαγόνες· σιαγόνες, γνάθοι 'jaws' (H.). 4. φάγ-ημα [n.] 'food, dish' (late), προσ- 'side dish' (Aesop.). 5. -ήσια (scil. ἱερά) [n.pl.] 'eating festival', -ησιπόσια 'eating and drinking festival' (Clearch.). 8. φάγυλοι· μαστοί, μάρσιπποι (H.), φαγύλιον· μαρσίππιον (Phot.). On ►φάγιλος, see s.v.

•ETYM Gr. φαγεῖν funtions as an aorist to ἔσθίω. Cognate forms: Skt. *bháj́ati* pres. 'to distribute, assign', med. *-te* 'obtain, participate in, enjoy'; *bhaktá-* [n.] 'portion, meal, food', *bhakṣá-* [m.] 'food, drink, delight'. PIE *b^heh_2go- [m.] > Skt. *bhága-* [m.] 'prosperity, well-being, happiness', Av. *baga-*, *baya-* [n.] 'share, (favourable) lot', OP *baga-* 'god'. The short vowel of IIr. *b^haga- is expained by Lubotsky's Law (Lubotsky *MSS* (1981)) from the loss of the laryngeal in front of a voiced stop plus another consonant; this condition would have been given, for instance, in athematic verb forms, and in *bhakṣ-*, Av. *baxš-*. ToB *pāke*, ToA *pāk* 'part, piece' might reflect a borrowing from Middle Iranian (Adams 1999: 363), and the Slavic cognates (e.g. OCS *bogatъ*, Ru. *bogátyj* 'rich', OCS *bogъ*, Ru. *bog* 'god') must also be loanwords from Iranian, since they do not show reflexes of Winter's Law. See ►βαγαῖος.

φάγιλος [m.] = ἁμνός 'lamb' (Arist. *Fr.* 507). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Derived from ►φαγεῖν and referring to the age of the lamb, scil. when becomes edible.

φαγνος 'salvia' (gloss.), cited by Fur.: 124.

•ETYM Cf. ►σφάγνος.

φάγρος 1 [m.] Cretan word for ἀκόνη 'whetstone', acc. to Simias (*fr.* 27) apud Ath. 6, 327e. ◄?►
•ETYM Might be formally and semantically identical with Arm. *bark* 'bitter, sharp of taste, vehement, angry', if from PIE *$b^{h}h_{2}g$-*ro*- 'sharpening'; but see ►φοξός.

φάγρος 2 [m.] name of a fish, perhaps 'sea bream, Pagrus vulgaris' (Hp., com., Arist., etc.). ◄PG►
•VAR Variants πάγρος (Hdn. Gr. 1, 203); φάγωρος· ἰχθῦς ποιός (H.), φαγρώριος (Str.), dissimilated from *φάγρ-? Also πάγουρος?
•ETYM Probably identical with ►φάγρος 1, because of the pointed shape of the body, or the sharp teeth. Acc. to Isidorus, the Greeks called this fish *fagrus* "quod duros dentes habeat, ita ut ostreis in mari alatur". The variants π-/φ- and -ρος/-ωρος show that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 165). Differently Taillardat in DELG *Supp.*

φαδάσαι [v.] · γνάψαι 'to card' (H.). ◄GR►
•ETYM Read φαδ<ι>άσαι, derived from φάδι = *trāma*, κρόκη, πηνίον 'woof, weft', whence the denominative verb φαδιάζειν; φάδι is the popular form of ὑφάδιον (see ►ὑφαίνω).

φάε, φαέθων, etc. ⇒φάος.

φαζάλη [f.] · πάθος σωματικόν, ὃ γίνεται τοῖς ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλέουσι (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unknown.

φάζαινα [f.] a disease of horses (*Hippiatr.*). ◄PG(S)►
•ETYM Clearly a Pre-Greek word in -αινα (Fur.: 172[117]).

φαίδιμος [adj.] 'shining, noble', often as an epithet of Ἕκτωρ, Ἀχιλλεύς, and others (Il., epic poet.), also as a PN; metrically enlarged -ιμόεις (N 686). ◄IE *$g^{wh}(e)h_{2}id$- 'bright, clear'►
•DER φαιδρός 'bright, clear, cheerful, joyous' (Pi., Sol., A., etc.; Φαίδρη λ 321); in compounds e.g. in φαιδρόνους 'with a joyous mind' (A.), φαιδρωπός 'with a bright look' (A., E.). Hence 1. φαιδρ-ότης [f.] 'brightness, cheerfulness' (inscr., Plu. etc.). 2. -όομαι 'to be cheerful' (X.). 3. -ύνω 'to make clear, clean, wash; to cheer up, refresh' (mostly poet. since Hes. *Op.* 753), rarely with ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-; thence -υντής [m.], lit. 'purifier', of the statue of Zeus in Olympia (Paus., Poll.), but usually φαιδυντής, -ταί (El. and Att. inscr.; cf. below); fem. φαιδρύντρια (A. *Ch.* 759). Isolated is φαίδει· ὄψει (H.), probably from *φαῖδος [n.].
•ETYM We find a stem φαιδ- with various suffixes: φαιδ-ρός, φαίδ-ιμος, *φαῖδ-ος; for a similar system, compare e.g. κυδρός : κύδιμος : κῦδος, etc. Another derivative must have been *φαιδ-ύνω (compare αἰσχρός : αἶσχος : αἰσχύνω), which has left a trace in φαιδυντής, and may have been replaced in the transmission by φαιδρύνω. However, formations such as φαιδρύντρια and φαιδρόνους (for *φαιδί-νους) in A. testify to the productivity of the adjective φαιδρός. Cognate forms are Lith. *gaidrùs* 'bright, clear', *gaidrà* 'cloudless heaven, clear weather', also *giẽdras*, *-rùs* 'id.' < PIE *$g^{wh}eh_{2}id$-.

φαίκανον [n.] = πήγανον 'rue, Ruta graveolens' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Probably foreign, acc. to Schwyzer: 490. The word is probably Pre-Greek; compare φαικός.

φαικός [adj.] synonym of λαμπρός (S. *fr.* 1107 P., H.).

•DER φαικῶς· λαμπρῶς (H.); φαικάς, -άδος, also φαικάσιον (Eratosth.) 'white shoes', also shoes of farmers (H.), borrowed into Latin as *phaecasia*. Here probably PN Φαικίας, Φαικίνας, Φαικύλος, Φαίκων (Bechtel 1917b: 495).

•ETYM A variant of φαιός? Fur.: 328[24] separates the two, in view of the difference in meaning.

φαιλόνης ⇒φαινόλης.

φαινόλης [m.] 'thick upper garment, cloak' (pap. since I[P], Arr., Ath.). ◁GR?▷

•VAR Dor. φαινόλα (Rhinth.); also φαίνουλα, παίνουλα, πένουλα (*Edict. Diocl.*).

•DER Diminutive φαινόλιον [n.] (pap. II[P]). With metathesis φαιλόνης, φελ- (2 *Ep. Ti.* 4, 13), and the more usual φαιλόνιον (pap.), probably after the instrument nouns in -όνη, -όνιον; MoGr. φαιλόνι (φελ-).

•ETYM Formation like μαινόλης 'raving', σκωπτόλης 'mocker', etc. (Chantraine 1933: 237f.), but since it refers to an instrument, the semantics are deviant. An old feminine formation (like μαινόλις etc.) is found in φαινόλις, an epithet of ἠώς, αὔως (*h. Cer.*, Sapph.), in the sense of 'bright, illuminating' clearly belonging to φαίνω. It is unclear why the cloak was referred to as "the illuminating / shining one". Borrowed as Lat. *paenula*.

φαίνω, -ομαι [v.] 'to show, make visible, bring to light, make known', med. and act. intr. 'to become visible, come to light, appear' (Il.). ◁IE *b^heh_2- 'light, shine'▷

•VAR Reduplicated παμ-φαίνω, ptc. -φανόωσα, -φανό-ωντα (Il., epic poet.), παμφανάᾳ· λάμπει (H.), aor. φῆναι (Dor. φᾶναι), intr. φανῆναι (all Il.), fut. φανέω, -ῶ (since *T* 104), -έομαι (since μ 230), -ήσομαι (Hdt. et al.), Dor. -ησέω (Archim.), πεφήσεται (*P* 155), perf. med. πέφασμαι, 3sg. πέφανται (Il.), act. intr. πέφηνα (IA), Dor. πέφᾶνα (Sophr.), trans. πέφαγκα (later Att.), aor. med. trans. φήνασθαι (IA), intr. and pass. φανθῆναι (Att.).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, προ-, ὑπο-. Compounds: as a first member e.g. in φαινομηρίδες (Ibyc.), sing. φανόμηρις (Poll.) [f.] 'showing the thigh, with visible thighs'; PNs, e.g. Φαινέλαος, Φαννόθεμις, Φανότιμος. As a second member, adapting to the *s*-stems, e.g. τηλεφανής 'far-seen, conspicuous' (poet. since ω 83); innumerable PNs, e.g. Ἀριστο-φάνης; very often from prefixed compounds, e.g. ἐμφανής 'visible, apparent, evident' (IA) (to ἐμφαίνω), whence -εια, -ία, -ίζω, -ισις, -ίσιμος, -ισμός, -ιστής, -ιστικός.

•DER 1. φαν-ερός 'visible, apparent, clear' (Pi., IA), whence -ερ-ότης (late), -όομαι (Hdt.), -όω (late), -ωσις. On φανερός meaning 'quidam' in Byzantine Greek, see Tabachovitz *Eranos* 30 (1932): 97ff. 2. Φάνης, -ητος [m.] name of an Orphian god (Orph.). 3a. φά-σις [f.] 'announcement' (Att.), 'appearing, appearance' (Ti. Locr., Arist., Hell.+); frequently from prefixed compounds, e.g. πρόφασις [f.] 'alleged motive, pretence' (Thgn., IA), whence -σίζομαι (Thgn., IA), -σιστικός (LXX, Ph.);

ἔμφα-σις [f.] 'appearance, reflection, clarification, emphasis' (Arist., Hell.+), -τικός 'emphatic' (Demetr. *Eloc.*, etc.). b. φάνσις [f.] 'appearance' (very rare and late), ἀπόφαν-σις [f.] 'declaration, statement' (Arist., Hell.+; beside ἀπόφασις), whence -τικός (Arist. etc.), ἀνάφανσις [f.] 'appearance' (late), ἄμφαν-σις 'adoption' (*Leg. Gort.*), -τός 'adopted' (ibid.). 4. ἀμφαντύς [f.] 'id.' (*Leg. Gort.*). 5. φάσμα [n.] 'appearance, omen' (Ion. poet., Arist., etc.). 6. Verbal adj.: a. -φαντος, often in compounds: ἄφαντος 'invisible' (Il., epic poet., late prose), νυκτίφαντος 'appearing in the night' (A., E.); πρόφαντος 'announced, revealed' (Pi., Hdt., S. etc.), to προ-φαίνω; secondarily φαντός as a simplex 'visible' (Orph.). Also b. -φατος in ἀπαρέμφατος (to παρ-εμ-φαίνω), scil. ἔγκλισις, lit. "not showing anything alongside", as a grammatical term = Lat. *modus infinitivus* (D. H., etc.), opposed to παρεμφατικός, also ἀν-, κακ-έμφατος, etc. (late), also πρό-, ὑπέρ-φατος (Pi.).
7. -φάντης [m.] in univerbations, e.g. ἱεροφάν-της (ἱερο-) "who explains holy practices", 'senior priest' (IA), whence -τις, -τέω, -τία, -τικός. 8. -φα(ν)τικός to prefixed compounds, e.g. ἐμφα(ν)τικός 'expressive, demonstrative' (Hell.+). 9. φάντωρ [m.] 'one who displays' (Att. epigr. II^{p}), ἐκφάν-τωρ, -τορία, -τορικός (late); also in univerbations, e.g. ἱερο-φάντωρ (Suid.), -φάντρια [f.] (Rom. inscr. IV^{p}). 10. Denominative (to derivations in -τ-): φαντάζομαι [v.] 'to become visible, appear' (IA), occasionally with ἐκ-, ἐν-, κατα- etc., act. -άζω 'to make visible, present' (late), whence φάντασ-μα [n.] 'appearance' (trag., Pl., etc.), -μάτιον (Plu.), -μός 'id.' (Epicur.), -ις (ἐμ-) [f.] 'sight, appearance' (Pl., etc.), -ία [f.] 'sight, imagination, fantasy' (Pl., Arist., etc.), whence -ιώδης, -ιάζομαι, -ιόομαι, -ιόω, -ιαστικός; φαντασ-τός (Arist. et al.), -τικός (Pl., Arist., etc.) 'able to produce the appearance'. 11. Adverbs: -φαδόν in ἀμφαδόν 'publicly, openly' (Hom.), adj. -δός (τ 391, A. R.), -διος (ζ 288), adv. -δίην (H 196, Thgn., et al.); -φανδόν in (ἐξ-)ἀναφανδόν 'id.' (Hom.); δια-, ἀμφάδην, Dor. -δᾶν 'id.' (Archil., Sol., Alcm.), ἐκφάνδην 'id.' (Philostr.); ἀναφανδά (Od., A. R.).
Hence, from the present stem, the jocular adverb φαινίνδα παίζειν 'to play ball' (Antiph. Com. etc.). On φανή [f.] 'torch', see on φανός (s.v. ▸φάος).
•ETYM Derived from the PIE root *$b^{h}h_{2}$- 'to shine, appear, seem'. A primary verb is found in Skt. *bhā́-ti* 'to light, shine', noun *bhānú-*, Av. *bānu-* [m.] 'splendour'; a nominal *n*-suffix is also found in OIr. *bán* 'white', ToA *pañi*, ToB *peñiyo* [m.] 'splendour', and in Germanic: OE *bōnian*, LG *bohnen* 'to polish, scrub'.
Most of the Greek forms are formed on a verbal stem φαν-, whence φαίνω < *p^{h}an-*i̯e/o-*. Acc. to LIV, this goes back to a PIE nasal present *b^{h}-n-(e)h_{2}-*, whence with thematization Proto-Greek *φανε/o-. Cognate nasal presents are (continued in) Arm. *banam* 'to open, reveal', nasalless aor. *bac'i*, Alb. Gheg *bâj*, Tosk *bënj* 'to make, do' < **ban-*. A verbal form without stem-final nasal is the hapax legomenon πεφήσεται; it is also found in zero grade φάσις, -φατος, -φατικός and φάσμα. Some of these may also have been formed analogically: for φάσμα, compare ὕφασμα to ὑφαίνω, for φάσις, -φατος, compare βάσις, -βατος to βαίνω; and πεφήσεται could have been supported by βήσεται to βαίνω. Alternatively, φάσις, -φατος reflect nasalless forms in *$b^{h}h_{2}$-*, and πεφήσεται < PIE *$b^{h}eh_{2}$-*. The H.-glosses πέφη· ἐφάνη ἢ πεφύκασι and φάντα· λάμποντα are not very reliable. See ▸φάος, ▸φημί.

φαιός [adj.] 'grey, dark grey, blackish', also of dark colors in general (Pl., Arist., Hell.+), metaphorically of the voice (Arist.). ◁?▷
•COMP φαιοχίτωνες [f.pl.] 'having dark chitons' (A.), λευκόφαιος 'whitish grey' (pap., Ath., Poll.).
•DER φαιότης [f.] 'dark grey color', ὑποφαιόω (to ὑπόφαιος) [v.] 'to color grey' (late). The ethnonym Φαίακες, Φαίηκες has also been compared to this adjective (cf. Björck 1950: 260f.). Furthermore φαικός = λαμπρός (S. *Fr.* 1107, H.), φαικῶς· λαμπρῶς ... (H.), influenced in form and meaning by λευκός. Hence φαικ-άσιον [n.] (Hell.+), -άς [f.] (*AP*) designation of a white (?) shoe? Here also φαωτός (of χλαῖνα Delph. IV^{a}), or to φάος?
•ETYM φαιός has been compared with Lith. *gaĩsas* 'beam of light, redness in the sky', and reconstructed as PIE **g^{wh}aiso-* or **g^{wh}əiso-* (compare φαιδρός : Lith. *gaidrùs*); neither is possible in the current reconstruction of PIE (at the most, **g^{wh}eh$_2$i-so-*). Other reconstructions which have been proposed are *φαιϝός and *φαισϝός. Lith. *gaĩsas* has also been derived from **gaid-sas* (cf. *gaidrùs*), but apparently without any support. In short, the etymology of φαιός is unknown.

φαιρίδδω [v.] = σφαιρίζω (H.). ◁GR▷
•ETYM For the form, see Schwyzer: 1, 334. It must be a dialectal form of σφαιρ-.

Φαιστός [?] town in Crete, in the Peloponnese, in Thessaly (Plu.). ◁PG▷
•VAR Φαῖστος is a PN, a Trojan (E 43ff.).
•DIAL Myc. *pa-i-to.*
•DER Φαίστιος inhabitant of Phaistos.
•ETYM A Pre-Greek name (DELG); strangely enough the name is not mentioned in Fick 1905, except on p. 15, where no interpretation is given.

φάκελος [m.] 'bundle' (Hdt., Th., E. *Cyc.* 242, Arist., Hell.+). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Also φακελλος (Arist.).
•COMP ὁλοφάκε[λος] [adj.] 'forming a whole (unbroken) bundle' (pap. II^{p}).
•ETYM The suffix is reminiscent of πύελος, σκόπελος etc. (Chantraine 1933: 244), but the variant in -λλ- proves that this word is Pre-Greek. Fur.: 173 further compares φάσκωλος and βάσκιοι, βασκευταί· φασκίδες. Solmsen 1909: 7^{2} hesitatingly compared σφάκελος 'gangrene, spasm' (which is quite possible if the word is Pre-Greek); the common meaning would be "drawn together, tied together".

φακιάλιον [n.] 'face-cloth, headscarf, towel' (late pap. etc.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•VAR Also -ιάριον, -ιόλιον, πακιάλιον.
•ETYM Loanword from Lat. *faciāle*; details in Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 187.

φακός [m.] 'lentil', often metaphorically of lentil-like objects, e.g. 'hot-water bottle, birthmark, freckle' (IA). ◁PG?▷
•COMP φακοειδής 'lentiform' (Arist., Str. etc.).
•DER 1. φάκ-ιον [n.] 'decoction of lentils' (Hp.). 2. -ινος 'prepared with lentils', -ινᾶς [m.] 'seller of lentil-products', φακινο-πώλιον [n.] 'shop with lentil-products' (pap. etc.). 3. φακ-ώδης 'lentil-like, full of lentil-like spots' (Hp. etc.). -ωτός 'lentiform' (medic.), -ώσεις [f.pl.] 'formations of freckles' (Heph. Astr.). Also 4. φακέα (Epich.),

φακῆ (Ar., Hell.+) [f.] 'dish made of lentils, lentil soup'; φακεψός, φακηψός [m.] 'cooker of lentil (soup)' (Hell. and late pap.). 5. nickname Φακᾶς [m.] (Suid. s.v. Διοσκορίδης). On ▸ ἀφάκη, see s.v.

•ETYM Possibly Pre-Greek, if ἀφάκη, ἄφακος 'vetch' can be connected. Phonetically, φακός agrees well with Albanian *bathë* 'broad bean' < earlier *$b^{(h)}a/o\acute{k}$-. For the ending, cf. ἄρακος. The initial syllable φα- also occurs in Lat. *faba* < *$b^hab^hā$, Ru. *bob*, OPr. *babo* 'bean', and Gr. ▸ φάσηλος.

***φάκται** ⇒φάκτον.

φακτωνᾰ́ριος [m.] '"head of a compamy of charioteers with the colors of his faction of the circus'. ◂LW Lat.▸

•VAR Also φακτονάριος.

•ETYM From Lat. *factiōnārius*.

φάκτον 1 [n.] 'act, action, fact' (Leo Mag., Priscian.). ◂LW Lat.▸

•ETYM From Lat. *factum*, which entered Greek after the V^P.

φάκτον 2 [n.] 'a recipient and a measure'. See Naoumides *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.* 9 (1968): 280, who cites from Cyr. (cod. Matritensis) φάκον· μέτρον παρά Ἀρκάσιν, κοτύλαι Ἀττικαὶ τρεῖς. Compare H. [on φ 74] φάκτει [leg. φάκτα]· ληνοί, σιπύαι, πύελοι. ◂PG?▸

•DIAL Perhaps Myc. *pa-ko-to*, see Lejeune 1958: 341[29].

•ETYM An Arcadian measure. Meier-Brügger *KZ* 107 (1994): 90f. follows Neumann, who derives the word from the root of φαγεῖν 'eat' (originally 'distribute'), *b^hh_2g-, with substantivizing accent. DELG suggests a connection with παχύς, which seems highly improbable to me. Fur.: 171 compares *βάκανον, and βαβάκινον <καὶ βαβάκινον>· χύτρας εἶδος (H.), and βακάϊον· μέτρον τι (H.); there also extensively on MLat. *baccinus*.

φαλά [?] · μικρά κάρα (H., Fur.: reads φάλα). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also φάλαι· ὅροι, σκοπιαί (H.).

•ETYM Fur.: 172 connects βαλόν· οὐρανόν (H.), and further ▸ φάλος.

φάλαγξ, -αγγος [f.] 'round and longish piece of wood, log, roller, beam' (Hdt., Delos III[a], A. R., Orph.), 'balance beam' (Arist.), 'joint of the fingers' (Arist., medic.), 'row of eyelashes' (Paul. Aeg.), 'spider' (com., X.), after the long joints of its legs; traditionally a technical term in the military: '(close or dense) battle-array, line of battle' (Il.), in later times of the so-called Dorian and especially of the Macedonian phalanx, with heavy-armed infantry (X., Plb. etc.). ◂PG(S)▸

•COMP φαλαγγομαχ-έω [v.] 'to fight in or against a line of battle (on foot)' (X., D. S.), opposed to ἱππο-, πυργο-μαχέω; φαλαγγομάχ-ᾱς [m.] 'fighting in a line of battle' (*AP*).

•DER 1. φαλάγγ-ιον [n.] 'kind of poisonous spider' (Att., etc.), "spider herb", used against spider-bites (Dsc.), 'roller' (H., Eust., *EM*). 2. -ίτης [m.] 'soldier of a phalanx' (Plb. etc.), "spider herb" (Gal.), -ῖτις [f.] 'id.' (Dsc.). 3. -ιτικός 'consisting of soldiers of a phalanx' (Plb.). 4. -ηδόν 'in battle-array' (*O* 360, Plb. etc.). 5. φαλαγγ-όω [v.] 'to

furnish with rollers' (Ph. *Bel.*, etc.), -ωμα [n.] 'roller' (Phryn. *PS*), also = πομπή τις ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις (H.), -ωσις [f.] name for a disease of the eyelashes (medic.). 6. φαλαγκτήρια [n.pl.] 'round logs' (Milete V[a]).

•ETYM Formation like φάραγξ, σῆραγξ, φάρυγξ etc. The prenasalized form proves Pre-Greek origin (not in Fur.!). The nasal and the consistent vocalization as -αλα- render the earlier comparison with Germanic 'beam' (ON *bjalki* [m.] < **belkan-*, OHG *balko* [m.] < **balkan-*) and Balto-Slavic words (Lith. *balžíena(s)* 'flexible crossbeam on a sledge, stick', Ru. (dial.) *bólozno* 'thick plank', etc.) obsolete. Latin *sufflāmen* [n.] 'clog, break' (if < **flāg-(s)men-* or **flag-smen-*) is also problematic. The Greek noun was borrowed into Latin as *phalanga*, whence late Latin / Romance *planca*, MoHG *Planke*, etc.

φαλακρός ◁PG▷

•VAR Also φάλανθος, φάλᾱρος, φάληρος, φαλιός, etc.

•ETYM The group of φάλανθος and φαλακρός is no doubt of Pre-Greek origin; see on ►φαλός.

φάλαρα [pl.]⇒φάλος.

φαλίζει [v.] · θέλει (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM Unknown.

φαλικρόν [adj.] · ἄκρατον 'unmixed, pure' (H.). ◁PG▷

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares ►χάλις.

φαλίς [?] · κάνναβις (H.). ◁GR▷

•ETYM To ►φαλός = λευκός; cf. SCr. *bjelojka*, Sln. *belíca* 'white hemp', MoHG *Wißhampf.*

φάλκης [m.] part of a ship, acc. to Poll. 1, 85f. = τὸ τῇ σπείρᾳ προσηλούμενον, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ δευτέρα τρόπις, usually interpreted as 'beam, board, rib of a ship'. ◁PG?▷

•ETYM The uncertainty about the exact meaning renders etymologizing difficult. The word has been connected with φάλαγξ and with Lat. *falx*, *flectō* (see Frisk s.v.). The Latin noun might be related to Gr. ἐμφαλκωμένοις· περιπεπλεγμένοις (Suid.). Another unclear word is φάλκη· ὁ τῆς κόμης αὐχμός, ἢ νυκτερίς (H.). In the first meaning, perhaps related to πάλκος (see ►πηλός)? On the different names of the bat, see Schwentner *KZ* 71 (1954): 95f. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

φάλλαινα [f.] 'whale' (A. *Fr.* 464 M., Arist., Str., Nonn., etc.), of a monster (Ar. *V.* 35, 39, Lyc. 841); also 'moth' (Nic. *Th.* 760; Rhodian acc. to sch.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Codd. often φάλαινα, but the length of the syllable is metrically ascertained.

•DER Shorter form φάλλη [f.] 'whale' (Lyc. 84, 394), = ἡ πετομένη ψυχή (H.); φάλ<λ>αι· φάλ<λ>αιναι (H.).

•ETYM Formed with the feminine suffix -αινα to a stem **φάλλων* or φαλλος; see ►φαλλός. Borrowed as Lat. *ballaena*; Latin *b-* instead of *p(h)-* shows that it entered Latin through a third language. The word will be of Pre-Greek origin (note the variation between single and geminate λ); see Fur.: 171[177] on words in -αινα.

φάλλαινα 2 [f.] 'night-moth'. ◁?▷

•ETYM DELG discusses the possible relation between this word and ►φάλλαινα 1. Cf. Keller 1913: 437ff.; Gil Fernández 1959: 204-207.

φαλλός [m.] 'membrum virile' (Hdt., Ar., Att. inscr. etc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•COMP φαλλοφόρος, -φορέω (late), also φαλληφορέω, -φόρια [n.pl.] (Plu.), ἰθύφαλλος (Cratin., D. [from youth slang] etc.).

•DER φαλλικός 'belonging to the φ.' (Ar., Arist.); Φαλλήν, -ῆνος [m.] epithet of Dionysus (Paus. 10, 19, 3; codd. Κεφαλῆνα); φαλλίων = φαλλοφόρος (Suid.); περιφαλλία· πομπὴ Διονύσῳ τελουμένη τῶν φαλλῶν (H.). Also φάλης, -ητος (-ῆς, -ῆτος) [m.] = φαλλός, also personified (Sophr., S. *Ichn.*, Ar., Theoc., H.); Ion. gen. φάλεω (Hippon. 14b).

•ETYM The meaning 'membrum virile' probably developed from another, more concrete meaning. In meaning, the word βαλλία 'private parts' (Herod.) is closest; some have connected the ethnonym Τριβαλλοί (= *Τριφαλλοί). Other look-alikes in form and meaning are MoHG (dial.) *bille* 'penis' and OIr. *ball* 'member, body-part', which have often been compared with various words (especially from Germanic) for 'ball, bullet, sack, drinking vessel, testis, bull', from a hypothetical PIE root *$*b^{h}el$-* 'blow (up), swell'. Because of its body shape, the whale ►φάλλαινα might also be cognate with φαλλός. The connection with 'pyralis, night-moth' remains unclear (Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 194ff.; cf. also Güntert 1919: 219f.).

The forms with β (βαλλίον Herod. 6, 69) and the variation λ/λλ clearly point to Pre-Greek origin, see Fur.: 172.

φάλος [m.] helmet ornament or part of the helmet, 'grainy top'?, 'band of the helmet'? (Il.). ◁PG?(V)▷

•COMP ἄφαλος 'without a φ.' (K 258), τετράφαλος 'with four φάλοι' (M 384, X 315), ἀμφίφαλος 'with a φάλος on both sides, surrounded by φάλοι' (E 743 = Λ 41, Q. S. 3, 334). On ►τρυφάλεια, see s.v.

•DER φάλᾰρα [n.pl.] part of a helmet, 'decorations'?, 'jaw piece' ? (Π 106), 'jaw piece of horses' (Hdt., E., X. etc.), 'jaw dressings' (late medic.), metaphorically 'decorations' (Plu., D. Chr.), -ᾰρον [sg.] 'ornament of the τιάρα' (A. *Pers.* 663 [lyr.]); acc. to H. = ἀστραγαλίσκος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς περικεφαλαίας, καὶ παραγναθίδες, χαλινοὶ ἢ ἱπποκόσμια. Hence Φαλαρῖτις [f.] epithet of Athena (Call. *Fr.* 503). Also τετραφάληρος, epithet of κυνέη (beside ἀμφίφαλος; E 743 = Λ 41).

•ETYM As the form and function of the φάλοι and φάλαρα remain unknown, any attempt at an etymology remains hypothetic. Borrowed as Lat. *phalerae*. Fur.: 231 adduces βαλόν· οὐρανόν 'sky'; see also op.cit. 257[36] on the suffix -αρα. So the word may be of Pre-Greek origin, provided that the identification is correct.

φαλός [adj.] · λευκός (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER φαλύνει· λαμπρύνει; φαλίσσεται· λευκαίνεται, ἀφρίζει, probably also φαλίπτει· μωραίνει and φαλωθείς· παρατραπείς (all H.); cf. λευκαὶ φρένες· μαινόμεναι (H.), from Pi. *P.* 4, 194, and φαλός also = μωρός, ἐμμανής (H.) (not to φηλός, pace e.g. Pok. 489f.).

Furthermore: 1. φαλιός 'bright, white-spotted' (Call., Hell. pap., Procop.), after πολιός; φαλιόπουν· λευκόπουν (H.). 2. φάληρος (Nic.), Dor. -ᾱρος (Theoc.), 'white-spotted', also as an animal name (Theoc.), denominative ptc. φαληριόωντα 'frothing up white' (κύματα Ν 799). Hence φαληρίς, -ᾱρίς [f.] 'Eurasian coot, Fulica atra' (Ar., Arist., etc.), also 'canary grass, Phalaris nodosa' (Dsc.), -ήριον [n.] 'id.' (Ps.-Dsc.). TN Φάληρον [n.] a harbour of Athens. 3. φαλακρός (also άνα-, ήμι-, etc.) 'bald-headed, round and bald' (IA), -ότης [f.] (Hp., Arist.), -όομαι 'to become bald-headed', -όω 'to make bald' (Hdt., Arist., LXX), άπο- (Phryn. *PS*), -ωμα, -ωσις (LXX, Plu., etc.); -ιάω 'id.' (Suid. s.v. άωρόλειος); fem. φαλάκρα 'bare hill' (St. Byz.); TN Φαλάκρα(ι), -άκριον etc.; also Βάλαγρος, -άγραι. As Frisk 1934: 62-64 showed, -ακρο- is suffixal and has nothing to do with the word for 'top'. 4. φάλανθος 'baldheaded, bald' (*AP*, D. L., pap., etc.), also as a PN and TN; -αντίας [m.] 'bald head' (Luc.), -άντωμα [n.] 'bare spot' (v.l. LXX), often άναφάλαντος (-ανθος) 'id.' (pap., LXX), and -αντίας (-ανθίας), -αντιαῖος, -αντίασις, -άντωμα (Arist., LXX, Luc. etc.); probably after the verbal adjectives in -αντος (cf. e.g. άθέρμαντος = ἄθερμος, etc.), then sporadically adapted to ἄνθος. See also ►παμφαλάω and ►φαλίς.

•ETYM All Greek forms may be derived from the adj. φαλός, which was compared with Lith. *bãlas* 'white', as a plant-name 'snowdrop, etc.' (beside more usual *báltas* 'white'), and with Alb. *balë* 'horse with a white spot on its forehead'. A lengthened grade to this root is found in Latv. *bâls* 'pale', and OCS *bělъ*, Ru. *bélyj* 'white' < **bʰēlH-o-*.

Among numerous other formations, the Lat. and Germanic designations of the coot (= φαληρίς) has also been compared: Lat. *fulica* (probably < **bʰol-ik-*), OHG *belihha*, MoHG *Belche*. It was further supposed that ►βαλιός was related as a word from the Balkans, with Βαλίος (name of a horse of Achilles), see Brandenstein *Sprache* 2 (1950-1952): 76 with further combinations.

However, the whole group, with interchanges φ/β, τ/θ, κ/γ, is clearly of Pre-Greek origin, see Fur.: 192.

φάνδουρος ⇒πάνδουρος.

φανός ⇒φάος.

φάος [n.] 'light, daylight', also metaphorically (Il., epic poet.). ◁IE **bʰeh₂-* 'shine'▷

•VAR φόως (epic), φῶς (Att.), also φάβος = φάϝος (Pamphyl.), gen. φάεος, Att. φάους and φωτός, nom.acc.pl. φάεα, φάῃ, φῶτα, etc.

•COMP φαεσφόρος (Call.), φαοσφόρος (*Lyr. Adesp.*), φωσφόρος (Att.) 'bringing light, bearing a torch'; φαυοφόροι· Αἰολεῖς. ἱέρειαι (H.). Frequent as a second member, e.g. λευκοφαής 'with white light, white-gleaming', παμφαής 'all-shining, wholly radiant' (trag.), αὐξιφαής 'increasing light' (Man., *Cat. Cod. Astr.*), Εὐρυφάεσσα [f.] mother of Helios (*h. Hom.* 31; analogical formation metri causa); furthermore φωτ(ο-) (Hell.+) in e.g. φωτοειδής 'luminous, full of light', φωταγωγός 'bringing light', fem. 'opening for light, window', whence -αγωγέω, -ία; αὐξίφωτος 'increasing light', whence -φωτέω, -ία.

•DER 1. From φάος: φαεινός < *φαϝεσ-νός (Il., epic poet.), φάεννος (Aeol.), PN Φαηνος (Dor.), Φαηνα (Arc.), φᾱνός (Att.) 'shining, bright, pure'; thence φανότης

[f.] 'brightness'; as a noun φᾱνός [m.] 'torch' (com., X., etc.), also φᾰνή [f.] (Hes. *Fr.* 47, E.), perhaps after φᾰνῆναι, -φᾰνής? Φᾰναῖος epithet of Zeus (E. *Rh.* 355 [lyr.]), of Apollo (Achae.). From φαεινός: φαείνω (ἀμφι-) [v.] 'to come to light, shine, glow' (Od., epic), also trans. 'to bring to light' (Nic.), pass. 'to appear' (Call., A. R.); aor. pass. φάνθην (Il., μ 441), probably for *φαένθην after φάνθην (Chantraine 1942: 81; cf. Schwyzer: 723), whence φάντατος 'most radiant' (ν 93), compar. φάντερος (*AP*).

2. From φῶς: φωτ-εινός 'glowing, light, bright' (X., Hell.+), φωτ-ίζω [v.] 'to (en)lighten, brighten, reveal, instruct', also of baptism (Hell.+), also with δια-, ἐπι-, κατα- etc.; thence -ισμός (κατα-, ἐπι-, περι-) [m.], -ισις (δια-) [f.] 'enlightenment' (Hell.+), -ιστικός 'enlightening' (late), -ιστήριον [n.] 'baptistery' (*Epigr.* VI^{p}), plur. = *luminaria* (gloss.), -ισμα [n.] 'lunar phase' (comm. Arist.). On φωστήρ, φώσκω, see φαυστήρ, φαύσκω below.

Them. aor. φάε 'lighted up, appeared' (Ἠώς, ξ 502), subj. προφάησι (Max. 280), ptc. φάουσαι (or rather φαοῦσαι, Arat. 607 of the constellation Χηλαί), also φῶντα· λάμποντα (H.). Thence two presents: 1. With an enlargement -θ- only ptc. φαέθων 'shining, radiating', of the sun (Il., epic poet.), also as a PN Φαέθων (Od., etc.), and -οντίς, -οντιάς (*AP*, Opp.); as a first member φαεσίμβροτος 'bringing light to mortals', of Ἠώς, Ἥλιος, etc. (epic poet. since Ω 785, κ 138), φαυσί- (Pi.), note φαέσασθαι· ἰδεῖν, μαθεῖν 'see learn' (H.). 2. With a suffix -σκ- and reduplication: πι-φαύσκω [v.] (only pres. and ipf.) 'to reveal, show, announce' (Il., epic, lyr.); prefixed without reduplication: δια-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-φαύσκω, rarely aor. -φαῦσαι, fut. -φαύσω 'to shine, rise' of stars, 'to dawn' of daylight (Arist., Hell.+), also (after φῶς) -φώσκω (Hdt., late); simplex φώσκει· διαφαύει (H.).

To the primary verb belong several nouns: ἄ-φαυστος 'unilluminable, unannouncable' (Plot.), ἡμί- (Poll.); φαῦσις (διά-) [f.] 'enlightenment, illumination' (LXX, Plu.), ὑπό- '(narrow) opening, opening for light' (Hdt. 7, 36, LXX, Ph.); διάφαυμα [n.] 'dawn' (pap. VI^{p}); φαυστήρ [m.] 'lamp, torch' (Epid. III^{a}), whence φαυστήριος epithet of Dionysus (Lyc.); also φωστήρ [m.] 'light, radiance', plur. 'lights of heaven' = 'stars, sun and moon' (LXX, NT, Vett. Val. etc.) = θυρίς (H.). Several PNs: Φαύδαμος, Φώκριτος, Νικοφάης, Εὐρυφάων, Δημοφόων, Ἀντιφῶν, etc.

•ETYM All the above forms can be derived from a thematic aorist φαεῖν (Schwyzer: 747), which is seen only in the hapax legomena φάε, προφάησιν, φάουσα (*φαοῦσα), from PIE *$b^{h}h_{2}$-*u*-*V*-, and perhaps in φαύω (*EM*, etc.). The derived noun φάος yields φῶς with contraction (whence φόως by diectasis, Chantraine 1942: 81); thence the gen. φωτός after χρωτός, ἔρωτος, ἥπατος etc.; and the derivatives φωστήρ, φώσκω. It is superfluous to assume a special by-form φῶς < *$b^{h}oh_{2}$-*s*- (= Skt. *bhā́s*- [n.]; cf. below).

The PIE root is *$b^{h}eh_{2}$- 'to shine' as seen in Skt. *bhā́ti*. The forms with -*u*- are not found outside Greek. A cognate with long vowel is generally seen in Skt. *vi-bhā́va*(*n*)- 'shining, lighhting', but this belongs to *bhā́ti* 'to lighten, shine' and thus allows for an analysis as *vi-bhā́-va*(*n*)-. A form without -*u*- is seen in πεφήσεται (see ►φαίνω).

φάραγξ, -αγγος [f.] 'gully, chasm, deep trench, abyss' (Alcm., trag., Th., X., etc.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Also σφάραγγες (H. *sine expl.*); ἄσφαραγος (Il., Plu., Q. S.).
•DER φαραγγ-ώδης 'full of gullies' (Arist., D. S., etc.), -ίτης [m.] epithet of the wind Iapyx (Arist.), φαραγγαῖον· τῆς φαρέτρας τὸ κάλυμμα 'quiver-case' (H.), φαραγγόομαι in γῆ (ἄρουρα) πεφαραγγωμένη 'craggy field (caused by the Nile)' (Hell. pap.).
•ETYM Connection with a verb 'to cut, split, bore' (Frisk) is a chimaera. Like ▶σῆραγξ, ▶φάλαγξ, φάραγξ is of Pre-Greek origin (note the prenasalization). Fur.: 227 compares μάραγοι· οἱ ἀπόκρημνοι τόποι 'overhanging places' (H.) and Spanish (Pre-Roman) *barranca* (cf. Alessio *REIE* 2 (1939): 153).

φάραι · ὑφαίνειν, πλέκειν 'to weave, plait' (H.).
•ETYM The gloss is suspect, see DELG.

φαρέτρα [f.] 'quiver' (Il.). ◁GR?▷
•VAR Ion. -τρη. Also φαρατρίτας (Boeot.).
•COMP φαρετροφόρος 'bearing a quiver' (*AP*).
•DER Diminutive φαρέτρ-ιον [n.] (Mosch.), -εών, -εῶνος [m.] 'quiver' (Hdt.), after the local nouns in -(ε)ών; -ίτας [m.] 'archer'.
•ETYM Instrument noun and local noun in -τρᾱ, for which derivation from φέρω with a reduced grade has been assumed (cf. Schwyzer: 358), beside a full grade in φέρετρον; one compares βάραθρον : βέρεθρον, χαράδρα : χέραδος, etc. However, because a reduced grade is not accepted anymore since the laryngeal theory, a loanword should be considered, e.g. from Iranian, with folk-etymological adaptation (see Chantraine 1933: 333 and especially Hubschmid 1953a with more examples of loanwords for 'quiver').

φαρία unknown (pap. II^{p}).
•VAR χαμαιφάριον (pap. III^{p}).

φᾰρικόν [n.] a fish (Nic. *Al.* 398, Dsc.); also φαριακὸν φάρμακον (Phylarch. *apud* Athen. 81e).
•ETYM Unclear, see DELG.

φαρκάζει [v.] · κλέπτει 'steals' (H.).
•ETYM Unclear, see DELG.

φάρκες [pl.] · νεοσσοί 'young birds' (H.).
•ETYM The gloss does not appear in the correct alphabetical place; does it contain an error? Speculations in DELG.

φαρκίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'wrinkle' (S.*Fr.* 1108, Erot.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Also ▶φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν 'white, gray, wrinkled' (H.), s.v.
•DER φαρκιδώδης 'wrinkly' (Hp. *apud* Erot.), -ιδούμενοι· στυγνάζοντες (H.), of a gloomy look, literally 'wrinkling'.
•ETYM Gr. φαρκίς has been compared with Lat. *fricāre* 'to rub off', Lith. *brūkis* 'stroke, line' and *braūkti* 'to strike, rub', but this is formally hardly possible; so Pre-

Greek? The connection with φορκόν is quite uncertain. In the meaning 'white, grey', φορκός may belong to a verb for 'gleam', to which e.g. Go. *bairhts*, MoE *bright*; this would presuppose a secondary shift from 'grey' to 'wrinkling' (ῥυσός).

φάρμακον [n.] 'healing or harmful medicine, healing or poisonous herb, drug, poisonous potion, magic (potion), dye, raw material for physical or chemical processing' (Il.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR φάρμακος (accent following Hdn. Gr. 1, 150) [m.] 'poisoner, enchanter' (LXX, *Apoc.*).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-ma-ko*.

•COMP φαρμακοπώλης [m.] 'medicine seller, pharmacist' (Att.), πολυφάρμακος 'having many φ., skilled in many φ.' (Hom., Sol., A. R., Thphr.).

•DER A. 1. φαρμάκ-ιον [n.] 'healing or harmful medicine' (Pl., Hell. pap., Plu. etc.). 2. φαρμακ-ία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'remedy' (Hp., LXX etc.). 3. φαρμακ-εύς [m.] 'who prepares φ., poisoner, enchanter' (S., Pl. etc.), probably backformed from -εύω. 4. φαρμακ-ίτης [m.], -ῖτις [f.] 'containing φ., concerning φ.' (Hp., Eup., etc.). 5. φαρμακ-ίων [m.] epithet of a physician (Gal.). 6. φαρμακ-ίς (Ar., D., Arist. etc.), -εια (Arist.), -εύτρια (Theoc. in tit., Eust.), -ισσαι [pl.] (H., see βαμβακεύτριαι) [f.] 'enchantress'. 7. φαρμακ-ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'dye works' (S. *Fr.* 1109).

B. Adjectives 1. φαρμακ-ώδης 'medicinal, poisonous, rich in φ.' (Arist., Hell.+). 2. φαρμακ-όεις 'id.' (Hell. and late poetry). 3. φαρμακ-ηρός 'treated with φ., imbued, impregnated' (pap. II^{p}). 4. -ικός 'concerning the φ.' (Tz.; usually -ευτικός for euphonic reasons).

C. Denominative verbs: 1. φαρμακ-εύω 'to prepare or use φ., to heal, poison, enchant' (IA), also with κατα-, δια-; hence -ευτής = -εύς (late), -ευτικός 'concerning the use of φ., belonging to φ.' (Pl., Gal. etc.), -εία [f.] 'preparation or use of φ., healing, poisoning, enchantment' (Hp., Att., Hell.+), -ευσις [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Pl.), -εύτρια (see A 6); also as a back-formation -εύς (see A 3). 2. φαρμακ-άω 'to feel the effect of a φ., to long for φ.' (D., Thphr., Plu. etc.). 3. φαρμακ-όομαι 'to be poisoned, enchanted' (Plu., pap.), aor. act. -ῶσαι 'to provide with φ.' (Pi.). 4. φαρμάσσω, Att. -ττω 'to treat with φ., to heal, poison, enchant' (ι 393), rarely with κατα-, ἐν-, ἐπι-; hence φάρμαξις [f.] 'medical treatment, enchantment, metalworking' (Pl., Plu., etc.), -ακτήρ, -άκτης [m.] = φαρμακεύς (Opp.), -ακτήριος 'healing' (Lyc.). Also back-formation φαρμᾰκός [m.] 'lustration, scapegoat', also as a term of abuse (Hippon., Ar., Lys., D., Call.); perhaps, the long α was introduced after pejorative words in -ᾱξ (the length is certain in Hippon. and Call., but shortvowel in Ar. *Eq.* 1045, both are possible in Ar. *Ra.* 733).

•ETYM The original meaning of φάρμακον cannot be established with certainty. The word is clearly Pre-Greek. Fur.: 220 compares φόρβαντα· ἰατρικὰ φάρμακα (H.), φόρβια· φάρμακα, οἱ δὲ φόρβα (H.). Note the variations α/ο and μ/β, well-known from Pre-Greek. Foreign origin is already pleaded for by Chantraine 1933: 384 and Schwyzer: 497.

φάρος [n.] 'plough?' (Alcm., Antim. *Eleg.*; both very doubtful), 'ploughing' (H., *EM*), also = φάρυγξ (Lyc.)? ◂?▸

•DER φαροῦν· ἀροτριᾶν; φαρῶσαι· ἀρόσαι … (H.); 3pl. φαρόωσι 'to plough' (Call. *Fr.* 183 = *EM* 788, 24), perhaps after ἀρόωσι? ἄφαρος, ἀφάρωτος = ἀνήροτος, ἀναροτρίαστος? (Call. *Fr.* 183, 82 c = 555 Pf.; very uncertain, cf. Pf. ad loc.), βούφαρον (-ην cod., -ῆ Latte)· τὴν εὐάροτ[ρ]ον γῆν. φάρος γὰρ ἡ ἄροσις (H.). Further aor. φάρσαι = σχίσαι (*EM*). Compare ▶φάραγξ.

•ETYM The relation between the words cited is unknown, because of their meagre attestation. The present φαρόωσι seems an intensive deverbative (*φαράω); imitation of ἀρόωσι is quite improbable. The sequence φαρ- could be interpreted as the original zero grade of a verbal stem PIE *b^herH- 'to pierce, bore', continued e.g. in OHG *borōn* 'to bore', *bora* [f.] 'borer', Alb. *birë*, *brimë* [f.] 'hole'; with *o*-grade Lat. *forāre* 'to bore (through)'; with *e*-grade MIr. *bern(a)* [f.] 'cleft, split', Arm. *beran* 'mouth'; with *ē*- or *ō*-grade Arm. *brem* 'to dig up, bore up', < **birem* < PIE *$b^hēr$-, or **burem* < PIE *$b^hōr$-. Words for 'to beat, hew', such as Lat. *ferīre*, ON *berja*, OCS *borjǫ*, *brati* 'to fight' have been kept separate by E-M for their deviating meaning.

φάρος [m.] 'lighthouse' (*AP*). ◁?▷

•ETYM Origin unknown. Borrowed into Late Latin, French, etc. Hence derives the name of the island in Alexandria, famous for its lighthouse (δ 355).

φᾶρος [n.] 'cloth, linen, garment, cloak, costume' (Il., epic poet.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Later also φάρος (φᾰρέεσσι Hes. *Op.* 198 codd.).

•DIAL Myc. *pa-we-a* [pl.].

•COMP μελαμιφᾶρής 'having a black garment' (B.).

•DER φάραι· ὑφαίνειν, πλέκειν 'weave, plait' (H.); also φορμός?

•ETYM An isolated word, which could well be Pre-Greek. On the erroneous connection with Lith. *bùrė* 'sail', *barva*, *bùrva* 'color' see Fraenkel 1955 s.vv. with Nieminen *KZ* 72 (1955): 129ff. and 147ff. Acc. to Solmsen 1909: 246, it belongs to ▶φάρσος, ▶φάρυγξ, etc.

φαρσάγγιον = ▶παρασάγγης.

φάρσος [n.] 'quarter, part' of a city (Hdt. 1, 180f., 186 said of Babylon, which is divided into two parts by the Euphrates), of a house (Poll.); of a felt hat and of a bunch of grapes (*AP*); of a root (Nic.); of a gown (J.), 'cloth, covering, banner' (J.). ◁IE? *b^hrs- 'break', PG?▷

•COMP φαρσοφόρος = *signifer* (gloss.); διαφάρ(σ)ους χιτῶνας (*EM* 175, 37).

•DER φάρσωμα [n.] 'frame of a ship' vel sim. (Demetr. in *Cat. Cod. Astr.*).

•ETYM An Ionic word according to Solmsen 1909: 6f. Connection with φάρος 'plough' makes little sense. Previously, it was assumed that the -σ- was suffixal, and ἄψος, μύσος etc. were compared (Schwyzer: 513). Fur.: 254 suggests a Pre-Greek word, because of the suffix -σος.

The most promising etymology, however, is a connection with Hitt. *parši-$^{a(ri)}$*, *parš-$^{a(ri)}$* 'to break', *parša-* '-morsel, fragment', if we assume that in a zero grade *b^hrs-*o*-, the -*s*- was preserved between vocalic ṛesonant and vowel. The Hitt. word is compared with the Gm. group of ON *bresta*, OHG *brestan*, OE *berstan* 'to burst'. Within Greek, we find a verbal form φάρσαι = σχίσαι (*EM*).

φάρυγξ [f.m.] 'throat, gorge, larynx, windpipe' (Od.), also 'throat disease' (Hp.). ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Also -υξ, gen. -υγος, -υγγος, acc. -υγγα.
•COMP φαρυγγοτομία [f.] 'laryngotomy' (late medic.), μακροφάρυ(γ)ξ 'long-necked' (*AP*).
•DER φαρ-ύγ(γ)εθρον (medic., Poll.), -ύγαθρον (H.) 'id.', on the model of the synonyms βέρεθρον, βάραθρον [?]; φαρ-υγ(γ)ίνδην 'like a gullet' (*Com. Adesp.*, Lex.); φαρυγγίζω = λαρυγγίζω (Poll.). Cf. κολοί-φρυξ, also φάραγξ and λάρυγξ.
•ETYM Frisk interprets this as an inherited Indo-European word for 'throat, gorge', identical with Lat. *frūmen* 'id.' < **frŭgsmen*, Arm. *erbuc*, gen. *-oy* (*o*-stem) 'chest, breast-piece of sacrificial animals'; it would be further connected with ►φάρος. Yet, this analysis is completely wrong: the prenasalized suffix -υ(γ)γ- shows that the word is of Pre-Greek origin.

φάσγανον [n.] 'sword' (Il., epic poet., Cyprian acc. to *AB* 1095), 'sword lily, gladiolus, iris' (Thphr., Dsc. etc.), 'sword of the swordfish' (Opp.). ◁PG(S)▷
•DIAL Myc. *pa-ka-na*.
•COMP φασγαν-ουργός 'sword-forger' (A. [lyr.]), χρυσοφάσγανος = χρυσάωρ (sch.).
•DER Diminutive φασγαν-ίς, ίδος [f.] 'razor blade' (*AP* 6, 307), -ιον [n.] 'sword lily' (Dsc., Gal. etc.); verbs φασγάνεται· ξίφει ἀναιρεῖται (H.), φασγανιάω in φασγανιῶσαν· ἐξιφισμένην, φασγανιών<των>· ἐξιφισμένων (H.).
•ETYM Formation like δρέπανον, κόπανον and other instrument names. The traditional connection with σφάζω, σφαγή through *σφαγ-σκ-ανον (Prellwitz) is unconvincing phonetically and morphologically. The connection with Skt. *khaḍgá-* 'sword' (Specht *KZ* 66 (1939): 220) is refuted by Mayrhofer *KEWA* s.v.
The word is no doubt Pre-Greek (cf. the *a*-vocalism, suffix -αν-). Fur.: 300 takes up the traditional connection with σφαγ- (s.v. σφάζω) and interprets it in Pre-Greek terms. Isebaert *Glotta* 63 (1985): 150f. connects Skt. *bhájate*, but he does not explain the Greek -α-, nor the meaning.

φάσηλος [m.] 'an edible bean' (Epich., Ar., pap. III^{a}, etc.). ◁LW?▷
•DER φασήλιον [n.] 'id.' (Dsc., pap. IV-V^{p}).
•ETYM Identical with Lat. *phasēlus* [m., f.] 'kind of beans, husk-like bread' (Cat., Cic., Aug. poetry, Colum., etc.), which probably was a loanword from Greek. The inverse direction was assumed by Pisani *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 6:6 (1930): 184ff.: φάσηλος would be an Italic loanword into Greek, cognate with φακός 'lentil'. Because of Alb. *bathë* 'tick-bean' (see ►φακός), Kretschmer *Glotta* 21 (1933): 181f. considered Illyrian intervenience. Further details are found in WH s.v., where Mediterranean origin is assumed. From the Lat. diminutive *phaseolus* (Colum., etc.), Greek took φασίολος, -ίωλος, πασίολος (Gal., Poll., *Edict. Diocl.*). Fur. 175 follows Alessio in comparing Lat. *basēlus* 'light vessel', which would point to substrate origin, either Mediterranean or Pre-Greek.

φάσις 1 [f.] 'notification'. •VAR Also φάσμα. ⇒φαίνω.

φάσις 2 [f.] 'declaration'. •VAR Also φάτις, φάσκω. ⇒φημί.

φασκαίνω ⇒βασκαίνω.

φασκάς ⇒βασκᾶς.

φασκία, -ιδος [f.] 'bandage, strip' (Sor., Poll.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM From Lat. *fascia*.

φασκίς in 1. βασκευταί· φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι (H.). 2. διάφυσος· φασκίς. ◁?▷
•ETYM 1. Could be a loan from Lat. *fascis*, or a Greek word, cf. βάσκοι· δεσμαὶ φρυγάνων. 2. Possibly to be read as σκαφίς 'cup'.

φάσκος [m.] 'tufts of moss drooping from oak trees' (Thphr., H.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Starting from original *φαρσκος, Solmsen 1909: 5ff. proposes three possibilities: 1. related to the group of LG *barsch* 'sharp, rough, stern' < PGm. **bars-ka-*, OIr. *barr* 'point, top, etc.' < PCl. **barso-*, OHG *burst* 'bristle', Lat. *fastīgium* 'point, ridge, etc.';
2. related to ▸φάρσος 'piece, part';
3. from earlier *φαρκ-σκος to φορκόν· λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν.
Differently Mann *Lang.* 17 (1941): 12: to Alb. *bashkë* 'pellicle'. On φασκάς, -άδος 'kind of duck', see ▸βασκᾶς.
Fur.: 124 compares σφάκος 'kind of moss', σφαγνος, φάσκον (Thphr.) 'kind of moss'. Op.cit.: 300 he adduces φάσκωλος and βάσκιοι, etc. It is impossible to make a definite choice. A Pre-Greek word seems quite possible.

φάσκος [n.] 'bundle of wood' (Edict. Diocl.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM Adaptation of Lat. *fascis*.

φάσκω ⇒φημί.

φάσκωλος [m.] 'leather bag, bag for clothing, for metal objects, etc.' (Ar. *Fr.* 319, Lys. and Is. *apud* Harp., Att. inscr.). ◁PG▷
•VAR -ον [n.].
•DER Diminutive -ώλιον [n.] (Hell.+).
•ETYM It seems formally evident to connect ▸φάσκος (cf. ἀσκώλια : ἀσκός), in which case the bag would have been denominated after a skin from which the hairs have not been removed (Solmsen 1909: 7). Pok. 111 connects βάσκιοι· δεσμοὶ φρυγάνων 'bundles of dry wood' (H.) as Macedonian. Borrowed as Lat. *pasceolus* (since Plaut.), *phascolum* (Paul. Fest.). Pre-Greek origin seems probable (Fur.: passim).

φάσσα [f.] 'wood-pigeon, ringdove' (Ar., Pl., Arist., etc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Att. -ττα.
•DER φασσοφόνος [m.] 'killing pigeons, pigeon killer' (ἵρηξ O 236), 'kind of hawk' (Arist., Gal. etc.), -φόντης [m.] 'id.' (Ael.); φάψ, -βός [f.] a wilde dove (A. *Fr.* 210, 257 = 3, 403 M.; Arist., Lyc.), difficult to distinguish from φάσσα; φαβο-τύπος [m.] 'kind of hawk' (Arist.), φαβοκτόνος· ἱερακοκτόνος (H.).
•ETYM As φάσσα may have been reshaped after νῆσσα, κίσσα etc., we cannot draw any conclusions from the opposition φάσσα : φάψ for the origin of -σσ- and -β-. For

φάψ, compare monosyllables such as γύψ, σκώψ, γλαῦξ etc. The hypothesis by Hamp 2005: 102-5, seems too complicated. The word is probably Pre-Greek.

φάτνη [f.] 'crib, manger' (Il.), 'depression, coffer in a coffered ceiling, coffer' (Hell. inscr.), 'tooth socket' (Poll.), name of a star in the constellation Cancer, beside the Ὄνοι (Thphr.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Late also πάθνη.

•DER 1. Diminutive φατνίον [n.] 'tooth socket, gums' (late medic., Ph.), name of a star = φάτνη (Hephaest.). 2. Verbs: a. φατν-εύω [v.] 'to feed at the manger' (late), -ίζομαι (ἐκ-) 'to be fed at the manger' (Hld., Nic. Dam.), -άζομαι 'id.' (Aq.); b. φατν-όω [v.] 'to deepen a ceiling, furnish with panelwork; to coffer' (LXX), -ωμα [n.] 'coffering, coffered ceiling, coffer, embrasure on a ship' (A. *Fr.* 78 = 114 M., Plb. etc.), 'tooth socket' (Gal.), -ωματικός 'panelled' (Plu., Anatol. inscr.), -ωτός 'id.' (H., Phot.), -ωσις [f.] 'coffering' (LXX). 3. as a hypostasis from *ἐκ φάτνης: ἐκφατν-ίζομαι 'to be cast out (of the manger)' (Posidon., Eust.), -ισμα [n.] 'litter, scrap' (Philostr. *VA*, etc.). 4. Φάτνιος, epithet of Zeus in Phrygia (Laodicea Combusta; imperial period).

•ETYM The byform πάθνη, attested by Moeris 212, 9 as Hellenistic, lives on in MoGr. and could come from Ionic (Schwyzer: 121; Wackernagel 1916: 23 with ref.). It is widely assumed (Frisk, DELG) that πάθνη is the oldest form, whence by shift of aspiration φάτνη. Inverted writing yielded another variant πάθμη (LXX; Schwyzer: 216). Yet, Beekes 2003: 109-112 stresses that φάτνη is the oldest form (Hom.), whereas πάθνη is only Hellenistic. There are parallels for a progressive shift of aspiration (φιδάκνη > πιθάκνη).

Frisk follows the traditional etymology of φάτνη as a derivative *$b^hn̥d^h$-*n*-h_2- to PIE *b^hend^h- 'to bind' as in Skt. *badhnā́ti*, perf. *babándha*, Go. *bindan*. The same *n*-suffix is recognized in some Celtic forms with full grade: Gaul.-Lat. *benna* 'two-wheeled chariot with a plaited basket', W *benn* 'carriage', and, as a loanword, MoHG dial. *benne* 'waggon box'.

It has been assumed, on the basis of the Celtic word, that φάτνη originally denoted a 'wicker basket'. However, the crib to which horses were tied is a solid construction (ἐυξέστη) and cannot have been of wicker-work. As φάτνη cannot be derived from *b^hend^h-, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

φαττάγης [m.] 'scaly ant-eater' (Ael.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also σπατάγγης (Sophr.), πατάγγης (Poll.).

•ETYM The variants show that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 164, 281).

φαύζειν ⇒φαῦσιγξ.

φαῦλος [adj.] 'bad, unfit, ill, mean, poor, etc.' (IA). ◁PG▷

•COMP φαυλόβιος 'leading a bad life' (sch.), ὑπόφαυλος 'somewhat bad, etc.' (Hp.).

•DER φαύλιος (of fruits) 'coarse, etc.' (Thphr. etc.). φαυλ-ότης [f.] 'bad character, etc.' (Att.), -ίζω [v.] 'to regard as bad, despise' (Pl., X., LXX, late), also with δια-, ἐκ-, etc., whence -ισμός (ἐκ-) [m.] (LXX, J.), -ισμα [n.] 'contempt', -ίστρια [f.] 'despiser' (LXX).

•ETYM Pejorative adjective with a suffix -λο- and barytone accent, like μάχλος, στύφλος, etc. May have been dissimilated from *φλαῦλος; compare the synonym φλαῦρος. The form is also reminiscent of ►ἀφαυρός 'weak, powerless', and is no doubt a Pre-Greek word.

φαῦσιγξ [f.] 'blister from burns, blister' (Ar. *Fr.* 883, Hp. *apud* Gal. 19, 150, Poll. 7, 110, *EM* 789, 52, H.). ◄PG(S,V)►

•VAR Also φαῦστιγξ, plur. -ιγγες.

•COMP No compounds or derivatives.

•ETYM Formation like μῆνιγξ, στρόφιγξ, etc. that has been compared with φαύζει· φρύγει 'roasts, dries' (H.). The prenasalized suffix and the variation σ/στ show that the word is Pre-Greek; note the intervocalic -σ-.

φάψ ⇒φάσσα.

φέβομαι [v.] 'to flee, take flight' (Hom., A. R.). ◄IE *b^heg^w- 'run away, flee'►

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DER Causative-iterative φοβέω 'to put to flight, frighten', -έομαι 'to flee, take flight, be put to flight' (Hom.), also 'to frighten' and 'to be frightened' (post-Hom.), also with ἐκ-, κατα-, ὑπερ-, προ-, etc.; later, the verb was interpreted as a denominative. Hence φόβ-ημα (ἐκ-) [n.] 'fear' (S. [lyr.], sch.), ἐκ-φόβ-ησις [f.] 'fright' (Hdn., Sch., H.), φοβ-ητικός (ἐκ-, προ-) 'fearful, daunting' (Arist. etc.), -ητρον (ἐκ-) [n.] 'terror, scarecrow, terrible event' (Hp., LXX, *Ev. Luc.*, *AP*). As a first member in Φοβεσιστράτη, epithet of Athena (Ar. *Eq.* 1177), on the model of ἑλκεσι-, ἁλφεσι-, ταμεσι- etc.), also Φοβέστρατος 'id.' (Hes. *Th. apud* Chrysipp. *Stoic.*, *EM* 797, 54; after Ἀρχε- etc.). Verbal noun φόβος [m.] 'flight' (Il., epic poet.), 'fright' (post-Hom.), probably also Λ 544 etc.; often as a second member, e.g. περί-, ἔκ-, ἔμ-, ὑπέρφοβος, partly back-formations from ἐκφοβέω, -έομαι, etc. Hence φοβερός 'dreadful, fearful' (IA), φοβερ-ότης [f.] 'terribleness', -ίζω 'to terrify', -ισμός [m.] (LXX). φόβος 'fright' replaced the noun δέος (to δείδω). On ►φόβη, see s.v.

•ETYM Beside thematic φέβομαι with *e , we find Balto-Slavic cognates with -$ē$- from Winter's Law: Lith. *bėgti*, 1sg. *bėgu* 'to walk, run' , Latv. *bêgt*, 1sg. *bêgu* 'to walk', *bêgtiês* 'to flee' (*bẽga* 'flight', *bêglis* 'fugitive'), OCS *běžati*, 1sg. *běžǫ* 'φεύγειν', Ru. *bežátь*, 1sg. *begú* 'to walk, flee'. Van Windekens 1941: 96 suggested connecting ToA *pkänt* 'apart', *pukäl* 'year', ToB *pikul* 'year'; considered conceivable by Adams 1999 s.v. *pikul*.

φέγγος [n.] 'light, splendour, lustre' (mostly poet., *h. Cer.* 278, also Att., Hell.+). ◄?►

•COMP E.g. χρυσοφεγγής 'with golden radiance, gold-radiant' (A. *Ag.* 288); φεγγοβολέω 'to cast light' (Man.).

•DER φεγγίτης [m.] name of a stone = σεληνίτης (Plin., etc.); βραχυφεγγίτης = βραχυφεγγής (λύχνος) 'casting a sparse light' (*AP* 6, 251; metrically enlarged). As a back-formation: φέγγω [v.] 'to glow, shine, enlighten' (Ar. *Ra.* 344 [lyr.], A. R., late), only pres. and ipf., also with περι-, occasionally κατα-, ἀνα-.

•ETYM No etymology. Has often been connected with Lith. *spingiù* (*spìngu*), *spingėti* 'to give a weak light, glitter' and with OE *spincan* 'to spark', OHG *funko*, MoHG

Funke 'spark', but this suggestion is impossible in view of the initial stops. Nor is a contamination of *σπέγγος and φάος probable.

φεῖ [n.] name of a letter.
•VAR Indeclinable.
•ETYM After ▶πεῖ, s.v.

φείδομαι [v.] 'to spare, save, refrain from' (Il.). ◀IE? *b^heid- 'split' (?)▶
•VAR Sigm. aor. φείσασθαι (Ω 236, etc.), redupl. them. aor. πεφιδέσθαι, opt. -οίμην (Υ 464, Φ 101, ι 277); on the differentiation in meaning against φείσασθαι, see Chantraine 1942: 415; fut. φείσομαι (Att.), πεφιδήσεται (Ο 215, Ω 158 = 187), φεισθήσομαι (pap. II^p), perf. med. ptc. πεφεῖσμένος (Luc., D. C.), πεφιδημένος (Nonn.), ipv. πεφίδησο (late epigr.).
•COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, περι- (X., A. R. etc.). As a first member in the univerbation φειδαλφιτ-ῆσαι (aor.) 'to handle the barley thriftily' (*Com. Adesp.*), -ως (Phryn. *PS*). Numerous PNs, e.g. Φείδιππος with Φειδιππίδης, Λεωφείδης, Φειδ-ύλος, -ίας, -ων, etc., a king in Argos (Hdt.), whence -ώνειος, -ωνίδης.
•DER φειδ-ώ [f.] (Hom., Hes., Democr., Th., LXX etc.), -ωλή [f.] (X 244, Sol.) 'saving, thrift, sparing', -ωλός 'thrifty' (Hes. *Op.* 720), whence -ωλία [f.] (Ar., Pl. etc.), φειδώς · *parsimonia* (gloss.). Backformed adjective φειδός 'thrifty' (*Com. Adesp.*, Democr., Call. *Fr.* 460), whence φείδων, -ωνος [m.] 'oil-can with a narrow neck' (Poll.), frequent as a PN (see below).
•ETYM Gr. φείδομαι must be inherited, and agrees phonetically PIE *b^heid- 'to split, etc.', as attested in Go. *beitan*, E *bite*, Skt. *bhinádmi*, Lat. *findō* 'to split', root aorist Skt. *ábhedam*, *ábhet*. A convinding semantic motivation has not been found: originally 'to cut off niggling, nip off' or 'to cut away from sth. = to withdraw'?

φελγύνει [v.] · ἀσυνετεῖ, λιηρεῖ 'is stupid, talks nonsense' (H.). ◀?▶
•ETYM Has often been connected with Skt. *phalgú-* 'futile, weak, useless, etc.', Lith. *spĩlgti* 'to languish from lack of light, die off (of plants), get a bad appearance (of men)' and others, but this comparison is doubtful in all respects.

φελλεύς [m.] 'uneven, stony ground', also the name of a mountainous region in Attica (Cratin., Ar., Pl. etc.). ◀?▶
•DER Φελλείτης [m.] 'inhabitant of the Φ.' (St. Byz.). Also φελλία [n.pl.] (X. *Cyn.* 5, 18), φελλίς (γῆ, Poll. 1, 227), φελλεών, -ῶνος [m.] (Arr. *Cyn.*17) 'id.'; Φελλεῖς [f.] region in Attica (IV^a).
•ETYM The word has been connected with πέλλα· λίθος 'stone' (H.) in different ways; Fur.: 161 suggests that it shows Pre-Greek interchange π/φ; uncertain. Alternative: to φελλός, referring to the uneven, porous structure of corc?

φελλός [m.] 'cork, cork-oak' (Pi. *P.* 2, 80, A. *Ch.* 506, Thphr., Hero, pap. III^p). ◀?▶
•COMP φελλόδρυς [f.] 'cork-oak' (Thphr.), perhaps from Arcadian (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 90).
•DER φέλλ-ινος 'made of cork' (Luc.), -ώδης 'id.' (Poll.), φελλίνας· κοῦφος, ἀπὸ τοῦ φελλοῦ; φελλεῦον· ἐπιπλέον (H.); probably also φελλ-ῖναι [pl.] name of a fast water

bird (Dionys. *Av.*), φελλίνιοι· ὀροβάκχαι (H.). Also Φελλώ [f.] the land of the Φελλόποδες (Luc. *VH* 2, 4).
•ETYM One may compare ▶ φολίς and a Slavic word of comparable meaning, e.g. Ru. *boloná* 'outgrowth on trees', *bólonъ* 'sap-wood, weak bark'. If correct, than φελλός could derive from *φελ-νός - but given the limited distribution of the words, this is highly improbable. Fur.: 164 compares ἀκρό-σπελλος and σιτό-σπελλος, on which I have no opinion.

φέλλουρα [f.] 'giant fennel, Ferula communis' (sch. Hes. *Op.* 52a). See André 1958: 60. ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM As DELG remarks, probably metathesized from *φέρουλα vel sim., which itself must be a borrowing from Lat. *ferula*, the Greek word for fennel being νάρθηξ. Given the productivity of the suffix -ουρ- in plant names, folk etymology has certainly been at work.

φένᾶξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'impostor, trickster' (Ar., rare and late). ◁PG▷
•VAR Cf. πηνήκη 'wig' (Luc.); see below.
•DER φενακίζω (ἀπο- Men. Prot.) [v.] 'to deceive, trick', -ισμός [m.] 'deceit, trickery' (com., Att. orators), -ίσματα [pl.] (H.) as an explanation of πηνικίσματα; φενακιστής [m.] 'deceiver' (Phld., sch.), -ιστικός 'deceitful' (Poll.), -ικῶς 'id.' (*EM*). Also φέναγμα [n.] (Phot.), to *φενάσσω; φενάκη [f.] 'false hair, wig' (Luc.).
•ETYM Probably a Pre-Greek word (compare the variant πηνήκη) with a characteristic suffix -ᾱξ.

φεννῆσις [m.] 'priest of Isis' (Wilsken, *Griech. Ostraka* 413, 417, 420 [I^{p}]). ◁LW Eg.▷
•ETYM An Egyptian word; see Masson *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 58.

φεννίον [?] · Μηδικὴ ὁδός. Παμφύλιοι (H.). ◁?▷
•ETYM Unknown.

φεννίς, -ίδα [f.] 'ball game' (H., Phot., Suid.). ◁?▷
•ETYM The same game as φαινίνδα (παίζειν); the word was made from φενίνδα (*Et. Gen.*), with expressive gemination.

φέρβω, -ομαι [v.] 'to pasture, tend, feed, nourish', med. 'to feed upon, consume, enjoy' (Ion. poet., Hes. *Op.* 377, *h. Hom.* 30). ◁?▷
•VAR Only pres. and ipf., except plpf. ἐπεφόρβει (*h. Merc.* 105).
•DIAL Myc. *po-qa* /p^{h}org^{w}ā-/, also *i-po-po-qo-i* /^{h}ippo-p^{h}org^{w}oi^{h}i/ = ἱπποφορβοῖς with dissimilation *k^{w} - *p* - k^{w} > *p* - *p* - k^{w}, also *po-qe-wi-ja-i* /p^{h}org^{w}ēwiā^{h}i/ = φορβειαῖς (see 4. below).
•COMP πολύφορβος 'rich in pastures, feeding many' (Il., Hes.), εὔφορβος 'well-fed' (Orph.), εὐφορβία [f.] 'good food' (S. *Fr.* 848), -ιον [n.] name of a tree, 'Euphorbia resinifera', and its juice (Dsc., Gal., S. E. etc.). Also ἐμφόρβιον· τελώνημα (H.), whence Arc. ἐνφορβίεν (= *ἐμφορβίειν) 'to raise pasture taxes', ἐνφορβισμός (Tegea IV^{a}). As a second member e.g. in συ(ο)-φορβός [m.] 'swine-herd' (Hom., etc.).
•DER φέρβουσα [f.] plant name (Ps.-Dsc.), φέρβητας· νομεῖς 'herdsmen' (H.). With *o*-grade: φορβή, Dor. -ά [f.] 'pasture, food, nourishment' (Ion. poet. since Il.).

Thence: 1. φορβάς, -άδος [m., f.] 'feeding, grazing, nurturing' (Pi., S., E., etc.; mostly poetic), whence -αδικός (Plu.). 2. φορβ-ᾱμων 'id.' (*Hymn. Is.*). 3. φορβ-αῖος 'belonging to the pasture' (Call.). 4. φορβ-ειά, -εά [f.] 'halter', metaphorically 'mouthband of a piper' (Ar., S. *Fr.* 768, X., Arist., etc.), perf. ptc. ἐμπεφορβειωμένος 'equipped with a mouthband' (Ar.); 5. φορβ-αία [f.] 'id.' (LXX). 6. φορβ-ασία [f.] 'id.' (Suid.). 7. φόρβ-ιον [n.] plant-name (Gal.). On φόρβια· φάρμακα 'drugs' (H.) see ►φάρμακον. Note φορβά [n.pl.] = φορβή (Orph.).

•ETYM Agricultural term without etymology.

φερέσβιος ⇒φέρω.

φερεσσακής ⇒σάκος.

φέριστος [adj.] almost only in voc. φέριστε as a courteous address (Il., epic poet.). ◄IE *b^her-ist(H)o-►

•ETYM Identical with Av. *bairišta* [voc.] 'helping best', so probably inherited from PIE. Superlative of the PIE root *b^her- 'to carry, etc.' attested in Gr. φέρω, etc. The original meaning is disputed: 'most serviceable, most helpful, useful'?, 'strongest in carrying'? The co-occurring variants φέρτερος 'stronger, braver, better' and φέρτατος 'strongest, bravest, best' (Il., epic poet.) are innovations after ὑπέρ-τερος, -τατος; compare also φίλ-τερος, -τατος etc. Differently on φέριστος, etc. Seiler 1950: 94ff. On the meaning, see also DELG s.v. φέρτερος.

φερνή [f.] 'dowry' (IA) ◄IE *b^her-n-►

•VAR Aeol. (Hdn. Gr., *EM*) φέρενᾰ, Dor. φερνά [f.] 'god's share at the sacrifice' (Epid. V-IV^a).

•COMP ἀντίφερνος 'instead of the dowry' (A. *Ag.* 406 [lyr.]), τὰ ἀντίφερνα 'return present of the groom for the bride' (*Cod. Just.*); τὰ παράφερνα 'what the bride brings beside the dowry' (pap. I-II^p, Just. *Nov.*); ᾰ-, πολύ-φερνος (H.); ἐπιφέρνια [n.pl.] 'dowry' (sch. *I* 147, Eust.).

•DER Diminutive φερνάριον [n.] (pap. Aug. times), φερν-ίζω 'to furnish with a dowry' (LXX, Hell. and late pap.).

•ETYM Verbal noun of ►φέρω, originally meaning 'load'. The nasal suffix is also seen in Arm. *beřn*, gen. *beřin* 'burden, load', Lith. *bérnas* 'boy, (farmer's) servant', Latv. *bę̀rns* 'child, baby'; with *o*-grade Go. and ON *barn* [n.] 'child' < "what was borne", Alb. *barrë* 'load'. The disyllabic root-shape in Aeol. φέρενᾰ agrees with that of φέρετρον, φόρετρον; on the secondary -ᾰ, see Solmsen 1909: 259. See also ►βερνώμεθα (H.).

φέρνιον [n.] 'fish-basket' (Men., *Com. Adesp.*, Ael.). ◄GR►

•ETYM Like ►φερνή, but with agentive meaning ("carrier").

φέρτερος ⇒φέριστος.

φέρω, -ομαι [v.] 'to bear, endure, carry off, bring away, provide, reach, move along, etc.' (Il.). ◄IE *b^her- 'bear, carry'►

•VAR Only pres. and ipf.

•DIAL Myc. *pe-re* = φέρει.

•COMP Verbs frequently with one or two prefixes (in various meanings), e.g. ἀνα-(συν-ανα-, etc.), ἀπο-(προ-απο-), δια-, εἰσ-(ἐπ-εισ-), etc., etc. Nominal compounds, e.g.: φερέ-οικος 'carrying one's house' (Hdt.), "house-carrier" > 'snail' (Hes. *Op.* 571), = ζῷον ὅμοιον γαλῇ (Cratin. 94, *EM*, H.); also φερέσβιος 'bringing sustenance, nourishing' (*h. Hom.*, Hes. etc.); φερεσσίπονος 'enduring, suffering' = φερέπονος (epigr.). On -φερής see A 6, on -φόρος and -φορος B 3.

•DER A. With *e*-grade (rare): 1. φέρμα [n.] 'fruit of the womb, of the earth' (A. [lyr.]). 2. φέρτρον (Σ 236, Ael.), φέρετρον (Plb.) [n.] 'bier', φερετρεύομαι 'to be carried on a bier' (Plu.). 3. φέρτρυς· ἄθλος. Θούριοι (H.); hardly correct, perhaps for *φερτύς? 4. φερτός, only in οὐ τλατᾶς οὐ φερτᾶς (E. *Hec.* 158 [lyr.]), ἄφερτος (A. [lyr.]), συμφερτός 'united' (N 237, Nonn.); cf. below. 5. ►φέριστος and -τερος, -τατος. 6. -φερής in derivatives from prefixed verbs, e.g. προφερής (to προ-φέρω) 'outstanding, excellent' (Il., epic poet.), περιφερής (to περιφέρομαι) 'running around, revolving, circular', whence -εια, -είη [f.] 'convolution, circumference' (IA); hence rarely in compounds, e.g. οἰνο-φερής (H.), see ►οἰνόφλυξ.

B. With *o*-grade: 1. φορά, Ion. -ή [f.] 'bearing, burden, fee, product, motion, course' (IA); frequently from prefixed verbs, e.g. συμφορά, -ή 'event, coincidence, accident, etc.' (IA), -άζω 'to lament, beweep' (Hell.+), -αίνω (Ps.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.*); similarly ἀνα-, δια-, ἐπι-, προσ-φορά, etc. 2. φόρος [m.] 'earnings, (collected) tribute, payment' (IA). 3. φορός 'bearing, conducive, pregnant, advantageous' (Hp., Arist., Hell.+). Independently in compounds, e.g. τοξοφόρος 'bearing a bow, archer' (Φ 483); in derivatives from prefixed verbs, e.g. σύμφορος (to συμφέρω) 'conducive, suitable, advantageous' (since Hes.), διάφορος 'various' (IA), whence -ότης [f.] 'difference' (Pl., late).

To φορά or φόρος: 4. φορεύς [m.] 'bearer' (Σ 566, A. R., Plu.), ἀμφι-, ἀνα-, etc. 5. φοράς, -άδος [f.], -άδιον [n.] 'brood-mare' (late pap.), also 'productive' (Thphr.). 6. φορεῖον [n.] 'litter, sedan chair' (Din., Hell.+), 'porter's wages' (Poll.). 7. φόρετρον [n.] 'porter's wages, expenses of transport' (pap.), -τρίζω 'to load, transport' (pap.). 8. φόριμος 'fertile' (Hell.+, *AP*, et al.), ποτι- 'conducive, useful' (Epich.). Adverbs 9. φοράδην 'borne along, quickly' (S., E., D. etc.), -άδᾶν (Epid.); -ηδόν 'by bundles' (Luc.). 10. φόρ-τος [m.] 'load, freight' (Od.), whence -τίς (ναῦς) [f.] 'freightship' (Od., late prose), -τίον [n.] 'load, batch, freight, cargo', plur. 'goods' (Aeol. poetry, Att.), -ταξ, -τακος [m.] 'carrier, barge' (*Com. Adesp.*, pap. I[a]), -τικός 'bearing a burden, burdensome, coarse, crude' (Att., etc.), -τικότης [f.] (Arist.), -τικεύομαι (sch.), -τιμος 'bearing a burden' (sch.), -τίζω, -τίζομαι 'to load up' (since Hes.), also with ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, ἀπο-, etc., whence -τισμός (ἐπι-, ἐκ-, ἀπο-) [m.] 'loading' (late), -τόω 'to load' (late). 11. Iterative-intensive verb φορέω 'to bear, etc.', aor. φορῆσαι (Il.), late -έσαι, very frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-; thence -ημα (ἐπι-, δια-, συν- etc.) [n.] 'garb, load, dress, bier' (IA), -εμα (Phot., Suid.), -ησις (δια-, ἐν-, συν- etc.) [f.] 'bearing' (Hell.+), -εσις (Suid., sch.); -ητός (ἀπο- etc.) 'bearable, endurable' (Pi. *Fr.* 88, 1, A. *Pr.* 979, E., late prose), -ητικός (ἀνα-, δια-, περι-) in different meanings (late). With apparent nominal first member, e.g. καρπο-φορέω (X., Arist., etc.), denominative from καρπο-φόρος (Pi., Hdt., E., Ar., X., etc.).

C. With lengthened grade: ►φώρ (not ►φωριαμός). See further ►φαρέτρα, ►φερνή, ►ἀμφορεύς, ►δίφρος; ►φορμός (unrelated is ►φάρμακον).

•ETYM A PIE present *b^her-(*e/o*)- 'to bear, etc.'; cognate forms are e.g. Lat. *ferō* 'id.', Go. *bairan* also 'to give birth', Arm. *berem*, Skt. *bhárati*, OCS *berǫ* 'to collect', Ru. *berú* 'to take'. Beside the thematic forms, Greek has a unique form without a thematic vowel, the ipv. pl. φέρτε (verse-initial in I 172), which agrees exactly with Lat. *ferte* and also with *fer, fertis, fers, fert*, as well as with Skt. 3sg. *bhárti* (RV, bis). These may well be old athematic forms.

PIE *b^her- was originally limited to the present stem (fut. οἴσω, aor. ἐνεγκεῖν, ἐνεῖκαι, also τλῆναι, ταλάσσαι, Lat. perf. *tulī*). Non-presentic forms are found in Greek only occasionally: the late aor. ἤφερα (*IG* 3, 1379 = MoGr., after ἤνεγκα), the isolated gloss ἔφερσεν· ἐκύησεν (H.), the incidental poetic formations φερτός, ἄφερτος, συμφερτός with a remarkable full grade (as against the zero grade in Skt. *bhṛtá-*).

Cognate forms of the nominal derivatives (often independent innovations): φόρος = Skt. *bhára-* [m.] 'taking away, profit, booty' (*bhārá-* [m.] 'burden, load'), OCS *sъborъ* [m.] 'congregation', Ru. *sbor* 'collecting'; -φόρος = Arm. *-vor*, e.g. *lus-a-vor* 'bringing light' (from *loys* 'light'; cf. Lat. *Lūci-fer*), Skt. *-bharā-*, e.g. *vājam-bharā-* 'bringing the prize of a contest'; φέρμα formally = Skt. *bhárman-* [n.] 'maintenance, nurture, care', to which OCS *brěmę*, Ru. *berémja* 'load, burden' with acute intonation (cf. Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 247, 249); φέρ(ε)τρον is formally comparable to OE *beorðor* [n.] 'birth'. However, the existence of a root variant *b^herh_1- (for φέρετρον, Skt. *bharīman-*, Ru. *berémja*) seems doubtful.

φεῦ [interj.] 'alas, woe, ah!' (trag., etc.). ◄ONOM►

•DER Aor. φεῦξαι 'to cry φεῦ' (A. *Ag.* 1308); also φῦ 'faugh' (Ar. *Lys.*).

•ETYM Onomatopoeic form, like Lat. *fū*, MoFr. *fi*, MoE *phew*.

φεύγω [v.] 'to flee, escape, be on the run, go into exile; to be prosecuted' (Il.). ◄IE *b^heug- 'flee'►

•VAR Also pres. φυγγάνω (IA); aor. φυγεῖν, fut. φεύξομαι (Il.), φευξοῦμαι (Att.), ἐκφεύξω (pap. II^a etc.), perf.ptc.med. πεφυγμένος (Hom. etc.), act. πεφευγότες (α 12), πεφυζότες (Il.), sg. -ώς (Nic.), after φύζα; ind. πέφευγα (IA), opt. πεφεύγοι (Φ 609), ἐκπεφευγοίην (S. *OT* 840).

•COMP Frequently with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-. Nominal: e.g. φυγοπτόλεμος 'who shuns battle' (ξ 213, Q. S.); rarely φυξ(ι)-, e.g. φυξ-ανορία or -άνορα [acc.] 'fleeing from men' (A. *Supp.* 8 [anap.]), also φεύγυδρος 'shunning water' (late medic.), φευξίκτερος, a plant name (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER Root noun φυγ- in φύγα-δε (Il.), -ά-δις (Theognost. *Can.*, *EM*) 'to flight', φύγ-δα (A. *Eu.* 256 [lyr.]), -δην (Nic. *Th* 21) 'on the run'.

Hence: 1. with suffix -ι̯α-: φύζα [f.] '(wild) flight, panic' (Il., ξ 269 = ρ 439), -ακινός 'fugitive, shy' (N 102), as if from *φύζαξ; -αλέος 'id.' (*AP*), φυζηλός· δειλός, φυγάς (H.); also isolated verbal forms: aor.ptc. φυζηθέντες (Nic. *Th.* 825), to *φυζάομαι; inf. φυζάναι· φυγεῖν, δειλιάσαι (H.), for -ᾶναι, or an artificial athem. formation? Cf. πεφυζότες above.

2. With suffix -ᾱ-: φυγή [f.] 'flight, exile' (Od.); frequently from prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, κατα-. 3. Adjectives πρό-, πρόσ-φυξ 'fleeing, searching for cover' (late), πρόσφυγος 'id.' (Aesop.), ἄφυγής 'who cannot flee' (Timo); καταφύγιον [n.] 'refuge' (Democr.), προσ-, συμφύγιον 'id.' (late). 4. From φυγ- or φυγή: φυγάς, -άδος [m., f.] 'refugee' (IA), whence -αδεύω [v.] (Att.), -αδείω (El.) 'to expel, banish'; -αδεῖον [n.] 'place of exile' (LXX), -αδεία [f.] 'banishment' (Plb., Vett. Val.), -αδευτικός 'banishing' (Hld.); φύγιμον [n.] 'place of refuge' (Andania I[a]).

From φυγεῖν and φεύγειν: 5. φύξις [f.] 'flight, rescue' (K 311 = 398, 447, Nic.), younger φεῦξις [f.] 'id.' (S. *Ant.* 362 [lyr.]); from the prefixed verbs: ἀνά-, ἀπό-, διά-, κατά-φυξις, -φευξις (Ar., Th., Pl., etc.), often mixed up in the transmission; hence φύξιμος (Hell.+ also φεύξιμος, Delph. [III[a]] φύκτιμος) 'granting refuge, rescue' (ε 359, Plb., Plu.), 'capable of fleeing' (S. *Ant.* 788 [lyr.]), 'escapable, avoidable' (Hp., Max.), κατα- (Plu.). From φύξις also: φύξιος 'belonging to the flight' (A. R.), as epithet of Zeus, also of Apollo, 'granting refuge' (Apollod., Lyc., Paus., inscr. etc.); -ηλις 'fugitive, faint-hearted' (*P* 143, Nic., Lyc.), formation unclear. 6. Verbal adjective φυκτός 'avoidable, escapable' (Hom.), only with negation = ἄφυκτος (Pi., Simon., Att.); younger φευκτός 'id.' (S. *Aj.* 224 [lyr.]), with negation = ἄφευκτος (late); φευκταῖοι· ἀποτρόπαιοι (H.), φευκτ-ικός 'fit or prone for escaping' (X., Arist., Str.), also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ἐκ-; φευκτ-ιάω [v.] 'to want to escape' (Arist. *Fr.* 130). 7. Desiderative φευξείω (E. *HF* 628; cod. -ιῶ).

•ETYM Gr. φεύγω is built on a PIE aor. continued in φυγεῖν, cf. LIV[2] s.v. 1. *$b^heu\acute{g}$-. The nasal pres. φυγγάνω was built on the aorist on the model of τυχεῖν : τυγχάνω. The Greek and Lat. nouns often agree with each other, e.g. φυγή = *fuga*. Cognate forms are Lat. *fugiō*, perf. *fūgī* 'to flee', Lith. *bū́gstu*, *bū́gti* 'to be frightened' (with long vowel from Winter's Law), *baugùs* 'fearful, afraid'. Less certain (because alternatively derived to *b^heug- 'to be useful') is the appurtenance of YAv. *būjaiiamna-* 'setting himself free', YAv. *būjaṯ* 'sets free'.

φέψαλος [m.] 'spark of fire' (Ar., Arist.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR φεψάλυξ, -υγος (Archil., Ar., Plb.).

•DER φεψαλόομαι in ἐφεψαλώθη 'he was covered in sparks of fire' (A. *Pr.* 364).

•ETYM Unclear. Usually interpretated as a reduplicated form to ►ψόλος, but since -αλο- is a suffix, the words can at best be remotely cognate (cf. ►ψάμμος, ►ψῆν). φέψαλος rather seems Pre-Greek.

φή [conj.] 'like, as' (B 144, Ξ 499 acc. to Zenodotus, *h. Herm.*, Call.). ◁IE *b^he/o-▷

•VAR Also φῆ.

•ETYM Not certainly explained. Probably cognate with Av. *bā* 'indeed', *bōiṯ* 'even', Lith. *bà* 'really', OCS and Ru. *bo* 'for', Go. *-ba-* 'even', etc. < PIE *b^he/o-. Gr. φή could reflect PIE *b^heh_2 [n.pl.] (cf. Frisk), *b^heh_1 [ins.sg.] (cf. DELG) or a lengthened grade *$b^hē$ (cf. De Vaan 2009: 53). Differently Fraenkel *Gnomon* 28 (1956): 238 (with semantic parallels from Slavic) and Ruijgh *Lingua* 58 (1982): 205 (on the oxytone accent): φή as a suffixless ipv. of φημί 'say'.

φηγός [f.] 'oak, Quercus Aegilops' (Il.). ◁IE *$b^heh_2\acute{g}$- 'beech'▷

•VAR Dor. (Theoc.) φαγός.

•DER φήγινος (E 838, Call., Dsc.), with extended suffix -ίνεος (*AP*, Orph.) 'of the oak, oaken' (borrowed as Lat. *fāginus, -ineus*), PN Φηγεύς (*E* 11 etc).
•ETYM Inherited word, identical with Lat. *fāgus* [f.] 'beech', Gaulish **bāgos* 'beech' (in French place names), and with Gm. forms, e.g. ON *bók*, OHG *buohha* [f.] 'beech', Go. *boka* [f.] 'letter'. The absence of the beech in Greece proper caused the change of meaning of φηγός to 'oak'. The name of the beech tree played an important role in the discussion on the 'Urheimat' of the Indo-Europeans. An important question was whether Eastern tree-names, like Kurd. *būz* 'kind of elm', Ru. *boz* 'elder' and corresponding Slavic words had to be derived from **b^{h}eh$_2$ǵ-*, too. This was dismissed by Eilers and Mayrhofer 1962: 61ff.

φήληξ, -ηκος [m.] 'wild fig' (S. *Fr.* 781[?], Ar. *Pax* 1165). ◂PG(S)▸
•COMP φηληκόθρεπτον· ὑπὸ ὁλόνθου (cod. ὅλονθον) τῆς συκῆς τεθραμμένον (H.).
•ETYM An evident Pre-Greek word in -ηξ (cf. Fur.: 245[7°]). It might have been folk-etymologically adapted to ▸ φηλός, cf. Chantraine 1933: 381, Nehring *Glotta* 14 (1925): 181.

φηλός [adj.] 'deceitful, deceptive' (*EM*, sch. Ar. *Pax* 1165, H., Suid.). ◂PG?▸
•VAR Accent following Hdn. Gr. 1, 155, 20.
•COMP βροτόφηλος· ἀνθρώπους φηλῶν, τουτέστιν ἀπατῶν (H.).
•DER Denominative φηλόω [v.] 'to deceive' (few attestations in A., E., A. R., etc.), whence φήλωμα [n.] (Antipho Soph.), -ωσις [f.] (*EM*) 'deception'. φηλήτης (accent following *EM* 794, 1) [m.] 'deceiver' (Hes. *Op.* 375 (?), *h. Merc.*, trag. etc.), often written as φιλ-, and at a very early date; hence -ητεύω 'to deceive' (*h. Merc.*), -ησίαις· κλεπτοσύναις (H.), -ατία [f.], -ατίας [nom.sg.m.] = -ήτης? (Delphi III[a]). For the origin of the spelling φιλ-, cf. Bechtel 1921(3): 336, Luther 1935: 167f.
•ETYM Has been connected with Lat. *fallō* 'deceive', and with ▸ ἀποφώλιος. On φαλός = μωρός, ἐμμανής with φαλίπτει, φαλωθείς see ▸ φαλός· λευκός. DELG thinks that the writing φιλ- is not original, but to my mind, the argumentation is wrong. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

φημί [v.] 'to say, explain, argue', perfective (Il.), as against imperfective λέγω, ἀγορεύω etc. 'to speak, talk'. Hence, the old ipf. ἔφην got aoristic function. Pres. med. ἐφάμην, ἔφατο, etc. ◂IE **b^{h}eh$_2$-* 'say'▸
•VAR Dor. φαμί, Aeol. φᾶμι, also φάσκω, inf. φάναι (Att.), φάμεν (Hom.), ipf. ἔφην, ἔφᾶν, epic also ἐφάμην, inf. φάσθαι, fut. φήσω (Θ 148, 153), Dor. φασῶ (Ar. *Ach.* 739, et al.), φάσομαι (Pi.), aor. φῆσαι (Hdt., Att.), perf. med. πέφαται (A. R.), ipv. πεφάσθω (Pl. *Ti.* 72d).
•DIAL Myc. 3sg. *pa-si* /p^{h}āsi/.
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἀπο-, παρα-, προσ-, συν-.
•DER A. With full grade: 1. φήμη, Dor. Aeol. φάμα [f.] 'quotation, enunciation, rumour, reputation, speech' (Od.); as a second member e.g. in εὔφημος, -φαμος 'bringing a good message, containing no evil omen = mute, boding well' (Il.; PN B 846), whence -έω, -ία, -ίζομαι, -ισμός; πολύφημος, -φαμος 'speaking much, much spoken of, famous' (Il.; PN *A* 264, Od. [PN], Pi., Parm. etc.), whence -ία. From φήμη is derived the PN Φήμιος [m.] name of a singer (Od.), epithet of Zeus (Erythrae III[a]),

-ία epithet of Athena (ibd.). Denominative φημίζω [v.] 'to announce, spread by rumour' (Hes.), also with ἐπι-, δια-, κατα- etc.; hence ἐπιφήμισμα [n.] 'acclamation of ill or good omen' (Th., J.), -ισμός [m.] 'benediction' (Str.). From H.: ἀφήμιονες· ἄρρητοι, οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενοι; ἀφημοῦντας· ἀγροίκους; ἀφημίστους· ἀγροικίας (read -κους?); ἀφαμιῶται· οἰκέται ἀγροῖκοι, περίοικοι (Cret.). 2. φῆμις, -ιος [f.] 'speech, talk' (epic poet. since K 207), probably a contamination of φήμη and φᾰ́τις. 3. φήματα· ῥήματα, φάσματα (H.). 4. φημοσύνη [f.] 'oracle?' (Crete II-I[a]). 5. -φήτης [m.] in ὑποφήτης 'interpreter, expositor' (P 235, Hell. epic), -φῆτις [f.] (*AP* etc.), -φᾶτις (Pi.), -φητεύω, -εία (late); προφήτης (IA), Dor. Boeot. -φάτας (Pi., B., Corinn.) 'announcer, seer, prophet', -φῆτις [f.] (E., Pl., LXX, etc.), -φητεύω, -εία, also -φητίζω (Hp.), -φητάζω (Man.), -φητικός (late); PN Εὐ-, Περιφήτης (Il.). 6. -φήτωρ = -φήτης in ὑπο-, προφήτωρ (Hell. and late poetry), συμφήτωρ· μάντις, μαρτυς (H.).

B. With zero grade: 1. φᾰ́τις [f.] 'quotation, rumour, enunciation' (epic poet. since Od., Hdt.), φατίζω (κατα-) [v.] 'to state, confirm, betroth' (epic poet. since Parm., Hdt., et al.). 2. φάσις 'id.' (Hdt., Pl., Arist., etc.), often to the prefixed verbs ἀντί-, ἀπό-, ἔκ-, κατᾰ́-, whence (ἀντι-, ἀπο-)φατικός (Arist. etc.); φᾰ́της· ψεύστης (H.). 3. φατός, as a simplex only in opposition to ἄφατος 'unmentioned, unknown' (Hes. *Op.* 3) and with negation = ἄφᾰτος 'ineffable, unspeakable' (Hes. *Sc.* 230, Parm., Pi., etc.); as a second member (in original univerbations), e.g. παλαί-φατος 'spoken of long ago, ancient' (Od., epic poet.). 4. φατειός, only with οὐ: 'unutterable' (Hes., verse-final); probably metrical (or στίχος μείουρος) for -τέος, if not = Skt. *-tavyà-*.

•ETYM PIE root present **b[h]eh₂-* / **b[h]h₂-* 'to say'. Cognate verbs are Arm. *bam* 'say' < **b[h]eh₂-mi*, *bay* <**b[h]eh₂-ti* 'says' introducing direct speech (see Schwyzer *KZ* 57 (1930): 242ff. on Lesb. φαι 'you say'), Latin med. *fātur* (cf. φᾰ́το), Ru. *bájati*, 1sg. *báju* 'to talk, speak', possibly OE *bō(i)an* 'to brag'. A derived nasal present may be Skt. *bhánati* 'speak, sound'. Gr. φᾰ́τις corresponds to Arm. *bay* 'word, speeh', and φήμη to Lat. *fāma* 'rumour, fame'. Gr. ἄφατος corresponds to Latin *infitiās īre* 'to deny' from **in-fato-* 'not said'; **fato-* is also the basis for *fateor* 'to admit'. Furher nominal derivations are Lat. *fās, fātum, fābula, fācundus*; Armenian *ban*, gen. *ban-i*, instr. *ban-iw* 'word, speech, matter' with a suffix **-ni-*, ON *bǿn*, OE *bēn* 'request, prayer' < PIE **b[h]e/oh₂-ni-* (cf. φωνή).

The PIE root **b[h]eh₂-* 'speak' may be identical in origin with **b[h]eh₂-* 'to shine' in Skt. *bhā́-ti* 'to light, shine', see ►φαίνω. They are formally the same, and the semantic derivation is common: 'say' < 'explain, make clear', etc., cf. Lat. *dēclārō*, *arguō*, etc. See ►φωνή.

φήνη [f.] large bird of prey, perhaps 'bearded vulture' (Od., Ar., Arist., Opp., etc.). ◅PG?(V)▻

•VAR Also φίνις (v.l. Dsc. 2, 53); see Fur.: 171[114].

•DER Φηνεύς [m.] (Apollod.), Φηνώ [f.] (Paus.).

•ETYM Without convincing etymology. The variant φίνις may point to a Pre-Greek word, which is most probable anyway. Osthoff 1901: 246 compared Skt. *bhāsa-* [m.] bird a prey, in which case Greek would continue **b[h]ēs-nā* or **b[h]ās-nā*. Risch 1937: 98 supposes an original color designation, perhaps "bright", like περκνός, κελαινός etc.; cf. the bird names ►μόρφνος and ►κύκνος.

φήρ, -ρός [m.] 'wild beast, predator', also of Centaurs (A 268, B 743) and satyrs (Telest., Gal.).
•DER Φηρεύς [m.] a satyr (Nonn.); also φήρεα (-εῖα?) [n.pl.] 'swollen tonsils', because of the similarity with budding satyr-horns (Hp.); adv. φηρεατικῶς (Gal.).
•ETYM Aeolic for ▶θήρ.

φῆρον [n.] = βρῶμα θεῶν (Hdn. Gr. 1, 385) 'food of the gods'; φῆρος· ἡ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν τροφή (H.). ◀?▶
•ETYM We find related forms in Germanic (Go. *barizeins* 'from barley', ON *barr* 'grain', OE *bere* 'barley' < **bar(e/a)z-*), Celtic (OIr. *bairgen*, MW *bara* 'bread' < PCl. **barag(en)o/ā*, Matasović 2009: 56), and Balto-Slavic (OCS *brašьno* 'food'), pointing to a root **bʰar(s)-*, probably of non-IE origin (de Vaan 2008: 202).

φθάνω [v.] 'to anticipate, be ahead', absolute and with acc., often with ptc. ◀IE **dʰgʷʰh₂-* 'come near, nearly reach, pass'▶
•VAR Pres. Hom. ᾰ̄, Att. ᾰ̆; aor. ἔφθην (Il.), inf. φθῆναι (IA), ptc. φθάς (Hom., Hdt.), med. φθάμενος (epic), φθάσαι (IA), Dor. ἔφθασσα (Theoc.), fut. φθήσομαι (Il.), φθάσω (X.), perf. ἔφθακα (Philipp. *apud* D., Hell.+), πέφθακα (late), pass. φθάνομαι (Arist. etc.), φθασθῆναι (D. H., etc.).
•COMP Also with prefix, e.g. προ-, ὑπο-, παρα-.
•DER προφθασία [f.] (or -ια [n.]?) "the anticipation", name of a festival in Clazomenae (D. S. 15, 18), παραφθαδόν [adv.] 'in anticipation' (Opp.), ptc. καταφθατουμένη = κατάφθατον ποιουμένη 'to take in possession beforehand' (γῆν A. *Eu.* 398), φθατήσῃ· φθάσῃ (H.), cf. Schwyzer: 705.
•ETYM Without any doubt an inherited word. Connected with Skt. *dhag-nu-*, by Hoffmann *apud* Eichner *MSS* 31 (1973): 67, 94[53]; the laryngeal was reconstructed by K.T. Schmidt 1988: 475f.
The root aorist ἔφθην follows the model of ἔστην, ἔβην, ἔπτην, ἔφην etc., with a zero grade φθάμενος. The 3pl. ἔφθασαν for ἔφθαν (φθάν Λ 51) gave rise to the sigmatic aorist ἔφθασα; to these aorists were joined the futures φθήσομαι (from full grade **dʰgʷʰeh₂-*) and φθάσω, and subsequently the perfects ἔφθακα, πέφθακα. The present φθάνω < *φθά-νϝ-ω probably continues **dʰgʷʰ-n̥u̯-V-*, with the suffix **-neu-/-nu-* replacing **-neh₂-/-nh₂-* (LIV²: 135[11]).
On the glosses ψατᾶσθαι· προκαταλαμβάνειν 'to anticipate'; ψατῆσαι· προειπεῖν 'to warn'; ψαέναι· φθάσαι (H.), which have ψ- instead of φθ-, see Schwyzer: 32.

φθέγγομαι [v.] 'to utter a sound, sound, raise one's voice, call, talk' (Hom.). ◀?▶
•VAR Aor. φθέγξασθαι, fut. φθέγξομαι (Il.), perf. ἔφθεγμαι, 2sg. ἔφθεγξαι, etc. (Pl., Arist. etc.).
•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. προσ-, ἀπο-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-.
•DER 1. φθέγμα (πρόσ-, ἀπό-, etc.) [n.] 'sound, voice, cry, quotation' (Pi., Att.), -ματικός (ἀπο-, ἐπι-) 'sounding, etc.' (Hell.+). 2. φθέγξις (ἀνά-, ἐπί-, πρό-) [f.] 'utterance, talk' (Hp., late). 3. φθεγκ-τός 'effable' (Plu.), often and earlier in compounds, e.g. ἄφθεγκτος 'ineffable, unpronounced, soundless' (B., A., etc.); -τικός 'sounding' (Max. Tyr.); προσ-φθεγκτήριος 'adressing, greeting' (Poll.). 4. φθόγγος [m.] (Il.), also φθογγή [f.] (Il., epic poet.) 'sound, voice'; in compounds λιγύφθογγος

'clear-voiced' (Il., epic poet.), σύμ-φθογγος 'with one voice' (A.), ἀντί-φθογγος 'resounding' (Pi.), to συμι-φθέγγομαι, etc.; hence φθογγ-άριον [n.] 'sound-pipe', -άζομαι = φθέγγομαι (Pi. etc.).

•ETYM Could be a stem φθεγ- with regular ablaut and with nasalization (as in κλαγγή, κλάγξαι etc.), but it has no certain etymology. None of the existing connections with semantically comparable words (e.g. with OCS *zvęgǫ* 'ᾄδειν', Ru. *zvjágatь*, 1sg. *zvjagú* 'to bark, yap', Lith. *žvéngti*, 1sg. *žvéngiu* 'to neigh', or with Lith. *speñgti*, of the ears, 'to resound, bite, hum, drone' (cf. Frisk) is phonetically convincing.

φθείρ, -ρός [m., f.] 'louse' (IA); also a fish that lives on dolphins, 'Naucrates ductor' (Arist. etc.); metaphorically of the seed of the spruce-fir (Phot.), of the middle part of the rudder (Poll.). ◂?▸

•COMP φθειροκτόνον [n.] plant-name (Ps.-Dsc.).

•DER φθειρ-ίον [n.] plant-name (Ps.-Dsc.), -ώδης 'lousy' (Arist.), -άριος 'id.' (gloss.). Verbs: 1. φθειρ-ιάω 'to suffer from lice or phthiriasis', -ίασις [f.] 'phthiriasis' (*Com. Adesp.*, Str., medic. etc.); 2. φθειρ-ίζομαι, -ίζω 'to delouse oneself' (Arist., Thphr., LXX etc.), -ιστικός 'delousing, searching for lice' (Pl.), -ισμός [m.] 'delousing' (gloss.).

•ETYM The word was already derived from φθείρω, φθεῖραι by Galen, i.e. as a back-formation with retained -ει-. Doubt about this is voiced by Schwyzer: 326 and Chantraine 1933: 3, the latter of whom considers folk-etymological adaptation of the original word to φθείρω. DELG mentions the fact that the Greeks thought that lice grew from rotten flesh, and then defends the connection with φθείρω, which is doubtful.

φθείρω, -ομαι [v.] 'to ruin, destroy, destruct', intr. (pass.) 'to be ruined, perish, suffer shipwreck, fall out of course, be ruined, destroyed' (Il.). ◂IE **d^{h}g^{wh}er-* 'flow away, disappear'▸

•VAR Aeol. φθέρρω (Hdn. Gr.), Arc. φθήρω (Tegea IV^{a}), Dor. φθαίρω (Eust., *EM*), aor. φθεῖραι (IA), φθέρσαι (Lyc.), fut. φθερῶ, -οῦμαι (A., etc.), Ion. -έω, -έομαι Hdt.), epic 3sg. διαφθέρσει (N 325), perf. pass. ἔφθαρμαι (IA), act. ἔφθαρκα (Att.); intr. (pass.) φθαρῆναι (Pi., IA), fut. -ήσομαι (IA; whence Ion. also -έω), perf. δι-έφθορα (*O* 128, Hp., late prose), also trans. (trag. and com.).

•COMP Mostly with δια- (including συν-, προ-, κατα-, ἐπι-διαφθείρω, etc.), also with ἀπο-, συν-, κατα-, etc.

•DER 1. φθερσίβροτος (Epigr. *apud* Paus. 3, 8, 9) = φθεισίμβροτος. 2. With *o*-grade: φθορά, Ion. -ή (δια-, κατα- etc.) [f.] 'deterioriation, destruction, ruin, plague, seduction, abortion, miscarriage' (IA), φθόρος [m.] 'deterioriation, destruction' (Thgn., Att.), mostly in sayings. From φθορά (φθόρος) the nouns: 3. (δια-)φθορεύς [m.] 'destructor, seducer' (E., Pl. etc.); φθορία [f.] 'destruction, mischief' (Hp. *Iusi.*), often from compounds, e.g. οἰκοφθορία (Pl., Plu.), to οἰκοφθόρ-ος, -έω; φθορ-εῖον (-ειον) [n.] 'drug for producing abortion' (Hell. and late inscr.). 4. adjectives φθόρ-ιος 'producing abortion' (medic.), 'concerning seduction' (pap. V^{P}), δια- 'decayed' (Gal.); -ιμος 'destructive, perishable' (Man., Herm. *apud* Stob.); -ικός 'destructible'

(late), χρηματο- 'wasting money' (Pl.); -ώδης 'depraved, harmful' (Hdn., Lyd.). With zero grade: 5. φθάρμα [n.] 'corruption, throw-off' (LXX, J.), ἀπό- 'miscarriage' (Hp.). 6. σύμφθαρσις [f.] 'simultaneous destruction' (late). 7. φθαρτός 'destructable, perishable' (Arist. etc.), often ἄφθαρτος 'imperishable' (Arist., Hell.+), ἀφθαρσία [f.] 'imperishability' (Epicur., LXX, NT etc.), whence φθαρσία (Thales *apud* Fulg.). 8. φθαρτικός 'destructive, harmful' (Arist., medic., etc.).

•ETYM Greek φθείρω < *d^hg^{wh}er-ie/o- corresponds to an intransitive present in Indo-Iranian: Skt. *kṣárati*, Av. *yžaraiti* 'to flow, stream', Skt. also 'to flow away, diverge, disappear'. An PIE *s*-aorist (ἔφθειρα < ἐφθερ-σ-) is retained in 3sg. *ákṣār* (RV) < *a-kṣār-ṣ-t; the other verbal formations of Greek and IIr. (e.g. caus. Skt. *kṣārayati* = Av. *yžāraiieiti* 'to let flow', ptc. *kṣarita*, etc.) are innovations. The morphological identity of φθόρος and Skt. *kṣara-* [n.] 'water' (Lex.) is due to independent development, as is the comparison between ἄφθορος 'unspoiled, pure' (late) and *akṣára-* 'not flowing away, imperishable' (RV). LIV² follows the reconstruction *$g^wǵ^her$-.

φθίνω [v.] intr. 'to decline, decay, perish', (exceptionally) trans. or caus. 'to cause to decline, consume, destroy' (Il.). ◁IE *$d^hg^{wh}ei$- 'disappear'▷

•VAR φθινύθω intr. and trans. (epic poet. Il.). Further intr. forms: athem. aor. ἐφθίμην, -το, -ατο, φθίσθαι, φθίμενος, etc. (Il., epic poet.), 3pl. ἔφθιθεν (Od.), for -ίατο; act. them. subj. φθίῃς (β 368), fut. φθείσομαι (Hom.), aor. φθίσασθαι (-ει-; Q. S.), perf. ἔφθιται (υ 340), -ινται (A. *Pers.* 679 [lyr.]). Built on the present: φθιν-ῆσαι (Hp. *Epid.*), -ήσω, ἐφθίνηκα (late); trans.-caus.: epic aor. φθεῖσαι (-ῑ-), Att. φθίσαι, them. 3sg. ἔφθιεν (Σ 446), epic fut. φθείσω (-ῑ-), Att. φθίσω (-ῑ-), perf. ἔφθικα (Them.).

•DIAL Myc. *e-qi-ti-wo-e* /ek^{wh}t^{h}iwo^{h}e/.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἀπο-, κατα-. Compounds: e.g. φθινόκαρπος 'whose fruit has decayed, without fruit' (Pi.), φθινόπωρον, see ὀπώρα; φθεισίμβροτος (φθῑσί-) 'destroying people', φθεισήνωρ 'ruining men' (epic), etc.

•DER 1. From the present: φθινάς, -άδος 'declining, decaying, consumption', as a fem. subst. 'consumption' (Hp., S., E., etc.); φθίνυλλα [f.] taunting address of an elderly woman (A. *Eq.* 935; after the PN); cf. φθῖσα· ἡ λεπτὴ ἀπὸ φθίσεως (H.); φθινάσματα (ἡλίου) [n.pl.] 'setting (of the sun)', poet. formation (A. *Pers.* 232). 2. From the verbal stem: φθίσις [f.] 'declining, waning, consumption' (Pi., IA), -ικός 'consumptive' (Arist., Epid. IV^a, Hell.+), -ικεύομαι (Androm. *apud* Gal.), -ιάω (Hp., Arist.) 'to be consumptive'; φθιτοί [pl.], rarely -ός [sg.], 'the deceased' (trag., late prose), ἄφθιτος 'imperishable' (Il., epic poet.). 3. With *o*-grade: φθό-η [f.] 'consumption' (Att., also Hp.; Ion. Hell. use φθίσις instead), -ώδης 'consumptive' (Paus.). On ▶φθόϊς, -ῖς, see s.v. Also Φθίη [f.] (Il., etc.) land of the Φθίες (St. Byz.), perhaps originally 'land of the dead' (= φθίμενοι), a mythical place?

•ETYM PIE had a verbal root *$d^hg^{wh}ei$-, whence (acc. to LIV² s.v.) a nasal present *d^hg^{wh}-*n*(é)-*i*-, which was remade into *$d^hg^{wh}i$-*n*(é)*u*- in Greek (whence φθινύ-θω and *φθίνϝ-ω > φθίνω, with Ion. ῑ, Att. ῐ), and into *$d^hg^{wh}i$-*n*(é)*H*- in Indo-Iranian (whence Skt. *kṣīṇati*, Av. *jināiti* 'to destroy'). PIE also had an athem. aor. *d^hg^{wh}(é)*i*- > Gr. φθίτο, φθίμενος, etc. García Ramón *MSS* 51 (1990): 7-20, following Ruijgh, explains the Mycenaean form as meaning 'dead', an act. ptc. nom.pl. in *-uos-*, with medial-intransitive meaning, and perfect reduplication *e-; the form was later

replaced by °φθίμενος. In Greek, the original diphthong ει in the *s*-aorist and *s*-future was replaced by ī at an early date, at least in writing and perhaps also in reality, first after φθίνω (with ī). In Attic, shortening was introduced in φθίσαι, φθίσω after the short vowel in φθίνω and on the model of σχίσαι and denominatives in -ίσαι (-ίζω). Gr. φθίσις = Skt. *kṣíti-* [f.] 'languishing, destruction', probably also Lat. *sitis* [f.] 'thirst' < *'disappearing, languish(ing)'. As a formula, Gr. κλέος ἄφθιτον (Hom.) = Skt. *śrávaḥ ... ákṣitam* (RV beside *ákṣiti śrávaḥ*). The initial *d^h- is retained in OAv. *dāǰiṯ.arəta- /djit-arta-/* 'destroying Arta-'. See also ►ψίνομαι.

φθόϊς, -ιος [f.] 'kind of cake' (Erythrae IV^a, Cos IV-III^a, Ar. etc.), 'pastille used for fumigation' (Hp.), 'bar of metal' (Att. inscr.), perhaps 'kind of cup' (Eup. 373 acc. to Ath. 11, 502b; very uncertain). ◄?►

•VAR Also φθοῖς, -ίδος.

•DER Diminutive φθοΐσκος (Hp.).

•ETYM The strongly deviating meanings provide a problem that is still unsolved; we can only speculate about the etymology. Formally, one might connect φθόη 'consumption' (to φθίνω 'to decline, consume'); the meaning 'decline' might be recognized in the explanations by H. s.v. φθόϊς (except for 'πλακοῦς'): τὰ πρὸς λεπτὸν ἀληλεσμένα καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέον ψῆγμα τοῦ χρυσίου. See DELG, where the possibility of a loan is kept open.

φθόνος [m.] 'envy, jealousy' (Pi., IA). ◄IE? *$d^hg^{wh}en$- (?)►

•COMP ἄφθονος 'without envy, unenvied', usually 'bounteous, plentiful' (*h. Ap.*, Hes.), ἀφθονία [f.] 'abundance' (Pi., IA).

•DER φθονερός 'envious, jealous' (Thgn., Pi., IA), -ερία [f.] 'envy' (Arist. etc.). Verb: φθονέω [v.] 'to envy, begrudge, refuse' (Il.) also with ἐπι-, ὑπο- etc.; thence -ησις [f.] 'envying, jealousy' (S. *Tr.* 1212), -ητικός 'envious' (late).

•ETYM Probably to be analyzed as φθόν-ο-, to a root *φθεν- (to which φθονέω is a causative or iterative?). De Vaan (p.c.) tentatively suggests connection with φθάνω 'to anticipate, be ahead of', which could imply that it is related to Av. *ayžō.nuuamnəm* < **a-gžanu̯amna-* 'which cannot be missed' (De Vaan 203: 441f.).

φιάλη [f.] 'flat vessel, dish, flat bowl for drinking or sacrificing, etc.' (post-Hom.), also for cooking and to preserve ashes (Ψ). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also φιέλη (Hell. acc. to Moer.).

•DIAL Myc. *pi-a$_2$-ra* /p^{h}i^{h}alā-/, also *pi-je-ra$_3$* /p^{h}ielai/.

•COMP φιαληφόρος [f.] 'bearer (fem.) of a φ.', title of a Locrian priestess (Plb.).

•DER Diminutives: φιάλ-ιον [n.] (Eub., Arist., Hell.), -ίδιον [n.] (Hero), -ίσκα [f.] (Gortyn V-IV^a), -ίσκος(?) [m.] (Maced.), -ίς [f.] (Luc.). Further: φιαλῖται ἀριθμοί [pl.] a game (Procl., etc.), -ώδης 'dish-like' (Ath., sch.), -ωτός 'id.' (Delos III^a, Gp.), -όω (βόθρον) 'to hollow (the bottom) out into a flat shape' (Gp.).

•ETYM A loanword of unknown origin, formally fitting the instrument names in -αλη, -αλο- (σκυτάλη, γύαλον, -η). Etymologies to be rejected: *πι-σαλᾱ from πι- = ἐπι- and ἑλεῖν 'grasp'; also *πι-ϝhαλᾱ < **pi-su̯alā* to εἴλη 'heat of the sun' < PIE **su̯el-* 'to burn'. Cf. also ►ὑπερφίαλος. The word is probably Pre-Greek on account of the interchange of suffixes that is already attested in Mycenaean (Fur.: 346).

φιαρός [adj.] 'gleaming, shining, oily, bright' (Alexandr. poetry). ◁PG?▷
•VAR φιαρύνει· λαμπρύνει (H.).
•ETYM No etymology, but reminiscent of πιαρός and φαιδρός. It has been assumed to be a contamination of those two adjectives, but this is unwarranted and therefore better rejected. Fur.: 165 compares πιαλός· παράλευκος and assumes Pre-Greek origin.

φιβάλεως [f.] 'a fig suitable for curing', also metaphorically of thin people (com.); acc. to sch. Ar. *Ach.* 802, a place in Megaris or Attica. ◁PG▷
•VAR Plur. nom. -εῳ, acc. -εως.
•ETYM Without any doubt a Pre-Greek word (not in Fur.). Formation like κορώνεως [f.] 'tree with raven-black figs', μελίνεως· εἶδος ἀμπέλου 'kind of vine' (H.), κανθάρεως [m.] a vine. As the basis of the TN, the sch. gives φίβαλις = γένος συκῆς 'kind of fig', with the plur. φιβάλεις = οἱ ἰσχνοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; in *EM* 793, 26 (acc. to Apolloph.) φιβάλεα = τὰ σῦκα, -λέαι = ἰσχάδες.

φιδάκνη [f.] 'wine-jar (A., D., Thphr.). ◁PG(S,V)▷
•VAR Late πιθάκνη (Thasos V[a], Moer., Phot.); Dor. πισάκνα (H.).
•ETYM Since φιδάκνη is the old form, the word has nothing to do with πίθος. Frisk assumed (s.v. πίθος) that the word had the diminutive suffix -ιχνη, which became -ακνη, but this is impossible. The group of suffixes -ακ-ν- is typical for Pre-Greek. For the shift of aspiration, compare φάτνη. See Fur.: 197, 393.

φιδίτια [n.pl.] the collective meal of the Spartans; also the place where this meal was consumed (X., Arist., Plu., etc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Rarely sing. (often φιλ-, also written φειδ-).
•DER φιδίτης, Dor. -τας (φειδ-) [m.] 'participant of a φιδίτια' (Sphaer. *Stoic.*, Ath.).
•ETYM Plu. *Lyc.* 12 explains the word from φιλία, with δ for λ, which is clearly a folk etymology. A connection with φειδώ 'saving, thrift' is at least formally possible. Fur.: 238[45] thinks that the interchange δ/λ shows that the word is Pre-Greek; this is uncertain.

φίκις [?] 'anus' (Hdn. 1, 88, 35), see DELG *Supp.* ◁IE?▷
•DER φικιῶ; φιδικίζειν· ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν (Suid. φ 992, χ 42 Adler).
•ETYM Hardly from Lat. *fica*. Taillardat thinks of *$p^{(h)}uk$-, Pok. 847, whence *φυκ-ιδ-, which became φικ-ιδ-. Katz 2004: 277-284 compares Skt. *sphij-* 'hip, buttock', and reconstructs PIE *(*s*)*phiK*-(*i*-). Rather uncertain.

φιλήτης [m.] 'impostor, thief'. ◁PG? ▷
•ETYM A common, and perhaps correct, writing for φηλήτης; see on ►φηλός. The ι-form stands etymologically isolated and may be Pre-Greek.

φιλομήλιον [n.] 'name of a plant, celandine, Chelidonium maius' (Ps.-Dsc. 2, 180). ◁GR▷
•ETYM Literally 'herb of Philomela' (who was changed into a swallow). See André 1958: 60f.

φίλος [subst., adj.] 'friend, friendly, dear' (Il.), 'related, own', also reflexive possessive 'suus (tuus, meus)', of relatives, body-parts, clothing, etc., plur. 'kinsmen, relatives' (Il., epic poet.). ◁?▷

•VAR Grades of comparison: a. φιλίων (τ 351 = ω 268), -ιστος (S. *Aj.* 842 [interpolated?], ascertained as a PN); b. φίλτερος (epic poet., late prose), -τατος (also Att. prose; Dor. φίντ-) ; c. φιλαίτερος, -τατος (X., Call., Theoc., etc.) after παλαίτερος, -τατος etc.; d. φιλώτερος (X., Call.); e. μᾶλλον φίλος (A., S., Thphr.), μάλιστα φ. (X.).

•DIAL Myc. *pi-ra-me-no* /p^{h}īlamenos/?

•COMP As a first member e.g. φιλόφρων 'well-disposed, friendly-minded' (Pi., IA), φιλομμειδής 'with a friendly smile' (epic Γ 324+); early on in epic tradition, it was reinterpreted as a verbal element, e.g. φιλόξεινος (or -ξενος) 'to whom the guest is dear' > 'loving the guest, hospitable' (since Od.); in univerbations, e.g. φιλοθύτης [m.] (to φιλεῖ θύειν) 'loving the sacrifice, friend of the sacrifice' (Ar. etc.). As a second member, e.g. πολύφιλος 'with many friends' (Pi., Lys., Arist.), often considered verbal, with transition to the *s*-stems, e.g. θεοφιλής 'loved by the gods, dear to the gods' (IA); προσφιλής 'friendly, beloved, affectionate' (IA).

•DER 1. φιλότης, -ητος [f.] 'friendship, hospitality, love' (Il., epic poet.), -οτήσιος, Dor. -οτάσιος 'belonging to φιλότης' (epic poet. since λ 246); also -οττάριον address to a girl (Ar. *Ec.* 891), perhaps the hypocoristic gemination after νηττάριον? 2. φιλία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'friendship, affection, love' (Thgn., Emp., IA); independent of φίλιος. Adjectives: 3. φίλ-ιος 'friendly' (Pi., IA), -(ι)ωτικός (*Theol. Ar.*). 4. -ικός 'id.' (Pl., X., Arist., etc.). 5. -ιακός 'id.' (Plot.), -ιακόν [n.] name of an association (inscr. Corycos). Verbs: 6. φιλέω (Il.) 'to be a friend, treat friendly or affectionately, to love, entertain, care', post-Hom. also 'to kiss' (especially with κατα-), with inf. 'to like to do, use to do', sometimes with prefix, especially κατα-. Forms: Aeol. φίλ-ημμι (Sapph.), -ήμεναι (X 265), aor. -ῆσαι (Il.), erroneous -ᾶσαι (Theoc.), pass. -ήθην (B 668 [3pl. -ηθεν], Att.), med.ipv. φῖλαι, (ἐ)φίλατο, φίλωνται etc. (epic since Il.), fut. -ήσω, -ήσομαι (Od.), perf. πεφίλημαι, -ηκα (Pi., etc.).

7. From φιλία (φίλιος): φιλιάζω [v.] 'to become friends' (LXX, Hell. pap. etc.), whence -ιαστής (H.); -ιόομαι, -ιόω 'to make friends' (late), -ίωσις (sch.), -ιωτής = διαλλακτής (Suid.); -ιαίνομαι 'id.' (late). From φιλέω: φιλήτωρ [f.] 'lover' (*A. Ag.* 1446), 'loving, with love' (Nonn.); -ητής [m.] 'lover' (*AP*), -ητικός 'inclined to love or kiss ' (Arist., etc.), -ημα (Hyperdorism -ᾱμια Mosch.) [n.] 'kiss' (A. *Fr.* 135 = 228 M., E., X., etc.), -ημάτιον PN (Luc.), ἀντιφίλησις [f.] 'returning love' (Arist.), φιλημοσύνη [f.] 'friendliness' (Thgn.), to φιλήμιων (*EM*, further only PN).

Also φίλτρον [n.] 'love potion' (poet. since Pi., also late prose), -τρὶς λίθος 'love-bringing stone' (Dam.); φίλητρα [n.pl.] (*AP* 11, 218; text and meaning uncertain); φεῖλος (for -ῑ-) [n.] = φιλία (epigr. Caria, ca. I^{p}). Numerous PNs, among others with *φιλτο-, e.g. Φιλτό-ξενος, Φιλτ-άδης. Literature: Landfester 1966. Kakridis 1963.

•ETYM For the epic aorist forms (ἐ-)φίλατο, etc., analogical origin to φιλέω is well possible (cf. δοκέω beside ἔδοξα); there is no need to assume a present *φίλλω. The element φιλτο-, which occurs only in PNs, may have arisen analogically to φιλο-: Φιλτό-ξενος to Φιλό-ξενος like e.g. Φαντ-αγόρας beside Φαν-αγόρας, Φαντ-ίας

beside Φαν-ίας. φίλτρον seems to have joined the numerous instrument nouns in -τρον; the causative meaning 'stimulating love' is clear.
The original meaning of φίλος was 'own, accompanying' rather than 'beloved'. The etymology is unknown; the connection with a Celto-Germanic adjective for 'fitting, good, etc.' (Ir. *bil*, W *Bil-* in PNs, OHG *bil-līh*, etc.) must be abandoned. Lyd. *bilis* 'his, her' looks formally similar, but must be explained within Anatolian (from the pronoun *bi-* 'he'). Some have argued that φίλος represents an *l*-derivative of reflexive σφι, Lac. φιν (see Landfester op. cit.: 34ff. with a review of all earlier etymologies); in that case, the original meaning would be 'one's own'.

φιλύκη [f.] name of a shrub 'Rhamnus Alaternus, evergreen buckthorn' (Thphr.). ◁PG?▷
•ETYM Unexplained, perhaps as a substrate word related to ▶φιλύρα?

φιλύρα [f.] '(bast of the) lime tree' (Hdt., Thphr., Gal., etc.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Ion. -ρη.
•DER φιλυρ-έα [f.] 'mock privet, Phillyrea media' (Thphr.), after πτελέα etc., φιλύρ-ιον [n.] 'tablet of lime wood' (Ael.), -ινος 'made of lime wood' (Hp., Ar., D. C., etc.).
•ETYM Strömberg 1940: 119 surmises a compound of φίλος and ὕρον 'swarm of bees' (see ▶ὕραξ), because the lime attracts bees; compare Lat. *apium* 'celery/ivy' (to *apis*), MoHG *Bienenbaum* 'Acer campestre'. The European lime tree is not found in Greece; only in the North of the Balkans; the silver lime which is described by Thphr. *HP* 3, 10 is found especially on the Macedonian mountains. Probably a substrate word.

φῑμός [m.] 'muzzle, gag' (A. *Th.* 463, *Fr.* 326 = 647 M., LXX, Dsc., Luc., etc.), metaphorically of a dice cup, or of its cover (Aeschin., Poll. etc.)? ◁?▷
•VAR Plur. also -ά (*AP* 6, 312).
•COMP εὔφιμος 'astringent, styptic' (μύρτος, Nic.), 'well-bridled' (Hdn. *Epim.*), εὐφιμία (*EM* as an explanation of εὐκαμία, see κημός; cod. -φημ-).
•DER φιμ-ώδης = εὔφιμος (μύρτα, Nic.), φιμ-όω [v.] 'to seal with a muzzle, gag, fix, put to silence', pass. 'to fall silent' (Ar., LXX, NT, J., Luc. etc.), rarely with περι-, etc. Thence -ωσις (περι-) [f.] 'sealing, plugging' (medic., Vett. Val.), -ωτικός 'putting to silence' (*P.Mag. Lond.*, *Tab. Defix. And.*), -ωτρον [n.] 'instrument for plugging' (Suid.); περιφιμίζω [v.] 'to fix, tie up' (*Tab. Defix.*).
•ETYM Unexplained. The identity of the suffix with the synonym κημός is remarkable. Contamination with ▶φιτρός seems improbable.

φιτρός [m.] 'trunk, block, log' (Il., epic); acc. to sch. and Eust., from Amathus on Cyprus. ◁?, PG?▷
•ETYM Traditionally (Frisk, Pok.) explained as an instrument noun in **-tro-* to the PIE root **b^{h}iH-* 'to strike, hew, cut' seen e.g. in OCS *biti*, OIr. *benaid*, Lat. *perfines* 'perfringas'.

φίττα ⇒σίττα.

φιττακίδες ⇒ψιττάκη.

φῖτυ [n.] 'seed, sprout' (S. *Fr.* 889, old com.). ◂?▸
•COMP φιτυποίμην [m.] 'gardener' (A. *Eu.* 911).
•DER φιτύω [v.] 'to sow, plant, bring forth' (trag., Pl.), aor. -ῦσαι, med. -ύσασθαι, fut. -ύσομαι 'to bear' (Hes., A. R., Opp., Mosch.), -ῦμα [n.] 'produce, sprout, son' (A. *Ag.* 1281, Plu.); back-formation φῖτυς [m.] 'begetter' (Lyc.).
•ETYM Probably a noun suffixed in -τυ-. Previously, often compared with the verbs Lat. *fiō, fit* 'to become, originate', OIr. *biid, -bí* 'is', but these probably represent PIE *b^hHu-i̯e/o-, cf. ▸φύω. Still, one could assume that φῖτυ is dissimilated from *φῦτυ, but this remains uncertain.

φλαδεῖν [aor.] only in λακίδες ἔφλαδον 'they tore the rags' (A. *Ch.* 28 [lyr.]). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unknown. Older, rejected etymologies of φλαδεῖν are found in WP 2, 210. See ▸παφλάζω, ▸φλάω.

φλᾱνύσσει · φλυαρεῖ, ληρεῖ 'talks nonsense' (H.). ⇒φληναφάω.

φλαῦρος [adj.] 'bad, petty, poor, useless' (Pi., Sol., IA). ◂PG?▸
•COMP φλαυρουργός 'working badly, fumbler' (S.).
•DER φλαυρ-ότης [f.] 'poorness' (Plu., Poll.), φλαυρ-ίζω (Plu.), κατα- (Pi., Hdt.) 'to slight, humiliate'.
•ETYM No clear etymology, perhaps a Pre-Greek word? The adjective does look similar to synonymous ▸φαῦλος; both could have dissimilated from an original form *φλαῦλος. Similar form and meaning are shown by some Gm. adjectives, e.g. ON *blauðr* 'fearful, timid', *blautr* 'weak, fearful, humid'. Others have compared Latv. *bl̥aũrs* 'very angry, grim, bad' and Lith. *biaũrus* 'filthy, appalling, ugly'.

φλάω [v.] 'to crush, bruise' (Pi., Hp., Ar., Theoc. etc.). ◂?▸
•VAR Aor. φλάσαι, pass. φλασθῆναι, fut. φλάσω, perf. med. πέφλασμαι.
•COMP Also with ἀνα-, κατα-, εἰσ- etc.
•DER φλά-σις (εἴσ-) [f.] 'bruise' (Hp.), -σμα (ἀμφί-) [n.] 'bruise, contusion' (Hp.), ἀναφλασμός [m.] (Eup.) to ἀναφλάω 'to masturbate' (Ar., Luc.); a back-formation is MoGr. ἀνάφλα. Unclear: φλασμός· τῦφος 'fever', φλασμένος· τετυφωμένος 'smoking, gleaming' (H.).
•ETYM An expressive word rhyming with ▸θλάω and ▸κλάω; cf. φλίβω beside θλίβω. On the anlaut variation θ-/ φ-, see Schwyzer: 302f. With an enlargement -δ-, we find ▸φλαδεῖν, cf. κλάδος beside κλάω.

φλέγω [v.] trans. 'to ignite, burn, light'; intr. 'to burn, flame, blaze, shine' (Il.). ◂IE *b^hleg- 'burn, shine'▸
•VAR Fut. φλέξω (Il.), aor. φλέξαι (Hes. *Sc.*, A. *Pr.* 582 [lyr.]), pass. φλεχθῆναι (Hom. *Epigr.*, Th.) with fut. -ήσομαι (Ach. Tat.), secondary φλεγῆναι (Luc., *AP*) with fut. -ήσομαι (J.), perf.pass. πέφλεγμαι (Lyc.).
Enlarged: φλεγέθω, only pres. and ipf. = φλέγω (Il., epic, lyr.), mostly intr., also with ἐπι-; hence Πυριφλεγέθων, -οντος [m.] river of the Underworld (κ 513, Pl. *Phd.* 114a); φλεγιάω = φλέγω (Hdn. Gr.).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, κατα-, ἀνα-, περι-.

•DER A. With *e*-grade: 1. φλέγ-μα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'flame, blaze' (Φ 337), 'inflammation' (Hp., etc.), 'phlegm, slime' (Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.), -μάτιον [n.] 'slime' (Sotad. *apud* Stob.), -ματίας, Ion. -ίης [m.] 'suffering from phlegm, full of slime' (Hp.), -ματώδης 'igniting, full of slime, slimy, phlegmatic' (Hp., Pl., Arist., etc.), -ματικός 'id.' (Gal., et al.), φλεγματόεν ἔκρηγμα· τῆς φλογός, φλεγματίς· ἡ φλέγματα ἔχουσα (H.). The semantic development here is unexplained.

Derived verbs: a. φλεγμαίνω [v.] 'to be inflamed, be heavily excited', often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, ἀνα-, συν-, ἐπι-; hence -μανσις or -μαντύς [f.] 'inflammation' (Hp.), -μασία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'id.' (Hp., Arist.); b. φλεγ-ματόομαι (ἐκ-) 'to become slime' (Hp., Gal.); c. ὑπο-φλεγματίζω 'to become slimy' (Alex. Trall.), φλεγματισμός (gloss.).

2. φλεγμονή [f.] 'inflammation, inflammatory swelling, heavy excitement' (medic., Hell.+), -μονικός 'inflammatory', -μονώδης 'tumorous' (Gal.), -μονάομαι 'to be inflamed' (Alex. Trall.). 3. φλέξις· *ardor*, *flammatus* (gloss.); further only to the prefixed verbs: ἀνά-, ἐπί-, κατά-, περί-φλεξις [f.] 'kindlng, etc.' (late); isolated is the birdname φλέξις (dat. -ιδι Ar. *Av.* 884). 4. φλεγ-μός [m.] in Βρομίου φ. (Thespis), uncertain; perhaps = τὸ αἷμα (H.), -μώδης = -ματώδης (Gal.). 5. φλέγος· τὸ φλέγμα (H.). 6. φλεγ-ύας [m.] 'eagle' (Hes. *Sc.* 134; after the color, H., *EM*); -υρός 'burning' (Ar. and Cratin. [lyr.], Hp. *apud* Gal.), dissimilated from -υλός?; -υάω = ὑβρίζω (Ephor.), cf. H.: Φλεγύαι· ἔθνος ὑβριστικὸν καὶ ἀσεβές. 7. Φλέγρα, Ion. -ρη [f.] old name of the Macedonian peninsula Pallene (Hdt., Str.), also Φλέγρας πεδίον (Pi., Ar.), Φλεγραία πλάξ (A.); τὰ Φλεγραῖα (πεδία) plain in Campania (Plb.), after its volcanic nature. 8. -φλεγής in ἐπι-, περι-φλεγής 'fiery' (Arist., Plu.), also e.g. in πυρι-φλεγής 'ablaze, fierce' (Hp., Plu.).

B. With *o*-grade: φλόξ, -ογός [f.] 'flame, burning fire' (Il.), also as a plant-name (Thphr.), after the color. In compounds e.g. φλογ-ώψ and -ωπός 'flame-like, fiery' (A. *Pr.*), καλλίφλοξ 'with fair flames' (E. [lyr.]).

From φλόξ, partly also directly from φλέγω: 1. Diminutive φλόγ-ιον [n.] (Longin.). 2. -ίδες [f.pl.] 'roasted pieces of meat' (Archipp. and Stratt. [lyr.]), acc. to H. διὰ τὸ φλογίζεσθαι (so perhaps backfomation); φλογίδια· αἱ κεγχρίδες δι' ἐλαίου σκευαζόμενοι (H.). 3. φλογ-ετός [m.] 'burning, heat' (gloss.), after πυρετός. 4. φλογ-ίτης [m.] name of a precious stone, which looks like carbuncle (Solin.); -ῖτις [f.] 'id.' (Plin.), also kind of anemone (*PMag. Leid.*). 5. φλογ-ιή (-ίη?) [f.] 'flame' (Nic.). 6. Adjective φλόγ-εος 'flaming, sparkling' (Il., E. and Ar. [lyr.]), φλόγ-ιος (?) 'id.' (Hp., Orph.), -ερός 'id.' (E. [lyr., anap.], A. R., *AP* etc.), -ινος 'id.', also of colors (LXX, D. S., pap., etc.), φλόγ-ινον [n.] 'wallflower' (Thphr.), -ώδης 'flame-like, blazing red, inflamed' (Hp., Arist., etc.).

7. verbs: a. φλογ-ίζω = φλέγω (S. [lyr., anap.], Arist., LXX, *AP* etc.), also with ἀνα-, κατα-, συν- etc. Thence -ίσματα (ἐπι-) [n.pl.] 'fire-damage, external inflammation' (Hp., H. s.v. οὐδ' ἄλα), παρα-φλογίσματα 'roasted food' (Achae.), -ισμός (περι-) [m.] 'the scorching' (Sm., Thd., H. s.v. φλογμός), -ίστρα [f.] = εὔστρα (sch., Eust.). b. φλογ-όομαι, -όω (ἐκ-, ἀπο-) 'to inflame' (Arist., Thphr. etc.), -ωσις (ἐκ-) [f.] 'ignition, inflammation' (Th., Thphr., D. S., et al.), φλογώματα· τῶν ἄρτων τὰ ἐπικεκαυμένα (H.). c. φλογ-ιάω 'to become inflamed' (Hp.).

C. With *o*-grade: φλογ-μός [m.] 'flame, glow, inflammation, heat of the sun or of fever' (A. and E. [lyr.], Hp., Arist., etc.), -μόω 'to burn' (*PMag. Berol.*).

•ETYM Inherited from PIE **bʰleg-* 'to burn, shine' (LIV² **bʰle(ǵ)-*), nominal also **bʰlog-*. Nearest cognates are Latin *fulgō* (secondarily *fulgeō*), perf. *fulsī* 'to lighten, glitter, shine' < **bʰlg-*, *flagrō*, *-āre* 'to burn, flame, glow', built on nominal **flag-ro-*, and *flamma* 'flame', probably < **flag-mā*. Also ToAB *pälk-* 'to shine, burn', also 'to see' < **bʰlg-*; OHG *blecchan* 'to make or become visible' < PGm. **blakjan*, MLG, MoDu. *blaken* 'to flame, glow, smoke'.

φλέδων, -ονος [m., f.] 'babbler' (A. *Ag.* 1195, Timo). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR φλεδόνες [f.pl.] 'babble' (Plu., Anon. *apud* Gal.).

•DER φλεδον-ώδης 'loquacious' (Hp. [codd. φλεβο(δο)νώδης], Erot.), φλεδονεῖ· ἀναισθητεῖ, φλυαρεῖ (H.), -εύομαι, -εύω 'id.' (H., *EM*), whence -εία (*EM*).

•ETYM The variation φλεδ-/φληδ- (in φληδῶντα· ληροῦντα H.) has been interpreted as ablaut, and the word thus connected with φλέω, by Frisk (assuming a suffix -δον-). However, we find -α- in ▸παφλάζω and παφλάσματα 'stilted words', and φλην- in ▸φληναφάω 'to babble'. The variation φλεδ-/φλην- shows nasalization (i.e. replacement of a consonant by the nasal of its series), which points to Pre-Greek origin; see already Kuiper 1956: 216.

The inner-Greek variation renders the connection with the proposed non-Greek evidence doubtful: e.g. φληδῶντα to OE *blǣtan*, OHG *blāzan* 'to bleat' (suggested by Holthausen *KZ* 47 (1916): 310). The connections with ToB *plāce*, ToA *plāc* 'speech, talk, word' < IE **bʰlōd-en-* (Van Windekens, criticized in Adams 1999 s.v. *plāce*) and that with OCS *blęsti*, 1sg. *blędǫ* 'to err, brag' is from **bʰlendʰ-* (see Derksen 2008 s.v. **blęsti*) are formally doubtful anyway.

φλέμινα [n.pl.] 'a disease of the knees of horses' (Hippiatr. 1, 227, 18 [ed. Oder-Hoppe]). ◂LW Lat.▸

•ETYM Transcription of Lat. *flēmina* (Pl.), itself borrowed from Gr. φλεγμονή 'inflammation'. Cf. DELG s.v.

φλευ-C- [v.] 'to burn' (trans.). ◂IE? **bʰleu-* 'flow', PG?▸

•VAR We find φλευ- only before consonant: in ἐπ-έφλευσε τὴν χεῖρα (*IG* 4, 955 [Epidauros II^{P}]). Non-presentic forms: perf. ptc. pass. ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρί 'from the walls encompassed by fire' (Hdt. 5, 77) ; cf. with the same metaphor ἀσβέστη κέχυτο φλόξ (II 123) and Lat. *flamma circumfusus, divino circumfuso igni*. Further aor. ἐπι-, περι-φλεῦσαι: φλὸξ ἀναδραμιοῦσα ἐπέφλευσε τὴν χεῖρα (Epid. II^{P}), γαλῆ κατοικίδιος περιφλευσθεῖσα (Dsc.), in both places of encompassing flames and singeing fire; to this belongs περιφλευσμός (Aq. *De.*).

•DER περι-φλευσμός 'burn' (Aq.).

•ETYM DELG suggests that περιφλύω 'to burn superficially' (Ar. *Nu.* 396) stands for **-φλεύω, but I see no reason for this. In the antevocalic forms, **bʰleu̯-* lost its *-u̯-*, giving ▸φλέω. As DELG also remarks, the comparison of fire with a liquid is frequent in Greek.

φλέψ, -εβός [f.] 'vein' (N 546), also metaphorically 'metal-vein, spring (of water)' (X., Arist., Plb. etc.), 'vein of a plant' (Hp., Thphr.). ◅PG?▻

•COMP φλεβοτομέω (to φλέβα τέμνω) 'to bleed', -τομία, Ion. -ίη [f.] 'bloodletting' (Hp., etc.), -τόμησις, -τομική (late medic.), -τόμον [n.] 'device for bloodletting' (late medic., Luc.); ἐπίφλεβος 'having the veins on top, with prominent veins' (Hp., Arist.), also μελανόφλεβες [pl.] 'with black veins' (Aret.).

•DER φλέβ-ιον [n.] 'small blood-vessel' (Hp., Pl. *Ti.*, Arist., Str.), -ώδης 'full of veins, like veins' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., etc.), -ικός 'belonging to the veins' (Arist.), -άζοντες· βρύοντες (*EM*, Phot.).

•ETYM As the IE designations of the veins vary strongly, and φλέψ stands isolated, it could well be a Greek innovation. In former dictionaries, connected with a large group of words in φλ- (φλαδεῖν, φλέω, φλύω, φλύκταινα, etc.). It has been supposed to be an enlargement in -g^w- of *b^hel- 'to blow, swell' (see ▸φαλλός), but such an "enlargement" would not solve anything. Thus, it seems obvious to assume a Pre-Greek loan, although I see no concrete formal indications.

φλέω [v.] 'to overflow, flood, teem with' (A.). ◅IE? *b^hleu- 'flow', PG?▻

•VAR Only gen.abs. φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφευ (A. *Ag.* 377 [lyr.]), μήλων φλεόντων (ibd. 1416); φλέοντας· φιλοῦντας (leg. φλύοντας?) ἢ φλυαροῦντας (H.).

•DER Epithet of Dionysus, with various forms: Φλεύς (Chios acc. to *EM*), Φλέως (inscr. Ephesus), Φλεών (Ael.), Φλοῖος (Plu.) and Φλοιά [f.] epithet of Kore (Lac. *apud* H.), Φλοιώ [f.] name of a Bacchante (Nonn.). PN Φλέας, -αντος [m.] (Priene II^a). On the appellatives φλοιός, φλόος, φλοῦς, see ▸φλοιός, and ▸φλέως. See also ▸φλύαξ, ▸φλυαρέω, ▸φλύκταινα. On δια-φλύξιες, see ▸φλύω.

•ETYM The series φλέω, φλεῦσαι, πέφλευσμαι agrees with πλέω, πλεῦσαι, πέπλευσμαι. Beside φλέ(ϝ)ω, we find a zero grade in φλύω (perhaps, ἔφλυον was originally an aorist, cf. ἔκλυον). On the semantic relation between φλέω and φλεῦσαι, see ▸φλευ-C-; it is unnecessary to posit a separate verb *φλεύω 'to burn'.

The closest comparandum to φλέω is Lat. *fluō* 'to flow, stream', of which the non-presentic forms like *fluxī*, *fluctus* may well be analogical (therefore, the velar in φλύξαι, etc. need not be old). This points to a reconstruction *b^hleuH- (LIV^2 s.v. 1. *$b^hleu̯H$-). Connection with Lith. *bliáuti* 'to roar', OCS *bljьvati* 'to vomit' is semantically uncompelling. Alternatively, if φλέω, φλύω belong together with βλύω, ▸βλύζω, this could suggest that all these words are Pre-Greek.

φλέως [m.] 'rush, Erianthus Ravennae' (Ar., Thphr.). ◅PG?▻

•DER φλόϊνος 'made of rush' (Hdt.). One assumes that the TN Φλειϝοντ-ᾶθεν (*SEG* 11, 1212, Olympia [V^a]) is related.

•ETYM For φλέως, DELG assumes *φληϝ-ο-, beside *φλωϝ-ο- for *φλόος, φλοῦς 'rind, skin'. Often derived from the verb φλέω, but Chantraine adds the word may just as well be a loan; this would agree with my suggestion of substrate origin for φλέω. So probably Pre-Greek. Cf. also ▸φλοιός.

***φλῆναι** [v.] Only in *EM* 796, 12, which is not well understood. See DELG. ◅?▻

•ETYM Unknown. Connection with φλήναφος has been suggested.

φληναφάω [v.] 'to babble' (Ar., Alex., et al.). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR φλην-αφάομαι (Phld.), -αφῆσαι (Jo. Dam.).
•DER φληναφήματα [n.pl.] 'babble' (E. *Ep.*, Ar., Alex. etc.). Probably a back-formation is φλήναφ-ος [m.] 'babble' (Men., Phld., Luc. etc.), also 'babbler' (Men., Poll.), whence -ώδης 'babbly' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), -ία [f.] 'babble' (Phld., Suid.).
•ETYM Under ▶φλεδών, I have argued that the variation φλεδ-/φλην- is a typical case of Pre-Greek nasalization. Without -αφ-, we find φληνύω 'to brag' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), φλανύσσει· φλυαρεῖ, ληρεῖ 'talks nonsense' (H.), ἐκφλῆναι 'to bubble up' (E. *fr.* 470); cf. also φληδῶντα· ληροῦντα (H.), φλῆφος (leg. φλῆνος or φλήναφος?)· φλύαρος (H.), φλεδών; also φλύω and φλυαρέω. The ending is reminiscent of ψηλαφάω.

φλιά [f.] 'door-pillar, doorpost', also 'door-frame, lintel' (ρ 221, Hell.+); 'jamb', e.g. of a windlass (Hp., Ruf. *apud* Orib.). ◁PG?▷
•VAR Both ῑ and ῐ; Ion. -ιή, mostly plur. -ιαί; also -ειοί [m.pl.]. Later φλειά.
•DIAL Myc. *pi-ri-ja-o* [gen.pl.]?
•DER περιφλ[ίωμα] [n.] 'framework' (Aphrodisias II^{P}), ἀνώφλιον 'lintel (of a door)', κατώφλιον 'threshold'.
•ETYM A technical word without etymology, so possibly Pre-Greek.

φλίβω, -ομαι [v.] 'to press, bruise' (ρ 221 [beside φλιῇσι, most codd. have θλ-], Hp. *Loc. Hom.*, Theoc.). ◁IE *b^{h}lig$^{(w)}$-▷
•VAR Fut. φλίψεται.
•COMP Also with ἐκ-.
•DER φλῖψις· θλῖψις (H.).
•ETYM Rare by-form of much more usual ▶θλίβω, like φλάω beside θλάω. Generally compared with several words from Celtic, Latin and Balto-Slavic which all have *b^{h}l-, e.g. W *blif* [m.] 'catapult, ballista', Lat. *flīgō* 'to strike (down)', Latv. *blaîzît* 'to bruise, press together, beat', Ru. *blizná* 'scar, wound, break of a thread in a tissue', *bliz*, *blizъ* 'near' < PIE *b^{h}l(e/o)i-ǵ- or *b^{h}liH-ǵ-. See LIV^{2} s.v. *b^{h}leiǵ-, where it is assumed that φλῖβω represents earlier *φλει-. Root-final -β- could be due to contamination.

φλιδάω [v.] 'to drip with fat (ἀλοιφῇ), to disintegrate out of rottenness (σηπεδόσι)' (Nic.), 'to decay, burst', of clothes (Plu.); glosses from H.: φλιδᾶν· σήπεσθαι 'to rot'; ἔφλιδεν· διέρρεεν, ἐρρήγνυεν 'flow apart, broke'; φλιδάνει· διαπίπτει, διαρρει 'to collapse'; φλιδιόωντο· διεσπῶντο, ἐτέμνοντο 'drew apart, cut'; φλιδόνες· τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις σπάσματα καὶ ῥυτίδες 'shreds and wrinkles in clothes', τινές δὲ σφυγμοί 'throbbing of inflamed parts, beating of the heart'. ◁IE? *b^{h}lid- 'drip, flow, swell'▷
•VAR περι- (v.l. Nic. *Al.* 62), cf. below.
•DER With full grade: φλοιδιᾶν· πεπρῆσθαι (H.); φλοιδούμενος (Lyc. 35, after sch. = φλογιζόμενος) and, also from H., the primary perf. forms πεφλοιδέναι· φλυκταινοῦσθαι (cod. φλεκτενεῖσθαι); πεφλοιδώς· τὸν φλοιὸν ἀποβαλών (cf. on φλοιός); διαπέφλοιδεν· διακέχυται; hence ὑπερφλοισμοὶ ὑγροί as an explanation of διαφλύξιες. See also on ▶ἀφλοισμός [m.] 'foam, slobber' (with copulative ἀ-, or from ἀφρός).
•ETYM Part of the above verb forms is primary: φλιδάνει, ἔφλιδεν, πέφλοιδεν with the noun φλιδόνες, and part is clearly secondary: φλιδ-άω, φλοιδούμενος (from

-έομαι or -όομαι), and φλοιδ-ιάω (also φλιδ-). LIV² reconstructs a PIE root ?*b^{h}leid-, but there are no certain correspondences outside Greek; alternatively, these words may well be Pre-Greek. Formally, MoE *bloat* might be connected, if from PGm. **blaitōn*.

A form περιφλίοντος without dental in Nic. *Al.* 62 is given by the best tradition (v.l. περιφλιδόωντος); it was probably influenced by περιφλύω. There are more aspects in which these two groups are close: beside φλιδάω, we have with a similar meaning φλυδάω and φλυδαρός 'weak, with meshes' (Hp.), perhaps already in Myc. *pu₂-ruda-ro*? Formally, it belongs to ►φλύω (see also ►φλέω), but semantically it is closer to φλιδάω. A nasalized derivative of φλυδάω is ἐκφλυνδάνω 'to burst open' (of ulcers) (Hp.). Phonetically, φλυδάω can be compared with ON *blautr* 'wet, weak'. DELG assumes a separate verb φλῖω, which LIV²: 88 does not follow. Cf. also ►φλοῖσβος.

φλιμέλια [n.pl.] 'blood-swellings on horse feet' (*Hippiatr.* 51). ◁LW? Lat.▷

•ETYM From Lat. *flēmina* [n.pl.] (< φλεγμονή? See ►φλέγω) 'cramped veins, inflamed ulcers round the knuckles', either through textual corruption or by folk etymology (see WH s.v.). Cf. also ►φλέμινα.

φλοιός [m.] 'bark (of a tree), rind, skin of fruit, pellicle of a leaf or egg', also metaphorically 'exterior hull' (since A 237). ◁?▷

•COMP φλοιορραγής 'with cracked rind' (Thphr., Dsc.); frequent as a second member, e.g. τανύφλοιος 'with thin rind' (Π 767 etc.).

•DER φλοι-ώδης 'rind-like, superficial' (Arist., Thphr.), -ῶτις [f.] 'made of rind' (Lyc.); φλοΐζω (περι-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to peel off the rind, to rind' (Thphr., Dsc., pap.), φλοϊσμός (περι-) [m.] 'decortication' (Thphr.), -ιστική (τέχνη) 'art of decortication' (Pl., Poll.); φλοιῶσαι 'id.' (Nonn., *AP*), ἀποφλοιάω 'id.' (Aët.). Note also πεφλοιδώς· τὸν φλοιὸν ἀποβαλών (H.), formally to ►φλιδάω, etc. Also φλόος (acc. φλόα Nic. after χρόα), φλοῦς [m.] 'rind' (pap., *AP*), 'skin' of a man or a snake (Nic.; unclear mg. in Arat. 335); also = φλέως (Hdt. 3, 98), with φλόϊνος 'made of ree' (ibd., E. *Fr.* 284, Poll.). Furthermore, ►φλέως (-εώς) [m.] 'reed, rush'. On the PN Φλόϝαξ, see ►φλύαξ.

•ETYM Formally, φλόος and φλοιός < *φλόϝ-ος, *φλοϝ-ιός belong to φλέ(ϝ)ω, like the epithet of Dionysus Φλοῖος, etc.; thus φλέως, -εώς after κορώνεως, ἐρινεώς etc. Semantically, the connection with φλέω is clear in ὑπέρφλοια (μῆλα) 'super-juicy', of apples (verse-final in Emp. 80), perhaps instead of -φλοα, and similarly in φλοίειν (φλοιεῖν?) = ἄγαν ἀκμάζειν (Antim.), if not for ►φλύειν. In the sense of 'rush', φλέως and φλοῦς refer to the luxuriant growth of the plant (cf. βρύον to βρύω); Frisk thinks that the rind (φλοιός, φλόος) may have received its name from its being rich in flesh and juice, as opposed to the wood underneath. But see ►φλέως.

φλοῖσβος [m.] 'the roaring, heaving' (A., S., Lyc. etc.), metaphorically 'battle-noise, bustle' (Il., Euph.). ◁?▷

•COMP πολύφλοισβος, epithet of θάλασσα 'roaring much or loudly' (Hom., Hes. etc.), late also ἀ-, βαρύ-φλοισβος (Nonn., Procl.).

•ETYM The ending is reminiscent of θόρυβος, κόναβος, etc.; further analysis unknown. Relation with φλιδάω, πέφλοιδεν is semantically not quite obvious.

φλόμος [m.] 'mullein, Verbascum sinuatum' (Cratin. [Iyr.], Eup. [anap.], Thphr., Dsc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also φλόνος (Ps.-Dsc.), perhaps dissimilation φ - μ > φ - ν? πλόμος (Arist.).

•COMP ἱππό-φλομος 'belladonna, Atropa belladonna' (Plin.), with augmentative ἱππο-.

•DER φλομίς [f.] 'Phlomis samia' (Dsc.), φλονῖτις [f.] = ὄνοσμα, ὀνῖτις (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc.), φλομώδης πόα (H.) as an explanation of αἰθιοπίς; πλομίζω [v.] 'to poison with πλ.' (Arist.).

•ETYM The variation φ-/π- shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

φλύᾱξ, -ᾱκος [m.] 'buffoonery' (*AP*), 'buffoon' (Poll., St. Byz., Eust.). ◁PG▷

•COMP φλυακογράφος [m.] 'author of φλύακες' (Ath.), -γραφία [f.] (Suid. s.v. Πίνθων).

•ETYM A Doric word, name of a genre devised by the Tarentine Rhinthon; originally the name of a demon (Björck 1950: 61). Possibly built on φλύος [n.] 'bragging', or maybe a direct derivative of φλύω; cf. the rhyming form ῥύαξ. Furthermore the PN Φλόϝαξ (Tanagra V[a]) from φλό(ϝ)ος (see ► φλοιός). See also ► φλύω, ► φλέω.

φλυαρέω [v.] 'to babble idly, maunder, make jokes' (Hdt., Att.). ◁?▷

•VAR Ion. φλυηρέω.

•COMP Rarely with κατα-, συν-, etc.

•DER φλυαρ-ία [f.] 'silly prattle, idle babble, maundering' (Att.), -ήματα [pl.] 'maunderings, absurdities' (D. H., Ph., J.). φλύαρ-ος [m.] 'babble, etc.' (Ar. *Nu.* 365 [anap.], Stratt., Men. etc.), 'babbler, babbly' (LXX, Str., D. H., etc.), φλυαρολογία = φλυαρία ([Pl.] *Ax.*) etc., -ώδης 'absurd' (Plu., Porph.).

•ETYM Enlargement of φλύω, but unclear in detail. A dissimilation from *φλυᾱλ- may also be considered. On Ion. φλυη- against Att. φλυᾱ-, which may originally be Doric (cf. φλύαξ), see Björck 1950: 45. The accent shows that φλύαρος, as an adjective and agent noun, must be a back-formation from φλυαρέω. It cannot be decided whether φλυαρέω or the much rarer φλύαρος (in the mg. 'babble') was primary.

φλυδάω [v.] 'to be soft, weak'; the original meaning seems 'to be moist': φλυδᾷ· ὑγραίνεται (Gal.), φλυδᾶν· διαχεῖσθαι (H.).

•DER With nasal ἐκ-φλυνδάνω (H.). ⇒ φλιδάω.

φλυζάκιον ⇒φλύκταινα.

φλύκταινα [f.] 'blister, pustule' (Hp., Th., Ar., Arist., etc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•DER Diminutive φλυκταινίς [f.], -ίδιον [n.] (Hp., Diocl. *Fr.*), -ώδης 'blister-like' (late medic.), -όομαι [v.] 'to get blisters' (Hp., Dsc.), -ωσις [f.] 'blistering' (Hp.), also -ω (-όω ?) 'to cause blisters' (Dsc.). Also φλυκτίς, -ίδος [f.] 'id.' (Thphr., LXX), acc.pl. φλύκτεις (Dsc.). Furthermore φλυζάκιον [n.] 'id.' (Hp., Cels.).

•ETYM Formation like in -αινα from a stem φλυκτ-, whence also φλυκτίς. The group velar + *t* is typical for Pre-Greek, see Fur.: 319ff. See on ▸ὁλοφλυκτίς. For φλυζάκιον, compare ψυδράκιον, ἀνθράκιον; a basis *φλύζα < *φλύγ-ι̯ᾰ may belong to οἰνό-φλυξ (see φύγεθλον), διαφλύξιες, and further to φλύξαι, φλύζω; see ▸φλύω 1.

φλύω 1 [v.] A. 'to be full of juice, thrive', of plants, fruits (Plu., Ael.), see ▸φλέω.
B. 'to well up' (Φ 361+), 'to boil' (Hp. *apud* Gal.), fut. φλύσει· ζέσει (H.), ἀναφλύω (H., pap), διαφλύω (Hp. *apud* Gal.), ἐκφλύω 'to boil over' (Gal.), ἐπιφλύω 'to sputter at' (A. R.). Also said of a singeing lightning (Ar. *Nu.* 396).
C. 'to babble' (A., H.). ◂IE? *b^hleu- 'flow', PG?(V)▸
•VAR Many derivatives in φλυγ- (whence φλύζω), or φλυ-κ- (giving φλύσσω); aor. φλύσαι (Archil. [codd. φλόσαι], A., *AP*).
Also φλύζω, of speech (Nic.), φλύζειν· ἀναζεῖν (H.), aor. ἐκφλύξαι γόον (A. R.), subj. ἀποφλύξωσιν ὕβριν (A. R.). On φλυδάω, ἐκφλυνδάνω, see ▸φλιδάω.
•COMP Also with ἀνα-, περι-, δια-, etc.
•DER 1. φλύος [n.] 'babble' (Archil.), whence φλουάζει· φλυαρεῖ, ληρεῖ 'speaks nonsense' (H.), perhaps Lac.; also φλυάσσει· φλυαρεῖ, φλύει (H.), cf. φλύαξ. 2. φλύσις [f.] = ἐξάνθησις 'coming up', of a skin-eruption (Hp. *apud* Gal.), διαφλύξιες = ὑπερβλύσεις (Gal.).
•ETYM Many derivatives in -γ-: φλυζω, φλυγέω, φύγεθρον, or -κ-: ἔφλυξα, οἰνόφλυξ. Under ▸φλέω, I explain that the verb could be Pre-Greek. The variation between the enlargments -γ- and -κ- points to substrate origin (the substrate had no distinction between voiced and unvoiced obstruents). See also on φλυκταινα, which has a variant stem φλυκτ-. The form διαφλύξιες (s.v. ▸φλέω) may be another stem-form (with interchange κτ/ξ). See ▸φλευ-C-.

φλύω 2 [v.] 'to vomit'. ◂IE *b^hleu- 'vomit'▸
•VAR In fut. φλύσει· ἀποβαλεῖ, ἐμέσει ... (H.), aor. ἀπ-έφλυσα (Archil.). DELG has this word s.v. φλύω C.
•ETYM Usually connected with OCS *bljьvati*, 1sg. *bljujǫ* 'to vomit'; the corresponding Baltic verb Lith. *bliáuti*, 1sg. *bliáuju*, also *bliūti*, 1sg. *bliuvù* is supposed to have developed into 'bleat' or 'start roaring', which seems an uncertain change of meaning.

φόβη [f.] 'wavy, long hair, mane', metaphorically 'foliage, bunch of flowers' (Sapph., Pi., trag.; also Thphr.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Verbal noun from ▸φέβομαι referring to hair blown by the wind; cf. on ἔθειρα, also σόβη (see ▸σοβέω).

φόβος ⇒φέβομαι.

φοῖβος [adj.] epithet of ὕδωρ (Hes. *Fr.* 274, similarly Lyc.), of αἴγλα (B.), of φλόξ (A. *Pr.* 22); explained as 'pure, clear, bright'. ◂?▸
•VAR Φοῖβος epithet and name of Apollo (Il.).
•COMP φοιβό-ληπτος, Ion. -λαμπτος 'inspired, possessed by Φ.' (Hdt., Lyc., Plu. etc.).

•DER 1. φοιβάς, -άδος [f.] 'priestess of Phoibos, seer' (E., Tim.). 2. Φοίβη [f.] daughter of Ouranos and Gaia (Hes., A.). 3. Φοίβειος, Ion. -ήϊος 'belonging to Φοῖβος' (Hdt., E. [lyr.]), fem. -ηΐς (*AP*).
Denominative verbs: 4. φοιβάζω [v.] 'to prophesy, inspire' (S., Plb., Lyc., Str., etc.), also 'to purify' (Lyc.), also with δια-, άπο-, άνα-; φοιβαστής = *vaticinator* (gloss.), -άστρια [f.] 'prophetess' (Lyc.), -αστικός 'prophesying, inspiring' (Plu., Longin., Ptol.). 5. φοιβάω [v.] 'to purify' (Hell. poetry), aor. -ῆσαι, Dor. -ᾶσαι; ἀποφοιβάομαι [v.] 'to speak ardently' (*PMag. Par.*), προ- 'to prophesy' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*); hence φοίβησις [f.] 'inspiration' (Vett. Val.), -ητής (Man., et al.), -ητήρ (*PMag. Lond.*) [m.] 'prophet', -ήτωρ [m.] 'id.' (Orph.), -ήτρια· καθάρτρια (H.), also name of a goddess, perhaps Isis? (Ethiopia), -ητός 'inspired', φοιβητεύειν· χρησμῳδεῖν (H.). 6. φοιβᾶναι· λαμπρῦναι, μαντεύσασθαι, κοσμῆσαι, καθᾶραι, ἁγνίσαι (H.), 'to purify' (anon. *apud EM*), ἀ-φοίβαντος 'not purified, impure' (A.).
•ETYM Unexplained. Some connect the glosses ἀφικτόν (leg. ἄφικτον?)· ἀκάθαρτον, μισητόν and ἀφικτρός (leg. ἄφικτρος?)· ἀκάθαρτος, μιαρός (H.). Φοῖβος has nothing to do with Φόβος. The word has also been connected with the town Βοίβη in Thessalia (St. Byz. s.v. Φοίβη).

Φοίνῑκες [m.pl.] people on the west coast of Syria, also the inhabitants of Carthage as Phoenician colonists. ◂PG▸
•VAR Φοῖνιξ, -ῑκος [sg.], Φοίνισσα [f.] 'Phoenician' (Il.); also the son of Agenor, as an eponym of the people, also son of Amyntor, ruler of the Dolopians (Il.), and a river near Thermopylae (Hdt.).
•DER 1. Φοιν-ίκη [f.] 'land of the Ph.' (since Od.), also of Carthage (E.); older name of Caria (Ath.), also place in Epirus (Plb., Str. et al.). 2. Adjective -ικήϊος (Hdt. et al.), -ικικός (Epich., Hdt., Th., etc.; see Chantraine 1956a: 120, 122, 124), -ίκιος (S. *Fr.*, D. S.), -ίκινος (Gal.). 3. -ικίας ἄνεμος 'south-east wind' (Arist. et al.). 4. -ικίδιον [n.] 'small Phoenician' (D. L.). 5. -ικιστί 'in Phoenician (Punic) speach' (Plb.). 6. -ικίζω 'to live like the Ph.' (Luc.).
•ETYM On the formation cf. Αἰθῑκες, Τέμμῑκες, Θρήϊκες (-ῐ-) etc.; *cf.* ▸φοινός. Borrowed as Lat. *Poenus*, *Pūnicus*, see WH s.v. The suffix -ῑκ- is non-IE, and probably Pre-Greek. See Beekes *Kadmos* 43 (2004): 167-184, especially 181ff.

φοῖνιξ 1, -ῑκος [m., f.] 'palm-tree', especially 'date-palm', also 'date' (since ζ 163), also other plants (Thphr., Dsc.). ◂GR▸
•VAR Accentuation following Hdn. Gr.
•COMP φοινικοβάλανος [f.] 'date' (Hell.+).
•DER 1. φοιν-ίσκη (for -ικίσκη) [f.] 'small palm-tree' (pap. II^{p}). 2. φοιν-ικίς [f.], -ικίδιον [n.] 'palm-ornament' (Delos III-II^{a}). 3. Adjectives φοιν-ικήϊος (Hdt.), -ίκιος (Gortyn V-IV^{a}), -ίκειος (D. S.), -ίκινος (com. IV^{a}, pap. etc.), -ικικός (Ph. *Bel.*, pap.), -ικηρόν?, of μέτρον (pap. II^{p}). 4. -ικίτης, of οἶνος (Dsc.). 5. φοιν-ικών, -ῶνος [m.] 'palm-grove' (Hell.+).
•ETYM Literally "the Phoenician", referring to the eastern origin of the palm and the date trade of the Phoenicians.

φοῖνιξ 2, -ῑκος [m.] name of a stringed instrument (Hdt. 4, 192, Hell. historians). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Related to ▶φοῖνιξ 1 according to Semus, because it was made of palm-wood. DELG calls this absurd, citing Herodotus, who states that it could be made of animal horns. Rather, it was a Phoenician invention.

φοῖνιξ 3, -ῑκος [m.] name of a mythical bird, worshipped in Egypt (Hes. *Fr.* 171, 4, Hdt. 2, 73, etc.), whose native land was claimed to have been Arabia or India. ◁LW? Eg.▷

•ETYM To Eg. *bjn*; further history unknown.

φοῖνιξ 4, -ῑκος [m.] '(the color) purple' (Hom. etc.); as an appellative or adjective (fem. also -ισσα) 'sorrel' or 'red-colored', of a horse (Ψ 454), 'purple, dark-red, tawny', of cattle, fire, clothes, etc. (Pi., Simon., E., Theoc.). ◁PG▷

•DIAL Myc. *po-ni-ki-jo*.

•COMP φοινικο-πάρῃος 'purple-cheeked, with red-colored sides', of a ship (Od.).

•DER 1. φοιν-ικίς, -ικίδος [f.] 'purple cloth or blanket, red-colored cloth' (Ar., X., Aeschin. etc.), 'red banner' (Lys., Plb.), with -ικιστής [m.] 'who wears purple', name of a Persian court-official (X.). 2. Adjectives φοιν-ικόεις (Hom., Hes.), -ίκεος, -ικοῦς (Ion., Pi., X., Arist., etc.); -ίκιος (Epich., Arist. etc.); -ικιοῦς (Ar., Arist. etc.) 'purple, crimson'. 3. Verbs: φοιν-ίσσω, aor. -ίξαι 'to make purple, red', also intr. 'to be made red' (mostly poet. [orac. *apud* Hdt., B., trag. etc.], also Arist., Thphr.), also with ἐπι- etc.; hence -ιγμός [m.], -ιξις [f.] 'red skin' (late medic.), -ιγμα [n.] 'which is reddened' (Lib.). φοιν-ικίζω (ἐπι-) 'to be purple' (Arist., Gp.).

•ETYM Related to the people's name Φοίνικες; see also on ▶φοινός.

Φοῖνιξ 5, -ῑκος 'Phoenician'. ⇒Φοίνικες.

φοινός [adj.] 'red' (of blood, αἵματι Π 159), epithet of θυμός in unclear meaning, 'blood-red? murderous?' (*h. Ap.* 362), 'deadly' (Nic.), of αἷμα (Mosch.) probably referring to the color (σ 97, A., S.), of a cobra, ἀσπίς (Nic.); of καρπὸς σίδης (Nic.); often with strengthening ▶δα-: δαφοινός 'dark, tawny', especially of beasts of prey, also 'murderous, bringing death'? (Il., epic poet.); enlarged -εός (Σ 538, Hes. *Sc.* 159), -ήεις (Nonn.). ◁?▷

•DER More usual φοίνιος 'bloody, blood-stained, murderous, deadly' (Pi., trag.). fem. φοινάς = ἐρυσίβη (Theognost. *Can.*); enlarged -ήεις of δράκων (M 202, 220), -ώδης 'bright red'.

•ETYM Without convincing etymology. Connected with ▶φόνος 'murder' already in antiquity, but this is unconvincing semantically and morphologically (suffix *-i̯o-*). The word was associated with φόνος early on, so that it came to be interpreted as a variant of it. Perhaps, the EN Φοίνῑκες is related to φοινός; similarly, Φαίακες to ▶φαιός. Traditionally, it was assumed that 'purple' got its name from the Φοίνικες, as the "Phoenician color"; yet, various scholars have claimed the reverse, viz. that φοῖνιξ 'purple, red color' was primary, whence Φοινίκη 'the red (land), the land of purple'. Others have assumed that Φοίνικες was an (oriental) loanword. If one does not want to separate φοῖνιξ and Φοίνικες from φοινός, the only remaining possibility

is to interpret poetic φοινός (with δαφοινός and φοίνιος) as a back-formation, which is difficult, but not impossible.

φοιτάω [v.] 'to go to and fro, go repeatedly, walk about, frequent someone, go to school, come to the market', of a commodity (Il.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR φοιτῆσαι, πεφοίτηκα (ἐπεφοίτεε Nonn.).

•COMP Often prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, δια-, συν-, ἀπο-. Compounds: ἠεροφοῖτις epithet of Ἐρινῦς 'walking in the fog' (*I* 571, T 87), 'walking in the sky', of the moon (Orph.), whence ἠεροφοίτης, ἀεροφοίτας (Ion Chius, Orph., Nonn.), ἠερό-(ἀερό-)φοιτος, of stars, birds, etc. (A. *fr.* 282 = 198 M., late poetry); ὀρειφοίτης, -φοιτος 'walking in the mountains', whence -φοιτέω (Hell.+). Hence the simplex φοίτης· ὁ κῆρυξ (H.).

•DER 1. φοιτ-άς [f., m.] 'erring, swarming, raging', of Cassandra, Bacchantes, etc. (trag., etc.), φοῖτος [m.] 'the erring, aberrance' (φρενῶν A. *Th.* 661). 2. φοιτ-αλέος 'id.', also 'roaming, driving mad' (A. and E. [lyr.], Mosch., *AP*, etc.); enlarged -αλιεύς (Opp.), -αλιώτης (*AP* 9, 524, 22 verse-final) of Dionysus. 3. φοίτ-ησις (ἐπι-, συν- etc.) [f.] 'frequentation, especially of school' (Att., etc.). 4. φοιτ-ητής (συν-) [m.] 'pupil' (Att., etc.), -ητήρ [m.] 'id.' (Nonn.), also = -αλέος (epic poetry V-VI^{p}); -ητός (*Com. Adesp.*), -ητικός (sch.). 5. verbs: φοιτ-ίζω = -άω (*h. Hom.* 26, 8, Call., A. R.), probably after θαμίζω; φοιτ-άζω 'id.' (Hellad. *apud* Phot.).

•ETYM All the above forms, including φοιτάς, φοιταλέος and φοῖτος, are built on the present φοιτάω. No etymology. One might think of a Pre-Greek loan.

φολίς, -ίδος [f.] 'scale of a reptile' (Arist., A. R., D. S., Opp., etc.), metaphorically of the spots on an animal-skin (Hld.), of the mosaic of a cover (D. S.). ◁PG?▷

•DER φολιδωτός 'provided with scales' (Arist., Thphr., Hell. inscr., etc.), -ώδης 'scale-like' (Hp. v.l.), -όομαι 'to be covered with scales' (Philum.).

•ETYM Formation with *o*-grade, like λοπίς (to λοπός), λεπίς (to λέπος, see ▶λέπω). Frisk supports the usual connection with ▶φελλός 'cork', but I see no reason for this. As a technical term, it is probably Pre-Greek.

φολκός [adj.] Epithet of Thersites (B 217) of unknown meaning. ◁PG?(V)▷

•ETYM Traditionally interpreted as 'bandy-legged' and supposed to be related to φάλος, designation of a helm-ornament or helmet-piece and connected with Skt. *hvárate* 'to go crooked', etc.; see ▶φάλος. Fur.: 173 assumes that φολκός is identical with *βολκός in Βόλκων, the name of a Syracusan in D. S. 11, 91; in that case, the variation φ-/ β- would point to Pre-Greek origin.

φόλλιξ [f.] 'scab, leprous sore' (Erot. 384). Erot. l.c. explains φολλικώδη· τὰ ἐφηλώδη καὶ λεπρώδη· οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ φόλλικας ἐκάλουν τὰς ψηρώδεις τραχύτητας; but Galen (19, 153) gives τὰ οἷον θυλακώδεα καὶ σομφά. ◁?▷

•ETYM Perhaps, a variant of φολίς. De Vaan (p.c.) suggests that it could be a loan from Lat. *folliculus* 'bag; husk, pod, skin, follicle, bladder, etc.'.

φόλυες κύνες [?] · οἱ πυρροὶ ὄντες μέλανα στόματα εἶχον 'red ones, having a black mouth' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM Gennadius *JHS* 46 (1926): 42f. connects the word with φολίς and proposes to read στίγματα for στόματα: "dogs of a yellow-red coat spotted with black". A direct derivation is impossible for morphological reasons. Fur.: 228 connects φολύνει· μολύνει 'stains, defiles', which would mean that the word is Pre-Greek.

φόνος [m.] 'manslaughter, murder', poet. 'bloodshed' (Il.); also in the poetic expression ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἵματος (Π 162) for αἷμα φόνου or φόνιον. ◂IE *g^{wh}en- 'slay, kill'▸

•COMP φονολιβής 'dripping with murder or blood' (A. [lyr.]), ἀπόφονος φόνος 'unnatural murder' (E. *Or.* 163 [lyr.]), ἀπόφονον αἷμα (ibd. 192). Highly productive as an agent noun in univerbations, e.g. ἀνδροφόνος 'killing men' (Il.), -ία [f.] (Arist., etc.), -έω (Str.); enlargements -εύς 'id.' (Man.), -τῆς (A. *Th.* 572); see also on ▸ἀνδρεϊφόντη (Il.); also βουφόνος, -έω [v.] (H 466).

•DER 1. Adjectives: φόν-ιος 'murderous, murder-, blood-stained, deadly' (Pi., trag.); -ικός 'belonging to murder, bloodthirsty' (Hdt., Th., etc.); -ώδης 'deadly' (Hp.), 'reminding of blood, murder' (Thphr.), 'murderous, bloodthirsty' (LXX etc.). 2. φον-εύς [m.] 'murderer' (Il.), -εύω [v.] 'to murder, kill' (Pi., IA), also with κατα-, ἐπι- etc., whence -ευτής [m.] 'murderer' (LXX), fem. -εύτρια (sch.), -ευτικός 'deadly' (sch.), -εύσιμος 'mortal' (sch.). 3. φόν-αξ [m.] name of a dog (X. *Cyn.*). 4. Pres. -όομαι in πεφονωμένος [ptc.perf.med.] 'blood-stained' (Opp.).

Beside φόνος, we find φοναί [f.pl.] 'manslaughters, massacre, murder, blood' (Il., epic poet., also Hdt. and late prose), φονάω [v.] 'to be eager for murder, blood' (S. [lyr.], late prose).

•ETYM A verbal noun to ▸θείνω, from PIE *g^{wh}ón-o- [m.]. Cognate forms: SCr. *gȍn* (to *gnȁti* 'to drive, hunt') 'distance over which a horse can be driven in one time', Cz. *hon* 'hunt'; as an agent noun (cf. -φόνος) Skt. *ghaná-* 'striking down, killing', msc. 'cudgel, club', Lith. *gānas*, Latv. *gans* 'herdsman' ("the driver"). All of these may be independent formations.

φοξός [adj.] 'sharp, pointed' (B 219 of the head of Thersites, Arist., *AP* etc.). ◂PG(V)▸

•COMP φοξίχειλος, of κύλιξ, 'with pointed edge', i.e. 'narrowing towards the top' (Semon.), with φοξι- after verbal -ξι-.

•DER φοξότης [f.] 'pointed shape' (Gal.), -ῖνος [m.] an unknown fish (Arist., also Mnesim., written φυξ-, probably after φύξις, φυγεῖν).

•ETYM No convincing etymology. Lidén 1906: 59f. connects φάγρος 'whetstone'. Fur.: 345 also compares φάγρος, but assuming a Pre-Greek word; op.cit. 393, he connects φοῦσκος· ὀξυκέφαλος (H.).

φορβή ⇒φέρβω.

φορῖνη [f.] 'hard and rough skin', especially 'swine's hide' (Hp., Antipho Soph., Aristom. Com., etc.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Variant φορίνη· ἡ παρ' ἐνίοις πυρίνη (H.).

•ETYM Without cognates, neither in Greek nor in other languages. A remote similarity is shown by a Germanic word for 'raw, outward rind', e.g. ON *bǫrkr*, LG

(> MoHG) *Borke*; ON *bára* [f.] 'crest of a wave, hard strip on the surface, cheese-rind'. Yet, the variant πυρίνη shows that the word is Pre-Greek.

φόρκες [?] · χάρακες 'pales' (H.). ◁LW Lat.▷
•ETYM LSJ explains it as a loan from Lat. *furcae*, which seems possible.

φορκόν [adj.] · λευκόν, πολιόν, ῥυσόν 'white, gray, wrinkled' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷
•DER Perhaps, here also belong the PNs Φόρκος (Pi. *P.* 12, 13, S. *Fr.* 861, Lyc. 477, Phanocl. 1, 20) = Φόρκυς, -ῡ(ν)ος [m.] (Od., Hes., etc.), in the sense ἅλιος γέρων 'old man of the sea'?
•ETYM A supposition is found s.v. ►φαρκίς. Fur.: 157 connects Φόρκυς with Φόρκος and Πόρκος, and/or φαρκίς. Definitely Pre-Greek.

φόρμιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'cither', especially as an instrument of Apollo (Il.). ◁PG(S,V)▷
•COMP φιλοφόρμιγξ 'loving the cither' (A. [lyr.]).
•DER φορμίζω (only pres.) 'to play the cither' (Hom., Hermesian.), -ικτάς Dor. (Pi., Ar. [lyr.], *AP*), -ικτήρ (Nonn.) [m.] 'cither-player', -ικτός 'accompanied by the cither' (S. *Fr.* 16).
•ETYM A loan word, similar in form and meaning to σάλπιγξ, σῦριγξ. Clearly a Pre-Greek word, on account of the suffix. Fur.: 173, 342 adds βάρμιος (Phyllis *apud* Ath. 14, 636c), βάρωμος (Euph. *Fr. Hist.* 8, Ath. 4, 182f), βάρμιτος (*EM* 188, 21), and βάρβιτος (Pi., Anacr.).

φορμός [m.] 'basket', also as a corn-measure (IA since Hes.), also of other twined objects: 'mat' (Hdt., Ar., Thphr.), 'large seamen's cloak' (Theoc., Paus.), 'sieve' (Dsc.). ◁?▷
•COMP φορμοφόρος [m.] 'basket-bearer' (Epicur.), -έω [v.] (D. C.).
•DER Diminutives φορμίς [f.] (com., Arist.), -ίσκος [m.] (Pl., *EM*), -ίσκιον [n.] (Poll.) 'basket', -ίον [n.] 'id.' (Hippon.), 'faggot' (D. L.).
•ETYM The formally obvious connection with φέρω as "bearer" seems difficult to combine with the varying meanings, which are all connected with the notion of 'twining'. Schulze 1892: 110ff. therefore connected φάραι· ὑφαίνειν, πλέκειν 'to weave, plait' (H.) and ►φᾶρος 'cloth, linen'. Still, a development from 'basket' < 'bearer' to 'twined basket', with subsequent transition to other twined materials, is conceivable. Go. *barms* 'κόλπος' agrees phonetically with φορμός, but is also interpreted differently. Not related to ►φωριαμός.

φόρος ⇒φέρω.

φορύνομαι [v.] 'to be mingled, stained, blemished' (χ 21, Q. S. 2, 356; 3, 654), φορύνει· φυρᾷ, μολύνει, συγχεῖ 'soils, defiles, mingles' (H.). ◁?▷
•VAR φορύσσομαι (Opp.), aor. φορύξαι, also with ἀνα- (σ 336, Hp.), -ύξασθαι (Nic.), πεφορυγμένος (Nic., Q. S., Opp.) 'id.', φορυσσέμεναι· μολύνειν (H.).
•COMP αἱμο-φόρυκτος 'blemished with blood' (υ 348), ἀ-φόρυκτος (*AP*), φορυκτός (Lyc.).
•DER Also φορῦτός [m.] 'mixture, miscellany, waste, refuse, chaff' (Democr., Ar., Arist., Thphr., etc.); φόρυς· δακτύλιος ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἕδραν (H.), cf. μολυνίη· ἡ πυγή

(H.), also as a PN (nickname); Φορυστας (Tanagra). Unclear φαρυμός· τολμηρός, θρασύς 'daring, bold' (H.).

•ETYM Compare μολύνω, παλύνω. The formation of φορύξαι, πεφορυγμένος is like μορύξαι, μεμορυγμένος (also -χ-); φορύσσω is like ἀλύσσω, αἰθύσσω, αἰμάσσω, etc.; while φορυτός is like συρφετός, νιφετός, etc. The common element φορυ- cannot be analyzed; if it belongs to φύρω, perhaps dissimilated from *φυρυ-.

φραγέλλιον [n.] 'whip' (NT); 'a weight' (inscr. Lycia). ◅LW Lat.▻

•ETYM From Lat. *flagellum*.

φράζομαι [v.] 'to consider, think (up), perceive, decide, discern', act. 'to signalize, indicate, show, inform' (Il.). ◅?▻

•VAR φράζω (post-Hom.), aor. φράσ(σ)ασθαι (Il., epic poet.), φρασθῆναι (Od., epic poet., Hdt.), act. φράσαι (λ 22), reduplicated πέφραδε, -έμεν, etc. (Il., epic), fut. φράσ(σ)ομαι (Il.), φράσω (post-Hom.), perf.ptc. προπεφραδμένος (Hes. *Op.* 655), ind. πέφρασμαι (A.), act. πέφρᾰκα (Isoc., etc.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἐπι-, συν-, περι-.

•DER 1. φραδή [f.] 'consideration, insight, indication, hint' (Pi., Alc., A., E., etc.), φραδ-άω [v.] = βουλεύομαι (Hdn. Gr.), φραδάον· ἑρμηνεῦον (H.), -ᾱτήρ [m.] an official (Sicily III-II^{a}: γραμματεὺς καὶ φρ.), -ᾶσε 'indicated' (Pi. *N.* 3, 26), -ητός (sch.); φραδεύουσι· λέγουσιν (H.). 2. φράδμων (Att. φράσμων), -μονος (also ἀ-, πολυ-, etc.) 'wise, mindful' (Il., epic poet.), -μοσύνη [f.] 'wisdom, cleverness' (*h.Ap.*, Hes. etc.), -σμοσύνα (epigr.). 3. φράσις (μετά-, παρά-, ἔκ-, etc.) [f.] '(way of) expression' (Ar. *Ra.* 1122, Arist., D. H., Str., etc.). 4. φραστύς· σκέψις, ἔννοια, βουλή, φράσις (H.); ἀφραστύες [pl.] (Call. *Fr. anon.* 9; Suid.) from ἄφραστος. 5. φραστήρ [m.] 'enunciator, guide' (X., Ph., Plu.), -τωρ [m.] 'guide' (A. *Supp.* 492); παραφραστής 'rewriter', μεταφραστής 'translator' (late); φράστης = *eloquens* (gloss.). 6. φραστικός (παρα-, περι-, μετα-, ἀντι-, ἐκ-) 'expressive, explicit' (late).

As a second member: 7. -φραδής (Il., epic poet.), e.g. ἀφραδής 'inconsiderate, unwise', -ίη 'stupidity', -έω [v.] 'to act inconsiderately, be unwise'; by decomposition φραδέος (gen. Ω 354). 8. -φραστος, e.g. ἄφραστος 'incomprehensible, imperceptible, unspeakable' (*h. Merc.*, epic poet., Hdt.), -τύς (see 4. above).

•ETYM All the above forms go back to an element φραδ-, which is seen clearly e.g. in the archaic reduplicated aorist. It has the character of a zero grade root, but it stands isolated. If one separates the dental as a root extension, connection with ►φρήν might be tried. Cf. also ►ἀποφράς.

φράσσω [v.] 'to fence in, enclose, barricade, equip (a horse) with scale-armour, block' ◅?, PG?▻

•VAR Att. -ττω, also φράγνυμι, fut. φράξω (all post-Hom.), aor. φράξαι, -ασθαι (ἐφάρξαντο Hdn. Gr.), φραχθῆναι (Il.+), φραγῆναι (Hell.+), with φραγήσομαι beside φραχθήσομαι (late), perf. med. πέφραγμαι (E. etc.), πεφαργμένος (Hdn. Gr.), plpf. ἐπέφρακτο (Hdt.), act. πέφρακα (Ph.), πέφραγα (sch.).

•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀντι-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, περι-, συν-.

•DER 1. φράγμα [n.] 'enclosure, protection, defence' (IA), φάρχμα [n.] 'id.' (Epid. IV^{a}; < -κσμ-), also διά-, περι-, ἔμ-, etc. with different shades of meaning; διαφραγμάτιον

[n.] 'small partition-wall' (Delos III[a]). 2. φραγ-μός (ἐμ-) [m.] 'enclosing, fencing in, fence' (IA), -μίτης epithet of θάμνος, κάλαμος 'growing in hedges'. 3. φράξις 'fencing in, etc.' (IA), mostly with ἀπο-, δια-, ἀντι-, ἐν-, συν-, etc. 4. κατα-, περι-φράκτης [m.] 'who fences in, etc.' (late), φράκτης 'floodgate' (Procop.). 5. φρακτός 'fenced in, protected' (Opp.), φρακτεύω [v.] 'to surround' (pap. III[a]); φαρκτός 'id.' (*EM*), φαρκτόομαι in φάρκτου· φυλακὴν σκεύαζε 'prepare the watch' (H.); also φάρκτεσθαι (for -οῦσθαι?)· τὸ φράττεσθαι (H.).

Old and common in compounds, e.g. ἄφρακτος (ἄφαρκτος) 'unfenced, unfortified, not decked, without armour' (Att.), ναύφρακτος (-φαρκτος) 'protected by ships', of στρατός, etc. (A. [lyr.], E., Ar., Att. inscr.); φρακτικός (παρα-, ἐκ-, ἐμ-) 'blocking, etc.' (medic., etc.). On ►δρύφακτος, see s.v.

•ETYM As a common basis of the attested forms, φρακ- beside φαρκ- can be posited (the late attestations φραγῆναι and φράγνυμι are analogical). It is unclear which of the two is older, or even if they both derive from a zero grade. Since their distribution is unclear, we may envisage the possibility that they are due to substrate origin. This is confirmed by the fact that there is no convincing correspondence outside Greek. The traditional connection with Lat. *farciō* 'to stuff, cram, fatten' and *frequēns* 'crowded, frequent' is quite uncertain. On φύρκος· τεῖχος 'wall' (H.) see ►πύργος.

φράτηρ, -ερος [m.] 'member of a phratria' (Att.). ◁IE **bʰreh₂ter-* 'brother'▷

•VAR Younger φράτωρ, -ορος, Ion. φρήτωρ (*IG* 14, 759 [Naples II[p]]), φρήτηρ· ἀδελφός (H.), Dor. φρατήρ (Hdn. Gr.).

•COMP φρατρίαρχος [m.] 'head of a phratry' (D., Att. inscr.), φρήταρχος, -αρχέω [v.] (Naples).

•DER φρήτρη [f.] (B 362f.), φράτρα (D. H.= Lat. *curia*), with dissimilation φάτρα (Tenos III[a], Arcad.II[a]); Att. etc. φρατρία, dissimilated φατρία (Chios IV[a], Tenos III[a], often in codd.), φ(ρ)ητρία (Naples) [f.] 'kinsmanship', 'subdivision of a phyle' (= 30 γένη), 'phratria'.

Hence 1. φατρίτας [m.] 'member of a phratry' (Arc.). 2. φράτριος, Ion. φρήτριος epithet of Zeus, of Athena and other gods as protectors of the φρῆτραι and φρατρίαι (IA, Delph.). -ιον designation of the corresponding sanctuary (Poll., St. Byz.). 3. φρατριάζω (v.ll. φατρι-, φρατι-) [v.] 'to belong to the same phratry' (D.). 'to join an alliance, conspire' (sch.), -ασμός [m.] 'alliance, conspiracy' (Eust.). 4. φρατρίζω [v.] 'id.' (Crateros, inscr.). 5. φρατορικὸν (φρατερ-?) γραμματεῖον (D.). In later literature (D. H., Plu.), φράτρα and φρατρία are often used to translate Lat. *curia*; similarly, the derivatives φρατρι-εύς, -αστής = *curialis*, -ακὴ ψηφοφορία = *comitia curiata*, -κὴ ἐκκλησία 'id.', -ατικὸς νόμος = *lex curiata*.

•ETYM PIE word for 'brother'. Cognate forms: Skt. *bhrā́tar-*, Lat. *frāter*, Go. *broþar*, OCS *brat(r)ъ*, etc. In Greek, it was replaced in its original meaning by ἀδελφ(ε)ός. In the context of the extended family, 'brother' was probably also used for 'half-brother' and for other male cognates of the same generation, such as cousins. In several languages, this led to the creation of new words for 'brother' = 'male descendant of the same mother' (see ►ἀδελφός). The administrative meaning of the Greek word was first established in the collective formations φράτρα, -ία. Beside φράτρα, we find

Skt. *bhrātrá-* [n.] 'fraternal relation, brotherhood'; with φρατρία agrees OCS *brat(r)ija* 'brotherhood', Ru. *brát'ja* 'brothers' as a plur. of *brat*, epic Skt. *bhrātrya-* [n.] 'id.'.

φρέᾰρ, -ᾰτος [n.] 'well' (Φ 197). ◂IE *$b^h reh_1$-ur* 'source, well'▸

•VAR Plur. Att. -ᾱτα, *φρήᾰτα (Φ 197), written φρείατα; hence sing. φρεῖαρ (Nic. *Th.* 486), contracted φρητός (Egypt I^p, Hdn. Gr.), -τί (Call. *Cer.* 15), plur. -τα (pap. III^a).

•COMP φρεατοτύμπανον [n.] 'water-wheel' (Plb.), φρεωρυχέω 'to dig a well' (Ar., Str., Plu.), -ωρύχος 'digging wells, well-digger' (Plu., Them.), -ία [f.] (J.).

•DER 1. φρεάτ-ιον [n.] (Hell. pap.), formally a diminutive, pl. φρήτια (Sicily) 'id.' 2. φρεατ-ία [f.] 'water-container, cistern' (X., Plb.), 'opening' (Apollod. *Poliorc.*), φρητία· στόμα φρέατος (H.). 3. φρεατ-ιαῖος 'of a well', -ιαῖον ὕδωρ 'spring-water' (Hermipp. Com., Arist., etc.), φρηταῖος (pap. III^a), -ιος 'id.' (late). 4. -ώδης 'well-like' (sch.). 5. -ισμός [m.] meaning uncertain; perhaps 'the falling into a well' (Notium I^p).

•ETYM PIA *$p^h rēwar$ yielded Att. φρέᾰρ with quantitative metathesis. It derives from PIE *$b^h reh_1$-ur* and is originally identical with Arm. *ałbiwr*, *ałbewr* 'well'. The remaining case-forms have an *n*-suffix, e.g. gen. *φρήϝα-τος < *$b^h reh_1$-u̯n̥-*, but Arm. has a gen. *ałber* with a generalized *r*-stem. A zero grade byform, IE *$b^h rHun$-*, is preserved in the Germanic word for 'source', e.g. ON *brunnr*, Go. *brunna* < PGm. **brunna(n)*. The geminate is traditionally explained from the zero grade of an enlarging *en*-suffix (**brun-n-* beside **brun-en-*).

This word for 'well' might in origin be a verbal noun to a verb for 'to bubble up, move heavily', of water, etc., as attested in Lat. *fervō*, *-eō* 'to seethe, boil', *dē-fru-tum* 'boiled down must, must-sap' < *$b^h er$-u-*, *$b^h r$-u-*. Some have also seen the element *-*u-* in ▸φορύνομαι. Other Greek words for 'well' may be inherited too: ▸κρουνός and ▸κρήνη. An innovation is ▸πηγή, -αί 'fountain-head, water(s)'.

φρέω ⇒πίφρημι.

φρήν, -ενός [f.] 'midriff', also as the seat of mental activity, 'sense, soul, spirit, mind, heart' vel sim. (Il.). ◂IE? *$b^h rēn$, *$b^h ren$-*▸

•VAR Plur. φρένες, -ενῶν, dat. also -ασί (OAtt. epigr. VI^a, Pi.).

•COMP φρενοβλαβής 'mentally injured, insane' (Hdt., Eup. etc.), φρενήρης 'sound of mind' (Hdt., etc.), μετάφρενον [n.] 'which is behind the midriff, the upper part of the back, the back' (mostly epic since Il.). Ablauting -φρων enjoyed extreme productivity, e.g. ἄφρων 'out of one's mind, foolish' (Il.) whence ἀφραίνω, ἀφρονέω, ἀφροσύνη etc., εὔφρων, epic ἐΰφρων 'with a cheerful mind, happy, pleasing, friendly' (Il.), whence εὐφραίνομαι, -αίνω, ἐϋφρονέων (ptc.), εὐφροσύνη, etc.; on ▸εὐφρόνη 'night', see s.v.; πρόφρων 'of one's own accord, inclined, benevolent' (Il., epic poet.), fem. πρόφρασσα after ἔκασσα (Hom.); on σώφρων see ▸σῶς.

•DER 1. φρεν-ῖτις (scil. νόσος) [f.] 'mental disease, insanity, encephalitis', -ιτικός (medic., Hp., etc.). -ιτιάω, -ιτίασις, -ιτίζω, -ιτισμός (late). 2. φρεν-όω [v.] 'to bring to sense, instruct, inform' (trag., etc.), whence -ώσει· νουθετήσει and -ωτήριον· παραίνεσις (H.).

3. φρονέω 'to be minded, think, be wise' (Il.), also with κατα-, παρα-, συν- etc. It was reanalyzed from denominatives like ἀφρονέω, ὁμοφρονέω, etc. (to ἄ-, ὁμόφρων).

Thence φρόνημα (κατα- etc.), -ηματίας, -ηματώδης, -ηματίζομαι, -ηματισμός; -ησις (κατα-, παρα- etc.), -ητικός. Backformation: 4. φρόνις [f.] 'insight, skill' (γ 244, δ 258, Lyc., Opp.), beside more usual φρόνιμος 'sensible, wise' (IA); PN Φρονίμη mother of Battos, the founder of Cyrene (Hdt. 4, 154), -ιμότης, -ιμώδης, -ιμεύομαι, -ίμευμα, -ίμευσις (late).

With a suffix -τ-: 5. PN Φρόντις, -ιν, -ιδι [m., f.] (γ 282, *P* 40). 6. φροντίζω [v.] 'to consider, reflect, worry, be concerned' (Thgn., Sapph.), also with ἐκ-, συν-, etc.; possibly to φρονέω on the model of ἐρατίζω to ἔραμαι, φαντάζομαι to φαίνομαι, etc. If this analysis is correct, a back-formation to φροντίζω is: 7. φροντίς, -ίδος [f.] 'reflection, worry, concern' (Simon., Pi., A., etc.). Derivatives: φρόντισμα, -τισις, -τιστής, -τίστρια, -τιστήριον, -τιστικός. Isolated is φρανίζειν· σωφρονίζειν (H.); perhaps an old zero grade, like in ἀφραίνω?

•ETYM For the *n*-stem, we may compare other body-parts like ►αὐχήν, -ένος and ►ἀδήν, -ένος, and without ablaut σπλήν, -ηνός. A remnant of the zero grade is retained in the dat.pl. φρασί and in the *yod*-presents of the type ἀφραίνω. Semantically attractive is the connection with φράσσω 'fence, block', but this would presuppose that φρακ- (φραγ-) in φράσσω represents the zero grade of a nasalized *φρεγκ- (< IE **b*^{h}*renk*-), and that a lengthened grade nom.sg. **b*^{h}*rēnk* was incorporated into the *n*-stems after the loss of the final velar. A similar problem is presented by ►σπλήν versus σπλάγχνα.

Connection of φρήν 'mind' (vel sim.) with φράζομαι 'to think, consider', with the act. (causative) aor. πέφραδε, is semantically straightforward. A zero grade φραδ- with enlargement -δ- has several parallels (see ►φράζομαι), so this etymology is formally quite feasible. On φρένες in Homer, see Ireland and Hull *Glotta* 53: 183-195. On φρένες and φρόνησις, see Snell *Glotta* 55 (1977): 34-64.

φρίκες [?] · χάρακες 'pales' (H.). ◅PG?(V)▻

•VAR Rather -ῑ̆-.

•ETYM Acc. to Frisk, to φρίσσω (see ►φρίξ) in the sense "die starr Emporragenden". Besides, cf. φόρκες· χάρακες (H.). Fur.: 173 follows Grošelj Živa Ant. 4 (1954): 166f. in comparing ►βρίκελοι = ἱστόποδες, i.e. the beams of a standing loom. This would mean that the word is Pre-Greek.

φρῐ̈μάσσομαι [v.] 'to snort with lust for life, behave unruly', of horses, goats etc. (Hdt., Theoc., *AP*, Ael., Poll.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Att. -ττομαι, aor. -ξασθαι.

•DER φριμαγμός [m.] 'snorting' (Lyc., D. H., Poll.).

•ETYM Expressive enlargement (after φρυάσσομαι?) of φρῐ̈μάω 'id.' (Opp.), further unclear. The earlier connections with ON *brími* [m.] 'fire' and Skt. *jarbhurīti* 'to move heavily, stretch, sprawl' cannot be maintained. Similar words in similar meanings, apart from ►φρυάσσομαι, are ►βρῐ̈μάομαι and ►σφρῐ̈γάω. Fur.: 173, following Kuiper 1956: 215, assumes that ►βρῐ̈μάομαι (etc.) is a Pre-Greek variant. This seems evident, cf. Fur.: 247: σφριαί· ἀπειλαί, ὀργαί from *σφριϝαί, with variation μ/ϝ.

φρίξ, -ῑκός [f.] 'shiver, the shivering or ruffling of the sea-surface, the ruffle of hair' (Il., epic poet., also Hp.). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Enlarged φρίκη [f.] 'id.', also 'frost-shiver, frost, shudder of fear' (IA).

•COMP φρικοποιός 'causing shiver', ὑπόφρικος 'with a light shiver' (Hell.).

•DER φρικία [f.] 'fever-shiver' (Dsc.), -ίας [m.] name of a horse, referring to the manes (Pi.), -αλέος (Hp., *AP*, etc.). -ώδης (Hp., Att. Hell.+), whence -ωδία (late), -ώεις (Hell. lyr.) 'shivering, horrible, etc.'; also φρικνόν· φρικαλέον, δεινόν, φοβερόν 'awesome, fearsome' (H.), cf. ῥικνός; φριξός 'bristling', of hairs (Arist.), perhaps by reanalysis of the first member in verbal governing compounds, such as φριξοκόμης, φριξαύχην. Likewise probably in the PN Φρῖξος, also as a personification of shivering (*AP*).

Verbs: 1. φρίσσω 'to bristle up', of ears (of corn), hairs, etc., 'to shiver (of cold), shudder (of fear)' (Il.), aor. φρῖξαι, perf. πέφρῑκα, also with ἐπι-, ἀνα-, μετα-, etc. Thence φρικτός (ἀπό-, ἐπί-) 'shuddering, causing shiver' (Hell.+). Backformation: ἐπιφρίξ· ἡ ἐπανάστασις τῶν κυμάτων (*EM*). 2. Other sparse formations with the same meaning: φρικάζω (Poet. *de herb.*; also Hp.?), -ασμός [m.] (LXX), -ιάω (late medic.) with -ίασις (sch.), -όομαι ,-όω 'horrescō, horrificō' (gloss.), also φρίζω (*PMag. Osl.*). See also ▶φρίκες.

•ETYM Without certain agreement outside Greek. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

φροίμιον ⇒οἶμη.

φροντίζω ⇒φρήν.

φροῦδος [adj.] 'gone away, disappeared, vanished, lost', only predicatively (Antipho 5, 29, trag., Ar., late prose). ◁GR▷

•ETYM Throug shift of aspiration from *πρό-ηοδος, a hypostasis from πρὸ ὁδοῦ 'further on the road', thus Δ 382: πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἐγένοντο 'they came further on the road'; compare Go. *fram-wigis* 'continuous'.

φρουρά [f.] 'watch, custody, guard, garrison, guarded place, prison' (IA). ◁GR▷

•VAR Ion. -ή.

•COMP φρούραρχος [m.] 'commander of a φ.' (Att., etc.), -άρχης (Them.), whence -αρχία, -αρχέω (X., Hell.+). Frequently as a second member, e.g. the hypostasis ἔμφρουρος 'on guard, belonging to the watch, in custody, occupied, captive' (X., Decr. *apud* D., Plb., etc.), -φρουρέω 'to be on guard, keep watch' (Th., D. C.), 'to be captive' (late). Besides also φρουρός [m.] 'watcher, warden', plur. 'garrison' (Att., Epid.); προυρός name of an official (Ion., Thess. III[a]), PN Ἱρῶρος (Cyren.; Paus., D. S., etc.).

•DER 1. φρουρ-ίς (ναῦς) 'look-out ship' (Att. inscr., Th., X.). 2. φρούρ-ιον [n.] 'fortress, garrison' (Att.), 'prison' (Pl. *Ax.* 366a), Cret. (II[a]) φρώριον. 3. -ικός 'belonging to watch, garrison' (Hell. inscr., D. C.). 4. -ύτης [m.] a military function (pap. IV[p]). 5. φρουρ-έω [v.] 'to be on guard, keep watch, guard, keep' (IA), also with παρα- etc.; cf. on ἔμφρουρος above; thence -ημα (trag.), -ησις, -ητός, -ητικός, -ητήρ, -ήτωρ (late).

•ETYM Through shift of aspiration from *προ-horá and *προ-horός, compounds of old verbal nouns meaning 'to see'; see ►ὁράω with further details on the morphology.

φρυάσσομαι [v.] 'to whinny for lust for life, sniff, behave impatiently', of horses, 'to be wanton', of men (Hell.+). ◄PG?►

•VAR -άσσω LXX, Att. -άττομαι (κατα-).

•DER φρύαγμα [n.] 'the whinnying, sniffing' (A., S., X.), also of a wild boar (Opp.), 'wanton behaviour' (late prose), -αγματίας 'wanton' (Plu.), ἵππος ~ as an explanation of πεδαοριστής (H.); -αγμός 'id.' (D. S.), φρυαγμοσέμνακοι (τρόποι) of Bdelycleon (Ar. *V.* 135), -άκτης ἵππος (D. L.).

•ETYM Expressive formation, like the synonym ►φριμάσσομαι. Frisk suggests that there were possibly old contaminations, and adduces Güntert 1914: 160, who suggests a transfomation of φριμάσσομαι after ῥύαξ (instead of *ῥυάσσομαι). Yet, I am very reluctant to assume such contaminations. The word may well be Pre-Greek.

φρῡ́γίλος [m.] name of an unknown bird (Ar. *Av.* 763 and 875), maybe 'chaffinch' = Lat. *fringilla*, or a kind of heron, 'cattle egret'. ◄?►

•ETYM The uncertain identification renders etymologizing difficult. Some similarity in form is found in Lat. *fringilla* 'finch' or 'sparrow', and in Slavic, Ru. *bergléz* 'goldfinch'; but it remains uncertain whether they are cognate, and they may as well be onomatopoeic formations. Benton *JHS* 81 (1961): 44ff., referring to the association with Φρύξ and the Phrygian god Sabazios in Ar., quite differently explains φρυγίλος as "the small Phrygian", i.e. 'the small foreign slave'.

φρῡ́γω [v.] 'to roast, dry, fry' (IA). ◄?►

•VAR Late also φρύσσω, -ττω; aor. φρῦξαι, pass. φρυχθῆναι, φρῡγῆναι, fut. φρύξω, perf. med. πέφρυγμαι.

•COMP Also with κατα-, περι- etc.

•DER 1. φρύγανον, mostly pl. -ανα [n.] 'small dry pieces of wood, dry twigs, brushwood, fuel' (IA), diminutives -άνιον (Dsc.) and -ανίς (Eust.); -ανίτης (κάλαμος) 'fit for fuel' (pap. III[a]), -ανῖτις (ὕλη) 'id.' (Hld.); -ανικός 'of a dry brushwood' (Thphr. etc.), -ανώδης 'of/like brushwood' (Thphr., Dsc.); -ανίζω [v.] 'to gather φ.' (Poll.), -ανισμός [m.] 'the gathering of φ.' (Th.), -ανιστής [m.] (late), -ανίστρια [f.] (Ar.) 'brushwood-gatherer'. 2. φρύγ-ετρον [n.] 'vessel or implement for roasting' (Lex Solon. *apud* Poll., H.). 3. -εύς [m.] 'id.', also 'roaster' (Theopomp. Com., Poll.); hence -εύω = φρύγω (Poll.). 4. φρυγία· ἡ φρύγουσα, φρύγιος· ξηρός 'dry' (H.), φρύγιον [n.] 'brushwood, firewood' (LXX), 'place for roasting' (*EM*). 5. φρυγμιόν· καῦσιν 'burning' (H.). 6. φρυγίνδα παίζειν 'to play with roasted beans' (Poll., H.). 7. φρῦξις [f.] 'the roasting, parchedness' (late). 8. φρυκτός 'roasted' (Sor.), as a msc. noun 'fire, torch, fire-signal' (A., Th. etc.), φρυκτωρός [m.] 'watcher of fire-signals', whence -ωρία, -ωρέω (A., Th., E., Ar. etc.), -ώριον [n.] 'post of a fire-watcher, signal-station' (Arist., Plu., Hdn.); φρυκτός (scil. κύαμος) [m.] 'roasted beans used as lots' (Plu.), used for voting (instead of a ψῆφος) (Poll., *EM*, Suid.); φρυκτοί [m.pl.] 'small fish for frying' (com. IV[a]), φρυκτά· ξηρὰ ἰχθύδια εὐτελῆ 'cheap dry fish' (H.); opposite ἑψητοί 'fish for cooking'.

•ETYM Without exact agreement outside Greek. A different vocalism is found in Lat. *frīgō, -ere* 'to roast', but it cannot be reconciled with φρύγω in a regular way. Unless the Latin word was borrowed from Greek via an intermediate language (where unrounding must have taken place), both languages could have borrowed the word from a third party.

φρύνη [f.] 'toad, frog' (Arist., Timae., Nic., Babr., etc.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR φρῦνος [m., f.], also φροῦνος (*PMag. Osl.*).
•COMP φρυνολόγος (-λόχος) [m.] 'kind of consacration' (Arist.), -ποπεῖον [n.] 'toad-shaped fire-bowl' (Boeot.), -ειδής 'toad-like' (Arist.).
•DER φρυνικός 'toad-like' (late medic.); plant-name φρύνιον [n.] = ποτίρριον (Dsc.), = βατράχιον (Ps.-Dsc.); φρυνίτης name of a precious stone (late). PN Φρύν-ιχος, -ικίδης, -ίων, -ώνδας etc.; PN Φρυνή (of a hetaere).
•ETYM If referring to the color, φρύνη, φρῦνος might be identical in origin with Germanic 'brown', as in OHG *brūn*, etc. < PIE **bʰruH-n-o-*. With reduplication, compare Skt. *babhrú-* 'red-brown, brown', also designation of a big kind of ichneumon, which agrees with the wide-spread name of the beaver: Av. *baβra-*, *baβri-*, Lat. *fiber*, OHG *bibar*, Lith. *bēbras, bebrùs*, etc. < PIE **bʰebʰru-*, **bʰebʰro-*. On the many vacillating names for the toad and the frog, see ►βάτραχος. However, the variation between φρυν- and φρουν- rather points to a Pre-Greek word.

φύγεθλον [n.] 'tumour of the glands, especially in the groin and armpit' (Gal.). ◂?▸
•VAR -θρον (Ruf. *apud* Orib., Cels.).
•ETYM Possibly from *φλύγ-εθλον, with dissimilation and change of suffix to -φλυξ in οἰνόφλυξ, -φλυγος [m., f.] 'winedrunk, winedrinker', prop. 'gushing or bubbling with wine' (Hp., X., Arist. etc.), whence -φλυγία 'drunkenness' (X. etc.), -φλυγέω 'to be drunk' (LXX); cf. ►φλύκταινα, ►φλύω 'to be full of juice'.

φυγή, φύζα ⇒ φεύγω.

φῦκος [n.] 'seaweed' (*I* 7, Alcm., Thphr., etc.), 'red make-up', prepared from seaweed (Ar. *fr.* 320, 5, Theoc., etc.). ◂LW Sem.▸
•COMP φυκογείτων 'neighbour of the seaweed', epithet of Priapos (*AP*); ἄφυκα· ἀκαλλώπιστα 'without cosmetics' (H.).
•DER 1. φυκίον [n.] 'alga, seaweed' (Pl., Arist., Delos IV[a] etc.), mostly plur. -ία, also fish-name (*AP*, Orib.), cf. φύκης; 'make-up, make-up-box' (Luc., Them., Delos III[a]), φυκιοφάγοι 'seawead-eater', of fishes (Arist.); φυκιώδης = φυκώδης (sch.). 2. φυκ-άριον = φῦκος (H.), see ἄφυκα, whence -αρίζω 'to make-up' (sch.). 3. φύκ-ης [m.], -ίς [f.] (Arist., com. IV[a] etc.), also -ήν (-ης LSJ) [m.] (Diph. Siph. *apud* Ath.) name of a fish, probably 'wrasse, Labrus', after its habitat and its food, -ίδιον [n.] (*AP*, pap. III[a]). 4. φυκ-ίτης (late), fem. -ῖτις (Plin.) name of a stone, after the color. 5. φυκ-ώδης 'full of seaweed, seaweed-like' (Arist., Thphr., Dsc.), -ιόεις 'full of seaweed' (Ψ 693, Theoc.), rather with metrically conditioned -ιόεις than from φυκίον. 6. Φύκιος epithet of Poseidon (Myconos II[a]). 7. φυκόομαι [v.] 'to be stuffed with seaweed' (D. S.), 'to make oneself up' (Plu.).

•ETYM Loanword from Semitic; cf. Hebr. *pūk* 'eye-rouge'. The meaning 'make-up' is therefore primary for φῦκος, too; hence 'seaweed'. Borrowed as Lat. *fūcus* 'rouge, purple, make-up'.

φύλαξ, -ακος [m., f.] 'watcher, guardian, protector' (Il.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Also secondarily φυλακός (accent of the agent nouns) [m.] 'id.' (Ω 566, Ion. poet.), PN Φύλακος (Hom.).

•COMP οἰκοφύλαξ 'house-guard' (A., etc.), back-formation to φυλάσσω; also with συν-, ὑπο- etc. (to συν-, ὑπο-φυλάσσω).

•DER 1. Fem. φυλακ-ίς, -ίδος (προ-) 'female guard' (Pl.), ~ ναῦς 'guardship' (Th., D. S.), -ισσα [f.] (LXX). 2. φυλακή [f.] 'watch, custody, vigilance, guard-post, garrison' (Il.), probably back-formation to φυλάσσω; with ἀντι-, προ-, παρα- from ἀντι-φυλάσσω, etc.

In part referring to φυλακή: 3. φυλακ-ία [f.] = φυλακή (pap. III-IV^{p}), beside compounds like ἀρχι-, σωματο-φυλακία (inscr., D. S.). 4. φυλάκ-ιον [n.] 'watch-house, -tower' (pap. etc.), often in compounds, e.g. ὁπλοφυλάκιον 'arsenal' (Str.) to ὁπλοφύλαξ. 5. -εῖον [n.] 'id.', also 'guard-post, watch' (Plb.); also σιτοφυλακεῖον [n.] 'granary' (Suid.), to σιτοφύλακες. 6. -εία [f.] 'protection, amulet' (Poet. *de herb.*, gloss.), as if from *-εύω, if not for -ία; thus certainly in δεσμοφυλακεία [f.] 'service as a jailer' (pap.), to δεσμοφύλαξ, -ακέω. 7. φυλακ-ῆες [m.pl.] 'watchmen' (Opp.), verse-final metrical enlargement. 8. -ίτης [m.] 'police-officer, gendarme' (Hell. pap. and inscr.), -ιτεύω 'to serve as a φ.', -ιτικόν 'police-tax' (Hell. pap.), also with παρα-, συν-, ἀρχι- (Hell.+); fem. -ῖτις Pythagoraic designation of the number seven (Nicom.). 9. -ιστής in Lat. *phylacista* [m.] 'dungeon-master' (Plaut., metr. uncertain). 10. -ικός 'prudent, careful' (Pl.), with χρεο- (inscr.), etc.

Denominative verb: 11. φυλάσσω, Att. -ττω 'to watch, keep, protect', med. 'to beware' (Il.), also with δια-, παρα-, προ- etc. Several derivatives: φυλακτῆρες [pl.] 'watchmen' (Il.), -τήριος 'protecting' (Pl.), -τήριον (προ-) [n.] 'watch-house, -tower, means of protection, amulet' (IA), φυλακτηρία· παννυχίς (H.), φυλακτηριάζομαι 'to be provided with an amulet' *PMag. Par.*, φυλακ-τωρ [m.] 'watcher' (Eg, epigr. I^{a}-I^{p}, Nonn.), -τρον [n.] 'police-tax' (pap. II^{p}), -ται [m.pl.] official in Cumae (Plu.), -τικός (προ-, δια-, παρα-) 'guarding, prudent, careful' (X., Arist., Plb. etc.), -ξις [f.] 'custody, security' (S.*Fr.* 432, E. etc.), -γμα (προ-) [n.] 'commandment, protection' (LXX etc.). 12. φυλακίζω 'to take in custody, throw into prison' (LXX, *Act. Ap.*). 13. -φυλακέω, productive to compounds in -φύλαξ, e.g. τειχοφυλακέω 'to guard the wall' (D. H., Plu. etc.) from τειχοφύλαξ (Hdt., Plu. etc.).

•ETYM Without a convincing etymology. As the suffix -αξ indicates, the word may well be Pre-Greek.

φῦλή [f.] as an administrative notion 'tribe, group of tribes, community', thence also 'army-unit furnished by a group of tribes or community' (IA). ◁IE *$b^{h}h_{2}u$- 'arise, be',▷ *$b^{h}h_{2}u$-(*s*)*l*-▷

•VAR φῦλον [n.] 'tribe, family, generation, kind' (Il.).

•COMP φυλοβασιλεύς 'principal of a phyle' (Arist., inscr. etc.), φυλοκρινέω [v.] 'to make tribal distinctions, select by phyle' (Th., Arist. etc.), as if from *φυλοκρῑνής.

Often as a second member, e.g. πάμφυλος 'consisting of all races' (Pl., Ar., etc.), whence Παμφυλία [f.] land on the coast of Asia Minor (Hellenized foreign word?), Πάμφυλοι [m.pl.] name of one of the Dorian phylae (Hdt., Cos, Epid., Argos); τρίφυλος 'consisting of three phyles, amounting to three phyles' (Hdt., D. H.), Τριφυλία [f.] coastal land of Elis.

•DER 1. φυλέτης [m.] 'member of (one and the same) phyle, fellow-tribesman' (Att.), συμ- 'id.' (Methymna, 1 *Ep. Thess.*), from φῦλον, but referring to φυλη; thence φυλετικός [adj.] 'belonging to a phyle-member, consisting of phyle-members' (Pl., Arist., etc.), -ετεύω [v.] 'to make φυλέτης, to adopt into the phyle' (Arist.); -έτις ἐκκλησία = Lat. *comitia tributa* (App.). 2. φύλιοι θεοί 'the gods of the phyle' (Poll.). 3. -ώδης 'consisting of several φῦλα' (D. S.). Also PNs, e.g. φυλοδάμας, Φύλας, Φυλεύς.

•ETYM Old derivative from φῦναι, with a suffix *-(s)l-*. For further etymology, see ►φύομαι.

φῦλία [f.] name of a tree, probably a kind of wild olive (ε 477 = Nonn. 5, 474 beside ἐλαίη, Paus. 2, 32, 10 beside κότινος and ἔλαιος; Philostr. beside κότινος, Ammon. *Diff.*); beside εἶδος ἀγριελαίας, H. also mentions the meaning (εἶδος) συκῆς and εἶδος δένδρου ὅμοιον πρίνῳ. ◄?►

•VAR Ion. -ίη.

•DER Φυλιαδών, -δόνος name of a town in Phthiotis (*IG* 9(2), 205: 13).

•ETYM Without etymology. Fur.: 367 compares ►φιλύκη, also φυλίκη (v.l. Thphr. *HP* 1, 9, 3).

φύλλον [n.] 'leaf' (Il.), also as a designation of plants with conspicuous leaves, and of leaflike parts of plants (Hp., Thphr., Dsc., pap.). ◄IE **bʰel-*, *bʰlh₃-* (?) 'leaf, blossom'►

•COMP φυλλοφόρος 'bearing leaves' (Pi., etc.), τρίφυλλον [n.] 'trefoil, clover' (IA), substantivized from τρίφυλλος 'three-leaved' (Dsc., H.).

•DER 1. Diminutive φύλλ-ιον [n.] (Pl. Com. etc.), -άριον [n.] (Dsc. etc.), also 'leaf-ornament' (Delos II[a]). 2. φυλλ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'heap of leaves, foliage, leafy grove' (Hdt., trag., D. S., Str. etc.), adjective 'leafy' (Nonn.), also name of the island Samos. 3. φυλλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'foliage' (Gp.), also = -ῖτις (Ps.-Dsc.). 4. φυλλιάς· ἐκ λαχάνων ὑπότριμμά τι σκευαζόμενον. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ θρῖα (H.). 5. φυλλ-εῖα [n.pl.] 'herbs' (Ar.). 6. -ίτης (ἄγών) = -ίνης (sch.), -ῖτις [f.] plant-name 'hart's tongue' (Dsc.). 7. -ινος 'made of leaves' (Theoc., Luc.), -ίνης (ἀγών) [m.] 'contest where the prize consists of a wreath' (Poll., H.), also -ιναῖος ἀγών (*EM*). 8. φυλλ-ικός 'belonging to a leaf, leaf-like' (Thphr.). 9. -ώδης 'id.' (Thphr.). 10. month name -ικός (Thessal.), -ιών (Iasos).

Verbs: 11. φυλλ-όομαι [v.] 'to be dressed with leaves' (Hp.), -ώματα [n.pl.] 'foliage' (D. S.). 12. φυλλ-ίζω [v.] 'to defoliate' (Gp.), with ἀπο- 'id.' (Thphr. etc.), with ἐμ- 'to engraft', -ισμός (Gp.), with ἐπι- 'to glean in a vineyard', metaphorically of a petty job (LXX), -ίς 'gleaned grape' (LXX, *AP*), metaphorically of the verses of epigones (Ar.). 13. φυλλάζω· *frondesco* (gloss.). 14. φυλλ-ιάω in -ιόωσαι [ptc.pl.f.] 'to run to leaf (without fruit)' (Arat.). 15. φυλλεῖν· ἀδολεσχεῖν (H.), of useless bragging, cf. 14.

•ETYM Possibly connected to Lat. *folium* 'leaf' as PIE **bʰol-io-*, though the vowels do not seem to match. Vine 1999b: 564ff. explains this by assuming **o* > *u* (Cowgill's Law) in the specific environment **-oli̯-* > **-uli̯-*. Quite a different formation with

suffix *-t-* is found in Germanic, Tocharian and Celtic: OHG *blat*, MoHG *Blatt*, etc., ToA *pält*, ToB *pilta* 'leaf', all with zero-grade, and Celt., e.g. MIr. *bláth* 'blossom, flower' < **bʰlō-tu-*, OHG *bluot* 'flowering, blossom', etc. with full grade. See Beekes 1990: 375-381. A laryngeal may have been lost before yod in PIE **bʰol(H)-io-*, which would enable comparison with the root **bʰlh₃-*.

φύλοπις, -ιδος [f.] 'battle' (Il., epic; thence also in S., Ar., Theoc.). ◂PG▸

•VAR Acc. -ιδα, but also -ιν.

•ETYM Epic word only, without etymology. In antiquity, it was interpreted as a compound from φῦλον and ὄπα (ὄσσα) 'voice', which convinces neither semantically nor formally (one would have expected **φυλωπις*). For understandable reasons, modern scholars compare φῦλον too, with different interpretations of the second member: to *op-* in Lat. *ops*, *opus*; to ὄπις 'bad look', i.e. 'enmity'; from **φυλο-λοπις* to λέπω 'thrash' (see Frisk); all are quite hypothetic. The length of the ῡ can be metrically conditioned. No doubt a Pre-Greek word (but the comparisons in Fur.: 163 are not convincing).

φύξηλις ⇒φεύγω.

φύομαι [v.] intr. med. 'to grow, arise, spring up, become', perf. (and aor.) 'to exist or be endowed by nature, be there', trans. act. (factitive) 'to make grow, beget, bring forth' (Il.). ◂IE **bʰeh₂u-* 'grow, arise, be'▸

•VAR φύω (ἐμφύνω Hdn. Gr.), aor.intr. φῦναι, late φυῆναι, trans. φῦσαι (Il.), fut. φύσομαι, late φυήσομαι, φύσω, perf. intr. πέφῡκα, epic also 3pl. πεφύασι, ptc. πεφυῶτας, etc.

•DIAL Myc. *pu-te*, *pu-te-re* /pʰuter-es/, *pu-ta-ri-ja* (interpretation not certain).

•COMP Very often with prefix, e.g. ἐκ-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-, περι-, προσ-, συν-. As a first member in ▸φυσίζοος.

•DER 1. φυή, Dor. -ά [f.] 'growth, stature, nature, being' (Il., epic poet., also late prose); also from the prefixed verbs, e.g. διαφυή 'joint, space between, layer, etc.' (Pl., X., Thphr., etc.); as a second member -φυής, e.g. μεγαλο-φυής 'of a great, noble nature' (Hell.+), -φυΐα [f.] (Iamb. etc.); also e.g. προσφυής 'grown, attached, fitting' (Od.); as a noun fem. -φυάς, e.g. ἀποφυάς, -άδος 'outgrowth, appendage' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.); hence the simplex φύος· φύτευμα, γέννημα (H.).

2. φῦμα [n.] 'growth, tumour, swelling' (IA, etc.), also ἔκ-, παρά-, πρόσ-, from ἐκφῦναι, etc. Thence -μάτιον, -ματίας, -ματώδης, -ματόομαι (Hp.). 3. φύτλη, Dor -α [f.] 'lineage, race' (Pi., *AP*, Orph.), -τλον [n.] 'plant' (epigr. Nicomedia); probably for -θλη, -θλον; furthermore φύτρα· φύσις, οἱ δὲ φυτήρια (H.). 4. φύσις [f.] 'growth, character, descent, nature, being, etc.' (κ 303), also ἀπό-, ἔκ-, σύμ-, etc. from ἀποφῦναι, etc.; as a first member e.g. in φυσιολόγος [m.] 'naturalist, natural philosopher', -λογία, -λογέω, -λογικός (Arist., etc.). Hence φυσ-ικός 'belonging to nature, naturalist, physical, physician' (X. *Mem.* 3, 9, 1, Arist., etc.), -ιμος 'fit for growing, breeding' (Thphr.), -ιόομαι [v.] in πεφυσιωμένος 'rooted' (Arist.), -ίωμα, -ίωσις 'natural tendency, habitude' (Hell.+); also ἐμφυσιόω [v.] 'to implant, infuse, inspire' (Hp., X., LXX etc.) (see ▸φῦσα)? 5. φῦτός 'grown by nature' (Pi.), 'planted' (LXX), in compounds, e.g. νεόφυτος 'newly planted' (Ar. *Fr.* 828, LXX, Hell.+); also

act. in ἐλαιό-φυτος etc. (A. etc.); from the prefixed verbs, e.g. σύμφυτος 'grown together with, grown on, overgrown, innate' (Pi., IA).
6. φῦτόν [n.] 'growth, plant' (Il.). Hence several derivatives: φυτ-άς [f.] = -όν (Plu.), diminutive -άριον [n.] (Ar. Byz., Ath. etc.), -ιος 'begetting' (late), -ικός 'belonging to plants' (Arist. etc.), -ιαῖοι ὅρχοι (inscr. IV^{a}), -ώδης 'plant-like' (Erot.), -ών, -ῶνος [m.] 'plantation' (Hdn.), -εύω 'to plant, plan' (Od.), also δια-, ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-, etc. Thence -εία, -ευμα, -ευσις, -εύσιμος, -ευτός, -ευτής, -ευτήριον, -ευτικός. With enlargement -λ-: φυταλ-ιά, Ion. -ιή [f.] 'plantation, orchard, vineyard' (Il., Hell.), 'time of plantation' (Hp., Gal.), Φυτάλιος epithet of Poseidon, of Zeus, etc. (Corn., Orph., Poll.), Φυταλίδαι [m.pl.] Attic lineage with the eponym Φύταλος. With a combination of suffixes φυτάλμιος, epithet of parents, of Poseidon, of Zeus, etc. 'begetting, feeding, by birth' (trag., Hell.+); formation unclear. 7. See ►φυλή, -ον, and 8. ►φῖτυ.
•ETYM The whole verbal system is built on the primary intransitive aorist φῦναι, ἔφῡν. As an innovation, the factitive sigmatic aorist φῦσαι, ἔφῡσα arose, after ἔστην : ἔστησα, ἔβην : ἔβησα, ἔδυν : ἔδυσα, etc. Then, the presentic and future forms φύομαι, φύω, φύσομαι, φύσω followed.
The transitive/factitive forms have always been much less prominent than the old intransitive ones. The perfect, though in principle old, was influenced by the aorist, too. Several of the nouns may have PIE roots, too. Cognates of the aorist ἔφῡ: Skt. *ábhūt* 'he became' < PIE *$*h_1é$-b^huh_2-t* with metathesis of *$*b^hh_2u$-* to *$*b^huh_2$-*, OCS aor. 23sg. *by*, OLith. *bu*, Lat. *fuī* (OLat. *fūī*), etc. The perfect πέφυκα, πεφύασι agrees with Skt. *babhūva*, but in both cases we have probably innovations against older Av. *buuāuua* < PIIr. *$*b^hub^haHua$*. Cognate forms or parallel formations of the nouns: φῦμα = Skt. *bhūman-* [n.] 'earth, world, being', Alb. *bimë* 'plant'; φῦτόν = OIr. *both* 'cabin', all with a short *ŭ* from *$*b^hh_2u$-to-*, as against the long vowel in Skt. *bhūtá-* [n.] 'being, creature, past time' (after metathesis), Ru. *byt* 'being, way of life'. Further, φύσις (with -ŭ-) stands beside Skt. *bhūtí-*, *bhūti-* 'prosperity, power, riches'.
Kortlandt demonstrated that the root had the form *$*b^heh_2u$-*, Kortlandt 1975: 3; Kortlandt *Ériu* 37 (1986): 9of.; a summary in Lubotsky 1995: 224ff.

φύρκος ⇒πύργος.

φῦρω [v.] 'to mingle, confuse, mix up, wet, besmear' (Hom.). ◅PG?▻
•VAR Ipf. ἔφυρον (Il.), aor.subj. φύρσω (σ 21), inf. φύρσαι (A. R.), ptc.med. φυρσάμενος (Nic.), pass. ἐφύρθην (A. [lyr.], LXX), late ἐφῡ́ρην (J., Luc.), ind. 3sg. ἔφῡρε (*AP*), ptc. φύρας (Luc.), fut. φύρσω (Pi.), perf. med. πέφυρμαι, especially ptc. πεφυρμένος (Od.), with fut. πεφύρσεσθαι (Pi.).
•COMP Also with συν-, ἀνα-, ἐν-, etc.
•DER Deverbative φυράω 'to mix (up), knead, stir in' (IA), aor. φυρᾶσαι, Ion. -ῆσαι, -άσασθαι, -ήσασθαι, -αθῆναι, -ηθῆναι, fut. -άσω, -ήσω, perf. med. πεφύρᾱμαι, -ημαι; act.inf. -ακέναι (Cic.); also with συν-, ἀνα-, προ- etc.
From φύρω: 1. φύρδην [adv.] 'mingled, mixed up' (A., S., X. Plb., etc.), Dor. -δᾶν (S. [lyr.]). 2. φύρμα [n.] 'slime, filth, dung' (Nic.). 3. -μός [m.] 'mixture, confusion, disorder' (D. S., M. Ant. etc.); hence φυρμᾶται· πτάρνυται (H.)? 4. φύρ-σις [f.] 'the

mixing (up)' (sch.), -σιμος 'mixed up'?, 'kneadable'? (Nic.). 5. φυρτός as a simplex in φυρτοῖσιν· … πεφυρμένοις (H.), in compounds, e.g. αἱμόφυρτος (Plb., Posid.), αἱματόφυρτος (*AP*) 'besmeared with blood'; hence φυρτίτης (-ήτης cod.)· οἶνος (H.), φυρτίζεσθαι· τὸ παίζειν συνεστραμ<μ>ένοις φυροῖς τοῖς ἱματίοις (H.). 6. In φυρόχρωμος 'mixed color, dirt-color' vel sim., of a cow (pap. II^{p}), shortened φυρά, of βοῦς (pap. IV^{p}); also φυροῖ· μολύνει, ῥυποῖ 'soils, defiles' (H.).

From φυράω: 1. φύραμα (προ-, ἐμι-) [n.] 'mix, dough' (com. IV^{a}, Arist., Hell.+), -αματικά = κονιατικά 'plastering-work' (late). 2. -ασις, -ησις [f.] 'mixture' (LXX, late medic.), -ατής [m.] "mixer", metaphorically 'untidy accountant' (Cic., gloss.), meaning doubtful (inscr. Ephesus), -ατός 'kneaded' (Sor.).

•ETYM Frisk still assumes a *yod*-present *φυρ-ι̯ω as a derivative of a noun φυ-ρ-, or a zero grade verbal stem φῦρ- beside a hypothetical full grade *φερ-. Yet, such ablaut is now generally abandoned for Greek. An IE etymology seems impossible, so it is more probably a Pre-Greek word (note the semantic sphere). Formally, φύρω might be connected with ►πορφύρω 'to well up, heave', which could be reduplicated, but the semantics would be unclear; semantically, it could be connected with ►φορύνομαι, which would also point to irregular ablaut.

φῦσα [f.] 'breath', bellows' (mostly pl.), 'bladder, flatulence' (Il.), also metaphorically of a fire gushing forth (*h. Merc.* 114), 'crater of a volcano' (Str.); name of a fish in the Nile (Str., Ath.), cf. below on φύσαλος. ◂PG?▸

•VAR Acc. -ην (Suid.).

•COMP φυσοειδής 'bladder-like' (sch.), ἄφυσος 'without flatulence' (medic.).

•DER 1. Diminutive φυσ-άριον [n.] 'small bladder' (late medic.). 2. adjectives -ώδης 'flatulent, windy' (Hp., Pl., Arist. etc.), -αλέος 'windy' (Cerc., Nonn.). 3. -αλος [m.] 'kind of toad' (Luc.), 'Tetrodon' (Ael.), 'kind of whale' (Opp., Ael.). 4. -αλλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'bladder, water-bubble' (Luc.), 'kind of pipe' (Ar.), 'pill' (late), also name of a plant (Ps.-Dsc. etc.), after the blather-like fruit-cover. 5. φῦσιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] 'stalk of a garlic, garlic' (Hp., Thphr. etc.), also 'bladder' (Poll.); φυσιγγιόομαι [v.] in πεφυσιγγιωμένος 'heated by garlic' (Ar.). 6. φύσκη [f.] 'intestine, sausage' (com.), diminutive -ιον (gloss.), Φύσκων [m.] "fat-belly", nickname (Alc. etc.); -α [f.] 'bladder, weal on the hand' (sch.). 7. φυστὴ μᾶζα 'inflated cake, buffer' (Ar., *AP* etc.), also as a noun; accent after Hdn. Gr. 8. Φῦσάδεια [f.] name of a source in Argos (Call.), -ειόθεν 'from Φ'. (Antim.). 9. denominative verbs: a. φυσάω 'to blow, inflate, sniff' (Il.), aor. φυσῆσαι, etc., often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-, ἐν-. Thence -ημα (ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ἐν-) [n.] 'blowing, breath, wind, windiness' (IA), -ημάτιον (Arr.), ἐμφυσ-ηματῶδης (Gal.), -ησις (ἀνα-, etc.) [f.] 'the blowing, etc.' (Hell.+), -ητήρ [m.] 'blowpipe, bellows' (Hdt., Arist. etc.), -ητήριον (-ᾱτ-) [n.] 'pipe' (Ar. etc.), -ητής (ἐν-, λοπαδο-) [m.] 'blower' (Man., Dsc. etc.), -ήτορες ἀσκοί 'bellows' (Nonn.), -ητικός (ἐν-) 'inflating' (Hp., Arist. etc.). b. φυσιάω 'id.' (epic poet. Il.), also with ἀνα-, ἐκ-, ptc. φυσιόων etc., a metrical transformation of φυσάω. Thence -ίαμα [n.] 'breathing, snorting' (A.). c. φυσιόομαι, -όω 'to inflate' (*Ep. Cor.* etc.), φυσίωσις 'inflation' (*Ep. Cor.*, medic.); also ἐμ-φυσιόω? (see under φύομαι). Verbal nouns φυσασμός (opposite ἀασμός), -ιασμός [m.] 'the blowing' (Arist.), -ακτήρ· ἄρτος ποιός τις ποπανώδης (H.). As a first member in the governing compounds Φυσίγναθος "puff-

cheek", joking name of a frog (Batr.),-γναθέω (Tz.). See also on the intensive ►ποιφύσσω (after the verbs in -ύσσω).

•ETYM Noun in -σᾰ, but the exact root cannot be determined. As a pre-form, one might assume φυ-, φυσ-, φυτ- or φυκ-, but none of these can be shown to have existed in Greek. Comparisons are made with e.g. Arm. *p'uk'* 'breath, wind, fart', plur. 'bellows' (but φῦσα cannot derive from *φυκ-ι̯α), Skt. *phūtkaroti* "to make a sound *phut*", 'to breathe, blow, etc.' (so φῦσα < *φυτ-ι̯α). Further Skt. *phuphusa-* [n.] 'lung'. One may connect Lat. *pustula* 'bladder', OCS *puxati* 'blow', Ru. *pyxát'* 'to breathe heavily, cough' < **pous-*, **pūs-*, etc.

Although we may clearly start from IE material, the word may well have a Pre-Greek origin; note e.g. the suffix of φῦσιγξ, and φυστή, φύσκη (Φυσάδεια is unclear). There is hardly any evidence for PIE **b*^{h}*us-* (not in mentioned in Pok.); on **p*^{h}*us-* (with a phoneme *p*^{h}- that is now abandoned), see Pok. 878.

φύσαλος, φῦσιγξ ⇒φῦσα.

φυσίζοος ⇒ζειαί.

φύω ⇒φύομαι.

φώγω [v.] 'to roast, fry' (Epich.). ◅IE **b*^{h}*eHg-* 'bake'▻

•VAR φῴζω (Stratt., Hp.), φωγνύω (Suid.), codd. -γύνω; φωγνύναι (Eust., *EM*), φώγνυται (Dsc.), aor. ἔφωξα (Hp., Nic.), ἔφωσα (Hp.), pass. ἐφώχθην, also with προ- (Dsc., Aret.), perf. med. (ὑπο-)πεφωγμένος (Pherecr., Dsc.), πέφωσμαι (Hp.), verbal adj. φωκτός (Nic., Dsc.).

•DER φώγανον [n.] 'vessel for roasting barley' = φρύγετρον (Poll.), φῶξις [f.] 'the roasting' (Gal.), φῶκται [pl.] 'roasted barley-grains' (Luc.).

•ETYM May be compared with a Germanic verb for 'bake, roast' in ON *baka*, OHG *bahhan*, pret. *buoh*, MoHG *backen* under an IE ablaut **b*^{h}*oHg-* : *b*^{h}*Hg-*. LIV^2 reconstructs the root as **b*^{h}*eh*$_3$*g-*.

Doubtful combinations with OHG *bāen*, MoHG *bähen* 'to warm with covers' < IE **b*^{h}*eh*$_1$-, MoE *bath*, MoHG *Bad* [n.] < PGm. **baþa-* < IE *b*^{h}*h*$_1$*-to-* in Pok. 113.

φωΐδες, φοΐδες, φῳδες [f.pl.] 'blister from burns' (Hippon., Hp., Ar., Diocl. *Fr.*). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM The basis seems to have been retained in φόα· ἐξανθήματα ἐν τῷ σώματι (H.). It recalls ►φαῦσιγξ, ►φῦσα; but the connection with a IE root **b*$^{(h)}$*u-*, **b*$^{(h)}$*eu-* 'to blow (up), swell' in Pok. 98ff. does not help for the Greek forms. Cf. also ►φώκη. Since IE origin is quite doubtful, is it perhaps Pre-Greek?

φώκη [f.] 'seal' (Od., Hdt., Ar.). ◅PG?▻

•DER φώκαινα [f.] a dolphin-like sea-animal, 'bottle nose dolphin?' (Arist.), after φάλλαινα; φῶκος· κῆτος θαλάσσιον ὅμοιον δελφῖνι 'sea-monster like a dolphin' (H.); φωκίς [f.] name of a fish (Gal.); also 'kind of pear' (Thphr., Ath.), after its shape?

•ETYM Isolated. The connection with ►φῦσα, mentioned by Frisk, makes little sense. The word, designating a sea-animal, may well be Pre-Greek.

φωλεός [m.] 'lair, hole of wild animals' (Arist., Hell.+). ◅PG(S)▻

•VAR Epic gen. -ειοῦ, dat.pl. -ειοῖς (metrical lengthening), plur. also -εά (Nic.). Also -εά [f.] (Arist.).
•DER 1. Diminutive φωλ-ίον [n.] (Poll.). 2. -άς, -άδος 'lying in a lair' (Theoc., *AP*), 'consisting of a hole, full of holes' (Babr., Nonn.), also name of a mussel (Ath.). 3. φωλ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] a fish, "hole-fish" (Arist.). 4. φωλαῖδες· ὀστράκινά τινα βρωμώδη (H.). 5. -εώδης(?) 'hole-like' (Plu.).
Verbs: 6. φωλεύω [v.] 'to live in a hole, hibernate' (Arist., Thphr., Theoc., Ph., Plu., etc.), also with ἐν-, ὑπο-; φωλ-εία [f.] 'dwelling in a hole, hibernation', -ευσις [f.] 'id.' (Ael.). 7. φωλ-έω 'id.' (Arist.), φωλητήρ· ὁ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθεζόμενος ἀεί 'sitting at the same place all the time' (H.), -ητήριον [n.] 'place for secret assemblies' (Poll., H.). 8. φωλάζει· ἐμφωλεύει (H.).
•ETYM Formation like the synonymous γωλεός, εἰλεός, beside φωλεά like στελεός to -εά. Like γωλεός, it is only attested in the post-classical period. Frisk mentions ON *ból* < PGm. **bōla-* [n.] 'layer, nest of animals', OSw. *böle* [n.] < **bōlia-* 'beaverhut', which he considers as a lengthened grade of φῦλ-, but such ablaut schemes are now rejected. The ending -εος looks Pre-Greek; see *Pre-Greek*, suffixes 6. -αι/ε(ι)-.

φωνή [f.] 'sound of humans and animals, tone, voice, pronunciation, discourse, speech, uttering' (Il.). ◂IE **bʰoh₂-neh₂* 'say, voice, sound'▸
•VAR Dor. -ά.
•COMP φωνασκέω [v.] 'to train one's voice, i.e. to sound loudly, make much noise as a speaker' (Pl., D., Arist., etc.), -ασκία [f.] (D., Thphr.), -ασκός [m.] 'master of speech or songs' (late).
As a second member: ὁμόφωνος 'having the same voice or speech, homophonous' (IA), -φωνέω [v.] (Hdt., Arist., etc.), -φωνία [f.] (Arist., etc.); σύμ-φωνος 'resounding simultaneously, harmonious' (*h. Merc.*), whence -φωνέω, -φωνία (Att., etc.).
•DER 1. Diminutive φων-άριον [n.] (com. IV[a] etc.), -ίον [n.] (Arist.), -ίς [f.] (Hdn. Gr.). 2. adjectives -ήεις, Dor. -αεις 'gifted with voice, sounding' = Lat. *vocalis* (Hes., Pi.), ποτιφωνήεις 'capable of addressing' (ι 456), as if from *ποτι-φωνέω; -ικός (συμ-) = -ητικός (Hell.+).
3. Denominative verb *φωνάω, aor. φωνᾶσαι (Pi., also Sapph.), also in IA φωνῆσαι (Il.), in Hom. προσ-, μετεφώνεον, if need be also in -εε; but further φωνέω 'to sound, raise one's voice, speak' (Dor., IA), very often with prefix, e.g. προσ-, ἐπι-, ἀντι-, ἀνα-, δια-. The transition to the έω-class may have been favoured by the sound verbs in -έω as well as the numerous denominatives (decompounds) of the type ὁμοφωνέω (from ὁμόφωνος).
From φωνέω (προσ-, ἐπι-, etc.): φώνημα (προσ-, ἀνα-, ἐπι-) [n.] 'uttering, discourse' (S., Hell.+), -ησις (προσ-, ἀντι-, ἐκ-, etc.) [f.] 'the sounding, speaking' (Hell.+), -ητής (ἀνα-, ἀντι-, ἐπι-) [m.] 'speaker, etc.' (late), -ητήριος 'belonging to discourse' (Str. etc.), -ητικός (προσ-, ἀνα-, ἐπι-) 'belonging to voice, gifted with voice' (Hell.+).
•ETYM From the root of ▸φημί with *o*-grade; compare ON *bón*, OE *bēn* < PGm. **bōni-* 'question', Arm. *ban* 'word, speech'. Because the meaning of φωνή 'sound, voice' is not identical to 'saying', Frisk prefers the connection with OCS *zvonъ*, Ru. *zvon* 'sound', and the corresponding Alb. *zë*, Gheg *zâ* 'voice', from PIE **ǵʰu̯ono-* [m.]. Yet, this would require PIE **ǵʰu̯ōneh₂* for φωνή, a vocalism which the other

languages do not show. Therefore, we may (with DELG) retain the connection with φημί.

φώρ, -ρός [m.] 'thief' (Hdt., Att.). ◂IE *b^her- 'bear'▸

•COMP ἁγαλματο-φώρᾱν [acc.] 'thief of statues, temple-robber' (Elis IV[a]), on the formation see Schwyzer: 451 and 563, also Sommer 1948: 68[1]). Uncertain are ἀποφῶρας· κλέπτας and ἴσφωρες· λῃσταί, κλέπται. Λάκωνες 'robbers, thieves' (H.).

•DER φωρά, Ion. -ή [f.] 'theft' (*h. Merc.* 136, 385, Nic., Bion, Hell. inscr. and pap.); φωράω 'to search for a thief, catch a thief', metaph. 'to discover' (Att., Hell.+), aor. -ᾱσαι, fut. -άσω, late perf. πεφώρακα, also with κατα-; back-formation φώρα [f.] 'searching, tracking-down' (Phld., D. L., Aen. Tact.), or -ά, accent uncertain, see H. φωρά· κλοπή … φώρην δέ τὴν ἔρευναν. Also φωρῐᾶν = φωρᾶν (H.).

Especially as a juridical expression ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ = ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ φωρᾷ, originally 'right at the theft', i.e. 'in the very act, overtly' (Att.); adjective αὐτόφωρος 'self-caught, self-disclosed' (S. *Ant.* 51, D. S., App.), to φωράω; thus also κατάφωρος 'disclosed, public' (late), to καταφωράω; hence περίφωρος (εὐ-) '(easily) discovered' (Plu.).

Further derivatives (from φώρ or φωρά): φώριος 'thievish, stolen', τὰ φώρια 'stolen things', 'stealthy, secret' (Hell.+), τὸ φώριον also 'catch, discovery' (late), -ειον [n.] 'theft-penalty' (lit. pap.), -ίδιος 'stolen' (*AP*, Max.); superl. φώρτατος (Sophr. 1, cod. φωρό-).

•ETYM Old lengthened grade agent noun *$b^hōr$, lit. 'the bearer', to the IE verb 'to bear' in ▸φέρω, etc., identical with Lat. *fūr, -ris* [m.] 'thief', and formally also with Arm. *burn* 'hand, fist, force' (the *n*-stem is secondary like in *otn* 'foot', see ▸πούς).

Inherited φώρ was pushed back and replaced by the innovations κλώψ and (especially) κλέπτης (already Il.); only the derivative φωράω remained in use. An other old word for 'thief' is petrified in the poetic adj. ▸τηῦσιος.

φωριαμός [f.] 'chest, trunk', e.g. for keeping clothes and laundry (Ω 228, o 104, A. R. 3, 802), the gender is only visible in the latter attestation. ◂PG(V)▸

•ETYM Isolated poetic word, connected by Eratosth. 4 with φώριος (see ▸φώρ), and in modern times derived from a verbal adj. *φώριος 'bearable' which could be identical with Skt. *bhāryá-* 'to be born'. The fomation, however, still remains to be explained. Is it a folk-etymological adaptation of a loan word, such as κιβωτός, Lat. *cista*, etc. (cf. Chantraine 1933: 133)? Fur.: 389 compares χωριαμός· κίστη (H.), which seems to prove Pre-Greek origin.

φώς, φωτός [m.] 'man', in trag. also of heroes (Il., epic poet.). ◂IE? *b^heh_2- 'shine', ?▸

•ETYM Connected with Skt. *bhā́s-* [n.] 'light, splendour, power' by Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:1, 536, either as an original *s*-stem *b^heh_2-*os* (cf. on ▸φάος), or from a *t*-stem IE *b^hoh_2-*t*-. The idea is taken up by Peters 1993b: 101ff., but it is semantically implausible.

φῶς 'light'. •DER φωτεινός, φωτίζω, etc. ⇒ φάος.

φώσσων [m.] a coarse linen garment used in Egypt (Cratin.). ◂LW Eg.▸

•ETYM Maybe an Egyptian loanword.

φῶτιγξ, -ιγγος [f., m.] Alexandrian designation of a kind of flute, the 'German' flute (Plu., Juba *apud* Ath., Ath.). ◂PG(S)▸
•DER φωτ-ίγγιον [n.] (Posidon., Ael.).
•ETYM Formation like σῦριγξ, σάλπιγξ etc., further unclear. A connection with ►φῦσα, etc. seems impossible. The suffix is Pre-Greek.

φῶυξ ⇒πῶυξ.

φώψ [?] · φάος 'light' (H.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Probably a transformtion of φῶς after another word (ὤψ and compounds?). Traditionally connected with διαφάσσω (see ►παιφάσσω, and Schwyzer: 302).

X

χαβίτια [n.pl.] name of unknown vessels (pap. III^{a}). ◁?▷
•VAR Also -ότια (?).
•ETYM Unexplained foreign word.

χάβος [adj.] · κημός 'muzzle' (sch. Ar. *Eq.* 1147). ◁PG(V)▷
•VAR Cf. χαμόν below.
•DER Besides χαβόν· καμπύλον, στενόν, also χαμόν· καμπύλον (H.).
•ETYM If the variation β/μ is reliable, the word is Pre-Greek. Traditionally compared with Lat. *hāmus* 'hook, fish-hook'. If this connection is correct, the Latin word could perhaps stem from a language cognate to Pre-Greek.

χάζομαι [v.] 'to retreat, draw back' (epic poet. Il., also X.). ◁IE *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$- 'abandon, go forth'▷
•VAR Aor. χάσ(σ)ασθαι, fut. χάσ(σ)ομαι, pass. ἀποχασθῆ· ἀποθάνῃ (H.). Very rarely act. (almost only in H.): χάζειν· ἀναχωρεῖν, φυλάσσεσθαι; προχάζοις· προβαίνοις, ἀναποδίζοις; aor. συγχάσαι· συγχωρῆσαι, ipv. ἀπόχασον· ἀποχώρησον; παράχασον· ἀναχώρησον, πρόχασον· πρόελθε; also ἀναχάζοντες (X. *An.* 4, 1,16 beside ἐπιδιώκοντες), always intr. like χάζομαι; the only exception is ἀνέχασσαν (Pi. *N.* 10, 69 [codd. ἀνέχασαν or ἀνέσχασαν]), which seems to mean 'caused to retreat'.
•COMP Often with ἀνα-, rarely with ἀπο- (λ 95, *APl.*), ὑπο-, μετα- (A. R.), δια- (X.), παρα- (H.).
•ETYM It is unnecessary to posit a root χαδ- with -δ-, since the facultative epic gemination in χάσσασθαι, χάσσομαι may be analogical, and the rare present χάζομαι can be explained as an innovation to the aorist. An exact agreement outside Greek is unknown. Beside the medial aor. χάσασθαι with short vowel, Old Indic has active forms with long vowel in *ahās* [3sg.], *ahāsma* [1pl.] 'to abandon, epudiate'. Ruijgh and Van Krimpen *Mnem.* 22 (1969): 113-115 assumed derivation from the root *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$-. The -α- remains unexplained under this account, however.

χαίνω ⇒χάσκω.

χαῖος 1 [m., n.] 'shepherd's crook' (A. R. 4, 972, Call. *Fr.* 125). ◁IE? *$ǵ^{h}eh_{2}i$-*so*- (?)▷
•VAR Or -ον.
•ETYM The similarity with a Celto-Germanic word for 'javelin, spear' in OIr. *gae*, OHG *gēr*, etc., which is found as a loan both in Lat. *gaesum* and in Greek ▸ γαῖσος, -ον, is perhaps no coincidence. We may tentatively reconstruct *$ǵ^{h}eh_{2}i$-*so*-. However,

further connection with Skt. *héṣas-* [n.] 'missile' and Skt. *hinóti* 'to urge on, hurl' is both formally and semantically unconvincing.

χᾶϊος [adj.] 'of good descent, noble, good' vel sim. (Ar. *Lys.* 91), a Laconian form. ◁?▷
•COMP Compar. χαϊώτερος (ibd. 1157); also χᾱός 'id.' (Theoc. 7, 5); βαθυ-χάϊος mg. unknown (A. *Supp.* 858 [lyr.], text uncertain).
•ETYM Probably belongs to ►χάσιος · ἀγαθός, χρηστός (H.), with Laconian loss of the -σ-. Further isolated. Comparison with Gm. 'good', e.g. Go. *gops*, and with Alb. *zot* 'firm' is improbable. Unclear is Pok. 423.

χαίρω [v.] 'to rejoice' (Il.). ◁IE *$ǵ^{h}$er(H)- 'desire, enjoy'▷
•VAR Aor. χαρῆναι (Il.), redupl. κεχάροντο, -οἵτο (Hom.), sigmat. χήρατο (Ξ 270), ἐχαίρησα (Plu.), χαιρησάμενος (pap. II^{p}), fut. χαιρήσω (Υ 363), χαρήσομαι (Hell. and late), Dor. -ησοῦμαι (Pythag.), χαροῦμαι (LXX), redupl. κεχαρησέμεν (*O* 98), -ήσεται (ψ 266), perf. ptc. κεχαρηότα, -ότας (*H* 312, Hes. *Fr.* 77) with present mg., ind. κεχάρηκα (Hdt., Att.), κεχάρημαι (*h. Bacch.*), plpf. κεχάρητο, -ντο (Hes. *Sc.*, *h. Cer.*), κεχαρμένος (E.).
•COMP Also with ἐπι-, συν-, etc.
•DER A. From the verbal stem: 1. χαρά [f.] 'joy' (Sapph., Att.). 2. χάρμη [f.] 'joy of battle, bellicosity' (Hom.), also 'battle' (Hom., Pi., Lyc.), 'joy' (Ps.-Phoc.); χαρμό-φρων 'belligerent, combative' (*h. Merc.*), μενε-χάρμης, -ος 'persevering in battle' (Il.), ἱππιο-χάρμης 'fighting from horseback, charioteer' (Hom.); ἱππιο- for ἱππο- is metrical. 3. χάρμα (ἐπι-, κατα-) [n.] 'joy, delight, object of joy' (Il., epic poet., also late prose), opposed to πῆμα. 4. χαρμονή [f.] 'joy, pleasure, delight' (S., E., Pl., X.), probably after ἡδονή, see Wyss 1954: 39[1]), with -ικός (Procl.). 5. χαρμο-σύνη [f.] 'id.' (LXX), -συνος [adj.] 'filled with joy', -συνα [n.pl.] 'festivity' (Hdt. 3, 27). 6. χαρ-τός 'joyous, delectable' (Archil., Att.), with ἐπί- 'id.', also 'gloating' (Att.), -χάρτης 'id.' (com. V^{a}); on -χαρτος in PNs (e.g. Δαμό-χαρτος) see Bechtel 1917a: 17f. 7. -χαρής derived from the prefixed verbs (after χαρῆναι): ἐπι-, περι-, προ-, ὑπερ-χαρής 'delighting, filled with joy, raptured, etc.' (IA); as a second member extremely productive in late Greek, especially in poetry, e.g. ὁπλο-, μουσο-χαρής; likewise in PNs like Θυμο-χάρης, Χάρης, -ητος.
B. From the present stem: 1. χαιρ-ηδών, -όνος [f.] = χαρά (Ar. *Ach.* 4), like ἀλγηδών. 2. χαιρο-σύνη [f.] = χαρά (epigr. Marathon II^{p}, H.). 3. χαιρητικός 'happy, cheerful' (Vett. Val.). 4. χαιρετίζω 'to say χαίρετε, to greet', with -τισμός [m.] 'greeting, attendance' (Plb., LXX); cf. αἱρετίζω. 5. As a first member in PNs, e.g. Χαιρο-κλῆς, Χαιρε-κράτης, to which short names like Χαιρύλος. 6. χαιρε-κακέω, -κακία, -κακος are rare and late for ἐπιχαιρε-κακέω (etc.) 'to be gloating' (Arist., com. IV^{a}), cf. ἐπίχαρτος above.
Independent of the verb is the old substantive χάρις, gen. -ιτος, acc. -ιν [f.] 'grace, beauty, delight, boon, gratefulness, thanks', also personified plur. 'the Graces' (Il.). Compounds, e.g. χαρι-δώτης (Dor. [Cyrene] -ας) [m.] epithet of Hermes, Dionysus, Zeus (*h. Hom.*), PNs like Χαρι-γένης, χαριτο-βλέφαρος 'with gracious eyes (eyelids)' (Eub., Att. epigr.); ἄ-χαρις 'without grace, unpleasant, disagreeable' (Thgn., Sapph., Hdt., trag.), also ἀ-χάρι-τος 'id.' (Hdt., E.); in the same mg. (from χαρίζομαι) ἀ-

χάριστος (θ 236), compar. ἀχαρίστερος (υ 392) for ἀχαριστότερος), with -ἔω, -ία (Att.); opposite εὔ-χαρις, -τος, -στος with -ἔω, -ία; ἐπί-χαρις 'attractive, charming' (Att. since A.).

From χάρις: 1. χαρί-εις 'attractive, charming' (Il.), χαριτό-εις 'id.' (Anacr.), also χάρι-τος = Lat. *gratus* (?) (Nysa I[a], letter of a proconsul). 2. χαρ-ῖσιος 'accompanied by χάρις, filled with χάρις' (Arist., Call. *Fr.* 193, late), also a cake (com.), after ἀφροδίσιος, etc. 3. χαριτ-ήσιον [n.] 'thank-offering' (late), 'spell of love' (*PMag.*), -ήσια [n.pl.] 'festival honouring the Charites' (Boeot.), after φιλοτήσιος, etc., also -ώσιος (Ibyc., Rhegin.) like ἀνακ-ώσιος etc., see Chantraine 1933: 42. 4. χαριτ-ία [f.] 'delightful jest, joke' (X. *Cyr.* 2, 2, 13), enlargement in -ία (see Scheller 1951: 38).

Denominative verbs: 5. χαρίζομαι (-ίζω) 'to be attentive to sbd., bestow a favour or service on sbd., to give (cheerfully), etc.' (Il.), also with ἀντι-, ἐπι-, κατα-, προσ-, etc., with χάρισμα (εὐ-, ἀπο-) [n.] 'grace, favour' (late), -ισμός [m.] 'id.' (late and rare), -ιστεῖον [n.] 'thank-offering' (Thera, Cnidos), -ιστήριον [n.] 'id.', with -ιστήριος 'belonging to the thank-offering' (X., Hell and late), -ιστικός 'generous' (Democr., Aristeas). 6. χαριτ-όομαι 'to be favoured, blessed', -όω 'to favour, bless' (LXX, NT).

χαροπός epithet of animals of prey, of people, of the sea, etc., esp. referring to the eyes and the cool blue-gray eye-color, 'fierce, wild, cold' vel sim. (since λ 611), with -ότης [f.] (Hell. and late); also (ἐπι-)χάροψ 'id.' (Opp., pap. II[p]).

Extensive discussion of χαίρω and derivatives, χάρις and χαροπός in Homer in Latacz 1966: 20ff.

•ETYM χάρις is a zero grade ι-stem, a type found in ῥάχις and in the adverbs ἅλις and πάλιν. A *yod*-present like in χαίρω is found in Skt. *háryati* 'to find pleasure, enjoy, like' < full grade **ǵʰer-i̯e-*, and in Italic, e.g. U *heries* [2sg.fut.] 'volēs', OLat. *horitur* 'to urge, exhort' (Enn.). In other languages, we find several isolated nouns that belong here too: in Germanic, e.g. OHG *ger* 'desiring, longing' with *gerōn* 'to desire' and the widespread *n*-derivative in OHG *gern* 'desirous, eager', Go. *faihu-gairns* 'φιλάργυρος', etc., adverb OHG *gerno* 'gladly', etc. Lubotsky *IIJ* 32 (1989): 107 thinks the root was *seṭ* because of Skt. *harayanta* (RV 4, 37, 2) < **ǵʰorH-eie-*. This nicely explains the Greek *a*-vocalism.

A lengthened grade **ǵʰēr-i-* is continued in Arm. *jir* 'gift, mercy, favour', adverb *jri* 'for free' (see Clackson 1994: 180f.), a full grade in Av. *zara-* [m.] 'ambition, goal'. The connection of ToB *kartse*, acc. *krent* 'good' must be left aside, as the interpretation of the the To. word is ambiguous (cf. Adams 1999: 146f. Within Greek, εὐ-, ►δυσχερής is related.

χαίτη [f.] 'curly hair, loose flowing hair, horse's mane' (Il., epic poet.), also 'lion's mane' (E., Arist.), metaph. 'leaves, foliage' (Theoc., Call., Str.), 'crest' (Plu.). ◄IE **gʰeh₂it-* (?) 'curly hair'►

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. κυανο-χαίτης 'with dark hair', especially of Poseidon, 'black-maned' (Il., epic); on the voc. κυανο-χαῖτα in nominatival function see Risch 1954: 389ff.

•DER χαιτήεις (shortened -ἔεις), Dor. -άεις 'with long hair, with a long mane' (Pi., Semon., A. R.), also of plants 'rich in leaves' (Nic.); χαίτ-ωμα [n.] 'crest' (A. *Th.* 385), poetical enlargement, see Chantraine 1933: 186. Hypostasis ἀναχαιτ-ίζω [v.] 'to cast

(the horseman) over the mane, to throw the mane back, overthrow, revolt, rebel, block' (S. *Fr.* 179, E., D., Hell. and late), with -ισις, -ισμα, -ισμός 'barricade, obstruction' (late).

•ETYM Old word for 'hair, mane' with close cognates in Iranian and Celtic: Av. *gaēsa-* [m.] 'curly hair', *gaēsu-* 'curly haired', MoP *gēs* 'hair that hangs down, curls', MIr. *gaiset* [f.] 'bristly hair'. Both groups continue an *s*-stem. Normal laryngealistic reconstruction requires a full grade *$*g^{h}eh_{2}it$-*, which is a rather awkward vocalization of the root. This is all the more problematic, as the word definitely seems IE. Or do we have to assume *$*g^{h}h_{2}eit$-*?

χαλάδριον [n.] 'low bed, mattress' (pap. II^{P}). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR χελ- (pap. III^{P}), -τριον (pap. VI^{P}); κεχαλατριωμένον (πλοῖον) 'furnished with χ.' (pap. III^{P}). As a variant, χάλανδρον· κράββατον (H.) also belongs here: the -ν- is the typical Pre-Greek prenasalization; it is no doubt authentic. Also χελάδριον (*POxy.* III^{P}).

•ETYM The gloss of Hesychius shows that this is a Pre-Greek word, and that it has nothing to do with the verb ► χαλάω; see Fur.: 185, 290, 352.

χάλανδρον ⇒χαλάδριον.

χάλαζα [f.] 'hail' (Il.); also 'pimple, tubercle, grain, knot, knob' (Arist., Thphr., Gal., etc.). ◅IE? *$*g^{h}lh_{2}$-d-* 'hail, hoarfrost'▻

•COMP As a first member in χαλαζ-επής 'whose words fall like hail' (*AP*, of Hipponax).

•DER 1. Diminutive χαλάζ-ιον [n.] 'granule, etc.' (medic.). 2. χαλαζ-ήεις (Dor. -άεις) 'hail-like' (Pi., *AP*, Nonn.), also of σκορπίος (Nic.), χαλάζιος epithet of Zeus, of Apollo (Cyzicus), 'full of knots' (comm. Hp. VII^{P}), name of a hail-like stone (Orph.); χαλαζίας (Plin.), -ίτης (late), see Redard 1949: 63, χαλαζ-αῖος 'hail-like, mixed with hail', of νιφετός (Nonn.), 'full of knots, knobs', of φηγός (Opp.), -ώδης 'hail-like, full of hail, full of pimples, granular' (Hp., Arist., etc.). 3. χαλαζ-άω [v.] 'to hail' (*Com. Adesp.*, Luc.), 'to suffer from pimples' (Ar. *Eq.* 381, Arist.), also with ἐπι-, κατα-; -ιάω 'id.' (late medic.); -ωσις [f.] 'formation of pimples or granules' (Gal.).

•ETYM Formed with the feminine suffix -ι̯α- from a stem ending in dental, found in Slavic: Polab. *zlåd* 'hail', Pol. *żłód* 'glaze', etc. < PSl. **želd-*; often found with a velar extension, e.g. OCS *žlědica* 'glazed frost', Ru. *oželédica* 'id., fringe of ice on the snow'. In order to combine the Greek word, we have to posit a root *$*g^{h}lh_{2}$-d-* and assume that the Greek form continues the full grade of the suffix, so *$*g^{h}lh_{2}$-ed-*, where Slavic points to *$*g^{h}elH$-d-*. The latter form is also found in Iranian: MoP *žāla* 'hail, hoarfrost' < PIr. **žarda-* < IE *$*g^{h}elh_{2}d$-*.

χαλάω [v.] 'to slacken' trans. and intr., 'to lower, let down, relax, loosen; to open, be open' (Att.). ◅?▻

•VAR Ptc. χαλαίνοντες (Hes. *Sc.* 308), Aeol. 3pl. χόλαισι (Alc.), see Hamm 1957: 57a 3, 228a), aor. χαλάσ(σ)αι, -άσασθαι (*h. Ap.*), -άξαι (Pi.), pass. -ασθῆναι (A. *Pr.* 991, Pl.), fut. -άσω (Hp.), perf. κεχάλασμαι.

•COMP Also with δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, άνα-, etc. As a first member in χαλί-φρων 'with a feeble mind, thoughtless' (Od., *AP*), whence -φρονέω (ψ 13), -φροσύνη (π 310), like δαΐ-φρων, etc.; χαλαί-πους epithet of Ἥφαιστος (Nic. *Th.* 458), like παλαι- in compounds, μιαι-φόνος, etc.; χαλα-τονέω [v.] 'to slacken, become loose' (late), like ταλα-; on the form of the first member see Schwyzer: 448.

•DER 1. χάλασις (δια-, ὑπο-) [f.] 'slackening, relaxing' (Hp., Pl.). 2. χάλασμα (δια-) [n.] 'slackened condition, relaxation, gap in the line of battle, etc.' (Hell. and late), 'border of a field' (Hell. pap.), -σμάτιον (παρα-) [n.] 'slight slackening (in a rope)' (Hero). 3. χαλασμός (άνα-) [m.] = χάλασις (late medic.). 4. χάλαστήρια (scil. σχοινία) [n.pl.] 'rope for lowering a portcullis' (App.). 5. χαλαστόν [n.] 'festoon, chain' (LXX, pap.). 6. χαλαστικός (άνα-) 'slackening, relaxing, loosening, removing' (late). 7. See ►χαλάδριον.

On itself stands χαλαρός (ἐπι-, ὑπο-) 'slackened, flaccid, loose, lax' (Hp., Att.), with -αρότης (X., Gall.), -αρόομαι (Erot.). Here probably also belongs the PN Χαλακίας (Thess. [I^{a}]); cf. Dor. χαλάξαι (Pi.) and Bechtel 1917a: 46f.

•ETYM The pair χαλάσ(σ)αι : χαλαρός goes like ταλάσσαι : τάλαρος, λαγάσ(σ)αι : λαγαρός, ἱλάσ(σ)ασθαι : ἱλαρός, etc.

Etymology unknown. It seems that the aorist χαλάσ(σ)αι (innovated presents χαλάω, -αίνω) is a primary formation. The connection with Arm. *xał* 'game', *xałam* 'to play' by Meillet 1936: 36 would require IE *k^{h}-, and should therefore be abandoned.

χαλβάνη [f.] 'resin of the all-heal', obtained out of the root of some oriental (Persian, Syrian) umbelliferous plant of the genus *Ferula*; also a designation of the plant itself (Thphr., etc.). ◄LW Sem.►

•DER χαλβαν-ίς, -ίδος and -όεσσα 'belonging to the ferula' (Nic.), of ῥίζα.

•ETYM From Hebr. *ḥelbanā* 'id.'; more details in E. Masson 1967: 60. Borrowed as Lat. *galbanum* (WH s.v.). Cf. Fur.: 139.

χαλεπός [adj.] 'heavy, difficult, harsh, severe, troublesome, dangerous' (Il.). ◄PG?►

•COMP παγ-χαλεπός 'very heavy, angry, etc.' (Att.).

•DER χαλεπ-ότης [f.] 'difficulty, hardness, severity, etc.' (Att.); -ήρης = χαλεπός (Mimn.); χαλεπαίνω 'to be evil or mischievous, to be harsh, etc., to rage' (Il.), rarely with άντι-, συν- etc.; χαλέπτω 'to treat harshly, enrage', also 'to rage' (δ 423, Hes. *Op.* 5, etc.), med. -πτομαι, -ψασθαι 'to rage' (Hell. and late epic, also late prose), -φθῆναι 'id.' (Thgn. 155 [v.l.], S. *Ichn.* 328 [lyr.], *Com. Adesp.*), with χαλεπτύς· χαλεπότης (H.), after other nouns in -τύς (cf. Benveniste 1948: 73).

•ETYM Unexplained. Is the word Pre-Greek?

χαλία [f.] · ἡσυχία (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

χαλίδιον [adj.] · πινάκιον (H.). ◄?►

•ETYM Unknown.

χαλιμάς, -άδος [f.] 'wild, lecherous woman', also an epithet of the Βάκχαι (A. *Fr.* 448 = 719f. M. [vv.ll. χαλιμίας, χαλίδας], H., Suid. [codd. -ίμα], *EM*, Eust.). ◄PG?►

•DER χαλιμάζειν (v.l. -ικάζειν) = τὸ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνίεσθαι πρὸς συνουσίαν καὶ ὑποστέλλειν (*EM*, *Et. Gen.*, perhaps Epich. 200 [see Kaibel ad loc.]).

•ETYM Formation like μαινάς, λαικάς, λωγάς, etc. (Chantraine 1933: 352). The lexicographers connected it with χαλάω, which is probably a folk etymology. Fur.: 138 connects γαλιάω = ἀκολασταίνω (*Com. Adesp.* 967) and on account of this variant thinks the word is Pre-Greek. As χαλ- is hard to explain from IE, and given the semantic sphere, this is quite likely.

χαλῑνός [m.] 'bridle, rein, bit' (Il.), also metaph. 'marine ropes' (Pi., E.). ◂PG(S)▸

•VAR Aeol. χάλιννος (Hamm 1957: 36[90]), plur. also -α.

•COMP E.g. χαλιν-αγωγός 'leading by the reins, holding by the bridle' (Vett. Val.), -αγωγέω (*Ep. Jac.*, Luc., Vett. Val. et al.), -αγωγῑ́α (Simp. VI[P]), χρυσο-χάλινος 'with golden reins' (IA).

•DER Diminutive χαλιν-άριον [n.] (late), -ῖτις [f.] epithet of Athena in Corinth (Paus.), as she bridled Pegasus for Bellerophon; χαλιν-όομαι [v.] 'to be furnished with reins, rein in' (IA), also with ἐν-, ἀπο-, etc.; thence -ωσις [f.] 'reining in' (X.), -ωτήρια [n.pl.] metaph. 'ropes used for mooring' (E., Opp., Nonn.).

•ETYM Borrowed into Skt. as *khalīna-*, *khalina-* 'bit of a bridle'. Foreign, i.e. Pre-Greek origin is probable, as it is difficult to explain χαλ- from IE (**gʰh₂l-*, **gʰlH-V-* are unmotivated) and as a suffix -ῑν- is frequent in Pre-Greek (κύμινον, πυτίνη, ῥητίνη). ►εὔληρα is often taken to be an inherited word for 'bridle', but this is probably Pre-Greek, too.

χάλιξ, -ικος [m., f.] 'small stone, gravel, rubble used for filling up, mortar for stone building' (Th., Ar., Att. inscr., Arist., Hell. inscr. and pap., Str.). ◂?▸

•VAR For the gender cf. ►λίθος.

•DER χαλικ-ώδης 'like rubble' (Thphr.), -ώματα [n.pl.] 'rubble and mortar, stone-mortar' = Lat. *caementa* (gloss.).

•ETYM There is no convincing etymology: the general similarity with Lat. *silex* 'gravel', MIr. *scellec* 'rock', OCS *skolьka* 'shell' is not enough for an IE etymology to be credible. The formation is like κύλιξ, ἄλιξ, ῥῆνιξ, etc. (see Chantraine 1933: 382). It is probably a loan, see Fur.: 137, 384, who connects both Lat. *calx* 'stone (of a board game), limestone' (whence OHG *kalch*, etc.) and Sum. *kalga* 'limestone', Babyl. *kalakku*. It can also be assumed that the Latin word was borrowed from Greek; note that the appurtenance of the eastern words is doubted by DELG. In this case, Pre-Greek origin is thinkable.

χάλις, -ιν [m.] 'unblended wine' (Hippon. 73 = 67 Masson, epigr. Cyrene I[P]). ◂PG(V)▸

•COMP As a first member in χαλί-κρητος 'blended with χ.' (Archil., A. R., *AP*, cf. also A. *Fr.* 719c M.), also χαλίκραιος and compar. χαλικρότερος (Nic. *Al.*) 'id.'. As a second member in ἀκρο-χάλις 'slightly drunk' (A. R. 4, 432, D. P.), with -ξ perhaps after synonymous οἰνό-φλυξ.

•DER Perhaps derived is ►χαλιμάς, epithet of the Βάκχαι (but also connected with ►χαλάω).

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares φαλικρόν· ἄκρατον (H.). The gloss also shows a form in -κρος, like in χαλικρότερος, which therefore cannot be explained as due to haplology (Frisk); cf. ►φαλακρός: it is a typical Pre-Greek form.

χαλίφρων ⇒χαλάω.

χαλκός [m.] 'ore, copper, bronze', poet. metaph. of bronze objects (Il.). ◄?►

•VAR Cret. καυχός.

•DIAL Myc. *ka-ko*, see below.

•COMP Many compounds, e.g. χαλκο-πάρῃος (Hom.), -πάρᾱος (Pi.), see Forssman 1966: 152f.; χαλκ-ήρης 'furnished with brass, fitted with brass, brazen' (Hom.+), = Myc. *ka-ka-re-a*$_2$ /k^{h}alkāreha/, also χαλκο-άρας 'id.' (Pi.), see Forssman op. cit. 84f.; χαλκό-δετος (trag.), Myc. *ka-ko-de-ta* [n.pl.] 'fitted with brass'; on χαλκο-κέραυνος etc. see Wærn *Eranos* 50 (1952): 20f.; ἐπί-χαλκος 'coated with brass' (Hdt., Ar.), with ἐπιχαλκῖται· ὁπλῖται and ἐπιχαλκίδα· τὴν τὸ κανοῦν φέρουσαν εἰς τὰς θυσίας θεράπαιναν (H.); also δί-, τρί-χαλκον [n.] 'coins of two, three χαλκοῖ', etc. (Hell. and late), on the formation see Debrunner *IF* 60 (1952): 38f.

Here also Χαλκί-οικος [f.] epithet of Athena in Sparta 'having a brazen house, living in a brazen house' (E. and Ar. [lyr.], Th., Paus.), in H. as an explanation of χαλκίναος; transformed to an ι-stem, probably after Ἱππολι-οῦχος (cf. Paus. 3, 17, 2: Ἀθηνᾶς ... Ἱππολιούχου καλουμένης καὶ Χαλκιοίκου τῆς αὐτῆς).

•DER A. Substantives: 1. χαλκ-εύς [m.] 'metal worker, coppersmith, blacksmith' (Il.), Myc. *ka-ke-u*; also as a name of a fish (Opp.), cf. χαλκίς below. From this χαλκήϊος, -εῖος 'belonging to the smith' (Od., Hes.), -ήϊον, -εῖον [n.] 'forge, brazen tool, especially kettle' (IA), -εῖα [n.] name of an Attic festival (IV^a, Poll.); χαλκεών (-ών Hdn. Gr.), -εῶνος [m.] 'forge' (θ 273, A. R. 3, 41). 2. χαλκ-ίον (-εῖον) [n.] 'cupreous, brazen tableware' (Att., Hell. pap.), also 'copper coins' (com.), with -ίδιον [n.] 'small cupreous tableware' (com. V^a). 3. χαλκ-ύδρια [n.pl.] 'small change' (pap. I^a), -ύδριον = -ός (disparaging, Zos. Alch., Theognost. *Can.*). 4. χαλκ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a bird (Ξ 291, Arist.) = ►κύμινδις; referring to the color, also name of a plant (Ps.-Dsc.), name of several fishes, probably 'sardine' (Epich., Arist.), perhaps also after the sounds it produced (Strömberg 1943: 74f.), name of a poisonous lizard (Arist., Plin.); as a TN town on Euboea (after the copper-mines), whence -ιδικός, -ιδική; finally also = -ίς as a fish- and lizard-name, probably with allusion to the TN (Strömberg op. cit. 86). 5. χαλκ-άς, -άδος [f.] = χαλκάνθεμον (Ps.- Dsc.). 6. χαλκ-ίτης [f.] -ῖτις (λίθος) 'copper ore' (Arist., Plu.), name of a mineral 'rock-alum' (medic., pap.), also = χαλκάς (Ps.-Dsc.); -είτης = -εύς (Pisidia), itacistic or to χαλκεύς? Cf. Redard 1949: 36.

B. Adjectives: 1. χάλκ-ειος (epic, also Hell. and late prose), epic Ion. -εος (cf. S. Schmid 1950: 6ff.), Aeol. Dor. -ιος (Myc. *ka-ki-jo* [du.], *ka-ke-ja-pi* [ins.f.]), Att. -οῦς 'brazen, cupreous', also designation of a coin (Att., Hell. pap.), whence -ιαῖος 'worth a χαλκοῦς' (pap. III^a, after δραχμιαῖος, ἡμιωβολιαῖος), fem. -ιαία and -ιεία designations of taxes (Hell. pap.); χαλκ-ιδῖτις [f.] 'low-priced prostitute' (*Com. Adesp.*). 2. χαλκῆ (εἰκών) [f.] 'bronze statue' (Antig. *Mir.*, D. L.). 3. χάλκινος 'made of ore, concerning copper coins' (Hell. and late pap.). 4. χαλκικός 'consisting of copper coins' (pap. III^a). 5. χαλκ-ώδης 'bronze-like' (Thphr.).

C. Verbs: 1. χαλκ-εύω 'to forge' (Σ 400), also intr. 'to be a blacksmith' (Att.), formally from χαλκεύς, but also referring to χαλκός, rarely prefixed, e.g. with κατα-, ἐπι-, προ-, ἀπο-. Thence -εία [f.] 'the art of forging' (Hp., Pl.), 'forge' (Hero), -ευμια [n.] 'what is forged, forged tool' (A.), -ευτής = -εύς (*AP*), -ευτικός 'belonging to the art of forging, versed in the art of forging' (Hp., X., Arist.), -ευτήριον = -εῖον (gloss.). 2. χαλκ-όομαι [v.] 'to be coated with bronze' (Pi., Hdt., LXX, D. S.), 'to turn into ore' (*AP*), rarely with κατα-, περι- (το κατά-, περί-χαλκος); thence -ωμια [n.] designation of several copper instruments (Att.), with -ωμάτιον [n.] (Delos II^a), -ωματᾶς [m.] 'copper smith' (pap. III^p). 3. χαλκ-ίζω 'to play coin-spinning with copper coins' (Alex., Herod., Poll.), with -ισμός [m.] 'game of coin-spinning' (Poll., Eust.), 'to glisten or sound like copper' (late); prefixed περι-χαλκίζομαι (το περί-χαλκος) 'to become coated with bronze' (LXX), ἀπο-χαλκίζω 'to take away the bronze' (*AP* 11, 283; word-play with Χαλκίς), ὑπο-χαλκίζω 'to look somewhat bronze-colored' (*EM*), ὑπεχάλκισα· πρὸς χαλκοῦ ὑπεθέμην (H.).

D. Adverb χαλκίνδα (scil. παίζειν)· τὸ εἰς χαλκὸν κυβεύειν (H.).

•ETYM An old IE word for 'ore, copper, bronze' is still retained in Skt. *áyaḥ*, Lat. *aes*, Gm., e.g. Go. *aiz* [n.]. The prehistory of Greek χαλκός is obscure. An IE term is improbable, as a word with an aspirate and a voiceless stop is not tolerated. The similarity with the word for 'purple', κάλχη, also χάλκη and χάλχη, is hardly accidental. It would point to an original meaning 'red metal' for χαλκός (χαλκὸς ἐρυθρός *I* 365), which is conceivable. Connection with the Balto-Slavic word for 'iron' (Lith. *geležis*, OPr. *gelso*, Ru. *želézo*) is phonetically unfeasible, but we could have to do with independent loans from a common eastern source. In such a framework, the connection with κάλχη could be maintained too.

It is also tempting to connect the Hitt. (Hattic-Hurritic) word for 'iron', *ḫapalki-* (or *apalki-*); the imperfect phonetic agreement would be due to incorrect rendering of a foreign word (Pisani *AION* 7 (1966): 46f.).

χαμαί [adv.] 'to the earth, on the earth' (Il.). ◂IE **dʰǵʰem-* 'earth'▸

•COMP Extremely productive as a first member, e.g. χαμαι-πετής 'falling, fallen to the ground, lying on the ground, futile' (Pi., trag., also Pl., Plb.), univerbation of χαμαὶ πεσεῖν; χαμαί-ζηλος originally "striving to the earth", 'low, base, small', also (scil. δίφρος) 'footstool' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), χαμαι-εύνης, plur. -εῦναι 'having its lair on the earth' (*P* 235, Emp.), fem. -ευνάδες (Od.), with elision χαμ-εύνη (Poll., H., *AP*), χάμ-ευνᾰ [f.] 'lair on the earth' (Att. inscr., A.), see Solmsen 1909: 256f.

On χαμαι- in plant- and animal-names Strömberg 1940: 109ff.; on χαμαι-λέων (perhaps a calque from Semitic), see Lewy *KZ* 58 (1931): 33; on this also Dawkins *JHS* 56 (1936): 5ff.

•DER χαμ-ᾶζε 'to the ground' (Hom., also trag. and late prose), after Ἀθήναζε, etc. (accentuation acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2, 951 and others); after this χαμ-ᾶθεν 'from the earth, from the ground' (Hdt., Att. com.), also -αῖθεν (A.D., Plu.), Aeol. -άδις 'to the ground' (Hom., A. [lyr.]), like ἄλλυδις etc., Dor. -άνδις (Theognost.).

From χαμαί: χαμ-ηλός 'low' (Pi., X., Nic., Str.), after ὑψηλός; χαμ-ῑτις (ἄμπελος) 'low' (Gp., Suid., Eust.).

•ETYM A frozen case-form of the word for 'earth', usually explained as a dative; cf. ►πάλαι, ►παραί. We can compare it with Lat. *humī* 'on the ground' < QIE **dʰǵʰom-ei*, but the stem vowel is different. With *e*-vocalism we find OPr. *semmai* 'down'. Probably, all are independent formations. Further see ►χθών. See Hajnal 1992: 207-220.

χαμόν · καμπύλον (H.). ⇒χαβός.

Χαμύνη [f.] epithet of the Elean Demeter. ◅GR▻

•ETYM Acc. to Vegas Sansalvador *Glotta* 70 (1992): 166-180, this epithet means 'who has the earth as a bed', with the zero grade of εὐνή, **-h₁uneh₂*. A more clear form is χαμαι-εύνης (Hom.); we also find χαμ-εύνης (H.).

χάμψαι [pl.] Egyptian name of crocodiles (Hdt. 2, 69). ◅LW Eg.▻

•ETYM From the Eg. name *msḥ*, but difficult in detail; cf. Černy *Ann. Serv. Ant. Égypte* 42 (1943): 346-348.

χανδάνω [v.] 'to hold, include, contain' (Hom.). ◅IE **gʰed-* 'grasp, seize'▻

•VAR Aor. χαδεῖν (epic Il., also Hp. and Ar. *Ra.* 260 [lyr.]), fut. χείσομαι (σ 17), perf. (with present mg.) ptc.acc.sg. κεχανδότα (Ψ 268, δ 96), ind. κέχανδε· χωρεῖ (H.), plpf. κεχάνδει, with v.l. κεχόνδει (Ω 192).

•COMP Never with prefix; as a second member in εὐ-χανδής 'ample' (Nic., Man.), εὐρυ-χαδής (*AP*, Luc.), -χανδής (Eust.) 'id.'.

•ETYM A regular formal system, with a zero grade nasal present, zero grade thematic aorist, and a full grade medial future. Only the perfect forms with -αν- are divergent; if not innovated after the present, they must have pushed original κέχονδα out of the system (retained in the v.l. κεχόνδει).

Beside this archaic verb, continued only in the epic tradition, Latin has a formation with fixed prefix and generalised *e*-vocalism: *prae-hendō*, *-hendī*, *-hēnsum* 'to grasp, seize', the stemvowel of which may represent both IE **gʰend-* and **gʰn̥d-*. Zero grade forms are found also in Celtic, e.g. OIr. *ro-geinn* 'he finds place in' (IE **gʰd-n-*). A full grade root is found in Alb., e.g. *gjëndem* 'I am found'. These nasalized forms probably go back on a nasal present; beside them stand several forms without nasal, like Lat. *praeda* 'booty' < **prai-hed-ā*, and the Germanic verb ON *geta* 'to reach, produce' (> MoE *get*), Go. *bi-gitan* 'εὑρίσκειν', OHG *pi-gezzan* 'reach', *fir-gezzan* 'forget', etc.

Meier-Brügger *MSS* 50 (1989): 87-90 adduces the adverb χονδήν 'in capacity' (*SEG* 21 (1965): 644, 19) and suggests a form ἀχονδῆς for AXONΔΕΣ in *SEG* 13 (1956): 13, 251.

χάννα [f.] 'kind of sea bass, Serranus (cabrilla)' (Epich., Arist., Numen. *apud* Ath., pap. I^{P}, etc.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Also χάννος [m.].

•ETYM In view of the characterization by Epich. as μεγαλοχάσμων, connection with χανεῖν 'to yawn' (see ►χάσκω) with expressive gemination has been proposed (Strömberg 1943: 53). Extensive treatment in Thompson 1947 s.v., where foreign origin (Eg. *chnā* name of an unknown fish) is considered. Fur.: 351 compares χέννιον (H.), which makes Pre-Greek origin probable (α/ε).

χάος, -εος, -ους [n.] 'chaos', used as a designation for what was first by Hes. *Th.* 116, usually (e.g. Arist.) taken as '(unlimited) empty space' (Ibyc., B., Ar.), later 'wide chasm, abyss' (Hell.). ◁?▷

•DER χαόω 'to devour', aor. -ῶσαι (*Tab. Defix.*, Simp. and Olymp. VI^{P}).

Besides χαῦνος 'slack, porous, loose, bloated, puffed up, vain, frivolous' (Pi., IA). Some compounds, e.g. χαυνο-πολῖται [m.pl.] "vain citizens" (Ar. *Ach.* 635 [anap.]), χαυνό-πρωκτος 'having slack or bloated bottoms' (ibid. 104), ὑπό-χαυνος 'somewhat slack, vain' (late). Abstract χαυνότης [f.] 'slackness, vanity' (Pl., Arist., Plu.); χαῦναξ in χαυνάκων· χαυνοποιῶν, οἱ δὲ χαυνολόγων (H.); χαυν-όομαι [v.] 'to become slack or vain, etc.' (Alc., IA), also with ἐκ-, etc. Thence -ωσις [f.] 'relaxation, puffing up' (Ar., Hell. and late), -ωμα [n.] 'dispersed earth', -ωτικός 'making loose' (Plu.); χαυνιάζε· πλανᾷ (H.).

Also χαυλι-όδων (see ▸ὀδών) with a suffix -λ-?

•ETYM Against the idea that χάος would be 'the empty space', first expressed by Aristotle and followed by most scholars, others interpreted it as a 'chasm' or an 'abyss'. Morphologically, a connection with χαῦνος (with remarkable barytone accent) may be supposed: χάος < *χάϝος beside χαῦνος, like ἔρεβος to ἐρεμνός < *ἐρεβνός. As a basic meaning 'loose, with holes' is quite possible for χαῦνος, an original meaning 'hole, empty space, yawning opening' is quite thinkable for χάος. Therefore χάος and χαῦνος were since long connected with ▸χάσκω, χάσμα, χανεῖν, ▸χήμη, etc.

Formally close are some Germanic and Baltic words for 'palate': OHG *guomo*, ON *gómr* [m.], etc. < IE *$g^{h}eh_{2}$-*mn*- beside OHG *goumo* [m.] < PGm. **gauma*(*n*)-, Lith. *gomurỹs*, etc.

See ▸χάσκω and ▸χώρα.

χαρά ⇒χαίρω.

χαράδρα ⇒χέραδος.

χαράσσω [v.] 'to make pointed, sharpen; to carve, engrave, strike, stamp' (Hes.). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Att. -ττω; aor. -ξαι, pass. -χθῆναι, perf. med. κεχάραγμαι.

•COMP Also with ἐν-, δια-, ἐπι-, etc. As a first member in the governing compound χαραξί-ποντος 'splitting the sea', of an oar (Simon.).

•DER 1. χάραγμα (περι-, προ-, ἐπι-) [n.] 'engraving, engraved mark, impression, minted coins' (S., Hell.); χαραγμός [m.] 'incision, stamp, stamped document' (Thphr., pap. I^{P}); χαραγμή [f.] 'loaf of bread' (pap. V-VI^{P}). 2. χάραξις (ἐν-, ἀπο-, περι-, etc.) [f.] 'engraving, incising, incision' (Democr., late), παρα-χάραξις 'false coining, forgery', -ιμος 'forged' (late). 3. χαρακτός 'made pointed, sharpened, toothed' (Hp., Nic.); περι-χαρακτικός 'cutting around' (Dsc.). 4. χαρακτήρ [m.] 'engraver, one who mints coins' (Euryph. Pythag., Olbia III^{a}), 'tool for engraving, stamp, seal' (Arist., Hell. and late inscr. and pap., etc.), 'impression, character', also of facial expressions or language: 'physical and linguistic idiosyncrasy'; 'carved letter, etc.' (IA, Hell. and late), 'individual feature, style, character' (Hell. and late); περι-χαρακτήρ [m.] 'knife for cutting of the gums around the teeth' (late medic.). From

χαρακτήρ: χαρακτηρικός = χαρακτηριστικός (Phld., etc.), χαρακτηρ-ίζω (δια-, μετα-) [v.] 'to form, stamp, designate, characterize' (Hell. and late), whence -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστικός (late); χαρακτηριάζω [v.] 'to coin, mint' (Samos I^{P}). 5. χάρακτης [m.] 'coiner, minter' (Man.), παρα- 'forger' (Vett. Val.).

Besides χάραξ, -ακος [m., f.] 'pointed stake, vine-prop, fortifying pale, stockade, palisade' (Att. Hell. and late), also as a fish name (Diph. Siph., Opp.); see Strömberg 1943: 36, Thompson 1947 s.v.; χαρακο-βολία [f.] 'raising of a palisade' (LXX), ὠμο-χάραξ 'prop for the forks of vines' (Gp.). Thence: 1. χαρακ-ίας [m.] (κάλαμος) 'fit as a stake or palisade' (Thphr.), also as a plant name, 'kind of euphorbia' (Dsc.), see Strömberg 1937: 91 and Strömberg 1940: 107; as a fish name (Gp., see χάραξ). 2. χαρακίτης [m.] 'kind of euphorbia' (late), also = 'living behind a fence' (βιβλιακός = conventual), 'cut off from the world' (Timo). 3. χαράκια· ὑποστηρίγματα (H.). 4. χαρακόω (περι-, ἀπο-) [v.] 'to furnish with stakes, build a palisade' (Aesch., Arist., Hell. and late), whence -ωμα (περι-) 'site secured with palisades' (X., Arist., Hell. and late), -ωσις 'palisading, propping up of vines' (Lycurg., Hell. and late), -ών 'vineyard with propped up vines' (pap. II-III^{P}). 5. χαρακίζω [v.], originally 'to furnish with stakes', only metaph. of flies, 'to rub the front legs for cleaning' (Arist.), with -ισμός [m.] 'palisading' (Pherecr., Macedonian inscr. III^{P}).

•ETYM χαράσσω is both earlier and more frequently attested than χάραξ; still χαράσσω < *χαράκ-ι̯ω must be a denominative formation from the latter. For the suffix, cf. πίναξ, κάμαξ, κλῖμαξ, etc. Without etymology. Connection with Lith. *žeriù*, *žerti* 'to scrape', with *žarstýti* 'to poke' does not explain the Greek formation. In view of the suffix, the word is most probably Pre-Greek (not in Fur.).

χαρία [f.] · βουνός (H.). ◅?▻

•ETYM A suggestion by Persson 1912(1): 223, accepted by Pok. 440, but rejected by Frisk, is mentioned s.v. ►χάρμη 2.

χάρις ⇒χαίρω.

χάρμη 1 'bellicosity'. ⇒χαίρω.

χάρμη 2 [f.] acc. to the sch. Pi. *O.* 9, 128, it stands for ἐπιδορατίς in Stesich. 267 (Page) and Ibyc. 340 (Page); likewise for Pi. *Dith.* 3, 13. ◅PG?▻

•DER Bahuvrīhi ἄγ-χαρμιον· ἀνωφερῆ τὴν αἰχμήν (H.).

•ETYM Connected with χαρία· βουνός (H.) and with χοιράς 'rock in the sea', and other words for 'stick out, protrude, etc.' (IE *$ǵ^{h}er$-; cf. ►χήρ) has been proposed. Alternatively, a poetical reinterpretation of ►χάρμη 1 has been suggested, after the model of χαλκο-χάρμης (beside χάλκ-ασπις, -χίτων, etc.), and μενε-χάρμης (beside μεν-αίχμης). The existence of a compound ἄγχαρμιος casts doubt on the later idea. Perhaps a Pre-Greek word?

χαροπός ⇒χαίρω.

χάρτης [m.] 'papyrus leaf, roll', metaph. 'thin plate' (Att. inscr., Pl. Com., Hell.). ◅LW Eg.▻

•COMP As a first member, e.g. in χαρτ-υφάντης [m.] 'manufacturer of papyrus leaves' (Corycos).
•DER Diminutive χαρτ-ίον [n.] (Hell.), -ίδιον [n.] (late), -άριον [n.] (late); also -ηρία [f.] = χάρτης (LXX), -ηρά [f.] 'papyrus tax, output' (Hell. and late pap. and inscr.), -αρέα [f.] 'papyrus tax' (Pergamon), cf. the rare forms οἰναρέα, τροχαρέα.
•ETYM Unexplained; probably from Egypt, like the papyrus plant itself. Borrowed as Lat. *charta*, whence MoFr. *carte*, etc. From χάρτης probably also Skt. *kaḍitra-* [n.] 'writing leather' (Mayrhofer *AION* 1 (1963): 232, with Burrow). From Lat. *chartulārius*, *chart(i)āticum*, Greek borrowed the late forms χαρτουλάριος 'archivist', χαρτ(ι)ατικόν 'tax on a document' in return.

χάρων, -ωνος [m., f.] epithet or name of the lion of Nemea (Euph., Lyc., H.), also of the eagle and of the cyclops (Lyc.). ◂GR▸
•ETYM Short form for χαροπός (Sommer 1948: 121f., Leumann *Sprache* 5 (1959): 72); see ▸χαίρω.

χάσιος [adj.] · ἀγαθός, χρηστός (H.).
•ETYM Considered to be the base form for Lac. ▸χᾶῖος, s.v.

χάσκω [v.] 'to gape, yawn, open (the mouth) wide' (IA). ◂IE **ǵʰeh₂n-* 'break open, yawn'▸
•VAR χαίνω (Hell.), them. aor. χανεῖν, perf. (with present meaning, see Wackernagel 1920-1924(1): 167) κέχηνα (both Il.), aor.subj. κατα-χήνη (H.), Dor. ἔχᾶνα (Aesop.), perf. 3pl. κεχᾶνάντι (Sophr.), fut. χανοῦμαι (IA).
•COMP Often with prefix, e.g. ἀνα-, ἐν-, περι-, ὑπο-.
•DER A. Adverb χαν-δόν 'with an opened mouth, greedily' (φ 294, Hell. and late epic, late prose), χανδο-πόται [m.pl.] (*AP*): χανδὸν πιεῖν· κεχηνότως καὶ ἁθρόως πιεῖν ὅλῳ στόματι (H.); χαν-δά 'id.' (A. D.).
B. Substantives: 1. χάσμα [n.] 'gaping hole, abyss, chasm' (Hes.), diminutive -άτιον [n.] (Hero, sch.), -ατίας [m.] 'earthquake which causes fissures in the earth' (Arist., Posidon.), cf. βρασματίας s.v. ▸βράσσω). 2. χάσμη [f.] 'yawning, especially of sleepiness' (Hp., Pl.), denominative χασμάομαι 'to yawn, stand with one's mouth open', rarely with ἀντι-, ἐπι-, κατα- (IA), also -έομαι (Theoc.); thence χάσμ-ημα [n.] 'open mouth' (Ar. *Av.* 61), -ησις [f.] = χάσμη (H., *EM*, Eust.); -ώδης (also from χάσμα) 'yawning constantly, indifferent' (D. L., Plu.), also metrical 'forming a hiatus' (A. D.), with -ωδία [f.] 'hiatus', -ωδέω 'to form or create hiatus' (Eust.).
3. χάνος [n.] 'throat, mouth' (*Com. Adesp.*); to this or directly to χανεῖν: ἀ-χανής (dissimilated from ἀ-) 'gaping, open wide, expanded, immeasurable' (Parm., Arist., Hell. and late), with ἀχάν-εια [f.] 'wide hole, expension, immeasurability' (late), also (with privative α) 'not wide open, with a closed mouth' (Thphr., Hegesipp. Com., Plb., Luc.).
C. Verbs: 1. χασκ-άζω 'to gape at, gaze at' (Ar. *V.* 695 [anap.]), with χάσκ-αξ, -ακος [m.] 'gazer' (Eust.). 2. χασκ-ωρεῖν· περιβλέπειν (H.), after θεωρεῖν etc. 3. χανύειν· βοᾶν, χανύσσει· βοᾷ (cod. βία), καλεῖ (H.); to this Χανύ-λαος etc. (Pharsalos), see Bechtel 1917b: 464. 4. iterative (Schwyzer: 719) χηνῆσαι· καταμωκήσασθαι, with χήνημα· καταμώκημα (H.).

D. Rare compounds: κατωμόχανε [voc.] = χαίνων κατ' ὤμου, 'usque ad humeros hians' (Hippon. 28), cf. Masson ad loc.; καταχήνη [f.] 'scorn, mockery' (Ar. *V.* 575, *Eq.* 631), = καταχάσμησις, κατάγελως (H.), cf. καταχήνῃ· καταγελάσῃ, μυκτηρίσῃ, ἐξουθενίσῃ (H.).

•ETYM The pair χανεῖν and κέχηνα is old; innovations are the future χανοῦμαι, the present χαίνω and the sigm. aor. ἔχηνα. The *ske/o*-present χάσκω is old, too, and may derive from **kʰan-ske/o-*. So we are dealing with a root PGr. **kʰan-* < PIE **ǵʰh₂n-*. χανεῖν and χάνος further agree with a North Germanic word: ON *gan* [n.] 'opening of the mouth, call, cry', also 'throat, gill' (MoSw., MoNw.), and the weak verb *gana* 'to open wide, desire, gape'. The root **ǵʰeh₂-* seems to appear unenlarged in ►χήμη, and it may of course also be present in χάσκω. The nouns χάσμα, -μη can be explained from χάσκω as well as from χανεῖν (cf. φάσμα to φαίνω). The situation strongly reminds of PGr. **pʰan-* < **bʰh₂-n-*.

A root **ǵʰHi-* in the same meaning is found in Lat. *hīscō* 'to open the mouth', OHG *gīēn*, ON *gína* 'to yawn', OHG *ginēn* 'to be wide open', MoHG *gähnen* 'to yawn', Hitt. *kīnu-zi* 'to break open (by force)', also in Lat. *hiāre*, *hiō* = Lith. *žióti*, 1sg. *žióju*, OCS 1sg. *zějǫ*, ToB *kāy-* 'to open', pass. ptc. *kakāyau*. This was perhaps an *i*-present to **ǵʰeh₂-* (though some of the forms seem to presuppose **ǵʰeh₁-*). It is unclear if ►χῖράς can be related to this root. Cf. also ►χάος and ►χήν.

χατέω [v.] 'to lack, need, desire' (Il., epic poet.). ◅IE? **ǵʰeh₁-* 'leave behind'▻

•VAR χατίζω (only pres. except for ipf. χατέεσκε Nonn. 4, 56); χατεύει· χρήζει (cod. χαρίζει), ἐπιθυμεῖ 'needs, desires'; χατεύουσα· χρήζουσα, δεομένη 'in need' (H.).

•DER χατίς (leg. χάτις?)· ἐπιθυμία, χρῆσις 'desire, use' (H.) is probably a back-formation.

Beside this, we find a frozen dative χήτεϊ, χήτει 'out of lack (or desire)' (Il., poet., also late prose), which may derive from the noun χῆτος· ἔνδεια, στέρησις 'need, deprivation' (H.), or possibly from *χῆτις. Thence χητοσύνη 'lack, atrophy' (*AP* 9, 408), χητεία· χρεία 'need' (H.) (where cod. χηρ- has a wrong position in the alphabet), χητίζω = χατίζω (*EM*).

•ETYM For χατέω, cf. αἰτέω, ματέω, πατέομαι, δατέομαι, etc. (Schwyzer: 705). For χῆτος, cf. κῆτος, σκῦτος, ἔντος (Schwyzer: 513). Remote cognates may be found in ►χήρα, ►χώρα, from a root **ǵʰeh₁-*. If χητ- contains this root, χατ- must somehow be analogical.

χαυλιόδων, χαῦνος ⇒χάος.

χαυών [m.] a kind of cake (LXX, *EM*, Suid.). ◅LW Hebr.▻

•ETYM Transcription of Hebr. *kawwān*, Köhler and Baumgartner 1953: 428.

χέδροπα (-πά) [n.pl.] 'leguminous fruits' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Nic.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR χέδροπας (v.l. -πούς) [acc.pl.] (Arist.), χέδροψ· πᾶν ὄσπριον, σπέρμα (H.). Also χεδρία [f.] 'id.' (pap. IV-VI^{P}); variants κέδροπα (Erot. H.), κέρδοπα (H.).

•COMP χεδροπώδης 'χ.-like' (Phanias *apud* Ath.).

•ETYM Grošelj Živa Ant. 7 (1957): 43 compared Ru. *goróx* 'pea', Lat. *furfur* 'pod of corn and pulses', etc.; formally untenable. Folk etymology with χείρ and δρέπω

(χειροδρόποι φῶτες) by Nic. *Th.* 752. The variation shows that the word is Pre-Greek. Cf. ►χῖδρα.

χέζω [v.] 'to shit' (Ar. et al.). ◄IE *$ǵ^{h}ed$- 'shit'►

•VAR Perf. -κέχοδα, aor. χέσαι, also χεσεῖν (to χεσοῦμαι, after πεσοῦμαι to πεσεῖν, see Schwyzer: 746[6] and 786), fut. χεσοῦμαι, also χέσομαι, perf. ptc. pass. κεχεσμένος.

•COMP Also with ἐν-, ἐπι-, κατα-, ἐκ-. As a first member in χεζ-ανάγκη [f.] 'purgative medicine' (late medic.).

•DER Desiderative χεσ-είω (Ar.) and χεζ-ητιάω (Ar.), like πασχ-ητιάω, etc., see Schwyzer: 732.

Nouns: χεσ-ᾶς [m.] (Poll., sch., Suid.), -μα [n.] (medic.); πολύ-χεσος (*Com. Adesp.*); on the formation see Schwyzer: 461 and 516. From the verbal stem χόδανον· τὴν ἕδραν (H.), χοδιτεύειν· ἀποπατεῖν (H.) (to *χοδίτης), μυό-χοδον [n.] 'mice droppings' (late), as a term of abuse μυόχοδος (γέρων) = οὐδενὸς ἄξιος (Men. 363 Koe.).

•ETYM The *yod*-present χέζω agrees with Alb. *dhjes* 'to shit' < IE *$ǵ^{h}ed$-*ie/o-*; beside these, we find a late thematic root-present in Skt. *hadati* 'id.'.

The root is also attested in nominal formations: Arm. *jet*, *-oy* 'tail' < IE *$ǵ^{h}edos$- or *$ǵ^{h}ed$-o-*; an *s*-stem also in Av. *zadaŋha* [acc.du.] 'both buttocks, hindmost', *apa-zaδah-* 'with the ass backwards (?)'.

χεῖ name of the letter χ (Att. inscr. [not before 307[a]], Pl. *Ti.*, Hp.). ◄LW Sem.►

•VAR Later χῖ.

•DER χιο-ειδής 'formed like a χ' (late medic.), χι-άζω [v.] 'to designate with a χ, to put athwart, cross out, cancel' (D. S., pap., sch.), with -ασμα [n.] 'cross-piece of wood' (Bito), 'cross-bandage' (medic.); -ασμός [m.] 'putting athwart, cancellation, etc.' (late), yielding Lat. *chīasmus*; -αστός 'put athwart, etc.' (Ph. *Bel.*, late).

•ETYM After ►πεῖ (like ►ξεῖ, ►φεῖ, ►ψεῖ).

χειά [f.] 'serpent's den' (X 93 and 95, Plu., Orph., Crete), 'gap' (Pi. *I.* 8, 77 [uncertain]). ◄PG?(V)►

•VAR Ion. -ιή. Dat.pl. χειαῖς (Nic. *Th.* 79 verse-final; codd. χελεί-).

•ETYM The analysis of the rare word depends on the interpretation of verse-final χειαῖς in Nic. If not adapted to the metre, it must stand for *χεϝε(σ)-ιά, whence by contraction χειά, -ιή.

The further assessment is uncertain; one has thought of Lat. *fovea* (dismissed in De Vaan 2008) and of ►χάος (Bechtel 1914 s.v.). If ►ὀχεή is a variant with prothetic vowel, the word may be Pre-Greek.

χεῖλος [n.] 'lip', metaph. 'edge, seam'. ◄?►

•VAR Mostly plur. -εα, -η (Il.), Dor. χῆλος (Corc.), Aeol. χέλλος (gramm.).

•COMP Often as a second member, e.g. ἰσο-χειλής 'level with the brim, having a height equal to the brim of the vessel, rising to the brim' (X., Arist.), -λος (*Gp.*); παχυ-χειλής (Arist.), -λος (Ruf., Gal.) 'with thick lips'. Rarely as a first member, e.g. χειλο-ποτέω 'to drink with the lips, slurp' (*AP* 7, 223), cf. λαβρο-ποτέω (ibid. 5, 109 and 10, 18).

•DER Diminutive χειλ-άριον [n.] (gloss.), enlargement -ωμα [n.] = χεῖλος (Aq.); also -ᾶς = *labrosus* (gloss.).
•ETYM If the transmitted dialectal forms are reliable, possible basic forms are *χέσλος, *χέλσος, and perhaps also *χέλνος.
There is no convincing etymology. ON *gjǫlnar* [f.pl.] = *granar*, i.e. 'moustache, bearded lips' < PGm. **gelunōz*, which Adontz 1937: 9 compared with Arm. *jełun* 'palate, ceiling'. An original form *χέλϝος, which would fit the non-Greek forms better (Schwyzer: 491), is satisfctory for Ion. χεῖλος - but the word seems to be genuinely Attic, too. Cf. ►χελύνη.

χεῖμα [n.] 'winter, winter weather, storm' (poet. since Od.). ◄IE **ǵʰ(e)i-m-* 'winter'►
•VAR χειμών, -ῶνος [m.] (general, since Il.).
•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χειμά-ρροος, -ρρους, -ρρος 'streaming in winter' (Il., Thgn., Hdt., trag.), msc. 'bourn, torrent, current' (Att., LXX, Paus.), -ρρώδης 'similar to a χ.' (Str.); χειμωνο-τύπος 'buffeting with storms' (A. *Supp.* 34 [anap.]), χειμό-σπορος 'sown in winter' (Thphr.), πολυ-χείμων 'with many storms' (App.), ά-χείματ-ος 'without storms' (A. *Supp.* 136 [lyr.]).
•DER 1. χειμων-ικός 'belonging to the storm' (late), -όθεν 'from the storm' (Arat.). 2. χειματ-ικός, χειμ-ώδης 'hibernal, stormy' (sch.). 3. χειμ-ίη [f.] 'hibernal weather' (Hp.), after νηνεμ-ίη, etc. 4. PN Χείμα, -ᾶς [m.] (Thess.).
Denominative verbs: 5. χειμ-αίνω [v.] 'to vex by storms, rage' (Pi., Hdt., Arist., Theoc.), ἀ-χείμαν-τος 'not vexed by storms, without storms' (Alc., B.). More common is 6. χειμ-άζω [v.] 'to distress, visit with winter and storm', metaph. 'to hurt, wound', also 'to spend the winter, hibernate' (IA), also prefixed, e.g. with παρα-, ἐπι-; thence ά-χείμαστος 'not visited by storms' (J.), χειμασία, -ασίη (also παρα-) [f.] 'hibernation, winter quarters' (Hdt., Hell.), plur. also 'winter storms' (Arist., Thphr.), -ασις [f.] = *tempestivitas* (gloss.), -αστρον [n.] 'winter coat' (Ar. *fr.* 888), cf. θέριστρον etc., also παρα-χειμαστικός 'fit for hibernation', ntr.pl. -αστικά (late); -άδιον [n.] 'winter quarters' (D., Str., Plu.), -άδιος (Poll., Suid., *Et. Gud.*), -αδεύω = -άζω (Str.); with a suffix -δ- also χειμάδα· ἱμάτιον χειμερῖνόν, χειμάς· χειμών (H.).
With a suffix *-r-*: 7. χειμέριος 'hibernal, stormy' (Il.), -εριώδης 'id.' (*Gp.*). 8. -ερινός 'concerning winter, hibernal' (IA), cf. ἐαρινός etc. 9. -ερος = -έριος (Arat.), disjoined from compounds like δυσ-χείμερος 'distressed by heavy winter or storms' (Il., Hdt., A.). 10. χειμερίζω 'to spend the winter' (Hdt., D. H.), 'to storm' (Thphr.). See also ►χείμαρος.
χιών, -όνος [f.] 'snow, blanket of snow, snow-water' (Il.). As a first member e.g. in χιονό-χρως, -ωτος 'with a skin white as snow' (E. [lyr.]). Hence χιόν-εος 'snowy, white as snow' (poet. Asios [VII-VI^{a}]), -ώδης 'snowily' (Hp., E., Hell. poetry), -ικός 'consisting of snow' (Thphr.), -ινος 'white as snow' (Ptol. Euerg.), -ιον [n.] designation of an eye-salve (Alex. Trall.), -ίζω, -ίζομαι (κατα-) [v.] 'to snow (upon), be covered with snow' (Hdt., D. S., Dsc.), -ίζει· λευκαίνει (H.), -ισμός [m.] 'snowing upon' (Apollon. *Lex.*, H.).
Zero grade χῑμ- in: χίμετλον (mostly plur. -τλα) [n.] 'frostbite' (Hippon., Ar., Nic., Lyc., Poll.), also -τλη [f.] (Dsc.), dissimilated from -θλον, -θλη, cf. Schwyzer: 533; as a

second member -χῖμος in the poet. adjectives δύσ-χιμος 'stormy, fearful' (A., E.), μελάγ-χιμος 'black (on a white ground), dark spotted' (A., E.), τὰ μελάγχιμα 'black spots in the snow' (X. *Cyn.* 8, 1 and 7, Poll.). See also ►χίμαιρα.

•ETYM An inherited word for 'winter' or 'snow', with numerous representatives in various languages:

1. An *n*-stem like in χεῖμα and χειμών is found in Skt. loc. *héman* 'in winter' < IE **ǵʰeim-en* and in Hitt. *gimmi, gimmant-* 'winter' < **ǵʰim-n-i, *ǵʰim-n-ent-*. Alb. (Gheg) *dimën* is from **ǵʰeimen-* or **ǵʰimen-* (Hamp *IF* 66 (1961): 52ff.). Skt. *hemantá-* [m.] is derived with the suffix *-ta-*.

2. To χειμερ-ινός, -ιος, -ος: Arm. *jmeṙn* 'winter' < **ǵʰimer-n-*, Lat. *hībernus* 'winterly' < **ǵʰeim-r-ino-*. An *-r-* also in Alb. (Tosk) *dimër(ë)* 'winter', but from secondary transition *n* > *r* (Jokl *IF* 36 (1916): 130ff.).

3. χιών corresponds to Arm. *jiwn* 'snow' (cf. ►κίων to Arm. *siwn*), from IE nom. **ǵʰiōm* (with final *-m* > *-n* in both languages). The *m*-stem also in Lat. *hiems, hiemis* [f.] 'winter, storm' from the acc. **ǵʰi-em-m*, and in YAv. *ziiå̊* < IE **ǵʰiōms*, acc. *ziiąm* 'winter' (after the *ā*-stems), OAv. gen. *zimō*.

4. χίμ-ετλον, δύσ-χιμος from **ǵʰim-o-* like in Skt. *himá-* [m.] 'cold, frost, snow', *himā-* [f.] 'winter'; as a second member in *śatá-hima-* 'of a hundred winters' = 'a hundred years (old)', just like Lat. *bīmus* from **bi-himos* 'two years old'.

IE **ǵʰeim-h₂* is found in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *žiemà*, Ru. *zimá*.

An Indo-Iranian word for 'winter' in Av. *zaiian-* [m.], *zaiiana-* 'winterly', Skt. *hāyaná-* [m., n.] 'year', also [adj.] 'belonging to the year, yearly', was thought to derive from IE **ǵʰei-en-*. However, we may better assume thematic **ǵʰeim-n-o-*. Still, it is most probable that the *-m-* in **ǵʰeim-*, etc. is originally a suffix.

χείμαρος [m.] 'plug in a ship's hull', which was drawn out for letting out the water, after the ship had been brought to land in a sudden storm (Hes. *Op.* 626). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Probably denoting a "bad weather bung", related to χεῖμα, χειμών, χειμέριος, as opposite to εὐδίαιος "good weather hole" (Plu., Poll., H.), see ►εὐδία. See Sommer 1914: 123ff.

χειμάρρους ⇒χεῖμα.

χειμήβοτος [adj.] · χειμερινη ὥρα 'winter time' (H.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM See Lobel *ZPE* 19 (1975): 210, who derives it from ►βόσκω.

χείρ, χειρός [f.] 'hand, fist', also metaph. 'deed, strength, violence; crowd, band'. ◅IE **ǵʰes-r-* 'hand'▻

•VAR χερσί [dat.pl.] (IA, Il.); Dor. χήρ, χηρός, Aeol. χέρρ' [acc.sg.], χέρρας [acc.pl.], poet. and Hell. also (secondarily) χερ- in χερί, χερός, χέρα, χέρες, etc.

•COMP Highly productive in compounds. As a first member e.g. χειρο-τέχνης [m.] 'craftsman' (IA), with -τεχνία, -τέχνιον, etc.; Χειρί-σοφος PN, probably instrumental; χέρ-νιψ, -νιβος [f.] 'cleansing water for the hands, holy water', plur. also 'purifications with holy water' (since Od., where only acc.sg. -ιβα); thence χέρνιβον [n.] 'washing bowl, basin' (Ω 304, also Delos IV[a]), probably via reinterpretation of the acc.sg. χέρνιβα (Leumann 1950: 160), also -ιον (Hp., Ar.,

And.), -εῖον (Antiph., inscr.) 'id.'; rare denominative χερνίψασθαι, -νίπτομαι (for χεῖρας νίψασθαι) 'to wash the hands (before the sacrifice), besprinkle with purifying water' (A 449, E., Ar., Lys.), -νίψαι 'to besprinkle with holy water, to sacrifice' (Lyc.), -νιφθείς 'consecrated' (*AP*), -νιμμα [n.] 'washing of the hands' (com. V^a).

As a second member e.g. αὐτό-χειρ 'by one's own hand, acting, perpetrator', euphem. = 'murderous, murderer' (Att. since A.), with -χειρί, -χειρία, -χειρίζω, etc. Thematically enlarged in ἑκατόγ-χειρος 'with a hundred hands' (A 402); in hypostases like πρό-χειρος (το πρὸ χειρῶν) 'at hand, prepared' (IA), with προχειρίζομαι [v.] 'to get, fetch, prepare, choose, etc.', ὑπο-χείριος 'under the hand, in someone's possession, subject' (o 448), ἐγ-χειρίδιος 'in the hand' (A.), -ίδιον [n.] 'hand weapon' (IA), 'handbook' (late). See also ►χειρόμακτρον, ►χερνής, ►ἐκεχειρία.

•DER 1. Diminutive χειρ-ίδιον [n.] (Att. inscr., late medic.), χέρ-ιον [n.] (late medic.), also 'handle' (Hero), -ύδριον [n.] (Mosch.). 2. χειρ-ίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'long handshoe, sleeve' (ω 230), cf. κνημίς, with -ιδωτός 'provided with sleeves' (Hdt., Hell. pap., Str.), -ιδόομαι [v.] 'to be provided with sleeves' (comm. Arist., gloss.). 3. χειρ-ητής [m.] 'manual worker' (pap. III^p). 4. χερ-άριος [m.] an official in Ilion (inscr. II-III^p). 5. Adjective χείρ-ιος 'in the hands, in sbd.'s possession' (S., E.), -ικός 'manual' (pap. II^p), -ωτός 'provided with hands' (comm. Arist.). 6. Short names, e.g. Χείρ-ων (Aeol. Χέρρ-, Att. vases Χίρ-); either the connection with χείρ is folk-etymology, or the Attic form is itacistic; also Χειρ-ίας (Χερρ-, Χηρ-) [m.] (Megara, Boeot.), see Heubeck *Beitr. z. Namenforsch.* 7 (1956): 276[9]). 7. Verbs: a) χειρ-ίζω, Dor. NWGr. fut. -ιξῶ 'to maintain, govern' (Hp., Corc., Hell. and late), with -ισις, -ιξις, -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστικός, -ιστεύω; often in derivatives and hypostases, e.g. προχειρ-ίζομαι (to πρό-χειρος, see above), μετα-χειρίζομαι, -ίζω (to μετὰ χεῖρας) 'to take in hand, deal with' (IA); b) -χειρέω, -έομαι in hypostases like ἐπι-χειρ-έω 'to take hold of, undertake' (ω 386, 395), with -ημα, -ησις, etc., ἐγχειρέω (Arc. -χηρ-) 'id.' (Att.); c) χειρόομαι (act. -όω Ar. *V.* 443), aor. -ώσασθαι 'to conquer, overpower, make subject', pass. -ωθῆναι, perf. κεχείρωμαι 'to fall in sbd.'s hands, to be subject' (IA), with -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτικός, εὐ-χείρ-ωτος; see Kerschensteiner *MSS* 15 (1959): 39ff.; d) χειριᾶν = τὸ κατερρῆχθαι τὰς χεῖρας ἢ ἀλγεῖν ἐπὶ κόπου (Poll. 2, 152), cf. on ►χῖρός.

•ETYM The dialectal forms Dor. χηρ-, and Aeol. χερρ- correspond nicely to Hitt. *keššar* < **ǵʰes-r*. The oldest inflected forms in Hittite are acc. *kiššeran*, gen. *kiš(ša)raš* < **ǵʰs-er-m*, **ǵʰs-r-os* (see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.). We would expect a nom. *χέαρ in Greek, but it was apparantly replaced after the genitive. ToA *tsar* and ToB *ṣar* also point to a stem **ǵʰes-r-*, although the exact phonetic development remains unclear. The old reconstruction **ǵʰer-s-* has been generally abandoned.

Further forms are: Arm. *jeṙn* from the accus., plur. *jerkʿ* (= χεῖρες), Alb. *dorë*. Connection with Skt. *hásta-*, Av. *zasta-*, OP *dasta-* [m.] 'hand, arm' < **ǵʰes-to-* is likely, though the replacement of the suffix with *-t-* is hard to motivate.

The basic article for this word is Schindler *IF* 72 (1967): 244ff. On the spread of the stem χερ- from the dat.pl. χερσί < **ǵʰes-r-su*, see most recently Viredaz *KZ* 113 (2000): 290-307 (also on the Armenian forms). See also on ►ἰοχέαιρα < **-ǵʰes-r-ih₂*, which nicely preserves the old nominative form.

χειρόμακτρον [n.] 'towel, cloth, napkin' (Sapph., Hecat., S. and Ar. in *Fr.*, X., Hell. pap.). ◁GR▷

•VAR Also -ώ-.

•ETYM The oldest interpretation departs from ▶χείρ and ▶μάσσω (whence μάκτρον) 'to knead, treat with the hands' (cf. άπο-, ἐκ-μάσσω 'to strip off, wipe off'). In this case, however, the incidental occurrence of -ω- (Hdt. v.l., Hell. pap.) beside the much more ususal -ο-, remains unclear. Hoffmann 1898: 365 therefore proposed *χειρ(ο)-ώμαρκτρον (with dissimilation), with a second member connected with ▶όμόργνυμι 'to wipe'; for the zero grade, he refers to ὄμαρξον· άπόμαξον (H.). This is the more likely solution.

χείρων [compar.] 'worse, weaker' (IA, Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Aeol. (gramm.) χέρρων, poet. also χειρότερος (O 513, Υ 436, Hes. *Op.* 127, etc.), superl. χείριστος (Att.).

•DER Epic forms χερείων, χερειότερος; χέρεια [acc.pl.n., acc.sg.m.], χέρηες [nom.pl.], χέρηϊ [dat.sg.].

•ETYM In order to explain the forms, Leumann *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945): 2ff. assumes that a superlative *χέρ-ιστος was built to χείρων < *χέρ-jων, replacing zero grade *χάριστος after μέζον < *μέγ-jων to μέγιστος. Att. χείριστος was then reshaped after χείρων, to which χειρίων· ἐλάττων, χείρων (H.) was formed. χερείων was formed beside *χέριστος after the model ἄριστος : άρείων, with a ntr. χέρειον, to which the plur. χέρεια after the *o*-stems; to this, finally, the m./f. *χέρει-ες (written χέρη-ες, see Schwyzer: 243), with a dat.sg. χέρη-ϊ, acc. χέρει-α.

No convincing etymology. Earlier attempts fail: the connection with Skt. *hrasvá-*, compar. *hrásiyas-* 'short, small', OIr. *gerr* 'short' because Gr. χερ- cannot be explained, and the proposal by Machek *Listy filol.* 72 (1948): 74f. (to OCS *gorjii* 'worse', which is usually connected with *gorěti* 'to burn', *gorъkъ* 'bitter') is formally not evident in view of the Slavic *o*-grade.

On χειρόομαι see ▶χείρ. Cf. also ▶χρή.

χελῑδών, -όνος [f.] 'swallow' (Od.), often metaph., e.g. of a flying fish (middle com., Arist.), see Strömberg 1943: 117f., Thompson 1947 s.v. ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Poetic voc. -οῖ, like ἀηδοῖ to ἀηδών(ν), etc.

•DER 1. poetic χελιδον-ίς, -ίδος [f.], = -ών with elucidation of the sex (*AP*), also as a mythological name (Ant. Lib.). 2. χελιδον-ιδεύς [m.] 'young swallow' (Eust.), like άετ-ιδεύς, etc., see Boßhardt 1942: 78f. 3. χελιδον-ιον [n.] 'id.' (Gal.), also the name of a plant (Thphr., Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 72. 4. χελιδον-ίας [m.] kind of tuna (Diph. Siph.), see Strömberg 1943: l.c.), also the name of a constellation (Scherer 1953: 174), 'the spring wind' (Thphr.), like άπαρκτίας, etc. 5. χελιδόν-εως [f.] kind of fig tree (Ath. et al.), after φιβάλεως, etc. 6. χελιδον-ιά [f.] name of a deme (Arx.), see Scheller 1951: 137. 7. χελιδόν-(ε)ιος 'belonging to the swallow, (colored) like a swallow', e.g. of figs, σῦκα, ἰσχάδες (Ar. *Fr.* 569: 4, Dsc., et al.), see Schulze 1933a: 415; also of a cup, κύλιξ (Delos IV-II^a). 8. χελιδον-ιαῖος 'colored like a swallow' (pap. imper. times). 9. χελιδον-ίζω [v.] 'to chirp like a swallow, speak unintelligibly, βαρβαρίζειν' (A. *Fr.* 450 = 728 M.), 'to gather for the swallows, beg' (Rhodos; Ath. 8,

360b), whence -ισταί· οἱ τῇ χελιδόνι (τὴν -ὄνα cod.) ἀγείροντες (H.). Extensively on χελιδών and its derivatives Thompson 1895 s.v.

•ETYM The woman's name Χελιδϝον (*IG* 9²(1), 86: 1 [Thermos VI[a]], of Corinthian origin) for Χελιδϝονι[ς (?, see Sommer 1948: 146[3]) would point to a suffix -ϝον-. This would be the only occurrence of this suffix in post-consonantal position in alphabetic Greek (but cf. Myc. *te-mi-dwe-te, -ta*). It is preferable, therefore, to take -ϝ- as a false archaism, like in Τλασίαϝο instead of -αο (cf. Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 161).

Otherwise, the formation is unclear too: χελῑ̃δ- reminds of ψηφῑ̃δ-, κνημῑ̃δ-, but further connection with a root *$g^{h}el$- in reduplicated ►κίχλη and the Germanic group of OHG *gellan* 'to sound, cry', MHG *glīen* 'to cry' is hardly credible.

On the other hand, a suffix -ῑδ- is unproblematic in Pre-Greek. Fur.: 272, 355 assumes Mediterranean origin (also for Lat. *hirundō*).

χελιχελώνη [f.] designation of a girls' game, in which the participants form a ring around a player called χελώνη (Poll. 9, 125, Eust.). ◄PG?►

•ETYM A playful reduplicated formation, for which Specht *KZ* 59 (1932): 122ff. tried to explain a semantic relation with χελιδών. This is quite doubtful. The word could also be connected with χελώνη (s.v. ►χελύνη 2), which is Pre-Greek.

χελλών, -ῶνος [m.] a kind of mullet, 'Mugil chelo' (Arist., Hikes. and Diph. *apud* Ath., H.); also as a PN (Ephesus IV[a]), see Bechtel 1917a: 48. ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also -λ-.

•DER χελλαρίης = ὀνίσκος fishname (Dorio *apud* Ath.), see Strömberg 1943: 130 and 134.

•ETYM On the fish see Thompson 1947 s.v. The semantically obvious connection with χεῖλος (Mastrelli *Arch. glott. ital.* 51 (1966): 135; cf. the Romance continuants of Lat. *labeō*) is phonetically difficult.

Fur.: 140 connects χελλαρίης with καλλαρίας, γαλαρίας (H.) and γαλλερίας, γελαρίης (Dorio and Euthydem. *apud* Ath. 7, 315f.). The variation shows that these words are Pre-Greek, and the same must hold for χελλών, then.

χελύνη 1 [f.] 'lip' (Ar. *V.* 1083, Poll. 2, 89, H.), 'jaw' (Ael.). ◄PG(V)►

•COMP As a first member in χελυν-οίδης 'with swollen lips' (*Com. Adesp.*, Eust.).

•DER χελύνιον [n.] 'lip' (pap., Hippiatr.), 'jaw' (Hp. *Ep.*, Hipparch., J., Hippiatr.). Probably also in χελυνάζειν· χλευάζειν 'to jest, scoff' (H.), which has variants σχελυνάζει· φλυαρεῖ 'talks nonsense', ἐσχελύνασεν· ἐφλυάρησεν (H.).

•ETYM The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of its structure and of the variants with σχελυν-. Connection with χελύνη 2, χέλυς, χελώνη is semantically unclear; the relation to synonymous ►χεῖλος is unclear too.

χελῡ́νη 2 [f.] 'land turtle' (Nic. *Al.* 555, 558 v.l.). ◄PG(S)►

•VAR Aeol. χελύννα [f.] 'lyre' (Sapph.), 'game of turtles' (Erinn.), see Scheidweiler *Phil.* 100 (1956): 40ff. Also χέλυμνα (Babr. 115, 5), which has been doubted without justification (Fur.: 247). Also χέλους· μουσικὸν ὄργανον 'musical instrument' (H.), perhaps Boeotian?

•DER Diminutive χελύν-ιον [n.] 'braincase' (Hippiatr.), = χελώνιον (H.).

χέλυς, -υος [f.] 'tortoise' (*h. Merc.*), often 'lyre' (*h. Merc.*, Sapph., A. *Fr.* 314 = 621 M., E. [lyr.], Call.), with ῡ, secondarily ŭ. Also a constellation (Arat.), see Scherer 1953: 181 and 203; metaph. 'chest' (Hp., E.). As a first member e.g. in χελυ-ο-σσόος 'causing the (strings of the) lyre to move' (Hell. poetry), χέλ-υδρος [m.] 'tortoise snake', an amphibious snake with rough scales (Nic., Lyc.), see Morel *Phil.* 83 (1928): 378. A rare derivative is χέλυσμα [n.] 'wooden sheathing on the keel of a ship for protection during haulage' (Thphr., Poll.), see Chantraine 1928: 9, and cf. ἔρεισμα, ὅδισμα, etc.; Χελῡ-τις [f.] epithet of Artemis in Sparta (Clem. Al.); the naming motive is unknown.

*χελύειν is found in χελούειν· βήσσειν 'to cough' (H.), probably Lac., and in χελ(λ)ύσσομαι [v.] (also ἀνα-) 'to expectorate' (Hp., Nic., H.), -ω 'to disgorge' (Lyc.). Cf. also χελ-ίσκον [n.] = τρύβλιον (Hp. *apud* Erot.), -ίσκιον [n.] 'mild coughing' (Hp. *apud* Gal.).

χέλειον [n.] 'tortoise shell' (Nic., H.), χελεύς· κιθάρα (H.).

With a different stem χελώνη [f.] 'tortoise (shell)' (*h. Merc.*+), metaph. of many tortoise-like objects, especially a wooden shield cover of siege-troops, Lat. *testūdō* (X., Plb., etc.). As a first member in Χελωνο-φάγοι [m.pl.] EN (Str., D. S., Plin.), also = ἀετοί τινες (H.).

Thence 1. χελών-ιον [n.] 'tortoise shell' (Arist.), often metaph., e.g. 'cover of a lock which is shaped like a tortoise shell' (Delos III[a], pap.), see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 43; diminutive -άριον [n.] (Hero, *Peripl. M. Rubr.*). 2. χελων-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'lyre, footstool, threshold' (Poseid., LXX, S. E.). 3. χελων-ία, -ῖτις [f.] name of a stone (Plin.), -ίτης (κόλπος), -ῖτις (νῆσος, etc.) as a geographical name (Redard 1949: 122, 125, 160, 178). 4. -ινος 'made of tortoise shell' (*Edict. Diocl.*).

•ETYM χέλῡς is at the basis of χελύνη < *-*us-no-* 'ptng. to the χ.' and χέλειον < *χέλεϝιον (like γένειον to γένυς). With a change of suffix, we also find χελίσκον, -ίσκιον.

χέλυς is usually identified with a Slavic word for 'tortoise': CS *žely*, Ru. *žolv'*, etc. < PSl. **želū-* < IE **g*[h]*eluH-* or **g*[h]*elH-u-*. The connection with the word for 'green, yellow' in Lat. *helvus*, Greek ►χλόη, etc. from a root **ǵ*[h]*elh*$_3$- seems possible, but is rejected e.g. by Schmeja *IF* 68 (1963): 40f.

Traditionally, χελώνη is connected to χέλυς under an analysis *χελω[υ]-νᾱ, where the long diphthong loses its second element. This would presuppose that suffixal -νη was added to an old nominative **g*[h]*el-ōu*. It is more probable that χελώνη reflects an old interchange of suffixes *-u-* and *-n-* (e.g. Lat. *grūs* beside γέρανος, Lat. *corvus* next to κορώνη). It would be conceivable that the -ω- has to do with the root-final **h*$_3$ of **ǵ*[h]*elh*$_3$-, but the details remain unclear.

Another option (Mastrelli *apud* Frisk) is that χελώνη derives from the sharp sides of the jaw of tortoises, and that it is connected with the word for 'lip, jaw' in ►χεῖλος, ►χελύνη 1.

Finally, Fur.: 247 points out that the form χέλυμνα is real, and that it yielded *χελυϝνα > χελῦνη, χελύννα (with interchange μ/ϝ), like in σίγυμνος, σίγῡνος. This strongly suggests Pre-Greek origin. DELG writes that the form with -ῡν- is of a rare

type; Chantraine 1933: 208 already stated that the words with -ῡν- must be interpreted as loans from a non-IE language. In spite of the similarity with the Slavic words, I think this conclusion is unavoidable for χέλυς, χελύνη and related words. The explanation of χελώνη from a long diphthong is an interpretation which has long since been given up (-ων- is a Pre-Greek suffix; see Fur.: 303[39]).

χελώτρα = *stillicidium* (gloss.), water that falls drip by drip.
•ETYM Conomis *Glotta* 46 (1968): 183 connects ▸χολέδρα 'roof-gutter', s.v.

χενόσιρις Egyptian name of 'ivy' (Plu. *Mor.* 365). ◂LW Eg.▸
•ETYM According to Plutarch, φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος, which is correct according to Newberry *J. Egypt Arch.* 15 (1929): 93[1].

χέραδος [n.] 'debris, gravel, rubble' (Φ 319, Sapph. 145, Alc. *fr.* 344 L.P., A. R. 1, 1123). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Dat.sg. χεράδει or -ι (Pi. *P.* 6, 13, *Fr.* 327), gen. χαράδεος = χαράδρας (*Tab. Heracl.* 1, 60); Also a fem. in the glosses χερᾶς· τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ποταμῶν λιθῶδες and χεράδες· αἱ τῶν χειμάρρων ποταμῶν λιθώδεις ἀθροίσεις (H.). Variant σχερ- in gen. πολυ-σχεράδος (Euph. *fr.* 25 Powell), 'shingly' (LSJ), probably from false word-division in Φ 319. Further χεραδέως [adv.] 'in mass' (Gal. *Gloss.* XIX, 154 Kühn), with J. Jouanna.
•DIAL Myc. *ka-ra-do-ro* (see Ruijgh 1967a: 75).
•DER χαράδρα [f.] 'dry bed of a mountain river, torrent (which dries out in summer), ravine, etc.' (Il.); also χάραδρος [m.] 'id.' (Delph., Boeot., Plu.), also HN (Th., Paus.). Derivatives: 1. χαράδρ-ιον (Str.), -ειον (Nic.) [n.] 'id.'; 2. -εών, -εῶνος [m.] 'place with many riverbeds' (Hdn.). 3. -ώδης 'full of riverbeds' (Str., Dsc.), -αῖος 'belonging to a riverbed' (*APl.*, Nonn.), 'striated, serrated' (Nonn.), -ήεις 'id., full of riverbeds' (Nonn.). 4. χαραδρ-όομαι [v.] 'to be filled or corroded by a torrent, form a torrent, cleave' (Hdt., Hp., Plb., Str.), also with ἐκ-. 5. χαραδριός [m.] name of a bird, perhaps 'plover' (IA), acc. to Arist. because it lives in χαράδραι, probably folk etymology? More in Thompson 1895 s.v.; formation like ἐρῳδιός, αἰγυπιός, etc.
•ETYM As is shown by the Heraclean gen. χαράδεος (probably reshaped after χαράδρα), the neuter χέραδος is old. The feminine χερᾶς, which was already (re)constructed in antiquity from the ambiguous form χεραδος (either χέραδος [acc.sg.n.] or χεράδος [gen.sg.f.]), is found beside χέραδος in H., *EM*, etc., and is supported by collective formations (Chantraine 1933: 352f.) like λιθᾶς, δειρᾶς; for further discussion Leumann 1950: 161f.
The pair χέραδος : χαράδρα (rather not with vowel assimilation) reminds of ἕδος : ἕδρα, ἔχθος : ἔχθρα, etc. For the formation, cf. also πέτρα, τάφρη, etc.
The older connection with ▸χαράσσω must be given up. There is no convincing alternative etymology. Since the variation between χεραδ- and χαραδ- cannot be explained in IE terms, the word is probably Pre-Greek. This is quite plausible for a geographical term. Not in Fur. See also on ▸χόνδρος.

χερείων, χέρηες, -ηι ⇒χείρων.

χεράριος [m.] probably 'secretary' in Ilion (*CIG* 3620, 3621 [I[a]]). ◂LW Latin▸

•ETYM Interpreted as *χειρ-άριος by Boeckh.

χερμιάς, -άδος [f.] 'large pebble, sling stone' (poet. Pi., also late prose). ◂?▸
•VAR Also χέρμα· ποίημα, χάλιξ (H.); cross of χέρμα and χεράς? See Schwyzer: 508.
•DER χερμάδιον [n.] 'cobble, sling stone' (Hom.), -άδιος 'similar to a χερμιάς' (Luc.). χερματιστής· λίθος χειροπλήθης, καὶ δίσκος βακχεῖος (H.), χερμ-αστήρ [m.] 'sling' (*AP*), -άται [m.pl.] 'slingers' (D. H.). Verb χερμάζω [v.] 'to clear of stones, remove the stones' in ἐχερμάζομεν· τὴν γῆν εἰργαζόμεθα (H.); with verbal connection also νεώχερμιος· γῆ νεωστὶ εἰργασμένη (H.).
•ETYM Connected with χείρ by ancient sources (e.g. H. χερμάς· λίθος χειροπλήθης), χέρμα reminds of χέραδος and χεράς, which are also unclear. If the word belongs to χέραδος, etc., it is probably Pre-Greek.
The formally unobjectionable connection with Skt. *harm(i)yá-* [n.] 'firm, permanent house', Av. *zairimiia-* [n.] 'id.' remains hypothetical because of the meaning.

χερνής, -ῆτος [m.] Adjunct of δόμιος, βίος, γυνή = πένης, λάτρις, χειρο-τέχνης (H.), 'poor, meagre' (E. *El.* 207 [lyr.], *AP* 6, 39, Gal. *apud* Orib.), οἱ χερνῆτες 'craftsmen, day labourers' (Arist. *Pol.* 1277[a], 38: "οἱ ζῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν"); ◂GR?▸
•VAR Fem. also χερνῆσσα (Hdn. Gr. 1, 250).
•DER Besides χερνήτης (Dor. -ήτας) [m.] 'craftsman, day labourer' (Simon. 124A, A. *Pr.* 893 [lyr.], D. H.), fem. -ῆτις 'craftswoman, day labourer (fem.)' (M 433, Parth., *AP*); also χερνήτορες = χερνῆται (Man.). Adjective τὸ χερνητικόν 'the profession of craftsman' (Arist.). Backformation χέρνα γὰρ ἡ πενία (H.), probably constructed for the sake of etymology.
•ETYM Departing from M 433, where a spinster is mentioned, scholars have seen in χερνῆτις a compound (univerbation) of χείρ and νέω 'to spin', so properly 'spinning with the hands'; thence, χερνήτης, χερνής would have secondarily acquired the general meaning 'day labourer', and (as an adjective) 'poor, scanty'. Schwyzer *RhM* 77 (1928): 105[2] explained the word as haplological for *χερ-αρν-ητ- (χερ- for χειρ- after χέρ-νιψ) 'earning with the hands' (to ►ἄρνυμαι, cf. μισθαρνέω, -ος, -ης), but this seems rather artificial.

χερνίτης [m.] designation of a white marble (Thphr., Plin.), see Redard 1949: 63. ◂?▸
•VAR Also -ῖτις [f.].
•ETYM Unexplained; there is nothing that would support connection with χείρ.

χέρνιψ ⇒χείρ.

χέρσος [f.] 'dry land, mainland' (epic poet. Il.), as opposed to the sea, 'dry, infertile, barren land, wasteland', also adjective 'dry, infertile, desert', mostly predicative, which admits of a substantival interpretation (Hdt., trag., Thphr., LXX, pap.), also metaph. of women (S.); on the mg. Finzenhagen 1939: 59f. ◂IE *$ǵ^{h}$ers-o-* 'standing erect'▸
•VAR Att. χέρρος.
•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. χερσό-νησος (also χερρο-, metrically shortened χερο-) [f.] 'island conncted to the mainland, i.e. peninsula', also as a PN (IA), with χερσονήσ-ιον, -ίζω, etc.; χερσο-κόπος [m.] 'who works on barren land' with -κοπέω,

-κοπία (Hell. pap.). Rarely as a second member, e.g. άρακό-χερσος [f.] 'wasteland overgrown with ἄ.' (pap.).

•DER 1. Adverbs χέρσονδε 'to the mainland' (Φ 238), χερσόθεν 'from the mainland' (Pi., E.), -όθι 'at the mainland' (*AP*). 2. Adjective χερσ-αῖος 'living on land (mainland)' (IA), -ινος 'id.' (Plin.), -ώδης 'infertile' (pap.). 3. Subst. χερσ-ίτης [m.] 'worker on wasteland' (pap. III^{a}), -ία (-εία) [f.] 'wasteland, ἐρημία' (pap., H.); also παραχερσία of a field (*PTeb.* 378, 13; 265^{p}), from *παρά-χερσος 'located next to χ.' (cf. πάραλ-ος, -ία), 'almost barren land'; ἐν π. 'in a situation, which approximates a χ.'. 4. verbs: a) χερσ-εύω (συν-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to live on the mainland' (S. and E. *Fr.* [both uncertain], Plu.), 'to lie or lay waste, etc.' (X., Arist., pap.); b) -όομαι (κεχερσωμένη), -όω (χερσώσαντες) 'id.' (pap., LXX, Plu.).

•ETYM The gender is after νῆσος, γῆ, etc. Perhaps derived from the verbal root *$ǵ^{h}ers$- 'to stand erect' seen in Skt. *hárṣate*, *hṛ́ṣyati* 'to be excited' and Lat. *horreō* 'to stand erect, bristle, shudder', to which also belongs (with dialectal *i* for *e*) *hirsūtus* 'rough, bristly, raw'. The Greek word may first have referred to arid, stubbly land, and only later to land in opposition to water. See also ▶χήρ.

Specht *KZ* 66 (1939): 201f. differently assumed a metathesized form of ξερός 'dry', like for σχερός 'mainland'.

χέω, -ομαι [v.] 'to pour, pour out, gush, shed, douse, empty, heap up', med. intr. 'to gush, stream, spread', pass. 'to be poured, be heaped up' (Il.). On the mg. in Homer see Porzig 1942: 104f., in the sacrificial language Casabona 1966: 279ff. ◁IE *$ǵ^{h}eu$- 'pour'▷

•VAR With prefix also -χύνω (late); aor. ἔχεα, inf. χέαι, epic ἔχευα, χεῦα, χεῦαι, med. (epic poet.) also ἔχυτο, χύτο, χύμενος, etc., pass. ἐχύθην, χύθην, -ῆναι (Il.), fut. χέω, -ομαι, epic χεύω, -ομαι, late χεῶ, perf. med. κέχυμαι (Il.), act. κέχυκα (Hell.).

•DIAL Myc. *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*; as a second member e.g. in *si-to-ko-wo*.

•COMP Mostly with one or two prefixes, especially in prose: e.g. δια- (συν-δια-), κατα- (ἐγ-κατα-), ἐπι- (προ-επι-), συν- (παρα-συν-).

•DER A. With full grade: χεῦμα [n.] 'that which is poured, stream, pouring jug' (epic Ion. poet. Ψ 561), προχεύματα [pl.] 'outpourings, mud' (Arist.).

B. With *o*-grade: 1. χοή (often plur. -αί) [f.] 'that which is poured, drink-offering, libation, donation to the dead' (especially poet. Od.); very often from prefixed compounds, e.g. προχοή (mostly pl. -αί) 'outpourings, mouth of a river', also 'libation' (epic poet. *P* 263); also with nominal first member, e.g. οἰνο-χόη [f.] 'jug for scooping wine' (Hes.), to οἶνον χεῖν, cf. οἰνο-χόος below. To this the verbs ἐπι-χοάζω = ἐπιχέω (Lyd. *Mens.*), ἐκ-χοΐζω (pap.) mg. unclear (cf. Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 216).

2. χοῦς [m., f.] 'jug' as a measure (= 12 κοτύλαι), also 'heaped up earth, rubble' (IA), gen. χοῦ, often (analogical) χοός, etc. Thence χο-αῖος 'measuring a χ.' (late), -ιεῖος 'id.' (Hell. pap.), -ικός 'consisting of earth, earthly' (*Ep. Cor.*, Ph.), 'belonging to the χόες-festival' (inscr.). Diminutive -ῖσκος [m.], -ῖσκιον [n.] (Att. inscr. IV^{a}). From προ-χέω: πρόχοος, -χος, -χους [m.] 'pouring jug' (Ω 304) with -χοΐδιον [n.] (com. et al.). Often with nominal first member, e.g. οἰνο-χόος [m.] 'wine pourer, cupbearer' (B 128), with -χοϊκός (Hld.); in bahuvrīhis, e.g. ἑξά-χοος 'measuring six χόες' (Arist.).

3. χοεύς [m.] = χοῦς as measure (Hp.).

4. χόανος [m.] 'smelting furnace' (Σ 470, Hes., Emp.), also 'funnel' (χῶνος, Hp.); χοάνη (Att.), χώνη [f.] (Att., Hell.) 'funnel' (also metaph.), 'smelting furnace' (Poseidon.). Hence χοανεύω, χωνεύω [v.] 'to cast into, smelt in, pour into a smelting furnace' (Att., Hell.), also with συν-, κατα-, etc., whence χων-εία, -εῖον, -ευμα, -ευτής, -ευτήριον (Hell.).

C. With zero grade: 1. χυ-τός 'heaped up' (Hom. only χυτὴ γαῖα), 'poured (out), fluid', mostly from the prefixed verbs, e.g. προ-, ἐπι-, ἐκ- (Pi., IA); προχύται [f.pl.] (E., A. R.) = οὐλο-χύται (see οὐλαί).

2. χύτης 'pourer' (gloss.), further with prefix, e.g. προχύ-της [m.] 'jug, mug' (Ion. lyr., Hell. com.). 3. χυτήρ = *fusorium* (gloss.), ὑπο-, ἐπι-χυ-τήρ [m.] 'pouring jug' (LXX, Sm.); καταχυτήρ-ια [n.pl.] 'inundation festival' (pap.), etc. 4. χύσις [f.] 'pouring out, emptying, that which is poured, rubble, heap' (Od.), mostly from prefixed verbs, e.g. συν-, ἐκ-, δια-, προ-; ἐκχυσιαῖος 'belonging to a drain' (pap. III^{p}); besides χυ-τικός (δια-, συν-, προ-) 'dissolving, etc.' (Pl., Arist.). 5. χύμα [n.] 'that which is poured, (cast) ingot, heap, bulk' (Arist., Hell.), innovated for χεῦμα, mostly prefixed, e.g. with ἐν-, προ-, ἀπο-, κατα-; thence χυμάτιον [n.] 'small ingot' (Delos II^{a}). 6. κατά-χυσμα [n.] (after ἥδυσμα, πάσμα, etc.) 'liquid poured over sth., sauce', plur. 'figs and nuts, with which the bride is showered' (com.); diminutive -χυσμάτιον (com.); συγ-χυ-σμός [m.] 'the pouring of oil into a lamp' (*Stud. Pal.* II^{p}). 7. χύτρα (Epich., Att.), Ion. κύθρη, Hell. also κύθρα [f.] 'earthen pot' with κυθρίς, also χυτρ- [f.] (Hdt., Hell.), -ίδιον [n.] (IA), -εύς [m.] 'potter' (Pl.), -ίτης = πυός (sch.), -εοῦς (Att.), -ειος (Ar.), -ινος (Hp.), -ικός (IV^{a}) 'earthen, clay', -ώδης 'like a pot' (S.), -ίνδα παίζειν (Poll., H.), -ίζω (also κατα-, ἐν-, ἐκ-) [v.] 'to abandon a child (in a pot), to put into a pot (for burning)' (A., S. in *Fr.*, com.), whence ἐγχυτρίστρια [f.] (Pl. *Min.*, sch.), περιχύτρισμα [n.] 'area enclosed by clay shards'? (Att. inscr. IV^{a}), χυτρισμός· ἡ τῶν βρεφῶν ἐν ταῖς χύτραις ἔκθεσις (H.). 8. χύτρος (κύθρος) [m.] 'earthen pot', also 'earthen hole' (Hell.); οἱ Χύτροι name of the warm sources near Thermopylai (Hdt.), 'festival of pots' (Ar.) with χυτρ-(κυθρ-)-ῖνος [m.] 'subterranean water well, deep holes in the riverbed' (Antig. *Mir.*, *Peripl. M. Rubr.*); συγ-χυτρόομαι [v.] 'to become derelict, become ruined' vel sim., of an oil-mill (συνεχυτρώθη, pap. I^{p}). 9. χύτλον [n.] (mostly plur. -α) 'liquid, especially for washing and anointing' (Hell. poetry), with χυτλ-όομαι, -όω [v.] 'to wash, anoint' (ζ 80, Hell. poetry., medic.), -άζω 'id.' (medic.), ἐγ-χυτλόω 'to perform a libation' (Herod.), κατάχυ-τλον [n.] 'pouring jug' (com., Poll.). 10. χύδην, Dor. (Call.) χύδαν 'in streams, by heaps, disorderly' with χυδ-αῖος 'abundant, ordinary, common' (Hell.), -αιότης, -αιόομαι, -αΐζομαι, -αϊστί (late). 11. See ►χυλός, ►χυμός, ►χυμεία.

On the secondary present forms χοῦν, προσχοῖ, χοῦσι, etc. (as if from *χόω) beside χῶσαι, χωσθῆναι, κέχωσμαι, etc., see ►χώννυμι. Reshaped from this χοεῦσαι [aor.] (Argolis IV^{a}).

•ETYM Old forms are the verbal adjective χυτός, which formally agrees with Skt. *hutá-* 'sacrificed' < IE *$ǵ^{h}u$-tó-; other Greco-Indian isoglosses are: χεῦμα = Skt. *hóman-* [n.] 'sacrificial pouring, sacrifice'; χύσις = Skt. *ā-huti-* 'sacrifice'. The present and aorist formations of Greek and Indo-Aryan, however, are far apart: Greek has a

full grade thematic χέω, while Indic has an athematic reduplicated present *juhómi*. Both forms can be old.

A special problem is presented by the aorist forms ἔχευα and ἔχεα, see Kiparsky *Lang.* 43 (1967): 627f., Hettrich *MSS* 35 (1976): 47-61, and more recently Harðarson 1993a: 188 and 193-4. The question is whether they represent a sigmatic aorist or an old root aorist; I do not have a strong opinion on this matter. On the treatment of the intervocalic digamma, see Chantraine 1942: 159.

Beside these full grade active forms stand with regular zero grade the medial ἔχυτο, χύτο, χύμενος, to which ἐχύθην. From this aorist, the fut. *χέϝω arose as an original thematic subjunctive.

Beside in Indo-Aryan, the verbal root is found in ToAB *käw-* 'to pour', ToB 1sg. subj. act. *kewu*, 3sg. med. *kutär*. The corresponding verb in Latin as in Germanic has an enlargement in *-d-* (probably a present suffix: Lat. *fundō* 'to pour out', Go. *giutan* 'id.', etc. Nominal forms are found in Arm. *joyl* 'poured, molten, massive' < *$ǵ^h$eu-lo-* or *$ǵ^h$ou-lo-* (cf. χῦλός), Arm. *jew* 'form, shape' < *$ǵ^h$eu-o-*, Lat. *futis* [f.] 'watering can' (Varro). Hitt. *ku-uz-za* /*kūts*/, acc. *kuttan* 'wall' < 'heaped up' is a *t*-stem, see Schindler *KZ* 81 (1967): 297. Finally, there are two Thraco-Phrygian glosses: ζευμαν· τὴν πιγήν 'source'. Φρύγες (H.), would be Gr. χεῦμα, see Solmsen *KZ* 34 (1897): 62[1], and ζετραία· χύτρη (Poll.), perhaps from *$ǵ^h$eu-tr-*. Cf. ►κοχυδέω and ►χώομαι.

χηλή [f.] 'cloven hoof of cattle, horse's hoof, talon, pincers', metaph. 'surgical forceps, hooked needle, crochet needle, notch of an arrow, breakwater jutting out in a claw-like way' (Hes. *Sc.*, IA since Hdt. and A.). ◄?►

•VAR χαλά (trag. [lyr.]).

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χαλ-αργός 'fleet of hoofs, with fleet hoofs' (S. [lyr.]), δί-χηλος, -χαλος 'with cloven hoofs, with two claws' (Hdt., E., Arist.); on -χαλος in Arist. see Björck 1950: 298ff. Thence διχηλ-έω [v.] 'to have cloven hoofs', with -ία, -ησις; compounds, e.g. ἀγκυλο-χήλης 'with hooked talons' (Ar.), confused in the tradition with the much more usual -χείλης.

•DER Verbs: 1. χηλεύει· ῥάπτει, πλέκει 'stitch, plait' (H., Poll. = Eup. 388); χηλευτά, epithet of κράνεα (Hdt. 7, 89), = ῥαπτά, πλεκτά (H., Poll.), χήλευμα = ὀπήτιον (H., Poll.). 2. χηλόομαι [v.] 'to be furnished with claws' (Hero), -όω 'to furnish with notches' (Ph.), -ωμα [n.] 'notch' (Hp. *apud* Gal., Eratosth.), -ώτια· αἱ ῥαφίδες τῶν δικτυοπλόκων (H.). Also κεχήλωμαι πόδας· δέδεμαι συνερραμμένος τοὺς πόδας (H., perhaps = S. *fr.* 445). Further χηλᾶς· ῥάπτης, πλέκτης (H.). Unclear is χήλινον epithet of ἄγγος (Anacr. 37), acc. to H. and Poll. = πλεκτόν (but rather to ►χηλός, s.v.).

•ETYM No agreement outside Greek. Usually connected with ►χήμη, ►χηραμός and further with ►χάσκω, under the assumption of an original meaning "klaffender Gegenstand". DELG calls this not very plausible.

χηλός [f.] 'chest, drawer, coffer' (*P*, Od., Theoc., epigr. Thasos). ◄?►

•VAR On the gender see Schwyzer 1950: 34[2].

•DER Perhaps χήλινον (ἄγγος) 'chest-like vessel' (Anacr. 37), or to ►χηλή?

•ETYM "ἀπὸ τῆς διαστάσεως τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἄνοιξιν γενομένης" (A. D.); if this is correct, it may belong with ►χήμη to ►χάσκω.

χήμη [f.] 'mussel' (Philyll., Arist., Hell. pap.), also used as a measure (Hp.); = χάσμη, χηραμὶς λεία 'smooth kind of mussel' (H.), see Olsson *Symb. Oslo.* 4 (1926): 63. ◅?▻

•DER Diminutive χημ-ίον [n.] (medic.) and χήμωσις [f.] designation of an eye-disease (medic.).

•ETYM Taken to be a verbal noun to ►χάσκω (like χάσμη), with the same full grade as in OCS *zějǫ* 'χαίνω'. Cf. ►χηλή, ►χηλός, ►χηραμός. Quite uncertain.

χήν, χηνός [m., f.] 'goose' (Il.). ◅IE *$ǵ^{h}h_{2}en$-s- 'goose'▻

•DIAL Dor. Boeot. χάν, χανός; Myc. gen.sg. (pl.) *ka-no*, dat.pl. *ka-si* (Aravantinos, Godart & Sacconi 2002: 207f.

•COMP As a first member, e.g. χην-αλώπηξ [m., f.] "fox-goose" (after κυν-αλώπηξ, etc.), designation of an Egyptian kind of goose (Hdt., Ar., Arist., Herod.). Short form χηνάλοπες [pl.] (H.), with -αλωπεκ-ιδεύς [f.] 'young fox' (Ael.), -ειος (Hell. pap.); χηνάγρ-ιον [n.] 'young wild goose', diminutive of *χήν-αγρος (on the formation Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 286f.).

•DER 1. Diminutive: χην-ίον [n.] (Hell. pap.), -ίσκος [m.] (Eub.), mostly metaph., e.g. 'curved part at the backside of a ship' (Ptol., Luc.), -άριον [n.] (Hdn.), -ιδεύς [m.] (Ael., Eust.). 2. Adjectives -ε(ι)ος 'of the goose' (Hdt., Arist., Hell. pap.), -ώδης 'goose-like' (S. E.). 3. Verb χην-ίζω and χην-ιάζω 'to quack like a goose, cackle' (Ath., Diph.); of flute-players.

•ETYM The nom. plur. χῆνες, χᾶνες agrees nicely with Germanic and Baltic plural forms: OE *gēs* > MoE *geese*, ON *gæss*, Lith. dial. *žą̃ses* < *g^{h}ans-es*. The *s*-stem was generalized in Greek as an *n*-stem, with analogical nom. χήν, χάν instead of *χᾶς < *χάνς.

Other cognates include Ru. *gus'*, OHG *gans*, probably also OIr. *géis* 'swan', and the secondary forms in Skt. *haṃsá-* [m.] (*o*-stem), fem. *haṃsī*, and OE *gōs*, ON *gǫ́s* < PGm. **gáns-ō*, continuing an *ā*-stem. Lat. *āns-er*, *-eris* [m.].

Connection with χανεῖν (see ►χάσκω) and onomatopoeic origin have both been considered.

As IE had no phoneme */a/*, Skt. *haṃsá-* must continue *$ǵ^{h}h_{2}en$-s-*, and the same form may be assumed for the other languages.

χήρ [?] · ἐχῖνος 'hedgehog' (H.). ◅IE *$g^{h}er$- 'stick out'▻

•ETYM Identical with Lat. *ēr*, *ēris* [m.] 'hedgehog', which may represent **hēr*, cf. *ānser* 'goose' for **hānser*. It is assumed that the root is *$g^{h}er$- 'to be excited' seen in ►χαίρω, and that this originally meant 'to stick out, be bristly'. It probably does not belong to the root *$ǵ^{h}ers$- 'to be stiff' found in ►χέρσος, because we do not find a trace of *-*s*- in the present word. See also ►χοῖρος.

χήρα [f.] 'widow, woman left by her husband, vidua' (Il.). ◅IE *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}r$-o-▻

•VAR Ion. -η.

•COMP As a second member in φιλό-χηρος, -χήρα 'friend of widows' (late inscr.).

•DER 1. χῆρος 'widowed, orphaned, bereaved' (E., Call., A. R., *AP*, late prose), rarely as a substantive 'widower', of the male of an animal (Arist. [beside χήρα], Ath.).
2. χηροσύνη [f.] 'widowhood' (A. R., Man.). 3. χηρ-αιότης [f.] 'id.' (pap. VI^{p}), after γεραιότης, etc. 4. χηρ-ήϊος 'widowed, empty' (Antim.), -ειος 'id.' (*AP*). 5. χηρ-ικός 'belonging to a widow' (Tz.).
Verbs: 6. χηρ-εύω [v.] 'to be widowed, separated, bereaved' (ι 124, Gortyn, Att.), also with κατα-, ἐπι-; thence -ευσις [f.] 'widowhood, separateness' (Gortyn, LXX). 7. χηρ-όω [v.] 'to make widow, rob (of one's spouse), depopulate' (Il.), whence -ωσις [f.] 'robbery' (sch.). 8. χηρ-αίνω 'to become a widow' (Herod.).
See also on ►χηρωσταί.
•ETYM χήρα replaced the old word for 'widow' found in Lat. *vidua*, etc.; a cognate of this is retained in ►ἠΐθεος. Remote cognates may be found in χώρα < *$ǵ^{h}oh_{1}$-*reh*$_{2}$-, and with a different suffix χῆτος, dat. χήτει (on ►χατέω see s.v.). It is assumed that the root from which all these forms derive is identical with that in the verb meaning 'to leave' in Skt. *jáhāti* and ►κιχάνω.

χηράμβη [f.] a kind of mussel (Archil. *fr.* 285 W, Sophr.) ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Also χηραμύς (Xanth., Hp., Str.), s.v. ►χηραμός. See Fur.: 287.
•ETYM Fur.: 221, 287 assumes a Pre-Greek pre-form *χηραβυς in order to explain the prenasalized form.

χηραμός [f.] 'hole, cleft, slit' (epic poet. Φ 495, also Arist. and late prose). ◂PG(S,V)▸
•VAR Plur. also -ά [n.], dat. pl. also χηραμόνεσσι (Orph.), which seems to point to *χηραμών, but is probably only a metrical enlargement.
χηραμίς (Hp. *Morb.* 3, 15 and 16) and χέραβος· χάσμα γῆς (H.) are taken by Fur. 221 as mistakes for χηραμός, but could just as well be variants.
•DER χηραμο-δύτης [m.] "who nuzzles through holes" (*AP*), χηραμόθεν 'from a hole' (Orph.). Lexically attested by-forms: χαραμός· ἡ τῆς γῆς διάστασις, οἷον χηραμός (H.), χηλαμός (Eust.), χειραμός (*EM*).
Beside it χηραμύς, -ύδος [f.] 'scallop-shell', used as a measure of content (Xanth., Hp. [v.l. -μίς], Str.), χηραμύδες· τὰ κοῖλα καὶ ἔχοντα κενώματα 'hollow places, having cavities' (H.); χηράμβη [f.] 'kind of scallop' (Archil., Sophr.).
•ETYM A typical example where scholars have tried to explain away all variants, instead of asking what they may indicate. We clearly have a Pre-Greek form with several variants. Fur.: 339 suggests that χειραμός represents an earlier form *χαιραμος. The variant with -μβ- is a variant too, see Fur.: 221^{6} and 287^{6}, recalling the variations μ/ μβ and β/ μ. Note also ρ/ λ. Further, -υδ- is known as a Pre-Greek suffix.

χηρωσταί [m.pl.] = οἱ μακρόθεν συγγενεῖς (H.), 'far-off kinsmen, who inherit from a deceased person lacking closer relatives' (E 158, Hes. *Th.* 607, Q. S.). ◂IE *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$-*ro*- 'bereft'▸
•ETYM Formation comparable with ὠμηστής, so like this to be analyzed as a compound, extended with a suffix -της. Formally and semantically strongly reminiscent of Lat. *hērēs*, *-ēdis*, it also resembles χήρ 'widow', χῆρος 'bereaved, orphaned, etc.'. The first member in both words is IE *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$-*ro*- > *χῆρον 'property

left behind' (cf. MoHG *Erbe* 'property' to ►ὀρφανός, s.v.). Dunkel 1987: 91-100 showed that the second member is from **h₁ed-* 'to eat'. This solves the problem of the -ω-: **ǵʰeh₁ro-h₁d-* > χηρωδ-. The *ē* of Latin is explained by assuming lengthened grade *-h₁ēd-* in the second member, which may have been reintroduced at a later stage or not.

χῆτος •VAR Dat. χήτεϊ, χήτει. ⇒χατέω.

χθαμαλός ⇒χθών.

χθές [adv.] 'yesterday' (*h. Merc.*). ◄IE **dʰgʰies-* 'yesterday'►
•VAR Also ἐ-χθές (Ar., Hell.).
•DER χθιζός 'of yesterday' (Hom.), to which the adverb χθιζ-όν (T 195), -ά (B 303); explanation see below. Several formations in -ινός (περυσινός, etc.): χθεσ-ινός (Luc.), ἐχθεσ-ινός (*AP*), χθιζ-ινός (Ar. [lyr.] conj., Gal., Alciphr.), ἐχθιζ-ινός (Men.).
•ETYM Old expression of time for 'yesterday', retained in:
1. Lat. *heri*, Alb. *dje* < IE **ǵʰes(i)*, ON *í gær*, OSw. *ī gār* < **ǵʰēs*, where *i* is a preposition; with a suffix *-ter-* in Lat. *hes-ternus*, Gm. **gester-*, e.g. in OHG *gestaron* 'yesterday'.
2. Skt. *hyás* < **ǵʰies*. The gloss σερός· χθές. Ἠλεῖοι (H.) can also be explained from the same basis (with Elean rhotacism, and -ός after νυκτός).
3. χθές with the same initial as in ►χθών; here probably also belong Celtic forms like OIr. *in-dé*, MW *(d)doe* < PCl. **gd(i)i̯es* (with loss of the *g-*).
Derivation from **dʰoǵʰo-* 'day' (Puhvel 1987a: 316-318) directly explains the initial reflexes. Puhvel assumes a comparative suffix, with *-i̯es* as an endingless locative and *-is-* as a zero grade; in this way, the forms with and without *-i̯-* are also explained. The comparative suffix gives an original meaning 'the day which is the other day in relation to now'. The anlauting ἐ- in ἐ-χθές may be the same deictic particle as in ἐ-κεῖνος. χθιζά may be from *χθισ-δα (Pisani) with δ-suffix as in κρύβ-δα, etc.; Puhvel l.c. n. 11.

χθών, χθονός [f.] 'earth, ground, land' (almost only epic poet. since Il.). ◄IE **dʰgʰem-* 'earth'►
•COMP Rarely as a first member, e.g. χθονο-τρεφής 'bred by the earth' (A.). Often as a second member, e.g. αὐτό-χθων 'possessing one's own ground, living on proper ground, indigenous', mostly plur. 'aboriginals' (of the population of Attica, etc.), secondarily 'produced by the earth' (IA); besides αὐτό-χθονος 'together with the land' (A. *Ag.* 536); αὐτόχθων and -ονος are treated extensively by Sommer 1948: 83ff.
•DER 1. χθόν-ιος 'belonging to the earth, the ground, the underworld; indigenous' (epic poet. Hes., also late prose); often in hypostases, e.g. ἐπιχθόν-ιος 'living on the earth, earthly' (epic poet. Il.); on ►Ἐριχθόνιος s.v. 2. χθόνεια [n.pl.] 'festival for worshipping the χθόνιοι θεοί' (Argolis). 3. χθονήρεις· χθονίους (H.), uncertain χθόϊνος = γήϊνος (H.). 4. With ablaut and retained -μ-: χθαμι-αλός 'low' (N 683), with -αλότης [f.] 'lowness' (late), -αλόω [v.] 'to lower, make level' (J.).
•ETYM Old word for 'earth', retained in most daughter languages: Hitt. *tēkan*, gen. *taknaš*, ToA *tkaṃ*, ToB *keṃ*, Skt. *kṣā́ḥ*, gen. *jmáḥ*, Av. *zā́*, gen. *zəmō*, Alb. *dhe*, Lat.

humus, OIr. *dū*, acc. *don*, Lith. *žẽmė*, Ru. *zemljá*. Typical derivations are found in Germanic, e.g. Go. *guma* 'man', Lat. *homō*, NPhr. ζεμελως, which is a formation like χθαμαλός and Lat. *humilis*. The Anatolian TN Γδαμ-μανα is better left out of the discussion.

As a basis, we find an *m*-stem *$d^heǵ^h$-m- > Hitt. *tekan*, to which a zero grade stem *$d^hǵ^hom$- > ToA *tkaṃ* was formed. The initial d^h was lost in Lat. *humus*, Gr. χαμαί, etc. In Greek, $d^hǵ^h$- became χθ- through metathesis, and final -μ regularly became -ν, which subsequently spread in the inflexion. The -*m*- was retained only in the zero grade forms χθαμαλός and ►χαμαί. The root may also be seen in ►αὐχμός 'drought' and νεοχμός 'new'. Further details on the morphology and phonetic development in Schindler *Sprache* 13 (1967): 191ff.

χῖ, χίασμα ⇒ χεῖ.

-χι [encl.pcl.] in ἦ-χι, οὐ-χί, ναί-χι (Il.). ◅IE *$ǵ^hi$▻

•ETYM An emphasizing particle, like Skt. *hí*, Av. *zī*, also encl. in *kár-hi* 'when?', *tár-hi* 'then', from IE *$ǵ^hi$.

χῖδρον [n.] 'dish of fresh barley-corns or other crops' (Alcm., Ar., LXX, Hell. pap.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Mostly plur. -ρα. Also χέδρα (v.l. Ph. 1, 180); κίδναι· αἱ ἐγχώριοι (codd.; ἐφώροι) πεφρυγμένοι κριθαί (H.), where Schmidt reads κίδραι *sec. ord.*

•DER χιδρίας πυρός 'unripe wheat' (Ar. *Fr.* 889), χιδροπώλης 'dealer in χ.' (Poll. 7, 199); χιδροβρόχον 'vessel for soaking χ.', Kafizin 219 (223/222 BC).

•ETYM Acc. to sch. Ar. *Pax* 595, ἔδεσμα περὶ Καρίαν. Unsuccessful attempt to connect the word with κριθή by Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 565f. The variation κ/χ shows that the word is Pre-Greek (Fur.: 135f.).

χίδρυ [n.] · ὄνομα δειλόν (H.). ◅PG?▻

•ETYM Probably a rude term, the meaning of which is not given. It could belong to sexual language, compare χίδαλον· ἀντὶ τοῦ <κίδαλον>· τὸ αἰδοῖον (H.), and χίδαδον [leg. χίδαλον]· τὸ παιδίον (H.). The connection with κίδαλόν 'onion' is popular. Difficult to judge is χιδά· φρικτή; see DELG. The word will be Pre-Greek.

χίλιοι [num.] 'thousand' (Il.). ◅IE *$ǵ^heslo$- 'thousand'▻

•VAR Ion. (inscr.) χείλιοι, Aeol. χέλλιοι, Lac. χήλιοι.

•COMP As a first member in χιλιό-ναυς 'consisting of a thousand ships' (E., Str.), also -ναύτης, Dor. -ναύτας 'id.' (A. [anap.], E. [lyr.]), χιλιόμ-βη [f.] 'sacrifice of a thousand oxen' (Jul.), after ἑκατόμβη. As a second member also -χιλοι in ἐννεά-, δεκά-χ(ε)ιλοι 'nine thousand, ten thousand' (E 860, Ξ 148), after this δίσ-χιλοι (Att. epigr. V^a), a backfornation like -βιβλος to ►βιβλίον.

•DER 1. χιλιοστός 'thousandth' (Att.), -όομαι [v.] 'to be convicted to a penalty of a thousand drachmae' (Lycurg.); 2. χιλιάς, -άδος [f.] 'number of a thousand' (IA), -αστύς (Ephesus, Samos, Cos), also -οστύς (X.), Aeol. χελλησ-τύς (Methymna) [f.] 'division or troop of a thousand men' (details on the formation in Fraenkel 1910: 202f., Schwyzer: 593 and 597); thence -αστήρ [m.] 'member of a χιλιαστύς' (Samos), see Fraenkel l.c., Benveniste 1948: 74. χιλιάζω [v.] 'to be a thousand years old' (Tz.).

•ETYM The dialectal forms χείλιοι, χέλλιοι, χήλιοι clearly point to a pre-form *χέσλιοι, which is cognate with Skt. *sahásra-*, Av. *hazaŋra-* [n.] 'thousand'. A pre-form IE **ǵʰeslo-* can be reconstructed, but the original concrete meaning of it remains unknown ('heap' vel sim.?). Usually, Att. χῖλιοι is thought to have arisen by assimilation, and it also intruded into the text of Homer (see Wackernagel 1916: 7). Skt. *sa-* and Av. *ha-* continue the zero grade of IE **sem* 'one' (see ►εἷς). It is usually assumed that Lat. *mīlle* should be connected too, from **smih₂ ǵʰeslih₂*.

χῑλός [m., f.] 'green cattle-fodder, grass, meadow' (Hdt., X., Plu., Babr.). ◄?►

•VAR Also -ή [f.] 'id.' (Gal., Suid.).

•COMP As a first member in χιλή-γονος 'grown as fodder' (Nic.), as a second member in βού-χιλος 'feeding oxen' (A. [lyr.], *AP*).

•DER 1. χιλ-όω [v.] 'to feed, lead onto the meadow' (X.), -οῦσθαι· παχύνεσθαι, σιτίζεσθαι 'to fatten, be fed' (H.), with -ωμα [n.] 'fodder' (Agatharch.), -ωτήρ [m.] 'fodder-bag' (pap., Poll., H.); 2. -εύω 'id.', also intr. 'to pasture' (Thphr., Nic.).

•ETYM Unexplained. Machek 1958: 54f. compared Cz. *žir* 'fodder', Ru. *žir* 'fat, lard'. Other explanations of the Slav. word are found in Vasmer 1953 s.v.

χίμαιρα [f.] 'goat', also as a designation of a mythical monster (Il.). ◄IE **ǵʰei-m-* 'winter, snow'►

•COMP As a first member in χιμαιρο-φόνος 'killing goats' (*AP*). Hence χιμαιρ-άς [f.] 'id.' (*Del.*³ 644, 16 [IV-III^{a}]), beside ἀρνηάς (cf. Fraenkel 1910: 95), also -ίς [f.] 'kid' (Alciphr.), -ειος 'belonging to a goat' (Hdn.).

•DER χίμαρος [m.] 'he-goat', also [f.] 'goat' (Ar., Hell.); χιμαρο-κτόνος = χιμαιροφόνος (Opp.); χιμάρα [f.] 'id.' (*AP*).

•ETYM Formation with a suffix -ια- (cf. πρῷρα, νείαιρα) which reminds of MoSw. and MoNw. dial. *gimmer*, *gimber*, ON *gymbr* [f.] 'sheep that has not yet dropped a lamb' < PGm. **gimbrī*. The proper meaning is 'a one year old animal', cf. χίμαροι· αἶγες χειμέριαι (H.), and χίμαιρα· ἡ ἐν χειμῶνι τεχθεῖσα, οἷον ἕνα χειμῶνα ἔχουσα (*EM* 811, 53), see also on ►ἔταλον. If the Germanic forms are cognate, they are probably independent innovations.

The age of the much later attested χίμαρος (replacing ►τράγος, s.v.) is uncertain; probably it is an innovation to χίμαιρα like πιερός to πίειρα; cf. also ἔταρος beside ἔταιρα.

It was derived from an *r*-stem, which is also seen in Arm. *jmeṙn* 'winter' < **ǵʰimer-*, and within Greek with full grade in χειμέρ-ιος, -ινός. This *r*-stem alternates with the *n*-stem in χειμών, χεῖμα.

χίμετλον ⇒ χεῖμα.

χῖράς, -άδος [f.] 'chap, crack' (D. L., Suid., Eust.). ◄PG?►

•VAR Also χειράς; plur. also χ(ε)ῖραι = αἱ ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις (H.), τοῖς ποσὶ ῥαγάδες (*EM* 810, 27).

•COMP As a first member in χιρο-πόδᾱς [m.] (Alc.; cod. χειροπόδης); also -πους, plur. -ποδες 'with chapped feet' (Poll., H., *EM*).

•DER χιρ-αλέος (medic. pap.), -αλέους· τοὺς πόδας κατειργασμένους (H.), cf. ῥωγαλέος; χίραμια [n.] designation of a foot-disease of horses (Hippiatr.). Formation like λιθάς, σπιλάς, etc.

•ETYM The connection with the Germanic group of MoNw. *gir* [m.] 'desire, passion', OHG *gīri* 'desirous', also *gīr* 'vulture', is highly doubtful. Semantically close within Greek are χηραμός, χηλή, but an ablaut IE **ǵʰēi̯-* : *ǵʰi-* cannot be assumed anymore; this means that these words cannot be related. χηραμός is probably Pre-Greek; the same may hold for this word, in view of the suffix -αδ- and the meaning.

χιτών, -ῶνος [m.] 'chiton', designation of a garment without sleeves, which was worn directly on the body, 'body-garment, shirt' (Il.); extensively on the mg. Trümpy 1950: 13f., E. Masson 1967: 27ff. ◁PG?▷

•VAR Ion. prose and Hell. κιθών (on κιτών, χιθών see below).

•DIAL Myc. *ki-to*, *ki-to-ne*, *-na*.

•DER Hypostasis Myc. *E-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* = ἐπι-χιτών-ια [n.pl.] "that which is worn over the chiton", designation of upper garments. Diminutives: χιτώνιον [n.] (Ar., Att. inscr., Hell. pap.), -άριον [n.] (Hell. and late), -ίσκος [m.] (Att.), -ίσκιον [n.] (Att. inscr.), -ισκάριον [n.] (Eust.). Further -ία [f.] mg. unclear (Melamp.), Scheller 1951: 54. Also Χιτώνη (Call.), -έα or -ία (Epich., Ath.), Κιθώνη (Milete), name of Artemis as a huntress.

•ETYM Acc. to E. Masson l.c., a Semitic loan word, first from Phoen. *ktn* 'linen garment'. On the different forms: χιτών, with metathesis κιθών, through contamination κιτών and χιθών, see Schulze 1933a: 386; Wackernagel 1916: 23 and Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 43. From Sem. also Lat. *tunica* (see WH s.v.). Acc. to Fur.: 136, we are rather dealing with an Anatolian culture-word. Could it be Pre-Greek, given the variants?

χιών ⇒ χεῖμα, χειμών.

***χλᾰδεῖν** [v.] 'to cheer, roar'. ◁?▷

•VAR A hypothetical aor. beside the perf. κέχλᾱδα (Pi.), a form which is found as κεχληδέναι· ψοφεῖν, προσλαλεῖν 'to make noise, talk with' (H.).

•ETYM The formation may be compared with κέκρᾱγα : κρᾰγεῖν, κέκρῑγα : κρῐγεῖν, λέληκα : λακεῖν. A present *χλάδω (LSJ) cannot be accounted for; it would rather be *χλάζω (Thes., Pape), like κράζω, κρίζω beside ▸καχλάζω.

χλαῖνα [f.] 'upper-garment, mantle', originally worn only by men (Il.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Also κλανίσκιον inscr. Athens (Fur.: 136).

•COMP μελάγ-χλαινος 'with a black χ.' (Mosch.), also a people north of the Scythians (Hdt.).

•DER χλαιν-ίον [n.] (*AP*); denominative -ῶσαι, -όω [v.] 'to cover with a mantle' (Nonn., *AP*), also with ἀνα-, δια-, κατα-; thence -ωμα [n.] 'cloak', of the skin of a lion (*APl.*), -ίζω 'id.', -ιστής [m.] (Hdn.).

Further χλανίς, -ίδος [f.] 'light upper-garment', worn both by men and women (IA). Compound χλανιδο-ποιός [m.] 'manufacturer of χ.' (Poll.), -ποιία [f.] (X.). Thence χλαν-ίδιον [n.] (Hdt., E.), -ιδίσκα [f.] (Tanagra III[a]), -ιδίσκιον [n.] (Aristaenet.); also

-ίσκιον [n.] (Ar., Aeschin. et al.), haplological; -ισκίδιον (Ar.). Also χλάνδιον [n.] (Samos, Teos).
A third formation is χλαμύς, gen. -ύδος, accus. -υν (Sapph.) [f.] 'upper-garment for men, especially for traveling or for battle' (Ar., X., Hell.). Compound χλαμυδ-ουργός [m.] 'manufacturer of χ.' (Poll.), -ουργία [f.] (X.). Diminutive χλαμύδιον [n.] (Hell.), -υδίσκα [f.] (Tanagra III[a]), verb κεχλαμυδωμένος 'dressed in a χ.' (Nicostr.).
Unclear remain the glosses χλαμυρίς· πόα, ὁ κυρίως βρόμος 'wild oats', likewise χλανίαι· περιβολαί 'garments'; χλανίτιδες· οἱ ὅρμοι παρθένων 'necklaces of girls'; χλάνος· τὸ περὶ τοὺς τραχήλους δάσος 'rough part around the neck' (all from H.).
•ETYM For χλαῖνα < *χλάν-ι̯ᾰ and χλανίς, a common base form may be assumed. Fraenkel 1912: 178[2] attempted to derive them from a common form χλαμ-, together with χλαμύς. Fur.: 338 connects χλαμύς with χλαῖνα as Pre-Greek, which is convincing given the meanings. Also related are χλανίαι· περιβολαί, for the same reason. χλανίτιδες 'necklace' is rather a different word.
Fur.: 220 connects χλαμυρίς with χλαβόν· εὐτραφές. The group of χλαῖνα, χλανίς and χλαμύς is no doubt Pre-Greek, given the suffix -υδ-, and the interchange ν/μ (see Fur.: 388). Add to these κλανίσκιον (see above).
From χλαῖνα was borrowed Lat. *laena* via foreign (Etruscan?) mediation.

χλαμύς ⇒ χλαῖνα.

χλαρός [adj.] only in χλαρὸν γελάσσαις (Pi. *P.* 9, 38), which acc. to the sch. means προσηνὲς καὶ ἡδύ 'friendly and sweet'. ◁?▷
•VAR From H.: χλαρόν· ῥυπαρόν, λεπτόν, τρυχαλέον 'dirty, small, XX'; also = ἐλαιηρὸς κώθων 'oil vessel'; χλαρά· ψαιστὰ ἐν ἐλαίῳ 'ground in oil', cf. Myc. *ka-ra-re-we* = χλαρῆϝες? See Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v.
•ETYM Unclear. Persson 1912(2): 791[3] hesitatingly compared it with ON *glóra* 'to sparkle', etc.; see also on ►χλόη. A gloss χλάρ· κόχλαξ (H.) = κάχληξ 'pebble' reminds of Lat. *glārea* 'id.', and this is probably not accidental. Alessio *Studi etruschi* 18 (1941): 132 thinks it is a Mediterranian word.

χλεμερόν [adj.] · χλιαρόν, θερμόν 'warm, hot'; χλεμύρα· χλοανθοῦντα 'verdant' (H.). ◁PG▷
•ETYM Persson 1891: 94 and Persson 1912(1): 15 compares Lith. *želmuõ* 'shoot of a plant', to *žélti* 'to become green, flourish', with further connection to the group of ►χλόη. This is difficult because the root is probably *$ǵ^{h}elh_{3}$-. The word seems Pre-Greek: for the suffix cf. ►διφθέρα.

χλέος ⇒ χλῆδος.

χλευδόν · χύδην, σωρηδόν, πληθοῦντα 'unordered, in heaps, full' (H.). ⇒ χλῆδος.

χλεύη [f.] 'joke, jest, mock, scoff' (*h. Cer.* 202, Lyr. [IV[a]], Ph., Luc.). ◁IE *$g^{h}leu$- 'be merry, joke'▷
•DER More usual χλευ-άζω [v.] 'to jest, mock, taunt' (Ar., D., Arist., Hell.), also with δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-, etc., probably denominative; thence -ασμός [m.] (D., Arist., Hell.), -ασμα [n.] (LXX, sch.), -ασία [f.] (D., Arist., D. C.) 'mockery, taunt', -αστής [m.]

'mocker' (Arist., M. Ant.), -αστικός (also κατα-) 'mocking, taunting' (D. H., J., Poll.), -αξ [m.] 'id.' (com. in Poll.).

•ETYM The retention of antevocalic -ευ- seems to point to a lost following consonant (like in ►σκεῦος, σκευή, σκευάζω). χλεύη corresponds to OE *glēo* [n.] 'cheerful conversation, convivial pleasure, joy' < IE **g^{h}leu-o-*, OE *glīw* = ON *glý* [n.] 'id.' < IE **g^{h}leu-io-*. Other cognates have a suffix **-m-* (ON *glaumr* = OE *glēam* [m.] 'shouting, joy', Ru. *glúm* [m.] 'banter, scoff') or *-d-* (e.g. Lith. *glaudas* 'banter'). See Pok. 451.

χλῆδος [m.] 'debris, filth, rubbish' vel sim. (A. *Fr.* 16 = 264 M., D. 55, 22 and 27, Crates Com. 27, Hdn.), = ὁ σωρὸς τῶν λίθων 'heap of stones' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•ETYM Fur.: 136 and 123^{36} mentions variants κληδόν· σωρόν (H.), κληδέα· φραγμοί 'fencings, partitions' (H.) and also χλέος (inscr. Tegea [IV^{a}]). These ensure Pre-Greek origin.

χλῐ̈αίνω [v.] 'to warm, soften' (Hp., S. *Eleg.*, Ar., Arist., *AP*). ◄IE? **ǵ^{h}lei(d)-* 'gleaming, clear'►

•VAR Aor. -ιᾶναι, Ion. -ιῆναι, pass. -ιανθῆναι, fut. -ιανῶ (Ar.); perf. κεχλίαγκα· τεθέρμαγκα 'am warm' (H.).

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER χλιάσματα [n.pl.] 'warming compresses' (Hp.).

Further χλιάζω [v.] 'id.' (sch. Nic. *Al.* 206), χλιάω 'id.' in ptc. χλιόωντι ποτῷ (Nic. *Al.*110; v.l. χλιόεντι), χλῖ̈ω (also ἐν-) [v.] 'to revel, behave haughtily' (A.), ἐγχλίει· ἐντρυφᾷ 'to live in luxury, be dainty' (H.), χλιά [f.] 'warmth' (D. S.), χλιόεις in χλιόεντι (v.l. Nic. *Al.*110), -ώδης 'lukewarm' (late medic.).

Adjective χλιαρός, -ερός (Schwyzer: 482), -ηρῶς (Hp.) 'lukewarm' (Alcm., Epich., Hdt., com., Arist., etc.), -αρότης [f.] (Procl.).

With δ-enlargement: χλῐ̈δή [f.] 'effeminacy, luxury, haughtiness' (Hdt., trag., Pl. *Smp.* 197d, X. *Cyr.* 4, 5, 54), also χλίδος [n.] 'luxurious ornament' (Ion Trag. 3), χλίδ-ων, -ωνος [m.] (accented acc. to Hdn. 2, 729, 18) 'bracelet, necklace, anklet' (Asios VII-VI^{a}, Ar. *Fr.* 320, 11, Att. inscr. IV^{a}, Hell.), χλίδανός (Aeol. χλίδ-) 'copious, voluptuous' (Sapph., A. [anap.], E. [lyr.], Plu.), χλίδαίνομαι [v.] 'to live luxuriously' (X), χλίδάω (rarely with κατα-, κατ-εν-) [v.] 'to be effeminate, revel, be haughty' (Pi., trag., Ar. [troch.], Posidon., Arr.), whence -ημα [n.] = χλίδος (E. *IA* 74). Further some seemingly primary forms: κεχλιδότα· ἀνθοῦντα 'flowering' (H.), διακεχλιδώς = θρυπτόμενος (Archipp.); with full grade: διακεχλοιδώς· διαρρέων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς 'wasting away in luxury', διακεχλοιδέναι· θρύπτεσθαι 'to be effeminate, etc.' (H.). Thus also χλοιδᾶν· διέλκεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν, χλοιδῶσι· θρύπτονται, χλοιδέσκουσαι· γαστρίζουσαι (H.), on the formation see Schwyzer: 708.

MoGr. χλιός 'lukewarm' can hardly be the old inherited basis of the above group, as per Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 191.

•ETYM The pair χλιαίνω : χλιαρός (like μιαίνω : μιαρός, πιαίνω : πιαρός, etc.) belong together both formally and semantically, due to their physiological meaning 'soft, lukewarm'. χλιά, χλιόεις, χλιώδης fit with these semantically.

The rare forms χλίω and χλιδή, in the metaphorical sense 'soft, luxuriant, etc.', seem to be primary.

Some Celtic and Germanic words with the meaning 'to shine, etc.' are compared: OIr. *glé* 'clear, evident', MW *gloew* 'liquid, clear' < QIE **ǵʰloiuo-*, also ON *gljá* 'to shine, gleam', MHG *glīmen* 'to lighten up, gleam', Lith. *žlejà* 'darkness, twilight, dusk' (extensively on this Fraenkel 1955 s.v.). These words point to a root **gʰlei-*.

χλιδή, on the other hand, would correspond to Go. *glitmunjan* 'to gleam', ON *glita* 'to glitter', etc. The semantic connection between 'shine, gleam' and 'warm' is difficult, so the reconstruction remains uncertain.

χλόη [f.] 'first green shoots, young verdure, etc.' (IA), also Χλόη (Ar., inscr., etc.), Χλοίη (oracular saying [II^{P}]) as an epithet or name of Demeter. ◂IE **ǵʰelh$_3$-* 'green, yellow'▸

•VAR Also χλοίη (Hp., Hell. pap., Babr.), Dor. χλόα (E. [lyr.]).

•COMP E.g. χλοη-φόρος 'bearing young green' (E. [lyr.], Ph.), whence -φορέω [v.] (Thphr., Ph.); εὔ-χλοος (or ἐύ-) 'verdant, fresh and green', of Demeter and others (S., Nonn.).

•DER 1. Χλόϊα [n.pl.] 'festival of Demeter Chloe' (Att. inscr. II^{a}). 2. χλο-ερός 'verdant, bright green, fresh' (Hes. *Sc.*, S., E. [lyr.], Theoc.), -ηρός 'id.' (Hp.), -ήρης 'id.' (E. [lyr.]). 3. χλο-ανός 'id.' (Lyd.). 4. χλο-άω (also ἐν-) a) 'to green, sprout, bud' (Eup., Nic., *AP*, Ph.), b) 'to be pale' (Nonn.). 5. -άζω = χλοάω (Arist., Nic., Plu.), whence -ασμα [n.] 'greening'.

Further χλόος (Hell. poetry), χλοῦς (Hp. *apud* Gal.) [m.] 'light green, green-yellow color, pallor', χλο-ώδης 'color of grass, green-yellow, pale' (Hp., Pl., Thphr.), χλοι-όομαι (also ἐκ-) [v.] 'to become green-yellow or pale' (Hp., Gal.).

On itself stands, with other formation, χλωρός 'bright green, pale green, green-yellow, yellowish, pale', also 'fresh, lively' (Il.). Compounds, e.g. χλωρο-φάγος 'eating green fodder' (Hp.), -φαγέω [v.] (Hippiatr.), μελί-χλωρος 'honey-yellow' (Pl., Arist.).

Hence 1. χλωρ-ότης [f.] 'bright green color, paleness' (LXX, Plu.). 2. -ῖτις λίθος 'bright green stone' (Plin.), see Redard 1949: 63. 3. χλωρ-αίνομαι [v.] 'to turn pale' (S. *Fr.* 1114, Gal.), -ασμα [n.] 'becoming pale' (Hp.). 4. χλωρ-ίζω 'to become green or pale' (LXX). 5. χλωρ-άζω [v.] 'to eat green fodder' (Gal.). 6. χλωρ-ιάω [v.] 'to become pale, turn pale' (Hp., Longos), -ίασις (H. s.v. χλόος). 7. χλωρ-ική epithet of the ἀρτεμισία (*PMag. Par.*). 8. birdnames: χλωρ-εύς [m.] name of an unknown bird (Arist., Plin., Ael.), see Boßhardt 1942: 62; χλωρ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'greenfinch' (Arist., Nic., Ael.); χλωρ-ίων, -ίωνος [m.] 'golden oriole' (Arist., Plin.), on χλωρηΐς s.v.; on the birdnames see Thompson 1895 s.vv. 9. Χλῶρις, -ιν pet name (λ 281).

•ETYM The writing χλοίη, χλοιόομαι, which is probably Ionic, may have been caused by the synonyms ποίη, ποία (which is πόα in Attic); cf. cases like χνοίη beside ▸χνόη, ὁλοιός beside ▸ὁλοός.

The Greek words for vegetation belong to a group of words which is represented in Baltic, Slavic and Latin in the same meaning: Lith. *žélti*, 1sg. *želiù* 'to green, sprout', *želmuõ* 'plant, shoot, growth' < **gʰelH-mōn*, *žālias* 'green, raw, uncooked', *žolẽ* 'grass, herb, flower' < **gʰōl-*, etc.; in Slavic e.g. OCS *zelenъ* 'χλωρός, πράσινος', Ru. *zelënyj* 'green', etc.; Lat. *helus*, *(h)olus*, *-eris* [n.] 'green plants, vegetables, cabbage'. In Indo-Iranian, Skt. *hari-* 'fallow, greenish' and Av. *zairi-* 'yellow' < **gʰe/olH-i-* are related.

From other languages, ζέλκια· λάχανα. Φρύγες (H.) and Oss. *zældæ* 'low grass' may be mentioned.

From χλωρός, which must derive from zero grade *$*ǵʰlh₃-ró-$*, it becomes clear that the root was *$*ǵʰelh₃-$*. It is unclear, however, how χλόη and χλόος (with short -o-) can be derived from this root, as they point to *χλόϝη, *χλόϝος. The pair *πλόϝος to πλώω has been compared, but there we have evidence for two roots *$*pleu-$* and *$*pleh₃-$*.

The comparison of χλωρός with Icel. *glóra* 'to sparkle, gaze at', *glór-eygðr*, *glór-ögd* 'with sparkling eyes' is semantically not strong. Interesting is the identification of χλωρός with ►γλουρός · χρυσός, γλούρεα· χρύσεα. Φρύγες (H.).

Other relatives are expressions for 'bile' and 'yellow', see ►χολή.

χλούνης [m.] epithet of the wild boar (*I* 539, Hes. *Sc.* 168, 177, Call. *Dian.* 150), 'boar' (Nic. *Fr.* 74, 6, Opp. *H.* 1, 72), mg. unclear (A. *Fr.* 62 = 74 M., Hippon. 61 = 29 Masson). The meaning was already debated in antiquity: 'cut up, castrated, τομίας'; 'living solitarily, μονιός'; 'foaming, ἀφρίζων'; 'resting in the grass, ὁ ἐν τῇ χλόῃ εὐναζόμενος'; 'wrong-doer, robber, κακοῦργος, λωποδύτης'. ◅?▻

•VAR Acc. -ην.

•DER Also χλοῦνις [f.] 'pubescence' vel sim. (A. *Eu.* 188), χλουνός· χρυσός 'gold' (H.). Also MoGr. dial. (Calabria) ἀσκλούνη(ς) = 'μονόρχης κριός' or 'στεῖρος κριός' (Kapsomenos; see Risch *Glotta* 35 (1956): 76 and O. Masson 1962: 29).

•ETYM The word has no etymology, and the case is worsened by the unclear meaning. For χλουνός = χρυσός, connection with χλόη, χλωρός is probable.

χλωρηΐς, -ίδος [adj.] epithet of ἀηδών (τ 518), of κάμπη (Nic. *Th.* 88). ◅GR▻

•ETYM Poetical feminine formation of χλωρός after patronymics and derivations from PNs, e.g. Χρυσηΐς, Βρισηΐς (Risch 1937: 142); cf. ἀηδόνες ... χλωραύχενες (Simon. 73).

Prellwitz, however, reconstructed *χλωρ-ηϝιδ-ς 'brightly singing', a compound of χλωρός and the zero grade of ἀείδω with compositional lengthening. The same analysis by Duerbeck *MSS* 24 (1968): 15ff. (with extensive treatment), but in the sense of 'singing in the fresh leaves'.

χλωρός ⇒χλόη.

χναύω [v.] 'to gnaw (off), nibble' (Epich., E. *Cyc.* 358 [lyr.], com. IV[a]). ◅?▻

•COMP Also with παρα- (Ael.).

•DER χναῦμα [n.] 'delicacy, titbit' (com. IV[a], Zen., Poll., H.), -μάτιον [n.] (com. V[a]), -ρός 'dainty' (Pherecr.), -στικός [m.] 'gourmand' (com. III[a]). Further χνίει· ψακάζει, θρύπτει (cod. -ττει) 'drips, breaks into pieces' and χνιαρωτέρα· χνοω<δεσ>τέρα (H.).

•ETYM These words agree in their vocalism with ψαύω, θραύω, χραύω; the glosses remind of ψίω, χρίω. Further see ►χνόη, ►χνόος; it is unclear what the original form was.

χνόη [f.] 'axle-box, hub' (trag.). ◅?▻

•VAR Also χνοίη (Parm., Emp. [conj.]); cf. χλοίη beside χλόη.

•DER Besides χνόος, χνοῦς [m.] 'fluff, dust, foam' (ζ 226, Hp., Ar., Arist., Hell.), χνοώδης 'fluffy' (Hp., Thphr., Dsc., Gal.), χνό-ϊος 'id.' (Anacreont.), χνο-άω [v.] 'to be

fluffy; to start growing a beard (Hell. and late poetry), also with ἐπι-; also χνο-άζω (S. *OT* 742, com. V^{a}, Him.), χνο-ίζω (Crete II^{P}, Gal.) 'id.'.

•ETYM Starting from a meaning 'to plane, scratch, gnaw off', χνόος and χνόη may be understood as action nouns 'what is planed or gnawed off', and 'place of planing off (of the axle)'. It is tempting to connect the popular words ►χναύω and χνίω.

Reasonable connections can then be found in Germanic and Slavic: ON *gnúa* 'to rub', OE *gnēað* < PGm. **gnauða-* 'niggardly', Ru. *gnus* 'rabble, vermin', Pol. *gnus* 'sluggerd', OCS *gnusьnъ* 'μιαρός'; DELG speaks of 'rather loose' connections. The forms mentioned in Pok. can hardly yield Gr. χναυ-. Cf. also ►κνίζω, ►κνύω, ►κνόος, which agree in meaning.

χοάνη •VAR χόανος, χοή, χοῦς. ⇒χέω.

χοῖνιξ, -ικος [f.] corn-measure = 4 κοτύλαι (since τ 28), metaph. a kind of fetter (Ar., D.), also of the socket of a door-hinge (Hell. pap.). ◁PG(S)▷

•COMP As a first member in χοινικο-μέτρης 'one who measures with a χ. (as a daily ration)' (Ath.), ὁμο-χοῖνιξ 'one who shares a χ. with someone else, fellow-slave' (Plu.); further almost always thematically enlarged, e.g. τρι-χοίνικος 'measuring three χ.' (Ar., X., Hell. pap., Poll.).

•DER χοινικ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] in several mgs. like 'nave, drum' of a wheel, an axle, a door-hinge, a crown, etc. (D., Hell.); -ιον [n.] as a measure, also 'fetter' (Phld., Them.), χοινίκη· τοῦ τροχοῦ, ἐν ᾧ στρέφεται ὁ ἄξων 'socket of a door-hinge' (H.); -ιαῖος 'measuring one χ.' (Hell. inscr.).

•ETYM The fact that no origin can be proposed for this technical expression, means that it is almost certainly Pre-Greek; cf. the suffix -ικ-.

χοῖρος [m., f.] '(young) pig, piglet' (ξ 73), metaph. 'pudenda muliebria' (com.); name of a Nile-fish (Str., Ath., Gp.), on the naming motive Strömberg 1943: 101; or is it a folk-etymology from Nubian (Thompson 1947 s.v.)? ◁PG?▷

•COMP Often as a first member, e.g. χοιρο-πώλᾱς (Dor.) [m.] 'pig-seller' (Ar.); also as a second member, e.g. καλλί-χοιρος 'with fair piglets' (Arist.), ἀγριό-χοιρος [m.] 'wild boar' (sch. Ar. *Pl.* 304).

•DER 1. χοίρα [f.] 'female piglet' (Orph.). 2. diminutive χοιρ-ίον [n.] (Ar.), -ίδιον [n.] (Att., etc.), -ίσκος [m.] (Luc.).

3. χοιρ-άς, -άδος [f.] 'sea-cliff' (Pi., IA), because of the similarity with the back of a swine, plur. 'swollen glands in the neck' (Hp.), cf. Lat. *scrōfulae* to *scrōfa*, see WH s.v.; thence -αδώδης 'craggy' (Str.), 'full of glands' (Plu.), -αδικός 'suffering from neck-glands', ntr. 'remedy against glands' (medic.). Pisani *RILomb.* 77 (1943-44): 566f. connected χοιράς < *χορ-ι̯αδ- 'cliff' with χέραδος 'gravel', but this is not preferable.

4. χοιρ-ίνᾶς [m.] 'kind of cake' (Philox. Lyr. V-IV^{a}). 5. χοιρ-ῖνη [f.] 'small sea-mussel' (Ar. [anap.], Poll.), like δελφακ-, ἀθερ-ίνη and other fish names). 6. χοιρ-ίημα· τὸ χοιρίδιον (H.), like ἐριφιήματα = ἔριφοι. 7. χοιρ-εών [m.] 'pigsty' (Tz.). 8. χοιρ-άφιον [n.] 'furrow' (pap. III^{P}), like θηρ-άφιον. 9. Adj. χοίρ-ε(ι)ος (IA, ξ 81), see S. Schmid 1950: 26 and 51; -ινος (Luc.) 'of (young) pigs', -ικός 'id.' (*EM*), -ώδης 'dirty' (late medic., Hdn.), -ωδία [f.] (sch.). 10. -ίζω [v.] 'to behave like a swine' (sch.). 11.

Χοιρεᾶται [m.pl.] name of a phyle in Sicyon (Hdt. 5, 68), a nickname devised by Cleisthenes. 12. χοιρόδανον [n.] name of a plant (Ps.-Dsc.), see Strömberg 1940: 147.
•ETYM The inherited word for 'pig', σῦς or ὗς, gradually extinguished and was replaced by γρῦλος, γρύλλος and χοῖρος. The latter probably represents *χορ-ι̯ος, and in this case may be cognate with Alb. *derr* < *ǵʰoiro-* 'swine'. Since wild pigs are brushed, it may also be related to ►χήρ 'hedgehog', which is related to Lat. *ēr*. In view of the limited distribution, we may wonder whether this etymon is a substrate word.
The other etymology by Lidén *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* B. 27 (1931): 117ff., that χοῖρος would be identical with Arm. *gēr* , gen.pl. *girac'* 'fat (of men and animals)' (which may derive from IE **gʰoiro-*) and related to Ru. *žir* 'fat, bacon, wealth', is not very convincing.

χολάδες [f.pl.] 'entrails, guts' (Δ 526 = 181, *h. Merc.*, Antim., *AP*). The sing. χολάς means τὸ κοινὸν ὑποχονδρίου καὶ λαγόνος, 'abdominal cavity' (Arist.). ◄PG?(V)►
•VAR χολλάδες (Pherecr., Men.). Fur.: 131 compares κόλον 'intestines; (Ar.).
•DER Besides χόλικες [f.pl.] 'entrails, especially of oxen', also [m.], sing. χόλιξ 'gut' (com., Milete V[a]), χολίκιον [n.] 'gut' (Thphr., Poll.).
•ETYM A Slavic word for 'stomach' shows remarkable similarity with χολάδες: Ru. *želúdok*, CS *želudъkъ*, Pol. *żołądek*, which may be reconstructed as IE **gʰel-ond-*. The formation is similar to that of χολάδες, if this derives from **gʰol-nd-*, but not identical. Lith. *skilándis* 'sausage-stomach, etc.' is considered unrelated, but shows the same sufflx.
There are a number of problems with this account: first, the deviating form χόλικες remains unexplained (it is difficult to arrive at this form from **kʰolm̥d-*). Second, Fur.: 140 compares not only κόλον, but also καλίδια· ἔντερα. Κύπριοι 'intestines (Cypr.)' (H.) and (ibid.: 345) γόλα· ἔντερα. Μακεδόνες (H.), γάλλια· ἔντερα (H.), γάλλος (H.); he also adduces Arm. *kʿalird* 'intestestines of animals. The variations show that the word is Pre-Greek.

χολέδρα [f.] 'roof-gutter, gutter' (Eratosth., Ph. *Bel.*). ◄PG?►
•ETYM Unexplained. It can hardly belong to ►χολή. The formation cannot be Indo-European; is the word Pre-Greek?

χολέρα [f.] 'cholera, a disease of the stomach, which causes vomiting and diarrhoea', ξηρὴ χ. 'obstruction' (Hp., Aret.), 'vomit, nausea' (LXX). Acc. to H. also = σωλήν, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῶν κεράμων φέρεται ἐξακοντιζόμενον (= ►χολέδρα). ◄PG?►
•VAR Ion. -ρη.
•DER χολερ-ικός 'belonging to χ., suffering from χ.', -ώδης 'like χ., causing χ.', χολερ-ιάω [v.] 'to suffer from χ.' (medic.).
•ETYM A medical expression. Formally, we may compare ὑστέρα and names of diseases like ἴκτερος and ὕδερος. Perhaps, χολέρα is a substantivation from *χολερός with shift of accent (Schwyzer: 482). As a basic form, χολή or χόλος (Celsus) is more probable than χολάς (Alex. Trall.), but Pre-Greek is also quite possible.
OIr. *galar* [n.] 'disease' has to be kept separate (cf. Pok.: 411).

χολή [f.] 'gall', also metaph. (mostly poet.) 'bitter hate, wrath' (IA), also of the exception of the cuttle-fish (Nic.). ◁IE *$ǵ^{h}elh_{3}$- 'green'▷

•COMP

Rarely as a first member, e.g. χολη-δόχος 'absorbing gall', of κύστις 'gall-bladder' (late medic.), χολό-βαφος (Arist.), also χολοί-βαφος (Nic.) 'immersed in gall, gold-yellow', with metrically conditioned variation acc. to Schwyzer: 452[5]. On ►χολέδρα [f.] 'gutter', see s.v.

Frequent as a second member, e.g. μελάγ-χολος 'containing black gall' (S.), -χολίαι [f.pl.], -ίη [sg.] "melancholy", 'bilious complaint, gloominess, melancholy' (Hp., Ti. Locr.), -χολάω [v.] 'to be gloomy, insane' (Att.); on the matter see Müri *Mus. Helv.* 10 (1953): 21ff.; on ►ἀκράχολος s.v.

•DER 1. Diminutive χόλ-ιον [n.] (M. Ant.). 2. Adjective χολ-ώδης 'full of gall, bilious' (Hp., Pl., Arist.), also 'wrathful' (Luc.), also connected with χόλος; -όεις 'bilious' (Nic., Opp.), -ικός 'id.' (Plu.), -αῖος 'id.' (Suid.).

3. Denominative χολάω [v.] 'to be full of gall, rage, be wrathful' (Hp., com., LXX), also with ἐκ-, ὑπερ-; χολαίνω [v.] 'id.' (Aesop., v.l.), ἐκ-χολίζω [v.] 'to remove the gall' (Gp., v.l.).

Also χόλος [m.] 'bitter hate, wrath' (Il., epic poet., also Hdt. and late prose), rarely 'gall' (*P* 203). Thence χολ-ωτός 'wrathful' (Hom.), see Ammann 1956: 21f., -ιος 'wrathful' (*AP*).

To χολωτός belongs a series of verbal forms: χολω-θῆναι, -σασθαι. -σομαι, κεχόλω-μαι, -μένος, -σομαι, pres. χολοῦμαι 'to become wrathful, be wrathful, grumble'; also act. χολῶ-σαι, -σέμεν 'to make wrathful' (Hom., Hes., Pi., trag.); see Wackernagel 1916: 130, Chantraine 1942: 364.

From medical language χολόομαι [v.] 'to turn into gall' (Gal., Alex. Aphr.), rarely -όω, mostly with ἐκ-, ἐπι- (to ἐπί-χολος), connected with χολή.

•ETYM Formally, χολή and χόλος are primary nouns to the root *$ǵ^{h}elh_{3}$- found in Lat. *helus*, *(h)olus* [n.] 'greens, vegetables'.

A primary verb, which may be preserved in Lith. *žélti* 'to sprout', originally referred to the green-yellow color of germinating and sprouting vegetation, cf. OHG *gruoni* 'green' to *gruoen* 'to germinate', and Lat. *vīridis* to *vīreō*. This verb could also be used of other objects that were characterized by a comparable color, e.g. gall: Av. *zāra-* [m.], ON *gall* [n.] 'gall, poison', OHG *galla* [f.] < PGm. **galla-*, **gallō(n)*- < IE *$ǵ^{h}olH$-*n*-, OCS *zlъčь* < *$ǵ^{h}lh_{3}$-*ti*- (the appurtenance of Lat. *fel, fellis* [n.] 'id.' with *f-* < *$ǵ^{h}$- presupposes that it is a dialectal form).

A color adjective 'green, yellow, etc.', is found in several variants, e.g. Skt. *hári-* = Av. *zairi-* < IE *$ǵ^{h}eli$- or *$ǵ^{h}olH$-*i*-, Lat. *helvus* 'honey-yellow' < *$ǵ^{h}elH$-*i*-*uo*- (see De Vaan 2008 s.v.), Lith. *žel̃vas* 'greenish, yellowish' < *$ǵ^{h}el$-*uo*-, OHG *gelo* 'yellow' < PGm. **gelwa-* << IE *$ǵ^{h}elH$-*u*-), ON *gulr* 'id.' < PGm. **gula-* < IE *$ǵ^{h}lH$-*o*-, etc.

The word for 'gold', which occurs in various forms, is also related: Skt. *híraṇya-* = Av. *zaraniia-* [n.] < *$ǵ^{h}lH$-*en*-, Go. *gulþ*, OHG *gold* [n.] < PGm. **gulþa-* < IE *$ǵ^{h}lH$-*to*-), OCS *zlato*, Ru. *zóloto* < IE *$ǵ^{h}olH$-*to*-.

See ►χλόη, ►χολέρα.

χόνδρος [m.] 'grain, grain of salt, seed, barley-grain, cartilage, especially of the breastbone' (Ion., com. since Ar., Arist., Hell.). ◁?▷

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χονδρ-άκανθος 'with cartilaginous backbone' (Arist.), ἔγ-χονδρος 'grainy' (Dsc.), ἐγχονδρ-ίζω [v.] 'to make grainy, form into grains' (late medic.), ὑπο-χόνδρ-ιος 'located under the cartilage of the breastbone', -ιον [n.] 'upper part of the abdominal cavity' (Hp., Arist., etc.).

•DER 1. χονδρ-ός 'grainy, coarse' (Hp., Arist.), a secondary formation after the oxytone adjectives in -ρός. 2. Diminutive χονδρ-ίον [n.] (Hp.). 3. χονδρ-ίτης (ἄρτος) 'bread made of barley' (LXX), see Redard 1949: 91. 4. χονδρ-ίλη [f.] 'gum-plant, Chondrilla iuncea' (Dsc., Gal.), like κονίλη etc. 5. χονδρ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a plant (Plin.). 6. χονδρ-ώδης 'grainy, cartilaginous' (Hp., Arist.), -ινος 'made of barley' (Archestr.). 7. χονδρ-ωσις [f.] name of a disease of the breasts (Sor.), from *χονδρόομαι. 8. χονδρ-ιάω [v.] 'to swell with clots of milk', of female breasts (Dsc.). 9. χονδρεύει· σεμίδαλιν ποιεῖ 'produces flour' (H.).

•ETYM Unexplained. The connection with a verb for 'to rub, etc.' in OE *grindan* 'to grind', Lith. *gręsti*, 1sg. *gréndžiu* 'to shave, scour, scratch', Lat. *frendō* 'to grind, gnash, shatter', with dissimilation from *χρόνδρος, has to meet the difficulty that Greek excludes an initial labiovelar, while Latin seems to require one. Another problem is that Germanic *-d-* cannot be combined with Greek -δ- and with the acute in Lithuanian. Unclear is Alb. *grundë* 'clay'.

Alternatively, a pre-form *χόρδ-ρος (related to ▸χέραδος, χαράδρα) dissimilated to χόνδρος; in this case, the word would be non-IE.

χόννος [m.] 'copper cup', a Cretan word (Hermonax *apud* Ath., H.). ◁?▷

•VAR Plur. -οι as the name of a festival (Gortyn V-IV[a])?

•ETYM Frisk comments that it is probably from χοῦς, χέω, comparing ▸χόανος, ▸χῶνος. Unclear.

χορδή [f.] 'gut, catgut, string, sausage' (since φ 407). ◁IE *$ǵ^{h}$orH- 'intestine'▷

•COMP As a first member in χορδ-αψός [m.] 'ileus, volvulus' vel sim. (medic.); on connection with ἅπτω see extensively Strömberg 1944: 100f. Often as a second member, e.g. ἑπτά-χορδος 'with seven strings' (Arist.).

•DER Diminutives χορδ-ίον [n.] (Milete V-IV[a]), -άριον [n.] (Alex. [lyr.]); further -εύω [v.] 'to make sausages', -ευμα [n.] 'sausage-dish' (Ar.), κατα-χορδεύω 'to chop to sausage-meat, cut up, slit' (Hdt., Them.), -έω 'id.' (Ael.).

•ETYM Derived from an Indo-European term for 'intestine', but without an exact correspondence. A formation in *-n-* is found in Lith. *žárna* (*žarnà*) [f.] '(small) guts, leather bag, hose', plur. *žárnos* 'intestines', ON *gǫrn* 'id.', plur. *garnar* 'intestines' < IE *$ǵ^{h}$orH-nh_2-, OHG *garn* [n.] 'yarn' (made of dried gut). Without *-n-*, we find Lat. *haru-spex* 'diviner, soothsayer' < *$ǵ^{h}$rH-u-, Skt. *híra-* [m.] 'band', *hirā́* [f.] 'vein' < *$ǵ^{h}$rH-o-.

Given the frequent forms with *-n-*, it has been proposed that χορδή is an irregular development from *χορνή (e.g. Haas 1956: 131f.); the -δ- would have been taken over from a semantically close word, e.g. from the group of καρδία (the reverse may have

happened to Skt. *hṛ́daya-* 'heart' with *h-* < **ǵʰ-* instead of **ś-* < **ḱ-* after the word for 'gut'.
The appurtenance of Lat. *hernia* [f.] 'rupture' and Alb. *zorrë* 'gut', plur. 'guts, intestines' is doubtful because of the reflex of the initial stop.

χόριον [n.] 'skin enclosing the foetus, afterbirth' (Hp., Arist., Thphr., Dsc.), 'membrane inside an egg' (Arist.), mg. unclear in Theoc. 10, 11; plur. -ια 'dish filled with milk and honey, a kind of pudding' (com., Theoc.). ◂?▸
•ETYM Unexplained. Neither χορδή nor χόρτος yields a convincing connection.

χορός [m.] 'round dance, dancing-place, band of dancers, choir' (Il.), metaph. 'row, band' (Att.). ◂IE? **ǵʰer-* 'seize, catch'▸
•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. χοροι-τύπος 'stamping at the round dance (at the dancing-place?), dancing, dancer' (Pi. *Fr.* 156, Opp., Nonn.), probably also *h. Merc.* 31 (of tortoises; see Porzig 1942: 210); others accentuate χοροί-τυπος (see Zumbach 1955: 40); thence -τυπίη [f.] '(stamping at the) round dance' (Ω 261, *AP*), -τυπέω [v.] 'to stamp the floor at the round dance, to dance' (Opp.); also -τυπος (of ἄλσος) 'stamped by a band of dancers' (Nonn., perhaps also *h. Merc.* 31, see above); on the first member, which may be an old locative, see Schwyzer: 452. As a second member, e.g. καλλί-χορος 'with fair dacing-places, choral dances' (epic and lyr. since λ 581).
•DER 1. Adjective χορ-ικός 'belonging to the choir, etc.' (Ar. [lyr.], Pl., Arist.), -εῖος [adj.] 'id.' (A. R., late), also [m.] name of a meter = τροχαῖος, τρίβραχυς (Cic., D. H.), -εῖον [n.] 'dancing-place' (LXX), -εῖα plur. 'thank-offering for a victory of a choir' (Delos III-II[a]), 'choir-tax' (Pergam. II[p]), -ιος = τροχαῖος, τρίβραχυς (*AP*), of ἐξελιγμός name of a tactical manoeuvre (Ael., Arr.). 2. -ῖτις [f.] 'dancer, choir-member' (Call., Nonn.), -ιτεία = -εία (Andania I[a]), as if from **-ιτεύω*. 3. Verb χορεύω [v.] 'to perform a choral dance, celebrate with dance, etc.' (Pi., IA), often prefixed, e.g. with ἀνα-, ἐπι-, συν-; thence -ευσις, -ευμα, -ευτής, -ευτικός. 4. περιχορίζειν· ἐνόπλως, συντόνως ὀρχεῖσθαι 'to dance in arms, vehemently' (H.).
By a cross of χορός and κορωνός (-νίς, -νη) arose χορωνός 'στέφανος', see Apion in Ath. 15, 680d and Güntert 1914: 129.
•ETYM χορός may originally have been a choral dance, but the original meaning of χορός cannot be established with certainty.
χορός has been connected, together with ▸χόρτος, with a verb 'to seize, grasp' in Skt. *hárati* 'to bring, carry'. On the other hand, Lith. *žāras* 'row, twig, etc.' is phonetically identical with χορός. Meier-Brügger 2002 connected the root of χαίρω 'to rejoice', i.e. **ǵʰer-*, which seems reasonable.

χόρτος [m.] 'enclosure, court' (A 774, Ω 640), cf. χόρτον οὐρανοῦ· τὸ περιόρισμα 'enclosed place' (H.), 'pasture-ground' (Pi., E. [lyr.]), mostly 'pasture, fodder, grass, hay' (IA, Hes.). ◂IE **gʰor-t-* 'fence'▸
•COMP Very frequent as a first member (Hell. and late), e.g. χορτο-φόρος 'bearing grass, transporting fodder'; also as a second member, e.g. σύγ-χορτος (of χθών, πεδία, etc.) 'whose χόρτοι are adjacent' (A., E.).
•DER 1. Diminutive χορτ-ίον [n.] 'small enclosure' (Erinn.), -άρια [n.pl.] 'coarse grass' (Dsc.). 2. Adjective χορτ-αῖος = 'μαλλωτός, ragged', from **'belonging to a*

court, rural, rustic' (Ar. *Fr.* 707a, D. H., Ael.), -αία γῆ 'pasture-land' (pap. IV^{p}); -ικός 'concerning hay' (Hell. and late pap., Ptol.), -ώδης 'grass-like, rich of grass' (LXX, Dsc.). 3. Verb χορτ-άζω (also ἀπο-, ἐπι- Sosith. 2, 13) [v.] 'to fodder, satiate, fatten' (Hes.), whence -ασία [f.] 'foddering, fattening' (LXX, late pap.), -ασμός [m.] 'id.' (Anaxandr.), -άσματα [n.pl.] (-ασμα [sg.]) 'fodder, nourishment' (Plb., LXX, D. H., *Act. Ap.*), -αστικώτερα 'foddering more' (H. s.v. καπανικώτερα).

•ETYM χόρτος phonetically corresponds with an Italo-Celtic word: Lat. *hortus* 'garden', OLat. '*villa*, estate', Osc. *húrz*, acc. *húrtúm* 'enclosure'. and Celtic words like W *garth* 'hurdle, field', OIr. *gort* 'field'. These three branches require a pre-form *g^{h}*orto-*.

From other branches, several words which clearly go back on *g^{h}*ord^{h}-* must be adduced: OCS *gradъ* 'πόλις, κῆπος', Ru. *górod* 'town', Lith. *gařdas* 'bed, hurdle', Alb. *gardh, -dhi* 'fence', and (with zero grade) also Skt. *gṛhá-* [m.] 'house'. This form, however, would have yielded Gr. *κόρθος.

For Germanic, it is necessary to pose IE *g^{h}*ord^{h}-* for some words, e.g. Go. *gards* [m.] 'house, garden', *aurti-gards* 'garden'; further cognates are ON *garðr* 'fence, enclosure, garden', etc.

Ambiguous regarding the suffixal stop is ToB *kerciye* 'palace'. It is also assumed that a number of toponyms from Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean derive from this word: Hitt. *gurta-* [c.] 'citadel' (which can hardly be Anatolian, however; see Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.), Phr. *Mane-gordum* (also *-zordum*), Γόρδος, -ιον, Cret. Γόρτυς. This has been taken as evidence for an Indo-European substrate in Greece, see Heubeck 1961: 58ff.

IE *g^{h}*orto-* is generally considered a *to*-derivation of a verb for 'seize, grasp' found in Skt. *hárati* 'to bring, carry'. This presupposes that the initial palatovelar *$ǵ^{h}$*- was depalatalized in Balto-Slavic and in Sanskrit. An initial palatal is in fact found in some semantically close Balto-Slavic words: Lith. *žárdas* 'scaffold for drying', *žařdis* 'Roßgarten, great pasture', OPr. *sardis* 'fence', Ru. *zoród* 'heap, fenced place', etc.; but a problem is that their accentuation points to a pre-form *g^{h}*ord-* (Winter's Law), not *g^{h}*ord^{h}-*.

The analysis as a participle from *$ǵ^{h}$*er-* 'to seize' has one remarkable detail: the *o*-grade of the root is unexpected.

χοῦς ⇒χέω.

χραεῖν [v.aor.] 'to attack, assault, inflict, take up, etc.', also with inf. (Hom., Nic., A. R. *AP*); ἐπέχραε, -ον also 'to affect, touch' (A. R., Q. S.).

•VAR Also with ἐπι-, only 3sg. (ἐπ-)ἐχραε, 3pl. (ἐπ-)ἐχραον, 2pl. ἐχράετε.

•ETYM ἔχρα(ϝ)ε, χρα(ϝ)εῖν are isolated thematic aorist forms, with zero grade of the root (cf. ἔϝαδε, (ϝ)αδεῖν s.v. ►ἀνδάνω, etc.). They are connected with Lat. *in-gruō* (from *-uō* or *-auō*) 'to rush', Lith. *griáuti*, 1sg. *griáuju* 'to destroy', and *griūti*, 1sg. *griųvù* 'to crumble'. This presupposes that the root is *g^{h}*reh$_{2}$u-* and that the palatalization in Lithuanian is secondary. A different (but not very attractive) proposal was made by Peters 1980b: 342, who assumes an analogical, secondary zero grade *k^{h}*rau-* to a root PG *k^{h}*reu-*. See ►ζαχρηής and ►χραύω.

χραίνω [v.] 'to besmear, sully, stain' (B., trag., Nic., *AP*, Pl. *Lg.* 769a, also late prose). ◁?▷

•VAR Aor. χρᾶναι, fut. χρανῶ.

•COMP Sometimes with ἀπο- in the sense 'to grade or tinge colors' (Pl. *Lg.* 769a, Arist.).

•DER Verbal adjective ἄ-χραν-τος 'unsullied, unstained' (trag., late prose, etc.); also ἀχρανές· ἄχραντον, ἀμόλυντον, καθαρόν, ἀμίαντον 'undefiled, clean' (H.), ἀχρᾶές 'id.' (Nic., *AP*).

•ETYM Unknown. Frisk compares ►χρίω and ►μιαίνω and suggests that it is a cross of both. See also ►χραύω, ►χρόα, ►χρίω, etc. Pok. 459 subsumes it under IE *$g^{h}ren$-, which is rejected by DELG.

χραισμέω [v.] 'to be of use, help, promote' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Ind. -μεῖ (Nic. *Th.* 914), fut. χραισμήσω, aor. -ῆσαι, often them. aor. ἔχραισμε, χραῖσμε, ipv. χραίσμετε (A. R.), to which a subj. χραίσμῃ, probably also inf. -μεῖν (A. R).

•DER Late epic nouns: back-formation χραίσμ-η [f.] 'use, help, promotion' (Nic.), -ήεις 'useful, promotive' (Nic.), -ησις [f.] = χραίσμη (Nic., metr. inscr. Hypaepa), -ήϊον [n.] 'means of help' (Marc. Sid.), -ήτωρ [m.] 'helper, promotor' (Nonn.).

•ETYM An epic verb of unclear formation, which acc. to sch. A. R. 2, 218 was also used by the Arcadian Clitorians (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 164). Its formation presupposes a noun *χραισμός. The aorist ἔχραισμε could be best explained as analogical to χραισμεῖν (which would originally be a pres. inf.) after examples like ἔκτυπε to κτυπεῖν.

Acc. to Schwyzer: 723 and 748, ἔχραισμε is originally an ipf. of a denominative *χραίσμ-ι̯ω, which was reinterpreted as an aorist because of χραισμεῖν. The non-presentic forms χραισμ-ήσω, -ῆσαι may have been built later to ἔχραισμε (Chantraine 1942: 347) and have produced the late ind. pres. χραισμεῖ; the inf. χραισμεῖν was ambiguous from the beginning.

Etymologically obscure. It is semantically plausible to connect χρή, χρῆσθαι, but an analysis in *χραι-σμό-ς with a further unknown zero grade beside χρῆ-σις (Brugmann-Thumb l.c. after Mekler; also Bechtel 1914 s.v. and Schwyzer: 347) in unconvincing.

χραύω [v.] 'to graze, wound slightly, scratch' (Il.). ◁?▷

•VAR Only ipf. ἐν-έχραυε (Hdt. 6, 75), aor. subj. χραύσῃ (E 138), ἐνι-χραύσῃ (Nic. *Th.* 277), ptc. χραύσαντα (Q. S. 11, 76).

Further ἔχραυσεν· ἐπέτυχεν 'hit upon' and χραῦσαι· καταξῦσαι, χρᾶναι, σκιάσαι, γράψαι, ἐπιτυχεῖν 'to scratch, touch, cast a shadow, engrave, hit upon' (H.); ptc. med. χραυόμενον, also χραυζόμενον (-αυσσ-?) 'grazing, adjacent' (Cypr. inscr. [V^{a}]).

•DER χραῦσις· ἄγκυρα μονόβολος 'anchor of one piece' (H.), probably also ἐχραύτιζεν· ἴξευεν 'to catch by birdlime' (H.), like ῥαντίζω, σπατίζω, etc., see Schwyzer: 706.

•ETYM The only remains of this verb are found in the epic tradition (cf. Ruijgh 1957: 131). It can hardly be separated from χρα(ϝ)εῖν, ἔχρα(ϝ)ε 'to attack, etc.'. If the word

is Indo-European, we have to assume a root *$g^{h}reh_{2}u$-. For the vocalism cf. ψαύω, χναύω, ►θραύω. See further on ►χρόα, ►χρίω.

χρεία •VAR χρέος, etc. ⇒χρή·

χρεμετίζω [v.] 'to whinny, neigh' (M 51, Hdt., Pl., LXX, Q. S.). ◄IE *$g^{h}rem$- 'thunder, rumble'►

•COMP Rarely with ὑπο-, ἐν-.

•DER χρεμετ-ισμός [m.] 'whinnying' (Ar. [lyr.], LXX, D. H.), -ισμα [n.] 'id.' (*AP*, Iamb. *Bab.*), -ιστικός 'fond of whinnying' (Ph., S. E., Plu., etc.).

Further χρεμι-έθω 'id.' (A. R., Q. S., Opp., *AP*), also with ἐπι-, and -ίζω, only aor. 3pl. χρέμισαν (Hes. *Sc.* 348), χρεμετᾷ· ἠχεῖ 'resounds' (H.), Χρεμέτης [m.] name of a river in Libya (Arist., Nonn.).

Several nouns: 1. χρόμος· ψόφος ποιός 'kind of noise'. οἱ δὲ χρεμετισμός and χρόμη· φρυαγμός, ὁρμή, θράσος 'neighing, impulse, boldness' (H.). 2. χρόμιαδος (γενύων) 'gnashing' (Ψ 688), see ὅμαδος, κέλαδος. 3. fish names (after natural sounds; see Strömberg 1943: 65ff.): χρόμις, also χρόμιος [m., f.] (Anan., Epich., Arist.), χρέμης, -ητος [m.] (Opp., Ael.), also ►χρέμυς: ὁ ὀνίσκος ἰχθῦς (H., also Arist. v.l. κρ-), cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. χρόμις. 4. Several PNs and nicknames, e.g. Χρέμης, Χρέμιων, Χρεμύλος, Χρομίος, Χρόμις, Χρομύλος.

On itself stands χρέμπτομαι, aor. χρέμψασθαι [v.] 'to clear one's throat, cough up, spit out' (IA), also prefixed, e.g. with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, κατα-, ἐπι-. Thence ἀνά-, ἀπό-χρεμψις [f.] 'coughing up' (Hp.), χρέμμα (also ἀνά-, ἔν-) [n.] 'expectoration' (Hp.). Perhaps the fish name χρέμψ is a back-formation (Strömberg 1943: 67).

•ETYM As basis of these words we must posit a primary verb *χρέμω (cf. βρέμω, Lat. *fremō*; from this χρόμος etc.), which however had to give up for several popular-expressive enlargements: χρεμ-ίζω (: γεμ-ίζω, στεναχ-ίζω, ἐρεθ-ίζω), -έθω (: φλεγ-έθω, τελ-έθω), -ετάω, -ετίζω (: Χρεμέτης, ναι-ετ-άω, αἱρε-τ-ίζω, ἐρα-τ-ίζω, τερετίζω).

A special position has χρέμπτομαι (-πτ- onomatopoeic as in πτύω?); perhaps it does not belong at all here (cf. WH s.v. *scratta* with another hypothesis).

There is no exact outer-Greek correspondence to the verb, but the root *$g^{h}rem$- is Indo-European. In Balto-Slavic, there are sound verbs with different ablaut, like Lith. *grumĕti*, 1sg. *grumù* 'to thunder, roar, rumble', *gramĕti*, 1sg. *gramù* 'to fall in the depth with noise', and OCS *grъměti*, 1sg. *grъmljǫ* 'βροντᾶν, to thunder', Ru. *gremét'*, 1sg. *gremljú* [v.] 'to thunder, tinkle, rattle', OCS *gromъ* 'thunder' (which formally matches χρόμιος).

Germanic has several expressions for anger and grumbling, which must originally have referred to sounds like droning, gnashing the teeth, etc.: ON *grimmr* 'grim, excited', OHG *grim* 'wild, cruel' < PGm. **grimma-* < *$g^{h}rem$-*no*-, ON *gramr*, OHG *gram* 'wrathful' < PGm. **grama-* < *$g^{h}romo$-, Go. *gramjan*, OHG *gremman* [v.] 'to get angry or embittered'. The same meaning is encountered in Av. *gramə̊ṇtąm* [ptc.gen.pl.] 'of those who are wrathful to us', MoP *yaram* 'wrath'.

χρέμυς · ὁ ὀνίσκος ἰχθύς 'kind of gadus or cod' (H.). ◄PG(V)►

•ETYM Fur.: 131 connects κρέμυς 'a fish with a hard head' (Arist.), see on ►κλεμμύς, and considers the word to be Pre-Greek. Frisk cites it under ►χρεμετίζω.

χρή [subst.] 'it is necessary; one must, should', often with negation and in questions (Il.). ◄IE? *$g^{h}reh_{1}$►

•VAR Indeclinable in Homer; post-Hom. inflected forms ipf. χρῆν < χρὴ ἦν, later ἐχρῆν, opt. χρείη, subj. χρῇ, fut. χρῆσται, inf. χρῆναι, ptc. χρηεόντα [n.pl.], all univerbations with forms of εἰμί.

•DER χρῶμαι < *χρή-ομαι [v.] 'to need, use, utilise; to treat, handle, associate with someone' (since Ψ 834), also with ἀνα-, κατα-, παρα-, προσ-, etc., in various shades of meaning (IA); also 'to consult an oracle or a god' (Od.).

Ion. (also Dor. in Sophr. 126) has χρέομαι, ptc. χρεώμενος; 3sg. χρῆται, inf. χρῆσθαι (Ion. Hell. also χρᾶται, -ᾶσθαι after ὁρᾶται, -ᾶσθαι, etc.), aor. χρήσασθαι, fut. χρήσομαι, perf. κέχρημαι. The aor. also means 'to borrow (from)', perhaps from 'to put in use for oneself' or to the act. χρῆσαι (E., etc.); the perf. (especially ptc. κεχρημένος) means 'to require, crave, desire' (epic poet. Τ 262).

It is probably an old denominative. Active forms in special mgs. were secondarily created to the medial forms: to χρήσασθαι, χρήσομαι, χρῶμαι 'to consult an oracle', χρῆσαι, χρήσω, χρῶ arose, in the sense 'to give an oracle' (since θ 79), with 3sg. χρῇ and χρᾷ, ptc. χρείων = χρήων, also with ἐξ- etc., with pass. aor. ἐχρήσθη 'an oracle was granted', plpf. ἐκέχρη(σ)το, etc. (Pi., IA).

In a similar vein, the active χρῆσαι 'to lend (to)' arose to χρήσασθαι 'to borrow (from)'. Fut. χρήσω, also with προ-, ἐπι- etc. (IA) with κέχρηκα (Hell.) and the new present κίχρημι, κίχραμαι, also χρήννυμι, -ύω (Thphr., Hell. pap.).

On itself stands with prefix, especially ἀπο- (IA), also (Hdt.) ἐκ-, κατα-, ἀντι-χρᾷ (Att. ἀπόχρη after χρή), -έχρησα, -χρήσω 'to suffice, to serve', mostly 3. sg. 'it is sufficient', with unexplained development of mg.

Secondary verbal forms: 1. χρη-έομαι in Megar. χρηείσθω (Calchedon), Boeot. χρειεισθη, El. χρεεσται 'to need'. 2. χρη-ΐζω, χρεΐζω, χρήζω [v.] 'to be in need, require, desire, wish' (since Λ 835; cf. κεχρημένος above). 3. χρη-ΐσκονται 'they require, lack' (Hdt. 3, 117).

A concise survey of nouns derived from χρῶμαι or from χρή (a sharp distinction is not possible in all cases): 1. χρεώ, -οῦς [f.] (secondarily [n.]) 'requirement, need, necessity, desire' (Il., epic), also χρειώ = χρηώ. To this χρεών and χρεόν [n.] 'id.' (Pi., IA), with -ν after δέον, προσῆκον, etc.

2. χρέος 'obligation, debt, fee, commitment, engagement, affair' (IA, also θ 353, λ 479), epic also χρεῖος = χρῆος (since Il.), Att. also χρέως [n.], plur. χρέᾱ (Hes. *Op.* 647), χρέᾶ (Ar.), χρῆα (Arc. IV^{a}), which is much more probable than a lecture *χρήατα from *χρῆϝαρ; further χρήϊα < *χρήεα (Cret.).

3. χρεία (Ion. -ίη) [f.] 'requirement, desire, wish, use, praxis, benefit, help, service, function, association', rhet. 'theme of a speech' (Thgn., Att., Hell.); χρηΐα· πενία 'poverty, need' (H.), χρει-ώδης 'needy, necessitous, useful' (Hell.), -ακός [m.] 'official' (*Peripl. M.Rubr.*, pap. III^{p}); ἀ-χρεῖος, Att. ἄ-χρειος, Ion. ἀ-χρήϊος 'useless, unusable, unapt' (since Hes.). The ntr. ἀχρεῖον as an adverb to ἰδών, ἐγέλασσεν (B

269, σ 163), το κλάζον (Theoc. 25, 72), but the mg. is not quite clear; after this χρεῖος 'useful, apt' (Hell., but rare).

4. χρῆμα [n.] 'affair which one needs, object, thing, etc.', mostly plur. 'goods, property, money' (Od.), whence χρηματίτης ἀγών 'competition with a money-prize' (*Marm. Par.*), χρημα-τίζω, -τίζομαι [v.] 'to negotiate, do business, etc.' (Att., Hell.), also 'to handle a name, give an oracle, prophesy' (Hell.), whence -τισμός, -τισις, -τιστής, -τιστήριον, -τιστικός.

5. χρήμη [f.] 'need, requirement' (Archil. et al.).

6. χρη(σ)μοσύνη [f.] 'need, poverty' (Thgn., Tyrt.), χρησμ- also 'aid' (A. R.), cf. on χρησμός, but ἀχρημο-σύνη [f.] 'need, lack' (ρ 502, Thgn. 156) from ἀ-χρήμων. 7. χρῆσις [f.] 'use, application, benefit, intercourse, association' (Pi., IA), also 'response of an oracle' (Pi.), 'loan' (Arist., Plb.), whence χρήσ-ιμος 'usable, useful, proficient' (Thgn.+), -ιμότης, -ιμεύω.

8. χρησμός [m.] 'response of an oracle' (Pi., IA), very frequent as a first member, e.g. χρησμο-λόγος 'prophesying, prophet' (IA); in the same mg. probably χρησμο-σύνη (Hdt. 9, 33).

9. χρηστήριον [n.] 'seat of an oracle, response of an oracle, sacrifice to it' (*h. Ap.*+), like μυστήριον, δικαστήριον, etc. Thence -ήριος 'belonging to an oracle' (Hdt., A., E., etc.), -ηριάζομαι [v.] 'to consult an oracle' (Hdt.), but χρηστήρια σκεύη [n.pl.] 'utensils, furniture' (Argos [VI^a], Pl. Com., Hell. inscr. and pap.).

10. χρήστης [m.] 'lender, creditor', also 'debtor' (Att., etc.), also χρεώστης 'debtor' (late) after χρέως; χρήστης and χρήστωρ also = μάντις (H.);

11. χρητῆρες [pl.] = χρηστήρια 'furniture' (pap. II^a)?

12. χρηστός 'usable, fit, proficient, good' (IA), whence -ότης, -οσύνη, -εύομαι; often as a second member, e.g. ἄ-χρηστος 'unusable, useless' (IA; = ἀχρεῖος); but πυθό-χρηστος (trag.), θεό-χρηστος (Ph.) 'prophesied by (the Pythian) god' from χράω 'to give an oracle, prophesy'.

13. χρεῖος 'poor, needy' (A., E., late prose) is probably for χρήϊος to χρή; beside it χρεῖος 'useful' from ἀ-χρεῖος (see 3).

On χρή, χρῶμαι and their derivations see the extensive treatment by Redard 1953.

•ETYM χρή is formally isolated within Greek. As a closest formal counterpart, we find frozen accusatives πλήν and δήν < **pleh$_2$-m*, **dueh$_2$-m* and ἐπί-κλη-ν, further the ambiguous forms ►ὁμοκλή and ►μεσόδμη. In other languages, monosyllables like Lat. *spēs* 'hope', and compounds like Skt. *prati-mā́* [f.] 'picture' (from **meh$_1$-*), Lith. *avì-dė* [f.] 'sheepfold' (to τίθημι) are found, cf. Pedersen 1926: 71ff.

Though χρή is best considerd a feminine, many scholars preferred to see an old neuter in it (Wackernagel, Fraenkel, Hermann). As a basic meaning 'need, necessity, duty, custom', which is usually assumed, arose without a doubt by abstraction or generalization, all etymologies are quite hypothetical.

Connection with χαρῆναι, χαίρω was proposed by Brugmann 1886-1900 II: 962, Pedersen l.c.; that with Skt. *hárati* 'to bring, carry' (cf. on ►χόρτος) by Brugmann *IF* 37 (1916-1917): 239f. These proposals are far from convincing. As I found no noun ending in a long vowel in Pre-Greek, nor any indication for laryngeals, I rather think that the word is Indo-European, perhaps **g^{h}reh$_1$*.

χρίμπτομαι, -τω [v.] med. (mostly intr.) 'to force one's way near, come near, strike firmly', act. (mostly trans.) 'to force near, bring close to something, make crash' (epic poet. since κ 516). ◁IE? *g^hreib^h- 'grab'▷

•VAR Aor. med. (ἐγ-)χριμφθῆναι, fut. ἐγχρίμψομαι; act. (ἐγ-)χρίμψαι; aor. med. χρίμψασθαι can be both trans. and intr.

•COMP Also with prefix, especially ἐν- (Il., epic Ion. poet., late prose).

•ETYM The similarity with χρίω (cf. also χραύω) has long since bee observed; for the ending -μπτομαι no parallel has been found except for (the imitation?) σκίμπτομαι. The resembling χρέμπτομαι is semantically far off.

Kölligan, in a paper read at the 13th Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg 2008, proposes a nasal present to the root *g^hreib^h- (Go. *greipan*, Lith. *griẽbti* 'to grab', 1sg. *griebiù*, to which Greek secondarily made a *yod*-present. So *g^hrimb^h- > PGr. *k^hrimp^h- + -*i̯e/o*- > χριμπτε/ο-.

χρῑ́ω, -ομαι [v.] 'to graze, spread, (be)smear, enqueue, anoint, plaster' (Il.). ◁IE? *$g^hrei(H)$- 'strike'▷

•VAR Late also -ῐ̆-. Aor. χρῖσαι, -σασθαι (Il.), -σθῆναι (A.), fut. χρίσω (E.), -σομαι (Od.), -σθήσομαι (LXX), perf. κέχριμαι (Hdt.), -ισμαι (LXX), κέχρικα (LXX).

•COMP Often prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, ἐν-, κατα-, ὑπο-.

•DER 1. χρῖσις (also ἔγ-, κατά-, etc.) [f.] 'spreading, besmearing, anointing, tinging' (Hp., Arist., Hell.), χρίσιμος (sch.). 2. χρῖμα (A., X., Call.), more usual χρῖσμα, later χρίσμα (after κλίμα, θέμα, etc.) [n.] ' ointment, tincture, etc.', also with ἐπί-, περί-, etc. 3. δια-, συγ-χρισμός [m.] 'anointing, ointment' (medic.). 4. χρῖσται [m.pl.] (H. s.v. κονιαταί). 5. χριστήριον [n.] 'oil, oil-bottle' (Suid.). 6. χριστός (also ἐπί-, κατά-, etc.) 'fit for spreading or anointing' (A. *Pr.* 480, E.), 'anointed', msc. 'the anointed one' (LXX), whence 'Messiah, Christ' (NT).

•ETYM The regular inflexion of χρίω is clearly a late creation. A convincing outer-Greek connection does not exist. Mostly connected with Lith. *griẽti*, 1sg. *gr(i)eju̇̀* 'to skim cream from the milk'; the same root would be found in the Germanic group of OE *grīma* [m.] 'mask, helmet, ghost', MLG *grēme* [f.] 'dirt', etc. The comparison with NPhr. γεγρειμεναν [ptc.] 'painted, adorned, written, γεγραμμένος' vel sim. (Haas *Sprache* 6 (1960): 19ff.) is tempting. The Lithuanian verb seems to point to an *aniṭ* root, so if it is related to χρῑ́ω, the length in Greek must be secondary.

From χρίσμα were borrowed Lat. *chrisma* (Eccl.), whence MoFr. *crème*, etc.; from Χριστός Lat. *Chrīstus*, whence *Chrīstiānus*.

χρόα [f.] '(contact) surface of the body, skin, skin-color, color' (Ξ 164), also 'surface, ἐπιφάνεια' among the Pythagoraeans (Arist.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also χροιά, Ion. χροιή (see below). Further χρώς [f.], gen. χρο-ός, dat. -ῑ̆, acc. χρόα, younger gen. χρω-τός (since K 575), -τί (since Pi.), -τα (Od., Hes. *Op.* 556), plur. -τες (Arist.) 'surface of the body, skin, skin-color', also 'flesh, body', rarely 'color' (Il., epic Ion. poet.). A fixed expression is ἐν χρῷ (Att.), which is older than ἐν χροΐ (Ion.) 'close to the skin' (e.g. κείρειν), metaph. 'very close, hard by' (with gen.), cf. Schwyzer: 578.

•DIAL Probably Myc. *a-ko-ro-we-e* /a-k^{h}rowe^{h}e/ [n.du.] 'without spots', or /ha-k^{h}rowe^{h}e/ 'of one color'.

•COMP Very frequent as a second member, e.g. μελανό-χρο-ος 'with a dark skin' (τ 246), which is thematicized; athem. inflection preserved in plur. μελανό-χρο-ες (N 589), μελάγ-χρο-ες (Hdt.); younger μελάγ-χρωτες, -χρωτα (E. [lyr.]), nom. -χρως (Pl. *Phdr.* 253e), etc. On -χροος, -χρους, -χρως as a second member see Sommer 1948: 21ff.; also μελαγ-χροιής 'id.' (to χροιή [π 175]) and -χρής (com., pap.), after the adjectives in -ής.

•DER 1. Diminutive χρωτ-ίδιον (Cratin.).

2. Verbs: perf. med. κέχρωσμαι, -μένος (IA), aor. χρωσθῆναι (Att.) 'to take on a color or hue, etc.', act. χρῶσαι (Arist.), ἐπι- κέχρωκα (Plu.), χρώσειν (H.), χροΐζω, χρώζω (Alex., Nic., Dsc.), 'to color, stain', later also χρώννυμι, -ύω (Luc., Lib., Plot.); χροΐζω, χρώζω, -ομαι also 'to touch (a surface), unite with someone' (Pi., E. [lyr.], Theoc.); often prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, κατα-, παρα-; cf. also on χροιά below.

Hence several verbal nouns: a) χρῶμα [n.] 'color (of the skin), make-up; characteristic appearance, e.g. of a chromatic scale, of a speech, etc.' (IA); thence χρω-μάτια [pl.] = -ματα (*AP*), -ματικός (music., rhet.) 'chromatic' (Hell.), -μάτινος 'colorful' (*Peripl. M. Rubr.*), χρωματίζω, -ομαι (also ἐπι-) 'to color, tinge' (Hp., Pl., Arist.). b) χρῶσις (also with ἀνά-, ἀπό-, ἐπί-) [f.] 'coloring' (Epicur., pap., Plu.). c) χρωστήρ [m.] 'that which colors' (*AP*). d) from χροΐζω 'to color': χρό-ϊσις, -ϊσμός (gloss.), ἐπιχρό-ϊσις mg. unclear (Thphr.).

3. χρωτ-ίζω, -ίζομαι (also συν-ανα-) 'to color, give an appearance' (Ar. [lyr.], Plu.).

From χρώς, χρο-ός also χρο-ιά, -ιή (like σκοπ-ιά, λοφ-ιά, etc.: χρόα is like ῥόα (to ῥοιά, ῥοιή), πόα, etc.). Hence χροΐα [n.pl.] 'colors' (Emp.), ἐπιχροαί [f.pl.] 'id.' (Thphr.), χρο-άζω [v.] 'to color' (late medic.), cf. χροΐζω above. Further χροτιή [f.] 'skin' (*AP* 15, 35), a cross of χροιή and χρώς, -ωτός.

•ETYM χρώς is an old *s*-stem, and its complicated declination reminds of that of ἔρως, γέλως, αἰδώς. Acc. to DELG, the Mycenaean form *a-ko-ro-we-e* (cf. ἐϋχροές, ξ 24) points to a root **k^{h}row-*, to which χρώς is an *s*-stem formation which underwent hyphaeresis: gen. **k^{h}rowosos* > **k^{h}rohos*. DELG assumes that most forms arose by such a process, e.g. χροιά < **k^{h}rowosi̯a*. κέχρωσμαι is probably an analogical form to χρωΐζω.

The superficial similarity with χραύω, χραίνω, χρίω is not sufficient for a solid etymological proposal. The assumption of vowel assimilation from *χραϝός (Schmidt *KZ* 32 (1893): 370[1]f.) is dictated by the desire to connect ►χραύω.

χρόμιαδος •VAR χρόμις, χρόμιος. ⇒χρεμετίζω.

χρόνος [m.] 'period or course of time, (a definite) time, lifetime, time limit' (Il.), plur. χρόνοι also 'year' (= Lat. *tempora*, since III-IV^{P}; see Schwyzer: 124f.). ◄?►

•COMP As a first member, e.g. χρονο-γράφος [m.] 'chronicler, annalist' (Str.), -γραφία [f.] 'chronicle, yearbook' (Plb.). Often as a second member, e.g. σύγ-χρονος 'at the same time', συγχρον-έω, -ίζω, -σμός (Hell.); also suffixed, e.g. πολυ-χρόν-ιος 'comprising a long time, lasting, durable' (*h. Merc.*+), whence -ία, -ιότης, -ίζω (Arist., Hell.).

•DER 1. χρον-ίσκος [m.] 'small timespan' (LXX). 2. -ιος 'protracted, late' (ρ 112), -ιότης [f.] 'long period' (Thphr.), -ιόομαι 'to become protracted, chronic' (Hp.). 3. -ικός 'concerning time' (D. H., D. S., Plu.). 4. χρον-ίζω (also ἐγ-) 'to spend the time (somewhere), abide, be late, linger' (IA), whence -ισμός [m.] (Hell.), also with ἐγ-. 5. χρον-ῶσαι 'to make temporal' (Plot.).

•ETYM Etymology unknown. On the model of κλόνος and θρόνος, it has been assumed that χρόνος should be analyzed as χρ-ονο- < *$g^{h}r$-*ono*-, from a root 'seize, bring' also supposed for ►χόρτος. On the semantic side, an original meaning "encompassing time-limit" has been assumed for χρόνος, or even "seizer" (Porzig 1942: 346). A number of verbal roots *$ǵ^{h}er$- etc. exist (see LIV²). However, it is rather doubtful that ►κλόνος and ►θρόνος should be analysed in this way, as DELG already remarked. Other words for 'time' are ►καιρός, which is etymologically unclear too, and inherited ►αἰών.

χρῡσός [m.] 'gold' (Il.). ◅LW Sem.▻

•VAR Secondarily -ŭ-, see Schwyzer: 516².

•DIAL Myc. *ku-ru-so*.

•COMP Productive in compounds, e.g. Myc. *ku-ru-so-wo-ko* = χρυσ-ουργός (LXX) 'gold-worker'; χρυσό-θρονος (see on ►θρόνα), χρυσ-ώνητος 'bought with money', designation of a slave (Callistr. Hist.), ὑπό-χρυσος "with gold below", 'auriferous, gilt' (Pl., Hell. inscr.); on prefixed compounds with χρυσός, see Strömberg 1946: 136.

•DER 1. χρυσ-ίον [n.] 'gold, golden ornaments, golden coins, money' (IA), -ίδιον [n.] with contemptuous connotation (Att. orators), -ιδάριον [n.] (Ar.), also -άφιον (Hdn., Eust.). 2. χρυσ-εῖον, mostly plur. -εῖα [n.] 'goldmine' (X., Plb.). 3. χρυσ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] 'golden vessel, dress, golden shoe, etc.' (com., inscr., Luc.). 4. χρυσ-αλλίς, -ίδος [f.] 'gold-colored larva of a butterfly' (Arist., Thphr.), also = μηλολόνθη (Eust.), cf. ►θρυαλλίς. 5. χρύσ-αφος [m.] name of a fish (Marc. Sid.), like ἔλαφος; also χρύσοφος (Cyran.), for χρύσ-οφρυς (Strömberg 1943: 26). 6. χρυσ-ίτης [m.], mostly -ῖτις [f.] 'goldish, auriferous, gold-ore' (Hdt., Hp., Str.). 7. Adjectives: a) χρύσ-εος, late also -ειος, Att. -οῦς 'golden, gold-colored, etc.' (Il.), -οῦς (scil. στατήρ) name of a golden coin; also as a first member, e.g. χρυσεο-πήληξ 'with a golden helmet' (*h. Mart.*, Call.), metrical variant of χρυσο-πήληξ (A. [lyr.], E.). b) χρύσ-ινος 'golden' (late). c) χρυσ-ικός 'id.', [n.pl.] 'hardcash' (pap.). d) comparative χρυσ-οτέρα [f.] 'gold to a higher degree' (Sapph., late epigr.). 8. Verbs: a) χρυσ-όομαι (mostly perf. ptc. κεχρυσωμένος 'gilt'), also -όω 'to gild' (IA), also with prefix, especially κατα-; thence -ωμα, -ωσις, -ωτήρ, -ώτρια, -ών. b) χρυσ-ίζω 'to be golden or gold-like, abound in gold' (Arist., Dsc.). c) χρυσ-αΐζεται· κοσμεῖται (H.). Also in PNs, e.g. Χρύσης, -ηΐς, -η.

•ETYM A Semitic loan word, usually assumed to be Punic. Cf. Akk. *ḫurāṣu*, Ugar. *ḥrṣ*, Phoen. *ḥrs*%, Hebr. *ḥāruṣ*. See E. Masson 1967: 37f. for further details.

An IE word for 'gold' from the root *$ǵ^{h}lh_{3}$- is found in Germanic, Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian, e.g. Go. *gulþ*, Ru. *zóloto*, Latv. *zèlts*, Skt. *híraṇya*-, Av. *zaraniia*- [n.]; the root is found in Gr. ►χολή.

Another IE word is retained in Italic and Baltic: Lat. *aurum*, Lith. *áuksas* (with secondary -*k*-), OPr. *ausis*, and perhaps in ToA *wäs*, ToB *yasa*.

χρῶμα •VAR χρώς. ⇒χρόα.

χῦλός [m.] 'juice (of plants), gruel, broth', also 'taste, aroma' (IA). ◁?▷

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. χυλο-ποιέω [v.] 'to turn into juice' (medic.), γλυκύ-χυλος 'with sweet juice' (Hp., Xenocr.).

•DER 1. Diminutive χυλ-άριον [n.] 'little juice', hypocoristic (M. Ant.). 2. -ώδης 'juice-like, juicy' (late). 3. χυλ-όομαι (also -όω) 'to convert into juice, be turned into it, etc.' (medic.), also with ἀπο-, ἐκ-, ἐν-, etc. Thence χύλωμα, (ἐγ-)χύλωσις. 4. χυλ-ίζω 'to extract juice, turn into juice' (Hp., Arist., Thphr.), also with ἐκ-, ἐν-, ἀπο-; thence -ισμα, -ισμός. 5. χυλ-ιάζω 'id.' (Aet.).

Beside it stands χῡμός [m.] 'juice (of plants and bodies), liquid, taste, aroma' (IA). As a second member e.g. in ἔγ-χυμος 'having juice inside, juicy' (Hp., Pl., Arist., Thphr.). Hence the diminutive χυμ-ίον [n.] (com.); -ώδης 'juicy' (sch.), verb -όομαι 'to be turned into juice' (Gal.), -όω 'to give taste' (Suid.), with ἐκ- 'to squeeze out, extract juice'; thence -ωμα, -ωσις (Hp.). χυμίζω [v.] 'to make tasty' (Ar.), with ἐκ- = ἐκχυμόω (Arist.).

•ETYM Both χυλός and χυμός have traditionally been connected with ▶χέω 'to pour', but it is unclear how the long ῡ can be explained. Positing a suffix *-*slo-* or *-*smo-* is not really satisfactory, as no other form with *g^hu-*s-* is known.

χυμεία [f.] 'the art of alloying metals, alchemy' (Zos. Alch., Olymp. Alch.). ◁?▷

•VAR Also χημεία.

•DER Besides χύμευσις (χήμ-) [f.] 'id.' (*EM*, Eust., Tz.), -ευτικός 'concerning χ.' (Zos., Olymp.).

•ETYM As DELG remarks, the late attestations do not allow to draw a conclusion regarding whether υ or η is original.

The old etymology by Pott, deriving the word from the indigenous name of Egypt Χημία (Plu.), copt. Κημε, Χημι, which originally means 'Black-land' (Plu.), remains a possibility. χυμεία would derive either from a verb *χημεύω 'to work in an Egyptian way' or, with -εία after μαγεία, it would mean "the Egyptian art". The notation χυμ- would then be popular after χυμός.

According to Diels, however, it is a Greek word deriving from χύμα (see ▶χέω) in the sense 'casting, alloying', whence *χυμεύω and then χυμεία = 'the art of alloying metal'. It is beyond our reach to make a decision between these alternatives. Older proposals, which are obviously dated, are given by Frisk.

χύτλον •VAR χύτρα, χύτρος. ⇒χέω.

χωλός [adj.] 'lame, paralyzed', especially of a foot, 'limping' (Il.). ◁IE? *$ǵ^hoh_1$-*ló-* 'remaining behind'▷

•COMP E.g. χωλό-πους 'lame-footed' (Man.), χωλό-χειρος 'lame-handed' (Hippon.).

•DER χωλότης [f.] 'lameness' (Plu., Iul.) and several denominatives: 1. χωλ-εύω (also ἀπο-) [v.] 'to be lame', also 'to make lame' (Il.), whence -εία [f.] (Pl.), -εύματα [pl.] (Hp.). 2. χωλ-όομαι (also ἀπο-) [v.] 'to be or become lame', rare -όω [v.] 'to make lame' (Hp., Th., Paus.), whence -ωσις, -ωμα (Hp.). 3. χωλ-αίνω (also ὑπο-, συν-) [v.] 'to be or become lame' (Hp., Pl., LXX, pap.), whence -ανσις, -ασμα (late).

•ETYM Seemingly, a formation with the suffix *-lo-*, like ►στρεβλός, ►τυφλός, but without obvious etymology. Does it belong to ►χαλάω 'to slacken, relax'? Or is it from **ǵʰoh₁-ló-*, from the root **ǵʰeh₁-* 'to leave behind' seen in ►χήρα 'widow' (Van Beek p.c.): a lame person being someone who lags or stays behind.

χώννυμι [v.] 'to heap up, raise, stuff with rubbish or earth' (IA). ◄IE **gʰeu-* 'pour'►
•VAR -ύω (Arist., Hell.); rare προσ-χοῖ, χοῦσι, χοῦν, χῶν (as if from *χόω; Hdt., Th.), aor. χῶσαι, -σασθαι, -σθῆναι, perf. med. κέχωσμαι (IA), act. κέχωκα (D., Arist.), fut. χώσω (Att.).
•COMP Very frequently prefixed, e.g. with ἐπι-, προσ-, κατα-, συν-.
•DER χῶμα (rare and late -σμα) [n.] 'heap, rubbish, dam, wall' (IA), -σις [f.] 'heaping up, raising, damming' (Th., Hell.), often from prefixed verbs, e.g. ἀνάχωμα, ἔγχωσις, etc. Also χωστρίς (χελώνη) 'a shed to protect besiegers who fill up a ditch' (Hell.).
•ETYM The above system of forms is built on the aorist χῶσαι, which replaced the unclear form χέαι and may represent either *χοῶσαι (denominative of χόος, χοῦς) or a contraction from *χοῆσαι to *χοέω (cf. νῶσαι < νοῆσαι from νοέω and σοῦμαι s.v. ►σεύομαι), which would be a denominative or an intensive to ►χέω. All other forms were secondarily created, e.g. the present χώννυμι, -ύω. The presentic forms -χοῖ, χοῦσι, etc. have never become dominant. Further details on the etymology s.v. ►χέω.

χῶνος
•VAR χώνη.
•ETYM = χόανος, -άνη. See ►χέω.

χώομαι [v.] 'to be angry, wrathful' (Il., epic). ◄GR?►
•VAR Aor. χώσασθαι.
•COMP Also with ἐπι-, περι-.
•ETYM Formation like ►ῥώομαι or ►πλώω, so is it perhaps deverbative to ►χέω 'to pour', as was proposed already by Aristarchus (χωόμενος = συγχεόμενος) and repeated by Frisk? On the formal side, see also Chantraine 1942: 365; on the meaning in Hom. see Adkins *JHS* 89 (1969): 13ff.

χώρα [f.] 'space, interspace, place, position, rank, location, region, estate, land, country' (Il., IA), also 'eye-hole' (Epid.). ◄?►
•VAR χῶρος [m.] 'space, region, land' (Il.), rare in Att. prose, except in X.
•COMP As a first member e.g. χωρο-γράφ-ος [m.] 'describer of countries, chorographer', whence -έω, -ία (Plb., Str.). Gained an enormous productivity as a second member, e.g. πλησιό-χωρος 'inhabiting a nearby country, neighbouring, neighbour' (IA), also in hypostases with an enlargement -ιο-, e.g. ἐγ-χώρ-ιος 'situated in the region, native, indigenous' (Pi., IA).
•DER 1. χωρ-ίον [n.] 'space, place, location, estate' (prose since Hdt.). 2. diminutive -ίδιον [n.] (Lys., Plu.), -άφιον [n.] (Thphr.) 'small estate', -αφιαῖος (Hdn.). 3. On ►χωριαμός· κίστη 'vessel' (H.), see s.v. 4. -ίτης [m.] 'countryman, farmer, native inhabitant' (A., S., X.), -ῖτις [f.] 'woman from the countryside' (Luc.), -ιτικός (X., Plu.). 5. Adjective -ικός 'rural, rustic' (late); -άσμιαι epithet of ἐλαῖαι (Pamphyl. [II^{p}]; after ἀποδάσμιος?).

6. verbs: a) χωρέω, -ῆσαι, -ήσω (Il., in Att. the act. fut. only with prefix, but otherwise -ήσομαι); κεχώρηκα (IA), -ηθῆναι, -ηθήσομαι, κεχώρηται (Att.) 'to make room, give way, recede' (Il., trag.), 'to step (forward), go forth, make progress', trans. 'to comprehend, contain' (IA), also 'to catch' = 'to understand' (late), intr. 'to find a place' (*Ev. Jo.* 8, 37), very frequently prefixed in various mgs., e.g. ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐν-, προ-, προσ-, συν-, ὑπο-. Thence nominal derivatives in -ημα, -ημάτιον, -ησις, -ητικός.
b) χωράζω, Dor. aor. -ἀξαι 'to situate, position, raise' (Hell. inscr.).
Isolated χωρίς [adv., prep.] 'separated, detached, far from, apart' (*H* 470), χῶρι (accus. acc. to Hdn., Choerob.) 'id.' (Thera, Cos, Crete, Call., *Test. Epict.*, pap. II^{p}). The formation reminds of ἅλις, μόγις, etc.; the accent perhaps after ἀμφίς?
Thence χωρίζω 'to separate, part' (IA), med. 'to depart' (Plb., D. S.), also with ἀνα-, ἀπο-, ἐκ-, etc. Also in hypostases like κατα-χωρ-ίζω 'to put in place (κατὰ χώραν), publish, enrol' (X., Hell.); thence -ισις, -ισμός, -ισμα, -ιστής, -ιστικός, -ιστός.
•ETYM The formation in -ρ- has been compared with ἀγρός, τάφρος, ἕδρα and other designations of place (Frisk), but is without agreement outside Greek. Assuming a basic meaning 'unoccupied space', χώρα and χῶρος can be connected with ►χήρα 'widow', from a root *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$- 'to leave behind' (LIV^{2} s.v. *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$- 'zurücklassen'). Under this etymology, ►χατέω cannot be connected. The analysis remains uncertain (DELG).

χωριαμός [f.] · κίστη 'basket, urn' (H.). ◄PG?(V)►
•ETYM Fur.: 389 takes φωριαμός as a variant and concludes that the word is Pre-Greek. I am unable to interpret the variation, however.

Ψ

ψάγδης [m.] name of an Egyptian ointment (com.), see Fraenkel 1912: 175'f.). ◁LW Eg.▷

•VAR Also -ᾱς, -ᾱν; σάγδᾱ(ς).

•ETYM From Egyptian, see Spiegelberg *Herm.* 65 (1930): 232f.

ψάγιον [adj.] mg. unclear; it qualifies a song in Pi. (*N.* 7, 69); glossed by Hesychius as πλάγιον, λοξόν, κεκλιμένον 'athwart, slanting, bent'. ◁?; PG(V)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 389 compares ►ψάδιον: κάταντες.

ψάδιον [adv.] · κάταντες 'steep, downwards' (H.). ◁PG(V)▷

•ETYM M. Schmidt (the editor of Hesychius) connects ψοδίον· σκολιόν 'curved, bent'; if this is correct, the word is Pre-Greek. See also Fur.: 389 and ►ψάγιον.

ψᾱέναι [inf.] = φθάσαι, [κτίσαι] 'to be first, [build]' (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM For the initial cf. ►ψίνομαι, with a Cretan development of *φθ- (Lejeune 1972: 39). Perhaps here also belong ψατῆσαι· προειπεῖν 'to say before' (H.) and ψατᾶσθαι· προκαταλαμβάνειν 'to occupy in advance, etc.' (H.). See ►φθάνω.

ψαθάλλω [v.] 'to grind, scratch' (Hermipp., Pl. Com.); ἐψαθήλατο· ἐκνήσατο 'scratched' (H.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•ETYM Analyzed by Frisk as a popular formation to ►ψῆν, ►ψάλλω; comparing ►ψαθυρός for the -θ-. This is just a guess.

Fur.: 196 compared ψαδυρόν· ἀσθενές, μαδαρόν, ψαθυρόν 'weak, wet, loose' (H.), with variation θ/δ, further ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα 'thin-haired' (H.), and post-Hom. σαθρός 'weak', to ►ψαθαρός. A suffix -αλ- is also found in Pre-Greek.

ψαθυρός [adj.] 'loose, brittle, friable' (medic., Arist., Thphr.). ◁PG(S,V)▷

•VAR Also ψαθαρά· εὔθλαστα, σαθρά, ξηρά, ἀσθενῆ, ψαθυρά 'easily bruised, weak, dry, weak, loose' and ψαδυρόν· ἀσθενές, μαδαρόν, ψαθυρόν 'weak, wet, loose' (H.).

•DER ψαθυρ-ότης [f.] 'looseness' (Arist., Gal.), -ιον = ψωθίον (Ath.), -όομαι [v.] 'to crumble' (Aq.), -ματα· ἀποκόμματα 'chips' (H.).

•ETYM The formation looks like that of semantically close ►καπυρός. Frisk compared ψάθεα (cod. -έα)· ψωμία 'morsel, bit' (H.), but an old formation is excluded in view of the variants. See ►ψαθάλλω, ►ψῆν.

ψαίρω [v.] 'to scrub, scrape gently'; also intr., of a slight movement, 'to flutter, vibrate, shiver'; also of the sound that arose from such a movement: 'to rustle', of leaves (Hp., A. *Pr.* 394, E., Hermipp., Ar., Nic., Opp.). ◁?▷

•VAR Only present.
•COMP Also prefixed, especially with δια-.
•ETYM Cf. the rhyming formations ►σαίρω, ►σπαίρω, ►σκαίρω and ►ψῆν. Perhaps, σαίρω is the simplified form of ψαίρω? Differently Benveniste *MSL* 23 (1930): 405, who compared Av. *fšarəma-* [m.] 'shame', Ru. *sórom* 'shame', which to my opinion (and that of DELG) is not better.

ψαίω [v.] 'to grind, triturate'. ◅PG?▻
•VAR The present only in H. ψαίειν (for ψαί<ρ>ειν); aor. ψαίσασθαι, ψαισθῆναι (Thphr. *apud* Porph. *Abst.* 2, 6).
•DER ψαιστός 'triturated, ground' in ψαιστὴ μᾶζα (Hp.), also -στόν [n.], plur. -στά (πέμμα, πόπανον, ἄλφιτα) 'sacrificial cake' made of flour and honey (com., Hell. inscr., Herod., *AP*); hence ψαιστ-ίον [n.] 'id.' (*AP*), -ώδης 'like a ψ.' (*AB*), ψαῖ(σ)μα· σῖτον ὀλίγον 'small bread' (H.), ψαίστωρ "scrubber", epithet of σπόγγος (*AP*).
With simplification of the anlaut: σαιστός· ἐλαία θλαστὴ 'crushed olives' (H.), cf. σώχω : ψώχω. Other glosses from H. are ψαιδρός = ἀραιός 'loose' and with a suffix -νυ- ψαινύντες· ψωμίζοντες 'feeding in bits'; ψαίνυον· ἀχρεῖον 'rendering useless'; ψαίνυσμα· ὀλίγον 'little'; ψαινύθιον· ψευδές, μάταιον, εὐτελές, φλύαρον, οἰκτρόν 'false, idle, mean, rubbish, pitiable'. This reminds of ψαίνυνθα θεσπίζοντα 'prophesying falsely' (Lyc. 1420) = ψευδῆ νομοθετοῦντα ἢ μαντευόμενον (like μίνυνθα, see Schwyzer: 629). The PN Ψαίδαρος confirms the gloss ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα (H.), O. Masson 1992: 146.
•ETYM Formation like in ►ῥαίω, ►-κναίω (κνῆν), ►πταίω, etc.; cf. also on ►ψῆν. The word is probably Pre-Greek, in view of the variant with σ-.

ψακάς [f.] 'drop', especially of rain; collective 'drizzle' (Hdt., Hp., trag., Ar., X., Arist.). ◅PG(S,V)▻
•VAR Ion. and Hell. also ψεκάς, -άδος (cf. Schwyzer: 258).
•DER Diminutive ψακάδ-ιον [n.] (Hell. com.,Thphr.), also ψεκ-; -ισσα [f.] 'spotted, dappled', of a mare (pap. III[a]) see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 103; also ψακαδ-ίσχιος of horses (ibid.) 'with dappled haunches?'. Verb ψακάζω 'to drip, spray, drizzle' (A., Ar., X., Plu.), also ψεκ-, and prefixed with κατα-, ἐπι-, ὑπο-; aor. ptc. pass. ψακασθείς 'besprinkled' (Thphr.).
We also find ψάκαλον [n.], -ος [m.] in the meaning 'new-born animal' (Ar. Byz., H.); the same metaphor is found with ►δρόσος and ἔρση. The suffix reminds of ►ἔταλον.
•ETYM The formation is similar to that of ἰκμάς, ψιάς, λιβάς (Frisk notes ψακάδ- next to ψάκαλον, like ἰκμάδ- beside ἰκμαλ-έος). Connection with the group of ►ψῆν is highly unlikely, because the κ-enlargement would remain unclear.
There is no reason to call -ακ- an infix (as per Schwyzer: 497); it is simply part of the root ψακ-/ ψεκ-. In view of the suffix -αδ- or -αλ-, it is probably Pre-Greek. The connection with Lith. *spākas* 'drop, point' (also *spāgas*) may be correct, in which case both go back to a 'substrate language' of the northern Balkans. Beside ψάκαλον, Fur.: 339 cites a form ψαίκαλον· ἔμβρυον, βρέφος 'new-born, cub' (H.), with an interchange -α-/-αι- typical for Pre-Greek.

ψάκελον [adj.] · μέγα (H.). ◁?▷

•ETYM One compares ▶σφάκελος 2, as the middle finger is the largest.

ψαλάσσω [v.] 'to touch, infringe, pluck' (S., Ar., Lyc., Ael.), med. διαψαλάττεσθαι· τὸ εἰς ἔρευναν διαστέλλεσθαι 'to be instructed to do research'. Cf. ἐψαλάξατο· ἔψαυσεν, ἐκινήθη 'was touched lightly, was moved' (H.). ◁PG▷

•VAR Att. also -ττω; aor. -άξαι, fut. -άξω.

•COMP Also with ἀνα-, ὑπο-, προ-, μετα-.

•DER Verbal adjective ἀψάλακτος = ἄψαυστος, ἀκίνητος 'untouched' (S. *fr.* 550, Ar., Crates Com.), ἀπο-ψάλακτος = ἀκρότητος (Phot.); cf. ψαλάξεις ... νευρᾶς κτύπον 'make a string sound by touching it' (Lyc. 139); referring to the sound also ὀρθο-ψάλακτος (ἔρις) 'resounding loudly, making some real noise' (S. *Ichn.*).

•ETYM Enlargement of ▶ψάλλω; cf. ἀφάσσω to ἀφάω, σαλάσσω, παλάσσω, etc., also ▶ψαθάλλω. The word is most probably Pre-Greek, because of its *a*-vocalism.

ψάλιον [n.] 'curb-chain' vel sim. (Att. since A.); on the unclear mg. see Anderson *JHS* 88 (1968): 3ff. ◁PG?(V)▷

•ETYM A technical word without convincing etymology; connection with ▶ψάλλω remains hypothetic. The gloss ψαλόν· εἶδος χαλινοῦ'kind of bit' (H.) is probably a mistake for ψάλιον. Palmer recognized the word in Myc *pa-sa-ro*, see Morpurgo Davies 1963 s.v. This was later defended by Taillardat *REG* 91 (1978): 1-11, but rejected by Fur.: 358[64]. See ▶ψέλιον.

ψαλίς, -ίδος [f.] 1. 'subterranean (arched) passage, canal, (subterranean) vault, flying buttress' (S. *fr.* 367, Pl. *Lg.* 947d, Arist., Ph. *Bel.*, Hero, Hell. and late inscr.); 2. 'scissors' (S. *fr.* 413, Ar. *fr.* 320, 1, *AP*, pap. II^{p}, Poll.); 3. 'ring or the like for supporting or strengthening' (LXX, Ph. *Bel.*; also *BGU* 1028, 9 [II^{p}]: ψαλλίδ[ων]?). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Gen. also -ῖδος?

•COMP ψαλιδο-ειδής 'similar to a vault' (Ph. *Bel.*, Gal.).

•DER From 1.: ψαλιδ-όομαι 'to arch' (Bito), -ωτός 'arched' (D. H.), -ωμα [n.] 'vault' (Str., inscr. II^{p}).

From 2.: ψαλιδό-στομος 'nipper-mouthed, epithet of crabs (Batr.). Hence diminutive ψαλίδιον [n.] (pap. V^{p}), ψαλίζω [v.] (also ἀπο-, δια-) 'to cut with scissors' (late medic., Babr.), ψαλίξαι· κεῖραι 'to cut, shave' (H.), -ιστός, -ισμός [m.] (late medic.).

•ETYM In the third meaning, ψαλίς might be connected with ψέλιον, and probably also with ψάλιον; for seemingly unconnectable meanings 'vault' end 'scissors' no explanation has been found.

ψάλλω [v.] 'to pluck, twitch a string (also a bowstring) with the fingers, instead of with the plectrum' (IA), 'to sing to a harp, chant praises' (LXX, NT). ◁PG?▷

•VAR Aor. ψῆλαι, Hell. (LXX) ψᾶλαι, fut. ψαλῶ.

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, κατα-, δια-, etc.

•DER 1. ψαλμός (also δια-, ἐπι-) [m.] 'twitching, plucking of the bowstring, string, string music' (Pi., A. [anap.], E. [lyr.], etc.), 'a song to string music, song of praise' (LXX, NT), ἀντί-ψαλμος 'accompanied by string music' (E. [lyr.]), -μίζω [v.] 'to sing songs of praise or psalms', -μιστής (gloss.), etc. 2. ψάλμα (also διά-, ἀπό-) [n.]

'sound, melody of string music, etc.' (LXX, *AP*, Max. Tyr., Ptol.). 3. -σις [f.] 'plucking, twitching' (Philostr.). 4. -της [m.] 'player of a string instrument, lutenist, harpist' (Hell. and late), older fem. -τρια 'harpist' (Pl., Ion Trag., Arist., Hell.). 5. -τήριον [n.] 'stringed instrument, harp' (Arist., Thphr., LXX). 6. -τικός 'belonging to harp music' (late). 7. ψάλτιγξ· κιθάρα (H., Suid.), after φόρμιγξ etc.

•ETYM No etymology; cf. ►ψηλαφάω. Probably Pre-Greek.

ψαλόν [n.] · εἶδος χαλινοῦ 'kind of bit or bridle' (H.), in fact 'ring of a muzzle(?)' (DELG). ◄PG(V)►

•DIAL Myc. *pa-sa-ro* (Taillardat *REGr.* 91 (1978): 1-11).

•DER Here belong all words with ψαλιο-, ψαλιδ- (also with ε and σπ-). ψάλιον; ψέλιον 'open ring' worn by the Persians (Hdt., X.), 'open collar' of the Gauls (Plb.); also ψίλιον (Delos III[a]), ψίλλιον (inscr. III[a]), σπέλλιον (Aeol., sch. D. T., *An. Ox.* 4, 46). ψελιόω (*AP* 7, 234). ψαλίς, -ίδος with σπαλίς (sch. D. T. 320 H); also 'vaulted construction' (S. *fr.* 367, Pl.). ψαλίζω [v.] 'to cut with scissors', ψαλιδόω 'to vault'; ψαλίττεται· ἁμιλλᾶται (H.), σπαλίων 'mobile covered galery', used in sieges.

•ETYM Not to ψάλλω. Hypothesis by Taillardat *REG* 91 (1978): 1-11.

ψάμαθος [f.] 'sand' (Il., epic poet.), often plur. ◄EUR?►

•COMP As a second member in πολυ-ψάμαθος 'rich in sand' (Opp.), etc.

•DER ψαμαθ-ώδης 'sandy' (*h. Merc.*, A. R.), -ηΐς [f.] 'id.' (Nic.); poetic formation, cf. on χλωρηΐς; ψαμαθ-ίς, -ίδος [f.] name of a fish (Numen. *apud* Ath.), called after its habitat acc. to Strömberg 1943: 81, -ία· αἰγιαλός 'beach' (H.).

PN Ψαμάθη name of a Nereid (Hes. *Th.* 260), Ψεμάθη (Att. vase), by inverse writing (Fraenkel *Phil.* 97 (1948): 161) or dissimilation (Kretschmer 1923: 193ff.)? Also σαμαθον (*POxy.* 1290, 1 [V[P]]) = -θών 'sandpit', for ψ-? (see Preisigke 1925).

•ETYM Taken to be a cross of ►ἄμαθος and ►ψάμμος. Fur. 209 adduces MHG *sant* < *(p)samtho-*, MHG *sam(p)t, samp* < **(p)samatho-*, so it could also directly continue a word from the European substrate.

ψάμμος [f.] 'sand' (μ 243). ◄EUR?►

•VAR Also msc. (Archim.). Dor. -ᾱ (A. and Ar. [lyr.]), -η (Hdt. 4, 181)? See Schwyzer 1950: 32[4]).

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ψαμμό-γεως 'with a soil rich in sand' (Hdn.), ὑπό-ψαμμος 'having sand underneath, sandy' (Hdt., X., Plu.); cf. ὑπό-χρυσος s.v. ►χρυσός; *ἐπί-ψαμμος in ἐπιψαμμ-ίζω [v.] 'to cover with sand' (Hero).

•DER 1. ψαμμ-ία [n.pl.] 'gravel' in urine (medic.). 2. -ίτης [m.] designation of a treatise of Archim., 'made of sand' (*AP*), -ῖτις [f.] name of a fish (Archestr.), cf. ψαμαθίς and Redard 1949: 23 and 113. 3. -ώδης (Hdt., Hp.), -ινος (Hdt., Philostr.), -αῖος (Priene) 'sandy'; -ιαῖος 'as large as a grain of sand' (Olymp. *in Phd.*); -ωτός 'consisting of plaster or stucco' (LXX). 4. -ισμός [m.] 'burying in sand' (Paul Aeg.), from *-ίζω). 5. δια-ψαμμῶσαι [aor.] 'to polish with sand' (Lesbos). Further ψάμματα· σπαράγματα 'fragments' and ψαμματίζουσα· ψωμίζουσα 'feeding morsels' (H.).

•ETYM ψάμμος seems to be a Greek innovation and reminds of ►ἄμαθος. Connection with the group of ►ψῆν has been suggested, but the formation is not clear. In

principle, ψάμμος may represent older *ψάφ-μος (cf. γράμμα to ►γράφω) and thus belong to ψαφαρός, ►ψῆφος 'pebble', further to Lat. *sabulum* 'sand'.
According to Deroy *Glotta* 35 (1956): 183 (extensive treatment and lit.), ἄμαθος, ἄμμος as well as ψάμαθος, ψάμμος would come from Pre-Greek **sam-* 'sand, mud'.
ψάμαθος and ἄμμος may have arisen as crosses between ►ἄμαθος and ψάμμος. See Fur.: 209.

ψάρ [m.] 'starling', extensively discussed in Thompson 1895 s.v. ◄?►
•VAR Gen. ψᾱρός, nom.pl. ψᾱρες (*P* 755 [gen. ψᾱρῶν], Antiph., Dsc., *AP* 9, 373).
Also ψήρ, gen. ψηρός, nom. pl. ψῆρες (*P* 583 [acc. ψῆρας], Q. S., *AP* 7, 172).
Thematicized ψᾱρος or ψάρος (Arist., Gal.).
•DER ψᾱρός 'starling-colored, grey, speckled' [adj.] (Ar., Arist., LXX); cf. Georgacas *Glotta* 6 (1958): 193.
•ETYM The difficult epic gen. pl. ψᾱρῶν has been explained by metrical lengthening of *ψᾰρῶν; the oldest flexion, then, would have been ψήρ, gen. *ψᾰρός, to which a new nom. ψᾶρ was created (thus Schmidt *KZ* 25 (1881): 20; Kretschmer *Glotta* 4 (1913): 336). On the explanation of the vocalic interchange see also Björck 1950: 45 and 219. The word remains without a certain etymology. It seems impossible to connect the Germanic name of the starling, OHG *stara*, etc., to which Lat. *sturnus* 'id.' belongs (and perhaps ►ἀστραλός). See also the bird names mentioned under ►σποργίλος (IE **sper-*, see Pok. 991).

ψαυκροπόδης 'swift-footed', epithet of the horse Arion (*EM* 817, 45); accus. -ποδα (H.). ⇒σαυκρόν.

ψαύω [v.] 'to touch lightly, brush, infringe, etc.'; pass. (rare) ἔψαυσμαι (Hp.), ψαυσθῆναι, ψαύομαι (late) 'to be touched, brushed'. ◄PG?►
•VAR Aor. ψαῦσαι (Il., very rare in Att. prose), fut. ψαύσω (A., etc.), perf. ἔψαυκα (late).
•COMP Also with ἐπι-, ποτι-, προσ-, συν-, etc.
•DER ψαῦσις (ἐπί-, σύν-, etc.) [f.] 'touch, caress', ψαῦσμα [n.] 'id.' (X. Eph.).
•ETYM Frisk analyzes it as a rhiming formation to ►χραύω, ►χναύω, ►θραύω, with the anlaut like in ψαίω, ψαίρω [sic!], ψίω. He compares ►ψῆν. However, semantically the word has little to do with ►ψῆν, and a rhiming formation based on it is unlikely. Rather a Pre-Greek word.

ψαφαρός ⇒ψῆφος.

ψάω ⇒ψῆν.

ψε •VAR ψιν. ⇒σφεῖς.

ψέγος [?] · τάφος 'grave'. καὶ ἐπιψέγειν· ἐπικηδεύειν 'to form connections by marriage' (H.). ◄?►
•ETYM Unexplained.

ψέγω [v.] 'to blame, chide' (Thgn.). ◄PG?►
•VAR Aor. ψέξαι, fut. ψέξω, perf. pass. ἔψεγμαι.

•DER ψέκ-της [m.] 'censurer' (Hp., Pl.), -τικός 'censuring' (Arist., Poll.), παμ-ψέκτωρ [m.] 'all-censurer' (Man.), ψέξις 'censure' (gloss.); ἄ-σεκτος· ἀγαθός, παρὰ Ῥίνθωνι Ταραντίνῳ (H.) if < *'without blemish'; on σ- instead of ψ- see Schwyzer: 329. ψόγος [m.] 'censure' (Xenoph.+); often as a second member, e.g. φιλό-ψογος 'censorious' (E., Pl.); thence ψογ-ερός 'censorious' (Pi., Plu.), ψογεια· ψογερά, καὶ οὐκ ἄξια ἀκοῆς 'not worthy to be heard' (H., Choerob.); ψογ-ίσαι or -ῆσαι [aor.] 'to censure' (LXX), fut. pass. -ισθήσεται, -ηθήσονται (Vett. Val.); ψογιστής [m.] 'censurer, captious person' (Rhetor.).

•ETYM Old words for 'reproach, blame, revilement' are ὄνειδος (whence ὀνειδίζω since Il.), which is inherited, and μέμφομαι, which is etymologically less clear, but attested from Homer onwards. In comparison with these words, ψέγω seems to be a younger creation. No etymology exists. Connection with ψῆν makes little sense; the same holds for derivation of ψόγος from the interjection ψό (the same holds for ►ψόφος). The word seems to be Pre-Greek, although there is no clear formal argument (except for the initial ψ-).

ψεδνός [adj.] 'thin, sparse', also 'bald' (of hair); secondarily 'bare', of the bottom (B 219, *AP*, Aret., Luc., Aristid.). ◅PG?▻

•DER ψεδνο-κάρηνος 'bald' (Orph.), -θριξ 'thin-haired' (Tz.), ψεδνότης [f.] 'baldness' (Adam.), ψεδνόομαι [v.] 'to become bald' (S. E.).

•ETYM Connection with ►ψῆν is not evident. Beside ψεδνός, we find synonymous ψηνός (Semon.), ψανός (H.), ψιλός, ψαιδρά· ἀραιότριχα (H.), etc. The word is probably Pre-Greek, like many other words with initial ψ-.

Solmsen 1909: 136[2] suggested that ψεδνός B 219 is an old corruption of the text for earlier *ψαιδνός or *ψιδνός, and he explained all other places from there. But, as Frisk remarks, why would *ψαιδνός (to ψαίω) or *ψιδνός (to ψιλός) have been given up for a seemingly isolated form ψεδνός?

ψεῖ (ψῖ) name of the letter ψ (Hellad. *apud* Phot.). ⇒πεῖ and χεῖ.

ψείρει · φθείρει 'destroys' (H.). ◅GR▻

•ETYM A dialectal form, probably Cretan. Cf. Lejeune 1972: 39.

ψέλιον [n.] 'bracelet, ring, arm jewel, anklet' (Hdt., X., Hell. and late inscr. and pap.). ◅PG(V)▻

•VAR Mostly plur. -ια. Also ψέλλιον and ψίλ(λ)ιον, Aeol. (gramm.) σπέλ(λ)ιον (Schwyzer: 266).

•DER ψελιο-φόρος 'wearing a bracelet' (Hdt.), aor. ψελιῶσαι στεφάνοις 'to adorn with wreaths' (*AP*), ψελιουμένη [f.] designation of a statue of Praxiteles (Plin.).

•ETYM Connection with ►ψάλλω (Schwyzer: 329) can at best be folk-etymological. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek, like many other words with ψ-. Here also belongs ψαλίς. Fur. also connects Myc. *qe-ro*$_2$ /sk^{w}eli̯ō/. The *-e-* may be a variant of PG **a* before palatal *-l'-*. See ►ψάλιον.

ψελλός [adj.] 'speaking inarticulately', like a child (Arist., *Com. Adesp.*); 'unintelligible', of words (A. *Pr.* 816). ◅PG?▻

•DER ψελλ-ότης [f.] 'inarticulate speech' (Arist., Plu.); ψελλίζομαι [v.] (late also -ίζω) 'to speak inarticulately, faultily' (Pl., Arist., Hell. and late prose); the med. after φθέγγομαι, εὔχομαι, etc.; also with κατα-, παρα-, συν-, etc. Thence -ισμός [m.], -ισμα [n.] (late).
•ETYM Probably Pre-Greek.

ψεύδομαι [v.] 'to lie, be wrong, break (an oath)' (Il.), in Att. also 'to lie to, deceive, cheat, be false, etc.', often regardless of intention. See Luther 1935: 80ff., 115ff., 133ff. ⧼PG(V)⧽
•VAR Aor. ψεύσασθαι, fut. ψεύσομαι (both Il.), pf. ἔψευσμαι (Hdt., Att.). On ψυθ- see bel.
A younger active form (very rare in Att. prose) is ψεύδω, aor. ψεῦσαι, fut. ψεύσω 'to deceive, mislead (with lies)', also with δια-; more often pass. aor. ψευσθῆναι, perf. ἔψευσμαι 'to be deceived or misled' (Hdt., Att.), also with κατα-, δια-.
•COMP Often with prefix, especially κατα-.
•DER 1. ψεῦδος [n.] 'lie' (Il.), which enjoys enormous productivity as a first member, e.g. ψευδ-άγγελος [m.] 'lying messenger, reporter of lies' (*O* 159), whence -ία [f.] (X., D. C.), -έω (Ph.; uncertain Ar. *Av.* 1340); ψευδο-μάρτυς [m.] 'false witness' (Pl., Critias, Arist.); also as a second member, e.g. ἀ-ψευδής 'without deceit, truthful' (Hes.), whence -εια, -έω, -ία; ἐπι-ψευδής 'fraudulent' (Δ 235).
From ψεῦδος: a) ψευδ-άρια [n.pl.] title of a treatise by Euclid. b) ψευδής 'lying, false' (Hes. *Th.* 229, IA), probably after ἀληθής; besides in the same mg. ψεῦδ-ις (Pi.), -ήμων, -αλέος (Nonn.), ψεῦδ-άλμιον· ψευδές (H.), cf. φυτάλμιος.
2. κατά-, διά-ψευσις [f.] 'false message, deceit' (Str., Stob.), ψευσί-στυξ epithet of Apollo, 'Hater of Lies' (*AP*). 3. ψεῦσ-μα (also κατά-, διά-) [n.] 'lie, deceit' (Pl., Hell.), καταψευσ-μός [m.] 'slander' (LXX). 4. -της [m.] 'lier' (Ω 261, probably also T 107, Pi., Hdt., S.), fem. -τις (epigr. Cyrene), -τήρ 'id.' (Man.), fem. -τειρα (Orac. Sibyll.); -τάζω [v.] 'to lie' (Tz.). 5. ἄ-ψευσ-τος 'without deceit, truthful' (Ph., Plu., *AP*), whence -τέω (Plb.).
The expected zero grade in ψυδρός 'fraudulent, false' (Thgn. 122 [v.l. ψυδνός], Lyc.), Ψυδρεύς [m.] month name (Corc., *IG* 9(1), 682 [IV^{a}]), referring to Hermes; also in ψύδος, plur. ψύδη (*EM* 819, 13, A. *Ag.* 999 [lyr.]), for which mostly ψύθος, -η is found (A. *Ag.* 478 and 1089 [lyr.], Call. *Fr.* 184; *EM*), and ἔψυθεν· ἐψεύσατο (H.); cf. also ψυθιζομένων· γογγυζόντων 'murmuring'; ψυθιστάς· ψιθυριστάς 'whispering', ψυθῶνες· διάβολοι 'slanderers' (H.).
•ETYM The zero grade found in ψυδρός agrees with Arm. *sut* (*o*-stem) [adj.] 'false', [subst.] 'lie'. On the comparison see Clackson 1994: 168f. and Martirosyan 2010 s.v. *sut*.
Clackson is inclined to believe the proposal by Taillardat *BAGB* 36 (1977): 344-354 that the Greek word is related to **psu-* 'wind' (which is assumed in ψύχω 'to blow' and in Skt.°*psu-*). Taillardat gives a number of semantic parallels for a development from 'wind' to 'nonsense, idle talk'. Intermediate forms, as far as the semantics are concerned, may be seen in ►ψιθυρίζω and ►ψύδραξ.
The full grade in ψεύδομαι reminds of a Slavic word for 'deceive' in Slk. *šudit'*, Cz. *šiditi* (see Machek *Ling. Posn.* 5 (1955): 70f.). If related, the Slavic words would point

to an initial cluster **ks-*, and we have to reconstruct **k^{w}seud-* for Greek (Pronk and Van Beek, p.c.).

To my mind, the forms with ψυθ- rather point to Pre-Greek origin (variation δ/ θ). The Armenian form may derive from a language cognate to Pre-Greek. Fur.: 197 adduces ψαυδής (inscr. Pholegandros) and ψούδιον 'lie' (H., Phot.).

ψέφας [n.] 'gloom, darkness' (Pi. *Fr.* 324, H.). ◂PG(V)▸

•VAR Also ψέφος (H., conj. by Lobeck for ψόφου, σκότου Alc. *Z* 114).

•COMP ψεφο-ειδής = ψεφαρός (Gal.), ψεφ-αυγοῦς· σκοτεινῆς 'dark' (H.).

•DER ψεφαῖος = σκοτεινός (H.), ψεφηνός (Pi. *N.* 3, 41; -εννός Porson, -εινός Bergk), ψεφαρός (Hp. *apud* Gal.) 'dark, gloomy, cloudy'. Uncertain ψάφα· κνέφας and σεῖφα· σκοτία. Κρῆτες (H.).

•ETYM A rhyming formation to ▸κνέφας. Usually, Skt. *kṣáp-* 'night' is considered to be somehow related, but a precise connection cannot be established (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

Fur.: takes σεῖφα as a shortened from of *ψειφ-, and also suggests to connect ζέφυρος. The variations would point to substrate origin.

ψέφει [v.]◂?▸

•VAR in the glosses ψέφει· δέδοικεν, ἐντρέπει, λυπεῖ, φροντίζει 'to fear, take heed, repent, think of' (H.); μεταψέφω· μεταβουλεύομαι 'to repent' (H.); μεταψέφειν· μεταμελεῖσθαι 'to repent' (H.); ἀψεφέων· ἀμελῶν 'careless' (H.); ἀψεφές· ἀφρόντιστον Σοφοκλῆς Φαιδρᾳ [=*fr.* 692] 'heedless' (H.).

Here perhaps belongs ἐπίσσοφος, name of a yearly changing official in Thera (*Test. Epict.*) if a variant of *ἐπιψέφω; Schwyzer: 329 and 460; different Brugmann *IF* 16 (1904): 409f.

•ETYM Unknown.

ψηλαφάω [v.] 'to feel, grope, caress, grope around, examine' (ι 416). ◂PG?(S)▸

•VAR Reshaped as ψηλαφ-ίζω 'id.' (middle com.). Non-presentic forms are rare, and mostly late: aor. ψηλαφῆσαι (Pl. *Prt.* 310c, LXX), -αφήσω, -αφηθήσομαι (LXX), -αφηθῆναι (S. E., Plu.).

•COMP Also with ἐπι-, etc.

•DER 1. ψηλάφ-ημα [n.] 'touch, caress' (X., Ph.), προψηλαφήματα [pl.] = προοίμια (Procl. *in Ti.*). 2. -ησις [f.] 'touching' (Hp., Hell.), with ἀνα- 'resumption of a cause' (to ἀνα-ψηλαφάω Just.). 3. -ητής [f.] "groper" (sch.), -ητικῶς (Eust.). 4. -ητός epithet of σκότος (LXX), because in the dark, groping is a means of orientation. 5. ψηλάφ-ία (Ion. -ίη) [f.] 'touching' (medic., Hell.), as if from *ψήλαφος; thus also 6. -ώδης 'groping, groping around' (Hp.); 7. ψηλάφ-ίνδα παίζειν 'to play blindman's buff' (Phryn.).

•ETYM Analyzed by Fick *BB* 18 (1892): 102 as a univerbation from the aor. ψῆλαι to ψάλλω and ἁφάω 'to handle'; cf. στρεφε-δίνηθεν and similar instances (Schwyzer: 645). It remains unclear, however, why the aorist was preferred. Bechtel recognized a noun *ψᾱλᾱ in the first member, referring to μηλ-αφάω 'to touch with the probe (μήλη)'; but this rare verb was rather created after the example of ψηλαφάω, which is a common word. If -αφ- is rather a suffix, the word could be Pre-Greek.

ψήν, ψηνός [m.] 'date wasp, fig wasp, gall wasp' (Hdt., Ar., Arist., Thphr.), also as a PN (Thera [VII^{a}]?). ◂PG?▸

•DER ψηνίζω (also ὑπο-, προ-) [v.] 'to impregnate the figs artificially by the sting of the gall wasp, caprificate', also metaph. (Ar., *Com. Adesp.*, Suid., Phot.).

•ETYM The connection with ▸ψῆν is hardly credible. For the suffix *-n-*, see also ▸κηφήν 'drone'.

ψῆν [v.inf.] 'to rub, grate, scratch, stroke, wipe' (IA, Hdt., com., Hell. and late inscr. and pap., etc.). ◂PG?▸

•VAR Ind. 3sg. ψῇ < *ψήῃ, ptc. med. ψώμενος, etc., aor. ψῆσαι, ψήσασθαι, pass. ψη(σ)θῆναι, perf. ἔψησμαι; late also inf. ψᾶν.

•COMP Mostly prefixed, e.g. with κατα-, ἀπο-, συν-, περι-.

•DER 1. ἀπό-, περί-ψημα [n.] 'scrapings, refuse, dirt' (*Ep. Cor.*, Dsc., inscr.). 2. παρά-ψησις = παρά-τριμμα (gloss.). 3. ἀπό-ψηστρον· τὸ ἀπόμακτρον τοῦ μετρουμένου σίτου 'what is wiped off the measured grain' (H.); παλίμ-ψηστος 'scraped again', i.e. 'scraped and written on again', of parchment (βιβλίον), also -ον [n.] 'palimpsest' (Plu.), Lat. *palim-psestus* (Cat., Cic.). 4. ψη-νός (Semon.), ψανός· ψεδνός (H.) 'bald(headed)'; ψῆ-ρός = ξηρός (Suid.), μεσόψηρον· ἡμίξηρον 'half-dried' (H.), ψαρόν [n.] name of a siccative powder (Paul. Aeg.). 5. ψηκεδών· κονιορτός 'cloud of dust' (H.) (after τηκεδών). 6. ψήληκες· τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων οἱ νοθογένναι 'bastard cocks' (H., Suid.), originally 'without a crest'?

With an enlargement -χ-: ψήχω [v.] 'to stroke, comb, wear away' (IA, etc.), aor. ψῆξαι, ψηχθῆναι, fut. ψήξω, perf. ἔψηγμαι, also prefixed, especially with κατα-. Thence 1. ψῆγμα (ἐπί-) [n.] 'granule, dust which is scraped off' (Hdt., A., Arist., Hell.). 2. ψῆξις (παρά-, ἀπό-) [f.] 'combing, scraping' (X., late medic.). 3. ψήκτρα [f.] 'curry-comb for horses' (S., E., Ar., Hell. pap.), -τρίον [n.] (gloss.), -τρίς, -τρια (H. s.v. ξώστρα), -τρίζω (sch.). ἀπό-ψηκτρον [n.] name of a remedy against ὑπώπια (Gal.), παλίμ-ψηκτρον = *deleticia [charta]* (gloss.), cf. παλίμψηστον. 4. ψηκτός (μόδιος) 'level' (gloss.), ἀπό-ψηκτός metaph. 'shrewd' (S. *Ichn.*). To this also belongs 5. ψηχράν· τὴν λεπτήν 'peeled, husked, small' (H., Suid.).

With ᾱ-vocalism (cf. below): ψακτήρ· ψήκτρα and ψάκταν· τὴν ψωκτὴν μάζαν (H.). With ω-vocalism: 1. ψωμός [m.] 'morsel, bit' (since ι 374), -ίον [n.] (Hell. pap., NT), -ίς [f.] (Arist.), -ίζω 'to put morsels in the mouth, feed' (IA), whence -ισμα, -ισμός; also ψώμηκες· οἱ τοῦ σίτου τὰς ῥίζας ἀπεσθίοντες 'who eat the roots of the grain' (H.), after μύρμηκες, σκώληκες, and ψῶμιγξ· σφήκωμα 'point of a helmet' (H.). 2. ψώρα (Ion. -η) [f.] 'itch' (IA), ψωρός, -αλέος, -ικός, -ώδης, -ίτης, -ιάω, -ίασις, -ωσις. 3. ψωλός 'without foreskin, circumcized, lecherous', also -ή (Dor. -ᾱ) [f.] 'exposed penis' (Ar., Diph.), whence ἀποψωλέω (Ar.), -ων = πόσθων 'with a large penis' (H.). 4. ψωθ-ίον [n.], also -ία [f.] 'bread crumb, etc.' (Pherecr., Poll.). Uncertain 5. ψωδαρέον· αὐχμηρόν 'dry, withered' (H.), for ψωραλέον? 6. ▸ψώα 'rotten and malodorous stuff' (A. R. *fr.* 5). 7. ψωχὸς γῆ· ψαμμώδης 'sandy' (H.), perhaps for ψῶχος· γῆ ψαμμώδης. With an enlargement -χ- (cf. on ψήχω above) also ψώχω [v.] 'to grind, scrub' (Nic., *Ev. Luc.*, Dsc.), also σώχω (Nic.); with κατα- (Hdt.), also with ἀπο-. Unclear is ψωκτόν· τράπεζαν 'table' (H.), cf. ψάκταν above.

•ETYM The glosses ψακτήρ and ψάκταν in H. prove that the basic form of ψῆν, ψήχω was *ψᾱ-, beside ablauting ψω- as found in ψωμός, ψώχω, etc. (Solmsen 1909: 136). Old Indic has been supposed to show a counterpart in the athematic present *psā́-ti* 'chews, devours', from IE **PseH-*. An *r*-derivation is supposed by Nieminen *KZ* 74 (1956): 168ff. in Lith. *sóra* 'millet' (< IE **psā-rā*: ψώρα); on this Fraenkel 1955 s.v. Cf. also ►ψῆφος.

Skt. *psā́-ti*, Gr. ψῆν and ψώχω can be explained as vocalic enlargements (**psā-*, **psō-* < **bʰs-eh₂-*, **bʰs-oh₂-*) of IE **bʰes-* in Skt. *bábhasti* 'to chew, digest'. Beekes *Sprache* 18 (1972): 126 gave semantic objections; and Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 198 (s.v. *psā-*) also rejected the connection.

DELG (s.v. *ψήω and *Supp.*) suggests that the ῆ may continue an *ē*, i.e. *-eh₁-*. Finally, Meier-Brügger in DELG *Supp.* states that the "analyse définitive" of ψῆν has to depart from the root **pes-* seen in Hitt. *peš(š)-zi* 'to rub, scrub (with soap)', with a factitive suffix *-eh₂-*.

To my mind, the IE explanations must be given up; the group of words is probably Pre-Greek, especially given the coexistence of ►ψαίω, ►ψαύω, ψίω, which cannot be explained if we start from a PIE form.

ψηνός •VAR ψηρός. ⇒ψῆν.

ψῆττα [f.] name of a flatfish, further identification uncertain ('plaice, flounder'?) (Att.), see Thompson 1947 s.v. Metaphorically 'glutton' (Pl. Com.). ◅?▻

•VAR ψῆσσα (Alex. Trall.). Ψηττό-ποδες [pl.] name of a mythic people (Luc.).

•DER Diminutive ψηττάριον (Anaxandr.), ψησσίον (Zonar.).

•ETYM Frisk suggests it could stand for *ψηχ-ι̯α (comparing θρίσσα from ►θρίξ, etc.) from ψήχω, referring to the hard, raw skin (cf. Ital. = Lat. *lima* 'file', also 'flatfish' (= MoFr. *limande*), and cf. Strömberg 1943: 87f. with more examples. Of course, this is only a suggestion.

ψῆφος [f.] 'small stone, pebble', used especially for counting and calculating, 'voting stone, vote, decision' (Pi., IA); cf. ψηφίς below. ◅?▻

•VAR Dor. ψᾶφος.

•COMP Numerous compounds, e.g. ψηφο-φορέω 'to give one's vote', -φορία [f.] 'voting' (Arist., Hell. and late); -φόρος (D. H.), ἰσό-ψηφος 'with an equal vote, having an equal vote' (Att.).

•DER 1. ψηφ-ίς, -ῖδος [f.] 'little stone' (Φ 260, etc.), whence -ιδ-ώδης (Gp.), -ίον [n.] (late), -ίδιον [n.] (Iamb.). 2. Aeol. ψᾶφ-ιγξ, -ιγγος [f.] (Eresos [IV^a]), cf. λᾶιγξ; ψᾶφαξ (Greg. Cor.), to λίθαξ 'id.'. 3. ψηφ-άς, -άδος [m.] 'juggler, magician' (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). 4. Adjective -ικός 'ptng. to calculating' (Vett. Val.), -ινος 'of stones' (*PMag. Par.*, *H.*, *AB*).

5. Verb ψηφ-ίζομαι, -ίζω 'to vote, decide', act. 'to bring to vote', also 'to count (with pebbles)' (Dor., IA), frequent with prefix, e.g. ἀπο-, ἐπι-, κατα-. Thence -ισμα, Cret. ψάφιγμα, -ιμμα (Schwyzer: 523) [n.] 'vote, motion, decision' (Emp., Att.), -ισμός (also with δια-, ἐπι-, παρα-, κατα-) [m.] 'voting, etc.' (Arist., late), -ισις (also with ἐπι-, κατα-, etc.) [f.] 'id.' (Att.), ψάφιξξις (Locr. V^a), see Schwyzer: 271, on the gemination 238; -ιστής (also ἐπι-, συν-, etc.) [m.] 'an office' (pap.).

6. Also ψηφόω 'to surface with pebbles, mosaics' (inscr., Lyd.), -ωτός (Lydia [I^{p}]), -ωσις [f.] (gloss.).
A zero grade ψᾰφ-αρός (-ερός Hp.) 'loose, rotten, crumbled' (IA), whence -αρία [f.] (Dsc.), -αρίτης [m.] (*AP*), ψαφαρόομαι (Olymp. Alch.); cf. λαγαρός, χαλαρός, etc.
•ETYM A semantic proximity between ψῆφος, ψᾶφος and ψῆν cannot be denied. However, the formal side is difficult, for what would -φ- have to represent? A zero grade ψᾰφ- is also supposed in ψάμμος, if this derives from *ψάφ-μος, and it can also be assumed for Lat. *sabulum* 'sand' (see on ►ψάμμος). The comparison with Hitt. *paššila-* 'pebble' (Goetze *Lang.* 30 (1954): 403) does not make sense formally.
Fur.: 381 compares ψαφαρός with ψαύριος· κονιορτός, φορυτός. οἱ δὲ ψαυρός 'cloud of dust, rubbish' (uncertain).

ψήχω ⇒ ψῆν.

ψιά ⇒ ἐψία.

ψιάζω [v.] 'to play', only in Lac. 3pl. ψιάδδοντι (Ar. *Lys.* 1302 [lyr.]). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR ψιάδδειν· παίζειν 'id.' (H.).
•DER Also ψιά· χαρά, γελοίασμα, παίγνια 'joy, laughter, game' (H.).
•ETYM On the anlaut also Schwyzer: 329. The variant ►ἐψία, etc. is due to a prothetic vowel, which is characteristic of substrate words. Perhaps, the Pre-Greek form had *ps^{y}-*, cf. ψίακα beside ψακάς (s.v. ψιάς) and ψίεσσα· εὐδαίμων, μακαρία and ψίεντα· τὰ αὐτά (H.).

ψίαθος [f., m.] 'rush mat' (Att. inscr. [V^{a}], Ar., Arist., Thphr.), also used as a screen (Apollod. *Poliorc.*) and as a means of transport (pap. III^{a}, Sor.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR Also ψίεθος.
•COMP ψιαθο-πλόκος [m.] 'plaiter of mats' (pap.).
•DER Diminutive ψιάθ-ιον [n.] (com. IV-III^{a}, pap. V-VI^{p}), -ώδης 'like a mat' (Eust., sch.), -ηδόν 'in the style of a mat' (sch., Suid.), -ίζομαι 'to be cured by lying on a mat' (Hierocl. *Facet.*).
•ETYM A formation like γυργαθός, κάλαθος; a loan from the Pre-Greek substrate, as is shown by the variation α/ε.

ψιάς [f.] 'drop of blood' (P 459), plur. ψιάδες αἱματόεσσαι. ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR ψίακα· ψακάδα 'drop', ψίδες· ψιάδες, ψακάδες, and ψιάζει· ψακάζει (H.).
•ETYM ψίακ- is found beside ψακ-άδ-; this points to a Pre-Greek palatalized phoneme *s^{y}*. See ►ψίω.

ψιβδεῖ [v.] · ὑποπνεῖ, βδεῖ 'to blow underneath, fart' (H.). ◅?▻
•ETYM Unknown.

ψίζομαι [v.] 'to weep', in ψιζομένη· κλαίουσα (H.). ◅PG(V)▻
•VAR = Aeol. ψισδομένα (Sapph. 94, 2); also ἔψιδ<δ>εν· ἔκλαυσεν, ψίνδεσθαι· κλαίειν (H.).
•ETYM Probably onomatopoeic; cf. ►σίζω; see also ►ψόφος. Cf. ψίδες 'drops', and note the prenasalization.

ψίθιος [adj.] epithet of οἶνος, σταφυλή, ἔλινος (com. IV^{a}, Cyrene IV^{a}, Nic., Dsc.), so a kind of grape. Lat. *psithia* (*vitis, uva*), *psythium*, scil. *vinum* (Verg., Plin., etc.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Also ψύθιος.

•ETYM No etymology. Probably Pre-Greek.

ψιθυρίζω [v.] 'to whisper, murmer, slander', metaph. of trees and birds, 'to rustle, chirp' (Pl., Ar., Hell.). ◁PG(V)▷

•VAR Dor. (Bucol.) -ίσδω.

•COMP Also with δια-, προσ-, ὑπο-, etc.

•DER ψιθύρ-ισμα (also ὑπο-) [n.], -ισμός [m.] 'whispering, rustling' (Hell.), -ιστής [m.] "whisperer", epithet of Hermes in Athens ([D.] 59, 39), 'slanderer, whisperer' (*Ep. Rom.*), -ιστικός (*Cat. Cod. Astr.*). ψίθυρος [m.] 'slanderer, whisperer' (Pi., Ar. *Fr.* 167 [anap.], LXX, Plu.), also [adj.] 'whispering, slandering' (S. *Aj.* 148 [anap.]), of music 'humming' (Ar. *Fr.* 671), of birds 'chirping' (*AP*). It seemingly served as a basis for ψιθυρίζω, but is probably a back-formation. Also ψίθυρ = ψίθυρος (Hdn. Gr. et al.), after μάρτυρ? ψεδυρός (also ψέδ-) = ψίθυρος (A. *Supp.* 1042 [lyr.], Hdn. Gr., H.), ψιδόνες· διάβολοι, ψίθυροι 'slanderers' (H.). Here also belongs ψιθύρα [f.] designation of a Libyan musical instrument (S. *Inach.* [lyr.], Poll.), probably a folk-etymological transformation of a foreign word. Cf. μινυρίζω, κλαυθμυρίζω, τινθυρίζω, συρίζω (to σῦριγξ), etc.; also λιγυρός, καπυρὸς, ὀϊζυρός (to ὀϊζύς), etc.

•ETYM If it dissimilated from *ψυθυρ- (as assumed by Specht *KZ* 61 (1934): 277; on the phenomenon see Kretschmer *Glotta* 26 (1938): 57f., and cf. φῖτυ), it may belong to ψύθος, etc., see ►ψεύδομαι. On the other hand, cf. ►ψίζομαι. Pisani *Arch. glott. ital.* 46 (1964): 23 considered relationship with Skt. *kṣvéḍati* (also *kṣvédati*) 'to hum' < IE *$k^{w}s$- (not even mentioned by Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.).

Given the variant ψεδυρός and the nom. ψιθυρ, the word is no doubt non-Indo-European, i.e. Pre-Greek.

ψίλον •ETYM Dor. for ►πτίλον.

ψῑλός [adj.] 'bald, bare, smooth, exposed' (*I* 580). ◁?▷

•VAR Also msc. subst. 'light-armed soldier' (IA).

•COMP Few compounds, e.g. ψιλό-ταπις, -ιδος [f.] "smooth carpet", i.e. a carpet smooth on one side and woolly on the other (Hell. pap.), opposite to ἀμφί-ταπις 'carpet woolly on both sides'; διά-ψιλος γῆ 'completely bare, uncovered land' (pap. II^{p}).

•DER 1. ψιλ-ότης [f.] 'baldness' (Hp., Arist., Plb.). 2. ψιλής, -ῆτος [m.] 'γυμνής' (A. *fr.* 732 M.), plur. -ῆται (Eust.), also -ῖται after ὁπλῖται? 3. -ᾱξ, -ᾶκος [m.] 'the bald one' (Ar. *fr.* 891), also as an epithet of Dionysus in Amyklai (Paus.), see Björck 1950: 48 and 264. 4. ψιλεῖς [m.pl.] 'the first choreutes' (H., Suid.), after the light-armed vanguard. 5. ψιλ-όω [v.] 'to make bald, lay bare, expose', also with ἀπο-, etc., pass. -όομαι 'to become bald, become bare, get exposed' (IA); thence -ωσις (also ἀπο-, περι-) [f.] 'exposure, depilation' (medic.), gramm. 'removal of aspiration, inaspirate pronunciation' (Eust.), -ωμα [n.] 'bare situation' (Hp.), -ωτής 'one who drops the aspiration' (Tz.), -ωτικός (Gal., *EM*, *Eust.*). 6. -ίζομαι = -όομαι (D. C.).

•ETYM No etymology. Some semantic parallels can be found within the enormous group of ►ψῆν, but the formation (cf. ψω-λός) remains unclear. Cf. ►ψίω, ψῖχες.

ψῑ́μυθος [m.] 'white lead' (Ar., Pl., X., Hell.; Delos [301a], *AP*). ◄PG(V)►
•VAR Often -ύθιον, later -ίθιον (pap.), rarely -μμ-; also ψιμύθιον [n.].
•DER ψιμυθιόομαι 'to be colored with white lead' (Lys., Hell.), act. -όω 'to color …'; also -θόω (Thom. Mag.), -θίζω (Zonar.) 'id.', whence -θιστής [m.] (gloss.).
•ETYM Has been assumed to be a loanword, perhaps from Egyptian. However, no evidence for this can be found. The variations rather point to a Pre-Greek word. See Fur.: 367.

ψίνομαι [v.] 'to shed fruits before ripening' (Thphr.). ◄GR►
•DER ψινάδες· αἱ ῥυάδες ἄμπελοι 'vines shedding (their fruits or leaves)' and ψινάζει· ἀπορρεῖ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ καρποῦ, φυλλορροεῖ 'to fall off (of the weak fruits), to shed the leaves' (H.).
•ETYM Cretan forms for φθίνομαι, etc. Cf. ψίνοντος = φθίνοντος (Tenos, *IG* 12(5), 867), ψίσις (= φθίσις)· ἀπώλεια 'destruction' (H.), etc. See more examples and phonetic notes in Schwyzer: 326. On the dialectal words in Thphr. see Strömberg 1937: 72.

ψίττα, ψύττα ⇒σίττα.

ψιττάκη [f.] 'parrot' (Arist.). ◄LW? Orient, PG?(V)►
•VAR ψιττακός (accent after Hdn. Gr. 1, 150) [m.] (Call., Plu., D. S.), also σιττακός (Phld., Arr.), -άκη (v.l. Arist.), ►βίττακος, σίττας· ὄρνις ποιός. ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν ψιττακὸν λέγουσιν (H.).
•ETYM Formerly assumed to be a foreign word of Oriental origin, connected with Skt. *śúka-* [m.] 'parrot'. Fur.: 325 thinks the Indic word should be left aside, and asks if it could be a Pre-Greek bird name that was transferred to the parrot. The variation does seem to point to Pre-Greek origin. Borrowed as Lat. *psittacus* > MoHG *Sittich.*

ψίω [v.] 'to feed with morsels; to milk, pap'; = ψωμίζω, ποτίζω. Also 'to chew up' in fut. med. (Lyc., Euph., *AP*, Phot., Eust.). ◄?►
•VAR Aor. ψῖσαι, fut. ψίσομαι, ἐπι-ψιεῖ, perf. pass. ἔψισμαι.
•COMP Also with κατα-, ἀπο-, ἐπι- (*EM*, H.). ἐ<μ>ψίουσα = τροφὰς διδοῦσα χόνδρου (A. *Fr.* 51 = 427 M.), = ἐρέγματα διδοῦσα (H.).
•DER ψίξ [m., f.] 'morsel' (Plu., Aret., Alex. Aphr.), gen. ψιχός, nom.pl. ψῖχες (also -αι H.). ψιχία [n.pl.] 'bread crumbs' (NT), -ίδια (H., *EM*), -ιώδεις ψωμοί (Eust.). Ψιχ-άρπαξ 'thief of bread crumbs' (Batr.).
•ETYM The formation is similar to πρίω, χρίω, χνίω. The enlargement ψι-χ- reminds of ψήχω, ψώχω. I do not think, however, that the word belongs to ►ψῆν.

ψό 'pooh' (Ael. Dion. 337). A shepherd's call, also an exclamation of disgust: ἐπὶ τοῦ σαπροῦ καὶ μὴ συναρέσκοντος. ◄ONOM►
•ETYM See on ►ψώα. I see no sufficient basis to derive words like ψόλος, ψόθος from this interjection, as suggested by DELG.

ψόαι [f.pl.] 'psoas muscle, muscles of the loins' (Hp., LXX). ◄PG(V)►

•VAR Also ψοιαί, ψύαι, ψυαί. ψοῖτης μυελός 'lumbar part of the spinal chord' (Gal.), ψυαδικός 'suffering from lumbago' (Orib.). Cf. ψειαί· ἀλώπεκες '(foxes,) psoas muscles' (H.), ψίαι· ἀλώπεκες (H.); φοῦαι· ἀλώπεκες (H.), φύλλες· ἀλώπεκες (H.).
•ETYM The variations cannot be all understood in IE terms. The connection with ►ὀσφῦς (Prellwitz), with ὀ- as a prothetic vowel instead of α- before υ in the following syllable, is quite possible. The word is clearly Pre-Greek. For further details see ►ὀσφῦς.

ψόγξαι [v.inf.] · ἀκοῦσαι 'to hear' (H.). ◅GR▻
•ETYM A Doric form connected with ►φθογγή?

ψοδίον ⇒ψάγιον.

ψόθος 1 [m.] = ἀκαθαρσία, ῥύπος, ψώρα (A. *fr.* 82 = 21 M., Ar. *fr.* 829, Phryn. Com., H., Phot., Suid.); ψόθιον (-ίον cod.)· αἰθαλῶδες, ψοθόν· μέλαν (H.); also ψοθώ<ρ>α· ψώρα, ψόθωρ<ον>· αὐχμηρόν (H.), cf. Wackernagel *Phil.* 95 (1943): 191; ψοθόκη· ἀκαθαρσία (Hdn. Gr.), ψοθοιὸς ὁ ἀκάθαρτος (Theognost. *Can.*). ◅PG(V)▻
•ETYM Closest to ►ψόλος 'soot'. Fur.: 197 connects ψοῖθος = σποδός 'ashes', and assumes also *ψῶδος 'dirt' on the basis of ψωδαρέον· αὐχμηρόν (H.), cf. ψοθωρ- above. He also compares ψόλος 'soot, smoke' and ἄσβολος 'soot' (ibid.: 393[21]).

ψόθος 2 [m.] · (...) θόρυβος 'noise, commotion'; ψοθἀλλειν· ψοφεῖν 'to make noise' (H.); ψοθεῦσιν = ψοφέουσιν (Call. *fr.* 194, 106). ◅PG?▻
•ETYM Frisk assumed a cross of ψόφος and ῥόθος, where ψοθἀλλειν would be formed after ψἀλλειν. I do not believe in such 'crosses'. The word is no doubt Pre-Greek.

ψοῖθος [m.] = σποδός 'ashes' (Theognost. *Can.*, *EM*, Phot.). ◅PG(V)▻
•ETYM See Fur.: 197, and s.v. ►ψόθος 1.

ψόλος [m.] 'soot, smoke, fume' (A. *fr.* 24 = 88 M.). ◅PG(V)▻
•DER ψολοκομπίαι (from *ψολό-κομπος) [f.pl.] 'fumy pomposities' (Ar. *Eq.* 696). From this ψολό-εις 'sooty, smoky, fumy, smoke-colored, dark' (Od., epic poet.). Besides ψελός· αἰθαλός 'soot' (for -όεις?) and ψόμμος· ἀκαθαρσία, καπνός 'impurity, smoke' (H.), cf. ψἀμμος.
•ETYM The ending is similar to that of ἄσβολος, θολός, αἴθαλος. Connection with ►ψῆν makes little sense semantically. Fur.: 388 compares ψόθος 'dirt' and also (393) σποδός, ἄ-σβολος (with prothetic vowel). In view of these variants, the word is most probably Pre-Greek.

ψόφος [m.] 'clangour, noise, crash, vain noise, idle babble' (*h. Merc.*). ◅?▻
•COMP E.g. ψοφο-δεής 'fearing noise' (Pl.), ἄ-ψοφος 'noiseless' (S., E., Arist.).
•DER 1. ψοφ-ώδης 'full of noise' (Hp., Arist.). 2. ψοφαξ [m.] epithet (inscr. Phrygia). 3. ψοφ-έω 'to make noise or clamour, sound, blow' (IA), also with ἀπο-, συν-, ἐπι-, etc.; thence -ησις (also with ἀπο-, ἐπι-) [f.] 'making a noise' (Cratin., Arist., Plu.), -ήματα [n.pl.] 'idle babble' (S. *Inach.*), -ητικός 'boisterous' (Arist.), ἀ-ψόφητος 'noiseless' (S.), -ητί, -ητεί [adv.] (Pl., D., Arist.).

Besides the glosses from H., in quite different mgs.: ψέφει· δέδοικεν, ἐντρέπει, λυπεῖ, φροντίζει; μεταψέφω· μεταβουλεύομαι; μεταψέφειν· μεταμελεῖσθαι; ἀψεφέων· ἀμελῶν and ἀψεφές· ἀφρόντιστον. Σοφοκλῆς Φαίδρᾳ (*Fr.* 692), see ▶ψέφει.

•ETYM Like ψεῦδος and ψύθος, it may originally be onomatopoeic and somehow belong with the interjection ψό 'pooh![pfui!]' (S. *Fr.* 521; "ἐπὶ τοῦ σαπροῦ καὶ μὴ συναρέσκοντος" [Ael. Dion.; cf. A.*Fr.* 21 M.]); in detail dark. After Petersson 1923: 20 to **bʰes-* 'to blow' (see on ▶ψῡχή) with broken reduplication.

ψύδραξ, -ακος [f.] 'pustule, blister', on the head, on the eyelid, on the nose, on the tongue (*EM* 819, 10). ◀?▶

•DER ψυδράκιον [n.] (Dsc., Cyran., sch. Theoc. 12, 24); ψυδρακόω [v.] 'to form a pustule' (medic.).

•ETYM After sch. on Theoc. it was called this way, because it betrayed the lier (ψυδρός); they were also called ψεύδεα and ψεύσματα. Cf. Theoc. 9, 30 and 12, 24, to which Kaibel 1899-1901(1): 218. Connection with ▶ψήν should be given up.

ψύθος ⇒ψεῦδος.

ψύλλα [f.] 'flea' (Epich., Ar., X., Arist., Thphr.). ◀IE **p/bl(o)u-s-* 'flea'▶

•VAR Secondary and rare ψύλλος [m.]. Also ψύλλακας· τὰς ψύλλας (H.); ψυλλίζω [v.] 'to catch fleas' (Suid.).

•DER Plant name ψύλλ-ιον [n.] (Dsc., Luc.), -ερίς [f.] (Ps.-Dsc.), after ἡμερίς, etc.) 'flea seed, Plantago psyllium'; because of the form of the seed (Strömberg 1940: 55).

•ETYM An inherited word **plusi-* 'flea', which underwent metathesis in Greek to **psuli-* (perhaps by association with ψῆν): cf. Skt. *plúṣi-*, Arm. *lu* <**plus-*, Lith. *blusà* < **bʰ(ʰ)lus-*, Lat. *pūlex* < **pusl-*, Germanic, e.g. OHG *flōh* (probably folk etymology after *fly*), etc.; the variations are the result of euphemistic, playful or folk-etymological distortions that may have been current already in the parent language.

ψῡχή [f.] 'aspiration, breath, life, vitality, soul (of the deceased), spirit', also as a representation of the dead, seen as a winged creature (ζῷον πτερωτόν) (Il.). ◀PG▶

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ψυχ-αγωγός [m.] 'guide of souls, necromancer', whence -ία, -έω (since A.); very productive as a second member, e.g. ἔμ-ψυχος 'animate' (IA), μεγαλό-ψυχος 'magnanimous' (Att., etc.).

•DER 1. Diminutive ψυχ-άριον [n.] (Pl., M. Ant.) > MoGr. ψυχάρι 'butterfly', see Immisch *Glotta* 6 (1915): 193ff.; -ίον [n.] (epigr. *IG* 14, 2068), -ίδιον [n.] (Luc., D. C.). 2. ψυχ-ικός 'mental' (Arist., Hell.), -αῖος, -ήϊος 'id.' (late). 3. ψυχόω [v.] 'to animate' (Ph., Nonn.), whence -ωσις [f.] 'animation' (Ph., M. Ant.); also ἐμψυχ-όω, -όομαι (μετ-), whence (μετ-)εμψύχωσις (D. S., Gal.) from ἔμψυχος (see above).

ψύχω [v.] 'to blow' (Hom. only Υ 440), aor. ψῦξαι, pass. (also intr.) ψυχθῆναι (Il.), -ῆναι (Att.), ψῡγ-ῆναι (Hell.), fut. ψύξω, ψυχ-θήσομαι, -ήσομαι, ψῡγήσομαι, perf. ἔψυγμαι (IA), act. ἔψυχα (late). Often prefixed, in various shades of meaning: e.g. ἀνα- 'to take breath', ἀπο-, ἐκ- 'to expire, lose consciousness, die' (Od., IA), but more frequently 'to cool down', also intr. and pass. (Il.), 'to dry (in the wind)' (IA). Also with κατα-, δια-, ἐπι-.

Other words meaning 'cool, cold' are treated s.v. ▶ψυχρός.

•ETYM The present ψύχω is clearly the basis of all other verbal forms. The nominal formations fit semantically and formally to the verb: for ψυχή 'soul' from ψύχω 'to blow, breathe', cf. πνεῦμα to πνέω, Lat. *animus* and *anima* to Skt. *ániti* 'to breathe', etc.

Greek had another verb for 'to blow, breathe': πνέω, which remains alive throughout the history of Greek. Therefore, it is generally thought that ψύχω developed its meaning 'to cool, make dry (in the wind)', from 'to blow'. Note that this is now doubted by Mumm and Richter, *IJDLLR* 5 (2008): 33-108, who argue that the meaning 'cool' is primary to 'breath, soul'. In the meaning 'cool', ψύχω, ψῦχος and ψυχρός are maintained in prose against other expressions for 'cool, cold', like ῥῖγος, κρύος, πάγος.

The earlier history of ψύχω is obscure. It is tempting to analyze it as ψύ-χ-ω (like τρύχω to τρύω, ψήχω and ψώχω to ψῆν), and to connect a verb *b^h*es-* 'to blow' (Benveniste *BSL* 33 (1932): 165ff., who compares τρύω to τείρω and Lat. *terō*). Derivatives of *b^h*es-* would be seen in Skt. *bhástrā-* [f.] 'bag, bellows', *bhásman-* [n.] 'ashes' (for another possibility see on ►ψόλος). Moreover, Skt. *°psu-* in *á-psu* 'without breath' (RV) would contain the same extension. See details in Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.vv. A recent attempt was made by Mumm and Richter (l.c.).

I do not find these suggestions convincing. There is hardly any evidence for an IE root *b^h*es-* 'to blow' (Mayrhofer *EWAia* 2: 257 puts the Skt. root *bhas*^{2} between brackets). Therefore, the word is more probably of Pre-Greek origin.

ψυχρός [adj.] 'cold' (Hom.). ◅?▻

•COMP ἔμψυχρος 'cold'.

•DER ψύχω [v.] 'to refresh, etc.'; often prefixed. For forms, see on ►ψῦχή.

Nominal derivations: 1. ἀνα-ψῦχή (Att., Arist.) 'refreshment, consolation' (also παρα-), where ῠ is explained from ψῦχῆναι (Schwyzer: 460). 2. ψῦξις (also ἀνά-, κατά-, περί-, ἔμ-, etc.) [f.] 'refreshment' (Hp., Pl., Arist.). 3. ψῦγμα (also ἀπό-, διά-) [n.] 'means of cooling; dry or infertile land' (Hp., pap.). 4. ψυγμός (also περι-), ψυχμός [m.] 'refreshment, chill; place for drying' (LXX, Hell. pap., medic.). 5. ψυκτήρ (also ἀνα-, οἰνο-) [m.] 'cooler' (Att., Hell.), also 'place for drying' (sch. Od.), -τήριον, -τηρίδιον [n.] 'cooler' (com. [IV^a], Hell. inscr. and pap.), 'place for drying or recovering' (Hes., A., E.), with παρα- 'consolation' (S. *Ichn.*), -τήριος 'cooling' (Achae. [V^a]), -τηρίας, -τηρίσκος [m.] 'cooler' (Hell. pap. and com.). 6. ψύκτρα [f.] 'place for drying' (Att. inscr. [I^a], H. s.v. τρασιά). 7. ψυκτικός (also δια-, ἐν-, κατα-) 'cooling' (medic., Arist.). 8. ψυγεύς [m.] 'cooler' (Alex.), perhaps directly from ψυγῆναι. 9. ψυγός = ταρσός (sch. Od.).

From ψύχω: 10. ψῦχος [n.] 'cold, frost' (κ 555), 'winter' (Hdt.); ψυχόομαι 'to become cold' (Hp.), ψυχάζω 'refresh oneself' (Alciphr.), -ίζομαι (gloss.) 'to cool down', ψυχ-εινός 'cold' (Hp., X., Arist.), after the opposite ἀλεεινός, perhaps directly from ψύχω; -εῖον [n.] 'place for cooling water' (Semos Hist.). Cf. ψυγεῖα· ἀγγεῖα ἐν οἷς ὕδωρ ψύχεται, καὶ ὁ τόπος αὐτός (H.), also *IG* 2^2, 1695: 21 [III^a] (inscr. ψυ[γ]εια)? 11. ψυχρός (like αἶσχος to αἰσχρός, etc.) 'cool, cold, numb; without success, etc.' (Il.), also with κατα-, ἐν-, ὑπο-, etc. Thence ψυχρότης 'cold(ness)', ψυχρία 'id.', ψυχρασία

'making cold' (Epicur.); ψυχραίνομαι 'be cold' (Plu.), whence ψυχραντικός (Hdn.), ψυχρίζομαι 'id.' (Gal.), ψυχρεύομαι 'to have a cold style' (Hermog.).
•ETYM ψυχρός and ψῦχος form a Caland sysem. It cannot be decided whether the system is etymologically related to ►ψῦχή; see s.v. for attempts.

ψῶ •VAR Also ψωμός, ψώρα, ψώχω, etc. ⇒ψῆν.

ψώα [f.] 'stench of rottenness' (A. R. *fr.* 5) ◅?▻
•VAR ψωία· σαπρὰ δυσωδία 'rotten and malodorous stuff' (H.).
•DER ψώιζος· ἀφοδος ὑγρὰ ἢ ὄνθος, δυσωδία, καὶ ἣν καλοῦσιν μίνθαν· οἱ δὲ αὐχμὸν ἢ μόλυσμα 'liquid excrement, dung, malodorous stuff, etc.' (H.).
•ETYM DELG and Frisk posit an interjection ψό, from which the word would have been derived. Doubtful.

Ω

ὦ exclamation of astonishment and of complaint. ◁IE **ō*▷

•VAR Also ὤ, especially before a vocative (Il.).

•DER ὠ̃ζω [v.] 'to call Oh' (Ar.). Also ὠή 'hey, hello!' (A., E., X.), ὠόπ a cry of rowers (Ar.).

•ETYM Similar interjections, which are in part independent, in part genetically cognate, are: Lat. *ō*, *ōh*, Go. *o*, Lith. *ō*, OCS *o*, OIr. *a*, Skt. *ā*.

ᾠά [f.] 1. 'sheepskin, apron' (com., Att. inscr. [IV^{a}], Poll., H.). 2. 'fringe (of a garment), edge' (Corinn. [?], Ar. *fr.* 228 [?], LXX, Cret. inscr. [II^{a}], Longus, Poll., Hdn.). ◁IE **h$_3$eui-* 'sheep'▷

•VAR Also ᾤα, ὤα, ὄα; gloss ὠΐαι· ἄκραι, ἔσχατα, μηλωταί, λέγναι 'tops, utmost parts, sheepskins, fringes of a garment' (H.).

•ETYM In the sense 'sheepskin, apron (made of sheepskin)', it probably belongs to ►ὄϊς 'sheep' and derives from **ωϝία* or **ω̃ϝι̯α*, with a lengthened grade like in Skt. *āvika-* [n.] 'sheepskin' (Kretschmer *KZ* 31 (1892): 456). However, Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v. *ávi-* says that *āvika-* (ŚB) replaces earlier *avyáya-* (RV), which casts doubt on the connection.

The meaning 'fringe' can be identical with 'sheepskin' if we assume that it denoted an edge made of sheepskin (Sommer 1905: 18f., 154[1]).

ὠβά ⇒οἴη 2.

ὤγανον [n.] · κνημὶς ἁμάξης 'spoke of a wagon (wheel)', also περιώγανα· ἐπίσσωτρα. οἱ δὲ τὰς κνημίας αἳ περιπήγνυνται ταῖς ἁμάξαις 'felloes; spokes by which wagons are fixed (?)' (H.). ◁IE **h$_2$eǵ-* 'drive'▷

•ETYM von Blumenthal 1930: 7 assumed Illyrian origin, connecting **ueǵ^{h}-* 'to drive' (see ►ἔχω 2). Rather to ►ἄγω, though the formation is unclear (not a lengthened grade like in ►ἀγωγή, as per Frisk 1938: 17f.).

ᾠδή •VAR ᾠδός. ⇒ἀείδω.

ὠδίς, -ῖνος [f.] 'throes of birth, that which is born (out of pains)', metaph. 'strain' (Λ 271). ◁PG(S)▷

•VAR Usually pl. -ῖνες. Later nom. -ίν.

•COMP δυσ-ώδινος 'accompanied by severe birth-pangs' (*AP*).

•DER ὠδίνω [v.] (Λ 269) 'to have birth-pangs, be pregnant of something', metaph. 'to experience heavy pains, tire oneself out, labour hard', also prefixed with συν- etc. Thence aor. ὠδῖν-αι, -ῆσαι, -ήσασθαι, -ηθῆναι, fut. ὠδιν-ῶ, -ήσω (Hell.).

•ETYM Formation like γλωχ-ῖν-, δελφ-ῖν-, ἀκτ-ῖν-, but the root is unclear. It is tempting to connect ►ὀδύνη, but the long initial vowel of ὠδ- has not been explained so far. Van Beek (p.c.) suggests an old reduplicated formation *h_3e-h_3d-*i*- of the type Skt. *cákri-* 'doing' (< *k^we-k^wr-*i*-) from the root *h_3ed- 'to bite' (see on ►ὀδύνη for a demarcation of the root). Note that Lith. *úodas* 'gnat' does not require a lengthened grade: it derives from *h_3od-*o*- by Winter's Law. A connection with 'eat' cannot be demonstrated in Greek (in spite of Λ 415).

Alternatively, the word may be Pre-Greek, because of the suffix -ῖν- (which is already remarked by DELG).

ὠθέω, -έομαι [v.] 'to push, thrust, drive, push away or forward, drive out, throw back', med. also intr. 'to force one's way'. ◅IE *$h_2uod^hh_1$-*éie*- 'push away, slay'▻

•VAR Aor. ὦσαι, -ασθαι, ind. ἔωσα, -ἀμην (Hom., Att.), ὧσα, -ἀμην (epic Ion.), ὤθησα (late), pass. ἐώσθην (X.), ὤσθην (late), fut. ὤσω, -ομαι (Il.), ὠθήσω (S., E., Ar.), pass. ὠσθήσομαι (E., D.), perf. pass. ἔωσμαι (Th., X.), ptc. ἀπ-ωσμένος (Hdt.), act. ἔωκα (Plu.).

•COMP Mostly prefixed, e.g. with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, δι-, προ-.

•DER Deverbal formations: 1. ὦσις [f.] 'pushing (away or forward)' (Hp., Th., Arist.), also with ἄπ-, ἔξ-, πρό-, etc.; further ὤθησις [f.] 'id.' (Hero, late), also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, δι-, etc.

2. ὠσμός [m.] 'id.' (LXX, Hero, late medic.), also with ἀπ-, δι-, προ-, etc.; ὠσμή [f.] 'push' (pap. [II^p]); ἔξ-ωσμα [n.] 'exile' (LXX).

3. ὤστης (σεισμός) 'earthquake' (Arist.), ἐξώστης ἄνεμος 'wind which throws the ship off course' (Ion.), also with προ-, ἀπ- (late); ἀπ-ωστός 'repellable, repelled, driven away' (Hdt., S.); ὠστικός 'pushing (away)' (Arist., Epicur., Gal.), also with ἀπ-, ἐξ-, προ-.

4. δι-ωστήρ [m.] (LXX, Paul. Aeg.), δι-ώστρα [f.] (Ph. *Bel.*, Hero *Bel.*), ἐξ-ώστρα (Plb.), -ωστρα [n.pl.] (Delos III^a) designations of different instruments and machines.

Secondary presents: 1. ὠθίζομαι 'to push each other, jostle, quarrel', -ίζω 'to push' (Hdt., late prose), , also with δι-, εἰσ-, ἐπ-; (δι-, συν-)ώθισμός [m.] 'pushing, jostle, quarrel' (Hdt., Th., X., Plb.). 2. ὠστίζομαι 'to push about, jostle with someone' (Ar.); ὠστισμός [m.] = ὠθισμός (Moeris).

•ETYM The iterative present ὠθέω is clearly the basic form of the verb in Greek. A link with the present ἔθει, the ptc. ἔθων, ἔθοντες and the nouns ἔθρις, ἔθειρα is highly unlikely; see on these words for objections. It is therefore not clear *a priori* that ὠθέω contains an old lengthened grade of the type πωλέομαι : πέλομαι (for which cf. Schwyzer: 720). It is attractive to compare the optative in Av. *vādāiiōiṯ* 'he may push back', and primary forms in Sanskrit, e.g. aor. *ávadhīt* 'he killed'. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. further suggests that Hitt. *ḫuett-*$^{tta(ri)}$ 'to draw, pull, etc.' is related. This nicely fits the long scansion of the initial vowel in Skt. *ávadhīt* (2 times). The fact that the Skt. root is *seṭ* and that the Hittite verb is consistently spelled with a

geminate -*tt*- (Kloekhorst ibid.) point to a root-final laryngeal. This means that we have to reconstruct a root *$h_2ued^{h}h_1$-, whence an iterative *$h_2uod^{h}h_1$-*éie*- yielded Greek ὠθέω. This explanation nicely accounts for the fact that initial ϝ- is not evident for ὠθέω in Homeric scansion. The only problem is that we have to assume a pre-Homeric development *$awot^{h}$- > *ὠθ-.

Ὠκεανός [m.] name of a river that surrounds the world, 'ocean' (since Il.). ◂PG(V)▸
•VAR Ὠγήν, -ῆνος (H), Ὤγενός (Lyc., St. Byz.), Ὠγηνός (Pherecyd. Syr. *Fr.* 2 D).
•DER Ὠκεαν-ίς [f.] 'of the ocean' (Pi., etc.), -ίδες [pl.] 'the daughters of the ocean' (Call.), -ῖνη [f.] 'daughter of the ocean' (Hes.), -ῖτις [f.] 'of the ocean' (D. H., *AP*, etc.), -ῖται [m.pl.] 'inhabitants of the ocean coast' (St. Byz.), -(ε)ιος 'belonging to the ocean' (Gal., etc.), fem. -ηϊάς (Nonn.), -ης [m.] old name of the river Nile (D. S.).
•ETYM Since the idea of a world-river is not of IE origin, the word must be a loan. All attempts to find an IE etymology have failed: e.g. connection with Skt. *ā-śáyāna*- 'lying on', approximately equivalent to ἐπικείμενος (literature in WP 1, 358); from IE *$\bar{o}\acute{k}_{\underline{u}}$-*eianos* "(le dieu fleuve) qui a la marche rapide" (to ὠκύς and Skt. *áyana*- 'course'), Borgeaud *IF* 66 (1961): 49ff.
Further indications that the word is not inherited from Proto-Indo-European, but rather Pre-Greek, are the variants with γ instead of κ cited above. In the framework of Pre-Greek, the alternation ε/η may be due to *a or *$\bar{a}$ influenced by the preceding palatalized *k^{y}. This is confirmed by the following: as the influence of the palatal must have been strongest in the immediately adjacent part of the vowel, and less in the more remote part, this resulted in a sequence [æa] which was rendered as -εα- in Ὠκεανός. In other forms, the vowel was changed as a whole, which resulted in Ὠγήν. Therefore, I reconstruct a Pre-Greek form *$\bar{u}k\bar{a}n$ (with ὠ- from *$\bar{u}$-).

ὤκιμον [n.] 'basil, Ocimum Basilicum' (com., Thphr., Dsc.). ◂PG(V)▸
•COMP ὠκιμο-ειδές [n.] 'like ὤ.' (Nic.), used as an adverb; as a substantivized adjective in -ής also name of several plants (Dsc., Ps.-Dsc., Gal.), ; cf. Strömberg 1940: 43; ὠκιμ-ώδης 'id.' (Thphr.), -ινος 'made of ὤ.' (Dsc.).
•DER Besides ὤκινον [n.] name of a fodder-plant, perhaps a kind of clover in Lat. *ōcinum* (Cato, Varro, Plin.); ἄκινος, ἄκονος [m.] 'wild basil, Calamintha graveolens' (Dsc.).
•ETYM Foreign words of unknown origin. Connection with ἀκή, ἄκαινα, etc. is at best folk-etymological, and it does not explain the initial ὠ-. The variants ἄκινος and ἄκονος rather suggest a Pre-Greek origin.

ὠκύς [adj.] 'fast, swift' (Il., epic). ◂IE *$h_1oh_1\acute{k}$-*u*- 'fast'▸
•VAR Superl. ὤκιστος (Hom.), ὠκύτατος (poet. since θ 331), compar. ὠκύτερος (Pi.+), for earlier *ὤσσων? Adverb ὤκα (Hom.).
•COMP
Very frequent as a first member in poetic compounds, e.g. ὠκύ-πους, -ποδος 'swift-footed', epithet of ἵππος (Il.). Disputed is ὠκύ-αλος, epithet of ναῦς (Hom., S. [lyr.], Mosch.), also of ῥιπή (Pi., Opp.), of πτερά (H.), as the name of a Phaiacean (θ 111), cf. Εὐρύ-, Ἀστύ-αλος, where -αλος is taken as an obscured second member after ἀγχί-, ἀμφί-αλος etc. Bechtel 1914 s.v., Risch 1937 §74d, Sommer 1948: 69 connected

►ἄλλομαι, and Ruijgh 1957: 165[4] (following sch. O 705 and H.) assumed that -αλος was only enlarging, like in ὁμαλός : ὁμός.
As a second member in ποδ-ώκης, epithet of Ἀχιλλεύς and others, also πόδας ὠκύς, ὠκύ-πους (Il.); these compounds seem to presuppose a neuter *ὦκος. After this ἱππ-ώκης, ἀνεμ-ώκης (B., E. [lyr.]).
•DER Few derivatives: ὠκύτης (Dor. -τας) [f.] 'swiftness' (Pi., E.); enlarged ὠκήεντα τέρετρα (*AP*), verse-final. Ruijgh l.c. extensively discusses ὠκύς and its compounds and derivations.
•ETYM The archaic adjective ὠκύς was pushed away and replaced by ταχύς at an early date. It is etymologically identical with Skt. *āśú-* and Av. *āsu-* < QIE **HoHḱ-ú-*. It is quite possible that the pre-form is actually IE **h₁o-h₁ḱ-ú-* 'swift', and that it contains the same root and suffix as **h₁eḱ-uo-* 'horse' (see on ►ἵππος).
Latin preserves the comparative Lat. *ōcior* = Skt. *āśīyān*, Av. *āsiiå*. Celtic only preserved it in composition with a negative prefix, e.g. W *di-auc* 'slow' < "un-fast".
Lat. *acu-pedius* probably contains **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp', while it is possible that Lat. *accipiter* 'hawk, falcon' derives from an old zero grade **HHḱu-petro-* 'fast-flying', cf. Gr. ὠκύπτερος. On the other hand, Greek also uses ὀξύ-, e.g. in ὀξύ-πους 'swift-footed' (E.), ὀξύ-πτερος 'with swift wings' (Aesop.), ὀξύ-ρροπος 'inclining swiftly' (Pl.).

ὠλένη [f.] 'elbow, the curved arm, lower arm' (poet. since *h. Merc.*, also Luc.), also 'bundle of reed' < *'armful', 'reed-mat' (Ph. *Rel.*, pap.), = Lat. *torus* (gloss.). ◁IE **h₃eHl-en-* (vel sim.) 'elbow'▷
•COMP Few compounds: ὠλέ-κρᾶνον, also ὀλέ-κρᾶνον [n.] '(point of the) elbow' (Hp., Ar., Arist.), dissimilated from *ὠλενό-κρανον; cf. on κρανίον. Thence ὠλεκραν-ίζω, -ίζομαι (also ὀλ-) 'to push with the elbow' (*Com. Adesp.*, Phryn.); ὠλενο-στρόφος [m.] 'plaiter of bundles or mats' (pap. III[a]); λευκ-ώλενος 'with white elbows, white-armed' epithet especially of Hera (Il., epic poet.). Hypostasis ἐπ-ωλένιος 'at the arms' (*h. Merc.*, A. R.).
•DER ὠλέν-ιος 'in the elbow' (Arat.), -ίτης [m.] 'id.' (Lyc.), of χόνδρος; ὠλεν-ίς [f.] 'small bundle or mat' (Poll.).
Also ὠλήν, -ένος [f.] 'id.' (Suid.); the plur. acc. ὠλένας and gen. ὠλενων (pap.) are ambiguous; also ὠλλόν· τὴν τοῦ βραχίονος καμπήν 'the curve of the arm' (H.). λέκρανα· τοὺς ἀγκῶνας 'elbows' (H., Phot.).
•ETYM Within Greek, we find different ablauting variants of an *n*-stem: ὠλήν, -ένος (cf. αὐχήν, -ένος), enlarged ὠλένη, and ὠλλόν < *ὠλνόν. Also, there is a short initial vowel in ὁλέκρᾶνον < ὀλένο-κρᾶνον.
Related words, mainly from European languages, are: Lat. *ulna* '(bone of the) elbow, forearm' < **olen-*, the Germanic group of OHG *elina* 'ell' < **alin-*, and the Celtic group of MW *elin* 'elbow' < **olēn-*. It may be that these ultimately go back on forms with a long initial vowel **ōlén-*, **ōlḗn-*, which was shortened in pretonic position in these languages (Dybo's Law).
Balto-Slavic forms like Lith. *úolektis*, Latv. *uôlekts* 'ell' < **HoHl-ek-ti-*, OPr. *alkunis*, Lith. *alkū̃nė* (arch.) 'elbow' < **HHol-k-* and OCS *lakъtь* [m.], Ru. *lókot'* 'id.' < **HHolkuti-* show that the word was not an *n*-stem in PIE yet, and that the initial

long vowel, which is acute in Baltic, must be due to a pre-form **HoHl-*. It is possible that an *n*-stem was made to this form in the Western languages in late PIE.
The *n*-stem is also found in Arm. *uln*, gen. *ulan*, nom.pl. *ulun-k'*, but in the sense of 'vertebrae, neck'. A similar formation is shown by Arm. *oln*, gen. *olin*, plur. *olun-k'* 'dorsal vertebra, spine, back, shoulder' from IE **olen-*, *olon-*. However, it is unclear if the semantic difference between Armenian and the other languages can be bridged (see now Martirosyan 2010 s.v. *uln*.
The precise reconstruction of Skt. *aratní-* [m.] 'elbow' is not quite clear, but cf. Lubotsky 1990; Skt. *āṇí-* [m.] 'the part of the leg directly above the knee, axle-pin' does not belong here, see Pinault *BSL* 98 (2003).

ὠλίγγη [f.] 'wrinkle, small furrow, crow's-feet in the corner of the eye' (Poll., *EM*, *AB*), also 'short nap, short moment, instant'. ◁PG(S)▷
•VAR Also ὤλιγξ? ὠλιγγία (H.).
•DER ὠλίγγιον· ὀλίγον 'few' (*EM*, *AB*), -ήϊον· ὀλίγον, βραχύτατον 'very short' (H.), -ιᾶν· νυστάζειν 'to doze, take a nap' (H.).
•ETYM Without a convincing connection. Not related to Skt. *āli-* [f.] 'stripe, line', as this derives from **āḍi-* (see Mayrhofer *EWAia* s.v.). The word is clearly of Pre-Greek origin in view of the nasalized suffix -ι(γ)γ-.
The connection with ὤλαξ (*EM*), Dor. for ἄλοξ 'furrow' is certainly wrong.

ὦλκα [acc.sg.] 'furrow'. ⇒ ἄλοξ.

ὡμαλία [f.] 'similarity, average' in ἐφ' ὡμαλίαν 'on average' (Hell. inscr. and pap.), see Mayser 1906-1938, I: 3: 27. ◁GR▷
•ETYM After the opposite ἀνωμαλία [f.] 'unevenness, unconformity' (Att., Hell. and late), which derives from ἀν-ώμαλος (with compositional lengthening), see ▶ ὁμαλός.

ὦμιλλα [f.] name of a game in which nuts or similar objects were thrown in a circle; also metaph. of a sociable meeting (Eup., Poll., H.). ◁?, PG?▷
•ETYM Unexplained, perhaps Pre-Greek in view of the suffix.

ὦμος [m.] 'shoulder, shoulder with the upper arm' (Il.). ◁IE **h₃ems-o-* 'shoulder'▷
•DIAL Myc. *e-po-mi-jo* [du.] /ep-ōmiō/.
•COMP As a first member e.g. in ὠμο-πλάτη (mostly plur. -αι) [f.] 'shoulder-blade' (Hp., X., Arist.). Numerous hypostases, e.g. ἐπ-ωμίς [f.] 'upper part of the shoulder, a garment buttoned over the shoulder' (Hp., E., X.), ἐξ-ωμίς [f.] 'tunic with one sleeve' (Ar., X.), κατ-ωμαδόν, -άδιος 'down from the shoulders' (Il.), ἐξ-ωμίζω [v.] 'to denude the shoulders' (Ar.); on ἐπωμιάδιος (ἐπομμ-) see below.
•DER 1. Diminutive ὠμίον [n.] (*AP*). 2. ὠμία [f.] 'angle of a building' (LXX), semitism acc. to Scheller 1951: 54, also a part of a riverbed (pap. II^{a}). 3. ὠμίας· ὁ μεγάλους ὤμους ἔχων, ὁ εὐρύστερνος 'who has large shoulders, or a large chest' (H., Poll.). 4. ὠμιαῖος 'belonging to the shoulders' (Arist., Gal.). 5. ὠμισάμενος [aor.ptc.] 'taking on the shoulders' (Suid., Zonar.), whence -ιστής 'carrier' (Hdn.).

•ETYM Related are Skt. *áṃsa-* [m.], Go. *ams* [m.] (acc. pl. *amsans*), Lat. *umerus*, U *onse* [loc.] 'in umero', Arm. *us*, gen. *us-oy*, ToA *es*, ToB *āntse*, most of which point to QIE **omso-*.

ToA *es* [m.] 'shoulder, element, etc.', and ToB *āntse* [m.] 'id.; bough' go back to PTo. **anse*. ToA *es* has *e* from **an* before *s*, and in ToB, *t*-epenthesis is regular. The PTo. *a*-vocalism is problematic, as a development **h₃mC-* or **h₃emC-* > **anC-* is unexpected.

The unclear gloss ἀμέοω· ὠμοπλάται (H.) is probably foreign in view of the preserved intervocalic -σ-; cf. Latte ad loc. It is unnecessary to postulate a special lengthened grade IE **ōmso-* for ὦμος. Rather, Aeol. ἐπομμάδιος (in Theoc. 29, 29 as a v.l. for ἐπωμάδιος) most probably points to PGr. **omso-*. Dunkel 1995 has suggested that the forms with long vowel as a reflex of the first compensatory lengthening are survivals from Mycenaean (i.e. borrowings into the poetic language).

ὠμός [adj.] 'raw, uncooked', metaph. 'hard, gruesome' (Il.). ◂IE **HeHmo-* 'raw'▸

•COMP Very frequent as a first member, e.g. ὠμ-ηστής, Dor. -τάς [m.] 'eating raw flesh, ὠμο-φάγος, sanguinary, wild' (Il., epic poet.), a compound from ὠμός and ἔδω with a suffix -τᾱ- and old contraction (cf. Skt. *āmād-* 'id.' from *āma-ad-*); ὠμ-ήλυσις [f.] 'grist from raw grains', especially in preparing a poultice (Hp.), from the root **h₂leu-* of ▸ἀλέω (the simplex *ἄλυσις was later replaced by ἄλεσις), with later folk-etymological connection with λύσις, λύω ("μετὰ ὠμῆς λύσεως", Dsc.). As a second member in ἔν-ωμος 'something raw' (Hp.).

•ETYM Old adjective for 'raw', identical with Skt. *āmá-* and Arm. *hum* < QIE **ōmó-*. The word probably represents **h₃eHmos* or **h₂eh₃mos* (see Kortlandt 2003: 42, 73, 123, 163, 183). See also De Vaan 2008 s.v. *amārus*.

ὤνος [m.] 'purchase price, buy' (Hom., also A. R., Theoc., inscr. Delos [III^{a}]). ◂IE **uos-no-* 'purchase price'▸

•VAR More usual is ὠνή (IA).

•DIAL Dor. ὠνά, Aeol. ὄννα [f.] 'purchase, purchase-charter' (partly adapted to the verb, e.g. συνων-ή [late] from συν-ωνέομαι). On Samian ονονιμένα see Ringe *Glotta* 62 (1984): 45-56.

•DER εὔ-ωνος 'at a good price, low-priced' (Epich., IA), -ώνης [m.] (from the verb or closely related to it), e.g. τελ-ώνης 'toll-holder, levier of tax' (Att., Hell.), ὤν-ιος 'buyable', τά ὤνια 'merchandise' (Epich., Att.), -ιακός 'id.' (pap. [VI^{p}], Just. *Nov.*).

Denominative verb ὠνέομαι (Hes.+) 'to buy', also with ἀντι-, ἐκ-, συν-, etc.; aor. ὠνήσασθαι (Ion., also recent Att. for πρίασθαι), pass. ὠνηθῆναι, fut. ὠνήσομαι, Dor. 3sg. ὠνασεῖται (Sophr.), pass. ὠνηθήσομαι (Theopomp. Com.), perf. (med. and pass.) ἐώνημαι (Att.). Cret. also has the act. ὠνέω 'to offer for sale, sell' (*Leg. Gort.*, etc.).

Thence 1. ὤνημα [n.] 'buy' (Att. inscr.), also βώνημα· εἴρημα. Λάκωνες (H.)? 2. ὤνησις [f.] 'the buying' (Att. decree *apud* Poll.). 3. ὠνητής (Att.), ὠνατάς (Delphi II^{a}) [m.] 'buyer', whence -ητιάω 'to be desirous of buying, wish to buy' (Thphr., D. C., Poll.), -ήτωρ 'id.' (late). 4. ὠνη-τός 'buyable, bought', e.g. of slaves (since ξ 202), -τικός 'desirous of buying' (Ph.). 5. Desiderative ὠνησείω 'wish to buy' (D. C.).

•ETYM Both ὠνέομαι and the old aor. πρίασθαι were replaced, in the course of time, by ἀγοράζω and ἀγοράσαι. Beside ὦνος < **uós-no-* (see below) stands Lat. *vēnum* (acc.) in *vēnum dare* 'to give for sale', Arm. *gin*, gen. *gn-oy* 'purchase-price', both from IE **uesno-*. Ambiguous as to the vocalism is Skt. *vasná-* [n.] (also [m.]) 'puchase-price', whence *vásniya-* 'vendible, venal' (cf. Gr. ὤνιος) and denominative *vasnayáti* in the ptc. du. *-ayántā* 'to bargain', cf. Gr. ὠνέω, both reflecting **uos-n-éie-*.

It is not necessary to posit an awkward lengthened grade pre-form **uōs-no-* for ὦνος, see on ▶ὦμος. The noun **ues-no-*, **uos-no-* belongs to a primary verb still preserved in Hittite: 2sg. *u̯ašti*, 3sg. *u̯āši* 'to purchase, acquire' < **uos-e-i*. A zero grade **us-n-* is preserved in the denominative verb *ušniie/a-*^{zi} 'to offer for sale, sell'. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v. *ušniie/a-*^{zi} argues that this form shows that the noun for 'sale' originally was an *n*-stem **uos-n*, gen. **us-en-s*, which was later thematicized in the individual IE languages. This would nicely explain the different root vowels of Armenian, Greek and Latin.

ᾠόν [n.] 'egg' (IA). ◂IE **h$_2$ōui-o-* 'egg'▸

•VAR ὠόν (Hell.), ᾠΐον (Sapph.), also ᾤεον (Epich., Ibyc., Semon., Hell. poetry); ᾠβεα· τά ὠά. Ἀργεῖοι (H.), if = ᾠϝεα.

•COMP As a first member e.g. in ᾠο-τόκος 'laying eggs', whence -τοκία, -τοκέω (Arist.).

•DER Diminutive ᾠ-ῠφιον [n.] (Theognost., pap. II^{p}), -ώδης 'egg-shaped' (Arist.).

•ETYM An old word for 'egg', preserved in several languages, but in various forms: Lat. *ōvum*, OHG *ei*, ON *egg* < PGm. **a̯i̯a-* [n.], in Iranian e.g. MoP *xāya* < PIr. **āya-* without a trace of *-u-*. In Slavic we find the diminutive OCS *ajьce*, Ru. *jajcó* < PSl. **āje-* < IE **ōio-*. Arm. *ju*, gen. *juoy* (from **i̯ōi̯o-*?), Alb. *ve*, *voe*, and Celtic forms like W *wy* have an unclear pre-form.

The many attempts to obtain a unified account of the different forms have not lead to a conclusive result. See the extensive and careful treatment by Schindler *Sprache* 15 (1969): 144 ff. (with rich lit.); there also on the possibility to connect the word for 'egg' with that for 'bird' (Lat. *avis*, etc.).

ὥρα [f.] 'season, year, time of day, hour, right time, florescence, time of ripening', plur. also personified 'the Hours' (Il.); Hell. and late also ὧρος [m.] 'year' (gender perhaps after ἐνιαυτός), plur. ὧροι 'annals' (of Ionian writers). ◂IE **Hieh$_1$-r-*, *Hioh$_1$-r-* 'year'▸

•VAR Ion. ὥρη.

•COMP E.g. ὡρη-φόρος 'leading on the seasons, bringing on the fruits in their season', epithet of Demeter (*h. Cer.*, Orph.), ὡρο-λόγιον [n.] 'hour hand, sundial, water clock' (Hell. and late), ἄ-ωρος 'untimely, unpretty' (IA, Cret.), also ἄν-ωρος and ἀ-ὥριος 'id.' (Thphr.), ἐννέ-ωρος 'nine years old' (Hom.), 'for nine hours' (Herod.).

•DER 1. ὡρ-αῖος 'according to the season, timely, ripe, florescent, beautiful' (Hes.), often substantivized, e.g. τά ὡραῖα 'fruits of the season' (IA); on ὡραῖα γάμου see Fatouros *Glotta* 54 (1976): 239f. Thence ὡραιότης [f.] 'florescence, beauty' (X., LXX), -αΐζομαι, -άζομαι 'to be beautiful, blossom, act nobly' (Att. com.), also with ἐν-, ἐξ-;

-αΐζω, -ᾴζω 'id.' (Amorgos III^{P}), 'to make beautiful' (Aristid. Quint.), whence -αϊσμός, -αϊστής.

2. ὥρ-ιος (epic poet. since ι 131, late prose), poet. for -αῖος, see Treu 1955: 230f.; ὡρ-ιαίνομαι, -ιαίνω = -αΐζομαι, -αΐζω (Clearch., H.).

3. ὥρ-ιμος 'timely, ripe' (*Leg. Gort.*, Herod., Hell. pap., *AP*), whence -ιμότης, -ιμαία, -ιμάζω.

4. ὡρικός 'florescent, youthful, beautiful' (Ar., Crates Com., Ael.). 5. ὡριαῖος 'for one hour' (Hipparch., Ptol.). 6. Ὡρίτης epithet of Apollo (Lyc.).

•ETYM Greek ὥρα continues IE **HioH-r-h$_2$*, which matches the Germanic cognates Go. *jer*, OHG *jār* [n.] 'year' < PGm. **i̯ēra-* [n.], IE **Hieh$_1$-r-*. In Slavic, we find CS *jara* 'spring' and (with an old *r*-stem) Av. *yārə* [n.] 'year'.

On a trace of the word in Latin *hornus* 'grown in this year' (supposedly from **ho-i̯ōr-ino-*, with a prefix like in OHG *hiuru* 'this year' < **hiu jāru*), see De Vaan 2008 s.v. It is probable that the word contains the root **Hieh$_1$-* 'to send'; for the semantics, we may compare MoHG *Geschick* 'fate' from *schicken* 'to send'.

A loan word from Greek is Lat. *hōra*.

ὥρα [f.] 'care, precaution, concern' (epic Ion. poet., Hes., late prose). ◁IE **uer-* 'notice, be attentive, care for'▷

•VAR Ion. ὥρη.

•COMP As a second member in οὐδενόσ-ωρος 'worth no notice or regard', epithet of τείχεα (Θ 178), of ὀστέον (Opp. *H.* 2, 478), cf. Bechtel 1914 s.v.; ὀλίγ-ωρος 'taking few precautions, indifferent, reckless', whence ὀλιγωρέω, -ωρία (IA). The same element is contained in ▶θεωρός, ▶τιμωρός, but not in ▶εὐθυωρία.

•ETYM From **ϝώρα*, with a lengthened grade like λώπη, λώγη, etc. and derived from the root 'to be attentive, care for', which is also contained in ▶ὁράω. Note the gloss βῶροι (= ϝ-)· ὀφθαλμοί 'eyes' (H.).

ὡρᾱκιάω [v.] 'to faint, be or become dizzy', later also 'to become pale' (Ar., late prose). ◁IE? **uoH-r-* 'faint', PG?(S)▷

•VAR Also ὠρ-; aor. -ιᾶσαι. Also ὡρακίζω 'id.' (*EM*).

•ETYM As a verb of disease in -ιάω, it probably derives from **ὥραξ* 'dizziness, vel sim.', formed like νέαξ, πλούταξ, κνώδαξ, etc. This in turn derives from a noun **ὦρος* or **ὥρα* that could be identified with ON *órar* [f.pl.] 'fits of mind-confusion' < IE **uoH-rh$_2$-*, and (with a suffix *-ja-*) ON *órr* 'dizzy' < IE **uoH-r-io-*. On the derivational type see Björck 1950: 260ff.

As a root etymology between only Greek and Germanic, the Indo-European proposal is not strong. Because of the element -ᾱκ-, the word could also be Pre-Greek.

ὥρη [f.] designation of a part of a sacrificial animal (Ion.). ⇒ἄωροι 1.

ὦρυγγες [m.pl.] 'striped or piebald horses, including zebras' (Opp. *K.* 1, 317). ◁PG(S)▷

•ETYM Fur.: 279 compares ὄρυξ 'a kind of gazelle in Libya' (Arist.). He asks whether it is the same word as ὄρυς 'wild animal from Libya' (Hdt. 4, 192). The prenasalized suffix -υ(γ)γ- seems to point to a Pre-Greek word.

ὠρυγή •VAR Also ὤρυγμα, ὠρυγμός. ⇒ὠρύομαι.

ὠρῡ́ομαι [v.] 'to howl, cry, wail' (Pi., Hdt., Hell.). ◁IE *h_3reuH- 'howl, roar'▷
•VAR Aor. ὠρῡ́σασθαι (άν-, άντ-, κατ-).
•DER ὠρῡδόν [adv.] 'howling' (Nic.), ὤρῡμα [n.] 'howling' (LXX), ὤρῡτός [m.] 'id.' (Theognost.). Often enlarged with -γ-: ὠρυγή (Dor. -ά) [f.] (Erinn., Plu., Poll.), ὠρυγμός [m.] (Ael., Longus, Poll.), ὤρυγμα [n.] (*AP*) 'id.'; ὠρυκτάς [m.] (Dor.) 'howler, howling' (*Hymn. Is.*). Also ὠρυθμός [m.] 'id.' (Opp., Q. S.; also Theoc. as a v.l. beside -γμός), after κλαυθμός.
•ETYM Cognate with Skt. *rauti, ruváti* 'to howl, roar' (*seṭ*-root *rav*^{i}-), OCS *rjuti* 'id.', 1sg. *rovǫ*, which presupposes a root **HreuH*-. This perfectly matches the Greek data, which also point to a root-final laryngeal. Other cognates are Lat. *rūmor* 'noise', Lat. *ravis* 'hoarseness', YAv. *uruuaṇt*- 'roaring'.
Forms with a velar enlargement (like ὠρυγή) are found in Latin, e.g. Lat. *rūgiō* 'to roar', and in Ru. *rykát'*, Lith. *rū́kti* 'id.', 1sg. *rū́kiu*. They remind of Gr. ἐρυγεῖν (see ▶ἐρεύγομαι 2, etc.), ὀρυγμάδες, ▶ὀρυμαγδός, but it is unclear if they are old.
Initial ὠ- is unexplained; there is not enough evidence for a prefix ὠ- in Greek (as per Brugmann-Delbrück 1897-1916 2:2, 817, who compares Skt. *ā́ ruva* [ipv.] 'cry with' [RV 1, 10, 4]).

ὡς 1 [adv., conj.] 'as, so far as', also temporal 'when', causal 'because', final 'therewith', perhaps also as an exclamation (Il.). ◁IE **Hio*- 'which'▷
•VAR Dor. also ὡ.
•DER To this ὥστε (Dor. ὥτε), ὥσπερ, etc.
•ETYM Old instrumental-ablative of the relative pronoun ὅς, like Av. *yā* [instr.], Skt. *yā́t* [abl.], IE **Hioh*$_1$, **Hiōd*. On the auslauting -ς see ▶ἕως 2.

ὡς 2 [adv.] demonstrative: 'thus' (Il.). ◁IE **so*-▷
•VAR Note the accentuation of καὶ ὡς, οὐδ' ὡς, ὧδε (see Vendryes 1904).
•ETYM Mostly interpreted to derive from an IE instr. **soh*$_1$ from the demonstrative **so-, to-* (see ▶ὁ). Besides, τώς (τῶς) is found, from ▶το-.

ὡς 3 [postpos.] 'as, like' (epic), e.g. ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὡς (Γ 2). ◁IE **se, seue*▷
•ETYM Because ὡς 'like' often makes position, it is usually derived from *ϝως < IE **suō*, beside **suē* in Go. *swe* 'as, like'; cf. also OLat. *suad* 'sic' (Festus). See Chantraine 1942: 126.

ὡς 4 [prep.] 'to' (ρ 218, Hdt., Att.). ◁?▷
•VAR With acc., only with persons.
•ETYM Origin unclear; several propositions in Schwyzer 1950: 534.

ὦσχη •VAR ὠσχοί. ⇒ὄσχη 2.

ὠτακουστέω ⇒οὖς.

ὠτειλή [f.] 'wound', especially referring to close combat in Hom. (Hom., Hp., X., Plu.); see Trümpy 1950: 93ff. ◁?, PG?▷
•VAR Aeol. ὠτέλλα (gramm.).

•DER ὠτειλόομαι [v.] 'to scar' (Hp., Aret.), also with περι-, ἐν-; ὠτειλῆθεν 'from the wound' (Orph.).

•ETYM The formation is unclear, and the etymology is controversial. Greek formations which are candidates to be cognate are γατάλαι· οὐλαί (H.), if = ϝατ-, οὐτάω [v.] 'to wound', βωτ[ε]άζειν· βάλλειν (H.), if = ϝωτ-, and (less probable) ἄτη 'damage, guilt, blindness' < *ἀϝάτη. Bechtel 1914 s.v. remarked that a pre-form *ὀϝα- is possible everywhere in Homer except at τ 456.

From other languages, Lith. *votìs* 'ulcer' and and Latv. *vâts* '(festering) wound' are compared, which seem to require **ueh₂-ti-*. Direct connection of ὠτειλή with Lith. *votēlis* (which is a diminutive from *votis*) should be rejected in any case.

The word could well be Pre-Greek; this seems confirmed by the form *ϝαταλ- in the first gloss: is *ὸ- from prothetic α- before ϝ-?

ὠτίς, ὦτος ⇒οὖς.

ὠφελέω ⇒ ὄφελος under ὀφέλλω 2.

ὠχρός [adj.] 'pale, sallow' (IA), on the mg. see Capelle *RhM* 101 (1958): 23ff. ◅?▻

•COMP Some compounds, e.g. ὠχρο-μέλας 'dark and sallow', said of somebody who suffers from jaundice (medic.), cf. Risch *IF* 59 (1949): 60; ἔξ-ωχρος 'very pale' (Arist., Thphr., Aret.), see Strömberg 1946: 68.

•DER 1. ὦχρος [m.] 'paleness' (Γ 35; after this *AP* et al.), usually name of a sallow-colored leguminous plant, 'birds' pease, Lathyrus Ochrus' (com. IV[a], Arist., Thphr., Hell. pap.). On the gender see below. 2. ὤχρα [f.] 'sallow color, ochre-color' (Arist., Thphr., Hell. pap.); also = ἐρυσίβη, 'mildew' (LXX), in this sense also ὠχρία [f.] (*EM*). 3. ὠχρίας [m.] 'man with a pale hue' (Arist.). 4. -ότης [f.] 'paleness' (Pl., Arist.), -οσύνη [f.] 'id.' (late). 5. verbs: ὠχρῆσαι [aor.] 'to become pale' (λ 529, Aret., *AP*), also with κατ-; (κατ-)ὠχριάω 'id.' (Ar., Arist., Babr.), whence -ίασις (late); ὠχραίνω 'to become pale' (Nic.), 'to make pale' (Orph.), -αίνομαι 'to become pale' (S. E., Sor.), whence -αντικῶς [adv.] 'making pale' (S. E.).

•ETYM The connection with Skt. *vyāghrá-* [m.] 'tiger' is untenable for formal reasons (what would the element ὠ- = *-ā-* have to represent, and what is *vi-*?). Wackernagel hesitatingly supposed (see Wackernagel 1916: 234f.) that a neuter ὤχρος (like μάκρος/ μακρός) would have replaced an older *ὦχος [n.] in Homer, like αἶσχος to αἰσχρός, ψῦχος to ψυχρός, etc.

***ὤψ** 'eye, face, countenance' (Hom.). ◅IE **h₃ekʷ-* 'see'▻

•VAR The gender is disputed: fem. acc. to *EM* 344, 55; msc. acc. to Ar. Byz., Eust. and other sources (probably after ὀφθαλμός; cf. *EM* 233, 32); ntr. acc. to Sommer 1948: 10. Old only in fixed expressions ▸ἐνῶπα (only in κατ' ἐνῶπα), εἰς ὦπα 'in the face, eye in eye' (Hom., Hes.); recent forms are ὤπεσσι [dat.pl.] (Max.), μεγάλους ὤπας [acc.pl.] (Ar. Byz.), etc., τὰ ὦπα (Pl. *Cra.* 409c regarding an etymology).

•COMP As a second member in ▸ἐλίκωψ, ▸μύωψ and other forms; these may have compositional lengthening (Schwyzer: 426[4]). To this numerous feminine formations, e.g. ἐλικ-ῶπις, βο-ῶπις (perhaps originally -ώπῑς < **-iH-s*, see Chantraine 1942: 208 and Ruijgh 1995: 76f.

•DER Hypostases: on ἐν-ώπιος, -ιον, -ῆ, see ►ἐνῶπα; ἐξ-ώπιος 'out of sight, without' (E.); εἰσ-ωπός (to εἰς ὦπα) 'face to face, right in front of' (O 653, A. R., Arat.); ὑπ-ώπια [n.pl.] 'part of the face below the eyes, bruise under the eyes' (since M 463), rarely -ιον [sg.]; μέτ-ωπον, ►πρόσωπον.
Further derivations: 1. ὠπ-ή [f.] 'sight, view' (A. R., Nic.). 2. ὤπια· ὀφρύδια 'eyebrows' (H.). 3. ὠπάω [v.] 'to observe' in ὠπῶντες (*EM* 322, 9 regarding ἑλίκ-ωπες), med. aor. ὠπήσασθαι (Opp.), fut. -ήσεσθαι· ὄψεσθαι (H.). With prefix ἐπ-ωπάω [v.] 'to contemplate, overview, supervise' (A.), to which ἐπωπή [f.] 'observation post, watch' (A. *Supp.* 539 [lyr.]), TN Ἐπώπη = Ἀκροκόρινθος (St. B.), -εύς [m.] eponymous name of kings (Apollod.), name or epithet of a god (Mycale [IV^{a}]), Ἐπωπίς· Δημήτηρ παρὰ Σικυωνίοις and -ίδες· ἐπίσκοποι, ἀκόλουθοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις 'watchmen, followers (Lacon.)', also -ήτης· Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις (H.). Enlarged ἐπωπάζει· ἐφορᾷ, ἐπόπτεύει 'to oversee, observe' (H.).
•ETYM Old formation with lengthened grade beside ►ὄψ 'eye, face'; see on ►ὄπωπα for further connections.

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A. Book abbreviations

Bq = Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Heidelberg-Paris, 1907-1916.

Del.^{3} = Eduard Schwyzer, *Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora.* Leipzig, 1923.

DELG = Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (terminé par O. Masson, J.-L. Perpillou, J. Taillardat, avec le concours de F. Bader, J. Irigoin, D. Lecco, P. Monteil, sous la dir. de M. Lejeune). Paris, 1968-1980.

DELG *Supp.* = Idem. Nouvelle édition avec, en supplément, les *Chroniques d'étymologie grecque* (1-10), rassemblées par Alain Blanc, Charles de Lamberterie et Jean-Louis Perpillou. Paris, 2009.

DKP = *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike. Auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter bearb. und hrsg. von Konrat Ziegler und Walther Sontheimer.* 5 vols. Stuttgart, 1964-1975.

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E-M = Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: histoire des mots.* 4ème éd., 4ème tirage augmenté d'additions et de corrections nouvelles par Jacques André. Paris, 1985.

EIEC = James P. Mallory and Douglas Q. Adams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture.* London etc., 1997.

Frisk = Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* 3 vols. Heidelberg, 1960-73.

Fur. = Edzard J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen. Mit einem Appendix über den Vokalismus.* Den Haag, 1972.

ICS = Olivier Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques.* Paris, 1961.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editae. Berlin, 1873-.

Latte = Latte, Kurt (ed.), *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon.* Kopenhagen, 1953-.

LfgrE = *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos.* Bruno Snell et al (eds.). Göttingen, 1955-.

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LSJ = *A Greek-English lexicon, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott; revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, and with the co-operation of many scholars.* Oxford, 1977^{9}.

LSJ *Supp.* = *A Greek-English lexicon: revised supplement, edited by P.G.W. Glare, with the assistance of A.A. Thompson.* Oxford, 1996.

Pok. = Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Bern, 1949-1959.

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Schwyzer = Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik: auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik.* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft Tl. 1, Bd. 1. München, 1939.

SEG = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum.* Leiden/Amsterdam, 1923-.

SGDI = Friedrich Bechtel et al., *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.* Hrsg. von Hermann Collitz. Göttingen, 1884-1915.

WH = Alois Walde and Johann Baptist Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg, 1930-1954.

WP = Alois Walde and Julius Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen.* Berlin, 1927.

B. Journal abbreviations

AAL = Annual of Armenian Linguistics
ABäG = Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik
Acta Ant. Acad. Hungar. = Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
Acta Or. = Acta Orientalia
AfP = Archiv für Papyrusforschung
AION = *AION-L* = Annali dell'Istituto Orientali di Napoli. Sezione linguistica
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
AmJPh. = American Journal of Philology
Ann. Serv. Ant. Égypte = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
Ann.Pisa = Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa
Ant. class. = L'antiquité classique
AAHG = Anzeiger fur die Altertumswissenschaft. Hrsg. von der Osterreichischen Humanistischen Gesellschaft
Anz. AltWiss. = Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft
Ἀρχ. Δελτ. = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
Arch. f. Orientforsch. = Archiv für Orientforschung
Arch. f. Religionswiss. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
Arch. glott. ital. = Archivio glottologico italiano
Arch. Or. = Archiv Orientální
Arch. slav. Phil. = Archiv für Slavische Philologie
Archiv. Linguist. = Archivum Linguisticum
Arkiv f. nord. fil. = Arkiv för nordisk filologi
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung
BAGB = Bulletin de l'association Guillaume Budé
BB = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen
BCH = Bulletin de correspondance hellénique (Paris)
Beitr. z. Namenforsch. = Beiträge zur Namenforschung
Berl.Ak.Sb. = Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
BICS = Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BiOr. = Bibliotheca Orientalis
BNF = Beiträge zur Namenforschung
Boll. fil. class. = Bollettino di filologia classica
BPhW= Berliner philologische Wochenschrift
BSL = Bulletin de la Societé Linguistique de Paris
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
ByzZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CEG = A. Blanc, Ch. de Lamberterie and J.-L. Perpillou, Chronique d'étymologie grecque.
CEG 1, 1996 = *RPh.* 70.1 (1996) 103ff.
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CEG 9, 2004 = *RPh.* 78.1 (2004) 155-179
CEG 10, 2005 = *RPh.* 79.1 (2005) 159-193
CEG 11, 2006 = *RPh.* 80.2 (2006) 339-369
Class. et Med. = Classica et Mediaevalia
Class. Quart. = Classical Quarterly
Class. Journ. = The Classical Journal
Class. Phil. = Classical Philology
Class. Rev. = Classical Review
Comm. Aenip. = Commentationes Aenipontanae
CRAI = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
Curtius Studien = Studien zur Griechischen und Lateinischen Grammatik/Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie
DLZ = Deutsche Literaturzeitung für Kritik der internationalen Wissenschaft
Ep. Et. Byz. = Epetiris Etairias Vyzantinon Spoudon
Ét. celt. = Études celtiques
Ét. class. = Études classiques
GGA = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
GHÅ = Goteborgs Hogskola Årsskrift
GLECS = Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études Chamito-Sémitiques
Gött. Abh. = *Gött. Nachr.* = Abhandlungen/ Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
Gr. Rom. Byz. St. = Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
Helikon = Helikon. Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica
Herm. = Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
HSPh. = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HZ = Historische Zeitschrift
Idg. Jb. = Indogermanisches Jahrbuch
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen
IF Anz. = Indogermanische Forschungen, Anzeiger
IIJ = Indo-Iranian Journal
IJDLLR = International Journal for Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction
Inc. ling. = Incontri linguistici
J. Egypt. Arch. = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
Jahresh. d. Osterr. Arch. Inst. = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien
JANER = Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society

Jb. d. deut. arch. Inst. = Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
Jb. f. kleinas. Forsch. = Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIES = Journal of Indo-European Studies.
Journal of Phil. = Journal of Philology
KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen ("Kuhns Zeitschift"); from 23 (1875/77) onwards, "Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen" (ZVS); from 82 (1968) onwards, "Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung" (ZVS); from 101 (1988) onwards, "Historische Sprachforschung" (HS)
LALIES = Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature
LAMA = Centre de recherches comparatives sur les langues de la Méditerranée ancienne
Lang. = Language
Leipz. Stud. = Leipziger Studien zur klassischen Philologie
Ling. Balkan. = Linguistique Balkanique
Ling. Posn. = Lingua Posnaniensis
Listy filol. = Listy filologické
Mél. Univ. St. Joseph = Mélanges de l'université St. Joseph (Beyrouth)
MKNAW = Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde
Mnem. = Mnemosyne
MondOr. = Le Monde Oriental
MSL = Memoires de la Societé Linguistique de Paris
MSS = Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
MU = Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen
Mus. Helv. = Museum Helveticum
N. Jb. f. d. klass. Altertum = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum
NOWELE = North-Western European Language Evolution
NTS = Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap
OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Par. del pass. = La parola del passato (Napoli)
PBBeitr. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur
Phil. = Philologus
Philol. Stud. = Philologische Studiën (Leuven)
PhW = Philologische Wochenschrift
Quad. Urbinati = Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica
REA = Revue des études anciennes
REArm. = Revue des études armeniennes
REGr. = Revue des études grecques
REIE = Revue des études indo-européennes
RELat. = Revue des études latines

Rend. Acc. Linc. = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche
RESlav. = Revue des études slaves
Rev. arch. = Revue archeologique
Rev. belge de phil. = Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
Rev. celt. = Revue celtique
Rev. Hitt. Ass.
RFIC = Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica
RhM = Rheinisches Museum
Ric. ling. = Ricerche Linguistiche, Bolletino dell' Istituto di Glottologia dell Universitá de Roma
RILomb. = Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere
Riv. degli stud. or. = Rivista degli studi orientali
Riv. fil. class. = Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica
RPh. = Revue de philologie, de litterature et d'histoire anciennes
Sächs. Abh. and *Sächs. Ber.* = Abhandlungen (Berichte) der sächsischen Gesellschaft (Akademie) der Wissenschaften
SCauc. = Studia Caucasica
SII = Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik
SMEA = Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici
Sprache = Die Sprache
SSL = Studi e Saggi Linguistici
Stud. ital. fil. class. = Studi italiani di filologia classica
Symb. Oslo. = Symbolae Osloenses
TPS = Transactions of the Philological Society
TAPA = Transactions (and Proceedings) of the American Philological Association
Welt des Orients = Die Welt des Orients: wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes
Wien. Ak. Abh. = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien
Wien. Ak. Anz. = Akademischer Anzeiger, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien
Wien. Ak. Sb. = Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien
Wiener Stud. = Wiener Studien
Würzb. Jb. = Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft
WuS = Wörter und Sachen
WZHalle = Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
WZKS = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil. = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie
Zeitschr. f. Phon. = Zeitschrift für Phonologie, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung
Zeitschr. f. slav. Phil. = Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie
ZfdA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur

ZII = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik
Živa Ant. = Živa Antika. Antiquité vivante
Z(O)NF = Zeitschrift fur (Orts)namenforschung
ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRPh. = Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie
Zs. f. ägypt. Spr. = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde
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